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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1939



No. 1

LENIN'S HERITAGE

AN EDITORIAL

"ANSCHLUSS" IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE FIGHTING IN PALESTINE

TWO AND A HALF YEARS OF WAR
FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF SPAIN

NAZI COLONIAL DEMANDS

THE NATURE OF SOVIET PATRIOTISM

THE PATH OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

A CHAPTER FROM THE "HISTORY OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION"

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ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XVI

JANUARY, 1939

No. 1

CONTENTS

Editorials

Lenin's Heritage	3
"With Fire and Sword"	12
The Fascist Pogroms Against the Jews	15
"And They Will No Longer Be Free"	19
Peter Forster	22
"Neutrality, Or . . . !"	24
"Toward the Baltic"	27
German Fascism Undermining Switzerland	30
"Anschluss" in South America	34
Pirow, South Africa, and German Fascism	37
The Fighting in Palestine	42
Schools in the Germany of Hitler	45
The "Destruction of Versailles" at the Expense of the German People	49

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Subscription price: one year \$1.75; six months 90 cents. Single copies 15 cents

Theory and Practice of the Labor Movement

The Path of the Bolsheviki <i>From the History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)</i>	51
The Colonial Demands of German Fascism . . . KURT FUNK	58
The Experience of History Calls for the Unity of the Working Class	F. FURNBERG 66
Two and One-Half Years of War for the Independence of Spain	ANTONIO R. JIMENEZ 71

In the Soviet Union

The Nature of Soviet Patriotism	A. CLAIRE 79
Chronicle of Events	87

Lenin's Heritage

FIFTEEN years ago there died the man who, like no one before him, changed the world and brought humanity closer to the realization of its boldest dreams—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Masses crowd in front of the tomb of Lenin in Moscow to see the visage of the man who lives on immortal in what he has created: the revolutionary doctrine he left behind him; the achievements of the victorious socialist revolution whose leader he was; the gigantic socialist state he founded; the incomparable Party of Bolsheviks he created; the iron cadres, with Stalin at their head, which he inspired with his spirit; the Communist International in which he united the most progressive workers in all countries; and the international labor movement to which his example, his doctrine, and his work gave wings.

Lenin's work lives on in all the battles and victories of the working class, in the irresistible development of socialism. *The figure of Lenin lives on* in the hearts of all fighters for freedom, in the sagas and songs of all peoples, whose struggle for liberty he personifies. *Lenin's example lives on* in the Bolsheviks, of whom Stalin demanded:

“. . . that they be as clear and decided politicians as Lenin was, that they be as fearless in struggle and as unrelenting to the enemies of the people as Lenin was, that they be free from all panic or semblance of panic when matters begin to become complicated and any danger appears on the horizon, that they be as free from any semblance of panic as Lenin was, that in the solution of complicated problems, where all-sided orientation and all-sided consideration of every plus and minus are needed, they be as wise and as little hasty as Lenin was, that they be as truthful and honest as Lenin was, that

they love their people as Lenin loved it. . . .”

Many a great revolutionary leader of the masses has indelibly inscribed his name in the pages of the history of the world, but none of them combined theory and practice, doctrine and life, the boldest view of the future and the firmest shaping of the present, in his own person into so perfect a unity as did Lenin. There was no cleavage in his character; his life and his cause were at all times one and the same. Nor have his worst enemies ever been able to turn up a single unclear episode, any clouded detail in Lenin's life.

Lenin was “monolithic,” of a single metal and all of a piece, like the Party that he shaped in his own image. For superficial psychologizing biographers, whose interest is awakened by the inner contradictions of a personality, Lenin's life is a theme which they cannot handle. They must recoil from the greatness, the homogeneity, the extraordinary straightforwardness of this life. There is nothing to “reveal” here; everything is as clear as the proletarian revolution, or—for bourgeois observers—as puzzling and unfathomable as the proletarian revolution.

This revolution, the overturn and formation anew of all social relationships predicted and scientifically established by Marx and Engels, was considered by Lenin as an immediate political task. He saw *the elements of the maturing revolution* even in the seemingly smallest questions of the daily struggle, of organization, of propaganda. Nothing escaped his attention; he recognized in the tiniest spring a part of the great flood that tears down the old and lifts up the new. Since for him the proletarian revolution,

the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of socialism, never was an unclear dream image, but always the real and unshakable goal of the movement, he approached all the problems of the revolutionary struggle with the highest degree of realism. In sharp contradistinction to those reformist "realistic politicians," who cherished the comfortable illusion of a peaceful growth into socialism, the mightiest realistic politician of the revolution created a Party that was able to bring about the victory of the revolution. For him *the revolution was the highest reality, the highest actuality*, and for that very reason he was able, like no one else, to evaluate situations soberly and weigh all forces and counter-forces.

The goal of the movement, the proletarian revolution, gradually became more and more nebulous and unimaginable to even the best leaders of the Second International. Even for men like Bebel the revolution was at bottom merely "the big hullabaloo," an ever further removed, ever more enigmatic catastrophe, some sort of vague *Götterdämmerung* of capitalism unrelated to the daily problems and daily struggles of the present.

To Lenin this division into the trade union and parliamentary reality on the one hand and the "myth of the revolution" on the other, this cleft between theory and practice, was simply intolerable. He considered the cleavage between theory and practice "the most repulsive trait of the old bourgeois society"; to him *the unity of theory and practice* was emphatically an earmark of Marxism. Opportunists, who considered their shortsightedness common sense, called the leader of the Bolsheviks a "dreamer," thinking that was condemnation enough. Lenin was anything but a "dreamer," but he was capable of creative dreams. He himself tells us about it in unforgettable words. Discussing the necessity for an all-Russian revolutionary newspaper, he describes in his pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?* how this paper would aid in organizing the Party and fanning the fires of the revolution.

"That," he wrote, "is what we ought to be dreaming about!" And he added:

"'We ought to be dreaming!' I wrote these words and became alarmed. It seemed to me that I was sitting at a 'unity congress' and that opposite me were the editors and contributors of *Rabocheye Dyelo*. Comrade Martynov rises and, turning to me, says threateningly: 'Permit me to enquire, has an autonomous editorial board the right to dream without first obtaining permission of the Party committee?' He is followed by Comrade Krichevsky who . . . continues . . . even more threateningly: 'I go further, I ask, has a Marxist any right at all to dream? . . .'"*

Lenin replied in the words of the writer Pisarev:

" . . . if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could never run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the results of the work he is only just commencing, then I cannot imagine what stimulus there would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and fatiguing work in the sphere of art, science, and practical work. . . . "**

This power of the creative dream to "conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the results of the work he is only just commencing," was characteristic of Lenin to the highest degree. This power enabled him, not only to foresee the developed revolution in the first bud, but also to recognize in the first bud the ultimate consequence of political mistakes and deviations. He opposed the seemingly most insignificant distortions and falsifications of Marxism with the greatest relentlessness.

Liberal Social-Democrats were disconcerted by this burning vigilance of the man who foresaw in the deviations of today the collapses of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. "Resist the beginnings!" an old philosopher said. Lenin resisted false beginnings, false prin-

* *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 180-181. International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, p. 181.

principles, with pitiless energy in order to deflect fatal dangers from the "entire and completed picture," from the proletarian revolution, from the realization of socialism.

The half-hearted, the weaklings, the opportunists often resented Lenin's ruthless frankness. Lenin knew, however, that the working class can solve its gigantic, its almost superhuman problem only if it does not shrink back from any truth, if it mercilessly criticizes weaknesses and mistakes, if it rids itself unrelentingly of everything that is decayed and ill, everything that is rotten and hostile.

Only timely, merciless criticism and self-criticism can prevent the toxin of capitalism from poisoning the working class and tiny wounds from turning into dangerous abscesses. Lenin's keen criticism was of the greatest help to the Party and to every member of the Party. It was a decisive element of his care for the movement and for every individual who devoted himself to the movement. The man who saw to it that the delegates to a congress got good lodgings and good food, who took pains for every comrade, who despised the "great men" who did not occupy themselves with "personal matters," with the cares and needs of the Party personnel—it was he who struck with a hard hand when questions of principle were involved. Both are *concern for personnel*, for human beings, for the movement, inseparably connected together.

Lenin fought for each one of his collaborators as stubbornly and as untiringly as he fought for the masses of the people—but his love for a person ended the moment this person abandoned the cause that was Lenin's life. His life was the people, the revolution, socialism.

This inexhaustible life could not be shaken by any blow. This life was inexhaustible because it was deeply rooted in the masses of the people. "*Only the people is immortal!*" said Stalin in a speech to factory managers. Lenin's life was permeated with this immortality of the people. We know how Lenin was able

to talk to workers, to peasants, to the nameless men of the people, how he questioned and sounded them, how insatiable he was for their reports, how untiringly he worked over their opinions. We know how zealously, how patiently the great teacher of the masses learned from the masses, how thoroughly he checked his plans and perceptions against the experience of the masses.

He was *imbued with the people*—he was flesh of the people's flesh, blood of its blood. The steadfastness of his theoretical perceptions and his being imbued with the giant strength of the working class, the masses, the people—these were the foundations of Lenin's unswerving *firmness*. All panic was foreign to him, as were all faintheartedness and all confusion. When everything about him wavered, he remained calm and pointed out the way that led ahead. No one understood as did he the difficult art of retreat, of the quick turn that not only saves the troops, but also creates all the prerequisites for the next attack.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the transition to the New Economic Policy demonstrated his peerless skill in beginning a retreat in time and in doing it in such a manner as to develop the forces for the new offensive. In such situations there were but few who stood unshaken alongside him, but there was one whom he could always trust unconditionally: Stalin, his peer and comrade-in-arms. Lenin always had a longer wind than the enemies of the revolution. His revolutionary patience, which wisely set itself against the haste of the shortwinded and the impatient, always won out. Lenin knew that years did not matter, but he also knew that days, hours, often do. For revolutionaries other measures of time apply than those of the calendar.

In October, 1917, the master of revolutionary patience warned: "The success of the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days of struggle!" We know how he pressed at that time, how he drove the Party forward, how he made it clear to his comrades that the decision of decades was com-

pressed within a few days. Lenin had prepared for this moment with extraordinary patience throughout his life—now his extraordinary swiftness triumphed. Highest wisdom united with highest audacity, careful deliberation and lightning-like striking—that was Lenin's revolutionary *realpolitik*.

In Lenin the type of the *revolutionary mass leader* was raised to the highest degree of perfection. He believed, more than any one else, in the masses, in their revolutionary instinct and their revolutionary creative power. But never did he make a myth out of the masses, never did he ascribe infallibility to them. He knew that masses can err, and that it is necessary to explain such errors to them patiently, to help them to learn by their own mistakes, to overcome mistakes, prejudices, and backward views, and to transform revolutionary feeling into revolutionary consciousness. He knew that masses require a leading, guiding, directing force, that spontaneous mass movements infallibly collapse, and that mass movements are able to triumph only when a leading, guiding, directing force is at their head. This force is the Party, as Lenin formed it, *the united, revolutionary Party of the proletariat composed of the most mature and most conscious elements of the working class*.

This Party needs a leadership, too, a leading collective which comprises the ablest, the firmest, and those most devoted to the Party. And in this leading collective the ablest, the firmest, the man most profoundly bound to the masses will be the leader. Lenin was this leader. Stalin is this leader. Time and again situations arise in which the power of the masses and the need of the moment are most clearly personified in *one man*, in which the clarity, boldness, and resoluteness of *one man* bring about decision. Lenin was such a leader. Stalin is such a leader.

The proletarian mass leader does not hide behind formal resolutions to shift responsibility from his shoulders, but he also is constantly aware that he is nothing but the loyal brain of the mass, its

concentrated will, and its wakeful consciousness. He never flatters the mass and never intoxicates himself with it, but he knows that it is the ground in which he is rooted, from which he draws his strength. For him the persons in his Party are never a "following," but members of a whole enjoying equal rights, members of a whole that is not held together by obedience but by convictions and opinions. Lenin was such a leader. Stalin is such a leader.

Deeply bound to the masses, permeated by the elemental strength of the people, Lenin was likewise *the greatest and boldest thinker that humanity has produced since Marx and Engels*. Not only did Lenin absorb Marxism in all its purity and fullness and defend it against all falsifiers and vulgarizers, but he also *extended and developed it still further*. Over and over again Lenin emphasized: "There can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory!" Over and over again he emphasized *the tremendous importance of theory*, of the correct, revolutionary theory conscientiously tested by experience.

Passionately opposing the mere-practitioners on the one hand and the dogmatists on the other, he held high not the wording but the *spirit* of Marxism. Whereas the opportunist revisionists "revised" fundamental truths of Marxism because they were inconvenient for them and did not seem to be "opportune" to them, while the Kautskyans and other Centrists clung to the letter of Marxism and tried to drive out the spirit by means of the letter, Lenin, on the basis of new facts and experiences, extended and enriched the doctrine of Marx and Engels and made it concrete.

As a creative political thinker he did not fight shy of correcting individual principles of Marx and Engels on the basis of new facts and experiences. Marx and Engels foresaw *the age of decaying capitalism, of imperialism*, it is true, but they did not live to see it.

Lenin characterized imperialism as "dying" capitalism, as the last phase of capitalist development, as the eve of the

socialist revolution. He set forth the parasitic nature of this extreme rule of monopoly capital, the monstrous accentuation of all the contradictions inherent in capitalism, the tensions pressing to war-like and revolutionary discharges. Accentuation of the conflicts between the ruling class and the masses of the people, accentuation of the conflicts between the colonial overlords and the colonial peoples, accentuation of the conflicts between the imperialist states that are waging a bitter struggle for the redivision of the world—these are the characteristic elements of imperialism. Capitalism has gotten hold of all the countries in the world; it has become a *world system*. The whole world system of capitalism is ripe for revolution.

The decisive prerequisite conditions for revolution no longer follow from the degree of maturity of economic conditions in this country or that, but from the totality of the relationships of forces in each country. It is precisely in countries which are less developed economically, that possess feudal vestiges and a weaker bourgeoisie, that the revolution may break out first and achieve victory. The working class in alliance with the peasant masses can establish socialism in countries, or in one country, of the victorious proletarian revolution while capitalism still persists in the other countries.

This perception of Lenin, brilliantly confirmed by the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, goes beyond what Marx and Engels taught. Marx and Engels had to assume, from the status of capitalist development at that time, that the proletarian revolution would seize hold of all the advanced capitalist countries simultaneously, and the working class would establish socialism at the same time in all these countries. On the strength of the new facts Lenin corrected this view, and as early as 1915 he stated in his article "The United States of Europe Slogan":

"As a separate slogan, however, the slogan of a United States of the World

would hardly be a correct one, first, because it merges with socialism, second, because it may be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible; it may also create misconception as to the relations of such a country to the others.

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country."*

On the strength of new experiences Lenin also corrected another principle of Marx and Engels. From the status of political development at that time Marx and Engels had to assume that the dictatorship of the proletariat would take the form of the democratic republic, and the working class would establish its dictatorship upon the basis of parliamentarism. To be sure, Marx and Engels also pointed out that the Paris Commune evolved new forms of popular rule in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was embodied for the first time, though still imperfectly.

In the meantime new organs of the mass will: *the Soviets*, democratic organs in the highest degree, arose out of the masses themselves in the revolution of 1905. Lenin recognized at once the tremendous political significance of these mass organs, which were incomparably more democratic than any parliament. He recognized in the Soviets the future pillars of the proletarian dictatorship, the most inclusive, most powerful, most immediate, most democratic, and most authoritative organizations of all the oppressed and exploited, that is, of the broadest masses of the people itself. He recognized in the Soviet power not only a higher form of democratic institutions, but also the only form that is able to ensure a transition to socialism that is as painless as possible. In the spirit of Marx and Engels, who considered the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the cornerstone of their doctrine, Lenin went beyond their theses and gave the dic-

* *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 141.

tatorship of the proletariat firm and enduring reality in the form of the Soviet power.

Hence, while the reformists of all nuances were openly abandoning the doctrine of Marx and Engels or converting it into a rigid dogma, a lifeless museum piece, Lenin constantly viewed it as a "guide to action," maintaining it in its splendid vitality. But the essence of life is development. A doctrine can live only if it continued to evolve. Marxism is living as before because it evolved into Marxism-Leninism.

In the continuation and further development of Marxism Lenin evolved *the theory of imperialism* as decaying, "dying" capitalism, as the "eve of the socialist revolution." He convincingly refuted the opportunist "spontaneity theory," the theory of the Party's trotting behind the "spontaneous" movement of the workers, and he emphasized *the leading role of the proletarian vanguard, the revolutionary party of the working class*. He made it clear that the labor movement does not lead to socialism "by itself," and that political class-consciousness does not develop by itself, "from within outward," from the workers' economic struggles, but that the workers must be educated to political class-consciousness "outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers."

Lenin extended the *theory of the uninterrupted revolution* set forth by Marx in his "Address to the Communist League," and he taught the working class that it is possible and necessary to pass from the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian-socialist revolution, that it is a strategic task of decisive importance correctly to effect the *transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution*.

Lenin took a passionate stand against the opportunists who set up a "Chinese wall" between the democratic and the socialist revolutions, asserting that the democratic revolution must first be brought cleanly to an end and postponing the socialist revolution to the distant fu-

ture, as well as against the "Left," who wanted to begin with the socialist revolution at once, skipping over the democratic revolution. Under Lenin's leadership the Bolsheviks correctly effected the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution in 1917, whereas the Spartacus League, for example, neglected the tasks of the democratic revolution in 1918-1919 and pushed ahead prematurely toward the socialist revolution.

Lenin's doctrine of the growth of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, his attitude toward the problem of bourgeois democracy, is of the greatest timeliness precisely today. Many opponents of the Communist International are now trying to call upon Lenin in their fight against the policy of the Seventh World Congress. They purposely conceal Lenin's tireless reminders that the revolutionary party of the working class is able to mobilize the masses against the ruling class only *in a consistent struggle for general democratic demands*. As early as in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin wrote:

"For he is no Social-Democrat [it was only in 1917 that the Bolsheviks called themselves Communists—*Ed.*] who forgets in practice that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement,' and that we are therefore obliged to explain and underscore *the general democratic tasks to the whole people* without for an instant concealing our socialist convictions. He is no Social-Democrat who forgets, in practice, his duty *to be ahead of everyone* in the formulation, accentuation, and solution of *every* general democratic problem. . . .

"We must take upon ourselves the task of organizing such an all-sided political struggle under the leadership of *our Party* in order that all the existing opposition strata of the population be able to support this struggle and the Party to the best of their ability, and in order that they actually do so. . . .

"It cannot be too strongly insisted that . . . the Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and op-

pression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects. . . .”*

And in his article on “The United States of Europe Slogan” Lenin asserted that democratic political slogans by no means obscure or weaken the slogan of the socialist revolution, but that quite the contrary:

“Political changes of a truly democratic nature, and especially political revolutions, can never, under any circumstances, obscure or weaken the slogan of the socialist revolution. On the contrary, they always bring it nearer, widen the bases for it, draw ever new strata of the petty bourgeois and the semi-proletarian masses into the socialist struggle. On the other hand, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of the socialist revolution, which must not be regarded as being a single act, but must be regarded as an epoch of turbulent political and economic upheavals, of the most acute class struggle, civil war, revolutions and counter-revolution.”

We shall content ourselves with these few quotations to characterize Lenin's attitude toward the struggle for democratic demands. In our era it is the historical task of the working class to set itself at the head of the struggle for each and every democratic demand, to achieve, against fascism, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and thus to prepare for the transition to the socialist revolution, to socialism, which is our goal.

In extending and developing Marxism Lenin developed *the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, the establishment of which Marx himself called his greatest achievement, to the highest degree of perfection. He demonstrated that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to break the resistance of the classes whose rule is smashed by the revolution, to effect the union of all toilers with the proletariat for organizing socialist construction, and to arm the revolution against the enemy within and

without. He specifically emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat is incomparably more democratic than the most highly developed bourgeois democracy, for:

“. . . in capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to communism, will, for the first time, create democracy for the people, for the majority, in addition to the necessary suppression of the minority—the exploiters. . . .

“Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, *i.e.*, exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people—this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to communism.”*

True to these principles *the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union* has realized the most inclusive and far-reaching democracy for the masses of the people. The first constitution of the Soviet Union was in accord with these principles. The Stalin Constitution represents a further stage in Soviet democracy: not only democracy for the vast majority of the people, but for the *whole people*, which, after the already accomplished liquidation of the capitalists and landowners, and over and above that, the kulaks—hence all the exploiting classes—has attained political and moral unity.

Under Stalin's leadership the most inclusive and far-reaching democracy was anchored in the new *Soviet Constitution*—together with maintenance and strengthening of the Soviet state, which secures socialism against the surrounding capitalist world, against enemies within and without. Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat is needed for a long time, that the class struggle does not cease after the victory of the proletarian revolution, but

* *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 99.

* “The State and Revolution,” *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 81-82.

rather grows more intense, in these words:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most self-denying and relentless war of the new class against the more powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow. . . . The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society."*

This struggle has not ceased and will not cease so long as there are capitalist states surrounding the Soviet Union which shrink from literally no means of destroying the Soviet Union. The socialist state, its Commissariat of Internal Affairs, and its Red Army are indispensable so long as capitalist armies, spies, and assassins threaten the Soviet Union. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union is not merely the strongest weapon of the Soviet peoples, but also the strongest weapon of the international working class and of the masses of the people menaced by fascism and foreign rule in all capitalist countries.

In the extension and further development of Marxism Lenin investigated and solved the *peasant question* as no one had done before him, emphasizing the absolute necessity for the alliance of the working class with the peasant masses. As no one had done before him he established the correct balance between proletarian internationalism and the participation of the working class in the vital problems of the nation. In all of these problems Stalin was his loyal, consistent, and creative comrade-in-arms.

Lenin's position on the war question is of the greatest importance in the period of struggle against the fascist warmongers. During the first imperialist world war Lenin waged an irreconcilable struggle against war. He set the working class in all belligerent countries the task of striving for the defeat of their

own bourgeoisie, the conversion of the war into a civil war. Today direct and indirect accomplices of the fascist aggressors endeavor to draw the conclusion from this consistently revolutionary position of Lenin's during the imperialist war that Lenin was opposed to war *under all* circumstances, that he set the working class the task of striving for the defeat of their own country *under all circumstances*. Nothing is falsier and more deceitful than such a conclusion.

Even during the imperialist war Lenin called pacifism "a form of misleading the working class." He *differentiated* most exactly *between imperialist wars, and wars of liberation, between unjust and just wars*. In his controversy with Rosa Luxemburg (on the "Junius" pamphlet) he pointed out that national wars against imperialist powers are not only possible and probable, but also *unavoidable, progressive and revolutionary*. He made it clear that such national wars were still possible in Europe, and that in such wars it is the task of the working class to support the fighters for national freedom. He combatted the schematic opinion that a war must be an imperialist war because under certain circumstances imperialist countries may also take part in such a war on the side of the fighters for liberation.

Taking the American War for Independence as an example he showed that this war was and remained a war for liberation, although the reactionary French monarchy supported the American fighters for independence. In his "Speech on the War," delivered before the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, in which he passionately demanded the ending of the war, Lenin said:

"This is not an easy task. That task does not permit one to forget that under certain circumstances a revolutionary war may be essential. No revolutionary class can forswear revolutionary war without dooming itself to a ludicrous pacifism. We are not Tolstoyans! . . . We cannot forswear such a war, for that would be Tolstoyism, philistinism, it

* " 'Left-Wing' Communism," *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 84.

would be forgetting the whole science of Marxism and the experience of all European revolutions."*

Time and again Lenin pointed out that war is merely the continuation of policy by other means, and that it therefore depends upon what *policy* and whose *policy* it is that is continued in war. When German fascism continues its policy of oppression, plunder, and murder in a war, that war is nothing but the bloodiest form of plundering and oppression. When the Spanish People's Front, which gave the people freedom and was therefore attacked by the fascists, defends the people and the land in a war, that is a just war, a war for freedom. When the Soviet people defends socialism in a war, that is the justest, the most revolutionary war ever waged. These are Lenin's teachings on the question of war.

Through his teachings, through his action, and through his policies Lenin became the mighty *uniter of the working class and the masses of the people*. He abandoned the purely formal "unity" of the Second International, which collapsed whenever faced by a decisive problem, in order to effect the genuine, actual unity of the working class that could hold out through any storms.

What sort of "unity" was and is it that the Second International claims to protect? This "unity" was shattered during the first day of the imperialist war, and the workers of the world tore at each other's flesh as they faced one another at the front. And today? The more urgently the workers need unity in all countries, the more disunited and confused does the Second International become, the more apparent does the treason of Citrine, Spaak, Paul Faure, and Stauning become, and the less capable of action are the Social-Democratic Parties.

* *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 160.

Unity, firm ideological, political and organizational unity, exists only in the ranks of the Communist International. True to the teachings and the example of Lenin, the Communist International is working unswervingly and untiringly for the unification of the working class, for the achievement of the anti-fascist united front, for the union of the widest masses of the people against the fascist aggressor.

Lenin's historic work of unification has matured to fullest perfection in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union the highest political and moral unity of the people has been effected: unity of the working class and the peasantry, unity of all the peoples of the land of Soviets, unity of the Soviet people with its Party and its government. The work of Lenin, continued by Stalin: the "monolithic" Party, the "monolithic" Soviet state, a block of granite, inviolable and unshakable.

As the sculptor Rodin formed the statue of Balzac, his proud head rising sharply from a massive block of stone, so was Lenin: a proud head, rising from the granite block of the people, of the Soviet state, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The oneness of his nature and his personality is reflected in the unity of the Party he created, of the people he led, and of the state he founded: unity of theory and practice, of thought and action, of will and accomplishment.

Thus does Lenin live on, thus does he march before us: in the figure of Stalin, his truest comrade-in-arms, in the figure of the great Party of the Bolsheviks, in the figure of the Socialist Soviet Union, in his doctrine that is seizing hold of the masses, and in the masses which are putting his doctrine into effect in heroic struggle and, notwithstanding all opposing forces, are marching toward the revolution, toward socialism.

“With Fire and Sword”

HUMANISM in Germany, the subjugation of the Middle Ages, began when the great humanist Johann Reuchlin came out against the persecution of the Jews by the Inquisition. In the hard struggle which he waged against the Court of Inquisition under the presidency of the notorious Jakob Hogstraten, all people who stood for progress joined with him, notably Ulrich von Huetten. This defense of the Jews by the most advanced figures of the early sixteenth century opened the brilliant campaign against the “obscurantists” in Germany.

The fascist obscurantists who rule in Germany today, or to be more precise, who wage war upon the German nation, detest all humanist traditions. The hangmen of the Inquisition, the torturers of the Middle Ages who burned men at the stake in the dark age of superstition and savagery, are the ancestors of the German fascists. But the terror of Hitler outdoes in crudity, bestiality and infamy, those bloodhounds of medieval Germany. It outvies the most fanatical geniuses for pogrom under Russian tsarism. It has worked up brutishness into a system which makes the terror of the Inquisition seem tame. Never yet has Germany been so terribly disgraced, and never yet has Europe, or the world, witnessed any slaughter of innocents carried out with such design, deliberation and sangfroid.

The Jewish persecutions have aroused the horror of the German nation. Every German with the least trace of honor in his being abhors the disgrace into which his country has been brought by the systematic extermination of hundreds of thousands of defenseless people, and by the fostering, by every means, of experts

in murder, who envisage in the torture and massacre of the undefended the fulfilment of a patriotic mission. The German fascists can sense the antagonism and resistance of the mass of people to their officially decreed savagery. And therefore they try to present this savagery as a consistent factor in German history, and to delude the Germans into believing that to be a German means to let one's basest instincts take control. The official bulletin of the German labor front, of December 1, describes with absolute relish the persecutions of the Jews which took place in Berlin four hundred years ago, *i.e.*, just at the time when the great German humanists began their struggle against this revolting anti-Semitism. The account opens with a reminder full of promise of what is to follow:

“In the capital of the Reich a few hundred years ago, short work was made of Jewish criminals, in accordance with the Biblical thesis of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.”

Then with a smirk it proceeds to tell how in the year 1510 in Berlin, 37 Jews and one non-Jewish tinker were tortured to death because the Jews were held guilty of “defiling and mangling” a human body stolen by the tinker, and further of “slaughtering Christian children” in order to drain their blood. The tale continues:

“The report of the case states that the executioner took the tinker, placed him *half naked* on a low cart and paraded him at his pleasure *in irons* through the smartest streets of the two towns, Berlin and Cologne, and tore him open with red-hot pincers.”

Finally the condemned men were

bound on a pyre by iron thongs round their necks, which this exhaustive account says was so artfully built that the flames reached one at a time, so that each had to watch the others burn. The author of the article adds:

“Though the horrible cries of the burning Jews must have grated sharply on the nerves of the numerous spectators, despite the fact that people were used to most things in those days, we certainly cannot gainsay the *salutary effect of public execution.*”

In the course of the article, amazed posterity is informed that a Jew in 1571 practiced magic and poisoned his superiors. The account to which the writer refers records:

“A riot broke loose in Berlin. The rabble threw itself upon the big Jewish hotel, stormed and wrecked the synagogue there and looted the Jewish houses.”

The writer adds indignantly that the word “rabble” must “surely be a garbled epithet for a really infuriated section of the people.” Some progress is inevitable: that which four hundred years ago appeared to the chronicler as a rabble has advanced under Hitler to the status of “a really infuriated section of the people.” These “really infuriated sections of the people,” in S.S. and Hitler Youth uniforms, are exhorted not to underrate the “salutary effect” of public execution and torture. Even if the murdering of defenseless fellow beings “grates on the nerves,” one is after all “used to most things” in Germany, and for educational reasons it is advisable to accustom the German people to sights still worse.

Return to the Middle Ages? No. The fascist persecutions of Jews are incomparably more ghastly than the medieval pogroms. The fanatical Inquisitioners and blind illiterates of the Middle Ages did at least genuinely believe that witches and devils existed and the Jews indulged in sorcery and ritual murder, whereas the German fascists do not believe the grisly tales they tell about the Jews. They have *invented* a devil, in order to deflect the masses of the people

from the fight against capitalism, to incite a chauvinistic fever, under cover of anti-Semitism to put in hand a gigantic swindle, to sow seeds of discord among the nations, and to foster that sub-human barbarity which they need for their criminal policy. As they cannot depend on the “really infuriated sections of the people,” knowing as they do that the fury of the overwhelming bulk of the German people is directed not against the Jews, but against fascism, they have “rationalized” the eradication of the Jews, they have made a series of decrees which, put together, far exceed in barbarity the burning at the stake of the Middle Ages. And even these unparalleled decrees are not the limit to which mass murders can attain in the guise of law enactors. The organ of the S.S., *Das Schwarze Korps*, published on November 24, 1938, the monstrous plan of campaign against the Jews. It is here stated:

“Because it is essential, because we no longer listen to the world’s outcry, and because when all’s said no power on earth can stop us, we will proceed to the *final solution* of the Jewish question.”

This “final solution,” in the words of *Das Schwarze Korps*, consists in the *eradication of the Jews “with fire and sword.”* It cannot be expected of any German that he continue to live with a Jew, “as with a race of certified murderers and criminals and of mortal enemies of the German nation, under one roof.” Thus the Jews must be chased from their homes and residential areas, and herded together in a ghetto. They must be publicly labeled (with a yellow stripe or with bells on their clothes) and must be deprived of their possessions and their work. Through complete impoverishment and unemployment, “they will one and all, in pursuance of the most age-old tendencies which run in their blood, *sink into criminality.*” So the openly proclaimed plan is to *compel the Jews to acts of madness by reducing them to poverty, wretchedness and starvation;* and then, in the words of the S.S. paper, “the final solution of the Jewish question” will follow.

"But now let no one think that we can look passively on at this development. The German people has not the slightest desire to put up with a hundred thousand criminals in its territory. . . . In the event of such a development we should be faced with the painful necessity of exterminating the Jewish underworld exactly as we endeavor to exterminate all criminals in our ordered state: *with fire and sword*. The outcome would be the actual and final finish of Jewry in Germany, its complete destruction. . . ."

The German Jews, hundreds of thousands of workers, salaried employees, artists, lawyers, craftsmen and shopkeepers are thus to endure, step by step, the whole torment of progressive suppression, to the point of physical annihilation. The friends of Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier openly glory in the mass murder which they are planning.

In face of this official preparation for mass murder, it is absolutely incredible that the forces of civilization do not get together and by economic and political sanctions put a check on the savages. But instead of this, democrats and Social-Democrats spend time discussing which country shall offer asylum to the German Jews. It is precisely this controversy that the German fascists wish to play up, in this way preventing joint action of the democratic powers and sowing dissension in their ranks. It is precisely this controversy that can prevent the uniting of the democratic powers against fascist savagery and retard the struggle against German fascism. The point is not so much one of securing asylum for the German Jews, as of expelling the accomplices of German fascism from Britain, France and other countries so as to isolate internationally the Hitler terror, to expose the rottenness of the German fascists and *compel* them to capitulate before the conscience of the world.

This question, and not any other, is even more the point because the persecution of the Jews is simply a prelude to more far-reaching persecutions. Already the German fascists are supplementing

the anti-Jewish campaign by a campaign against the Catholics and the members of the Protestant Confessional Church. *Das Schwarze Korps* has openly proclaimed such persecutions. The organ of Himmler, chief of the S.S. and the Gestapo, asserted as early as October 27, 1938, that the clergy "fall outside the community of the people," and added:

"The safety of the nation demands the elimination of these criminals as a state duty. And if they still dare then to raise a cry about *religious persecutions*. . . ."

On November 10, 1938, the same paper fanned the campaign against the Catholic and Protestant clergy, voicing this threat:

"We have nothing further to do with them. They are deserters, and as deserters we must treat them."

With an obstinacy which is significant, the papers of German fascism assert again and again that behind all opposition to the regime are the Jews, and that the professing Christians are the closest allies of the Jews. *Persecution of the Jews is already beginning to switch over into persecution of the Christians*, and just as in the Middle Ages the burning of Jews went hand in hand with that of heretics, so German fascism is preparing to eradicate not the Jews alone, but with them all "heretics" to fascism. *The Jewish persecutions are no more than a part of the relentless civil war which the fascists in power are waging with fire and sword upon the German nation*. The chasm of bloodshed and decay which is opening wide is meant to swallow up not only hundreds of thousands of German Jews, but also hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish Germans. The contagion from this chasm is meant to stamp out European culture and civilization. Decaying capitalism is meant to merge into a state of savagery.

The fight of all nations against the fascist butchers of the Jews is not merely a duty of elementary decency, but also a condition for the self-preservation of the nations from fascism's insatiable savagery.

The Fascist Pogroms Against the Jews

THE ruling classes have resorted to Jewish pogroms in many countries and at all sorts of times "in order to confuse the outlook of the workers and divert their attention from the real enemy of the workers, capital." (*Lenin.*) But never yet has the persecution of the Jews been made the law of the land in so vile and disgusting a way as in fascist Germany. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* already allotted to the "National-Socialist movement" the task of surrendering the Jews to the "general indignation."

Ever since the accession to power of Hitler the fascist state machine, in cooperation with the Nazi organizations, are doing their best to stir up hatred against the Jew to an ever-increasing extent and to represent it falsely as "popular indignation." Soon after their accession to power the fascists began to lay the blame on the Jews for the anti-fascist feeling existing abroad and finding expression among other things in the comments of the foreign press on the Reichstag fire.

On March 29, 1933, the Nazi party issued a manifesto saying that the "Reich leadership of the German emancipation movement" had decided, "as a countermeasure to the criminal campaign of incitement to impose a boycott on all Jewish shops, warehouses, department stores, offices, etc." In order to give the necessary emphasis to this decision the manifesto closed with the words: "Whoever acts in contravention to this appeal proves by so doing that he is siding with the enemies of Germany."

In the course of the Hitler dictatorship a great number of ordinances, instructions and laws have been issued against the Jews living in Germany. Let only the most important ones be called

to mind: the Nuremberg laws and also the recent ordinance issued by Goering on November 12, 1938, which provides for the complete extermination and annihilation of the German Jews.

The German people in its majority did not and does not approve of the anti-Jewish legislation of fascism. Thus in Berlin alone in the course of a single week three hundred persons were arrested "for defending Jews." And together with the German people the whole of the civilized world condemns with one voice the barbarians of the Third Reich who, in the course of their six years of rule, have carried the persecution of the Jews to a degree and an extent unknown in history.

It is a feature of the imperialist policy of German fascism to attempt to import its cannibal anti-Semitism into other countries. The Essener *National-Zeitung*, in its issue of November 19, 1938, declared cynically:

"... although during the first years of existence of the Third Reich the anti-Semites constituted only a small minority in the world, because the 'democratic masses' still took sides with Judah, the Jews did not even succeed in preventing anti-Semitism from spreading to other countries and other nations."

The brown brutes rejoice that fascism by means of its organizations, agents and spies abroad has succeeded in spreading the plague of anti-Semitism to other countries and nations. The German press quoted with what can only be described as sadistic lust the harassing, the persecution, the deportation of Jews in other countries and the anti-Jewish legislation introduced in countries other than Germany.

Thus the Essener *National-Zeitung* of

November 3, 1938, printed this contribution under the heading "Free Corps in Kischvarda":

"At the beginning of October Kischvarda experienced an event which would have constituted an enthusiastically celebrated feast of joy for any truly Hungarian town: the entry of a Hungarian free corps. . . . But when the newcomers were given town leave and wanted to buy cigarettes, food and other comforts, the Jews ostentatiously closed their shops. . . . But they very soon found out that closed shutters and locked doors may, if the need arises, be opened with the bayonet, or the rifle-butt and that men who have had to perform such hard physical labor in doing their shopping would afterwards be none too willing to pay for their purchases. . . ."

But the looting of the Jewish shops and the manhandling of the Jewish shopkeepers were not the only act which was to give the inhabitants of Kischvarda the opportunity of finding out that the free corps "represented principles diametrically opposed to those of their hosts." The paper continues to describe what happened at a political demonstration held in the market place of Kischvarda:

"In grateful acknowledgment of the instructions given them by their leader, the men of the free corps then proceeded to cut off the beards and sidelocks of the Jews in the street, to give shopkeepers who cheated or made themselves otherwise unpopular a corresponding course of training in citizenship and above all to throw all Hebrews out of public places. If such a fellow could give no satisfactory answer to the painful question: 'Are you a Hungarian or a Jew?' the subject was taken to a room for an examination and if the result was a positive one in the sense of the orthodox ritual, he was thrown out on his ear with even greater vehemence than usual."

This is just one story among many. But it gives a drastic picture of the way in which the fascists in Germany regard the anti-Semitic excesses of their "brothers" in Hungary. The cheated are branded as cheaters and those ill-treated

as torturers. Such are the ethics of fascism, which find expression in their every relationship to their fellow men, be they Jews, be they German workers or peasants, be they members of some other race or nation. The robbers masquerade as saviors, the barbarians as supermen, the butchers as angels of peace.

What are the objects of German fascism in extending Jew-baiting to other countries and nations? The German fascists know very well—history offers innumerable instances of this—that persecution of the Jews and Jewish pogroms are useful in diverting attention from other important events within the country, in weakening the striking power of the working population in the struggle against the exploiting class, against reaction, against tyranny, against war and fascism, and in hampering the drive of the people towards unity, the practical solidarity with other nations and the bridging of national antagonisms. Furthermore, Jew-baiting gives an opportunity for the most reactionary and chauvinist forces of a country to gain special prominence. It is these forces that German fascism is trying to rope in and use for its own ends.

The Nazi line of disruption, of setting one people against the other, of developing anti-Semitism is being pursued with special vigor in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Balkan countries. In all these countries one may already find, in addition to fascist agents and spies, nascent or established fascist groups composed of elements derived from various sections of the population. These groups and grouplets are under the leadership of open or camouflaged fascist individuals or institutions. They look after the popularization of the fascist programs and prepare the way for the fascist policy of expansion. At the present moment the persecution of the Jews offers a welcome opportunity to ensure a better reception for fascism in these countries. A few examples may illustrate the "activities" pursued by the fascists in these countries.

In Hungary anti-Jew legislation is being prepared to accelerate emigration. According to a report in the Essener *National-Zeitung* of November 19, 1938, the main points of this legislation now under consideration are: the question of the rights of citizenship and settlement of Jews; the reduction of the number of Jewish landowners and tenant farmers; the encouragement of Jewish emigration.

The Essener *National-Zeitung* of November 22, 1938, reprints a report originally published in the Polish newspaper, *Dziennik Narodowy*, which says among other things:

"Efforts to eliminate the Jews from political, cultural and economic life in Poland must be doubled, tripled, increased a hundredfold. . . . Jews must be deprived of political rights in our state, they must be eliminated from cultural and economic life and finally driven out of Poland altogether."

A report published in the Essener *National-Zeitung* of November 8, 1938, says:

"The anti-Semitic feeling now nascent everywhere in the territory of the Slovak state is finding expression in all kinds of anti-Jewish activities. . . . The number of Jews deported from Bratislava up to the present is estimated at about 4,000 to 5,000. . . . The property of the persons deported has been confiscated as a compensation for the damages done by the Jews to the interests of Slovakia."

In Czechoslovakia signatures are being collected by fascists and reactionary Czech elements for a petition to "eliminate the Jewish element in the Sokol organization." The Essener *National-Zeitung* of November 2, 1938, has this to say about it:

"For Jews who entered the country after 1914 there ought to be no place at all in the whole territory of the state."

From Rumania the German fascist newspapers and the German wireless report from various localities explosions in Jewish synagogues, fires in Jewish shops and even on a Jewish sports ground. Ac-

cording to the Rumanian newspaper *Politica* two hundred persons were at first arrested under the suspicion of having been concerned in these anti-Semitic excesses, but were all subsequently released. Would it really be so difficult to find the culprits?

Nor is it less interesting to demonstrate by a few examples how German fascism is trying to extend Jew-baiting to the democratic countries, to Scandinavia, Britain and France. Arguing that the mere featuring of a discussion on the Jewish question already leads to a diversion of the attention of wide sections of the population from the burning political issues of the day, the fascists do their best to sow discord among the people and even to force the Jews into a sort of tacit acquiescence in the Jew-baiting campaigns. The Essener *National-Zeitung* of November 19, 1938, says about this:

"If the Jews had even a little wisdom, they would understand that all the noise they are making not only does not help them but on the contrary has made their position infinitely worse. They would recognize that the only way to prevent anti-Semitism from making even greater strides than up to the present would be what they are advised to do, *e.g.*, by sensible Frenchmen—*se faire oublier*—(make themselves forgotten). But this they could only do if the Jews who now pass for 'old-established citizens' in Britain, France, Holland, etc., would keep perfectly still and exercise the greatest restraint and if they, instead of leaving it to the governments of their host countries, would themselves see to it that their number does not increase too much in these countries. Thus in practice they would have to recognize that in the long run at all events the 'emigration' of all Jews at least from the whole of Central and Southern Europe can no longer be prevented. . . ."

The same paper, in an editorial on November 27, 1938, asks the question: "Is Sweden Anti-German?" and says:

"In 1830 the righteous indignation of the Swedes was turned against the Jews on one occasion and the people at that

time extensively destroyed the property of the Jews. In Stockholm several Jews were even killed in the open street and the people demanded vigorously that all Jews be deported from Sweden."

Thus the fascist press not only holds up the present revolting outrages of German fascism as an example to other countries, it also digs out an isolated hundred-year-old shameful riot in Sweden in order to divert the disapproval of the Swedish people from the pro-fascist elements in Sweden and concentrate it on the Jews.

As for France, a country described in all documents of German fascism as "negrified and judahized," in their arguments directed against France the fascists now make great play of course with the shooting of the fascist vom Rath. In a review of the book by Céline, *The Jewish Conspiracy in France*, the *Essener National-Zeitung* of November 16, 1938, says that the German translation of this book could not have been published at a better moment "than now, when we again had the opportunity of seeing the criminal Jewish terror to its full extent in the warmongering and in the slander campaign of international Jewry and in the cowardly assassination of vom Rath in Paris."

According to a German broadcast on November 15, 1938, Flandin is alleged to have said in an after-dinner speech:

"The racial problem is one of the most burning issues of the French future. France will remain a first-class power only if she can raise her birthrate to exceed her death-rate. But the colonization and bastardization of France by undesirable aliens must cease."

All these examples of Jew-baiting in Germany and other European countries show only too clearly what the intentions of the fascists are. They want to dominate Europe. They also confirm fully what Comrade Stalin said on January 12, 1931, in answer to a question of a Jewish press agency in America:

"National and racial chauvinism are remnants of the inhuman customs which are the characteristics of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism as an extreme form of racial chauvinism is the most dangerous residue of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is useful to the exploiters as a lightning conductor which protects capitalism from the blows of the workers. Anti-Semitism is dangerous for the workers; it is a false path which leads away from the right road into the jungle. Therefore the Communists, as consistent internationalists, cannot but be inexorable sworn enemies of anti-Semitism."

The Jew-baiting which German fascism seeks to spread to other countries is in the last resort directed not only against the Jews but against the peoples and nations themselves. One need only remember the Jew-baiting and Communist-baiting in which the German fascists indulged in their campaign against Czechoslovakia before the dismemberment and which they are still carrying on. Not only the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia suffered from it but the whole working population of Czechoslovakia.

Already German fascism, which needs Rumania as jumping-off ground in the East, has launched a furious campaign against Rumania. The fascist press is openly threatening "inevitable consequences" and certain newspapers even go so far as to predict "civil war" in Rumania. In order to prepare this "civil war" German fascism resorts to bomb outrages and fires in synagogues and Jewish enterprises in order to stimulate "popular indignation" against the Jews. Having dismembered Czechoslovakia the German fascists now want to accelerate the penetration of the Danubian and Balkan countries and, in the first place, Rumania.

The persecution of the Jews which fascism is attempting to extend to other countries is directed not only against the Jews but against foreign nations and states in general. It is the first step towards making further countries ripe for an attack.

“And They Will No Longer Be Free”

IN THE speech delivered by Hitler on December 2 to the Sudeten Germans at Reichenberg, an open declaration was made of German fascism's intention to “rear” the German youth for lifelong slavery. While Hitler surveyed the “achievements” of German fascism since 1933, he had at the same time to admit that boundless difficulties stand in the way of adapting the German nation to the so-called “people's community” (*Volksgemeinschaft*). He who had always boasted that he would eradicate Marxism had freely to admit that he had been unable to accomplish that aim.

“It is extremely difficult to *instill* into a class-conscious proletarian that the whole of his previous outlook is wrong.” These were Hitler's words at Reichenberg. Fascism, it may be, can “instill” into a class-conscious proletarian how he must click his heels together in the army; but one cannot “instill” into a class-conscious proletarian the idea that his outlook on life, which is based upon the studies of Marx and Engels, is “outmoded,” or that it is not destined to win through.

Over one-sixth of the earth's surface the outlook on life of the class-conscious proletariat is supreme. That is known not to the class-conscious proletarian alone, but to everyone else too. In the land of socialism the theory of the class-conscious proletariat—Marxism-Leninism—has been put into effect. The sincere proletarian who, as Hitler rightly remarks, “is swelled with the pride of his class-consciousness,” is today as convinced as he was before German fascism had seized power, “that one day state power will come to him through the dictatorship of the proletariat.” When Hitler spoke of his efforts to put into

effect his so-called “practical socialism” in Germany, he had to make an even more damaging admission, for he said: “To be sure, there are people even today who say: I remain a Communist, and I remain a class-conscious proletarian.” Yes, there are such people, and their number is infinitely greater than a mere 1.2 or 1.1 per cent of the German electorate!

Terror with extreme brutality, measures of compulsion and repression, spying, concentration camps and executions have none of them availed to cow the class-conscious proletarian of Germany. The whole machinery of education, drilling, deprivation of all freedom of press and assembly and the brute-force organizations of fascism are powerless to rob the sincere, class-conscious proletarians of their outlook on life, or to make of them dupes of fascist slogans. German fascism knows this well enough. And therefore Hitler says, resignedly: “Let them remain as they are. . . . There is yet another factor—the child.”

The children, the youth of the German nation—of these fascism want to make slaves not simply economically and politically, but spiritually. It speculates that today's younger generation in Germany is one which knows nothing about the openly-waged class struggle of the proletariat, and it is at pains to keep the doctrine of Marx and of Lenin out of the reach of the German youth. As Hitler clearly stated in his Reichenberg speech—“and a generation is growing up, which is reared by us. We weed out these ideas from it even in childhood, that is, we never let them so much as enter.” And then Hitler described how education of the youth in Germany proceeds. Even the children are forced into

the organizations of fascism. Besides the school, which no longer enlightens, but stupefies the young German, there are the organizations of the "Pimpfe," of the Young People, the Hitler Youth, the S.A. and S.S. And in all these organizations the children of the German people are to be reared into "total National-Socialists."

When they leave these children's organizations and school behind them, "they spend seven months in the Labor Service, where they are all drilled with the one symbol, the German spade." That is the point of the Labor Service—to drill with the German spade. The uniforms are already on, the martial music is playing, and the dealing of blows is something that can be practiced with a German spade as well. Moreover, after the Labor Service the young boys enter the Defense Corps. Thus, whatever the very well-trained young man may yet lack in order to become a "total National-Socialist," he will acquire in the army. "And when they have left the service period behind, then we take them, so that they may not *relapse*, into the S.A. and S.S., and they will never again be free their whole life long. . . ."

That is the way fascism has treated the German youth. This point-blank admission of Hitler's at Reichenberg, and also certain other passages in the same speech, were not published in the Nazi press. But those attending the Congress at Reichenberg and all who followed this "address of the leader" on the radio heard it: German youth is never again to be free its whole life long. So fascism wills it, and thus Hitler lays it down. Only thus can fascism hope to "instill" its ideology, which is false, contradictory and refutable at every point, into a part of the German youth.

But even these methods of coaching will not enable German fascism to banish the ideas of Marx and Lenin from Germany. Large sections of the German youth, and particularly the young working people, feel the class distinction between capital and labor, even though they have never yet read the works of

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. One can prohibit a people from publishing its thoughts in the press and in assembly, but one cannot prohibit it from thinking. And every thinking man in Germany, including the youth, knows that when, instead of eighty million tons of coal, one hundred and eighty million tons are produced, the one hundred million tons over-produced do not spread out in the form of "heat to the whole German nation," but that the honorable mine owners are making greater profits at the cost of greater exploitation of the miners, while the mass of the people is no longer able to burn enough coal to make its rooms comfortably warm. The German people reaps little benefit from the raising of the production quota, but it could well satisfy its most urgent living requirements, at least in part, with higher wages. The German people also knows that the millions of Germans who were unable to pass last summer and autumn with their families, but had to spend months on end in the barracks and on the army drill grounds, were by no means ready for "the last supreme sacrifice," but yielded to a compulsion which they had no means of escaping.

The great bulk of young people in Germany realize that the Labor Service is not a form of recreation nor a reasonable or useful occupation, but that in it the youth—as Hitler quite correctly stated—is "drilled" with a view to being dissuaded from independent thinking and saturated with the poison of National-Socialism. A great number of young people, and first and foremost the working class youth, feel that the realization of a so-called "people's community" in capitalist Germany is impossible, because fascism is not in a position even to ameliorate class distinctions. Every dispute between capital and labor becomes more glaring than ever under fascism. One can speak no more of the rights of the German workers and of the German nation. They have no rights left, only duties, duties which the fascists impose on the German nation at the pleasure of the armament kings.

This is why fascism will not succeed in eradicating the old revolutionary traditions of the German nation, just as little as it has succeeded in changing the convictions of the class-conscious proletarians. Within the German people and the young Germans the love of freedom still lives. And even if fascism has managed by its hypocritical policy, its deceitful hero-worship, its uniforms, military music and war-play, to draw sections of the German youth under its influence, the fact remains that the most valuable

section of the German youth is antagonized and repelled by the injustice, inhumanity and bondage of which German fascism has built up its system. This section of young Germans is looking for the path to freedom. The class-conscious proletarians will see to it that the young learn the story of the revolutionary struggle of the German workers, and they will see to it that the traditions of the revolutionary proletariat are upheld by the youth. No, German youth will not be chained its whole life long!

“The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of the international organization of the workers in order to prepare for their revolutionary onslaught on capital.

“The Second International (1889-1914) was the international organization of the proletarian movement which grew in *breadth*, and this entailed a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary increase in the strength of opportunism, which, in the end, led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

“The Third International was actually created in 1918, when the long process of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, particularly during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. . . . And the most characteristic feature of this International is its mission to carry out, to put into practice, the behests of Marxism, and to achieve the century-old ideals of socialism and the working class movement. . . .”—V. I. Lenin, “The Communist International,” *Selected Works*, Vol. X.

Peter Forster

ON MAY 14, 1938, Peter Forster, imprisoned in the concentration camp of Buchenwald, Thuringia, made up his mind to escape; however risky, it was better to make the attempt than to wait for certain death inside the camp. Before reaching this decision, Forster had seen in the first few months of 1938 the death of 145 of his fellow prisoners. In the space of a few months, in only one out of many concentration camps in Germany, 145 human beings had been beaten up, shot, brutally driven to "suicide." Among them was Dr. Hans Litten, a lawyer, member of no political party, whom years of agony and torture at the hands of the Nazis since the night of the Reichstag fire had made a cripple.

Peter Forster was a young worker. On March 17, two months before he attempted to make his escape, he had just turned twenty-seven. From his earliest boyhood he had been one with his class in its joys and sufferings. Its fight was his fight, the whole meaning of his young life. He wanted to live, and he wanted to fight. He knew what fighting under fascist dictatorship meant.

When fascism endeavored to crush the German working class by means of the Reichstag fire terror, mass imprisonments and mass murder, Peter Forster was among those picked troops of the working class who do not lose their heads in difficult situations, but keep a clear brain and are able to translate the will to resist into action. Peter Forster was a young comrade who had just left the Socialist youth movement; he had been made treasurer of the local branch of the Social-Democratic Party in his native town of Amberg, in Bavaria, where he carried on the work with all the fresh enthusiasm of youth. In face of the fascist terror he felt that a double re-

sponsibility rested on him to carry out his tasks and duties.

In August, 1933, he was arrested by the Gestapo and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for distributing anti-fascist literature. After his sentence had expired, Peter Forster returned to Amberg and got a job as a building worker. After some time he was again arrested by the fascists. The "reason" given for this second arrest was that he was an irreconcilable enemy of National-Socialism. That statement was in itself his sentence: it meant that he was included in that body of hostages which fascism seizes in order to bring pressure to bear on the anti-fascist opposition by the threat of their death. This was the beginning of new suffering for Peter Forster. In Lichtenburg and later in Buchenwald he was driven and drilled, and continually there was the prospect before him of being tortured to death like his comrades by the Nazi murderers.

Peter Forster and his fellow-prisoners experienced on their own persons the intensification of the Nazi war preparations. They were misused for experiments with substitutes and methods of chemical warfare. Among these men, who in the case of war were to be the first to fall on the "home front" (as Himmler, head of the Gestapo, calls it), the speed-up of war preparations caused the first fatal war casualties even before the outbreak of war.

Forster wanted to escape from this hell. He and his fellow-prisoner Bagatzky succeeded in getting out of the camp, but were discovered by one of the notorious "Death's Head" troopers. In self-defense they struck him down and continued their flight. Hounded like animals, they decided to separate in order to increase their chances. For more than two

weeks Forster roamed hungry through woods and fields, until he at last succeeded in crossing the Czechoslovakian frontier. Here he hoped to find protection and safety. Here he learned of the fate of Bagatzky, who had been caught, tortured and executed.

But now in the Czechoslovakian republic, founded by men of whom some had themselves been emigrants, Peter Forster had to endure for months the torment of suspense. He was kept under arrest. More than once the authorities were inclined to reject the Nazis' demand for Forster's extradition and to release him. But in the end they always listened to those "honorable gentlemen" for whom the life of a fighter for freedom was only valuable as a counter to bargain with. Peter Forster was made one of the victims of Munich. The Social-Democratic coalition government of the Czechoslovakian republic had refused him his freedom. The government of what was left of Czechoslovakia after Munich handed him over to his executioners.

Peter Forster, the German anti-fascist, the courageous defender of freedom, the Socialist, the tireless fighter against Hitler's rule, was put across the German frontier by the Czech authorities. The same day a fascist court condemned him to death. Within a few hours sentence had been carried out.

Peter Forster's death is a severe blow to the German working class; it hits Communists, Socialists and all anti-fascists equally hard. For Peter Forster was one of those who devote their strength and their lives to uniting the working class for the task of delivering Germany from fascism.

For the international working class Peter Forster's fate is a cruel and bitter lesson, which they must not forget. The stroke of the axe that ended Forster's life struck also at them. They should feel not only pain, but shame. Peter Forster had already left German soil, but the hand of the fascist hangman pulled him back, because the clenched fist of the international working class struck no blow in defense of his life. Peter Forster was one of many who have been and are being sent back over the German frontier. Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Switzerland have handed back many a German anti-fascist, many an Austrian refugee to the power and vengeance of German fascism.

Peter Forster's fate should touch the conscience of every decent man and woman. It must rouse them to demand that the most elementary principle of humanity shall at last become law: whoever seeks refuge in another country from persecution by the inhuman rule of German fascism must be assured of the support and help of all decent people. Above everything else, all working class organizations must take serious warning from the case of Comrade Peter Forster. They must do everything in their power to prevent the gangster law of German fascism from acquiring international validity through a tacit accordance of "legality" to the arbitrary and illegal extradition demands of the fascist authorities. Workers' organizations owe it to the anti-fascists in Germany and Austria to fulfill these simple duties of proletarian solidarity. They owe it to themselves and to the security of their own countries.

“Neutrality, Or . . . !”

COMIC papers used to be fond of depicting highwaymen who menaced their victims with revolvers and demanded “Your money or your life!”

The highwaymen of olden days were gentlemen compared with the “spiritual S.A. leaders” of today, polished up as these are to represent sages determining the rights of nations. Yet in one respect their objects are identical: *something* must in every event be handed over by the victim to his assailant. Either his money or his life. Either he pays by *Gleichschaltung* which German fascism quaintly describes as “neutrality,” or he is point-blank branded as an enemy. So that in each case he has something to lose.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* describes this process as “the harmonizing of Europe.” He who is attacked or menaced has not merely to pay up, but has to strike a friendly attitude as he does so, and has to live in “harmony” with him who does the squeezing. The “harmony” is essential, because this is not a single hold-up but a “softening” of the victim for continuous plundering.

The Scandinavian states, particularly Sweden and Denmark, are now subject to the “harmonizing” efforts of German fascism. In its feverish haste to dominate the Baltic, German fascism is striving for more speedy results. Goebbels’ press is publishing alluring accounts and whole pages of pictures of the Swedish mining districts in order to prepare the ground inside Germany for a more intensive campaign for the subjugation of Sweden. The German news reader, whose “patriotism” hitherto has been fired chiefly with the aid of stories of the “troubles of his German brothers” abroad, will now be keyed up and acquire an appetite for Swedish ores. Every day

the German news reader and the listener to Goebbels’ radio has a titbit from Sweden put before him: the journalists have to extort reports from their fingertips, which speak of a rich growth of anti-Semitism; they put on record the publication in Swedish papers of news items which are sent out by Goebbels’ head office; they give careful notice to every activity of the fascists in Sweden, who have started to use misleading titles like “Socialist Gathering” and “Swedish Socialists.” In short, they are at pains to produce in the German public the impression that it will actually soon be necessary for the policemen of Europe to defend justice even in Sweden, so as to maintain order.

In Berlin, where there is deep concern to determine what other nations “lack” in order to become ripe for subjugation, they have discovered that the Scandinavian brain is unhappily incapable of distinguishing between “true and false humanism” (*National-Zeitung*, November 27, 1938).

Let us reflect a moment. Did we not hear quite recently, before the dictate of Munich, that the Czechs failed to appreciate wherein lay their true national mission?

Do we not likewise recollect that the Spaniards had to be protected from the danger that they might become untrue to their “nature”?

Have we not still ringing in our ears Berlin’s admonition to the states of Southeastern Europe that these states should forbear to court any too far-reaching tendency towards independence, because they would fare far better if they conducted themselves within the “German economic orbit”?

Was not a cancelled football match between Germany and Holland a few

weeks ago made the occasion for German propaganda, with finger upraised in reproof, to indicate to the Dutch that they should ponder the fact that their sympathy for the Jews and Catholics being insulted and persecuted in Germany might have "devastating consequences" for their trade with Germany?

And so here we are in the midst of the "shortcomings" which the spokesmen of this German race of supermen observe in the neighboring states of the remainder of Europe, and from the observation of which they deduce on their own behalf the right to "harmonize" Europe, that it may hum in concert pleasing to Berlin.

The reasoning applied to Sweden and Denmark by the German fascist schoolmasters goes like this: the Scandinavians cannot distinguish between "true and false humanism"; for that reason they are exposed to the "danger" of being enlisted against Germany by "irresponsible elements"; and therefore only the control of the press and of public opinion can be of any use. And since money is always ready to hand for fascist propaganda abroad, even though goods imported from abroad are not paid for, Goebbels can start National-Socialist daily papers through his dummies in Denmark.

In the name of "neutrality" and of "clean politics"(!), the German press-pistol, pointed at the heart of the Scandinavians, demands that the trade in "emigrants' papers" and "emigrants' books" shall be stopped, and that the Scandinavian papers shall refrain from publishing "letters from Germany" or "other articles." Nay more: Even "cultural lectures and functions," "dramatic productions, concerts, yes, and even song festivals" are, it appears, to the German fascist censor incompatible with "neutrality," as he envisages it. (See *National-Zeitung*.)

So it comes to this, that the alternative "neutrality or enmity" means neither more nor less than that those thus addressed must unconditionally manage and control everything so as not to disturb the "harmony" directed from Berlin. It will not help for zealous statesmen to

rush to guarantee their "neutrality." German fascism requires quite a special "neutrality"; the unconditional subservience of "neutralized" vassals.

"Jewish and Marxist-governed democracies" have "so far never been neutral," declares the "spiritual S.A. leader" Bockhoff in the *Berliner Boersenzeitung*, referring to all states and nations which are powerful enough to want to rule themselves and decide their own internal affairs. Their "independence" from all international ties, *i.e.*, their release from all treaty ties and obligations, their complete isolation, is for the German fascists an "essential, unalterable object." And these German protagonists of "total neutrality" for the remaining states have newly let fall their last disguise; they proclaim their "right" openly to take the part of the "sincere patriots," that is to say, of the reactionaries and fascists dependent on Berlin, in the internal, ultra-private affairs of the "neutral" states.

From which it follows that those who concur in the "neutrality" demands of German fascism not only gain nothing, but by such a step deliver themselves up. Sweden recently experienced an attempt by German firms to introduce the German rule of race into Sweden (according to the principle: We will buy your goods, pay for them at best with worthless compensation marks, but will supply you first of all with anti-Semitism and Gestapo!). Denmark was reprimanded as "selfish" in mid-December, 1938, by Goering's *National-Zeitung*, because someone in Denmark reasonably suggested that she should procure a declaration from the other Scandinavian countries, guaranteeing her frontier with Germany. That was a purely German-Danish affair, thundered Goering's organ. Well, now the Danes can wait until further demands are directed at them.

Unconditional subjection to the "policy of neutrality" demanded by German fascism, or open enmity—that is the alternative with which German fascism faces its neighbors. "Neutrality" towards the fascist tyrants means to forswear

one's national independence, means to capitulate before the menace of foreign rule. The Scandinavian countries can only avert this danger by determined and united resistance. The struggle against fascist influences, against the spies and accomplices of German fascism, against

every policy of capitulation, the close collaboration of the Scandinavian states, the support of all the democratic forces in Europe and not least of the Soviet Union—herein lies the stronghold of that independence which is menaced by Hitler's Germany.

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“Toward the Baltic”

IN LITHUANIA the German fascists are now behaving as they did in the Sudeten territory shortly before the annexation. On December 4, 1938, appeared for the first time their newspaper *Memeler Dampfboot*, together with a supplement which contained extracts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and “basic achievements of National-Socialist world philosophy.” Similar contributions are to be published regularly. Alfred Rosenberg, the Baltic spy, is now directly trying to reconcile Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia with the ideology of German fascism. Neumann, its representative in Memel, is openly pushing forward preparations to separate the Memel territory from Lithuania.

Formerly many an insular citizen of Western Europe deluded himself with the comforting thought that the drive of German imperialism “towards the East” (*Drang nach Osten*) was of no danger to Western Europe and that it therefore was actually a welcome diversion of Germany's efforts to expand. This “argument” played an essential part in the reasons given by Chamberlain and Daladier in their countries for their policy of capitulation and pacts with the Hitler regime.

Now, however, the entire fallaciousness and hollowness of this construction are coming to light. The steps taken by Germany in the East are occurring simultaneously with Italy's advance against France together with new efforts made by the united forces of German and Italian fascism towards the subjugation of Spain. It is now shown that German imperialism's policy in the East is merely a component part of that policy whose aim is described as a “New Order in Europe.” German imperialism does not think of allowing itself to be

just “shoved” towards Eastern Europe. Rather does it consider mastery over the Southeast European countries to be first and foremost a stepping stone or basis on which German imperialism, by virtue of its growth in might and territory in Southeast Europe, can finally and completely crowd France out of the European sphere of influence.

It concerns not only Memel but considerably more. Memel is only the starting point, the present focal point of German fascism's offensive against the three neighboring Baltic states.

German fascism demands “positive neutrality” from the three Baltic states. Understood in this is their dependence and subordination to German patronage. Goering's *National-Zeitung* leaves no room for doubt concerning the attitude that Berlin demands from the three states, namely, that German fascism will not be satisfied by a mere declaration on the part of the three states to the effect that they are totally opposed to the U.S.S.R. It demands also that they isolate themselves entirely from Poland and give up all ideas of collaboration with Poland. Accordingly, for better or for worse, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia are to be made directly dependent upon Berlin. The demand for the “positive neutrality” of the three states towards Germany is therefore the first step, to be followed by complete dependence and subordination under German fascism. In this case “positive neutrality” signifies moreover granting to German fascism a free hand to carry out its agitation in the three states.

The rapid tempo at which Rosenberg's people are working in Lithuania may serve to illustrate the extent of the fascist work of disintegration, pushed forward at great expense and by the appli-

cation of numerous "specialists," if fascism once succeeded in obtaining a free right of way.

On December 8, 1938, Neumann, who is Rosenberg's deputy in Memel, declared: "Even if according to the letter, we are Lithuanian citizens, inwardly we have no further connection with Lithuania. Memel territory is German by culture." In its leading article of December 10, 1938, the Essen *National-Zeitung* openly threatened Lithuania's regime with "the fate of Schuschnigg and Benes."

On December 11, the same paper wrote that no great insight was needed, "after the experiences of 1938, to entertain the least doubt as to whether it were still possible in Memel to come to an agreement between the two nationalities even with the best of goodwill on the part of all concerned."

On December 13, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, referring to the change in the international constellation, declared that the "political construction and constitution" of Memel had lasted long enough "to prove its absurdity." On December 13, the *National-Zeitung* reported joyfully that the "Memel Directorate" (the board of management inspired from Berlin), through a regulation pertaining to internal state service, had ordered "that the Lithuanian state police should be regarded as civilians and correspondingly treated." This summary of a few days suffices to show that there is no lack of provocative threats or direct interference aiming mutually at the outbreak of open conflict.

The agitation of German fascism claims that in Memel it is a question of "liberating German compatriots." But even official German literature estimates that only 50.9 per cent of the inhabitants in Memel territory speak the German language. Because in this case the recently beloved "ethnographical" principle threatens to be inadequate, German fascism appeals on a claim that the Baltic countries are in the main "German territory by culture." In this connection Germany's "claims to justice" go back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to

the raids of pillaging and robbery undertaken by German knighthood. In German literature it is stated pointblank that the Baltic countries have never been colonized or cultivated by Germans. The new claims to domination on the part of German imperialism are simply based on a supposition that the peoples of the three states are "incapable of cultural development," and that they need German tutelage for further progress.

On these grounds German fascism especially likes to meddle in the affairs of other countries. For example, on December 2, 1938, the semi-official *Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz*, in justifying German intervention in Spain, explained that on the Iberian peninsula the German government "was striving to eliminate foreign influences that are essentially repugnant to the character of the Spanish people." Just as the regime in Berlin defines those who may be admitted in the world as "German," the Hitler regime presumes to investigate what the "character" of a nation consists of, and to dictate to this nation how it must live and develop.

If, however, the mantle of "German National" and "culture bearing" phrases, under cover of which they come forward as "bearers of a European mission," is torn from the Rosenberg knights of the Swastika, then is revealed the brutal footpad, the highway robber.

In 1915 the extreme "politicians of conquest" in Germany wrote and circulated under the name "Professorial Petition" (because it was signed by 325 university professors among others) a memorandum concerning the war aims of German imperialism. This memorandum has become well known. It refers in the following manner to the Baltic states:

"Furthermore we do not hesitate to point emphatically to the old land of the Russian Baltic provinces, cultivated for seven hundred years by Germans. Its fertile and thinly-populated territory offers a rich future for colonization, and its population of Lithuanians, Latvians and Esthonians can become the assured

nucleus of migratory workers that we so urgently need."

Germany's present fascist regime stands firmly by these aims at annexation. Rosenberg has merely to prove that the methods used by the agents of Germany in those days were too faint-hearted. The peoples of the Baltic states are themselves sufficiently acquainted with the moral code of the Baltic barons and German "knights" to appreciate that under the domination of German fascism they would actually be nothing but hounded and underpaid serfs, "migratory

workers," driven from one Junker to another, from one job of roadmaking to the next.

German fascism is thus striving to undermine and dominate the Baltic states, to enslave its inhabitants, to erect strategic bases and sortie out-posts. Moreover, because it believes and hopes that the Western European nations will be too short-sighted to recognize that they themselves are involved and endangered by the swastika legions, the fascist press authoritatively says: "The affairs of Eastern Europe are in good hands!"

"The foundation of the Third International in Moscow on March 2, 1919, was a record not only of what the Russians have won, but also of what the Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians, the Finns, the Swiss—in a word, the international proletarian masses have won.

"And precisely because of this the foundation of the Third Communist International is a firm affair."—V. I. Lenin, *The Foundation of the Communist International*.

German Fascism Undermining Switzerland

HERR VON BIBRA was until 1935 councilor of the German embassy in Prague. Such, at least, was his official title; unofficially he was Hitler's specially appointed agent for the task of "bringing the Sudeten Germans back home to the Reich." In this capacity, he had nominated Henlein as the Fuehrer of the Sudeten Germans, and it was in this capacity also that his ears were soundly boxed, in 1934, upon the streets of Prague by a Czech woman. Finally, Herr von Bibra was constrained to quit Prague, as the leading part he played in the organization of treasonable activities could no longer be concealed.

Herr von Bibra moved straight from Prague to Berne. But there has since been no change in his activities. He is now first councilor of the German embassy in Berne, and the only change made in his specially appointed, unofficial duties is the substitution of the term "Swiss Germans" for "Sudeten Germans." One might have hoped that the Swiss government would manifest more vigilance than the capitulatory government of Hodza, and would keep strict tabs on the councilor of the German embassy. However, the fate of the Czechoslovakian republic appears not to have made any impression upon the Swiss government, and Herr von Bibra, officially and openly, and with the government's express sanction, is "Fuehrer of the German National-Socialists in Switzerland" as well as embassy councilor. Thus the range of the "unofficial" appears substantially to have shrunk, and conditions for Herr von Bibra's sinister activities appear to be even more favorable than in Prague.

The activities of the "Fuehrer of the German National-Socialists in Switzerland" are extraordinarily varied. By means of coercion and blackmail Ger-

mans and Austrians living in Switzerland are to be forced into serving the fascist plans of aggression. So much is generally known, and is almost official, so to speak. At any rate, any attempt to stem these activities would be looked upon as a violation of Swiss neutrality, not only by Herr von Bibra and his employer, Hitler, but also by the Swiss government. As for that branch of Herr von Bibra's activities which is concerned with Swiss citizens, organizations and newspapers—this is considered as the "unofficial" aspect of his mission.

Under pressure of public opinion—and also after certain cantons, particularly that of St. Gall, had started to proceed on their own account against the Swiss Nazi agents—the homes were searched throughout Switzerland of well-known members of Swiss Nazi organizations, and even some arrests were made. The public gathered from these proceedings only that sufficient damaging evidence was discovered to prove the close connection of these organizations with "foreign centers." Beyond this, the Swiss authorities were silent.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of further information filtered through. For example, not long ago *Die Nation*, the organ of the "Richtlinien" movement, published a report from its Lucerne correspondent stating that instructions, emanating from the German authorities, had been found on German engineers employed in certain Swiss factories in which these engineers were ordered, in the event of an outbreak of war, not to return to Germany. Their task was to remain in Lucerne and, in the event of German air attacks, to indicate the most important industrial centers of the town.

The Lucerne correspondent then continued:

"It is said here in Lucerne that the result of the investigations is particularly damaging, because the authorities do not dare to deport all these spies as there are too many of them. Diplomatic conflicts are feared, and therefore other means of getting rid of them are being sought."

This dispatch from Lucerne represents only part of the truth. The German government would certainly not rest content with giving its subordinates in Switzerland instructions only in the eventuality of an outbreak of war. Wrecking work, sabotage and espionage, even during this period of so-called peace, are going on at full speed; and practically not a single step in this direction is taken without the most specific instructions from Berlin. It is not for nothing that Herr von Bibra is "Fuehrer of German National-Socialists in Switzerland."

The government remains silent, but at the same time is planning a diversion—an offensive against the Communists.

Indignation at the criminal activities of German fascists in Switzerland is growing day by day, and can no longer be allayed by fine words regarding neutrality and neighborly relations with the fascist predatory states. Therefore the government—with the support of the fascist and semi-fascist press—is seeking to divert this indignation by directing it against the Communists. An unsavory campaign of misrepresentation is to be the pretext for the passing of anti-Communist legislation, as no grounds whatever can be found in the sincerely democratic and anti-fascist Communist Party itself. Such methods, of course, are not new—they are the old and tried methods of repression.

The fascist peril, the danger of "co-ordination," of the partition of Switzerland among the fascist aggressors, has become a very present one, particularly since Munich; and the Swiss people realizes this and has sounded the alarm. It has recently been shown that neither German nor Italian fascism can boast of any support in Switzerland to talk about—yet the process of fascization is making

definite progress! This is only possible because the forces of democratic resistance are profoundly divided and without a leader.

If any proof be needed of the above statement, the referendum of November 27, 1938, on the Finance Bill, provides it. The situation was as follows: Ever since 1933, the existence of an emergency clause—which has here fulfilled the same function as Bruening's emergency decrees did in Germany—has enabled the sponsors of all financial bills to prevent them from being the subject of a referendum, as is provided in the constitution, in order to avoid their certain rejection by the people.

All working class organizations, the Swiss trade unions, the Communist Party of Switzerland, and the Social-Democratic Party, are carrying on a campaign against the policy of the emergency clause. In the course of this struggle the "Richtlinien" movement was born, to which adhere all the trade unions, the Social-Democratic Party, the Young Peasants, some cantonal democratic parties, and other groups, including the Young Catholic group, "Entscheidung."

All the above organizations, parties and groups unitedly demand the termination of the emergency clause policy, adequate funds for the provision of employment, the operation of the old age pensions provisions, and the strengthening of national defense through increased taxation of capital.

The Finance Bill which was submitted to the referendum last November provided neither for increased taxation of capital, nor for the adequate provision of funds for employment, nor for putting into operation of old age pensions. Most of the revenue originally destined for these purposes was now to be allocated to national defense. The new Finance Bill also asked for a prolongation by another three years of the validity of all previous financial provisions—which were introduced by means of the emergency clause and are strongly opposed by the "Richtlinien" movement. Yet the trade unions and Social-Democratic Party

asked the voters to vote "Yes"! This is the consequence, on the one hand, of certain paltry and vague concessions by the government, and, on the other, of the deliberately disruptive policy of the notorious Ilg, secretary of the metal workers' union.

This is that same Ilg who concluded an agreement with the employers in the metal industry by which the workers renounce the right to strike. The same Ilg who wrote in his paper, the *Metallarbeiterzeitung* (the *Metal Workers' Journal*) that one should learn "folk community" from the German fascists, and who held up the Nazi *Kraft durch Freude* (*Strength through joy*) organization as an example both for Swiss employers and workers.

Thus it transpired that partners in the "Richtlinien" movement were in opposition to each other in the struggle for and against the Finance Bill. The Young Peasants, the federal Democrats under the leadership of Dr. Gadients (the strongest party in the canton of Grisons), and also the Social-Democrats and trade unions of Geneva, voted "No" as against the "Yes" of the Swiss Social-Democracy and trade unions. Thus there arose a sharp antagonism here, where really no antagonism should exist; for the Swiss Social-Democratic Party also supports demands for taxation of capital, for the modification of the wage reductions ordered by emergency clause, for the provision of work and for old age pensions. Instead of a united struggle for these demands, there arose in part a bitter struggle among themselves. The policy of division triumphed, and German fascism—or, as Ilg prefers to term it, German "folk community"—may boast of yet another success.

Thus the democratic forces in Switzerland present a picture of profound division which makes it comparatively easy for German fascism to push Switzerland further along the path to her own downfall. Nevertheless, at the same time the desire and determination to resist are also growing. Undoubtedly the Swiss people is prepared to defend with arms its

country and its freedom, even against superior forces. This applies as much to the German-speaking Swiss as to the French-speaking, to the Italian-speaking as to those speaking Romansch. The insolent instructions which German fascism issues to the Swiss, the orders from Berlin that Switzerland, in the name of "neutrality," must suppress expression of opinion and limit democratic rights, have opened the eyes of numerous Swiss citizens to the real intentions of Hitler Germany.

The immediate danger is not that of military aggression. Like Italy, Germany has every reason to fear a war that might be transformed overnight into a world war which would bring in its train the inevitable defeat of the fascist powers. No, the greatest immediate danger for Switzerland lies in surrender to fascism. The peril lies in the undermining and disintegration of those factors which are most essential to the successful defense of Swiss democracy. There is, of course, still time to arrest this perilous process. The will to anti-fascist unity is strong and increases from day to day. What is lacking is its concentration and organization. Democratic anti-fascist unity naturally cannot be achieved on the basis of inter-party cooperation all the way from Musy via Motta to Ilg, but only in a struggle against these agents of fascism.

And it is upon these agents and allies that German fascism principally relies. The *Berliner Boersenzeitung* has candidly stated that Germany believes that a decline in Swiss democracy, and the renunciation of Marxism by the Swiss working class movement, with a turning towards National-Socialism, is imminent. In other words, German fascism looks upon people like Motta in the middle class and Ilg in the working class as the executors of its intentions.

There exist, in all sections of the population of Switzerland, and in all parties, tendencies and forces which are in favor of a determined struggle against the attempt to fascize the country. At the same time, however, there also exist, in almost

all organizations and parties, protagonists of capitulation, the masked or open agents of fascism, who have so far been able to paralyze the anti-fascist forces, to intensify existing antagonisms, to provoke new divisions, and to hinder all attempts at unity.

This applies particularly to the organizations of the Swiss working class. The Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions—which, in view of their numerical strength and social composition, were pre-eminently qualified to take the lead in the process of rallying almost the entire Swiss population against fascism—are almost completely paralyzed, as a result of internal antagonisms and the ruling tendency within them towards surrender and division.

The amazing and depressing spectacle may now be witnessed in Switzerland of peasant, democratic and Catholic bodies carrying on a struggle against fascism which is clearer and more consistent than that of the great organizations of the Swiss working class.

This deplorable weakness cannot be overcome by patching up irreconcilable antagonisms. It can be overcome only by means of a merciless struggle against the capitulators, against the agents of fascism in the ranks of the Swiss organ-

ized working class. It will not be by the Social-Democratic Party surrendering to Ilg and his allies, but by the forced surrender of this same Ilg and his friends to the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions, to the mass of their members and functionaries, that the way will be made clear for the defense of Swiss independence and democracy against fascism.

The unification of all anti-fascist forces within the great organizations of the working class, the cleansing of these organizations of hostile agents, a pitiless struggle against the capitulators and against every attempt to cripple the anti-fascist forces—such is the task upon whose fulfilment will depend whether Switzerland is or is not to become the prey of the fascist bandits. It is only in a struggle for these ends, and in a struggle against a government which, under cover of an alleged neutrality, has written complete surrender into its program, that democratic Switzerland can be successfully defended. In an alliance with Motta, in an alliance with fascists, we cannot fight fascism. Communist-baiting was never the beginning of a successful struggle to defend democracy, but, without exception, was everywhere a step towards fascism.

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Published monthly by the National Committee,
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Single copies 15c. Subscription \$1.25

“Anschluss” in South America

IN CHILE, at the southernmost point of South America, live about 10,000 German immigrants and descendants of immigrants, whose ancestors left Germany several generations ago. Under the influence of German fascist agents, backed up by the pressure which is brought to bear on their relatives still living in Germany and on business connections, a fascist movement developed there, which, claiming to preserve Germanism, aims at the “coordination” (*Gleichschaltung*) of everything that can in any way serve the imperialist aims of German fascism. Organizations and associations of all kinds are compelled to submit to this direction. Individuals and guilds are expected to take an “Oath of Fidelity to Hitler.” Maza, the bourgeois-radical deputy in Parliament, explained that in this territory there reigns an atmosphere in which a citizen of Chile feels himself to be a foreigner.

There we have, far from Germany, an impressive illustration of the National-Socialist principle that “the right of the people” is linked with the “right of the state.” “The right of the people,” which is defended by German fascism as a principle by which to regulate relations between states, is the “right” assumed by German fascism to place at its disposal those of former German nationality or their descendants, and to force them to be active in other states on behalf of the fascist regime’s imperial interests.

Meanwhile in Chile the next step has also been taken. After Fritz Thyssen, the German arms magnate and financier of the Nazi Party, had in 1937 visited that part of Patagonia belonging to the Argentine, in order to prepare the plans for the German air line station in that strategically important territory, which

had already during the World War of 1914-18 served the German navy as a base for operations against the English navy, the fascist organizers in Chilean territory developed a movement to unite the neighboring part of Patagonia with the territory sought by the Nazis.

It is tempting to see only the grotesqueness of these efforts. Yet the brutal earnestness in which the German fascists everywhere pursue their aims might well be underrated if progressive mankind were merely content to pour justified mockery on the booted and spurred highway robbers.

The “Anschluss” demand by German fascists in the case of Patagonia is illuminating in many respects. It shows how the methods used in Sudetenland also come to be applied in territories which cannot in any way be considered as neighbors of the German Reich; it proves that the fascist regime of Germany is striving to introduce into other states, at strategically important points, foreign bodies whose function it is to undermine and dissolve state order under the banner of the so-called “right of the people.” It proves that behind the “right of self-determination” and the “right of the people,” which German fascism leads into the field, stand very definite strategical and imperialistic motives.

At the same moment that Italian fascism stretches out its hand to the Suez Canal, German fascism is intensively engaged in planning and constructing bases in the region of the Panama Canal. The action brought against the German spy Schakow has recently shown how keenly German fascism is interested in the Panama Canal. In the state of Ecuador a base for the control and mastery of the Panama Canal is being

established since the Minister Avilés and General Chiriboga were successfully "won over" by the activity of a German military specialist and with the help of a rich reward in money.

In Ecuador and Peru, German agents have managed to acquire extensive stretches of land by means of which the streams of the Amazon and Marañon rivers can be dominated. By this means a connection has been established with those territories in the Brazilian states of Amazona and Para, where 1,300,000 hectares * of land is in Japanese hands.

Therein lies the attempt to dismember a whole continent and to create their own communications between the two oceans by means of a corridor subjugated to German and Japanese imperialisms. On the Panama Canal itself, still more extensive undermining work is being carried on. The German Bank in Colombia, and the influence exercised by German capital on the Magdalena River Shipping Company are working in harmony towards bringing the entire river under the patronage of German finance, and in this way to acquire a base next door to the Panama Canal for the operations of German fascism. Between the states of Costa Rica and Panama, between Nicaragua and Honduras, German agents and wire-pullers are provoking differences and strife, in support of which they willingly supply arms. With the help of provocations and the creation of fascist-infected territories, the plan of German fascism is to convert the Panama Canal territory into a field for the development of German imperialist bases, where difficulties can be prepared for the U.S.A.

With the same ruthlessness, German fascism is building air lines and air bases in the Latin American countries under the cloak of the "civil" aviation enterprises of "Lufthansa" and the "Condor Syndicate." Many important communications from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans and between the most important points of the Latin American states lie in German hands.

Thus one cog-wheel of this machine grips the other. The fuel however which can always be added, especially if the resistance of the Latin American peoples to their inclusion and subjugation under the domination of German fascism clogs and hinders the running of this machine, is supplied by the intrigues of the so-called "Germans Abroad" and "German People's Groups." They are the focus of Gestapo activity and military espionage. They stand behind those "mutual home-bred" fascist organizations founded with German money and guided by German instructors, whose putsches and outrages they prepare and support. They are a state within the state, acting as a center of infection for the spreading of anti-Semitic racial hatred. As a starting point for countless internal difficulties and conflicts, they weaken and break up the power of resistance of the Latin American states to attacks and extortion from outside.

In 1937 at the "Foreign Session" of the N.S.D.A.P. (Nazi Party) the German fascist Hans Henning von Kossel reported on the activity of fascist German groups in Brazil. He drew special attention to the significance of the network of German schools, staffed by teachers drilled to fascism in Germany or by German instructors. By means of threats, outlawing and boycott, the fascist drivers try to induce the sons of colonists whose ancestors emigrated from Germany to submit to "Labor Service" and "Military Service" in Germany. All associations that are not under the central control and in which the German language is used are subject to continual threats and attacks in order to force them under fascist guidance and also their members to take the oath of fidelity to Hitler.

In the Argentine, the Governor of the State Misiones asserted that the so-called German colonies in this state recognize no other government than that of Hitler. In the schools a regime has been introduced by fascist teachers, many of which have been specially trained in Germany. Under this regime, the children of German-speaking democrats are forced

* A hectare equals 2.471 acres.—Ed.

to stay away from school because they are constantly threatened and involved in serious conflict.

A report published in August, 1938, in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, by a certain W. Lütge who officiates as leader of Nazi propaganda in the Argentine, shows that a minority of German-speaking people in fascist organizations terrorizes the majority and strives to undermine with fascist principles all non-political, social and cultural guilds.

In Mexico it is known that the German Nazi organizations have quite officially imported the German fascist code of "Racial Laws." German immigrants and descendants of German immigrants are forbidden to marry Mexicans who have "Indian blood." In the land of a sovereign state, German fascism is thus beginning to pass the barbaric German laws of "race instruction" and to apply them practically.

The picture which has been sketched may be completed by adding that side by side with the immediate ambassadors of the various German "propaganda" and spy groups (those for example of the "German Workers Association," the "Society of Germans Abroad," the "Foreign Political Office" of Rosenberg, the "Fichtebund," the "Ibero American Institute," etc.) certain German capitalists, those most interested, are the arch-initiators of these plots.

Through their offices and representatives run many threads connected to the "home-bred" fascists, for example,

the Integralists in Brazil, the "Gold Shirts" in Mexico, etc. For some time the monthly support given to the Integralists in Brazil by German capitalists amounted to \$60,000.

The contractors Hasenklever, Hücke, Hermann Stoltz and Dannemann act as though they were noble benefactors. The Transatlantic German Bank handed out at one time \$400,000 in order to ensure the election of a Brazilian fascist. The money donors work in close unity with certain North American financiers, who are the props of reaction against President Roosevelt in the United States, who would like also to obstruct democratic development in Cuba and who are particularly interested in keeping the Latin American states dependent and weak.

Whoever takes these facts into consideration will no longer find merely grotesque the bid for the "Anschluss" which the German fascists made in Chile, but will understand that a great offensive is being prepared, in the course of which it becomes necessary to destroy the attempts of German fascism to convert, with the help of its Italian and Japanese allies, the Latin American states into a parade ground and into a base of operations for German plans towards world domination. The danger does not lie only or even foremost in the attack from the outside. It exists principally in the centers of infection, which German fascism has known how to form.

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Pirow, South Africa, and German Fascism

OSWALD PIROW, Minister of Defense and also of Commerce for the Union of South Africa, went on a journey to Europe immediately after the surrender at Munich, about which so much has been written. Pirow chose a curious route, which led him through Portugal, through that part of Spain held by the fascist interventionists, through Britain, Germany, Italy, Holland and Belgium. The explanations and excuses which were given in public for this tour were so obviously invented to mislead and delude public opinion that they are not worth dwelling upon. The reception accorded to Pirow in Berlin and Rome betrays, more clearly than any communique, whose interests this tour was intended primarily to serve, and the hopes that were placed upon Pirow by the German fascists in particular.

Pirow was hailed in the German press as "one of the first foreign politicians" who "even in the year 1933" had found his way to Hitler. As an important guarantee of his servility regarding the demands of German imperialism the German press pointed to his "German origin."

For the benefit of the public, the organs of German fascism placed the following subjects upon the order of the day, as being the ones to be dealt with on the occasion of Pirow's presence in Germany:

1. Economic problems, connected with armament questions in the Union of South Africa, the solution of which the German war industry took upon its shoulders.

2. The treatment of "Germans" in Southwest Africa.

3. "Racial questions" in a twofold sense; first of all, a "final settlement of

the relation of black to white" must be undertaken and, further, Hitler's Reich desired to see anti-Semitic measures taken in South Africa.

This list of requirements reveals a very definite and most deep-seated interest on the part of German fascism in the political and economic conduct of the Union of South Africa, a land which at present occupies no official position of subservience to Germany but is, on the contrary, a not unimportant part of the British Empire.

The "modern" methods of bourgeois democracy at present in use in Britain and South Africa, and particularly favored since the Munich conferences, allow reactionary statesmen to slur over, by means of vacuous "statements," questions which are vitally important for the immediate future of everyone who is directly affected by certain secret understandings. Neither Chamberlain nor Pirow has any intention of disclosing the nature of the underhand machinations which formed the business of Pirow's conversations to the public or to their electorates. Thus it is all the more necessary to make the facts clear.

The subjects of negotiation, given more or less in the form of an ultimatum by the German press upon Pirow's arrival in Berlin, can only be grasped in full significance when viewed as the outcome of a long drawn-out period of German fascist activity in South Africa. The fascist press did not exaggerate when, in its welcoming articles on Pirow's visit, it said that developments in South Africa were being watched with growing interest by German fascism. In this instance, contrary to its custom, Goebbels' pen expressed itself over-modestly, since Hitler's Reich acts not as an attentive observer of developments in South Africa,

but as a power which has its own finger in the South African pie.

German fascism believes that it has now prepared the ground in South Africa well enough to obtain control of the key positions, by means of stronger pressure and by the "spontaneous influence" of the connections which it has taken pains to nurse. The raw materials of South Africa, South West Africa and Tanganyika whet the appetite of German imperialism just as keenly as does the strategic position of those regions. Both are meant to serve as a springboard from which it hopes to reach further objectives. Anyone who thinks its imperialist avidity can be subdued by throwing it a few juicy morsels should remember that the South African territories make up only a part of German fascism's colonial demands, and that the very reason why those territories are put first at this moment is that they are key points because of their strategic position and would form bases for other plans of aggression.

The "economic problems" which Pirow was to discuss are in reality strategic, military problems, insofar as German fascism looks to acquire through them the naval and air bases which would enable it to harass the important communications of other powers with India, the Far East and Australia. And, finally, this offensive of German fascism in the Southern and Southwestern parts of Africa must be accounted as the "complement" of the efforts being made by Italian fascism to seize the hegemony of the Mediterranean basin.

The preparing of the ground in South Africa and its adjoining area of Southwest Africa was accomplished in the usual way. First, Hitler's Reich and its numerous foreign organizations tried to sow the seeds of disruption within these countries through the agency of German settlers, by means of misusing German trading houses and faking "scientific research expeditions." In the Union of South Africa there live about 57,000 German immigrants and others who are claimed as "Germans"; in Southwest

Africa there are some 14,000 and in Tanganyika some 2,700.

In recent years thousands of Germans have been settled by Germany in all these areas. Between 1933 and 1936 about 6,000 Germans immigrated into the Union of South Africa. In Southwest Africa the number of German settlers today is double that before the war. And of Tanganyika, a correspondent of the South African paper the *Star* writes that it has been subjected to what amounts to a German invasion. In Moshi, for instance, there were no German settlers in 1925, but now, from 500 to 600 Germans live there. The situation is similar in Arusha, in Oldiana. German tradesmen who used to have two employees now have six or seven, without this being necessitated by reasons of business. Many native chauffeurs and other employees have been replaced by Germans, apparently for the sole purpose of raising the German population by hook or by crook.

Everywhere among the immigrants, organizations have been built up on the pattern of the German fascist organizations. The Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa and Tanganyika have each been consolidated into national bodies, which in turn are subdivided into district, city and local groups. The spies of the Nazis concentrate on the work of influencing the South African papers, the authorities, scientific bodies and universities. Here they collect supporters for the Nazis, develop their fascist propaganda work, and organize "excursions" of dramatic touring companies and "tourists" in these areas. They relay radio programs from Germany to every corner of South Africa; they set up illegal broadcasting stations in South Africa. Everywhere they have their auxiliary organizations: "Strength through Joy," "Winter Relief," Pioneer organizations, school organizations, summer camps for training, among others, S.A. and S.S. men, through which they try to get control over the cultural life of the country, to foster anti-Semitism and to preach fascist racial hatred.

This organizational work is supple-

mented by other efforts. For example, the *Capetown Guardian* reports that the Germans on the Bissagos Islands, which lie one hundred and fifty miles off the West Coast of Africa, have built naval and air bases, for secret submarines; that Soga, Ruban, Buban, Bubanque and Camhabaque have been converted into complete naval bases; while *The New York Times* records that recently a German airplane crashed in Gambia carrying a crew of five and with them ten technicians of the Bavarian Engineering Works, while doing "test flights" under tropical conditions, precisely in this region which can threaten the sea routes to South Africa and South America. Among the victims was a pilot named Blankenburg who had flown the Atlantic 107 times before.

Reynolds' News reports that the Italians, in violation of the Anglo-Italian Treaty of 1925, permitted a German colony to be established in Jubaland (East Africa), the German population of which the Third Reich proposes to bring up to a strength of 5,000 during the next year.

The great and extremely acute danger to the people of South Africa, arising from this activity of the Nazis in South Africa and its immediate vicinity, is enhanced because the spies of German fascism have found accomplices, who come forward, for instance, in the "Malan Movement" ostensibly as leaders of an independent "national" movement, but who are really pulling the wagonload of German imperialism's interests.

The Malan Movement in the Union of South Africa is sponsored by the Nationalist Party, at the head of which is the reactionary, pro-fascist leader Malan. It gets its members chiefly among the Afrikaans (Boers), especially those living in rural areas. It appeals for the support of the 500,000 so-called "poor Whites," *i.e.*, to the ruined or impoverished farmers, laborers and farm personnel, who are hard hit. At the last elections the Nationalist Party received about 260,000 votes out of a total of about 800,000.

The reactionary, pro-fascist leaders of

the Nationalist Party, among them Malan, have repeatedly made pronouncements favorable to Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. It is an open secret that the leaders of the Nationalist Party have connections with the Nazis' spies in South Africa and even with the Nazis in Germany, who support them by every manner of means. The Malan Party also collaborates with the fascist organizations in South Africa, the "Gray-shirts." The Nationalist Party is run in a spirit of hatred of Communism. Every effort is made to prohibit the unity of the nation for securing the independence of the state, the formation of a united front in South Africa, and to split the trade union movement afresh by launching racial unions.

The leaders of the Nationalist Party make special efforts to kindle racial hatred among the Afrikaans against the Africans (Natives), and thus to nip in the bud the friendship between Natives and Europeans. They stand for the sharpest possible repression of the Natives, and in this respect fall in completely with the policy of German fascism.

By its foreign policy and its reactionary internal line the government of the Union of South Africa, in which Pirow sits as head of two Ministries, backs up the German fascists and their Nationalist allies. Without wishing to draw facile conclusions from a comparison of the agitation of the German fascists before the outbreak of the war of intervention in Spain, with agitation in one's own country, it remains a fact that the South African government belongs to the backers of Franco and in general follows faithfully behind Chamberlain.

Besides the shame which this brings upon their own country, they earn the derision of German fascism, which of late showed enormous delight when the "Boer" movement which it had launched organized a keen campaign against the English language in South Africa. At the same time as this was happening, the spokesmen of Hitler's Reich published demands addressed to Minister Pirow for a wider use of German and for a

far-reaching saturation of the entire country with the ideological exports of Hitler Germany—racial hatred and anti-Semitism.

In this respect the reactionary forces within the government of Herzog go a long way in their internal policy toward meeting the "expectations" of German fascism. In 1936 the government did away with the last remnants of the right to a direct vote which had been retained by a section of the Natives. It is now preparing the so-called Urban Areas Act which aims at driving all the "undesirable" elements of the Natives out of the towns and providing the rich farmers with cheap labor. It is planning legislation to forbid marriages between Natives and Europeans. It adopted the Aliens Bill giving it stricter control of immigration, whereas it puts up patiently with the invasion of German fascism on a large scale. It tightened up the "Industrial Conciliation Act" until today this has become a weapon for prohibiting strikes, since by it the sentences for striking are extended and a strike is so defined as to make it practically impossible for any individual or group to conduct a struggle without coming into conflict with the Act.

It is clear that a reactionary policy like this, which hampers the activity of the great bulk of the people, restricts democratic rights and liberties and bolsters up the warmongers, is not designed to put a stop to the advance of German fascism.

As a result of all this the Union of South Africa is the region of the British Empire which is most open to Nazi aggression, in which the danger of a fascist uprising is greatest.

The general mass of working people and the oppressed peoples in the Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa and Tanganyika are avowedly indignant about the intrigues of the fascists. When the horrible anti-Jewish persecutions and pogroms began in Germany, a great mass movement of protest arose in the Union of South Africa. In Johannesburg, Capetown and Port Elizabeth there were mass meetings in which the most varied

sections of the population took part. The democratic press sharply opposed the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. On October 2, 1938, a conference of the Transvaal organization of the Labor Party met in Johannesburg, which branded the betrayal of Czechoslovakia as a betrayal of peace and democracy all over the world, and raised the demand for co-operation with the working class movement in every country, in order to fight effectively in defense of democracy.

It is these widespread anti-fascist feelings which prompted the Capetown organization of the "Unity Party" to condemn the persecution of the Jews in Germany, which actuated Havenga of the Unity Party to spend £2,000 for the children of Spain, and which induced the Minister Hofmeyer to resign because the reactionary Fourrier was appointed a minister although his candidature had been invalidated by the elections. The very widest circles of the South African population are opponents of fascism.

The Native and oppressed peoples of South Africa are no less opposed to Nazi activity in South Africa and the return of colonies to Germany. They well remember the brutality of the German imperialists, who reduced the once flourishing Herero tribes of 300,000 strong to less than one-third this number during a few years in the Herero wars, who drove men, women and children into the Kalahari Desert where they suffered terribly from thirst, who stole the Herero territory and livestock. In German East Africa the German imperialists forced the Natives to work for them 240 days in the year. Between 1891 and 1903 alone, sixteen punitive expeditions were organized against the Natives, and in the unspeakable slaughter of 1906 more than 150,000 were murdered. They understand that a return of the Nazis to the colonies would mean a still ghastlier repetition of these outrages.

So it is understandable that the Natives watch the proceedings of the Europeans with the closest attention. *Umte-telli va Bantu* reports that Hitler's campaign for the return of colonies has caused disturbances among the Natives.

Big disturbances took place of late among Natives in Eshowe in Zululand. They cried: "The German soldiers are coming! What will they do to us?" In Tanganyika one might see Natives coming out in full war attire from the mountains, because they had heard that somewhere in the world (in connection with the betrayal of Czechoslovakia) events were being enacted which affected them, too. Even today one can still see Natives who go to work on plantations ready armed with swords and spears, in order to be always equipped to struggle for their interests.

Although, as the facts show, a lot of time has been wasted and plenty of opportunities given to German fascism to gain a hold, among the great mass of people in South Africa and the regions connected with it the conditions exist for surmounting these pressing dangers. Pirow and his like are certainly the most unsuitable people one could think of for

this purpose. Pirow, who conducted his European tour in a secretive twilight of whisperings after the manner of Munich, constitutes a very great menace to the further progress of the Union of South Africa.

The conclusions which the working class movement of South Africa has drawn from the betrayal of Czechoslovakia make it incumbent upon it first and foremost to combine and apply all its own forces, and above all to heal the split in the trade unions. Only the working class movement, in alliance with the oppressed races, can provide a basis for the widest development of the struggle against the threatened subjection of South and Southwest Africa to German imperialism. If it proceeds with the accomplishment of this task, then it will fulfil in its own cause a mission in which it will have on its side the sympathy and support of anti-fascists and progressive forces the world over.

"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

"The Second International marked the epoch in which the soil was prepared for a broad, mass, widespread movement in a number of countries.

"The Third International gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, purged it of its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to effect* the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . ."—V. I. Lenin, "The Communist International," *Selected Works*, Vol. X.

The Fighting in Palestine

THE bloody clashes in Palestine become more and more violent. The country is in a state of war. Barbed wire separates Palestine from Syria and Trans-Jordan. Communications between many towns and villages are discontinued. In Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa street fights, often lasting for days, continue to flare up. The fighting has long burst open the framework of mere local disturbances between the domiciled population and the British colonial troops. The hand of German fascism is in the game. The fights are being dramatically parcelled out by the propaganda of Goebbels, while German agents are active on the spot as "advisers and instructors."

In September, 1938, one hundred Arabs took part in the organization of the Nuremberg anniversary of the Nazi Party. In order that it could play the part of protector to pan-Islam, German fascism put these people up as representatives of the Arabian countries. It allows no opportunity to slip of emphasizing that the struggle of the Arabs has aroused the support of Germany and that Germany's sympathies are on the side of the Arabs. The agents of German fascism are everywhere forming links destined to make possible a wide pan-Arabian and pan-Islamic movement. Characteristic of this is a declaration by Mohammedans in India, which was circulated by the German press and German news agencies, and which constitutes a link in the chain of pan-Islamic efforts under German patronage.

With this kind of activity, German fascism is pursuing its own aims. The Arabs are mere pawns in its game. This is well in line with the general attitude of fascism which supports one side in the great wars for freedom that are being fought out at this moment by the peoples

of Spain and China. The same German press, which hypocritically protests in the name of "humanity" against the destruction of Arab villages in Palestine, extols the devastation that is being wrought in Spain by German and Italian aviators and soldiers. The same German press, in whose columns the least utterance from the reactionary Islam side is exaggerated beyond all measure and converted into an affair of universal importance, preserves a systematic and completely dead silence about what is being said and done in India, in the Malay Archipelago and in other Eastern countries on behalf of the Chinese struggle for freedom against the Japanese intruders.

The fascist propaganda headquarters in Berlin is providing suitable forces for undermining activity among the Arabs and Mohammedans. For a year Schwarz van Berk, chief editor of the *Angriff*, has been traveling in Egypt, Palestine and the neighboring countries; Siebrung, correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in France, has reconnoitred in Tunis, Algiers and Syria. According to communications received from the press in Syria, the German newspaper correspondents "working" in Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine recently held a conference with a view to concentrating the entire activity of these correspondents in the Arabian countries. At the conference, the propaganda methods to be used by German fascists in Arabian countries were discussed. The chief of the Propaganda Ministry, Goebbels, pays out monthly £3,000 towards the upkeep of correspondents in Egypt, and this machinery is simultaneously engaged in espionage.

The German and Italian fascist agents in Palestine, who are exploiting to the utmost the antagonism between Jews

and Arabs, produced artificially by British imperialism, are striving to intensify this national hate between the two. They seek their lieutenants among the native shieks and feudal chiefs; but principally among those Arabs who were formerly agents of British imperialism.

Max Grün, one of the German fascist professors, delivered in Rome a lecture, in which he made the following statement about the Palestine question among other matters:

"With the help of the Arabs, Italy can easily destroy the Mosul-Haifa petroleum pipeline and thereby deprive the English Mediterranean Fleet of its fuel." That is the practical explanation of the sentences in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* dated November 29, 1938, stating "that Germany's great partner, fascist Italy, is destined to become a leading power in the Mediterranean, and that the English claim to world power via the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean was limited by the natural rights of a strong Italy."

The German and Italian fascist agents are also engaged in the smuggling of arms. The arms transport goes through Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Palestine, and supplies the insurgent Arab movement in whose leadership Italian and German officers are active. According to a report of "Reuter's Agency," arms to the value of £20,000 were smuggled from Germany and Italy alone into Palestine in five months of 1938. It is obvious that these figures by no means represent the actual volume of arms traffic. The English Colonial Minister MacDonald, answering a question in the House of Commons, stated that the bombs exploding in Palestine were not of German origin. This "refutation" does not alter the essential truth of the matter, for German and Italian fascist agents can also send English bombs to Palestine. Photos published in various newspapers of guns and light machine guns used by the Arab insurgents, however, prove clearly that the insurgents' weapons are of German origin.

The responsibility for the bloodshed in Palestine is borne by the pro-fascist government of Chamberlain, which by

its policy of provoking and stirring up national dissension in Palestine, and by its concessions to Mussolini and Hitler, incites more strongly than ever their aggressive desires, however, and grants them great freedom of trade. This responsibility is also shared by the agents of British imperialism in the ranks of the Jewish bourgeoisie, who back the national suppression of the Arabs in Palestine.

The native Jewish population in Palestine lived for centuries in brotherliness and friendship with the Arabs. The workers and peasants among the Jewish emigrants and the entire working class Jewish population can and wish to live in peace with the native Arabs. If the Jewish workers can compel the reactionary leaders of the Histadruth trade union to finish with their policy of disunion and create a united workers' movement, this unity would deal British imperialism and German and Italian fascism a serious blow. Such unity is a guarantee of brotherliness and friendship between the Jewish and Arab workers. It alone can lead to the restoration of peace in Palestine and to the withdrawal of German and Italian fascist influence.

The responsibility for the present bloodshed in Palestine also falls upon those reactionary elements among the Arabs who constantly betray the interests of their own country. At the head of the insurrection now stands the Muslim priesthood in Palestine—the Mufti Ali Hussein—a bought agent of German fascism, whom the fascists claim to be a fighter for the interests of the Arab people.

Ali Hussein and his crew are not only no representatives but they are wreckers and betrayers of the real national movement for the independence of the Arab people, of the just cause of the Arab masses. Mufti Ali Hussein and his clique do not shrink from organizing plots and provocation against the real revolutionary leaders of the Arab people. With such corrupt methods and with such provocation they mask themselves before the Arab people. These traitors are to the forefront in inciting national dissension between Arabs and Jews. They do not confine their agitation to Pales-

tine but carry it on in all Arab countries. Recently a clash occurred also in Iraq between Jews and Arabs.

No true adherent of democracy and freedom can dispute the right of the Arab people to national self-determination. And it is the duty of the democratic elements, especially in England, to oppose the Chamberlain government's policy of oppression in Palestine, and to compel British imperialism to put a stop to it and to grant the Arab people full democratic rights in its own country. But at the same time the masses of the Arab people must be made to realize that they are unconditionally obligated to purge the Arab national movement of all agents of German and Italian fascism and to show by deeds that the fascist conquerors, who are the worst oppressors of weak peoples, do not belong in Arabia.

No man of honor can remain indifferent to the catastrophic situation in which the Jews residing in capitalist countries find themselves. German fascism is organizing Jewish pogroms. In broad daylight the fascists are whipping the Jews out, stripping them of their possessions, torturing them and throwing them into concentration camps. The Jews fleeing from the bestial actions of fascism are seeking a refuge in various countries. Many Jews who believe in the promise made by British imperialism that a "Jewish National State Home" was founded in Palestine are now streaming into that country. Palestine cannot accommodate all emigrants. It would result in chasing the Bedouins and the fellaheens from their own land. But the working class Jews who have emigrated to Palestine are already finding out the kind of "National Home" British imperialism has prepared for them.

The chief culprit in the bloodshed in Palestine is German and Italian fascism, which is using to the full espionage, provocation and trickery in order to unleash a new world war.

Peace and unity in the fight for the independence of Palestine are possible and necessary to the working class Jews and Arabs. This fight must not only be directed against British imperialism with

its agents in the Zionist bourgeoisie and against the reactionary Arab sheiks and feudal chiefs, but mostly against the organizers of provocation and the pogroms—the German and Italian fascists.

In their plans of aggression, German and Italian fascism are going far beyond the new carving up of Europe. They want to have the last say in the Mediterranean and Red Sea territory. Their gaze is fastened upon colonies and also upon those countries which are under the influence of British imperialism. Since the Munich arrangement, Hitler and Mussolini have begun to speak still more openly and cynically about them.

The old plan of German imperialism to possess a direct line of communication from the North Sea to the Black Sea, to Bagdad and Mesopotamia, is being energetically pursued by fascism. To this end they have inaugurated the air line Berlin-Bagdad-Teheran-Kabul.

Chamberlain, who wants to divert the thieving glances of Mussolini and Hitler from the English colonies, has turned over Ethiopia, Austria and Czechoslovakia for German and Italian fascism to tear to pieces. But Chamberlain's capitulation to Hitler and Mussolini has not reduced the appetite of these aggressors. The British government concluded a "gentleman's agreement" with Mussolini by which it desires to establish a balance of power in the Mediterranean. How the balance of power is actually constituted, if a free passage is given to the "Rome-Berlin Axis," is described by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of November 29 in these words:

"France finally . . . must realize that the new power relations in the Mediterranean can no more be overthrown by alliances than those in Eastern Europe. In short, the status quo existing previously in Europe has been yielded to something totally different, and this must be recognized as irrevocable."

The course of events in Palestine, and in the East, as a whole, illustrates the fascist view of "equilibrium" and "peaceful settlement." German fascism and its Italian ally are getting a foothold in these regions and are making them bases for their struggle for the imperialist domination of the world.

Schools in the Germany of Hitler

“**I**T IS the function of education to equip the pupils with the views and sentiments of an enlightened humanity.” So runs one of the first principles established by Wilhelm von Humboldt in school teaching.

German fascism has seen to it that nothing remains of this principle. The cane and the barracks, physical and spiritual drill, have made their way into the school. Today any attempt to equip the pupils with the views and sentiments of an enlightened humanity would be crushed, since the task now set is that of “forming and strengthening bodily and spiritual energy in the service of the fighting spirit and the will to self-assertion, equally in boys and in girls.” (*Völkischer Beobachter*, July 6, 1937.)

In building the youth into soldiers, fascism does not confine itself to the male sex; nor does it wait until the young people come up for military service to start their military training. While yet school children, both boys and girls are brought up in fealty to militarism and war fever. “School subjects and lecture courses are both given over to the cause of training for defense. The concept of defense is welded into one inseparable unit with that of home and race, which adjusts the whole education and forms the real teaching principle of all education.” (*Ibid.*)

For this “adjusted” school curriculum, “adjusted” teachers are also necessary. The former training of teachers does not suffice fascist needs. The aim of school education has certainly altered under fascism. In the Germany of today what interests the rulers is the promotion of a very carefully defined “knowledge.” To this end the knowledge of the teachers has to be “overhauled.” Therefore so-called “overhaul centers” were set up in

which during the school holidays all teachers are instructed in the principles of fascist education. In these “overhaul centers” are held courses in military training, in national sport, in surveying, shooting, cartography, etc., and lectures on the Nazi Party, on racial questions, sterilization, on political teaching in the elementary schools and on political affairs.

That which is presented to the teachers in the “overhaul centers” as worthwhile knowledge, they must relay to the children with strict discipline. “Discipline, even in the classroom, need not play Cinderella to learning,” so run the instructions of Lieutenant-General Horst von Metsch. One may wonder how a Lieutenant-General of the War Ministry was selected to give orders to teachers. But in fascist Germany everything, including culture and education, is made subservient to war preparation. So it is no wonder that even the compiling of school curricula is not left to the highest school authorities nor to the Ministry of Education alone, but that the Ministry of Defense has the decisive say in this.

Now let us glance quickly through a few of the subjects taken in the schools, beginning with the German lessons.

One would expect that German lessons are given in order to impart to the children an understanding of the German language—both the spoken and written language. But for that one would need a textbook itself written in good German. *The Story of Adolph Hitler*, by Annemarie Stichler, cannot satisfy this condition. The author makes a great attempt to show off little Adolph as an example to be followed, but with the German language—in fact, with ethnology and geography too—she is but poorly ac-

quainted. Among many other errors in style we find in this book, in a description of the World War, the following passage:

"The Japanese, who live far away in Asia, also entered the war, then the Americans and other small *states*, which are located in the very furthest parts of the world. . . . And when he (Hitler) heard that war had arrived, he first gave thanks to God. . . ."

So the children learn that war is something rather like a Christmas present, they learn that the small states also have a home, which one must break into if one wants to be a proper young Hitler, but in the meantime the German language suffers. At least they can comfort themselves in knowing that the "Fuehrer" himself is also at sea in this language.

But perhaps in spite of this, they do learn how to construct a German sentence? The press of the Hitler Youth has published a small booklet containing compositions by children under 14. Among them is the following: "I am about to turn around. . . . A whistle. I run and scream out. The roll commander comes up. The other plunge into the hay again. Everything is over very quickly. In front of us two forms can be seen, trying to disappear. Already they are surrounded and killed. Those were Hummel's messengers. Our runners now spring off in the direction 'Fighting-line,' West door diagonal. We squat in the gutters and wait. Again two come. Everyone ducks. The garrison message is delivered. The roll commander slinks back to the hayloft and snoozes till the next whistle." That is the new German style of writing, of children steeped in fascism.

In the history lessons, the Germans are called the "Molders of Europe." How could it be else? "The physical and spiritual (?) qualities of the Germanic races made a deep impression on the Latins," so it goes in the *History for Elementary and Preparatory Schools*.

The impression must have been much enhanced when the Romans experienced the deception and treachery of the Germanic chiefs, when the Vandals plundered and burned down Rome and the barbarian tribes laid waste to Italy. Perhaps in these days one should add: The appearance of the German fascists made such a deep impression on the Roman fascists, that they too adopted the practices of anti-Semitic barbarism.

Alongside love of their own country, hatred for other nations is fostered. Noteworthy is the campaign against the bourgeois democratic countries, and against France in particular. In national politics, it is true, the campaign against France was pushed into the background for a short while after Munich, by the public gratitude which Hitler expressed to Daladier, but the children at school are still taught why France is the "mortal enemy."

In the history book already quoted, treating of the Franco-German War of 1870-71, we have: "With envious eyes the French watched the growing power of Prussia. But whereas Prussia's territorial growth was necessary for national considerations, France was attempting conquests on the Rhine in a simple quest for power and prestige."

And in the colonial question too, which since the Munich betrayal has come very much to the fore, fascism incites the youth against France. *Wille und Macht*, the leading organ of the Hitler Youth, wrote on January 15, 1937:

"Therefore we must answer the question, as whether France vitally needs so vast a colonial empire economically, in the negative. . . . She could live equally well without colonies. . . . A strong sea power, dividing France from her colonies, could impose its will upon her."

In the *Deutschlandfibel*, Alsace, among many other territories with German-speaking populations, is described as a "German state." A reason is found for "liberating" the German brothers in Alsace, because "black France" has set

itself to wipe out all the Germans "who live in Alsace-Lorraine."

And what fascist innovations are to be found in the arithmetic lesson? Does the lesson consist in calculating how much taxes have been increased under Hitler, the dictator, or to what degree prices have risen? Oh no! They do not worry over such "materialistic" questions. Instead it is thought more appropriate to let the children work out the flying time of day-bombers which can travel at 175 miles per hour, and of night-bombers which can travel at 150 miles, for the journeys from Breslau to Prague, Munich to Strassburg, and Cologne to Metz. Nowadays the sums are of the following order: "A flight of 46 bombers drops incendiary bombs on an enemy city. Each plane carries 500 bombs weighing over three pounds apiece. What is the total weight of the bomb load and how many fires are started, if one-third of the bombs hit their mark and fires are started by 20 per cent of these only?"

In physics and chemistry, too, they deal not with scientific problems of social value, but simply and solely with destructive elements: with incendiary and gas materials, with means of chemical warfare like vesicants, asphyxiants, etc. The actual textbooks of physics, published by Chief Director of Studies Dr. Guenther under the title *Wehrphysik* (*The Physics of Defense*) (Frankfurt, 1936), has been adopted by the Reich Education Ministry and approved by the Reich War Ministry.

Running through every school subject are racial hatred, insults to other nations, war preparedness and militarism. It is perfectly clear that this type of schooling does not get the desired response either from the teachers or from the children and parents. Anger at the fascist school system is already so keen that the *Völkischer Beobachter*, on November 18, was compelled to state that people in Germany are accustomed "to view the school as a place to amass knowledge, which each individual puts to whatever use may accord with his capacity and

preference. This idea is several hundred years old and it is painful to some people, affected by wrongly conceived 'veneration,' to see it 'debased' to a problematical, or at any rate a disputed, matter."

Yes, the school in Germany is debased, it is so deeply debased that capacity and industriousness have no meaning any more. German youth can no longer learn anything in school, it can acquire no more knowledge. Even the much-disputed "individuality" of the human being has gone into the melting pot in Germany. Fascism's current ideal is to promote not "individualities," but rather "types." Types such as those were developed "by the military training in the old cadet institutions, as they were turned out by the education of the Middle Ages, but which were subsequently betrayed to oblivion as 'too carnal' and 'too crude' by humanist spiritual fanatics." These "forms proved to be richly useful and successful," fascism wants "to fill them with its content." That is true for the elementary as for the higher schools.

Apart from these there are in Germany two special kinds of schools—the National Political Institutes of Education, founded and run by the Reich Minister of Education, Rust, the inspector of which is S.S., chief group-leader Heissmeyer, and the Adolph Hitler Schools, which Robert Ley and Baldur von Shiraeh started. While Dr. Heinrich Olms proudly declares in the *Völkischer Beobachter* in reference to the "entire school system" that "National-Socialism is not fundamentally inimical to culture," he says in his further utterances that the Adolph Hitler Schools and the National Political Institutes of Education alike have the same general objective: "Training instead of amassing knowledge."

Added to this calamitous condition of the German school system is a chronic shortage of teachers. Even the fascist *Studenten Pressedienst* of August 27 had to admit:

"The dearth of elementary school teachers grows ever greater. Whereas in

Prussia in 1936 only 285 school posts could not be filled, this number rose in 1937 to 870, and by reliable estimates will reach 1,500 by the end of 1938. In other provinces of the Reich the situation is exactly the same. In the whole of the Reich territory the numbers of unoccupied teaching posts in elementary schools are: 1936—1,335; 1937—2,038;

1938—the figure may perhaps reach 3,500.”

Even this brief report on the fascist school system confirms most clearly Maxim Gorky's declaration: "Fascism is the offspring of bourgeois culture, a cancer that has already sunk into rottenness and decay."

Immortal Words!

The Lenin Heritage

BY JOSEPH STALIN

Speech delivered at the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., January 26, 1924, five days after Lenin's death.

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The "Destruction of Versailles" at the Expense of the German People

A HIGH official of the Hitler regime, Minister Councilor Ziegler, immediately after the Munich meeting, published a victory article on the "Destruction of the Dictates of Versailles." He described how German imperialism has advanced a move at a time. Ziegler writes that it is exactly like a game of chess in which each move has its well deliberated intention. "Only when the game is finished can one see the plan that was behind it."

What part has been allotted to the German workers in this game of chess?

The tireless orators of German fascism have been very busy since the annexation of the Sudeten districts making it clear to the masses of the people that this annexation justifies all the heavy sacrifices which have been extorted from the masses during the past years. In the first speech which Hitler made in Berlin after the German troops marched into the separated districts of Czechoslovakia he demanded even greater financial sacrifices from the German people. During the coming months, under the name of "Winter Aid," there will be a tax raid on the pockets of the German workers going far beyond customary bounds. A great part of the executive apparatus of the fascist organizations has already been placed at the service of this tax raid. At the same time that Goering and the lords of the leading monopolies are counting up the profits they derive from the new annexation the masses of the German people are burdened with that side of the annexation which requires outlay. The papers of heavy industry and chemical concerns are joyfully enthusiastic over the increase in profit which the mastery of Southeast Europe promises to bring. The fascist agitators whose

task is the "treatment" of the masses brandish among them their collecting boxes so that, under the pretext of providing "Winter Aid" for the Sudeten districts, the means can be collected out of the workers' pockets to settle the cost of mobilization and the damage done by the Henleinists.

Receipts and burdens therefore are properly divided. The owners bear willingly the receipts on their strong shoulders. But the workers have to put up with the burdens.

But the "Winter Aid" tax campaign which, according to the announcements of Hitler and Goebbels, is to exceed anything achieved in this field up till now is only *one* link of the chain which fascism has laid on the German people. The fascist bureaucracy is now forging another link, the "financial arrangement" between the state and the municipalities. In order to carry out tasks "necessary to national policy" the Treasury takes from the municipalities a large proportion of the money which, as rates, had previously been at their disposal. A considerable sum is in question, the loss of which by the municipalities leads to a further strangling of public services and the attempt to open up new sources of revenue. Here again receipts and charges are divided according to the principle that Goering's central economic authority pockets the money extracted from the municipal treasuries in order to finance their building projects while the masses have to bear a double burden—the first from the cessation or restriction of certain municipal projects and the second as a result of the increase in municipal taxation.

It is already suggested that many municipalities will seek refuge at first in

an increase of the "Citizen Tax," the tax that was introduced in 1931 and in due course received from the Nazi party the insulting appellation of "Nigger Tax" because it was a tax raised on the basis of the Reparations appeal. Under the fascist regime this tax, which the Nazi party promised to abolish, was increased to a great extent and increased over and over again. At this moment, while the fascist gangsters of German imperialism are triumphantly announcing the "destruction of Versailles," the impending increase of this tax in individual municipalities is a threatening and impressive example to the workers that the cancellation of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, carried out as it is in this imperialist manner, does not mean the liberation of the working people from the burdens which were loaded on them as a result of appeals in connection with the Versailles Treaty.

On the contrary, the development of this tax proves that impositions on the working people increase to the same extent that German imperialism extends its powers.

As a result of this, the mass of the working people of Germany experience the deep truth of what Ernst Thaelmann predicted in 1932:

"Imperialist armament and militarism do not mean liberation but on the contrary an intensification of prison house conditions, further slavery and bondage for the German workers."

Up till now the German workers have had to pay up and "contribute" because fascism was getting ready for the "destruction of Versailles." Now they have got to pay up and "contribute" still more because fascism is going to build up its military and economic forces to maintain and increase that which they have already acquired by conquest and blackmail. But in all this there is no talk of compensating the masses for the fact that they had, in the post-war period, to pay the war debts which the policy

of German imperialism hung round the neck of Germany, by countless indirect taxes (which fascism allowed to remain and increased) by inflation and by ruthless enforcement of income and other direct taxes. But heavy industry and the great landowners, who in the period immediately after the war got ample compensation, who profited still more out of the reparations and who disowned their debts in the period of inflation, blossom and flourish while the people fertilize their soil by taxes and "contributions."

These are the real facts of the "destruction of Versailles" by German imperialism. It is a destruction of those obstacles which stood in the way of the unlimited extension of its power. But fascism does not in the least think of fulfilling the hopes of its oldest adherents and supporters, those who expected to obtain from the suspension of the provisions of Versailles freedom from the burden of taxes and debts which was laid upon the German people in general by the capitalist robber band under cover of an appeal to the Versailles Treaty requirements. The capitalist robber gangs, the great finance magnates and princes of industry have set up their own unlimited dictatorship over the German people by means of fascism. The reactionary English bourgeoisie and their French accomplices have renounced the Versailles system in their relations with German fascism, but the German fascists, against their own people, have not only preserved the Versailles system but have terribly intensified it. No chains have been broken, but new chains have been forged. None of the taxes that the German capitalists imposed on the nation to pay for the lost war have been abolished but new taxes have been added to them in order to pay for the armament for the next war. The "external" Versailles was liquidated. But the "internal" Versailles has become much more burdensome still. Every victory of German fascism is a defeat for the German people.

The Path of the Bolsheviks*

WHAT are the chief conclusions to be drawn from the historical path traversed by the Bolshevik Party?

What does the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.) teach us?

1. The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its state power.

The history of the Party teaches us that to leave the proletariat without such a party means to leave it without revolutionary leadership; and to leave it without revolutionary leadership means to ruin the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The history of the Party teaches us that the ordinary Social-Democratic Party of the West European type, brought up under conditions of civil peace, trailing in the wake of the opportunists, dreaming of "social reforms," and dreading social revolution, cannot be such a party.

The history of the Party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist Party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party.

The Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union is such a party.

* From the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*. English translation to be published in March, 1939, by International Publishers, New York.

"In the pre-revolutionary period," Comrade Stalin says, "in the period of more or less peaceful development, when the parties of the Second International were the predominant force in the working class movement, and parliamentary forms of struggle were regarded as the principal forms, the Party neither had nor could have had that great and decisive importance which it acquired afterwards, under conditions of open revolutionary battle. Defending the Second International against attacks made upon it, Kautsky says that the parties of the Second International are instruments of peace and not of war, and that for this very reason they were powerless to take any important steps during the war, during the period of revolutionary action by the proletariat.

"That is quite true. But what does it mean? It means that the parties of the Second International are unfit for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, that they are not militant parties of the proletariat, leading the workers to power, but election machines adapted for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle. This, in fact, explains why, in the days when the opportunists of the Second International were in the ascendancy, it was not the party but its parliamentary group that was the chief political organization of the proletariat. It is well known that the party at that time was really an appendage and subsidiary of the parliamentary group. It goes without saying that under such circumstances and with such a party at the helm there could be no question of preparing the proletariat for revolution.

"But matters have changed radically with the dawn of the new period. The new period is one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the pro-

letariat. In this period the proletariat is confronted with new tasks, the tasks of reorganizing all Party work on new, revolutionary lines; of educating the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; of preparing and moving up reserves; of establishing an alliance with the proletarians of neighboring countries; of establishing firm ties with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, etc., etc. To think that these new tasks can be performed by the old Social-Democratic Parties, brought up as they were in the peaceful conditions of parliamentarism, is to doom oneself to hopeless despair and inevitable defeat. If, with such tasks to shoulder, the proletariat remained under the leadership of the old parties it would be completely unarmed and defenseless. It goes without saying that the proletariat could not consent to such a state of affairs.

"Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal.

"Without such a party it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"This new party is the party of Leninism."*

2. The history of the Party further teaches us that a party of the working class cannot perform the role of leader of its class, cannot perform the role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, unless it has mastered the advanced theory of the working class movement, the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The power of the Marxist-Leninist theory lies in the fact that it enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and to perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what di-

rection they are bound to develop in the future.

Only a party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward.

On the other hand, a party which has not mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory is compelled to grope its way, loses confidence in its actions and is unable to lead the working class forward.

It may seem that all that is required for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory is diligently to learn by heart isolated conclusions and propositions from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, learn to quote them at opportune times and rest at that, in the hope that the conclusions and propositions thus memorized will suit each and every situation and occasion. But such an approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory is altogether wrong. The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and dogmatists. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating *the substance* of this theory and learning to use it in the solution of the practical problems of the

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*.

revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means being able to enrich this theory with the new experience of the revolutionary movement, with new propositions and conclusions, it means being able to *develop it and advance it* without hesitating to replace—in accordance with the substance of the theory—such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation.

The Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action.

Before the second Russian Revolution (February, 1917), the Marxists of all countries assumed that the parliamentary democratic republic was the most suitable form of political organization of society in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It is true that in the 'seventies Marx stated that the most suitable form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was a political organization of the type of the Paris Commune, and not the parliamentary republic. But, unfortunately, Marx did not develop this proposition any further in his writings and it was committed to oblivion.

Moreover, Engels' authoritative statement in his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt Program in 1891, namely, that "the democratic republic . . . is . . . the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat" left no doubt that the Marxists continued to regard the democratic republic as the political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Engels' proposition later became a guiding principle for all Marxists, including Lenin. However, the Russian Revolution of 1905, and especially the Revolution of February, 1917, advanced a new form of political organization of society—the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

As a result of a study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin, on the basis of the theory of Marxism, arrived at the conclusion that the best political form for the dictator-

ship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, but a republic of Soviets. Proceeding from this, Lenin, in April, 1917, during the period of transition from the bourgeois to the socialist revolution, issued the slogan of a republic of Soviets as the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The opportunists of all countries clung to the parliamentary republic and accused Lenin of departing from Marxism and destroying democracy. But it was Lenin, of course, who was the real Marxist who had mastered the theory of Marxism, and not the opportunists, for Lenin was advancing the Marxist theory by enriching it with new experience, whereas the opportunists were dragging it back and transforming one of its propositions into a dogma.

What would have happened to the Party, to our revolution, to Marxism, if Lenin had been overawed by the letter of Marxism and had not had the courage to replace one of the old propositions of Marxism, formulated by Engels, by the new proposition regarding the republic of Soviets, a proposition that corresponded to the new historical conditions? The Party would have groped in the dark, the Soviets would have been disorganized, we should not have had a Soviet power, and the Marxist theory would have suffered a severe setback. The proletariat would have lost, and the enemies of the proletariat would have won.

As a result of a study of pre-imperialist capitalism Engels and Marx arrived at the conclusion that the socialist revolution could not be victorious in one country, taken singly, that it could be victorious only by a simultaneous stroke in all, or the majority of the civilized countries. That was in the middle of the nineteenth century. This conclusion later became a guiding principle for all Marxists. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, pre-imperialist capitalism had grown into imperialist capitalism, ascendant capitalism had turned into moribund capitalism. As a result of a study of imperialist capitalism, Lenin, on the basis of the Marxist

theory, arrived at the conclusion that the old formula of Engels and Marx no longer corresponded to the new historical conditions, and that the victory of the socialist revolution was quite possible in one country, taken singly. The opportunists of all countries clung to the old formula of Engels and Marx and accused Lenin of departing from Marxism. But it was Lenin, of course, who was the real Marxist who had mastered the theory of Marxism, and not the opportunists, for Lenin was advancing the Marxist theory by enriching it with new experience, whereas the opportunists were dragging it back, were mummifying it.

What would have happened to the Party, to our revolution, to Marxism, if Lenin had been overawed by the letter of Marxism and had not had the courage of theoretical conviction to discard one of the old conclusions of Marxism and to replace it by a new conclusion affirming that the victory of socialism in one country, taken singly, was possible, a conclusion which corresponded to the new historical conditions? The Party would have groped in the dark, the proletarian revolution would have been deprived of leadership, and the Marxist theory would have begun to decay. The proletariat would have lost, and the enemies of the proletariat would have won.

Opportunism does not always mean a direct denial of the Marxist theory or of any of its propositions and conclusions. Opportunism is sometimes expressed in the attempt to cling to certain of the propositions of Marxism that have already become antiquated and to convert them into a dogma, so as to retard the further development of Marxism, and, consequently, to retard the development of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and the other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory, and who have enriched it with new experience

in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.

And just because Lenin and the Leninists have advanced the Marxist theory, Leninism is a further development of Marxism; it is Marxism in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, Marxism of the epoch of the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The Bolshevik Party could not have won in October, 1917, if its foremost men had not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard this theory as a guide to action, if they had not learned to advance the Marxist theory by enriching it with the new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Criticizing the German Marxists in America who had undertaken to lead the American working class movement, Engels wrote:

"The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motions; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way, as something which has got to be learned off by heart and which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a dogma and not a guide to action."*

Criticizing Kamenev and some of the old Bolsheviks who in April, 1917, clung to the old formula of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry at a time when the revolutionary movement had gone on ahead and was demanding a transition to the socialist revolution, Lenin wrote:

"Our teaching is not a dogma, but a guide to action, Marx and Engels always used to say, rightly ridiculing the learning and repetition by rote of 'formulas' which at best are only capable of outlining *general* tasks that are necessarily liable to be modified by the *concrete* economic and political conditions of each

* "Letter to Sorge," *The Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, p. 449. International Publishers, New York.

separate *phase* of the historical process. . . . It is essential to realize the incontrovertible truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the concrete *realities*, and must not continue to cling to a theory of yesterday. . . .”*

3. The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the petty-bourgeois parties which are active within the ranks of the working class and which push the backward sections of the working class into the arms of the bourgeoisie, thus splitting the unity of the working class, are smashed, the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible.

The history of our Party is the history of the struggle against the petty-bourgeois parties—the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists and nationalists—and of the utter defeat of these parties. If these parties had not been vanquished and driven out of the ranks of the working class, the unity of the working class could not have been achieved; and if the working class had not been united, it would have been impossible to achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution.

If these parties, which at first stood for the preservation of capitalism, and later, after the October Revolution, for the restoration of capitalism, had not been utterly defeated, it would have been impossible to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat, to defeat the foreign armed intervention, and to build up socialism.

It cannot be regarded as an accident that all the petty-bourgeois parties, which styled themselves “revolutionary” and “socialist” parties in order to deceive the people—the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists and nationalists—became counter-revolutionary parties even before the October Socialist Revolution, and later turned into agents of foreign bourgeois espionage services, into a gang of spies, wreckers,

diversionists, assassins and traitors to the country.

“The unity of the proletariat in the epoch of social revolution,” Lenin says, “can be achieved only by the extreme revolutionary party of Marxism, and only by a relentless struggle against all other parties.”*

4. The history of the Party further teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst, it cannot preserve unity and discipline within its ranks, it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, nor its role as the builder of the new, socialist society.

The history of the development of the internal life of our Party is the history of the struggle against the opportunist groups within the Party—the “Economists,” Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and nationalist deviators—and of the utter defeat of these groups.

The history of our Party teaches us that all these groups of capitulators were in point of fact agents of Menshevism within our Party, the lees and dregs of Menshevism, the continuers of Menshevism. Like the Mensheviks, they acted as vehicles of bourgeois influence among the working class and in the Party. The struggle for the liquidation of these groups within the Party was therefore a continuation of the struggle for the liquidation of Menshevism.

If we had not defeated the “Economists” and the Mensheviks, we could not have built the Party and led the working class to the proletarian revolution.

If we had not defeated the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, we could not have brought about the conditions that are essential for the building of socialism.

If we had not defeated the nationalist deviators of all shades and colors, we could not have educated the people in the spirit of internationalism, we could not have safeguarded the banner of the

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Russian edition, pp. 100-101.

* *Ibid.*, Vol XXVI, Russian edition, p. 50.

great amity of the nations of the U.S.S.R., and we could not have built up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

It may seem to some that the Bolsheviks devoted far too much time to this struggle against the opportunist elements within the Party, that they overrated their importance. But that is altogether wrong. Opportunism in our midst is like an ulcer in a healthy organism, and must not be tolerated. The Party is the leading detachment of the working class, its advanced fortress, its general staff. Sceptics, opportunists, capitulators and traitors cannot be tolerated on the directing staff of the working class. If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. To attain victory, the Party of the working class, its directing staff, its advanced fortress, must first be purged of capitulators, deserters, scabs and traitors.

It cannot be regarded as an accident that the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and nationalist deviators who fought Lenin and the Party ended just as the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties did, namely, by becoming agents of fascist espionage services, by turning spies, wreckers, assassins, diversionists and traitors to the country.

"With reformists, Mensheviks, in our ranks," Lenin said, "it is *impossible* to achieve victory in the proletarian revolution, it is *impossible* to retain it. That is obvious in principle, and it has been strikingly confirmed by the experience both of Russia and Hungary. . . . In Russia, difficult situations have arisen *many times*, when the Soviet regime would *most certainly* have been overthrown had Mensheviks, reformists, and petty-bourgeois democrats remained in our Party. . . ."*

* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, Russian edition, pp. 462-63.

"Our Party," Comrade Stalin says, "succeeded in creating internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution, because it was able to rid its ranks of the Liquidators, the Mensheviks. Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunist and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists. The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements."*

5. The history of the Party further teaches us that a party cannot perform its role as leader of the working class if, carried away by success, it begins to grow conceited, ceases to observe the defects in its work, and fears to acknowledge its mistakes and frankly and honestly to correct them in good time.

A party is invincible if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time.

A party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it glosses over sore problems, if it covers up its shortcomings by pretending that all is well, if it is intolerant of criticism and self-criticism, if it gives way to self-complacency and vainglory and if it rests on its laurels.

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes," Lenin says, "is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfils its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling *masses*. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should edu-

* Stalin, *Leninism*.

cate and train the *class*, and then the *masses*.”*

And further:

“All revolutionary parties which have hitherto perished, did so because they *grew conceited*, failed to see where their strength lay, and *feared to speak of their weaknesses*. But we shall not perish, for we do not fear to speak of our weaknesses and will learn to overcome them.”**

6. Lastly, the history of the Party teaches us that unless it has wide connections with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens these connections, unless it knows how to hearken to the voices of the masses and understand their urgent needs, unless it is prepared not only to teach the masses, but to learn from the masses, a party of the working class cannot be a real mass party capable of leading the working class millions and all the laboring people.

A party is invincible if it is able, as Lenin says, “to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses.”***

A party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow party shell, if it severs itself from the masses, if it allows itself to be covered with bureaucratic rust.

“We may take it as the rule,” Comrade Stalin says, “that as long as the Bolsheviks maintain contact with the broad masses of the people they will be invincible. And, on the contrary, as soon

as the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the masses and lose their contact with them, as soon as they become covered with bureaucratic rust, they will lose all their strength and become a mere cipher.

“In the mythology of the ancient Greeks there was a celebrated hero, Antaeus, who, so the legend goes, was the son of Poseidon, god of the seas, and Gaea, goddess of the earth. Antaeus was very much attached to the mother who had given birth to him, suckled him and reared him. There was not a hero whom this Antaeus did not vanquish. He was regarded as an invincible hero. Wherein lay his strength? It lay in the fact that every time he was hard pressed in a fight with an adversary he would touch the earth, the mother who had given birth to him and suckled him, and that gave him new strength. Yet he had a vulnerable spot—the danger of being detached from the earth in some way or other. His enemies were aware of this weakness and watched for him. One day an enemy appeared who took advantage of this vulnerable spot and vanquished Antaeus. This was Hercules. How did Hercules vanquish Antaeus? He lifted him from the earth, kept him suspended in the air, prevented him from touching the earth, and throttled him.

“I think that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain contact with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain contact with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

“That is the key to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership.”**

Such are the chief lessons to be drawn from the historical path traversed by the Bolshevik Party.

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*.

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, Russian edition, p. 200.

** *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, Russian edition, pp. 260-61.

*** *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, Russian edition, p. 174.

The Colonial Demands of German Fascism

BY KURT FUNK

THE pros and cons of the colonial demands of Hitler's Reich have been of late much discussed and debated. In this respect the campaign of German fascism has, as intended by its wire-pullers, been taken a step forward. It has succeeded in making Germany's colonial demands a subject for discussions in the course of which Hitler has had the opportunity to get some idea of the places where he can most easily and quickly direct his attack and make a break through.

The London *Times*, whose function as pace-setter for the claims of German fascism upon Czechoslovakia is still fresh in our memory, declared its attitude to the German colonial demands on November 16, 1938, in a manner which, following on the events in Europe, was worth more attention than it actually received. This reactionary paper felt itself obliged, at the very moment when the British public as a whole was in uproar over the disgraceful Jewish pogroms in Germany, to come out wholeheartedly *in favor* of the cession of colonial territories to Germany. This paper, with editors who are perfectly acquainted with the practices of German colonial "pioneers" such as Hanging Peters, and with an editorial library from which the official British records of German colonial policy have certainly not been cleared away, tried to swim against the current of British public opinion, by certifying in advance that Hitler's Reich would treat the colonial peoples with more moderation than the German Jews.

Seeing the present significance of the proprietary group of the *Times* for the pursuance of the line of the imperialist

reactionaries in Britain, the accommodating tone of the paper toward the colonial claims of German fascism must be taken as showing the disposition of the reactionary leaders of British policy to grant concessions to Hitler's Reich even in this regard. The "fairness" which distinguishes politicians of the Chamberlain brand gives good reason to think that the British reactionaries will shortly try to arrange a "colonial appeasement" or a "rearrangement of colonial relations" on the Munich pattern, at the expense of third powers.

Consequently, responsible people in Belgium, Holland and Portugal are already uneasy because, correctly, they feel that negotiations for their colonial possessions are going on behind their backs. But the course of relation between France and Italy, and the relevant remarks of British politicians and newspapers on the attitude of the British government to the Italo-French dispute, show that the colonial claims which are put up in this case primarily by Italian fascism (but with the confessed collaboration and coincidence of interests of German fascism) to a "great power" of France's standing, do not concern and endanger small countries only.

Although the demands which German fascism proposes to make regarding colonies have not yet been specifically listed, one can see that the time is near when these demands will become the focus of international attention. Fascist propaganda has perfected the groundwork for this to a striking degree, inside Germany and abroad. "Sooner or later the boiler must burst!" said Goebbels in February,

1936. Since then, Germany's internal and foreign political evolution has generated such great pressure that menace of the "burst" is no longer beyond our horizon. Munich, thanks to the conduct of the British and French reactionaries, has cleared away many obstacles from the path of German fascism.

The attacks of Italian fascism, again thanks to the influence of reactionary groups on the policy of Britain and France, serve as auxiliary propellers to German fascism, of which it gladly makes use in order to gain some more ground itself. Goebbels' press was at pains to make clear the connection between the Italian claims upon France and Germany's colonial aspirations. That, too, was done in a way which deliberately left some room for doubt as to which areas Germany's colonial designs encompass, but managed to imply that the scope of the German demands is very expansive. From various utterances of the semi-official *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz*, however, it would seem clear that the "return of the former German colonies" is one, but only one, of the many colonial demands of German fascism.

The *Berliner Boersenzzeitung* took the occasion of a speech by the Belgian Premier, Spaak, to remark that the German colonial problem does not resolve itself into a "return," but is a comprehensive problem. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* has stated, without mincing words, that the enhanced continental standing of Germany could entail no renunciation of its overseas and colonial "legitimate claims." Schwarz van Berk, the editor-in-chief of the *Angriff*, who was sent on a world tour, summed up his first year's touring impressions of Egypt, Palestine, India, Australia and other countries, after directly referring to the Chinese nation's struggle for liberty and the national liberation movements in the colonial countries, in the following words:

"At this hour in world history Germany comes forward. Shall she be spontaneously accepted into the ranks of the world powers, or shall her strength be

lacking when everything is at stake which the white man has built up on a world scale?"

Anyone can see from random samples of fascist newspaper articles that the colonial ambitions and demands of German fascism are extremely far-flung and manifold. They can only be correctly understood and considered if taken in conjunction with, not in contrast to, the "reorganization" and "transformation" plans of German fascism for Europe. It would lead to fatal misconceptions and false conclusions, should it be thought that German fascism seriously intends, simply for reasons of prestige or from "justified" motives, to insist on the "return of the colonies which were formerly in Germany's possession," while for the rest contenting itself with the hegemony of the continent of Europe. The facts are as Georgi Dimitroff has written:

"The fact should be clearly appreciated that the question has already passed beyond the bounds of the arbitrary revision of the Versailles Treaty by the fascist states.

"*What is at issue is a new repartition of the globe.* What is at issue is not only the redistribution of the existing colonial possessions. Fascism is placing on the order of the day the question of the *repartition of Europe itself*, the colonization of a number of *European* states and the imperialist enslavement of a number of *European* peoples."*

THE COLONIAL DEMANDS AS ONE SECTION OF THE PROGRAM FOR THE REPARTITION OF THE GLOBE

It is the "approved" tactic of German fascism to start by spreading its demands of a foreign political nature systematically within the homeland, in such a way as to set certain sections of the population moving, in fact to imbue them with fanaticism. The colonial demands have for long been incorporated in the school

* "The United Front Against Fascism," *The Communist International*, No. 12, 1938.

curriculum. There exists in Germany a large amount of colonial literature. Colonial exhibitions are always being shown in the cities. Certain professional and population groups which have a particular interest in the export trade have been fed or deluded over an extended period with the argument that their interests can best be served by the acquisition of colonial territories for Germany.

It little worries the propagandists of fascism that the "argument" by which, for instance, Rudolph Boehmer tries to show that German colonial possessions would offer wonderful opportunities for the large-scale emigration of German peasants and settlers, is directly contradicted by the statistics and calculations of another, very official, colonial expert—Paul Rohrbach—where we find that a colonial area of the size of Bavaria (about 27,000 square miles with 6,000,000 inhabitants) could only support some 58,000 settlers.

The propagandists for German colonial demands take care not to reveal to the mass of Germans that the colonizing plans of Hitler's Reich would immediately, and for a prolonged period, burden the bulk of Germany's population with new strictures, which the Reich would impose in order to finance the building of communications, industries and—not least—fortifications. Apart from the glowing colors in which German propaganda for home consumption paints the future, it works chiefly through "patriotic" appeal like the demands for "equality of privileges," "recognition as a great power," "precedence in view of the racial mission of the German nation," etc. The immediate object of this campaign is to fulfill certain conditions which will ensure a response inside the home country to the offensive being planned on the colonial question.

Let us now try to see in what measure Hitler's Reich has so far pushed forward along the road toward colonial conquests. The campaign for the "return of the former German colonial possessions" has already aroused wide international repercussions. In particular, since Munich,

it passes for a sign of special "realist political" cunning in bourgeois circles, if one whispers it about that one holds a special trump card, which one will play if Hitler persists in disturbing the world with his demands: the return of the former German colonies, which are now governed as "mandates" by Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, Australia, the Union of South Africa and New Zealand.

Admittedly the advocates of such a step are thinking rather of a partial and temporary concession, from which their own country perhaps would be exempted. But there are as well consistent advocates of the "great-hearted" and "honorable" attitude to Hitler's Reich, who believe that German fascism will calm itself with the mandated areas delivered up to it, and be dissuaded from making further demands. Combatting these illusions, one cannot point out too strongly that whereas it is true that Hitler's Reich puts the "return" in the foreground, that is for precisely the same tactical reasons as have prompted, one by one, the reunion with the Saar, the introduction of conscription, the fortification of the Rhineland, the building of a large fleet, the annexation of Austria, and that of the Sudeten districts.

For better understanding the methods of fascist foreign policy it is necessary to note the parallelism, voiced again and again by the spokesmen of Hitler's Reich, between the road to autocracy in Germany and the road to world domination which they are treading. The appeal to "legality" played, in its time, a considerable role in Germany. Whither the tracks led, which were hidden for so long in the tunnel of "legality," we now know. And revelations of the further implications of the demand for a "return," founded on an imperialist "legal right," are close at hand.

In reality, Hitler's Reich is neither waiting for the voluntary "return" of the future, nor will it content itself with such. This much can be deduced with certainty from the comprehensive steps which German fascism has already

taken, in dead secrecy, with a view to being in control at a given moment of every key position which can enable it to bring increased pressure to bear upon those enemies or opponents who may seem inclined to give ground.

In the former German colonies there is a network of fascist locals and spy-groups. In some places the numbers of German employees of commercial units and of "scientists" are actually greater than at the time when Germany was the official owner of the colonies. In South Africa and Tanganyika, where for strategic reasons it appears important to the fascists to have influence and to penetrate, the German fascists, apart from their direct representatives, maintain confederates and flunkys inside certain Boer, and also in British, organizations.

French Morocco is riddled with the cells of German fascism and connected by dozens of threads with fascist Spanish Morocco. Just as the Balearic Islands have become air-bases in the Mediterranean for the fascist intervention in Spain, from which in addition the lines of communication between France and North Africa can be cut, so also along the coast of Africa there are various islands in the hands of German or of Italian fascism converted into raiding bases for attack upon the property of other powers. Let the observant student but consider the efforts of Hitler's Reich on behalf of the "return" of the former German colonies in conjunction with the intrigues of Italian fascism in the Mediterranean, the work of disruption in French Morocco, and the struggle for influence on the one hand in Egypt, on the other in South Africa—and he will get an interesting picture of the whole of Africa in effect gripped between two prongs, and, further, studded at different points by centers of fascist sedition. Both fascist powers take particular care to influence the Mohammedan movement, which in the African territories and also in other parts is harnessed to the chariot of the imperialist designs of the Rome-Berlin Axis.

These facts lend very pronounced color

to the function of Africa, repeatedly defined of late by German fascism as "an economic reserve area." German fascism and its Italian allies look forward, following the well-favored hazard of Munich, to such a degree of leniency and support from the ultra-reactionary cliques of Britain and France, that they expect within measurable time to see Africa a "reserve area" in the grasp of German and Italian fascism, its key points being exploited meanwhile for harassing and cutting, at their own sweet will, the lines of communication to the colonial possessions of other powers in other parts of the world.

For the colonial designs of German fascism do not stop short at Africa; they extend also to South America, to the Orient and Asia, and for each of these regions fascism has a special program, and operates with carefully adapted methods. But in general the colonial claims and the colonial activities of German fascism constitute in every case a direct menace to peace and the current status quo, and are directed toward the goal of fundamentally upsetting the equilibrium of the world in pursuance of the hegemony of German imperialism.

In this connection, special interest attaches to the comprehensive plans of German fascism in Asia, to the realization of which Japan, and a grandly-conceived "pan-Islamic" movement, are to contribute.

Hitler's Reich operates on the principle of bargaining simultaneously with the most reactionary cliques of the imperialist powers, and through cells among the oppressed colonial peoples. It attempts to sway movements of national liberation through its spies, and to exploit them up to a certain point for its preparatory work in furthering Germany's imperialist ambitions. But in no case is German fascism a true ally or a genuine supporter of oppressed colonial nations, not even when it hypocritically takes up their case, as in Palestine. Rather, German fascism affords us an example of colonial policy in the age of imperialism, which singles it out as the

most reactionary and dangerous of the imperialist powers.

The colonial claims and colonial theories of German fascism are a menace to the world, not merely because they multiply the prospects of imperialist wars, but in addition on account of their specific character and special consequences for the colonial peoples themselves.

THE "SPECIFIC CHARACTER" OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL DEMANDS

In German fascist publications, the point has again and again been made recently that the opening up of Africa must be considered to be a European "cooperative undertaking." Schwarz van Berk, who has already been cited, is among those who have spoken of common interests of the "whites" with respect to colonies. For an understanding of the function of German fascism in colonial politics it is important to get clear about what is meant by "cooperative work" and "common interests of the whites," the more so since in some sections of the British Labor Party the idea of "cooperative work" is sprouting (in conjunction with a "just" distribution of the sources of raw materials).

The expert writers of German fascism on colonies stress their view that German fascism sees the colonial exploitation and suppression of entire peoples, states and continents as an unalterable and unchallengeable privilege of every "ruling race" which, in the fascist racial creed, is born to dominate the world. For the influencing and penetration of colonial countries by German fascism, the fascist theory of race plays a part comparable to that of anti-Semitism in the undermining and disruption of European states.

The fascist theoretician on colonial questions, Paul Rohrbach, clearly expressed the conception of German fascism when he described the Negro as "racially inferior" to the "white," and from this drew the conclusion that the Negro belongs permanently under the "guardianship of the white," who alone is

fitted "to bring about the great African restoration and generally to organize the fund of physical strength and the capacity to learn, which is possessed by the Negro, for the purpose of promoting culture." (Rohrbach, *Deutschlands Koloniale Forderungen.*)

"Generally promoting culture" here means nothing else than systematically exploiting the mineral resources, the agricultural yield and the labor forces in the colonial countries for the profit of the tyrant. The phrase about a "cultural mission" of the colonial tyrant for the "elevation" of the colonial peoples carries no weight, and in fact it is now seldom used in its old sense in the fascist utterances on colonies.

Fascism talks about the "unalterability" and "permanence" of colonial oppression as if it were something to be taken for granted. German fascism openly sneers at attempts to teach Negroes and other colonial peoples reading, writing and general knowledge. One must discipline the colonial peoples and train them to the point where their labor power becomes exploitable to the maximum, but the art of this training is precisely to ensure the "fixed consciousness of subordination to the superior character, the superior fairness and capability of the white man." (Rohrbach.)

At present German fascism is using every channel to disseminate as widely as possible this, its conception of colonial policy. To do this, it does not even require the "return" of the former German colonies. In South Africa, Mexico and other countries these theories are methodically propagated by German spies and the accomplices of German fascism.

For the colonial peoples and for the peoples of dependent states this spreading of the fascist ideology of race means the imposition of additional fetters, and an attempt to extend and aggravate their bondage. For the peoples of imperialist countries the adoption of the fascist theory of race amounts to a source of new, unlimited conflicts, splits, and finally the hegemony of German fascism over themselves also, being the most un-

scrupulous and cunning force in these affairs.

If, therefore, German fascism now talks in terms of "European cooperative undertakings" on the colonial field, it is but pursuing its intent to get its principles, *i.e.*, the principles of the most ultra-reactionary imperialist power, generally recognized so that they may then come into play as explosive matter.

Entirely compatible with this fascist ideology of race is the tactic of German fascism of encouraging movements of colonial peoples, temporarily and only in selected, convenient areas, under the banner of struggle against "national oppression," with a view forthwith to putting other European or American competitors out of the running, and afterward to building up its hegemony all the more securely. The slogan of the "interests of the whites" has obviously been taken up by German fascism for opportunist purposes, in the hope that it will facilitate the groundwork of its various campaigns in the sphere of colonial policy, by obliging certain reactionary groups in Britain, France and America to adopt for the time being an attitude of benevolence to German fascism.

But the colonial peoples themselves may expect from German fascism not only a repetition of the notorious German punitive expeditions and the wholesale extermination of local populations, but the establishment of a rule which would stand without compare for brutality and imperialist ruthlessness.

In Germany itself, Hitler's Reich has turned citizens into yes-men who are of less account than the "faithful lieges" of olden days. What indescribable bestiality fascism practises in Germany upon its "white" yes-men in the concentration camp! How unscrupulously it grinds them down in the arms factories and in the building of arterial roads and fortifications! How it presses the members of states annexed by it or lapsed into dependence on it, further and further into the mire! And how it would behave in places where it could work its will as an unbridled imperialist tyrant!

It is not merely a matter of beating and murdering. It is a matter of the fact that German fascism would interrupt the cultural advance of whole peoples on a grand scale, or—as it prefers to put it—in general, and turn them in the opposite direction.

And as to the means for terrorizing the colonial peoples, that aforesaid so-called theoretician of German fascism on colonies, Paul Rohrbach, in his book published in 1937, expresses his regret that the German colonial force had no military aircraft in 1904 to help it exterminate the Hereros, and he has given an assurance that the modern weapons of the German army provide instruments of an altogether different order for holding down and punishing colonial peoples, than the ones that were in use then. With some candor, Rohrbach explains the aims of German colonial policy in Africa, which, with minor variations, are valid for the other colonial areas too and in the end will be applied to such countries as may be independent yesterday or today, but are marked down for colonization by German fascism:

"Africa has for a long time been the colonial part of the earth, and will remain so. It differs in many ways from the remaining overseas spheres of influence of European economy. First, its population is still numerically undeveloped. Second, while the African races are admittedly better able to withstand the ill effects of climate and environment than the whites are, in their racial spiritual make-up they lag behind us not merely temporarily, but permanently, and are therefore destined to be led by us. Third, as far as man can foretell, there will never exist upon African soil any large-scale industry based upon the enterprise of the natives themselves."

Here is a relatively candid declaration of the reactionary, parasitic imperialist colonial policy which haunts the mind of German fascism, and which is also ripe in imagination for the non-African areas; yes, and for the annexed European territories (except that there, for example, existent industries are

ruined and liquidated to suit the profit book of German monopoly capital).

A FIRM, UNIFIED ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS TOWARD THE GERMAN COLONIAL DEMANDS IS NECESSARY

As far as is possible within a limited scope and a brief account, we have been trying to show that the colonial demands and theories of German fascism, when compared with the colonial methods of imperialist states to date, are far and away the most reactionary. It is the duty of the international working class movement to assess these demands and intrigues not only from the viewpoint that the origins and possibilities of imperialist wars of conquest are multiplied by them, but also from the viewpoint that here is the most reactionary and most pronounced imperialist power, trying to interrupt the whole future evolution of human society and to force it along the road to ruin, to subjugation to the inhuman system of robbery and violence of German fascism.

For this reason the international working class and the Marxist working class organizations cannot look indifferently upon the German colonial demands and the intrigues of German fascism in colonial and dependent countries. It does not suffice to throw out general declarations against imperialist colonial policy as such, as sections of the British and French Socialists do, and to finish by acknowledging with a shrug of the shoulders the relative "justice" of the German colonial claims "so long as colonial policy and colonial domination exist at all." In the final resort this seemingly "radical" view is just as much a bourgeois, imperialist one as that taken by those "Socialists" who simply mimic the colonial policies of the respective bourgeoisie.

Within a measurable space of time the colonial question posed by German fascism may have grown to such a degree that it forces itself upon the attention of all politically active forces. In that

event a vague "opposition" to "colonial policy as such" will be of no more avail than a simple copy of the standpoint of the relevant bourgeois government. Even now the effects of German fascist activity in the colonial regions are noticeable. German fascism is coming onward, more or less veiled, as a power, and already complicates the analysis which must be made by the oppressed colonial peoples in furtherance of their national independence and liberty.

In the cause of the progress of the struggle for liberation of the international working class, a viewpoint can and must be found on which it is possible to build the widest combination of all progressive forces, above all, of the working class, the oppressed colonial peoples fighting for their independence, and the progressive forces of the petty bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

This viewpoint can only be (it accords with the interests of each of the above-named groups): opposition to the colonial demands of German fascism and resistance to the intrigues of German fascism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and promotion of the extending of the democratic rights and liberties for the colonial people. On such a viewpoint alone can sufficient strength be mustered in order to dispute successfully the trend to capitulation and the preparatory haggling of reaction in Britain and France, which would like to buy itself a breathing space at the price of colonial concessions to Germany.

Rigid opposition to the German colonial demands is the sole condition for averting a new era, steeped in fascist racial ideology, of colonial policy more merciless and imperialist than is presented even by its forerunner, German fascism. Such rigid opposition also coincides with the interests of the majority of the German people themselves, who from the achievement of the fascist colonial ambitions might expect, not relief, but decided aggravation of their dire straits (new dues and taxes, forced labor, wage cuts resulting from the cheaper labor power which the fascist regime

and the monopoly capitalists would control).

The attitude here briefly outlined would thus be calculated to bring to a head the decisive forces whose interests are affected, forces by which German fascism can be prevented from receiving, through the acquisition of colonies and its reactionary abuse and falsification of movements of national independence

(such as the Arabian one at present), an accession of power—which in the end it would employ solely to enslave humanity and to trample underfoot the German people itself. It is feasible, and it is necessary, that above all the workers' organizations of the world should begin to build a firm, united, clear attitude of opposition to the demands of German fascism.

“The world-historical significance of the Third, Communist International lies in that it has begun to put into practice Marx’s greatest slogan, the slogan which sums up the century-old development of socialism and the working class movement, the slogan which is expressed by the term: dictatorship of the proletariat.

“This brilliant forecast, this brilliant theory, is becoming a reality.”—V. I. Lenin, “The Communist International,” *Selected Works*, Vol. X.

The Experience of History Calls for the Unity of the Working Class

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HAINFELD PARTY CONGRESS

BY F. FURNBERG

IT IS fifty years since the Party Congress which established the unity of the Austrian workers' movement was held in Hainfeld. Fifty years have passed of hard struggle, great successes, mighty victories, and also of many a severe defeat for the Austrian working class. If the Austrian workers' movement was young at that time, was scarcely out of its infancy, still not a broad mass movement, it has, during the past fifty years, grown in strength both from the ideological and organizational point of view; it has traveled a long way, and is today in sight, within reach, of the goal towards which it set out.

It is in sight of this goal despite the barbaric domination of fascism, which has gagged the workers, for the working class and its revolutionary party are able to discern the true dialectical laws of the development of mankind. The Marxist-Leninist theory helps it to know those laws and to perceive behind the bloody curtain of fascist domination the revolutionary changes of the future, the dawn of liberation.

The Austrian workers' movement dates much farther back than fifty years. As early as the revolutionary years of 1848-49 the new young rising force made itself felt which was later to set its stamp on the whole further course of events. The workers' movement in Austria developed with particular vigor after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 which ended with the defeat of

the Hapsburg monarchy. The forces of reaction, compelled after the defeat to make concessions, very soon endeavored to crush the rising workers' movement. A period of persecution and repressive decrees followed, a state of emergency was declared, and every effort was made to solve the social question by methods of brutal suppression.

The repressive measures of the ruling class proved successful for a time, although they served to stimulate the far more vigorous and powerful development of the workers' movement which followed on this period of openly brutal repression. At first, however, the ruling class succeeded not only in shattering and suppressing the workers' organizations, but also in introducing spies into them and splitting them. The repressive measures of the imperial government aroused tremendous indignation among the workers, and, profiting by this, *agents provocateurs* succeeded in organizing assassinations and terroristic acts, and in driving honest workers in the direction of anarchism.

The Austrian workers' movement was divided into "moderates" and "radicals." If the "radicals" were infected with the germ of anarchism and rejected the struggle for democratic rights and the day-to-day interests of the workers, the "moderates," on the other hand, saw salvation only in the democratic franchise and were opposed to any form of illegal, nay of revolutionary, struggle

whatever. The workers' organizations were consumed by internal dissensions, and the two factions were driven further and further apart.

The development of capitalism proceeded. The number of workers increased at a tempestuous pace. In all the capitalist countries of Europe the working class reared its head. The German working class had established its unity, and despite the Anti-Socialist Law continued to develop. The preponderance of the workers in society increased; social forces required that the workers should enter the lists united, and the workers' movement of other countries pointed the way. The hour was approaching when unity was to be essential.

The necessity for unity does not imply that unity as yet exists. In order to bring unity actually into being hard, steady work was needed. For this a Marxist line was necessary, from which the struggle against bourgeois influences in the workers' movement could be carried on and, concretely, the struggle against anarchism and liberalism. There were people to be found in the workers' movement who were willing and able to carry out this work, to carry on this struggle. They were to be found both in the ranks of the "radicals" and the "moderates."

These men got together, and began to work out a "declaration of principles" and to lay the foundations of a united party. In this connection a progressive role was played by Victor Adler, who at that time still adhered to the revolutionary standpoint. He still declared that the new party was a revolutionary party, and that "its objective was bound up with a complete change in the basis of the contemporary social order." (*The Rise of Social-Democracy*, p. 56.)

The reformist trends which even at that time were discernible in Victor Adler and which later developed to such an extent that he became a leader of the reformists were entirely thrust into the background of his revolutionary and progressive attitude. Of no less significance, in this connection, was the direct influence exerted by Frederick Engels on

Victor Adler and the Austrian workers' movement. Engels fought resolutely for the unity of the Austrian workers' movement, and regarded this unity as essential for its development.

The ground was prepared for unity over a period of some years. The state of emergency declared by the government very considerably reduced the possibility of any kind of political activity. The reactionary Austrian government threatened to take even severer measures against Socialists and to pass a special law against them in Austria. Unity had not merely to be the result of clarity within the workers' movement, but also to go hand in hand with the struggle against the government for the political rights and liberties of the working class.

Only unity attained in the course of the struggle has a firm and unshakable basis and is able to withstand fresh blows and attacks. And such unity, forged by the rank and file and consolidated by the leaders, came into being in Austria.

The great mass meetings held in Vienna on May 9, 1866, and April 3, 1887, were milestones on the road to unity. If the first meeting in Vienna was no more than a demonstration of protest against the Anti-Socialist Law projected by the imperial government, the second meeting laid the foundations for a declaration of principles on the part of the new united Austrian workers' movement.

The first meeting gave evidence of "the consciousness that the victory of the proletariat is the inevitable outcome of the course of history." (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

The second meeting, however, accepted the basic principle that "the capitalist social order is marching to its . . . downfall," and developed the program of the revolutionary Marxist workers' party of the time, laying the main emphasis on the achievement of democracy with the object of facilitating the transition from a capitalist to a socialist social order. (pp. 13-14).

Thus the basis for unity in the struggle was achieved, The Unity Con-

gress had become possible, and an appeal convening it for New Year's Eve in Hainfeld was published by the Socialist newspapers. The final paragraph of this appeal echoed the rising spirit of unity:

"Let us forget our old dissensions, and may nothing fill our hearts but the firm resolve to form an inseparable fighting band of brothers, which will never rest until our sacred cause is victorious and our great objective achieved: *the emancipation of the working class*. Let us not look backward but forward! We know that we shall have only our own force, the working class itself, to thank for our liberation, and only if it stands united." (Quoted from Brügel, *History of Austrian Social-Democracy*, Vol. III, p. 396.)

One hundred and ten delegates assembled at the congress in Hainfeld, seventy of whom were entitled to vote and among whom were representatives from all parts of the old Austria. Austrians from Vienna and the Alpine provinces sat side by side with Czechs, Poles and Slovenes. The congress was a unity congress in a national sense as well. The Socialist Party, which this congress founded, was a truly international party; it was based on the Marxist theory that the working classes of the individual nations must stand together in a single fighting front and not let themselves be led into regarding alliance with the bourgeoisie of their own nation as fundamental. It was only later that the reformist development of Austrian Social-Democracy and the defection of the Czech and Polish Socialists to the camp of nationalism led to the fateful split of the Austrian workers' movement into national parties.

The Hainfeld Congress set the seal on unity. The declaration of principles was accepted with only three dissenting votes and the resolution calling for unity was passed unanimously. The basis was laid for the coming great advance of the Austrian workers' movement.

The Hainfeld Congress, it must be admitted, was not entirely without mistakes and omissions. It pointed out the line for the struggle for political rights

and liberties, but gave no clear idea as to how these rights should be utilized to enable the workers to seize power or a clear idea of the organizational tasks confronting the party. It committed the error of designating all non-Socialist groups and parties bluntly as a "reactionary mass" and entirely failed to realize that the proletariat must march united in its struggle. It did not even place the national question, which was a burning one in the old Austria, on its agenda. Despite these errors and omissions its tremendous historical importance remains a fact. This significance lay in the establishment of proletarian unity on a Marxist basis.

And therein, too, lies the significance for the present day of the Hainfeld Congress. Today the Austrian working class lives and struggles under a regime of utter slavery, of bloody suppression by German fascism. In so far as lack of workers' rights is concerned, the period of fifty years ago was, in comparison with today, a period teeming with opportunities for the working class. The terror exercised by the government fifty years ago is not to be compared with the barbarity of the Nazis. There is a hundred times greater need for the unity of the workers today than fifty years ago.

The unity of fifty years ago did not come of itself. Still less will it do so today. Still more than at that time is the achievement of unity bound up with the struggle against the enemies of the workers, with the daily struggle against fascism, with the struggle against the enemies of unity within the workers' own ranks.

The division in the working class today is the result of the treachery of the leaders of Social-Democracy, which began in the year 1914 and continued during the whole post-war period.

The hard school of defeat, the loss of all political rights and liberties, and the bloody suppression of the workers' movement by fascism have caused the conviction to grow in the minds of the Austrian workers that it is of paramount importance to overcome the split within their ranks. The overcoming of this split,

the restoration of unity, can, however, only be accomplished, just as fifty years ago, on the basis of the Marxist revolutionary theory of class struggle. The Austrian working class has realized that complete unity can be reached only through the establishment of the united front.

"The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world."*

Unity of action, thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party and the Socialist workers, has been established in Austria. But it is far from being close and strong enough. Intrigues are being carried on against it by certain reactionary leaders amongst the Social-Democrats and by sham revolutionaries amongst the "revolutionary Socialists." There is moreover, no lack of police spies and agents provocateurs—Trotskyites—who carry on a rabid campaign against unity. Only in the struggle against all these enemies of unity, who are only furthering the interests of the class enemy, can the split in the workers' ranks be overcome and the desire of the workers be realized which the chairman of the Hainfeld Congress expressed in the following words:

"I found that they all felt the necessity . . . of setting the seal at this Congress on the spirit of unity which has long throbbled in every breast and to part from one another as brothers." (Minutes of the Hainfeld Party Congress, p. 109.)

The revolutionary Austrian workers, the whole Austrian working class, have long felt their hearts pulsate with the spirit of unity and desire to set the seal on that unity.

If the Austrian working class today, at a time when it is working under the conditions of the strictest illegality, looks

back on the first party congress of fifty years ago, it does so in the determination to emulate the example of the pioneers of the Socialist movement in Austria in closing the ranks of the working class, in achieving the unity of the workers' movement in Austria and the closest fraternal alliance with the workers of other nationalities, particularly with the German, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Croat and Slovene workers. But above all the Austrian working class feels itself united with the workers of the Soviet Union. The forefathers of the Socialist workers' movement stated in their program at Hainfeld with regard to their aims:

"Seeing however . . . that so long as land and soil, tools and factories are the property of single individuals, such a just distribution of the products of labor is impossible, we desire that these should become the exclusive property of society. In the society of today they are the monopoly of the possessing classes, and hence the dependent state of the working class is the cause of all misery and wretchedness. Hence, for the achievement of equality of conditions for all members of society, the abolition of wage labor is absolutely essential, the abolition of any form whatever of exploitation of man by man, the abolition of every form of social and political inequality in society." (Brügel, *History of Austrian Social-Democracy*, p. 389.)

The workers of the Soviet Union have realized this aim. They have abolished the exploitation of man by man. They have built up socialism, which assures the welfare of the whole people. On the basis of the unshakable unity of the working class and its Bolshevik Party they have established the moral and political unity of the whole people. The Soviet Union is the fortress in the struggle against fascism, but it is also the living, incontrovertible and unshakable proof of the fact that, despite the defeats suffered by the working class in the West, the last hour of the capitalist social order has struck.

Fifty years ago the Hainfeld program stated:

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, pp. 30-31, International Publishers, New York.

"And from all the misery, all the accumulated wretchedness to which our conditions doom the vast majority of mankind, one single fact, which makes this life worth living, stands out in glowing relief: the fact that in our country, just as in other countries, thousands of men, despite the scourge, despite the cudgel and the knout, stand firmly shoulder to shoulder, keeping their eyes always on the goal, determined to tread the path leading to it, dauntless and united." (*Ibid*, p. 397)

Today the Soviet Union, which is the spearhead of the struggle for progress and humanity, the struggle for socialism, lifts its head triumphantly above the wretchedness and misery of the peoples of the capitalist countries.

The Hainfeld Congress had a prodigious effect on the Austrian workers' movement. United, its ranks closed, the movement marched forward and within six months achieved a decisive victory in the mighty May demonstration held on May 1, 1890, in Vienna. Engels was able to say with justification:

"Friend and foe are in agreement that of all the countries of Europe Austria, and of all the towns of Austria Vienna, celebrated the holiday of the proletariat the most brilliantly and worthily, and that the Austrian, and in particular the Viennese, workers have thus achieved an entirely new place in the movement." (Quoted from Victor Adler, *Essays, Speeches and Letters*, Volume I, pp. 8, 9.)

It was thus that the persecution of the workers' movement by the reactionaries was rendered ineffective, it was thus that unity placed the development

of the Socialist movement on a broader basis. The appeal convoking the Hainfeld Congress stated with justification;

". . . Thus the history of the Austrian workers' party is the same as the history of the proletariat of all countries: *a hundred times beaten, but never conquered.*" (Brügel, *History of Austrian Social-Democracy*, p. 394.)

The Austrian workers' movement is not conquered even today. The more rapidly it creates complete unity within its ranks, the more rapidly will it rise up again, the sooner will it gain fresh victories. And this time, too, after a period of bloody suppression, these victories will be mightier and more far-reaching than before.

The Austrian working class is conscious of its historical task. It sets great store by the revolutionary traditions of its year-long struggle and draws the lessons from the past. It places itself more and more resolutely at the head of the whole people in the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist rule and for the attainment of the independence of Austria. The Austrian workers apply the lessons of Hainfeld to the present day and say, with Comrade Dimitroff:

"At the present exceptionally responsible moment one must not limit oneself to mere propagandizing for working class unity. Today already unity must be established in practice, sweeping aside all obstacles in its path." *

* *The Communist International*, No. 12, p. 978, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

Two and One-Half Years of War for the Independence of Spain

SOME LESSONS AND PERSPECTIVES

BY ANTONIO R. JIMENEZ

ON JANUARY 18, two and a half years had elapsed since the beginning of the war for the independence of Spain. These two and a half years have been exceptionally rich in experiences not only for the proletariat and the whole Spanish people, but also for the Communist Parties of other countries, the international proletariat and all those who are opposing fascism, who are resolved to defend the independence of their country against the growing menace of fascism.

What are the most important results of these two and a half years?

The most important result is the fact that after two and a half years of extremely grave difficulties not only is the Spanish republic still in existence but that the policy of defense, the policy of unifying and consolidating the forces engaged in the decisive struggle against the aggressor is being put into effect with greater and greater success. The Spanish republic, despite the intervention of two great imperialist states, despite the "non-intervention" policy of the so-called democratic countries, and despite the reactionary leadership of the Second International and the International Federation of Trades Unions, which have sabotaged international aid for the Spanish republic, has stood its ground. Not only has it stood its ground, it has consolidated its internal position.

In the course of the war the Spanish republic has won a number of brilliant

victories, such as those at Guadalajara and Jarama; it has recaptured Belchite and Teruel, it has heroically defended Madrid and the Levant coast and has emerged victorious from the struggle for the Ebro. It is obvious, however, that during these two and a half years the course of the war has not been a succession of victories for the republic. The enemy has succeeded in dealing it several severe blows and has conquered a considerable area of Spanish territory; it was the fascists who forced the war upon an unprepared Spanish republic, and they have taken full advantage of their military and technical superiority, of a series of mistakes in the military policy of the former republican government, and of the services of Trotskyite agents in republican territory. But one may safely say that despite the further intensification of foreign intervention the initiative has to a considerable degree passed, during the last few months, into the hands of the republicans. During the last six months the republic has suffered no essential losses of territory.

The republic has gained time in which to shift the balance of forces to its own advantage. The republican government has succeeded in creating a strong, unified republican people's army, which is capable of repulsing the attacks of the enemy and even of carrying out brilliant offensive operations such as that on the Ebro. The republic has succeeded in creating a sound basis for its war in-

dustry, in reorganizing and consolidating the machinery of state, which, after the military, fascist uprising, had collapsed and was penetrated through and through by fascist elements. The republic has to all intents and purposes carried through the agrarian revolution. It has handed over to the peasants and agricultural workers millions of acres of rich land confiscated from those landowners who have either fled the country or taken part in the revolt and from those church dignitaries who have participated in the military fascist uprising.

At the same time the Spanish government has made the peasants alive to the fact that a victory over the interventionists and their accomplices, the Spanish fascists, is in their own best interests. It has taken the first steps towards the reorganization of the entire economy of the country with a view to the successful prosecution of the war against the interventionists. It has striven to muster all the country's resources and concentrate them on one single object: victory, the driving out of the interventionists from the Spanish republic, the securing of the country's independence.

It would nevertheless be a great mistake to shut one's eyes to the fact that since the shameful Munich agreement the danger that threatens the independence of the Spanish republic has very greatly increased. There is no doubt that since Munich intervention has assumed far greater proportions and that the dispatch of war material and troops from fascist Italy and Germany has considerably increased. Reactionary circles of the British bourgeoisie, supported by the French reactionaries, are cooperating with the interventionists with the object of liquidating the Spanish question as quickly as possible, that is, of assuring victory for the fascist interventionists.

Since Munich, too, the international situation has become more acute. And it is because of this very sharpening of the international situation that the fascist interventionists are now hastening and striving by all means in their power to settle the Spanish question once and for all, so that they may have their hands

free for campaigns of aggression on a larger scale. But the fascist interventionists are perfectly well aware that they cannot attain their object so long as there exists, in one half of Spanish territory, a republican government, democracy and a People's Front which is rapidly becoming an all-national front, so long as there exists a strong republican army which is establishing itself on a firmer basis from day to day.

The sharpening of the international situation has thrown up fresh problems in the struggle for the independence of Spain. The Spanish proletariat, the Spanish people and the international working class are confronted with fresh tasks involving heavy responsibilities. The means of carrying out these tasks are to hand; one can find them among the masses if only one knows how to apply correctly the lessons of the two and a half years' struggle of the Spanish people.

What are the chief lessons of this struggle?

One can safely say that the Spanish people would not have survived these two and a half years of war against the fascist interventionists, that it would not have created a regular army, a war industry, that it would not have been able to fight for the independence of its country, had not the unity of the Spanish working class and the Spanish people been achieved. And it would not have been able to achieve this unity but for the existence of the People's Front. The People's Front, however, would not have become the force that it is today had not the united working class been at its head, at the head of the people, at the head of the nation, had it not been the spearhead of the struggle for the defense of the country's national interests. *During the course of the Spanish war a united proletariat has led all those wide sections of the masses which are united in the People's Front. In the struggle for the national independence of Spain against foreign fascist dictators the People's Front is becoming a truly all-national front, on which the strongest fascist beasts of prey will break their teeth.*

How is it that this united national front has been created in Spain? Along what path can it develop further in order that, despite the difficult international situation, it may ensure the independence of the Spanish republic and complete victory over the interventionists?

The answer to these questions will give us a key to an understanding of how the miracle was brought to pass that the Spanish people, which at the outset of the war had no army, no military cadres, which was on the verge of economic collapse, was able for two and a half years to hold out, to consolidate its strength and to convert itself into a force which has time and time again thwarted the calculations and plans of great imperialist states. The answer to these questions will also provide a key to an understanding of the course that must be pursued in the future if the machinations of the fascist interventionists are to be successfully countered and final victory over them assured.

The history of the struggle of the Spanish people for its independence is not only a story of the greatest heroism and self-sacrifice on the part of a nation, but also a story of a steady advance towards unity—first and foremost the unity of the working class, but also of all anti-fascist forces, all sections of the population, all the nationalities of Spain.

The working class, during these two and a half years, has made great strides towards unity. It has become the most united, the most highly organized working class in the capitalist world. During this time the proletariat of the Spanish republic has been organized one hundred per cent in the trade unions.

There are at the moment two centralized trade union organizations, the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.) and the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.), which have entered into an agreement with regard to the running of joint campaigns; these two organizations have a membership of about three and a half million, that is, more than a quarter of the entire population of republican Spain. Unity of action has been established between the Communist

Party and the Socialist Party on the basis of a common program, a program for the organization and mobilization of all the forces of the country for the successful prosecution of the war.

The Communist Party has become a powerful political factor in the country. In Catalonia a united mass party of the Catalan proletariat—the United Socialist Party—has been created, and this is affiliated to the Communist International. The establishment of the powerful organization of the United Socialist Youth was a great step towards uniting the widest possible sections of Spanish youth. This organization, which grew up out of the fusion of the Communist and Socialist youth, has now reached a membership of half a million. It unites within its ranks hundreds of thousands of young people who, until the war, belonged to neither organization. All the Spanish youth organizations have become united in the Anti-Fascist Youth Alliance.

But other paths also have led towards unity: it has been possible, for example, to bring various workers' organizations around to a common viewpoint on basic questions affecting the prosecution of the war. One can affirm with certainty that on a whole series of important questions with regard to the conduct of the war, on which completely divergent views once prevailed, unanimity of all the workers' and trade union organizations has been achieved. None of the leaders of workers' organizations are now opposed to a regular republican army, to the continuance in power of a strong democratic republican government, to the economic reorganization of the country and to the adaptation of the country's economy to meet the needs of the war situation; they one and all now consider it essential to collaborate constantly in building up the people's army, in strengthening the authority of the government, in remedying certain defects in the economic system and in creating a powerful war industry.

In this way that far-reaching unity of the working class which, more than anything else, has constituted the basis of all the successes and achievements of

the Spanish republic in the struggle for its independence has been secured. A whole series of organizational defects and of reverses suffered by the Spanish republic are traceable to the fact that unity has, in the past, not been sufficiently strong, has been insufficiently organized, that it has been achieved far too slowly, and that it has been only with difficulty that certain leaders of anti-fascist organizations have been able to overcome their lack of understanding of the situation, their vacillation and their irresolution in the struggle against the provocative activity of the enemies of unity, the Trotskyite and other agents of fascism. Despite the great strides, however, that the Spanish working class has taken on the road towards the realization of its unity, the degree of unity reached still leaves much to be desired. The present international and internal situation raises fresh problems a rapid solution of which is essential if the fresh machinations of the enemy are to be frustrated, if the independence of Spain and the future of the working class, which is so closely bound up with it, are to be successfully defended.

The chief task which arises as a result of the course of events both within the country and in the international sphere is to take, in the immediate future, a fresh and decisive step towards the unity of the proletariat.

It is essential that complete organic unity of the working class should be established in the trade union movement. This problem cries out for an immediate solution, and its solution is perfectly possible. It is on the solution of this problem that at the present juncture the victory over the interventionists chiefly depends.

One must face clearly the fact that in the immediate future the republic has a whole series of important tasks to carry out, and that the carrying out of these tasks will be impossible without the unswerving unity of the working class, the class which bears the chief burden of the war upon its shoulders, which is the most decisive factor in the sphere of production, which fills

the most important posts in the army, which leads the whole people, and which, as the revolutionary class, unites all the peoples of Spain—Spaniards, Basques and Catalans—in the struggle for the country's independence.

The question of the unity of the peoples of Spain, of the unity of the nation, is somewhat different today from what it has been in the past. It is a question at the present moment of uniting not only all Spaniards in republican territory in the struggle against the fascist interventionists, but also those Spaniards who live on the other side of the trenches, in the territory captured by the interventionists; it is a question of uniting all Spaniards without respect to differences of class or of ideological tendencies, all workers and peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and those sections of the bourgeoisie who do not wish the country to become one of Hitler's or Mussolini's colonies.

Both atheists and religious believers who hate the foreign interventionists and all those who at the beginning of the war were duped by the mutinous generals must unite today. During the two and a half years of the war and intervention those Spaniards who were at first deceived have become convinced that Franco is not the "savior" of the country, but a hireling and agent of the fascist marauders and that he has betrayed the national interests of Spain. For the successful and timely achievement of the unity of all Spaniards not only is more complete unity in republican territory essential but also more complete unity of the proletariat.

The intensification of military intervention and of the diplomatic offensive against Spain by certain reactionary governments calls for a further strengthening of the republican army and fleet, and the consolidation of unity in the army and fleet. And who but the united proletariat can give the government decisive support in its endeavor to carry out this urgent and essential task?

The successful prosecution of the war also calls for a more rapid adaptation of the whole economy of the country to the needs of the war and the exploita-

tion and concentration of all the country's resources for the purposes of the war. From this it follows that a vast effort must be made to develop the war industry, to increase the productive forces of the country, and so forth. Without the organic unity of the proletariat all efforts in this direction will be paralyzed. Without the organizational unity of the working class it will be impossible to put an end to the competition between various groups, organizations and enterprises, it will be impossible to do away with that trade union sectionalism and bureaucracy which has so often been detrimental to the struggle of the Spanish people for independence.

The struggle of the Spanish people for independence is a hard struggle not merely in the more restricted military sense of the word. The enemy takes advantage of every possible opportunity to impair the capacity of the Spanish people to carry on a successful struggle. Not only does he rely on his army of mercenaries, his technical superiority, his diplomatic skill; he also attempts to worm his way into republican territory by sending forth his spies and *agents provocateurs*; he makes use of all those who are prepared to capitulate in order to undermine the defensive strength of the country from within.

All the experiences of the war in Spain serve to show that every big military offensive launched by the interventionists is usually associated with a diplomatic offensive and an attack on the internal political front. The defeatists are trying to overthrow the Negrin government, which is carrying out a resolute war policy. These attempts have hitherto been frustrated chiefly because the workers' parties and organizations have opposed them and supported the government. The best weapon of attack against these defeatists, who persistently take advantage of the difficulties and temporary defects of the government to carry on their dirty work, is the unity of the working class. That is why one of the most essential guarantees of a successful struggle against the defeatists is the further consolidation of the

unity of the working class and thereby of the unity of the whole Spanish people.

Why is it that the creation of a unified trade union organization is at the present moment an essential condition of increased working class unity? This problem must not only be solved but is also *capable* of solution. In order to create a single centralized trade union organization it is not necessary to wait until complete ideological unity is achieved among all trade union members. The trade unions, those all-embracing organizations of the working class, number in their ranks many Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans; but an enormous proportion of trade union members belong to no political party whatever. Those people, therefore, are wrong who advance as an argument against the creation of a single unified trade union organization in Spain the fact that ideological differences between Marxism and Anarchism stand in the way of the unification of the trade unions. These differing points of view do, of course, exist. In a working class that is organized in two centralized trade union organizations they are by no means serious, but are mainly reflected in the political parties and organizations of the Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans. Not all the members of the C.N.T., which is led by Anarchists, are Anarchists. On the contrary, only an insignificant minority of the members of the C.N.T. are Anarchists; the vast majority are non-party workers; there is also a certain number of Communists and members of other political parties within its ranks.

Those who express themselves against the unification of the trade unions are frequently swayed by the narrow sectional interests, or, rather, what they imagine to be the interests, of their own organization, and by the fear of losing their own particular organization. But the trade unions do not belong to the Communists or the Socialists or the Anarchists; they are the organizations of the whole working class, and those who are in favor of the unity of the trade union movement stand no risk of losing their own organizations, but will gain,

in common with the whole proletariat, a unified and powerful organization. The victory of fascism would entail the loss of all the organizations of the working class, and those who look at things in the light of narrow sectional interests are, as a matter of fact, not even doing themselves a service, but, on the contrary, involuntarily aiding the fascist aggressors.

It would be extremely harmful to lose any further time and to wait until events themselves compelled the opponents of trade union unity to give their approval to the unification of the trade union organizations. The process of unification must be accelerated by all possible means. The experiences of the Spanish people in the last two and a half years have shown that the fascist aggressors would not have gained many of their military successes, had not the demand of the Communist Party of Spain for, among other things, the creation of a regular people's army met with the stubborn opposition of the leaders of certain anti-fascist organizations, and had they not taken so long before becoming convinced of the correctness of the Communist demands and finally to work in friendly collaboration for the common cause. The creation of a single unified and centralized trade union organization has become as burning a necessity as was, at the beginning of the war, the creation of a regular people's army, and as was, later on, the establishment of genuine national unity. There is no doubt that the Spanish working class, which in the course of two and a half years of war has been able to solve the most tremendous problems, will also solve this, the most vital, of all immediate problems. But it is essential that it should be solved as quickly as possible, since all hesitation plays into the hands of the interventionists and increases the difficulties of the situation.

The conclusion that must perforce be drawn from the experiences of the Spanish people in the course of the war is that—*even in face of temporary defeat—the struggle continually flares up afresh until the fighters for freedom gain the victory. But capitulation will be*

equivalent to a defeat, bearing within it the seeds of further defeats. In the year 1934 the Spanish people did not capitulate before the onslaught of fascism. Although in October, 1934, the proletariat suffered a defeat, it was not of long duration. Fascism did not succeed in breaking the fighting spirit of the proletariat, the peasantry and the workers of Spain. October, 1934, gave a mighty impetus to the anti-fascist movement among the masses, which in February, 1936, thanks to the anti-fascist People's Front, gained a great electoral victory. Had the proletariat, in 1934, capitulated before the onslaught of fascism, had it not, as the vanguard of the people, pointed out the right path to the whole nation—the path of resolute struggle against fascism and reaction—the victory of the People's Front in the elections of February, 1936, would not have been possible, nor would the overthrow of the semi-fascist Lerroux-Gil Robles government and the reestablishment of a democratic regime have been possible. The Spanish people would have proved incapable of repulsing a fresh offensive on the part of the fascist reaction, incapable of defending the republic and of organizing its forces for the final victory.

Comrade Diaz, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, was a thousand times right when he said:

"I do not deny that we have suffered severely, but the unfortunate Czechoslovak people lost more on that one day of capitulation than we in two and a half years of war."

There are still "workers' leaders" who cynically advocate capitulation before fascist aggression in the name of so-called pacifism, and stand for the principle of "Better slavery than war." These agents of Hitler and Mussolini bank on the hatred of the masses for war. Let them all turn their gaze on Czechoslovakia! Not many weeks have passed since that country capitulated, and the terrible results are already plain to see. Czechoslovakia has been dismembered and is now wriggling impotently in the jaws of German fascism. The workers'

organizations have already been dissolved, and an intensified attack on the workers is in progress. Has Czechoslovakia escaped war? By no means. On the contrary, as a result of its capitulation Czechoslovakia is daily being transformed into a jumping-off ground for the advance of German fascism on other nations. In this war German imperialism will, without doubt, strive to use the Czechoslovak people as cannon fodder; it will plunder the wealth of the country and force its people to make ghastly sacrifices not in their own interests but in order to further its own predatory imperialist aims.

It is not the defeatists but those who are actually struggling against fascism who are championing a consistent policy of the defense of peace. It is first and foremost the Spanish people who are defending peace against the fascist warmongers.

But the Spanish people could not have struggled for two and a half years and organized its forces for the continued struggle had it not carried on a relentless struggle against any form of capitulation and any form of treachery. Not all anti-fascists in Spain, it is true, were aware from the outset of the necessity for a relentless struggle against traitors and defeatists, the necessity for unmasking, isolating and completely wiping out the Trotskyite bandits, but events themselves have opened their eyes.

In the course of the war the Trotskyite gang has rendered signal service to the fascist interventionists; it has organized espionage and in May, 1937, it embarked upon an armed rising; part of its dirty work has been to undermine the morale of certain troops with the object of frustrating the process of unification of the republican army; it has set one nationality against another in Spain; it has opened the Aragon front to the enemy.

In the recent trial in Barcelona of the leaders of the Spanish Trotskyites in the P.O.U.M., the leaders of this gang of spies and miscreants were sentenced to terms of imprisonment by the republican court; it was also decided to dis-

solve their organization. It must be pointed out, however, that spies do not perform their work for all the world to see; they try to worm their way into every kind of anti-fascist organization; above all they insinuate themselves into those organizations in which no struggle is carried on against them, in which there is a lack of vigilance, in which the criminal activities of the Trotskyites and similar agents of fascism are winked at.

The experience of the Spanish people shows that if victory is to be achieved in the struggle against fascism and reaction and the independence of the country assured, it is essential to wipe out all agents of the fascist aggressors, Trotskyites and other spies and *provocateurs*. It is the business not only of the Communists, but also of all workers, all genuine anti-fascists, to wipe out the Trotskyite agents of fascism.

The war in Spain cannot be considered as an isolated question apart from the whole international situation. It is essential to bear in mind the fact that the "second imperialist war has to all intents and purposes begun," that the fascist military intervention in Spain is a part of this second imperialist war. Germany and Italy, which are waging a war of intervention against Spain, have in view not only the conquest of Spanish territory, the seizing of sources of raw materials and of fresh markets in Spain, but also the securing of a strategic position for the further development of the second imperialist war.

And the fascist aggressors have actually succeeded in occupying certain important strategic positions, such as for example, the Balearic Islands, Ceuta (in Spanish Morocco), certain other positions in the Mediterranean which threaten the shortest route between England and France and the East, such as, for example, positions in the Canary Islands, the Bay of Biscay, where the German fascists are feverishly establishing a base for naval and aerial warfare, and certain positions on the Franco-Spanish frontier, which are a threat to the safety of the South of France. It is un-

derstandable that the German and Italian fascists should not be willing to "renounce" the seizure of such important strategic points on the basis of international agreements, but that on the contrary they should be anxious to exert every effort to obtain the ultimate mastery of Spain.

It is obvious from the character of the war in Spain that it will call for fresh and heavy sacrifices and for the exertion of all the forces of the Spanish proletariat and the whole Spanish people. But there is no other way in which the Spanish people can save itself from slavery—no other way in which the outbreak of the second imperialist war can be prevented.

The proletariat of all capitalist countries must realize that the second imperialist world war would long since have overtaken all these countries had not the Spanish people offered heroic resistance to the fascists for two and a half years, and had not the great Chinese people waged a heroic struggle against the Japanese marauders.

The "liquidation" of the war in Spain to the advantage of the fascist aggressors which is being plotted at the present moment by the Munich conspirators is in all probability a fresh and decisive step towards the rapid unleashing of the second imperialist war. That is why the Spanish people stand shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people, with the great and mighty Soviet Union, in the vanguard of the struggle for peace, for the interests of the whole international proletariat and of those states which do not stand to gain by war.

The Munich agreements were a heavy blow to the international working class. The consolidation of the forces of the proletariat and the anti-fascist masses

depends to a great extent on the further course of the struggle in Spain, the continued success of which will enable them to recover rapidly from the effects of this heavy blow. The successful struggles and the victories of the Spanish proletariat are without doubt a decisive factor in uniting all the progressive forces of the world in the struggle against the fascist aggressors and world reaction.

The international proletariat has an extremely personal interest in the victory of the Spanish people. It cannot confine itself merely to giving moral and material aid to the Spanish republic, although that too is of the greatest importance. The most important thing of all is political support, the struggle of the masses against fascism and its accomplices. The proletariat of the capitalist countries can most effectively render assistance to the Spanish republic by turning to account in all aspects of its own struggle the rich experiences of the Spanish people, the advance guard in the decisive struggle against fascism in capitalist Europe.

Unity of the working class, the unity of the masses within the People's Front, the extension of the People's Front until it becomes a truly national freedom front against the fascist aggressors, a relentless struggle against internal enemies, fascists, Trotskyite *provocateurs* and other agents of fascism and against all defeatists—that is the path which the Spanish people points out to the workers and anti-fascists in all capitalist countries.

If the proletariat of all capitalist countries takes this path it will be helping not only the Spanish people but also itself.

Barcelona, December, 1938.

The Nature of Soviet Patriotism

BY A. CLAIRE

HIDDEN in the dense forests of Soviet Karelia close to the Finnish border stand a little hut. One summer evening in 1938 five strangers came to his hut. They asked the owner, Egor Kopylov, an old collective farmer, for a night's shelter. The hospitable old man did not refuse their request, gave the strangers a meal and made them a bed of fresh hay in his hut. Before going to bed he entertained them by stories about the locality. At daybreak the strangers left the hut. They had not noticed the old woman who was in the hut when they arrived and who now made them a curtesy and without exchanging as much as a word with the owner, left the hut. Only with his eyes had the owner indicated to her the direction in which the nearest post of frontier guards lay. It was eight miles to the frontier post. Old Matriona Semionovna was sixty-five years old; she walked all the way. The guests departed and when the mounted frontier guards galloped up to the hut, the old man led them along the fresh trail of the strangers. They were found to be spies of a foreign power.

In Moscow, in Kiev, in Vladivostok, in Archangel people now form lines in front of the cinemas. The halls are filled beyond capacity. On the screen appears the "battle of the ice," the battle of Lake Peipus, fought in 1242 between the knights of the German Order and the army of Alexander Nevsky, elected prince of the old city of Novgorod. The war technique of the German conquerors is excellent. The battle array is perfect, the ranks closed. They are not easy to beat. But they are beaten by the Russian people defending their soil against a for-

ign invasion. The producer, Sergei Eisenstein, put into the mouth of Alexander Nevsky the real words of the old Russian chronicle. Giving the captive German common soldiers their liberty Alexander Nevsky said: "Go hence and tell all men in the foreign countries that Russia lives. They may come to us as guests without fear. But he who comes to us sword in hand will perish by the sword. That is and remains the law of the Russian earth." The cinema trembles with the applause.

The Japanese have held up a Soviet ship although it had not infringed any article of the international agreements. There was a young woman in the ship, a stewardess. The Japanese deprived her of food and drink and tortured her, demanding that she make statements about state secrets. She refused, said not a word.

Major Kusnetsov, Captain Bulkin and Captain Rybkin, Soviet airmen, tell of their fights against the fascists in the Red Army newspaper of November 17, 1938. "For a long time my heart was full of hatred for the fascist warmongers and I was happy to have an opportunity to face these mean scoundrels in open battle," wrote Captain Bulkin, decorated for his valor. "Our airplanes began the struggle with the Messerschmidt and Heinkel planes sent to the assistance of the enemy by the fascist powers. Eight of our machines met fourteen fascist bombers and eighteen chasers. They proved no less cowardly than they are bloodthirsty and ruthless. Courage is unknown to them, they are insolent only if they are overwhelmingly superior in strength or if they have to deal with the peaceful and

defenseless population. Six Messerschmidt planes were shot down by us and fell to the ground smothered in smoke and flames. The Heinkels also disappeared soon after having lost five machines."

The Soviet airmen wrote: "We won, not only because of our good technique. What won was our determination, our Bolshevik fighting spirit which no obstacles or dangers can break. . . ."

What inspired the collective farmer Egor Kopylov, the 65-year-old Matrona Semionovna, the producer, Sergei Eisenstein, the young stewardess in the Soviet ship, the military pilots of the U.S.S.R.? What feeling, stronger than the instinct of self-preservation, stronger than the fear of death, moved all these people, the likes of whom are counted not by hundreds of thousands but by millions in the Soviet Union?

That feeling was love of their country. They are Soviet patriots.

The word "patriot" rouses unpleasant memories in us at first. It reeks of the blood spilt in the war of 1914-18. It recalls to our mind chauvinism, that beastly nationalism which pursues its way through war, deceit and violence. But if another word is added to it, the word "Soviet," then it has quite a different sound. "*Soviet patriot*"—and blood and filth vanish and we see in front of us a Soviet citizen, a citizen of the socialist state and an enthusiastic internationalist. *Love of their own country and internationalism* are inseparably united in the men and women of the Soviet land.

A short time ago Papanin, one of the heroes of the Polar ice-floe, received a letter from V. Samoilov, a young student in the city of Kuibyshev. He wrote: "I cannot listen calmly to the wireless when it announces news about the war in China and Spain and the guerillas in Ethiopia. It is my comrades, my brothers who are fighting the foreign invaders there. I ardently wish that they should soon be victorious. But that is merely a wish and not yet a struggle for the liberation of mankind. We, the youth of the Soviet Union, have not experienced the fearful past of Russia, but we are appalled by

the present conditions of the working class in the capitalist countries. Shall we really remain inactive now? I am full of hatred for fascism and do not know what to do with my powers."

Papanin replied to this young comrade in the Soviet press. His reply was both firm and mild. He told the tale of how the four courageous men on the drifting ice-floe listened in to the wireless news from the battle fronts in China and Spain. "It might have seemed that we in the distant Polar Sea could not contribute anything to the struggle against fascism as we were a thousand miles from the world of men. But we did not feel impotent; we knew that we were doing our duty to the country of socialism and that by so doing we were working in the interests of the international working class. The tiny black tent on the drifting ice-floe was attached by a thousand threads to the front on which the battle raged against fascism."

Thus does the generation of Papanin, the generation of the October Revolution and of the civil war educate the Soviet youth in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. In the Soviet Union there are no unimportant things, no work that is unimportant. Everything that is being done in the Soviet Union is of importance to all mankind. Every collective farmer who brings in the rich harvest of his fields, every Metro worker who builds the underground palaces of steel and marble, every miner who give the country fresh tons of black diamonds, every village schoolmaster and every Soviet author—they are all working for their socialist mother country, *i.e.*, for all mankind as well, for the present and future welfare of humanity.

Soviet patriotism is a harmonic chord of ideas and feelings. But in order to *feel* it one must be completely filled with the *consciousness* of the greatness of the cause. One of the most valuable achievements, one of the most real victories of socialism consists in the fact that the men and women of the Soviets in their masses, as *a people*, have become con-

scious of the historical significance attaching to the great work they have achieved.

Let us recall the words of *The Communist Manifesto*:

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word." (P. 28.)

These prophetic words have come true in the Soviet Union. The working class of the Soviet Union, having won political power, has risen to be the national class, *has constituted itself as the nation.*

* * *

The consciousness of socialist interests and aims cannot arise spontaneously—it has to be instilled into the working class. Marx and Lenin have imparted this to us. That the working class of Russia has become conscious of its patriotism is due to its teachers, its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin.

The Bolsheviks have well understood the nature of national feeling and its tremendous power. They, who imbibed the teachings of Marx not as a dogma but as a guide to action, purified this national feeling, flaming with a dark and elementary force, by adding to it socialist consciousness. In the years of chauvinist intoxication during the first World War of 1914-18 Lenin replied to the slanders of his enemies:

"Is the feeling of national pride foreign to us great-Russian class-conscious proletarians? Certainly not! We love our language and our country. . . . It pains us more than any one else to see and feel the deeds of violence, the oppression, the yoke to which the henchmen of the Tsar, the landowners and capitalists subject our beautiful country. We are filled with feeling of national pride because the great-Russian nation has *also* brought forth a revolutionary

class, has *also* proved that it is capable of showing mankind great examples of the struggle for freedom and socialism, not only of fierce pogroms, of rows of gallows-trees, of torture-chambers, of great famines and of servile groveling at the feet of the priests, the Tsar, the landowners and the capitalists. We are full of a feeling of national pride and precisely for that reason we hate especially our own slavish past and . . . our slavish present. . . ."

This is the reply of Lenin to the slanderers who shouted that the working class of Russia was betraying their country, that they had no love for their country because they wanted tsarism to be defeated in the imperialist war. But what inspired the workers of Russia with national pride was the fact that the bitter words of one of the first Russian democrats (Chernyshevsky): "A contemptible nation, a nation of slaves—from top to bottom all slaves—" were no longer true, that the working class of Russia carried on the great struggle for freedom and socialism amidst the horrors of imperialist war.

* * *

The true patriotism of the working class of Russia consisted in the fact that they wanted to overthrow, through the defeat of their slave-driving country, that very slavery itself. At that time only the working class of Russia, supported by the sympathies of millions of peasants, represented the true interests of the nation. Through the struggle for the termination of the imperialist war they rendered service to the cause of the whole international working class. The true interests of the nation coincided with the interests of the workers of all countries. Here lie the mighty sources which nourish Soviet patriotism.

Those who fight for republican Spain against the fascist interventionists are defenders of their Spanish home. Those who fight for an independent democratic China against the Japanese invaders are defenders of their Chinese home. Those who fight against Hitler are defenders

of their German home. Thorez was fully justified in saying that "the word patriot now regains its true, its original meaning; this word in reality described the *sansculottes* of 1792" who fought against the reactionary armies of intervention. Those who fight against Daladier for the defensive capacity of France are defenders of their French home. The working class is now coming to be the carrier of the true interests of the nation in the struggle against fascism.

* * *

The Bolsheviks taught the Soviet people to love their country. Lenin said of the working class after the victory of October: "*After October, 1917, we are for the defense of the fatherland.*" In 1918 Lenin called the Soviet people to arms to defend the country against the imperialists of Western Europe and the Russian White Guards. The working class of the Soviet Union, which had raised itself to political power, had by so doing established a fatherland for themselves, not a slave-driving, unhappy country of a dozen oppressed nationalities, but an independent, democratic, socialist fatherland shining in the brilliance of victory.

The Soviet people includes many nationalities. To forge this Soviet people of many nationalities into a single entity meant that the Soviet Union was made the home not only of the *Russian* people which for centuries had been the dominant nationality, but also of the people of the Ukraine, of White Russia, of the Caucasus, Central Asia, the North—for every single nationality and tribe, be it great or small. The proclamation of national equality by the government was only the beginning.

It is a great mistake to describe this establishment of the socialist fatherland as if it had been an uninterrupted series of triumphs—a method adopted by certain friends of the Soviet Union. Even though they may do so with the best of intentions, the friends of the Soviet Union, by so doing, harm not only the Soviet Union but themselves as well. For

all of us should learn the lesson not only of the victories but also of the temporary reverses and retreats of the first socialist state and its party.

In reality the road was an arduous and heroic one. It passed through the fire of the civil war, through the painful experiences of the peasant masses in Ukraine, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Russia, Kazakstan, whose bodies were trodden by the iron heel of the punitive expeditions of the foreign interventionists and the Russian landowners. It passed through serious mistakes, through the relapse of certain individuals and groups into chauvinism, through fits of nationalism and distrust of those who, in the eyes of the nationalities oppressed in tsarist Russia, still appeared as the representatives of the former ruling nation. The road to the birth of a fraternal family of nations within the Soviet Union passed through the tremendous sacrifices and difficulties of the first years of industrialization. Not only by the proclamation of national equality but by years of intense struggle and socialist action on the part of the Bolshevik Party and the common people did this *consciousness and feeling of a common Soviet fatherland* come into being.

At first the task was to defend that fatherland against open armed intervention and to create a united Red Army consisting of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the country. Later the task was to heal the wounds made by the imperialist war and the war of intervention. Later again the task was to fight for and achieve the economic independence of the country.

The Bolsheviks explained to the Soviet people why foreign conquerors had defeated the gigantic empire of the tsars for centuries: the Mongol Khans, the Turkish Beys, the Swedish feudal lords, the Polish and Lithuanian nobles, the Japanese barons. "They had all defeated Russia because of her backwardness, her military backwardness, her cultural backwardness, her backwardness in state organization, her backwardness in industry, her backwardness in agriculture!"

(Stalin.) This backwardness has to be ended! It was the only way to save the Soviet fatherland, won by so heroic a struggle. This was an appeal to Soviet patriotism.

In writing or speaking about the years of the First Five-Year Plan we write and speak of many things: the magnificence of the plan itself, of the miracles of Bolshevik tempo, of the surmounting of difficulties which appeared insurmountable, of the new men and women born in the fire of this creative activity. But we frequently fail to conceive the whole depth of the mighty popular movement incorporated in the gigantic works of the First Five-Year Plan. And yet it was precisely in this *popular movement* that Soviet patriotism took shape. The new men and women who laid the foundations of the independence of their country were Soviet patriots who were defending their country from the terrible danger of a capitalist encirclement.

Many a fire-eater is inclined to turn up his nose at everything that preceded the conquest of power by the working class. They paint the past of the Soviet nations, their struggles, their wars, their statesmen and generals, their whole history previous to the October Revolution in the darkest of colors. But Leninism teaches us a different conception of history. Neither Lenin nor Stalin ever taught their people or their Party this kind of historical "science." To put forward such a conception of history is to make Marxism and Leninism *jejune*, is a falsification of Marxism-Leninism. The fire-eaters are flanked by the chatterers who are surprised at nothing and who—like Herr Dühring before them—know everything and understand everything. This sort of person sees some sort of "reversion to the historical past" among the Bolsheviks.

Needless to say, there is no such "reversion" among the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks only put on its feet what had been standing on its head. Leninism is foreign to any repudiation of the true historical traditions, the national traditions of a people, but the Bolsheviks

recognize only the real, not the falsified history of a people. The undeniable historical fact that the French Revolution of 1789 was a bourgeois revolution must not lead us to conclude that the French revolutionaries of 1789 were no true patriots and that the French people ought not to take pride in these great patriotic traditions, in this brilliant past of France. The undeniable historical fact that Russia was a feudal monarchy for several centuries must not lead us to conclude that the nations in the Soviet Union ought not to pride themselves on their historical struggles for national independence. It was in fact the Russian *people* which in the famous "ice battle" fought on the ice of Lake Peipus in 1242 inflicted a crushing defeat on the German "cur-knights" who wanted to enslave the Russian people. It was in fact the Ukrainian *people* which in 1613 drove out the Polish interventionists, the Polish nobility and gentry who also stretched out their claws toward the property of the people. In 1709 the Russian army led by Peter I defeated the Swedish conquerors who invaded Russia with the assistance of the traitors they found among the hetmans of the Ukraine. In 1812 it was the Russian *people* which rose to defend the country from the invading armies of Napoleon. All this is popular tradition in which the people take pride, which they have sung in song and legend and passed on from generation to generation. The Bolsheviks have put truth back into history and only they, in presenting history in the light of truth, have shown the historical impartiality which befits the ideologists of the working class.

The historical fact that Kutuzov and Bagration, Alexander Nevsky and Peter I, Suvarov and Bogdan Khmelnitski belonged to and represented the class which in their time ruled Russia must not lead us to conclude that the Soviet nations ought not to regard them as great generals and patriots.

When two years ago in the Moscow Kamerny Theater the attempt was made to burlesque the heroes of the Russian legend, public opinion throughout the

country rose up against it. The Soviet government and the Party condemned this unworthy attempt as a mockery of popular traditions, as a lack of comprehension of the fact that the people, in its sagas, in the shape of the paladins of story, was praising the men who had fought for the independence and integrity of Russian soil. The author of this play and the producers of the theater did not represent a Marxist conception of history but a vulgar conception of Marxism, a haughtily contemptuous lack of comprehension of the true meaning of the popular epics and of the national traditions.

Stalin, Kirov and Zhdanov put up an opposition to this falsification of history, to this representation of historical facts in the light of the present day instead of in the light of their own historical period. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party supplied the Soviet historians with the foundations on which the history of the nations of the Soviet Union, which had been distorted and falsified by all too zealous pseudo-"historians," had to be rewritten.

Without this respect for the true history of the nations of the Soviet Union, without this comprehension of their national traditions it would have been impossible to bring about the fraternal alliance of more than sixty nations which now pervades the daily life of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

When the centenary of Pushkin was celebrated in the Soviet Union, it was a festival of culture and fraternity for all Soviet peoples. When the 750th anniversary of the Georgian poet, Shota Rustaveli and of his work of genius, *The Knight in the Tigerskin*, was celebrated it was a festival of culture for all Soviet peoples. The whole Soviet Union with its many nations is preparing in 1939 for the 125th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, whose poems have become the songs of the Ukrainian people.

The Soviet patriot, be he Georgian or Ukrainian, Turk or White Russian, Russian or Jew has only one country—

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

* * *

When the Soviet Union gave itself a new constitution, thousands of letters arrived in Moscow day after day from all countries of the world; letters from workers, letters from peasants, from intellectuals, from middle class people, letters from friends and letters from enemies. An old worker, who did not belong to any party and had taken part in the war of 1914, wrote to Stalin: "Be not chary of means—arm! The more guns, rifles, machine-guns and tanks for the Red Army the better. Build torpedo boats and submarines. Cover the sky with airplanes. Protect yourselves—by so doing you protect us as well. . . ."

That was two years ago. At that time there was as yet no war in China, the battle of Lake Khasan was as yet unfought and there was no Munich agreement. Fascist intervention in Spain was not yet discernible as the beginning of the second imperialist war. Austria was still Austria and Czechoslovakia had not been dismembered yet. War had not yet taken the threatening shape it has today and was not yet knocking at the gates of every country. But two years have since gone by. And from day to day the *feeling* of the mass of the people of all countries was turning more and more into the *consciousness* that the Soviet Union was the bulwark and the hope, the *fatherland of all workers*.

The consciousness of historical facts developed in the Soviet Union faster than in capitalist class society. What millions of human being in all countries of the world learn only at the price of painful experience and cruel defeats is being made accessible to the Soviet citizens in the Soviet Union by the *foresight* of the leaders of socialist society. This foresight is the sense and the art of Bolshevik leadership. And the more the capitalist powers increase their active hostility to the U.S.S.R., the more imminent and real is the danger of a counter-revolutionary imperialist war against the Soviet Union, the more profound is the con-

sciousness of the Soviet people that the *Soviet state must be strong*. He who thinks over the internal connection between events in the Soviet Union will see that the sequence and mutual interrelation of these events are based on an objective consciously pursued with a strong hand and understood by the whole nation—the consolidation of the strength and power of the Soviet state.

This road is not strewn with roses and the work is not done with velvet gloves. How many “friendly” warnings were addressed to the Soviet Union when the Soviet state exposed to the gaze of the whole world the revolting plot of the Trotskyist and other agents of fascism within the Soviet borders. How many “advisers” came forward to persuade the Soviet government that it would be wiser to conceal these things like a “secret disease”; that the trials would injure the international position of the U.S.S.R. and that the purging of the Soviet Union would make a bad impression on the masses in the so-called “democratic” countries. But the Soviet Union acted with firmness and dignity and destroyed the plague-spots of the enemy within its frontiers, intensified the struggle against the warmongers and against the traitors to their country, turning it into action in favor of universal peace and for the true interests of all nations. In defending itself against the agents of the “secret” war, the Soviet state is defending all the nations of the world against war and fascism and shows itself to be the true fatherland of all workers. Soviet patriotism is true internationalism.

Only a strong Soviet state is able to frustrate an incipient war with a single blow as the Soviet Union did in the fighting on Lake Khasan in August, 1938. “Cover the sky with airplanes!” How many men and women in all countries of the earth repeated these words of the unknown worker when the Red Army, defending the frontiers of the U.S.S.R., struck a blow at the axis of war! The Soviet patriots wearing the uniform of the Red Army are defending today as they will defend tomorrow the *interna-*

tional interests of the workers of all countries, whether they defeat the attacking enemy on the frontier line of the Soviet Union or in the hinterland of enemy territory.

The true democracy incorporated in the Soviet Union is based on the unity of the people and its perfect understanding of what is needed. A Soviet patriot needs not only excellent tanks and airplanes. He needs other weapons as well—he must understand all problems attaching to the struggle for communism.

The enemies succeeded in deceiving certain credulous and superficial individuals who, misled by high-sounding phrases, began to preach the so-called “withering away” of the socialist state in connection with the transition to communism. The Bolsheviks exposed this theory, showing the reality concealed behind the pompous facade of pseudo-Marxist phraseology. To allow the socialist state to “wither away” in the Soviet Union would be tantamount to giving up the Red Army; it would mean the abolition of the organs of the state which protect the Soviet people from the subversive activities of spies and agents of the fascist and capitalist secret services. Need one say more? It is not obvious that faced, as it is with the war preparations of fascism, surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, the “withering away” of the socialist state would simply mean the surrender to the enemy without a struggle, the abandonment of socialism and of the international working class? This “theory” put forward in the guise of “science” amounts to exactly the same as the policy set afoot in secret by the vile traitors and agents of fascist espionage—Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov, Tukhachevsky and Yagoda.

Certain people, too clever by half, found an opportunity to exercise their wit in connection with the fact that the Bolsheviks were busy on the history of their own Party while the Czechoslovak tragedy was being enacted. But as a matter of fact the Bolsheviks, with this little book, have put a strong weapon into the hands of all Soviet patriots.

The book refutes the weak-kneed conception of certain pacifists, that the Bolsheviks want peace at any price. It re-establishes the true doctrine of Lenin and Stalin regarding war; pacifism is a way of deceiving the working class; there are just and unjust wars. The war waged in 1918-20 by the Soviet patriots against the foreign invaders and Russian White Guards was a just war. The Soviet nation regards the war of the Spanish and Chinese peoples against fascist invaders as a just war and therefore the Soviet nations support Spain and China in their just war. The Soviet people believed that a war waged by Czechoslovakia against fascist Germany for the independence and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia would have been a just war and therefore the Soviet state was

prepared to take part in this just war. The Soviet patriots know that a war of the Soviet nation against fascism would be the most legitimate and just war ever fought in the history of mankind. It would be a war in the interests of the whole human race.

Soviet patriotism has written on its banners the slogan: "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" To be a Soviet patriot means to defend wholeheartedly the state which is a stronghold of socialism; it means being a fighter for the peace and freedom of all nations, for the development of the human race toward socialism, against fascism, capitalism and war. Soviet patriotism is the active internationalism of a people which has already achieved socialism in its own country.

A Speech of International Significance —

Social and National Security

A Program for a United Democratic Front

BY EARL BROWDER

General Secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A.

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Chronicle of Events

THE MUNICH POLICY

NEVER before in history have "statesmen" been convicted of their own guilt by the process of events with such harsh completeness as have been Chamberlain and Daladier since Munich.

The scraps of paper—the one with Hitler's "peace declaration" which Chamberlain triumphantly brandished upon his arrival in London, and the German-French declaration which Daladier purchased with his desertion of Czechoslovakia—have long ago been swept away by the turbid floods of fascist aggressive policy, to which Chamberlain and Daladier opened wide the dams in Munich. It is now clear to the world that there are no definite limits at which Hitler and Mussolini will halt voluntarily and will announce: "Now are we satisfied!" The economic and social contradictions of their dictatorships drive them on to ever new adventures and to objectives which appear ever more fantastic.

At the very moment that von Ribbentrop, with a barely concealed grin, was promising Daladier the inviolability of the Franco-German frontier, the roles were already being secretly assigned which Italy and Germany were to play in the forthcoming flanking attack upon France and her colonies. Starace, General Secretary of the Italian Fascist Party, organized the robbers' chorus which clamored for Tunis, Savoy, Corsica and so on, on the set stage of the Italian Chamber, in Mussolini's presence and during Ciano's speech. Thereafter the Duce's kept pen-pushers set about crossing the "t's" and dotting the "i's."

The people of France gave ear. Was this the peace that Munich was to bring? At first, the French government-influ-

enced press sought to remain silent on the question. But Mussolini did not abate the fury, and his press quite openly and plainly demanded that France must yield because the Duce had the stronger battalions. French foreign minister Georges Bonnet begged Mussolini's accomplice, von Ribbentrop, to disavow agreement with the demands of Italian fascism. But in vain. Hardly were the signatures dry on the Franco-German declaration, than the German press had already made it known that this declaration by no means applied to French colonies, nor to Italian territorial demands.

Goering's paper, the *National-Zeitung* of Essen, was particularly emphatic in supporting Italy's claims, and employed the following cynical phrase:

"It is not a question here of proving rights or wrongs by means of legal hair splitting. The importance of the new Italy demands stronger support than did the old."

The "support" which the internally decaying regime of Mussolini needs consists of domination over the Mediterranean, hegemony over North Africa, the enslavement and exploitation of the Spanish people, and the encirclement of France from the East, West and South.

Eventually even Daladier's own press could no longer conceal its disquiet at Italy's annexationist demands, and Georges Bonnet found himself compelled to state that France would not yield a foot of her territory, and that any attempt to secure territorial concessions would lead to an armed conflict. Comrade Peri has already adequately characterized this and other statements by Bonnet, in his articles in *l'Humanité*, in which he has made it clear that the men

who participated in Munich were unworthy of any confidence.

The French government has betrayed, victimized and lost one ally after the other. Now the French people finds itself in a situation from which Comrade Thorez has drawn the following conclusions:

“The French people can now decide as to who was right: the capitulators of Munich who pretended to have saved peace, or those far-sighted Frenchmen who had the courage to condemn the Munich betrayal. The recovery of the country is only possible if the unity of all forces of democracy, the unity of all workers and peasants, is realized around a government which remains loyal to the will of the people, as was made evident by the elections of 1936.”

Now it is Spain which has become the test as to whether the peoples of France and Great Britain will be able to bring about a sweeping change of policy. Chamberlain's intention while in Rome was to persuade Mussolini for the present to moderate his demands upon France, in compensation for which the fascist robbers were to be awarded the opportunity, through the official recognition and approval of their intervention, of starving out republican Spain by means of the Italian and German navies, and to still further wreck the land by a yet greater mass participation of German and Italian aircraft.

During the last few months, both the British and French peoples have become more than ever conscious of the fact that the final establishment of Italian and German fascism in Spain would mean a death-blow to the vital interests of Great Britain and France. A profound uneasiness with regard to the unleashing of predatory forces, which Munich accelerated, has deeply penetrated the ranks of the British Conservatives, and even some of Chamberlain's ministers, as witness recent speeches by Earl De La Warr and Malcolm MacDonald. In spite of all Chamberlain's efforts, to persuade the British press “voluntarily” to wear a gag with re-

gard to foreign affairs, the agitation, which is felt increasingly by the British people since Munich, even breaks through into the columns of the Conservative press.

THE MENACE TO SMALL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

As was yesterday the case with Czechoslovakia, today all the smaller nations to the North, West, South and East of Germany are exposed to the forcible pressure of the Nazi dictatorship. Germany's plans for hegemony, rounded off by corresponding colonial demands, found drastic expression in an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* which openly proclaimed that “nothing will prevent Germany from pursuing her path,” and proceeded to state the following conditions for “peace”:

“. . . the implicit recognition of the fact that the leading role in Southeast Europe has definitely passed to Germany, that Germany's strengthened continental position implies no renunciation of her overseas and colonial demands . . . that Germany's great partner, fascist Italy, is destined to be a leading Mediterranean power, and that the British claim to an internationally recognized position in the areas of the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, is now modified by the natural rights of a strong Italy. France must realize that the new balance of power in the Mediterranean can no more be disturbed by alliances than can that in East Europe. In brief, the previous *status quo* in Europe has given way to an entirely new one which must be recognized as irrevocable.”

In the meantime, Memel has become a Nazi outpost against Poland and the Baltic states. The Nazis look upon Memel as a starting-point from which they may set about transforming all of Lithuania into a military base. In furtherance of this project, they are exploiting the Vilna problem, in order to incite Lithuania against Poland. The Petlura bandits' regime in Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian Ukraine) is also being directed against Poland; it is Ruthenia

which forms the base for Herr Rosenberg's agents who are endeavoring to convert the Ukrainian minority in Poland into a tool of Germany's ambitions, by means of demands for autonomy.

While curbing Hungary's designs on Slovakia and Carpathian Ukraine, fascist Germany is simultaneously setting the Hungarians against Rumania. While a reception is being prepared in Berlin for King Carol, so as to secure as much from him as possible by this means, the Nazis are also providing the Codreanu fascists—their subsidized agents in Rumania—with arms and explosives, so that the Rumanian people may be kept in perpetual disquiet and thus more easily fall prey, with all their national wealth, to fascist Germany.

Although the German fascists have secured such submission on the part of Czechoslovakia as to obtain that country's consent for the construction of German military roads across its territory, the Nazi press is not satisfied and frequently declares that what Czechoslovakia needs is a Hitler.

German fascism is also menacing Switzerland. Its press has recently been demanding the "voluntary" intellectual isolation of the Swiss people, the suppression of all criticism of the totalitarian dictatorships in the Swiss press, as well as in the theaters and the literature of the Swiss people, and the admission of, and official support for, Nazi agents in Switzerland.

The Dutch people are being threatened with measures of economic discrimination against Dutch ports if any further sympathy is expressed for the tormented and robbed Jews who have been streaming across the frontier of Holland.

The Nazi press is seeking to prevent the Danish people from making any attempt to interest the other Scandinavian countries in the maintenance of her Southern frontier, while Nazi spies in Denmark are endeavoring to destroy the country from within, and render it helpless against attack.

Nazi Germany has demanded that Sweden exercise a boycott of her Jewish population, and, as in the case of

Switzerland, also demands the complete cessation of press criticism of the fascist regime.

Germany has perfected a scheme for the exploitation of the above-mentioned countries, which is tagged with the label of "neutrality."

In the meantime, fascist Germany has realized that her plans for colonial expansion are meeting with considerable opposition from the French, and particularly the British people. She is therefore again playing with the idea of first forcing colonies from the smaller countries. Particularly significant is the warning addressed to Belgium by the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*. Belgian politicians had previously expressed the conviction that Germany's colonial ambitions did not affect Belgium. But this Nazi newspaper curtly intimated that this is an error. This is the first time that the Nazis have admitted that they not only desire the restoration of the former German colonies, but that their designs go further than that.

German fascism, in alliance with Italian, is also intensifying its efforts to harness native Arab movements to its own expansionist aims in the Near East. The *Voelkische Beobachter* has definitely stated that the Jews will eventually have to renounce their plans for Palestine, while Mussolini is making increased efforts to draw Egypt within his sphere of influence.

STRUGGLE FOR THE REPARTITION OF THE WORLD

Even the London *Times*, generally one of the most ready pacemakers for German fascism, was compelled by the aggressive menace of German and Italian fascism to make the following complaint in an article on power politics (December 13, 1938):

"If indeed these methods are to be continued indefinitely, then the whole world will have to play the game of power-politics without reserve and without stint. If other nations appeal only to power, by power they must inevitably be met."

And then again, towards the conclusion of the editorial:

"But recent events must make all of us ask whether any sort of international confidence and stability will ever be achieved so long as Europe learns almost every week of fresh examples of agitation and shock."

It appears indeed tragi-comical when—a few weeks after the artificially stimulated transports of welcome to the "peacemaker" returning from Munich—the British Commons should discuss—with the polite objectivity befitting such a gentlemanly institution—whether or not the British Empire is on its last legs.

But the British people senses instinctively the danger which threatens democracy and all its most vital interests, if Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado are allowed to pursue their quest for world rule. Now, when the bourgeois-democratic European states are confronted by a new offensive on the part of the Berlin-Rome axis, the last illusions of British and American circles—that Japan, the third partner in this warmongers' combination, does not plan any permanent injury to British and American interests in China—are fading fast.

For, after the fall of Hankow and Canton, the Japanese militarists let fall the mask. From behind the "struggle against Communism" in China emerge the profit interests of the Japanese shipping and commercial concerns at whose orders the Japanese militarists bar Chinese rivers to European and American traffic and otherwise place every possible obstruction in the path of American and European trade. The British commercial colony in Hongkong is sliding towards ruin; and the governments of all countries with commercial interests in China are receiving complaints from their nationals there, and appeals for help.

The Japanese government has already stated in the press that the Nine Power Treaty, with its provisions for China's territorial integrity and for the Open Door policy, is now a thing of the past. On the occasion of the second anniver-

sary of the signing of the anti-Comintern treaty, the Nazi press congratulated the Japanese armies upon their successes," while the Essen *National-Zeitung* jeered at Great Britain and the United States because of their alleged incapacity to undertake any resistance to the undermining of their interests in China. Under the pressure of events in China, Great Britain and the United States now find it necessary to grant loans to the Chinese national government. The American government is considering plans for economic sanctions against Japan, particularly the prohibition of import into the United States of Japanese silk.

* * *

At the Pan-American Conference in Lima, the United States attempted to unite all the countries of the Western hemisphere on a common policy of resistance to fascist penetration and propaganda. To the putsches which have been provoked by the Nazis in various South American countries may be added the commercial-political coercion which they also exercise. The peoples of America are daily becoming more conscious of the fact that their free and democratic development presupposes a decisive struggle against the establishment in their countries of German and Italian fascism.

INTERVENTIONISTS' NEW OFFENSIVE AGAINST SPAIN

The Nazi press recently announced a new offensive of the intervention powers against Spain which, according to the brutally frank admissions of that press, is to consist of massed air bombing and the systematic destruction of the republican hinterland. After the invaders' troops and their Franco mercenaries had suffered severe losses on the Ebro, and after significant symptoms of breakdown in their own rear, they staked everything on the wanton mass murder of women and children, and upon the hope that Chamberlain and Bonnet, by according Franco belligerent rights, would facilitate a blockade of republican Spain.

In spite of the great lack of foodstuffs and other supplies, the Spanish people is also preparing to halt this new offensive by their own iron will to resistance. Republican Spain's unbroken determination to fight was expressed in Premier Negrin's appeal to the republican army:

"The enemy is about to commence a new offensive on the Catalonian front. He is determined to play his last card before the definite collapse of his vain attempt to establish fascism in Spain. On the Segre front, on the slopes of the Pyrenees, as on the Ebro, we shall set up against him the impregnable barrier of our sense of independence and our love of liberty."

General Berti, an Italian general in Spain, in a speech delivered on the occasion of his return to Italy, stated that it was not easy to venture prophecies regarding the war in Spain. He placed his hopes chiefly on the internal collapse in republican Spain, but had regretfully to add that "such a disturbance of equilibrium" had not occurred up to his departure from Spain. The Italian general will have to wait long, and in vain, for such disturbance, in spite of the assistance which Trötskyites in the youth movement, and also Catholic separatists, have recently been trying to give.

REACTIONARY AGITATION IN FRANCE

After the protest strike in France, the Daladier government, in league with the reactionary employers, embarked upon a campaign of vengeance against workers who had participated in the strike, and in particular against functionaries of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.). Hundreds of workers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and thousands were discharged. Important branches of the armaments industry, and particularly aircraft production, were crippled for weeks.

Certain Right-wing trade union leaders endeavored to take advantage of this victimization by the government and employers for obvious agitation

against the Communist Party. In this they were readily supported by Social-Democratic newspapers in other countries which stigmatized the strike as a "failure" and sought to hold the Communists responsible.

The best measure of the effectiveness of the strike is the poor majority the Daladier government obtained in parliament, namely, 315 votes, as against 241 against and 53 abstentions. Daladier was only able to secure parliamentary support for his policy by relying upon the deputies of the reaction.

Profound dissatisfaction with Daladier's policies is increasing within the Radical Party and is publicly expressed by such prominent leaders of that party as Pierre Cot and Archimbaud. A conviction is growing among the Radicals that the Daladier government can have no lasting stability, and that events must lead to a new People's Front government which will be pledged to the execution of the People's Front program and will repeal all victimization of the workers and attacks upon the people's standard of living. It is only under such circumstances that France will be able to muster the necessary internal unity to enable her to present effective resistance to fascist aggression.

French foreign policy was the chief subject under discussion at the Christmas conference of the Socialist Party of France at Montrouge. The tendency led by Leon Blum, which opposes the policy of surrender and calls for resistance to the aggressors, was opposed by that of Paul Faure and Severac which would virtually have prepared the way for further concessions to the aggressors. Leon Blum, who once had applauded Munich, now led the opposition to Faure and Severac. The previously held provincial conference of the Socialist Party had, generally speaking, also voted for the Blum viewpoint, although, in some cases, by a narrow majority. At the national conference, the Blum resolution received 4,322 votes and the Faure resolution 2,837. A third resolution, proposed by Gukowski, obtained only 60

votes. There were 1,014 abstentions. In the discussion on home affairs, the overwhelming majority of the delegates opposed the reactionary internal policies of the Daladier government. The resolution on home affairs—proposed by Roucaÿrol and supported by Leon Blum—condemned the Daladier government's decrees and called for a government based upon a definite republican majority. This resolution was adopted by 7,076 votes.

While Hitler is endeavoring to bemuse the French people with "declarations of peace," he is organizing, through the medium of his agents in France, a generously subsidized campaign against the Communist Party of France which, as he is well aware, constitutes the greatest obstacle to his schemes for the destruction of France.

The Right Nationalist deputy and journalist de Kerillis recently published in the *Epoque* sensational details, revealing that in the period from May to November, 1938, Hitler allocated £2,000,000 for the corruption of French newspapers. This throws a new light on that "appeal" which appeared in some four hundred French newspapers and which, with atrocious misrepresentations, demanded the dissolution of the Communist Party.

The instigators of this move greeted the appearance of the "appeal" with a veritable tempest of applause. The Nazi press hastened to express its satisfaction at this reactionary campaign against the Communist Party. The Communist Party in the Chamber of Deputies dealt a most effective counter-blow to this reactionary agitation by proposing that the Chamber set up a commission, to consist of representatives of all parties, which should investigate the real background of the Hitler-inspired baiting of the Communist Party and also the allegations of de Kerillis regarding the corruption of the press. De Kerillis, by the way, obtained confirmation of his charges from a report which William C. Bullitt, American Ambassador to France, has transmitted to the United States government.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CHAMBERLAIN GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN

The nearer it approaches a general election the more grievously does the Chamberlain government suffer from internal difficulties. Among supporters of Chamberlain in the House of Commons, as well as among the younger Ministers, there is growing dissatisfaction, based upon what they consider to be the unsatisfactory speed in armaments production and shortcomings in home policy, particularly in agriculture. In certain constituencies, the Conservative farming interests have put up their own candidate as against the government man.

The contradiction becomes ever more acute, in the mind of the masses, between Chamberlain's boast of having preserved peace and the rapidly increasing expenditure on armaments. The government is preparing for war mobilization by various indirect methods, such as, for instance, the introduction of a "National Register." This project, in particular, is encountering considerable opposition from the trade unions which are not prepared to condone encroachments upon trade union rights, under the guise of national defense, and the introduction of something resembling industrial conscription. Nevertheless, certain trade union leaders, in conversations with representatives of the government, have declared themselves as prepared in principle to cooperate with the government in the preparation of the "National Register," without having made the necessary reservation that the primary prerequisite for any mobilization of the masses for national defense must be the introduction of a new foreign policy.

The by-election in the Duchess of Atholl's constituency afforded ample evidence of the fatal results of the attitude of those Labor Party leaders who oppose all attempts at securing a united popular opposition to Chamberlain. It showed likewise that supporters of democracy and opponents of Chamberlain's policies must not rely simply upon the spontaneous development of an opposition

movement, particularly as they are confronted with an enemy who fights tenaciously to defend his position.

The Duchess of Atholl had, as a Conservative Member of Parliament, very sharply criticized Chamberlain's foreign policy, and had vigorously supported the cause of republican Spain. In token of her protest against Chamberlain's policy she resigned her seat and sought reelection.

In the beginning a Liberal candidate, also a woman, was announced. But Liberals throughout Britain protested energetically in the press, calling for the withdrawal of the Liberal candidate so as to leave the field clear for a plain fight between the "National" candidate who supported the Chamberlain policy and the Duchess. Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Party, in the course of a conversation, persuaded the Liberal candidate to withdraw in the interests of a straight fight against Chamberlain's foreign policy.

But, although certain prominent Labor politicians supported the Duchess of Atholl, as did some local Labor organizations in the constituency, the hostility of the official Labor Party leadership to the pooling of all oppositional forces to secure a victory against Chamberlain resulted in the abstention from voting of a considerable number. Thus the government candidate won by a slender majority.

It becomes therefore ever more apparent that Chamberlain can only maintain his position so long as reactionary Labor Party leaders oppose the rallying of all available forces to secure the fall of his government. The *Daily Herald* has recently published a series of articles against the formation of a democratic front. In these articles, the spuriously "radical" argument is employed that only socialism, introduced by a pure Labor majority in Parliament, could stop the advance of fascism. In reality, however, the basic principles of democracy are being endangered by the policy of the Labor Party leadership. The mass of the Labor supporters feels instinctively that the primary prerequisites for the

realization of socialism are the defense of democracy and, hence, the overthrow of Chamberlain.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN BELGIUM

Affairs in Belgium are conditioned by the severe crisis existing in the Belgian Labor Party—a crisis which, owing to the indecisive attitude of certain leaders of the Party, may become chronic. Spaak, Belgian Premier and "Socialist," in spite of all previous decisions of his party, has succeeded in securing recognition of Franco by Belgium, which has led to a rupture of diplomatic relations with republican Spain.

An emergency conference of the Belgian Labor Party condemned Spaak's policy by a large majority; nevertheless, the leaders of this majority permit Spaak to continue his pro-fascist policy as an official representative of the Labor Party in the Belgian government. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, Comrade Relicom characterized the attitude of the majority of the Belgian Labor Party as follows:

"The Belgian bourgeoisie makes use of the Spaak group for the execution of its policy, to spread even further the disintegration of the Belgian Labor Party. . . . Some seek to induce a spirit of panic by means of the argument that the end of the Spaak government would lead to even worse reaction. But this is incorrect, not only from the standpoint of parliamentary calculations but also from that of the relationship of forces of the country. Spaak is a renegade. Unity with him in the ranks of the Belgian Labor Party is not only useless but highly dangerous."

It is significant that Spaak is being supported by the Trotskyites in the Belgian Labor Party. In Labor Party parliamentary circles, Spaak has uttered the threat that, if he were ever expelled from the Labor Party, he would found a "center party." Both by the policy he follows as Premier, and by his disruptive activities in the Belgian Labor Party, he reveals himself as the agent of the reactionary bourgeoisie which is bargain-

ing with Hitler. In contrast to the compromising leadership, the Belgian workers in growing number are demanding that Spaak be expelled from the Labor Party so as to leave the way free for the rallying together of all anti-fascist forces in the country.

GERMANY'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES LEAD TO FRESH REPRESSION

Reports from Germany confirm the fact that the food situation is becoming increasingly difficult. In conjunction with this, we have Herr Schacht's recent visit to London when he sought to link up the emigration of Jews from Germany with a profitable transaction in foreign currency on behalf of the German armaments industry. He proposed to City of London financiers not only that they finance the emigration of refugees, but that, in this connection, they also place credits at the disposal of the Nazi government. So far, at least, city financial circles have not fallen for this unsavory proposition.

Reports on Germany's foreign trade for 1938 show that exports have fallen by 10 per cent in comparison with 1937. It should furthermore be noted that the annexation of Austria and Sudetenland has deprived the export industries of those areas of important foreign markets. Faced by these economic difficulties, the Nazi leaders will not long rest content with the barbaric persecution of the Jews, but are even now preparing a large-scale attack on the Catholic Church. Their plans consist in canceling all agreements under the Concordat with the Vatican, to enforce preliminary censorship on all sermons by Catholic ecclesiastics, and to prohibit all public processions of the Catholic Church. At the same time, pretexts will be found for the confiscation piecemeal of the property of the Catholic Church in order to satisfy the voracity of the armaments industry and of the Praetorian Guard of the Nazi rulers.

The Nazi regime has also recently announced several trials of anti-fascists. During recent years, the Nazis evidently

thought that the holding of their "trials" behind closed doors would arouse greater terror among the masses. But now the regime finds it necessary to publish reports of some trials of anti-fascists, reports which clearly reveal traces of the anxiety which possesses the Nazi thugs when confronted by the implacable valor of the anti-fascist fighters.

SWITZERLAND'S DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE ENDANGERED

M. Motta, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied promptly to the attacks made by the Nazi press on Switzerland's democratic press, and against Swiss publishing houses and stage plays. But the reply was by no means in accordance with the sentiments of the Swiss democracy. M. Motta hastened, in a recent speech, to declare his respect for the fascist blackmailers, and to attack the Swiss democratic press in the same terms as Herr Goebbels customarily employs. The example of Switzerland—which is already considered by the German rulers as a future constituent of the "Greater German" Reich—shows that the democratic peoples must in the first place be on guard against the allies of fascism in their own countries.

By its attitude of compromise toward the reactionary financial and home policies of the federal government, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party had sought to smooth the way for its entry into the government. But their efforts completely failed. M. Motta's speech has shown that, with the present government at its head, the Swiss people will never be able effectively to defend their liberties, that only the unification of all working people in a democratic front will facilitate a successful struggle against reaction at home and against the menace of German fascism.

THE "COORDINATION" OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The viewpoint that the Munich agreement would lead to a stabilization of Czechoslovakia within its new frontiers has been utterly disproved.

German fascism is not content with

the present Czech government's acquiescence in the building by the Nazis of strategic motor highways across their territory. It is endeavoring to secure direct control of various sections of Czechoslovakia. A German military mission has been established in Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian Ukraine) which dictates the policy of the Petlura bandit government.

In Slovakia a government is in power which aims at becoming a miniature edition of that of the Third Reich; it organizes Jewish pogroms and plebiscites a la Goebbels, and is working for the complete separation of Slovakia from the Czechoslovakian republic. The Nazi press continues to issue ever graver warnings to the Prague government, urging it to hasten in the work of "gleichschaltung" ("coordination"). Pursuing their policy of insolent interference in Czech internal affairs, the Nazis are insisting upon the exclusion of Jews from industry and the suppression of all democratic elements, in order to degrade Czechoslovakia into a willing instrument for their plans in eastern Europe.

But the present discussions in the press regarding the formation of a united party of the working people show that the masses who formerly supported the Social-Democratic Party and the Czech Socialist Party are not inclined to permit their country to be transformed into a domain of Hitler's, without resistance. There is further proof of this in the distribution of leaflets, which is taking place in many localities, and the appeals appearing in the press calling upon the people to remain faithful to the traditions of Masaryk and other democratic leaders in the history of the Czech people.

THE "NATIONAL UNITY PARTY" IN RUMANIA

After the Rumanian government's drastic proceedings against the terroristic Iron Guards of Codreanu—an organization supported by the German fascists—it now seeks to find a basis among the people by the founding of a "Party of National Unity."

However, this attempt from above to establish the new party has met with but scant success, as the peasantry, who constitute the majority of the population of Rumania, are still prevented from participation in government and in the free organization of their own forces. But resistance to the attempts at penetration of the Nazis and to the annexationist plans of the Hungarian fascists can only be successful if based upon the support of the working people. Yet the Rumanian government, in spite of the danger which threatens from without, suppresses all popular movements making for liberty. Symptomatic of this are the recent trials of workers, intellectuals and others on charges of "Communist propaganda" and of having organized collections for republican Spain, in which the accused were sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment.

REACTION'S MOVES IN THE UNITED STATES

The National Association of Manufacturers, which represent the chief controlling elements among the industrial employers in America, has recently held its convention. The American employers are opposing the "control" of industry by the government, *i.e.*, the legislation of the New Deal, and particularly the laws enforcing minimum rates of pay and maximum hours.

While asserting that they are not opposed to relief for the unemployed, the employers plead for a reduction in property tax, on the grounds that the latter leads to a limitation in consumption. The American employers seek to counter the progressives' argument—that American industry can only be stimulated by an increase in the purchasing power of the masses—with that threadbare and well-known claim that production must first be increased.

In this connection some of the findings of the Congressional commission which has been investigating monopoly are of interest. The number of families, they report, who are in receipt of an income of \$2,500 per year or more amount to only some 13 per cent of the total. Fifty-

four per cent of all families—some 16,000,000—have an income of less than \$1,200 per year. This led one witness to demonstrate that an increase of \$2.25 per day per family would enable American industry to operate at capacity. Certain findings on the consumption of given products by the various income groups glaringly illuminate the defective purchasing power of the masses.

Prominent representatives of the employing class in the United States are now endeavoring to draw yet another red herring across the workers' path to divert them from the representation of their collective interests through the trade unions. This they are doing by proposing "co-partnership" and "profit-sharing" schemes—schemes the true nature of which has been exposed and condemned by John L. Lewis, C.I.O. leader.

The notorious Dies Committee for the investigation of "un-American activities," encouraged by certain gains by the reactionary Republicans in the recent elections, has bombastically announced that it intends to ask Congress for further funds in order to prosecute its "investigations." That its very cursory "investigation" into Nazi activities in America was merely a preliminary camouflage for the real and reactionary objectives of this committee is revealed in the New York *Daily Worker's* sensational exposure of a banquet given "in honor" of Congressman Martin Dies, its chairman.

Reactionary elements in the United States had organized this banquet, to which they actually invited leaders of the Nazi "German-American" organizations which had previously been "investigated" by the Dies Committee. A startling example of the fraternal relations existing between the "investigators" and the "investigated," between Hitler's agents in America and reactionary circles in that country.

True to its traditions of freedom, the

American people protested emphatically and en masse against the persecution of Jews in Germany, and their representatives in Congress were not backward in expressing the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Americans with regard to Nazi Germany.

COERCIVE ECONOMY IN JAPAN

The hope of the Japanese people that the war in China would soon end, and with it their suffering, has been disappointed. The toilers of Japan were compelled to make enormous material sacrifices in order that China might be ruined, her cities reduced to ashes and ruin. Now the Japanese government announces that yet further sacrifices must be made, allegedly for the restoration of the devastated areas in China.

A coercive economy on the German model results in increasing suffering. The people are now being asked to make yet greater sacrifices in order that the Japanese militarists may eventually make war against the Soviet Union, as has been forecast by Deputy-War Minister General Tojo.

The government is also seeking to form a single "Party of National Unity" in order to revive, if possible, its rapidly diminishing support among the people. At first it was proposed that the "National Unity" party be formed by an amalgamation of the two largest existing parties: the Minseitō and the Seiyūkai. Now, however, the Premier is contemplating basing his "national unity" on its imposition from above, with the support of the bureaucracy. The leaders of the so-called Social Mass Party are developing more and more rapidly as the ultra-fascist "restorers" of the regime. Their recent annual conference issued a manifesto in which the "victories" in China were attributed to the virtues of the Mikado, and in which a "new order" was demanded for all Asia.

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