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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

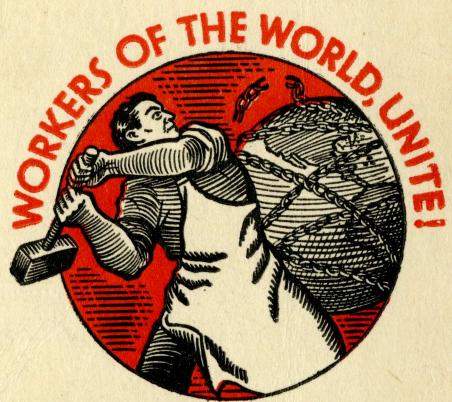
# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**THE UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**  
BY DIMITROFF

**THE ANTI-JAPANESE FRONT IN CHINA**  
BY WANG MING

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# The United Front of Struggle for Peace\*

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

## I

NOT since 1914 has the menace of a world war been so great as it is now. And never has it been so urgently necessary to mobilize all forces to avert this calamity which threatens all mankind. But in order to do this, we must realize, first of all, where the danger comes from, who are bringing on this danger, and on which countries these forces are preparing to hurl themselves.

It would not be correct to think that the war which is approaching threatens the Soviet Union alone or even the Soviet Union in the first place. As a matter of fact the occupation of the Rhineland by Hitler's armies is a direct threat to France, Belgium and other European countries. It is also a fact that Hitler's immediate plans of conquest are directed towards the seizure of territories in neighboring countries where there is a German population.

Whereas Hitler talks today about the "sovereignty of Germany" he will talk tomorrow about the "sovereignty of all the Germans". Under this slogan he will try to carry out the annexation of Austria, the destruction of Czechoslovakia as an independent state, the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, the southern part of Denmark, Memel, etc. And this is quite easy to understand. It is much easier for German fascism to send an army first of all to seize the territory of neighboring countries under the slogan of the "national unity of all the Germans", and only later to fight against the powerful Land of the Soviets. German fascism, in strengthening its positions on the Rhine, also threatens the independence of the Polish people, in spite of the fact that the present rulers of Poland are in a position of its allies.

As far as the Far East is concerned, there can be no doubt that the *direct* blow is aimed at the Chinese people, although the fascist military clique of Japan is preparing for war against the Soviet Union and has an agreement with Berlin for such purpose. Japan has already occupied Manchuria and is now occupying one province of China after another. Japanese imperialism is striving by this means to subject all the peoples of Asia, including India, and to seize the Philippines and Australia. It is preparing for a decisive encounter with the U.S. and Great Britain.

It follows that the peoples of the West would plainly make a fatal error if they allowed themselves to be comforted by the illusion that the fascist warmongers in Europe and the Far East do not threaten them. In particular, the people of the countries neighboring on Germany have food for serious thought regarding the defense of their independence and liberty.

As we know, the fundamental cause of imperialist wars lies in capitalism itself, its predatory efforts. But in the present concrete inter-

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\* This article was written prior to the elections in France and the recent events in Ethiopia.—Ed.

national situation, the instigator of the approaching war is *fascism*, this mailed fist of the most aggressive and war-like forces of imperialism.

The war danger became so directly threatening because the road to power was not barred against German fascism at the proper moment. Having obtained power by the means of an internal war against the people of its own country, fascism had grown into a direct war menace to the countries of the whole world. Having enslaved its own people, it is advancing with the torch of war in its hand against other peoples.

The war danger has become increasingly menacing for the further reason that a state of affairs has been created in which the fascist aggressor is left unpunished. The military preparations of German fascism (the introduction of universal military service, the air and naval armaments) were carried out with the systematic connivance of capitalist powers and the direct assistance of the ruling circles of Great Britain. The passivity and irresoluteness of the League of Nations in regard to the Japanese attack on China and the Italian aggression in Ethiopia encouraged the impudence of the aggressor.

But the growth in the aggressiveness of German fascism and the Japanese military clique is first and foremost the result of the fact that *the international proletariat did not succeed in acting unanimously with all the power of its gigantic forces, did not rally around itself all the working people and all the friends of peace into a mighty front against war*. The resistance of the reactionary sections of the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions to the united front of struggle has not yet been broken. But the refusal of these reactionary leaders (supporting the imperialist policy of their own bourgeoisie) to bring about united independent proletarian action against war, their practice of lulling the masses to sleep with the illusion that the League of Nations would do everything necessary for the maintenance of peace have hindered the struggle of the proletariat against war and paralyzed its pressure on the capitalist governments.

In addition to the openly reactionary leaders who disrupt the unity of action of the international proletariat in defense of peace, there are also "Left" phrasemongers who advocate fatalistic views to the effect that war is *inevitable* and the maintenance of peace *impossible*. Since the fundamental cause of war is capitalism, then, they say, so long as it exists, it will be impossible to avoid war and it is hopeless and useless to fight for the maintenance of peace. Such people are out-and-out doctrinaires, if not simply imposters. They see everywhere the raging forces of war, but they do not at all notice the mighty factors of peace.

The Soviet Union, the country of the victorious proletariat, with its consistent and resolute peace policy, is such a factor of peace. Another factor of peace is the proletariat of capitalist countries. These are the leading forces in defending peace against the warmongers. Masses of peasants, all the toiling people, in general the people in all capitalist countries, are also for the maintenance of peace. A number of capitalist countries at present are interested in maintaining peace. And in the countries where fascism rules, as well as in the countries where the rulers abet the instigators of a new slaughter, the peoples do not want war.

Phrasemongering doctrinaires, such as those of the British I.L.P., depict matters as if the question of war and peace depends only on the capitalist governments. Yes, this would be the case if the masses simply played the role of pawns in the hands of the governments and did not *fight* to maintain peace in spite of their governments. But that is just the point. It is utterly wrong to regard the masses of the people as puppets in the hands of the governments. If these masses, without whom war could not be carried on, were to come out *promptly and resolutely* against the war plans of the governments, they could force these governments to give up war and the abetting of war plotters. *The whole thing is to organize the struggle of the peoples for the maintenance of peace in good time and to carry it on continually and everywhere against the fascist warmongers and their backers.*

Such a united front of peace is required which will not only include the working class, the peasants, the intellectuals and other toilers, but also the oppressed nations and the peoples of countries whose independence is threatened by the warmongers. A peace front is required which would extend to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, fighting with might and main against the warmongers, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese military clique in the Far East. And this peace front will become powerful and invincible if it organizes concrete mass action, not restricting itself to protests, resolutions and declarations.

By economic and political measures, the warmongers should absolutely be put in a *state of siege*. They should be cornered in such a way that it will be impossible for them to try to carry out their criminal plans. The globe should be encircled with such a network of organizations of the friends of peace, such a mighty movement of international solidarity, such effective measures of a united international policy of the proletariat for the maintenance of peace, as will effectively tie the dastardly hands of the warmongers.

The fascist aggressor must be made to feel most emphatically that his every step is vigilantly watched by millions of people and that any attempt to attack other peoples will meet with the determined resistance of the proletariat and the toiling people of the whole world.

Only the proletariat, uniting its ranks, can be the organizer of such a peace front, can be its driving force, its backbone. This is now the *central task* of the international proletariat as a whole. The success of the fight against fascism itself also depends on its successful solution.

## II

It is not enough to *want* peace. It is necessary to *fight* for peace. It is absolutely inadequate to carry on general propaganda against war. Propaganda against war "in general" does not in the slightest degree hinder the conspirators sitting in Berlin or Tokyo from carrying out their dastardly work. They would be extremely satisfied if the working class were to go no further than such general propaganda.

A successful struggle to maintain peace absolutely requires that the joint activity of the proletariat and the widest masses of the population

be directed against the *specific instigators of war* and against those forces inside the country which help them directly or indirectly. From this point of view it is extremely important in every country to work out a definite and correct tactical line in the struggle for the maintenance of peace, taking into account the situation of the Party and the working class movement of the given country and also its internal and international situation.

In the countries where fascism is in power, the working class, focusing its struggle against the fascist dictatorship on the exposure of chauvinist demagogy and war preparations, unites all forces to avert the catastrophe into which fascism is preparing to hurl the people. When the proletariat and the masses of the people of Germany, Italy and other fascist countries fight against the power of fascism and its military aggression, they are acting not only for their own salvation but in the interests of peace, in the interests of all peoples, of all mankind.

A particularly important question in the tactics of the working class at present, especially in the countries which are directly in danger of an attack, is the attitude which should be taken towards the foreign policy of the government and the defense of the country. It is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class and all toilers as to what foreign policy the government carries on towards the fascist enemies of peace, whether this policy will help to strengthen collective security or hinder it, whether the government aids the agents of the fascist aggressor or takes effective steps against them, how the sons of the people in the ranks of the army are treated, in what spirit they are trained, what elements the commanders of the army are composed of, whether these are reliable in the fight against the fascist enemy or whether they are fascist reactionary elements, how the population is to be protected against the horrors of war, etc.

If an attitude of indifference is assumed towards the question of the defense of the country, if this question is left without control in the hands of a bourgeois government, such a position will not in any case assist the cause of defending peace. It is no accident that the ruling groups of the bourgeoisie have always looked upon this sphere as their monopoly, regarding it as a kind of "holy of holies". This monopoly of the bourgeoisie must be demolished once and for all.

The proletariat cannot get along without its own independent policy on these questions. Without permitting itself under any conditions to sink to the position of the bourgeoisie, the Party of the proletariat must actively interfere in foreign policy and in the sphere of the defense of the country, advancing its own platform, its own demands.

As the outstanding supporter of the active defense of its own people and country from fascist enslavement, the working class must closely link up the question of the defense of the country with the demands for the extension of the democratic rights of the workers and peasants and the defense of their vital interests, basing themselves on the fact that only the democratization of the regime, the democratization of the army, its cleansing from fascist and other reactionary elements and the satisfying of the urgent demands of the workers and peasants are able to



strengthen the defensive capacity of the people against a fascist attack. In every concrete situation, the representatives of the working class will come out in support of such proposals and will seek to secure the carrying out of such measures as open up the greatest possibility for bringing the pressure of the masses of the people on the widest scale upon the foreign policy of the government, and also provide for their effective control over the activity of the government in the question of the defense of the country. They will also give their support to all those measures which hinder the capitulation of the bourgeois governments to the fascist aggressor and the betrayal of the independence and liberty of the people by these governments.

In conditions of a direct threat of war by a fascist aggressor, the Communists—emphasizing that only the proletarian power is able to provide for the reliable defense of the country and its independence, as is plainly shown by the example of the Soviet Union—will seek to bring about the formation of a *people's front government*. Such a government, taking determined steps against fascism and the reactionary elements in the country, against the agents and backers of the enemies of peace, ensuring the control of the organized masses over the defense of the country, will assist in raising the capacity of the people for defense against a fascist aggressor. Whereas today the power is in the hands of bourgeois governments which are no guarantee for the genuine defense of the country and which use the armed forces of the state against the toiling people, the Party of the working class cannot take any political responsibility for the defensive measures of these governments, and, therefore, opposes the war policy of the government and the military budget as a whole. This does not exclude refraining from voting in definite cases, giving the reason for doing so, on those various measures of a defensive character which are necessary to hinder the attack of a fascist aggressor (*e.g.*, the fortification of frontiers), or voting and speaking *for* such measures which are dictated by the interests of the defense of the population against the horrors of war (gas shelters, gas masks, Red Cross work, etc.).

The time has passed when the working class does not participate *actively and independently* in deciding such vital questions as war and peace. The difference between Communists and reformists, between revolutionary and reactionary leaders of the working class movement, is not that the latter participate in settling these questions while we revolutionaries remain aside. No! The difference is that on these questions, as on other questions, the reformists defend the interests of the capitalists, while the revolutionaries defend the interests of the toiling people, the interests of the people as a whole.

These flexible Bolshevik tactics, which are the application of the general tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International to a specific question, arise of necessity from the whole present-day international situation, particularly from the existence of definite fascist aggressors.

It is truly laughable when "Left" phrasemongers of various kinds take a stand against these tactics and strike the pose of irreconcilable

revolutionaries. If we are to believe them, *all* governments are aggressors. They even quote Lenin, who, during the imperialist war of 1914-18, correctly rejected the argument of the social-chauvinists that "we were attacked and we defend ourselves". But the world at that time was divided into two military-imperialist coalitions which were equally striving to establish their world hegemony, which had equally prepared and provoked the imperialist war. At that time there were neither countries where the proletariat had conquered nor countries with a fascist dictatorship.

But now the situation is different. Now there are: (1) a proletarian state which is the greatest bulwark of peace; (2) definite fascist aggressors; (3) a number of countries which are in direct danger of attack by fascist aggressors and in danger of losing their state and national independence; (4) other capitalist governments which are interested at the present moment in maintaining peace. It is, therefore, completely wrong to depict *all* countries as aggressors at present. Only people who are trying to conceal the real aggressors could distort facts in such a way.

### III

The peace which exists at present is a bad peace. But in any case this bad peace is better than war. And for every consistent supporter of peace, it is obviously necessary to support all measures which assist in maintaining it, including the measures of the League of Nations, particularly that of sanctions. Sanctions can be made an effective weapon against the aggressor.

If the sanctions undertaken by the League did not prevent Italy continuing the war against Ethiopia, this is not an argument against sanctions but against the powers which frustrated their application.

And if German fascism today is throwing out a challenge to the peoples of the whole world, this is precisely because it expects no measure of punishment, because of the fact that no sanctions were applied to Japan, because the sanctions against Italy were frustrated by the capitalist states, because, finally, when Hitler sent his troops to the frontiers of France and Belgium, he was convinced in advance by the British bourgeoisie that sanctions against him would be frustrated.

It has been said that the application of sanctions increases the war danger and will lead to war. This is not true. It is just the opposite. The *impunity of the aggressor* increases the danger of war. The more resolutely sanctions of an economic and financial character are applied to a fascist aggressor (complete refusal of credits, stopping commerce and the supply of raw material), the less will German fascism be inclined to begin a war, because the greater will be the risk.

The League of Nations must be ruthlessly criticized for its irresoluteness, passivity, inconsistency. The working class must carry on an irreconcilable struggle against the governments of those imperialist countries, members of the League of Nations, which help the aggressor because of their own selfish interests, disrupt the measures for preserving peace and sacrifice the interests of small peoples to the interests of big imperialist powers. But it does not follow from this that we

take a negative position towards the League of Nations in general. What interest has the proletariat in playing into the hands of the warmongers, which are all at present against the League of Nations? The League of Nations has been deserted by the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan. The Soviet Union is in the League of Nations, throwing all its international weight onto the scales on the side of peace and collective security. There are other states in the League of Nations which do not want to give the fascist aggressors an opportunity to attack other peoples. Those who cannot distinguish between the League of Nations in the past and the League of Nations at present, those who cannot make a varied approach to the different members of the League of Nations, those who refuse to bring the pressure of the masses to bear on the League of Nations and various capitalist governments for the adoption of measures to maintain peace, such people are windbags and not revolutionaries, not proletarian politicians.

The working class must support those measures of the League of Nations and various states which are really directed towards the maintenance of peace (non-aggression pacts, pacts of mutual aid against the aggressor, pacts of collective security, financial and economic sanctions). And not only must it support these measures, but it must force the League and the governments of various capitalist states to take serious steps in defense of peace in a mighty mass anti-war movement.

It is not true that the policy of constantly yielding to the demands of the fascist warmongers by the League of Nations and by various countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, etc.) can help to maintain peace. The workers have not forgotten that at one time in the internal policy of Germany it was precisely the concessions and capitulation to attacking fascism which paved its way to power. In the international arena, a similar capitulatory policy sets the hands of belligerent fascism free to make an attack.

It is also not true that the cause of peace will gain from an attempt at present to raise the question of redistributing the sources of raw material, the colonies and mandated territories, as the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders demand. In reality, this is done with the aim of distracting the attention of the masses from a definite struggle against the warmongers. On the other hand, such proposals conceal the desire to give colonies to German fascism, which is bound to strengthen the military position of German fascism still more. It is no business of the proletariat to advocate any particular division of colonies and mandates among the imperialists. Its task is to support the struggle of the colonial peoples for their interests and their rights and for their final liberation from the imperialist yoke.

#### IV

While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the bourgeois governments against the aggressiveness of the fascist warmongers, the proletariat must not forget for a moment that the *chief, fundamental and decisive thing* in the maintenance of peace is the *independent action of the masses in defense of peace against the specific war incendiaries.*

There cannot be the slightest doubt that if the international proletariat with its mass organizations, especially the trade unions, had acted in unison and by strikes and other measures had prevented a single ship or a single train to or from Italy, Italian fascism would long since have been forced to stop its war of plunder against the Ethiopian people.

But the formation of a really wide people's front of peace, strong enough to carry on such a struggle against belligerent fascism, is possible only if there exists *unity of action of the proletariat itself*. It was precisely the establishment of the unity of action of the working class which made it possible for the French and Spanish proletariat to build up a mighty anti-fascist people's front.

Torn by internal contradictions, the London conference of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, under the pressure of the reactionary wing, evaded the question of the necessity for immediately bringing about unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale. This conference did not call upon the working masses for independent action, but limited itself to an appeal to rely entirely on the League of Nations. It did not take a stand in defense of the Chinese people who are being attacked by Japan. It did not condemn in the slightest degree those labor leaders and Social-Democratic leaders who defend the aggressive policy of German fascism, hiding this with talk about the "maintenance of peace".

But, simultaneously, a movement for the united front of the working class is rapidly developing in the ranks of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions. The basic interests of the whole international proletariat require that these forces gain the upper hand and overcome the resistance of the opponents to the united front.

The fact that fascism, taking advantage of the discord in the parties and organizations of the working class in various countries, has gone over to a military offensive, insistentlly demands a *single international policy of the working class for the purpose of maintaining peace*.

To sum up, this single international policy of the proletariat can be brought about on the following basis:

1. The restoration and strengthening of real international proletarian solidarity to defend the interests of the masses of toiling people. The Social-Democratic Parties must make a decisive break with the imperialist interests of their bourgeoisie.

2. Every possible support for the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the proletarian state which stands unswervingly in defense of peace among peoples. And this presupposes in the first place a determined struggle by the working class parties against the counter-revolutionary attempts to depict the foreign policy of the Soviet Union as being identical with the policy of the imperialist states, to represent the Red Army, which is the bulwark of peace, as being the same as the armies of imperialist states—attempts which play into the hands of the fascist warmongers.

3. The blow must be directed with definite purpose and with concentrated force against the fascist aggressor; a different attitude must

be taken towards the aggressor and toward the victims of his attack. Any attempt to gloss over the difference between fascist and non-fascist countries must be exposed.

4. An independent struggle by the proletariat for the maintenance of peace, independent of the capitalist governments and the League of Nations, making it impossible for the working class movement to be subordinated to the behind-the-scenes designs of the imperialist governments in the League of Nations.

In present conditions, the fight to maintain peace is a fight against *fascism*, and this fight is in essence *revolutionary*.

The maintenance of peace is a deadly danger for fascism, because, by increasing its internal difficulties, it leads to the undermining of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The maintenance of peace helps the growth of the forces of the proletariat, the forces of revolution, helps to heal the split in the ranks of the working class movement. It helps the proletariat to become the leading class in the struggle of all toilers against capitalism. It undermines the foundations of the capitalist system and hastens the victory of socialism.

\* \* \*

“War may break out unexpectedly. Wars are not declared nowadays. They just start.” (Stalin.) But this demands first and foremost that Communists have a clear understanding of the extent and nature of the war danger and the ways and means of overcoming it.

A decisive step at present towards the establishment of the unity of action of the international proletariat against the warmongers is for the Communist Parties of each separate country to develop the most active, insistent and extensive campaign for the maintenance of peace in all branches of social and political life. The Communists will carry on this campaign, not postponing it until pacts for joint activity have been signed with the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties, but will unflinchingly carry it on with a view to the struggle for the establishment of unity of action between the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party. Communists will exert every effort to overcome the resistance of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders to the united front, and to strengthen the bonds of joint struggle between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers against the common enemy.

Such a campaign, helping to draw the Communist and Social-Democratic workers closer together, will help to activate and rally all the forces of the proletariat, not only on a national but on an international scale as well. This will actively aid in the drawing into the movement of other strata of the toiling people of town and country, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the intellectuals, all friends of peace. All this will hasten the formation of an invincible front of struggle of the international proletariat, of all toiling people, of all peoples, for the maintenance of peace.

*The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!*

# The Front of Peace Against the War Incendiaries

## I

CAN peace still be maintained, can it be rescued? Is it possible to prevent the peoples of Europe and of the whole world from being hurled into the abyss of a new world war, incomparably more terrible than the war of 1914-18?

The working masses throughout the world are asking this question with growing alarm. They were seized with misgivings the very day that the troops, tanks and war planes of German fascism solemnly marched into the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland. Could it be true? Was the world prepared once more to plunge into the abyss of horror and death?

It all began with the occupation of Manchuria and the seizure of part of China by the Japanese imperialists. Then Italian fascism hurled itself against Ethiopia, and a terrible war of annihilation, a war which casts shame on the whole of mankind, began against a nation only partially armed. Today the cannon and the military machine of German fascism have been moved right up to the frontiers of France and Belgium. On which border, against which nation will the terrible storm burst tomorrow, the storm which will be the first stage of the ominous plan drawn up by the ruling clique in Berlin, the hangmen of the working class, the enemies of mankind and of peace?

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, which assembled some months ago, at a time when the international situation was already complicated to the extreme, and when all the factors which had given rise to the unparalleled intensity of the present moment were in operation in full strength, put forward the struggle for peace as the central slogan of the Communist Parties. We declared that *peace can still be maintained, in spite of everything*. This was the chief point, the new feature which the Seventh Congress brought into the solution of the questions dealing with the struggle against imperialist war. While recognizing and announcing the full seriousness and the direct proximity of the war menace, we fought against the tendency to regard a new world war as something fatally inevitable. To some extent bound up with this latter tendency was the fact that for a long time the struggle of the Communist Parties against war did not go beyond the limits of general and relatively fruitless agitation and propaganda, that it was not possible for a long time to raise this struggle to the level of political action, capable of convincing great masses of people, of drawing them into a practical struggle, of leading them up to concrete successes and, to a considerable degree, to hamper the instigators of new wars in carrying out their criminal work. In declaring that peace can be preserved,

we did not at all revise the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as to the causes of war. The fundamental cause of the war danger is capitalism. But now, after the first huge World War which left deep traces throughout the world, and which has sowed hatred for war in the hearts of the masses, after the victory of the great proletarian revolution over one-sixth of the globe, and, finally, in view of the present relation of forces between the instigators of war, on the one hand, and the peoples and states that for various reasons are interested in the maintenance of peace, on the other hand, we declared that the possibility now exists for preventing a new world war.

This principle was formulated most clearly and energetically by Georgi Dimitroff in his speech at the closing session of the Seventh Congress:

"Today on one-sixth of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to nought the aggressive plans of the instigators of war.

"Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. Today the mass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled with the influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace.

"Today the working class is not under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. . . .

"The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. . . . Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars. Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested *at the present stage* in the avoidance of war.

"This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the axe of a powerful anti-war front."\*

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\* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front Against War and Fascism*, pp. 136-37.

Thus, by raising the problems of peace and war in a new fashion, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern opened up new prospects for the struggle of the toiling masses against war. At the same time it faced the masses, and in the first place the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, with tasks going far beyond the bounds of ordinary anti-war agitation, of the simple exposure of the capitalist regime which carries war in its womb as a cloud carries a thunder storm. We are still very far from fulfilling these tasks. At the same time the enemies of peace—the fascist warmongers—can register a series of successes in recent months.

## II

If it is true that peace can still be rescued, if it is true that forces now exist which, by organizing and coordinating their actions, can prevent war, then why is it that the danger of war has moved so menacingly ahead during recent months? This has taken place because the whole course of events, not only in the recent months, but in the course of the last few years, has more and more encouraged the instigators of war.

At the present moment there are capitalist countries which are not interested in the development of a new world war; there is the League of Nations which, in present conditions, can serve as a certain barrier hindering the fulfilment of the plans of the powers which want war and are preparing for it. With all the weaknesses inherent in the League of Nations, it could be used today by the friends of peace to prevent the outbreak of a new world war.

But these forces have not been able to carry on the struggle for peace insistently and consistently. At decisive moments, the League of Nations has wavered, has not been sufficiently resolute, has made it possible for the instigators and incendiaries of a new world war to carry on their criminal work.

In 1931, Japanese imperialism made an armed attack upon China. The Japanese troops occupied Manchuria with the intention of gradually proceeding to the occupation of a number of other Chinese provinces. At that time, both China and Japan were members of the League of Nations. France, the United States and Great Britain were at bottom not interested in Japan waging war against China in the Far East. But each of these powers was governed by one or other selfish motive which prevented it from taking up a determined position against the Japanese aggressor.

The League of Nations was completely paralyzed by this; it proved unable to take any serious action against Japan, which, by withdrawing from the League at the last moment, ensured itself complete freedom of action. Since then not only have the flames of war spread from one province of Northern China to another, but all the enemies of peace, and the fascists, first and foremost, have understood that peace is not adequately protected against their war designs, and they have felt themselves more untrammelled in their ominous work of destruction.



The same thing was repeated, with slight changes, in October, 1935, when Italian fascism went to war against Ethiopia. The Italo-Ethiopian war plainly showed the peoples what serious defects there are in the organization of the defense of peace. The very preparations by the Italian fascists for the war in Africa could only be conducted owing to the dissensions among the imperialist powers and to their mutual rivalry. In France, which aims at preserving the status quo in Europe, and which does not desire war at the present moment, there proved to be people among the imperialist bourgeoisie who incited Italian fascism to begin the war in Africa. These people hoped to secure some benefit from the international complications which this war was inevitably bound to cause. The small countries, members of the League of Nations, which saw in the fate of Ethiopia a reminder of the lot being prepared for them by the fascist aggressors, perhaps tomorrow, would have liked the League of Nations to have taken energetic action against Italy. But such energetic action did not come about.

The League of Nations could not go further than establish the fact of aggression. It is true that the League decided on sanctions, but the German fascists and the vassals of Italian fascism openly refused to apply sanctions. But sanctions were also sabotaged by two such big countries as the United States of America and France, which are not interested in the outbreak of war under present conditions. Is it surprising, then, that under such circumstances the aggressor was not brought to a standstill and an end was not put to the war by means of sanctions? Is it surprising that after this experience, German fascism felt an urge to act in the same direction, being convinced in advance that no retribution would follow?

Almost two months have passed since the fascist troops occupied the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland in violation of treaties concluded voluntarily by Germany. In spite of the alarm caused everywhere by this fascist act of provocation, in spite of the fear of war which it spread among the peoples of Europe, now menaced by this act, it has not proved possible to take a single step forward in the organization of an international front in defense of peace. The contradictory interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the various countries hinder this. Will it be surprising if, under these conditions, fascist Germany, whose aim it is to provoke war, should follow up the occupation of the Rhineland by striking a new blow, this time at the people of Austria, Czechoslovakia or France? Will it be surprising if the Japanese imperialist clique continue their war drive against the Chinese people out of confidence in the security they are guaranteed by the absence of the organization of the forces of peace?

What conclusions should be drawn from these facts? In his last article in *Der Kampf*, entitled "The International and Hitler Germany", Otto Bauer simply arrived at the conclusion that nothing could actually be done.

"There is only one collective security", he wrote, "which the capitalist states are really serious and really resolute in guar-

anteeing each other, and that is the collective security of the capitalist world against the social revolution."

Such a statement can only disarm the workers and the peoples in the struggle for peace. It is true that the supreme aim of the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries is to prevent the working class taking power, but in the course of the events which precede the direct struggle for power, the working class and the toiling masses can, by the struggle they carry on, compel the bourgeois governments to take steps of one kind or another which conform to the interests of the people, and are not dictated by the financial oligarchy, thirsting for profits and conquests. The bourgeois front is never absolutely united. Points of disagreement and contradiction and struggles always exist among the ruling classes. It is precisely by utilizing all fissures, no matter how slight, that are caused by these points of contradiction and disagreement, that it becomes possible for the working class to gain one concession after another, to improve its material and political position, to extend its ground, and to obtain the best conditions for its further struggle. What should we say of a working class leader who, on the grounds that the bourgeoisie will never permit the workers to take away their entire profit, comes to the conclusion that every strike for higher wages is useless? The Marxists always fought energetically against all tendencies to deny the possibility and necessity for day-to-day struggles to obtain concrete demands which the working class can compel the bourgeoisie to grant.

No one in the ranks of the working class now raises any doubts as to the necessity of fighting for direct demands of an economic nature. Nobody now doubts that in the political sphere as well the proletariat must always formulate concrete demands even though it does not mean the seizure of power. Can it be that it still needs to be proved that things which are true for the internal position and for the policy of the bourgeoisie in each separate country are also true at the present time as far as concerns the international situation and the international policy of the bourgeoisie? The sentence which we have quoted from Otto Bauer sounds extremely radical, and at first sight would appear to reduce all the problems of international politics to that of the class struggle; in actual fact, this thesis conceals the point from the masses that there are concrete, direct, urgent problems of international policy, the solution of which must be demanded by the working class in each country and on an international scale in accordance with its interests, with the interests of the struggle against the fascist aggressors and in defense of peace. Has the understanding of this task penetrated the consciousness of the working class in each country and on an international scale? And during recent years, when the enemies of peace have obtained such menacing successes, have the working class organizations fought with sufficient strength in each country and on an international scale to establish an international front of peace, a fighting front against the war incendiaries?

Thus, we approach the very heart of the problem. There are many

forces which do not want war, which want peace to be maintained. The friends of peace throughout the world form the majority. Their number has a tendency to increase, for the menace of war is frightening ever wider circles of the toilers and bringing them out of a state of indifference.

“They can work openly, they rely on the force of political opinion and they have at their disposal such instruments as, for example, the League of Nations.” (Stalin.)

What is lacking in the chief capitalist countries and from the international point of view is a force which would rally together the innumerable masses of those opposed to war, and draw them into the fight for peace, a force which would resolutely intervene to bring about the organization of the struggle to maintain peace in each country and on an international scale, which would bring pressure to bear on every government and on the League of Nations, and would force them to take steps to maintain peace. *This force can only be the force of the international proletariat, the only consistent champion of peace. There can be no doubt that the most effective weapon against the fascist war incendiaries is independent united action by the international proletariat. Had the proletariat in recent years succeeded in bringing about independent activity on an international scale, the criminal plans of the fascist aggressors would have been destroyed.*

*What is lacking at the present time for the success of the cause of peace is wide, powerful, energetic and united action by the proletariat throughout the world against the war incendiaries, and for peace.*

### III

What is the basis of this action and of what does it consist? Tremendous confusion has reigned up to now on this question in various working class organizations, paralyzing a considerable section of the forces of the proletariat in their struggle to maintain peace. And this confusion is in turn the consequence of the disastrous conduct of some of the Social-Democratic leaders, of their lackey-like grovelling before the imperialist bourgeoisie of their own countries; it is a consequence of the fact that they systematically deceive the working masses, and resist the establishment of unity of action by the proletariat on a national and international scale.

The government of Great Britain has played a decisive role in the recent period throughout the whole development of the international situation. It was Great Britain, above all, which paralyzed the League of Nations in 1931, preventing it taking effective steps against the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. It was Great Britain which last year facilitated the restoration and growth of the German army, which in the hands of the fascists is a direct menace to the peace of Europe. The British government made up its mind to resist the colonial war being carried on by Italian fascism, inspired in reality not by its anxiety to maintain peace, but by the desire to defend the selfish interests of

British imperialism. The British government took up the position of aiding and abetting Germany in respect to the provocative step taken by Hitler fascism, and this has made it impossible for the time being to organize collective resistance to the war plans of German fascism.

It is obvious that it would be vitally important for the cause of peace if the British working class, by exerting powerful pressure, were to force the British government to give up its support of German fascism and to compel the government to operate a policy of organizing collective security in Europe together with the powers which want to defend peace, and first and foremost with the Soviet Union, the only country consistently and resolutely defending peace. But how do the great majority of the labor leaders and trade union leaders behave? As strong ties bind them to the interests and policy of their own bourgeoisie, they are leading a tendency in the working class movement which makes its starting point the view that there is no need to offer energetic resistance to the warmongers, but that, on the contrary, concessions should be made to them and that one position after another being striven for by the war-makers should be yielded to them.

These people do not want to understand that *a decisive struggle is going on at the present time between the working class and fascism around the question of peace and war.*

The fascists are in power in Germany, Italy and several other countries in Europe. They came to power, unleashing a real war inside their respective countries against the toilers and primarily against the working class. The fascist governments are governments carrying on war against their own people. Understanding this, the toilers do not want fascism, and are taking steps to organize their forces successfully in a united front, especially in the countries where the fascist danger is more or less immediate, as in Spain and France, for example. On the other hand, in the countries where the fascists are in power, their difficulties are increasing because they are not in a position to fulfil a single one of the promises they made, because fascism merely brings the toiling masses the loss of their last liberties, brings slavery, poverty, and starvation. *It is precisely with a view to putting an end to such a situation that the fascists are passing from the organization of war against the toilers in each separate country to the preparation and provocation of a new world war.*

The chief inciter of war in Europe is the bloody Hitler regime. The Japanese military clique, which is the chief inciter of war in the Far East, is trying to establish a fascist regime in Japan as well. The fascist dictatorship in Italy thrust the Italian people into war. The fascist governments and the fascist parties stretch out their hands to each other across borders, and rely upon each other in carrying out their criminal plans for the preparation of a new world war. Germany and Japan are linked together by a military alliance, fascist Hungary, Finland and Poland gravitate towards Germany, the fascists in Italy and Germany have quite openly assisted each other in recent months, trying to hinder the organization of peace in the form of collective re-

sistance to aggressors; in quite a number of countries, the bloody dictators of Germany and Italy are organizing and supporting military parties, which sabotage any policy of peace. Are not all these facts sufficiently convincing?

The majority of the leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions, faced with this offensive of the fascists, are playing the same role as was played by the Social-Democrats in Germany and Austria when the fascists made their offensive which ended in their advent to power in Germany and Austria. The wisdom of the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy amounted to the proclamation of the "truth" that the working class must surrender all their positions to fascism, one after another, without a fight. What sophistry did not these masters of the shameful art of capitulation invent in their efforts to prove that the gradual restriction of democratic rights, the reduction of the bread ration of the workers, were the only real means of preventing the fascists being successful! Thus, passing from capitulation to capitulation, they themselves opened the path to the enemy which led him to power? History now threatens to repeat itself on a different plane, and this menace hangs over all the peoples of Europe. After each new step undertaken by the war machine of the German fascists, the British Labor leaders invent and put into circulation new sophistries to prove the need for making yet another concession to the fascist government of Germany. Each new concession is giving courage to the enemies of peace and thus pushing mankind into the abyss of war.

The working class has suffered too much from the consequences of the capitulatory policy of German Social-Democracy to which we owe the fact that the fascists have pitched their camp in the very heart of Europe. And we must save the toilers from the incomparably worse calamities which the reactionary policy of the overwhelming majority of the Labor leaders may bring about!

*The concentration of all the forces interested in the maintenance of peace, and above all, the concentration of the forces of the working class in the struggle against fascism, must be the basis of the entire policy of the working class in its struggle against the war danger. Those who oppose this at the present time are not serving the interests of peace, but the interests of war.*

#### IV

"Do you want to expose the German people to a boycott of the whole of humanity? Do you think such a measure is possible and right?" Such is the query of the Labor leaders, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties in the Scandinavian countries, the pro-Hitlerites of all shades and colors.

No, what we want to isolate from the whole of mankind is not the German people but fascism. This corresponds to the deepest hopes of the overwhelming majority of the German people. We want to rid the German people of the horrors and humiliation of a new defeat. *We want to prevent the fascists, and, first and foremost, the German fascists,*

*beginning a war.* This is the exact concrete aim, and to achieve this we are determined to utilize every force which can help us in any way in the struggle against the chief war incendiaries. By preventing German fascism beginning a war, we help the German people to liberate themselves from the rule of the warmongering fascists. In peace conditions, the fascists expose and compromise themselves, becoming entangled in ever deeper contradictions. The maintenance of peace, in the last analysis, assists in bringing about the doom of fascism, and the liberation of the peoples oppressed by it. Such Labor leaders, as dare to call themselves anti-fascists at the very moment when they recommend the acceptance of the proposals advanced by Hitler with a view to paving the way to new attacks on general peace, are not anti-fascists. They afford support to the German fascists, the support the fascists need so that they can further hoodwink and oppress the people, and hurl them into war; these Labor leaders, consequently, are directly responsible for the whole of the fascist policy, for all the barbarism, all the horrors of fascism. There cannot be anti-fascism where there is no active *resistance to the whole policy* of fascism and first and foremost to its war policy.

"Have you Communists, disciples of Lenin and Stalin, really forgotten that the working class and its vanguard cannot and must not make a distinction between the conflicting forces? Have you forgotten that these forces are equally imperialistic, and that they take up arms to crush their competitors? Have you forgotten the tactics which built up the glory of Bolshevism during the war of 1914-18?" Such are the arguments of some of the specially "radical", "Left" Social-Democrats, who, by the way, never refuse their aid to the most arrant opportunists.

Not only have we forgotten nothing, but our position on the question of the struggle against war is based entirely on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. Precisely Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the working class must always base its policy on a concrete analysis of the situation, an analysis of the existing forces and the relations between them. Precisely Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the problem of war can only be propounded and solved on a concrete basis, because war "in general" does not exist, the war danger "in general" does not exist, but there are only concrete wars and a concrete war danger as the result of a definite situation. It is precisely as Marxists-Leninists that we assert that in the present situation the working class must take into consideration the following facts in building up its international policy of struggle against war:

1. *First and foremost it must take account of the existence and strength of the Soviet Union*, the country where power is in the hands of the working class. This state must never be confused with capitalist states, the workers must never fall into the crude trap set by the counter-revolutionaries who put the workers' state on the same level as the capitalist states. The U.S.S.R. carries on a policy of peace. The working class must support this peace policy by every means. The working class must by means of struggle demand that the governments of their respective countries stop their intrigues against the U.S.S.R. and associate

themselves with this policy of peace. The mutual assistance pacts which the U.S.S.R. has concluded with France and Czechoslovakia have tremendously assisted the cause of peace. The working class in the capitalist countries must demand the extension of this type of pact to the largest possible number of countries, so that the Socialist state becomes the cornerstone in the edifice of peace.

2. *The working class must take account of the existence of the menace of fascism and the form which this menace adopts at each particular moment.* It must never confuse a fascist country, where political banditism and provocation have been elevated to a government system, where the working class is kept down by open and gross violence, with a country where a democratic regime still exists, and where the masses possess greater possibilities of forcing the government to reckon with their wishes. It must always remember that fascism at the present time is the chief enemy of peace, and must concentrate its fire against the fascist aggressors, must demand the adoption of all measures that can avert aggression or hinder it, and give resolute support to these measures.

3. *The working class must take account of the fact that in all capitalist countries the fascists have points of support and agents who drive the respective governments along the road of concessions to those who are inciting a new world war, along the road of sabotaging measures for the defense of peace.* Consequently, in each country, the fire must be concentrated against these agents of fascism, they must be exposed as enemies of the people, and the demand must be advanced that energetic measures be adopted with a view to rendering them harmless.

4. *The working class must take account of the existence of the small countries whose national independence is endangered by the fascist aggressors,* and must march in the vanguard of the struggle to defend these peoples against the aggressors. This is by no means a simple task, since there are agents of fascism in these countries, as well, for example in Czechoslovakia, and the bourgeois governments there are not resolute; in their fear of unleashing the forces of the working class and the toiling population, they play into the hands of the fascists. The working class is the champion of national independence, but it demands that this struggle be conducted as a struggle of the masses of the people themselves, as a revolutionary struggle, that the fire be concentrated against reaction. The best guarantee of the national independence of the small countries threatened by fascism is the extension of the rights of the people, the democratization of the country and the army.

We Communists consider that only a proletarian government is in a position to provide all that is necessary for the defense of the country and for the protection of its independence. But if the working class is not yet in a position to take power, then at the moment when there is a direct menace from the fascist aggressor, we Communists will favor the formation of a people's front government which will take determined steps against the agents of the fascists and those who abet the war-

mongers, ensure mass control over the defense of the country, and contribute to the defensive powers of the people, and thus block the path to the fascist aggressor and inflict defeat upon him.

5. *The working class must take account of the existence of capitalist countries which are not at the moment interested in war breaking out.* Particularly strong pressure must therefore be brought to bear upon the governments of these countries so as to force them to carry on an international policy of the defense of peace, to organize a system of collective security, relying firmly on the power and peace policy of the Soviet Union.

6. *The working class must take account of the fact of the existence of the League of Nations,* it must not close its eyes to the negative aspects of the League, to its weaknesses and mistakes, but, on the other hand, must not draw the conclusion from this that the League of Nations should be scrapped. If the working class were to draw such a conclusion now, it would do a service to the German and Italian fascists, to the Japanese military clique and all enemies of peace. The working class, fighting in each separate country and on an international scale, can compel the League of Nations to take effective measures against fascist aggressors, can force it to apply economic and financial *sanctions* which would thenceforth cool down the ardor of the fascists to prepare and wage war. Measures of this kind cannot but meet with support from the international proletariat.

"So you propose that the working class should demand measures which guarantee peace from the bourgeois governments? You say that the workers should even support the actions of the League of Nations? So you've become reformists?"

This is the most undiluted rubbish! We know that the working class will put an end to wars once and for all by revolution which will overthrow capitalism. But as long as the working class is unable to bring about a revolution and take power, we tell it that it should fight with might and main to force the bourgeoisie to take such steps as will prolong peace. This is directly in the interests of the revolution, because at the present time, in peace conditions, the forces of revolution are growing, organizing themselves, uniting and gathering strength. In present-day conditions, the slogan of the maintenance of peace is a revolutionary slogan. The profound distinction between us and the reformists, between the Communists and the Right wing Social-Democratic leaders is that the reformists want to *bind* the working class to the policy of the bourgeoisie, whereas we want the working class, *by means of independent class struggle*, to force the bourgeoisie to keep to a policy of peace. *We shall never agree to civil peace with the bourgeoisie*, even if the concrete aim pursued by the bourgeois government is for a period regarded as a desirable aim. This is a tremendous difference!

The same may be said of the League of Nations and the attitude of the working class towards this organization. When the Italo-Ethiopian war began, the leaders of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions called upon the working class



to put all its forces at the disposal of the League of Nations. This incorrect line inspired the idea that the League of Nations alone was sufficient to defend the cause of peace, and this merely sowed confusion and passivity in the ranks of the proletariat. We did not refuse to support the actions of the League of Nations against the aggressor. But first and foremost we called upon the international proletariat to unite its forces and carry on an independent struggle against the fascist aggressor, and to force the League of Nations to take effective steps against the aggressor. Had our call been heeded, the voice of the proletariat would have sounded differently and events would not have taken a turn favorable for the fascist aggressor, as actually was the case.

*Today we repeat this call for unity of action by the international proletariat against the war danger, and in defense of peace. Once again we call upon the working class to undertake independent action.* Unity of action on an international scale for the independent activity of the working class is the necessary prerequisite for an active international proletarian policy in the struggle to maintain peace.



The working class possesses gigantic power. It has numerous allies and can draw with them whole peoples, the vast majority of the population of the world, into the struggle for peace. But the facts show that the working class can only play its due role in the struggle against war if unity of action is brought about in its ranks. We have already fallen far behind the events, yet the two chief sources of resistance to unity of action by the international proletariat in the struggle for peace have by no means been eliminated. These sources are: (a) resistance by the Right leaders of the Labor and Socialist International to the establishment of unity of action in each country and on an international scale; (b) resistance by these same leaders, and first and foremost by the British Labor leaders, to the international working class undertaking a struggle against German fascism in the sphere of international policy. A great deal of work still remains to be done to break down this resistance. In all countries we must immediately take up this task with redoubled energy. In answer to all the arguments, all the sophistries which try to justify an international policy of concessions to German fascism and other fascist aggressors, we must give a reply which can convince the toilers. But it would be a most serious mistake to adopt a waiting position, to hold back the organization of the independent struggle of the working class against the war culprits until the resistance of the reactionary circles of Social-Democracy on the question has been finally broken. The events in France and Spain must serve as a lesson for us. It was exactly because of the independent activity and initiative of the Communist Party that it became possible to draw the Social-Democratic workers and Socialist Parties to the path of the united front policy, which made it possible for the proletariat to beat back the attacks of fascism in these two countries. We must act in exactly the same way at the present time in the sphere of international policy.

By their activity, our Communist Parties must point out the way to the working class. They must carry on a concrete and energetic struggle against the enemies of peace in each country and on an international scale. They must march in the vanguard of the struggle to defend the broad masses of toilers against the danger of a fascist attack, against the danger of the new war which threatens them. The Communist Parties, by their carefully thought out and coordinated actions, must lay the foundations for, and set an example of, a concrete international policy of the working class in the struggle for peace, and against the fascist aggressors.

Our forces are sufficient to do this. In a considerable majority of capitalist countries, the Communist Parties are no longer mere groups isolated from the masses. The Social-Democratic workers are beginning everywhere to heed our words, to steer a course on the basis of our actions. The barriers which separated us from each other are tottering. In each separate country we must insistently appeal to all who call themselves supporters of working class unity, to all those who can see the menacing danger of war and who understand that all forces must be mobilized before it is too late. We must get them to shake off their indifference, their passivity, and march together with us towards our common aim. The Communist and Socialist Parties of Spain have set a good example, by jointly demanding of both Internationals that they establish unity of action on an international scale against war.

“War may break out unexpectedly. Wars are not declared nowadays. They simple begin.” (Stalin.) The danger is very great, it has never been so great before. But the possibility of maintaining peace, of rescuing peace, still exists. All friends of peace must be rallied, they must be made to see their goal clearly, they must unite and coordinate their efforts. Then they will be able to be victorious. But only the working class, conducting a united international policy of peace, can bring them to victory. And only the Communist vanguard can clearly and confidently point out the path to the whole of the working class. And it must do so at all costs—for is it not the vanguard?

# The Struggle for the Anti-Japanese People's Front in China

By WANG MING

**I**N HIS report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Comrade Dimitroff said:

“In view of the changes in the international and internal situation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the question of the anti-imperialist united front becomes particularly important.”\*

On the eve of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of China decided on a new policy, the aim of which was to create a wide people's fighting front against Japanese imperialism in order to save the fatherland. In speaking of this new policy, Comrade Dimitroff pointed out that the Communist International approved the initiative of the Communist Party of China in the creation of the widest possible anti-imperialist united front along with all the organized forces existing on the territory of China which are really ready to wage a struggle for the salvation of their country and their people against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents.

More than six months have passed since the Seventh Congress of the Communist International was held. How is our Party carrying out this policy in practice? How far has it been successful? What weaknesses are still to be found in its work? And what ways and means have been adopted to overcome these weaknesses and successfully prosecute this policy further?

First of all, it must be said that it is no easy matter to create a united people's front in China for national defense against Japanese imperialism, because the main political and military forces in China have for several years been waging and are still waging an armed struggle among themselves. Furthermore, the situation in China changes so quickly that we also must know how correspondingly to change our tactics quickly and flexibly.

These six months have seen a serious struggle between the Communist Party of China and the opponents of the anti-imperialist united front, a struggle which might be divided into the following stages:

The first stage began with the publication (August 1, 1935), of the appeal\*\* of the Central Committee of our Party and of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic addressed to all parties, to the entire people in China, calling for the formation of a united people's government of national defense and a united anti-Japanese army for the whole of China.

\* Georgi Dimitroff, *United Front Against War and Fascism*.

\*\* See Special Chinese Number of *The Communist International*, February, 1936.

This appeal helped us to win important footholds among the Chinese people. Even a former governor-general, upon reading our appeal, stated: "In recent years I have looked in vain for the way to save China, and I consider that the appeal shows the only way."

A loyal supporter of Chiang Kai-shek has also had to admit at an open meeting that the way proposed by the Communist Party of China is, as he said, the only way to save the country, provided only that the tactics are genuine and not a maneuver. True, this does not stop Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang keeping absolutely silent about our appeal or simply calling it a maneuver of the Communists. From the moment when Comrade Dimitroff, in his report to the Seventh Congress, gave his directives on this question, while the Chinese delegation made an open declaration there about the new tactics, our struggle entered its second stage. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to make the open admission that the policy of the Communist Party of China is a correct one and cannot be left out of account. After receiving reports about the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Chiang Kai-shek called a special meeting of his closest supporters, at which he had to make the statement that the Chinese Communists have now really begun to defend their national interests, and that, therefore, they have to be reckoned with and negotiations must be begun with them. At the same time, however, Chiang Kai-shek undertook the following maneuver: He declared that the Communists wanted to form a united front with all parties and with all troops . . . with the exception of those led by himself, Chiang Kai-shek, and with the exception of himself personally, and that was why he had to fight against the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Red Army.

How did our Party expose this maneuver of Chiang Kai-shek? In view of the new offensive of Japanese imperialism against North China, the Central Committee of the Party issued a brief appeal to the entire people of China, to all parties and troops, calling on them to unite their ranks for the struggle against the new Japanese offensive in North China. At the same time, the Red Army issued a call to all troops and their commanders to form a united anti-Japanese army immediately. This call was addressed to Chiang Kai-shek personally, as well.

Furthermore, in an article written at the end of 1935 by the author of these lines it was stated that in spite of the innumerable crimes committed by Chiang Kai-shek against his country and the people of China, the Communist Party and the Chinese Red Army would give him the opportunity of expiating his guilt before the people and China, and were willing to fight shoulder to shoulder with him in a common front against Japanese imperialism, if he would turn his weapons against Japanese imperialism. The struggle around the question—for or against the anti-Japanese united front—entered into the third stage. Chiang Kai-shek resorted to a new maneuver. At the sixth plenary session of the Central Committee and at the Fifth Congress of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek, compelled to withdraw the slogan of struggle against the Red Army and the Communist Party, began to spread rumors among his

supporters to the effect that a united front would very soon be concluded with the Communist Party and the Red Army, allegedly for the purpose of declaring war on Japan immediately.

However, the new rise of the anti-Japanese movement which followed—as shown in the broad mass struggle of students and other sections of the Chinese people against the Japanese offensive on North China—frightened Chiang Kai-shek, for Chiang Kai-shek is much more afraid of his own people than of Japanese imperialism! And now Chiang Kai-shek has come out openly against the anti-Japanese people's movement, and against the united front with the Communists.

What results have we received from the application of the new Party policy?

*First*, China in the past month has seen a new and extensive advance of the anti-Japanese movement. The foreign press has, for the most part, confined itself to communications on the student movement in Shanghai and other large cities in China, but in actual fact this movement has taken on a much wider scope. On this occasion the whole of the Chinese people has come forward including not only students and workers, but also shopkeepers, factory owners and journalists, lawyers, women and children. Some troops have also done so.

What is remarkable about this new wave of the movement for defense against the Japanese is that whereas previously it was conducted under the general slogan of struggle against Japan, on this occasion, however, the slogan of the formation of a united front of the whole of the people of China against Japanese imperialism has become popular. This slogan has become the central slogan of the entire movement. Herein lies the new feature of the movement.

The masses are demanding the cessation of the civil war, which at the present moment means in effect the cessation of the offensive of the Nanking troops against the Red Army, because at the present time there is no other civil war going on in China. This is the first result of our struggle.

*Second*, in China during recent months, numerous new political groupings and mass organizations have been formed on the basis of the common platform of armed resistance to Japan and the salvation of the fatherland. Take, for example, the new political organization of the Nineteenth Army, the so-called "League for the National Salvation of China", and also numerous associations for the salvation of the fatherland. In many cities associations of this kind have now been formed among students, women, lawyers, and journalists. Along with this, there are even whole towns forming united associations for the salvation of China, as, for example, the Shanghai Association, the Peiping-Tientsin Association and others. All these organizations are advancing the slogan of resistance to Japanese aggression and of the salvation of the fatherland.

*Third*, the authority of our Party and of the Chinese Red Army among the population of China is growing at a phenomenal rate. The Party has augmented its cadres from representatives of wide sections of

the Chinese people. Today, for instance, it is not only the toilers who are rising to the defense of the Red Army and the Communist Party, but even prominent representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia and politicians are doing so. Here are a few instances: one of the leaders of the Nineteenth Army and of the "League for the National Salvation of China", Chen Ming-chu, an ex-governor-general, one of the most prominent men in the Kuomintang, has recently on more than one occasion made the statement in his articles and pamphlets that the Kuomintang has through its policy of struggle against the Communist Party, and its policy of exterminating the most honest, the most soldierly young fighters of the Chinese people, committed the most heinous crime ever known in the history of China against the fatherland. Now Chen Ming-chu openly declares that he wants to collaborate with the Red Army and the Communist Party.

Chang Tai-yen, a venerable scientist and prominent Chinese politician, a man who has always been noted for his reactionary opinions (he was a bitter opponent even of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27), recently circulated a long telegram throughout China in which he condemned those who opposed the anti-Japanese movement under the pretext of the struggle against the Communists. Let the Communists join in, he declared, if they are really carrying on a fight against Japan; for us, he added, it is important that the whole of the people carry on the struggle against Japan, irrespective of their political views.

Chang Nai-chi, a prominent politician and journalist, vice-president of the Industrial Bank of Chekiang, wrote an article entitled, "The Results of a Four-Year Struggle". In his article he writes that the chief mistake made by the Nanking government and the Kuomintang is that under the slogan—"First Finish with the Enemy at Home and Then with the Enemy from Abroad"—they are carrying on a war against the Red Army and the Communists, expending an average of 80,000 Chinese dollars per Communist destroyed. Chang Nai-chi considers such a policy of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government fatal to the Chinese people, and demands a change in this policy, "to save the young people of China and the Chinese nation".

The important bourgeois newspaper, *Yishi Pao*, drew attention in a recent leading article to the change in policy of the Communists, who instead of fighting against the internal enemy under the slogan of the destruction of private property, are fighting against the foreign enemy, Japanese imperialism, and called on the whole of China to take note of this.

An ex-leader of the Right wing of the Kuomintang, Hu Han-min, stated that China would be better under the Red flag than under the Japanese flag.

But the behavior of the students in Peiping is the most significant. All the world knows of the mass arrests among the Chinese students. The Kuomintang is demanding of the arrested students that they sign a statement denouncing the Communists as national traitors and conspirators. Not a single student, however, has agreed to sign any state-

ment of this sort. The eighteen-year old Kow Chin, a student of the Kuomin high school, was beaten to death for refusing to sign such a statement. This shows how much the authority of our Party has grown among the general public throughout China.

These are the positive results which we have attained by using the tactics of the united front against Japanese imperialism in China.

But at the same time we must also refer to the great shortcomings and weaknesses which are still to be observed in this movement.

First and foremost, the main weakness is the absence of a real organization of the people's front. The mass movement and the mass organizations are not united under a common leadership. In Peiping, Shanghai and other cities, for instance, there are numerous organizations of national salvation, but there is nobody yet to organize and lead them. Consequently, the movement has not as yet a really universal character, has not yet spread through the whole of China.

No concrete agreement for the conduct of a common struggle has yet been concluded between the various political parties, and not even between those which are already openly opposed to Japanese imperialism and in favor of the people's front.

And, lastly, the main weakness is that the majority of the Kuomintang troops have not yet been drawn into this struggle which affects the nation as a whole, but are still under the influence of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government. It is true that there is friction inside the Kuomintang itself, but this friction has not yet led to such an open split as would lead to the formation of a real Left wing in the Kuomintang, one which would come out more openly in defense of the common struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism. In this lies the essence of the chief weaknesses of our movement for the formation of a united anti-Japanese front.

What are the reasons for these weaknesses? The first and the chief reason is our own weakness, the weakness of our Party organizations in the Kuomintang districts, which, particularly in the last year, have been repeatedly attacked by the Kuomintang.

Second, many of our comrades have not yet thoroughly grasped what it means to apply the united front tactics in practice. That is why, in Peiping, and Shanghai, for example, where the new fighting slogan has been put forward, the methods of work have at bottom not changed. The weakness of our cadres at the present moment lies in the fact that the slogans they utter are new but their methods of work are old.

Third, although our general political slogan—the unification of all forces for the struggle against Japanese imperialism—already corresponds to the new policy pursued in the Soviet districts, in the actions of the Red Army, however, there has not yet been a decisive turn, in actual daily activity, as, for instance, in agrarian and economic policy, Soviet democracy, etc. And that is why the masses and the Kuomintang troops in particular have not yet in practice been sufficiently convinced that our policy has changed.

Further, the hostile relations between the Red Army and the Kuo-

mintang troops, between which war has been raging for a number of years, have rendered negotiations very difficult. The old hostility has not only prevented the Kuomintang from beginning negotiations, but the Red troops as well.

Finally, the Kuomintang is carrying on a ferocious struggle against the Communists, and against the united anti-Japanese front for the salvation of China.

What concrete steps must be undertaken with a view to the further application and development of our new policy, so as to achieve the formation of a really wide people's front against Japanese imperialism?

First, our own mistakes must be immediately corrected, and our own weaknesses overcome. Above all, a really strong Party leadership must be set up in Kuomintang China. The Party cadres must be re-educated in the spirit of the new policy, and finally, we have got to make a real change in our general policy in the Soviet regions, so as to demonstrate in actual practice what are the real character and meaning of the struggle of the Soviet government and Red Army in China.

As far back as 1927 Comrade Stalin said that the anti-imperialist struggle in China would bear a clear-cut national and genuinely popular character. The main problem facing our policy in the Soviet regions is precisely to show all the people the clear-cut national and genuinely popular character of our struggle.

Some people have thought that it was enough to put forward the slogans of the united front, without changing our policy in the Soviet regions. Facts go to show that this is incorrect. Every Chinese judges whether the policy of the Communists is correct or not, first and foremost, by our actions in the Soviet regions, because the Soviet regions are a practical illustration of our work and our struggle.

What did we decide to change in our policy in the Soviet regions? This question is now being discussed among the leading comrades in our Party and our Soviet government.

It will be necessary to enlarge upon the main character of these changes. Take the question of the Soviets. What did we decide to change?

Hitherto, our Soviets have been organs of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies, but now we want to make the Soviets democratic organs not only of the toilers of China, but of all those who today are actively opposed to Japanese imperialism and stand for the salvation of the fatherland. Some of our comrades had doubts as to whether certain bourgeois elements could be drawn into our Soviet apparatus. We think that as things stand at the present time in China this can be done. For example, there is a Soviet industrial and commercial apparatus, with the work in which our Communists, workers and peasants are still unable to cope, because the merchants and industrialists have no confidence in us. If we make use of bourgeois elements for work in this apparatus in such a way as to make contact through them with merchants and industrialists inside our Soviet regions and Kuomintang China, this will extend our trading contacts and thereby improve the



economic situation of the Soviet regions. In this question we want to utilize the experience not only of the Russian revolution but the experience of the bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe as well. In the struggle to fulfil the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and particularly in the struggle against Japanese imperialism, the mortal foe of the Chinese people, we, Chinese Communists, must win those elements of the national Chinese bourgeoisie who are really taking part in this struggle for national emancipation and use their experience and connections for the struggle to save our fatherland.

Approximately the same pertains to the Red Army. The first practical task confronting the Chinese Communists is to extend the social composition of the Red Army. At the present moment the Red Army is carrying on an offensive on North China. In the provinces of North China there are not a few students, intellectuals and young people who will join the Red Army, and who are asking to be taken in its ranks to fight against the Japanese invaders. Can we say "no" to them? Of course not. We must accept them, so as to extend the composition of the Red Army and utilize them for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. We have got to conclude a united front with troops of different kinds.

We have also decided on a big change in our economic policy in general, and our agrarian policy in particular, and this will result in a decisive turn in the whole of our political course. If successfully pursued in the Soviet regions, such a policy will have decisive influence on the whole of the Chinese people and bring them nearer to the Soviets.

Further, we must decide on concrete ways and means for combining the forces of all parties and groupings, which are engaged in an open struggle against Japanese imperialism, for the people's front, and must elaborate a common platform and decide on concrete ways and means of carrying on the common struggle.

Forms and methods must also be found to unify the mass organizations under a common political leadership.

Finally—and this is the main tactical question—we must win over to the united anti-Japanese front, the main military units of the Kuomintang including the troops subordinate to the Nanking government of Chiang Kai-shek. If we are to achieve this, our first step must be systematically to expose the demagoguery and maneuvers of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. The principal demagogic slogans of Chiang Kai-shek at the present moment may be summed up as follows:

"1. The time has not yet come to fight Japan because China is not ready yet; the only thing to do for the present is to prepare for the war against Japan."

"2. We are for a united front, but without the Communists."

"3. We will fight Japan whether a united front of the Chinese people exists or not."

The Communists and all the supporters of the united anti-Japanese front in China are systematically exposing this demagoguery of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. Take, for example, the slogan of "Prepar-

ing for war against Japan". The Communists are showing the masses, first, that under the cover of this slogan Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang are pursuing a policy of national treason and national disgrace, a policy of capitulation to the aggression of Japan and a policy of suppressing the anti-Japanese movement of the people. Second, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang have at bottom done nothing really to prepare the war against Japan, nor can they do anything, with their present policy, a policy of internal warfare against their own people instead of national defense against their mortal enemy from abroad.

If Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang do not put a stop to the civil war against their own people and its Red Army, if they throw their military forces into this war and spend all the revenues of the state, how can they really carry out military preparations for war against Japan? To prepare concretely and actually for war by the Chinese people against Japanese aggression means not only to prepare military forces but also the forces of the whole of the Chinese people as well. This is precisely the sort of preparations which have been proposed and are now being proposed by the Communist Party and the Soviets of China. The Communist Party and the Chinese Soviets have put forward a program and a fighting plan for preparing the war against Japanese imperialism. This program and this plan consist of the following: to combine the forces of all parties, all troops and of the whole of the Chinese people for the establishment for the whole of China of a people's government of national defense and a united anti-Japanese army covering the whole of China for the prosecution of a holy war of national liberation against Japanese imperialism. But the first step towards the realization of this great plan is the cessation of the civil war and the maximum mobilization, organization, and arming of the whole of the Chinese people. Unless the civil war is stopped, and the people granted democratic liberties, all windy phrases about preparing for war against Japan are empty chatter and utter deception.

As against the slogan of Chiang Kai-shek, to form "a united front without the Communists", the Communists and all supporters of a united anti-Japanese front are making it their task to show the masses that in the present conditions obtaining in China a united front without the Communists means a united front not only without the Communist Party which numbers hundreds of thousands of members and is the strongest, fittest, most advanced, organized and consistent vanguard section of the people's front, not only without the working class, not only without the victorious Red Army and the beloved and revered Soviet government in China, not only without the tens of millions of toilers who are sympathetic towards the Communist Party and the Red Army and are ready to sacrifice their lives for them, but a united front without all the honest patriots and foremost fighters for the salvation of their fatherland, who are regarded by the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek as Communists. In other words, in such a situation there will be either no united front at all or if some sort of a united front is formed, it will not at all be an anti-imperialist people's front,

but a united front of reaction, a united front of national traitors and betrayers, a united front between these enemies of the people and Japanese imperialism against the Chinese people.

Further, as regards the slogan that "war against Japan will take place all the same in spite of the absence of a united people's front", the Communists and all supporters of the united anti-Japanese front must demonstrate to the masses that unless a united people's front is established, war against Japan is either utterly impossible and unfeasible or will end in defeat.

It is the concern of the Communist Party and the Red Army of China that the chief organizations of the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang military units, even including the more influential military and political leaders of the Kuomintang, should join in the people's front. We are confronted with a powerful enemy—Japanese imperialism. And the Chinese Communists are mobilizing all the forces of the Chinese people for the struggle against this enemy. The greater the number of Kuomintang organizations drawn into this struggle, the easier will it be for us to drive back Japanese imperialism. That is why the slogan of the Communist Party of China, namely, to link up with all the Kuomintang troops including the Nanking troops as well, is not a maneuver but the actual policy of the Communist Party and the Red Army.

Has the formation of a really mighty united anti-Japanese front of the Chinese people any chances of success? Without a doubt! The recent events on the international arena and inside China are still further promoting and accelerating the ripening of the conditions for the formation of such a united front in China.

The Chinese people are demanding immediate and real unification, the achievement of which is the most important condition for the struggle to liberate the Chinese people. The serious events which have developed on the international arena have a great influence on China. These events include the following:

First, the success of the united front in Spain and France. In China at the present time the opinion exists that if the French and the Spaniards were able to unite the forces of the Communists, Social-Democrats and a section of the radical bourgeoisie for a common struggle against fascism, then why cannot the Chinese people unite their forces to carry on the struggle against Japanese imperialism, the common mortal foreign enemy of the Chinese people?

Second, the recent events in Japan, namely, the military-fascist putsch, organized by the so-called "young officers" in Tokyo. These events show the weak sides of Japanese imperialism, and at the same time raise the spirits and confidence of the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression.

Third, the conclusion of the pact of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic. This policy of the Soviet Union meets the support and approval of the whole of the Chinese people who once more see and feel in word and deed the friendship displayed

by the Soviet state for the oppressed nations. The so-called sharp protest of the Nanking government of the Kuomintang against the Soviet-Mongol Pact of Mutual Assistance only increased the indignation and hatred of the people towards the Nanking government, as to a government of national betrayal and national disgrace, and to a government which out of fear of Japanese bayonets dances to the tune of Japanese imperialism. The ignominious position of the Nanking government on this question is clear and obvious to the whole of the Chinese people and to the whole world. This government not only does not want to defend its people and its territory itself, but even protests against any other people defending itself, and against a friendly neighbor, the powerful Socialist state, helping the Mongolian people, who are part of the Chinese people, to give a much-needed rebuff to Japanese imperialism. Such a government has long since lost the right to speak in the name of the Chinese people. Only we, the Chinese Communists, only the Chinese Soviets, as the real representatives of the great Chinese people, have the right to speak and act in their name. We, Chinese Communists, declare openly to the whole world that the Chinese people acclaim the Soviet-Mongol Pact of Mutual Assistance and rejoice that our brothers and sisters in the Mongolian People's Republic will not fall defenseless, the victims to Japanese militarism.

The events which have arisen following the occupation by German troops of the demilitarized zone on the Rhine are exerting a great influence on the situation in China. China knows only too well that every new complication in the European situation is used by the Japanese to undertake a further offensive on China. And now everybody can see clearly that China is facing a new, still more serious danger of attack by Japanese imperialism on North China and the central regions. The recent events which have taken place on the political arena of China have also helped in the formation of an anti-Japanese people's front. The ceaseless aggressive operations of the Japanese militarists in China and the unexampled treachery of the Nanking government have resulted in a growth of the anti-Japanese movement among all sections of the Chinese people and in all the military units of China. The offensive of the Chinese Red Army on Shansi and its sincere call for a united struggle against Japanese imperialism have produced a tremendous impression on the masses of the Chinese people. Whereas previously, as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's blockade, the Red Army of China could not in deeds show its sincere desire and readiness to fight against Japanese imperialism, after the offensive on Shansi, however, a new estimation of the significance of the struggle of the Red Army immediately began to appear in the Chinese press. The bourgeois press in China writes that the Communist Party has now changed its policy, that the offensive of the Red Army on Shansi must be taken more seriously, for the Red Army has entered the regions under the control of Japanese imperialism. The offensive of the Red Army on Shansi has invoked, as never before, the sympathies of the Chinese people who are being still more convinced that the Red Army is the only, really anti-Japanese army, the real

army of the Chinese people. This circumstance is undoubtedly making it easier to form a united front with the Kuomintang troops. The objective conditions in China at the present time are much more favorable for the formation of a united fighting front against Japanese imperialism. Now everything depends, above all, on the ability, flexibility, consistence and stubbornness of the Communists in their struggle for the formation of a united people's front against Japanese imperialism, for the salvation of the fatherland.

The further prosecution of the new policy will undoubtedly meet with many difficulties, many dangers, on its road forward. The strength of the Communist Party of China must lie in not being afraid of these difficulties, but in being able to overcome them, in not fearing dangers, but in foreseeing and overcoming them!

The struggle of the Communist Party of China for the organization of a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, the main instigator of war in the Far East and the military ally of German fascism, is not only a struggle of the Chinese people for its national emancipation. It is one of the most vital sectors of the common struggle of the proletariat and the peoples of all countries against war and for the preservation of peace. In this connection, the heroic national liberation struggle being carried on by the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism must everywhere meet with the decisive support and the warm sympathy not only of the working class and the oppressed peoples, but also of all friends of peace in all countries.

# The Front of Peace and Freedom Against the Fascist Military Clique in Japan

By V. NISIKAWA

## I

THE robber war against China which was begun by Japanese imperialism in 1931 increased the danger of a new world war to a tremendous degree. The successes of the robber policy of Japanese imperialism gave rise to a great increase of chauvinism and strengthened political reaction in Japan.

For several years the debauch of reaction and the attacks of fascism did not meet with active mass resistance from the toilers. Neither the leadership of the Shakai Taisuto\* nor the leadership of the Kumiai Kaigi\*\* did anything to ensure that the workers' and peasants' movement emerge from the difficult position it was in up till 1935.

The rise of the working class movement which was to be noted in 1935, and the development of the anti-fascist movement which followed, began in spite of the whole policy of the reactionary leaders of the Shakai Taisuto and Kumiai Kaigi. *The initiative of the workers themselves, and first and foremost of the workers of the Konan district of the city of Osaka, their struggle for the united front, were the impulse which brought the working masses out of their condition of stagnation.* In 1935, 4,500 metal workers of the Konan district began a movement from below for uniting the trade unions. On April 10, 1935, they formed a "Council to Hasten the Unity of the Trade Unions".

"The most important part in this 'Council' was taken not by members in the leadership of the trade unions but by people who themselves worked in the factories. . . . This was an independent movement of the workers which developed on the initiative of the masses."\*\*\*

The unification of the ranks of the workers were taken in hand by the workers themselves. They met stubborn opposition from the majority of the leaders of the Sodomei and Zenro trade unions. Among the masses of workers, however, the Konan movement met with a very live response. In other localities, as, for instance, in the districts of Koto and Jonan in Tokyo, the workers followed the example of the Konan workers, called district meetings of members of various trade unions, and also of representatives from various factories, and laid the basis for a broad movement for trade union unity. The aim of the Konan workers was to "unite the entire anti-capitalist camp and to proceed to a counter-attack".

\* Shakai Taisuto—Japanese Social-Democratic Workers' and Peasants' Party.

\*\* Kumiai Kaigi—Trade Union Congress.

\*\*\* From the article of Inomata Tzunao entitled "The Growth of the Working Class Expressed in the Movement to Unify the Trade Unions" and printed in the magazine *Kaizo*, February, 1936.

(From the greetings of the representatives of the Konan district to the Congress of the Zenchio Left-Legal Trade Union Federation, November 17, 1935.)

It was just because the movement of the working masses for trade union unity was an organized movement of the *workers themselves* that it acquired great strength and succeeded in breaking the stubborn opposition of many reactionary leaders. After a long struggle the workers achieved the unification of two of the largest trade union federations, namely, the Sodomei and Zenro. This success brought high spirits and a belief in their own strength to the working masses. The working class movement began to develop activity. Following this the Left elements strengthened their struggle to establish a united workers' and peasants' front. This movement was most actively supported by the Left-legal trade unions and the "Zenno" peasants' league. A united "Council of Workers' and Peasants' Organizations To Fight for the Passage of Laws on Trade Unions and Land Rental" was formed, in which there were nine organizations, including the peasant league. This Council issued an appeal in which they put forward the following demands:

"1. Freedom for workers' organizations, immediate introduction of a law on independent trade unions, freedom of speech, assembly, press, strikes, and also freedom of organization and action.

"2. Immediate introduction of a law regarding the renting of land, liberation of the toiling peasantry from the semi-feudal, slave rent system, and giving the peasantry land."

In January, 1936, when the Congresses of a number of workers' and peasants' organizations took place in Tokyo, a workers' and peasants' conference (Rono Taikai) was called on the initiative of this "Council". The state of mind of the workers' and peasants' representatives who participated in this conference may be gathered if only from the fact that the police very often deprived speakers of the right to speak, and this brought forth stormy protests from those present. The conference which called for "An alliance between workers and peasants", for the "Struggle against fascism and reaction" was very successful. The refusal of the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto to participate in the conference caused great indignation at the Congress of this party. The Left elements of the Shakai Taisuto, however, took an active part in this conference, while Sugiyama, in particular, a member of the Central Committee of the Shakai Taisuto, was elected chairman of the conference.

The developing movement for united action of the proletariat and for an alliance between workers and peasants turned, from the point of view of its political content, into a broad democratic movement against fascism, for peace and democratic rights. This democratic movement is attracting to itself broad masses of the peasantry.

The Village Cooperative Youth League which has 500,000 members has affiliated to the democratic movement against fascism and war. In connection with the parliamentary elections, the leaders of this League published their platform.

The following are the main points of this program:

"1. For international peace—such is the desire of the whole of humanity, with the exception of a number of capitalists and those persons who are connected with the war industry. . . . Military expenditure amounts to 66 per cent of the entire 1935 budget, as a result of which the remaining sections of the budget have been sharply reduced. . . . We must support that party which honestly stands for international peace.

"2. Against fascism. The cooperatives whose aims are freedom and equality are categorically against fascism no matter in whatever state it may exist. We must come out in principle against those people who put candidates forward for parliament under the slogan of fascism, and must oppose the political views of the military clique.

"We shall not allow Japan to return once more to the period of the despotism of Shogunante Tokugawa!"\*

The following fact is quite interesting: Sengoku Kiotaro, the leader of all of the village cooperatives (Sangyo Kumiai) which has five million members, made the following statement to the press on February 17, 1935:

"The talk going on that we have connections with the military clique is absolutely incorrect."

Democratic and anti-militarist moods have also increased among the bourgeois intelligentsia. This, for instance, is what is written in the *Kaizo*, one of the most popular bourgeois magazines (February, 1936), by the bourgeois journalist, Kawamura:

"Three reasons hinder the fulfilment of the wishes of the people.

"First of all, there is no freedom of speech. A few console themselves with the thought that it is still worse in fascist Germany, but there is a dictatorship there, while our government is considered constitutional. Where there is constitutional government there should be a corresponding freedom of speech.

"The second reason is the defects in the electoral system in the broad sense of the word, that is, the fact that at present the electoral struggle exists only on paper, while in practice, the elections are the monopoly of the large parties.

"Thirdly, the extreme limitation of the rights of the parliament itself.

"The most important questions, namely, the questions of defense and foreign policy are forbidden ground, as far as parliament is concerned."

## II

The great advance of the anti-fascist and anti-militarist movement among the people, which began in 1935, found its most brilliant expression during the last elections to the Japanese parliament (February, 1936).

\* Shogunante Tokugawa, military feudal dictator of pre-reform Japan.—Ed.



Both the election campaign and the results of the elections provide very rich material enabling one to get a picture of what is happening among the masses of people in Japan, and make it possible for one to get a much more clear understanding of the behavior of the various class groups and parties and to define their position.

Even the Minseito, the conservative-monarchist party, came out openly against fascism and against any increase in military expenditure, while its chief opponent in the elections, the Seiukai Party, which sets its course by the military clique, did not dare to come out openly in favor of fascism. There can be no doubt that the leadership of the Minseito is not opposed in principle to fascism. It is only seeking to achieve a compromise with the leaders of the army and fleet more acceptable to certain strata of the bourgeoisie.

The leadership of the Minseito put forth the slogan, "Struggle against fascism" only because they took account of the strong anti-fascist sentiments in the country. Well before the elections, anti-fascist sentiments and dissatisfaction with the policy of the military clique had taken hold of very wide strata of the population, and *this forced* the leadership of the Minseito to change its course, and for the first time to carry out its election campaign under the slogan of the struggle against fascism.

At the beginning of the election campaign the leadership of the Minseito tried not to push forward what was its only anti-fascist slogan, but tried mainly to preserve its profoundly abstract character, but in the course of the election struggle was forced to go further.

Thus, for instance, the Minseito pamphlet entitled *Material for Pre-Election Speeches* includes the following:

"Since the events of May 15 (the murder of Inukai) fascist tendencies have grown because of the activity of various organizations and forces. Rejecting parliamentary politics, they have carried out agitation to the effect that the political parties are responsible for all the political mistakes made up to the present time. Nevertheless, there has not been a single case where they have asked the opinion of the people about this. The present elections are the occasion when it is necessary to loudly agitate for an anti-fascist parliament which expresses the opinion of the majority of the people."

The adherents of the Minseito in the localities went much further, when a few of them quite often openly came out against the military clique and their special rights. For instance, in Nagoya the editor of the Minseito newspaper *Nagoya Simbun* made the following declaration in his pre-election statement:

"Parliament is helpless against the bureaucracy and military clique. When we raise the question in parliament of military expenditure, we do not receive any answer. We are told that this is a military secret, that the Chief of the General Staff has a special right to make a direct approach to the emperor on questions of the military program. The political parties are helpless because the military clique monopolize the so-called

military diplomacy. The military clique do not content themselves with throwing the bomb of 'explaining the state system' (the so-called Minobe affair) into the palace of freedom—the university. They sharply persecute liberalism in general."

The leaders of the local reservists' organization made a noisy campaign against these statements of the Minseito. It is all the more significant that despite this the candidate of the Minseito in Nagoya was not only elected but received the greatest number of votes.

As is well known, the leadership of the Shakai Taisuto, the Social-Democratic Party, did not at the beginning of the election campaign put forth the slogan, "Struggle against fascism", using the excuse that "fascism is so weak in Japan that there is no need to speak about it". The leaders of the Shakai Taisuto based their point upon the weakness of the civil fascist organizations. In this connection, it seems that they left out of account such "a trifle" as the fascist military clique.

In this there could be seen the influence of Mr. Aso, the general secretary of the Shakai Taisuto, who carries on strong propaganda to the effect that the fascist military clique is not the enemy of the proletariat, but its best friend.

The leaders of the Minseito Party understood that the masses of the people are against fascism and do not want war; the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto, however, who have many times declared themselves opponents of fascism, did not or did not want to understand this.

Nevertheless, the leaders of the party have the confidence of those within the Shakai Taisuto and among considerable sections of the proletariat. At the same time the local organizations of the Shakai Taisuto and almost all of its candidates carried out the election campaign under the slogan of the struggle against fascism, for peace and democracy in spite of the opposite decision of the leadership of the party. The pressure of the masses prove to be so strong that Abe Isoo himself, the chairman of the Shakai Taisuto, quickly changed his front and in his appeal to the electors and candidates published on February 9, 1936, he called for "a rebuff to be given to the fascist forces".

Thus we have before us a fact of serious political significance, namely, *under the pressure of broad masses of the people, the struggle against fascism became the central question of the election campaign and the elections to the parliament turned into a mass campaign against fascism and militarism.*

The anti-fascists had a great victory in the electoral arena. More than five million voters gave their votes to the parties which promised to struggle against fascism and against any increase of military expenditure. Only 130,000 voters supported the candidates who came out openly for fascism. The Shakai Taisuto received 615,000 votes and the more Left groups 123,000.

The most Left of the workers' and peasants' candidates, Kato Kanju, had the greatest success: he received 54,000, *i.e., more than any other candidate in the whole of Japan.*

At the election meetings Kato Kanju came out openly and decisively against war and fascism. His speeches made a great impression. Every-

where, in the trams and in the streets, not only the workers, but clerks, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie approved the speeches of Kato and frequently were filled with enthusiasm by them. It was just the success of Kato's speeches against war and fascism that assisted in the success of the candidates of the Shakai Taisuto. The workers' and peasants' candidates received 200,000 votes in Tokyo.

The following fact is also very significant: in pre-reform Japan a pariah cast existed. Formally they have equal rights, but actually they are outcasts even now, and to have any relations with them is considered disgraceful. There are about three million of these outcasts. They have their own organization, the "Suiheisha" (Struggle for Equality).

In the recent parliamentary elections the leader of this organization, Matsumoto, was elected to parliament. For the first time in the history of the Japanese parliament a pariah was elected. The candidacy of Matsumoto was supported by the district organization of the peasant league, the Zenno. The peasants (not pariah) voted for him and voted mainly because he was the most Left candidate in this locality.

The workers' and peasants' parties thus had an important victory. Instead of the five places they had in the last parliament they received 23 seats in the new one, 18 of which belong to the Shakai Taisuto. The bourgeois magazine *Economist* wrote the following about this (March 1, 1936):

"Although the Shakai Taisuto is called a proletarian party in Japan, in reality it is a petty-bourgeois party; in other words, this is not a Socialist Party which bases itself on the masses of workers. In the current elections it won such a great amount of votes only because its policy became more petty bourgeois."

It is true that in its policy the Shakai Taisuto is not a Socialist Workers' Party; it is also true that the policy of its leaders has become much closer to that of the bourgeoisie. But the Shakai Taisuto was successful in the elections not because of the policy of its reactionary leaders. The Shakai Taisuto is not a Social-Democratic Party of the ordinary type, constructed on individual membership with a definite program; it has both individual and affiliated members. Trade unions, peasant leagues and other mass organizations belong to it collectively. The masses correctly consider the Shakai Taisuto to be a democratic party despite the policy of its reactionary leaders. This same *Economist* in another article writes:

"What are the sentiments displayed as a result of the elections? They contain the spirit of a rebuff to fascism. The first proof of this is that the Shakai Taisuto and the proletarian groups close to it received a great number of votes in the cities. This is because they were direct enemies of fascism."

Many Left-legal organizations supported the candidates of the Shakai Taisuto, although all along these organizations fought against the policy of the reactionary leaders of the Shakai Taisuto. This was correctly explained by the view that "where there are no more Left

candidates as yet, the victory of the candidates of Shakai Taisuto will assist the political advance of the proletariat in their struggle against fascism and the general growth of the workers' and peasants' front". (From the declaration of the Tramway Workers' Union.)

A similar position was adopted by the Japanese Communists who carried on their pre-election work from below, in the mass organizations. In the present concrete situation—when the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto discarded the slogan of the struggle against fascism in the teeth of the demands of the local organizations, while their candidates were victorious in the election, only because they called for a struggle against fascism—the *victory of the Shakai Taisuto is a defeat for the policy of the reactionary section of the leaders of this party and a victory for the anti-fascists.*

The election statistics show that the number of electors supporting the workers' and peasants' organizations was somewhat more than 700,000 persons. In reality the figure is much greater since there were no workers' and peasants' candidates in the majority of electoral districts. The fault for this lies entirely with the leadership of the Shakai Taisuto who only put forward 30 candidates throughout the whole of Japan. Distrust of the masses, and an unwillingness to risk their funds for the sake of rallying the masses are what governed these leaders.

If we take the electoral districts where there were workers' and peasants' candidates, then in Tokyo the number of votes received by them was 23.3 per cent and in the Fifth Electoral District, 41.5 per cent, in Osaka, 22 per cent, in the Prefecture of Fukuoka, 12.8 per cent, etc.

The leaders of the Minseito and Shakai Taisuto estimate the results of the elections to the Japanese parliament as a proof that the majority of the people support their policy. This is self-deception, or to be more correct, an attempt to deceive others. In reality the electoral struggle was carried on, not for or against the policy of these parties, but on an absolutely different plane. Apart from and often against the will of the leaders of both parties, the main question around which the struggle centered was the question of their relation to fascism. The policy, however, of the reactionary leaders of both these parties has nothing in common with the real struggle against fascism. There are no grounds for considering that in voting for these parties, the masses supported their policy. The basic political result of the elections is that *broad masses of the Japanese people openly, before the entire world, expressed themselves against fascism and against the threat of a new war.*

Not only did the workers and peasants declare for this, but considerable masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals and a section of the dissatisfied middle bourgeoisie also voted against fascism.

From which follows another conclusion, *that in Japan the formation of a really broad people's anti-fascist front is fully possible.*

The fact that the voters cast their votes for Minseito does not mean that this party expressed their will and strivings. The majority of the anti-fascist voters had no choice; they had no other way of expressing their political strivings. The will of millions of voters and of as many toilers, who have been deprived of the franchise, the will

of the majority of the Japanese people will be expressed only by that party which will really struggle against fascism and war, which will organize and strengthen the people's front against fascism and war.

If we take not an external view of the events, but their political content, then we are fully within our right in saying that during the elections in Japan there was a wide spontaneous movement of the masses of people against fascism and militarism. The only reason why this movement has not yet developed into direct action and has not yet become an organized people's anti-fascist front is because the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto not only do not want such a people's front, but are afraid of it.

Nevertheless, in the election campaign a number of legal workers' and peasants' organizations did something in this direction. In Tokyo and Osaka these organizations formed united committees—Rono Kiogikai, in which there were Left-legal trade unions, the Zenno, Peasant League, the Suiheisha, organization of Japan pariahs, the Left Buddhist organization, Sinko Bukkio and others, and also a few active officials of the Shakai Taisuto.

The united committees proposed that they support the Shakai Taisuto candidates and form a united front on this basis. Nevertheless, the leadership of the Shakai Taisuto rejected this proposal only because the Lefts are in the Rono Kiogikai.

Despite this, the Rono Kiogikai supported the candidates of the Shakai Taisuto in Osaka and in all the electoral districts in Tokyo with the exception of the Fifth District, where the Left-legal organizations put forward their own candidate—Kato Kanju.

The leaders of the Rono Kiogikai explained their support to the candidates of the Shakai Taisuto against the candidates of bourgeois parties by the interests of the anti-fascist struggle. In this way they showed how correctly they saw before them the political tasks now facing the toiling classes. In the Fifth Electoral District in Tokyo, Kato, the candidate of the Left-legal organizations, was opposed by Asso Hisasi, the most reactionary leader of the Shakai Taisuto. Kato proposed to the Shakai Taisuto that they transfer his candidacy to another district but only on condition that the Shakai Taisuto would declare for the unification of the reformist and Left-legal trade unions. The leaders of the Shakai Taisuto did not even trouble to answer Kato.

Nevertheless, in spite of the reactionary position of the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto, the entire local organization, led by its leaders in this district, gave the most active support to the candidacy of Kato.

After the elections the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto disbanded this local organization and expelled its leaders from the Party.

This proves that in the Shakai Taisuto the differentiation between the followers and opponents of the united front is increasing. This differentiation is becoming still greater in connection with the struggle of the Left-legal organizations to secure the unification of the trade unions and to enter the Shakai Taisuto.

There are a number of other circumstances which make the struggle for the united anti-fascist front easier.

The Zenno Peasant League, which is affiliated to the Shakai Taisuto, and which enjoys great authority among the peasants, is more and more actively declaring for the formation of a wide anti-fascist people's front.

The number of those who support united action with the Communists is growing not only among the Left-legal organizations and in the Zenno, but also in the ranks of the Shakai Taisuto.

The sentiments which exist among the Left elements of the Shakai Taisuto may be judged from an article by the well-known Japanese Democrat—Arahata—about Dimitroff. Here are a few of the most interesting excerpts from this article:

“Georgi Dimitroff—the hero of the Leipzig trial and the General Secretary of the Comintern—is widely known to the workers and peasants of the entire world, no matter to what party they belong. They have deep respect and love for him and are full of admiration for him.

“The new tactics [of the Seventh Comintern Congress] are based on the following facts: the growth of revolutionary forces, the gradual disillusionment of the masses with reformism, and the strengthening of the ranks of the Comintern, etc.

“The greatness of Dimitroff as a politician and leader is expressed in the bold, quick and clear change of policy and tactics, to correspond with the changing situation, but without deviating from basic principles. That is why Dimitroff was elected General Secretary of the Comintern.”

The leaders of the Shakai Taisuto do not want a mass struggle against fascism, and therefore oppose the formation of a people's anti-fascist front in every possible way

But as the experience of the Fifth Electoral District in Tokyo shows, it is already now possible to form a broad anti-fascist front in the localities. Nor is the possibility excluded that a few local organizations of the Minseito may also affiliate to the anti-fascist front. During the elections there was a case where the candidate of the Minseito made an agreement with the local organization of the Zenno Peasant League, in which he undertook to defend the demands of the Zenno in Parliament, in exchange for which the Zenno supported his candidacy, and he was elected.

### III

The military plot of February 26 was the counter-blow of the extreme fascist elements of the military clique against the developing people's anti-fascist movement. At the same time it was a counter-blow against the course which the conservative majority of the government of Okada was planning to pursue. In general this course amounted to the modification of the zeal of the extreme elements of the military clique and the achievement of a more acceptable compromise with the leaders of the army and fleet. The military plot remained isolated, and up to now its leaders have not been able to bring about a fascist coup. The deep basis for this failure consists in the fact that although the masses of people were divided and were not in a condition to give any opposition

to the fascists, their anti-fascist sentiments, nevertheless, exerted their influence over the ruling clique which decides the fate of Japan.

The ruling clique is afraid of the masses of people. This is confirmed by the fact that martial law in Tokyo has not been revoked up to the present time, the excuse being that it is directed against the Red danger, etc.

Certainly, had the army, or to be more exact, the officer caste, been united in support of the plotters, their success would have been a foregone conclusion, since they have an unchecked monopoly of the armed forces.

The majority of the military caste, however, although coming closer and closer to fascism, are as yet not prepared to support putschist, violent methods of establishing a fascist dictatorship.

Even, although in agreement with the aims of the plotters, the officer caste could not reconcile themselves to their methods. The commanders of the provincial divisions, who were less drawn into this policy, adopted a hostile attitude towards the plotters. This is proved by the statement of the commanders of the Kiotask division, a statement which penetrated the press (see *Asahi*, February 27, 1936). The commanding officers of the navy were at bottom against the plotters as shown by the fact that they very quickly concentrated the entire first squadron in the Bay of Tokyo and landed a contingent of sailors on shore.

How then can we explain the undoubted fact that the role of the military clique in the government, after the unsuccessful putsch of February 26, was not only not weakened, but on the contrary became much stronger, for is it not true that after the uprising the military clique dictated the changes in the Hirota government and the program of its internal and foreign policy more openly than ever before.

This is explained first and foremost by the fact that the Japanese military clique (the officer caste) despite all the differences which they have among themselves, have been, and remain a *special military caste*—"a state within a state". This military caste have special rights and privileges by force of which they themselves decide who will be the military and naval ministers, and thereby—to a certain extent—hold the fate of the government in their hands. The military caste are undisputed masters of the army and the naval military clique, of the navy. Having such independent strength, the military clique were able, despite the failure of the military putsch, to bring about a further strengthening of their position in the power of the state.

After the plot of February 26, the leaders of the army-military caste passed over to an extremely aggressive group, which, although not the most extreme, stands for further fascization inside Japan and for a "positive", *i.e.*, robber foreign policy.

The core of the new Hirota government is overwhelmingly composed of a group of people who are striving to further strengthen reaction inside the country and to promote an aggressive foreign policy.

But the Hirota government is not united. There are various elements in it, ranging from such representatives of the Minseitō, the liberal-

monarchist wing, as Kawasaki, to such a moderate fascist as Terauchi.

The military plot and the murder of a number of leaders of the conservative bureaucracy weakened the latter and brought confusion into their ranks. Nevertheless, they have not surrendered and as past experience shows, a new attempt to take revenge may follow their present retreat.

An intensification of contradictions is also unavoidable within the military caste itself. The change of the leadership of the military caste will strengthen dissatisfaction on both flanks. The more the army engages in politics, the greater will the contradictions within become, and the more will army discipline be undermined. Now already we can see the intensification of the struggle between the two military castes: the army and the navy. They are divided, by the way, on the question of the direction of the future expansion of Japanese imperialism. While the army military caste stand for action in a northerly direction, *i.e.*, against China and the U.S.S.R., a considerable section of the naval military clique stand, to use their own formulation, "for defense in the north and advance southwards". As compared with the previous government, the position of the naval military caste has been weakened. After February 26, there are less admirals in government posts, and we notice that, unlike the past, naval circles have begun to write special memoranda in which they fundamentally advance a number of their own demands against the policy of the army group.

There can be no doubt that class contradictions will grow sharper in Japan: the villages are being more and more ruined; the wages of the workers are continually being cut; the government intends further to increase military expenditures, to introduce new taxes and boldly to take the path of inflation, while as it is, the present level of military expenditure does not correspond to the economic situation of the country. All this still further sharpens the contradictions between the propertied classes and the ruling cliques.

A regrouping of forces is taking place within the ruling class. For the time being, one thing is clear, namely, that the danger of military adventures both "in the North" and "in the South" has greatly increased. Reaction is growing in Japan, fascism is once more advancing and the danger of the setting up of a military-fascist dictatorship has become much greater. Fascization can follow "constitutional" methods without much ado in a few stages, and this makes the tasks facing the anti-fascists still more responsible. The greatest vigilance and unremitting energy are necessary to develop the people's anti-fascist and anti-war movement.

The advance of fascism after the considerable growth of the anti-fascist people's movement proved to be possible only because the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto adopted a capitulatory and cowardly position both during and after the putsch of February. At that decisive moment they withdrew from political life. The anti-fascist movement was scattered, and remained without leadership. The Shakai Taisuto, Kumiai Kaigi and other organizations did not even attempt to appeal to the masses of the people.



The meeting of the Executive Council of the Shakai Taisuto, which was to have been held on February 26, did not take place because not a single member appeared at the meeting. All their "hero-leaders" chose to hide in the bushes at the very time when the foulest enemies of the people literally seized the masses by the throat. Only on March 2 did they receive the gift of speech, and then it became clear how great is the treachery of which these people are capable. The General Secretary of the Shakai Taisuto, Asso Hisasi, in the name of the party, stated that "because of the complex and involved results of the cause of the February events, the Shakai Taisuto abstains from any hasty comments", and further, not limiting himself to this, declared that he stood for "Showaism" (the renewal of Showa), *i.e.*, the slogan of the extreme elements of the fascist military clique, for the fascist uprising. Judging from the past, the majority of the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto are hardly likely to agree with Asso on this. But by preserving unity with this foulest enemy of the toilers, they really help him. The members and the majority of the officials of the Shakai Taisuto are democrats and anti-fascists. And if this is so, then they cannot suffer in their ranks such people as Asso who, without even asking them, speaks in their name and depicts them as followers of fascism and war. Relations with Asso and others like him are the testing point which immediately shows the workers and peasants of Japan and the entire world who wishes, in deeds and not in words, to struggle against fascism and war.

No matter, however, what the position of the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto may be, the anti-fascist movement will grow. The workers of Japan have already shown in practice that they can struggle for the cause of the working class, in the teeth of the opposition of the reactionary section of the leaders of the Shakai Taisuto and Kumiai Kaigi. By pressure from below they forced the leadership to unite the trade unions. By their independent movement they laid the beginning for the people's anti-fascist movement. All foremost workers and peasants, all honest democrats, will undoubtedly take into consideration the great lesson and experience given them by the workers and in the future will work with still greater energy among the masses, so as, by pressure from below, to raise a new wave of the anti-fascist and anti-war movement, and so that, in spite of the opposition of the reactionary leaders, entire organizations of the Shakai Taisuto, trade unions and other legal mass organizations will join the people's front against reaction, fascism and war. During the past year, and particularly during the elections, anti-fascist sentiments became deep rooted among the people and considerably increased. By prohibiting the celebration of May First for the first time in the past fifteen years, the government challenged the working class of Japan: they wish to test the strength of their opposition. If the workers surrender, and do not answer this challenge, then the reactionaries and fascists will become more impertinent. The coming months will be of exceptionally great importance for the further struggle of the proletariat and the toiling masses of Japan.

# Build Up a Mighty Front of Freedom and Peace\*

By J. LENSKI

**T**HE events in Cracow lit up like a flash of lightning the brutal face of Polish fascism. The bloody conflicts between the Cracow workers and the police served as a signal for a wave of anti-fascist activity. A general protest strike broke out in various working class centers, in small ones as well as large ones, while the masses of peasants and intellectuals were seized with the most profound indignation.

*This movement was deeply political in character.* To some extent the Cracow shootings played the same role in Poland as the shooting of the Lena workers did in tsarist Russia.

The immediate cause of the movement was the attempt of fascism to abolish the right of the workers to use the method of the "Polish strike"—the weapon most widely used for the defense of the vital interests of the working class in Poland.

The "Polish strike" is accompanied by the occupation of the factories by the workers, making it difficult for the employers to use strikebreakers. This was why the capitalists raised such an outcry and declared the "Polish strike" to be an attack on the "sanctity of private property". The fascist government was beside itself when the "Polish strike" invaded government enterprises. The police tried to frighten the workers but met with no success. The events began in the Semperit factory in Cracow, where a gang of police thugs beat up the workers, both men and women.

The workers of Cracow accepted the challenge, and were joined by the workers and unemployed of other towns. Poland has never yet seen such unity of action by the working class.

The events of Cracow are an extremely important symptom. The very fact that it was Cracow, usually so peaceful a town, which took action first shows how electric the political atmosphere of Poland has become. Cracow is a warning note of the bankruptcy of the Kosciolkowski government which had tricked the masses with its demagogic promises. Cracow laid the foundations for the fighting solidarity of the employed and unemployed. Cracow, where the Communists succeeded in establishing contacts with the Socialist workers, set the example of united action.

The general strikes of the miners, the Warsaw tramwaymen, the tobacco workers, printers and the Lodz textile workers at the end of last year and the beginning of this year, had already demonstrated the existence of a tremendous urge towards the united front. The most characteristic feature of these strikes was the united front of the vari-

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\* Written before the formation of the new government of Slawoj-Skladkowski.

ous unions—class, nationalist, religious and fascist. Owing to the urge of the masses of workers towards unity of action, inter-union strike committees *from above and below* were formed. But these strikes were still badly linked up with the political struggle. The connection existed only in the resolutions adopted at delegate meetings and conferences, whereas really mass demonstrations were needed to raise the relative importance of the strikes. Even during the Lodz strike of 120,000 textile workers, when vast masses of people got into motion, the Communists failed to bring them onto the streets for political demonstrations. We failed to surround the demonstration of 5,000 tramwaymen in Warsaw with the support of the broad masses of workers. The demonstration of 6,000 municipal employees in front of the building of the Council of Ministers also proved to be isolated.

The general sympathetic strikes in Bialystok and Lida were on a higher level. The workers of Bialystok expressed their sympathy with the striking lumber workers and peasants. In the strike at Lida, not only the workers but the independent craftsmen, domestic workers and shopkeepers took part.

"The town seemed dead," stated the bourgeois paper *Slovo*. "People with red armbands patrolled the streets. The workers openly talked of the victory of the people's front in Spain, shouted 'Down with Fascism!' and sang the 'Internationale'."

The events in Cracow not only welded the working class united front which was growing on the basis of the strike struggle, but it brought a new current into the development of the people's anti-fascist front. Very noteworthy in this connection was the impressive demonstration of workers and peasants, toiling intellectuals and broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie at the funeral of the workers murdered by the police. Half of the population of Cracow were on the streets. Even the employees of private banks and insurance companies joined the general protest strike.

The events in Cracow disclosed the strength of the working class, as expressed in the *combination of the strike with the mass demonstration*. This type of struggle compelled the fascist authorities to give way temporarily. The extent to which the police were alarmed is shown if only by the way they acted in connection with the tramwaymen's demonstration in Lvov.

"The Communists", wrote the *Gazette Polska*, "spread the rumor that a worker had been killed. A crowd of tramwaymen returning from a meeting immediately gathered together. In view of the excitement of the crowd, the police led the tramwaymen to the office of the Commissary and showed them that it was a policeman and not a worker who had been wounded."

Three weeks after the fighting in Cracow, the police of Lvov, having recovered from their alarm, organized a bloodbath for the workers. In Lvov the employed workers were supporting the struggle of the unemployed, whereas formerly, the unemployed, who often helped the striking workers, had not received any assistance from them. The

result of the "care" for the unemployed promised by the government was—20 killed and over 100 injured. The proletariat of Lvov gave an unusual example of heroism by their demonstration, 10,000 strong, and their most stubborn struggle against big forces of special mobilized police.

Again the Polish proletariat replied to the shootings in Lvov by meetings, strikes and demonstrations. Neither bloody slaughters nor mass arrests, neither the mobilization of the police force nor tanks patrolling the streets brought terror to the workers of Lvov, who expressed their protest by a one-day strike on April 21, which affected practically all the working people of the town.

*This unparalleled solidarity between the employed and the unemployed*, so typical of the Lvov events, was also displayed in other Polish towns, especially in Czenstochova and Posen. A week after the Lvov strike (April 28) a bloody demonstration of the unemployed took place in Chrzanow. According to the bourgeois press, several thousand demonstrators from the outskirts of Chrzanow marched into the town with the demand that wages be increased on public works. The police drove the demonstrators out of the town. But on the following day, parties of unemployed from neighboring villages once more came into the town, united with the unemployed of Chrzanow and with the factory workers, who declared a sympathy strike. Conflicts with the police took place and some demonstrators were killed and injured.

The combination of the struggle of the employed and unemployed workers will have an effect on the peasants, will strengthen the alliance between the workers and peasants, and increase the role of the proletariat as the leading force in the movement of the masses of the people.

"The working class draws into revolutionary activity the masses of the toilers and exploited, deprived of elementary rights and driven to desperation. The working class teaches them the revolutionary struggle, trains them for revolutionary activity, explains to them where and how to find a way out and salvation."\*

The events in Cracow disclosed the beginning of the *isolation of the fascist government*. Some of the Pilsudski delegates in the Sejm spoke of this with alarm.

In spite of its loudly-advertised promises, the Koscialkowski government has not in the least improved the conditions of the masses of the people. On the contrary, the conditions of all the toiling strata of the people have grown worse. While unemployment has considerably increased, the funds for aiding the unemployed have been cut in the name of budget economy. Only a small proportion of the unemployed receive some miserable relief. The wages of the workers have fallen, and half of the workers in large and medium-sized factories are earning less than 20 zloty per week. The people in the villages are starving. Poverty and starvation are rampant in entire counties, even in the province of

\* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 488. Russian ed.

Posen, formerly noted for its prosperous peasantry. According to the *Gazette Polska*, "people in the peasant cottages, 20 kilometers from Posen, do not see bread for weeks at a time."

The Sejm composed of fascist nominees presents a pitiful sight; the deputies themselves say that it has lost all authority and is no longer a "safety valve".

Under the influence of the Cracow events, the ruling fascist clique are making great efforts to arrive at a compromise on easy terms with the oppositional parties and to consolidate their own camp. The ruling circles are directing their chief efforts towards breaking down the united proletarian front and the people's anti-fascist front.

While concentrating its repression on the Communists and the supporters of the united front, the Koscialkowski government is trying at the same time to carry on a flirtation with the leaders of the oppositional parties. The conservative press has suggested that the government refrain from supporting the fascist trade unions with a view to reaching an agreement with the upper circles of the P.P.S.\*

"For Poland, for the government, for us, the chief thing is the fight against Communism", wrote Mackewicz in the newspaper *Slovo*, on April 8. "We can say with satisfaction that the government has seriously taken up this matter lately. . . . We must stop playing at splitting the P.P.S. with the aid of the Z.Z.Z. (Fascist Trade Union Congress) or other combinations. This method is futile. It is much more important for the government at the present moment not to allow the P.P.S. to make a united front with Communism than it is to split this party."

That is why it was with satisfaction that Mackewicz and other writers of the Pilsudski clique greeted the last attacks made by the Right leaders of the P.P.S. on the united front with the Communists.

The fascist government has begun to make a head-on attack against the supporters of the united front. Hundreds of new proletarian fighters are being sent to prison to take the place of those liberated under the amnesty. In a single night after the Cracow events, the secret police arrested over 600 workers. Scores of local trade union branches have been closed down. There is no money for schools, but new prisons will nevertheless be built.

The Right leaders of the P.P.S. and the Peasant Party are talking of a people's front without the Communists. But the toiling masses are beginning to understand that it is merely playing into the hands of the fascists to put the question in this way. The Communists, as the initiators of the movement to consolidate the forces of the people against their oppressors, have right on their side. The number of active supporters of the united front in the Socialist and peasant organizations is growing each day. As these organizations move more to the Left, honest Left officials and active political workers who cooperate as comrades with the Communists are beginning to come forward. The Communists are

\* Polish Socialist Party.—Ed.

showing the masses by the leading role which they play in everyday struggle that the Communist Party is the organization really fighting for freedom and democratic rights, that a genuine people's front without the Communist Party is as unthinkable as the alliance between the workers and peasants without the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat.

In the present tense situation in the country, the liberal talk of the government about cooperating with the public has not led to any positive results. The partial amnesty did not satisfy a single one of the oppositional parties. The government could not make up its mind to grant an amnesty to political refugees or to abandon the concentration camp in Biezeza Kartuska. It is maintaining its "hand-picked" Sejm and refusing all demands for a revision of the electoral law.

The Koscialkowski government has not succeeded in building a bridge to national democracy, though the political differences between the followers of Pilsudski and the National Democratic Party have been somewhat smoothed over of late. The concord between Pilsudski nationalism and the pogrom anti-Semitism of the National Democratic hooligans cannot yet serve as a basis for agreement. Serious concessions are needed for a path to be found to agreement.

The newspaper *Polska Zbrojna*, organ of the military clique, called upon the National Democrats to unite, basing its argument on the growing danger of Communism and the "complicated international situation of Poland". But the leaders of National Democracy realize that their alliance with the bankrupt Pilsudski clique would not enjoy popularity among the petty bourgeoisie and would not hold back the growth of Communism.

"A great idea which attracts the masses must be put forward to offset Communist propaganda", declares the *Warszawski Dzienik Narodowi*, organ of the National Democrats, which assumes that anti-Semitic pogroms may serve as such an idea.

"The latest thing is the penetration of Communism among the Polish intellectuals. We have now no longer a *purely proletarian movement*, and it is no longer restricted to the workers and the Jews. *Communism has won resolute and faithful supporters among the Polish intellectuals.*"

On the other hand, the Colonel Slawek group takes a critical attitude toward the game at consolidation. It guards its right to the monopoly of government power as the apple of its eye, considering that the strength of the fascist regime lies in this monopoly.

The transition of the Slawek group to open attack on the Koscialkowski government, which the "diehard" followers of Pilsudski reproach as being liberal, irresolute and weak, has resulted in quite strong action being taken by the government. Such facts as the confiscation of the leading article in the semi-official organ *Gazette Polska* which is directed by the supporters of Slawek, the appeal made by the editor to the courts, the resignation of Switalski, the provincial governor of Cracow, and the ex-minister Matusaewski, indicate the divisions and the intensifica-

tion of the struggle of the cliques among the followers of Pilsudski. *The friction among the highest of the Pilsudski leaders is going beyond all ordinary limits and threatens to become a serious crisis in the ruling camp.*

The Pilsudski group has succeeded in rallying around itself the fascist circles of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie represented by the U.N. D.O. party (National Ukrainian Party). The leaders of this party, Mudri and Celewics, have formed a bloc with the Polish invaders with an eye to a counter-revolutionary attack on the U.S.S.R. They have entered the fascist "hand-picked" Sejm and have voted for the army budget.

"We," declare the betrayers of the Ukrainian people, "regard as our common possession the Polish army which can at the proper moment stand in defense of culture throughout the West" (by which they mean: in defense of Hitler barbarism—*J.L.*).

The immediate prospects of war are leaving a deep imprint on the efforts of the bourgeoisie to regroup their forces and on the entire home policy of Polish fascism.

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The Cracow events and the subsequent wave of mass actions are striking a blow at the war plans of Polish fascism. The hatred which the masses of the people feel towards the Pilsudski clique is intensified by the treacherous alliance which the latter has made with Hitler Germany. The fascists in power in Poland are actively aiding and abetting the chief incendiary and fomentor of war in Europe—German fascism.

The government press is trying to represent the supporters of the united front, and especially the Communists, to the masses as "alien elements". An old song of the bourgeoisie of all countries!

The worthy Colonels know where they need to seek for the really alien elements which are selling Poland wholesale and retail. Is not the Pilsudski clique the puppet of Hitler, dooming Poland to dependence as a vassal of German imperialism? Does not the foreign policy of these people strengthen the position of the deadly enemy of the independence of the Polish people?

Goering's visit to Warsaw on the eve of the scrapping of the Locarno Treaty and the occupation of the Rhineland by German troops shows that Poland has been drawn into the war plans of German fascism. The *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Hitler's official organ, had good reason to emphasize in its detailed report of Goering's stay in Poland that "the most important thing has already been done and all that is left consists of details for specialists, generals and heads of ministerial departments". In other words, the military alliance between the Polish and German fascists only requires the elaboration of practical details in case of joint action.

The policy of Beck will inevitably lead to the enslavement of Poland by German imperialism. Even now Hitler's henchmen are strutting about in Poland as though in their future heritage. The Polish courts are now

already meting out sentences of imprisonment for the crime of affronting his majesty Hitler. Goebbels, the head of fascist propaganda, is already in control of the German papers published in Poland.

One of the prominent representatives of the Pilsudski clique in the Sejm, the deputy Walewski, complained about the arrogance of the German fascist agents who regard Poland as the object of their "historic mission".

"The German newspapers in Poland", he stated, "write of the historic role of the Germans. On the map of Europe, where Poland is, the historic role belongs only to the Polish state, with which citizens of other nationalities must loyally cooperate."

These are only the first blossoms of German fascist expansion eastward.

Hitler's Polish mercenaries, led by Beck, are trying to assure public opinion that their policy guarantees the security of Poland.

No assurances and treaties which Hitler may make can guard Poland from the annexationist desires of Hitlerism, armed as it is to the teeth. Today Hitler Germany has an army twice as big as Poland has, while the equipment of this army and its potential (technical and industrial) power is fifty times that of its Polish partner. The fact that an organization of German Storm Troopers was recently discovered in Upper Silesia showed that the German fascists intend at the first convenient opportunity to unite by force the province of Upper Silesia to the German Empire.

In spite of the warm friendship of the German fascists for the Pilsudski clique which helped Hitler to make his way out of the state of international isolation he was in, the German fascists are establishing armed bases on the western borders of Poland.

The occupation of the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland by Hitler is a menace not only to the security of France and Belgium, but of Poland as well. The strategic positions of German imperialism have become far stronger in respect to France and to Poland. By sweeping its troops into the Rhineland and erecting fortifications there, German fascism isolates Poland from France. In these conditions, the Franco-Polish Alliance loses a considerable part of its force. It is not for nothing that the French bourgeois press, including the *Temps* are declaring that if Germany were to attack Poland, France could not afford assistance to the Polish people on the scale provided for in the treaty of alliance.

Comrade Dimitroff was correct in pointing out in his May Day article that "having fortified itself on the Rhine, German fascism also constitutes a menace to the independence of the Polish people, in spite of the fact that the present position of the rulers of Poland towards it is that of allies".

Wide circles, even of "Christian Democracy" are beginning to understand this indisputable truth, and, on the eve of May First, their organ *Polonia* wrote:



“Any increase in the military power of Germany is a threat to Poland, irrespective of whether it is directed *at the present moment* against France, Austria, Czechoslovakia or Soviet Russia.”

This same paper, which cannot in the least be suspected of sympathy towards the U.S.S.R., soberly appraises the foolishness of the speculation of the followers of Pilsudski as regards the victory of German imperialism in the war which it is preparing against the Soviet Union, emphasizing that such a victory would “bring catastrophe to Poland”.

Despite all the sophistry which Beck uses, it is becoming clearer and clearer to the masses that Polish fascism is selling the national independence of the Polish people to German fascism.

In one of the manifestoes of so-called *underground Poland*, illegal, but by no means Communist, we read:

“The Germans have bought Beck. In spite of the experience of history, Beck has thrown himself into Hitler’s embraces, disdaining the guarantees and the friendship of France, Soviet Russia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. He has broken with all our neighbors and has led to Poland becoming completely isolated. Beck, the representative of the fascist interests of Poland and Germany, is deliberately preparing for war against the Soviet Union and is casting slander on Czechoslovakia. Beck is leading Poland to war, to a new partition.”

It is useless for the government paper, *Gazette Polska*, to try to prove, as if in reply to this charge, that “Polish policy cannot be bought and the world is not rich enough to buy it”. Fascist Germany is not so very rich, even if we judge only by its unpaid debts to Poland, but still it can “get a loan” of the frontiers of Poland.

The fight against Beck’s policy is a fight against war, for the maintenance of peace. The most popular slogan in Poland, the one which best unites the masses, is that for the immediate annulment of the military treaty with fascist Germany.

The anti-war campaign in Poland has not yet gone beyond the bounds of resolutions at meetings and assemblies, at workers’ and peasants’ conferences. The Communist Party is fighting to give a mass character to this struggle and to reply to the fomenting of war by demonstrations and strikes.

The real meaning of the collective security pact proposed by the Soviet Union is not yet altogether clear to wide sections of people in Poland. The Polish fascists depict this pact as being an instrument of war against Germany and as the path towards the occupation of Poland by the Red Army. In this sense, there is unity of demagogy between the Pilsudski group and National Democracy. Nevertheless, the attitude of National Democracy towards the foreign policy of the Pilsudski group is filled with contradictions. National Democracy is afraid of the consequences of the military foolhardiness of the Pilsudski group. The newspaper *Warszawski Dzennik Narodowi* has written: “The national

camp was opposed to the policy which in 1920 led to the Polish-Soviet war." In the opinion of this paper, the year 1936 resembles the year 1920 in many points. Although the sympathy of the National Democrats is plainly on the side of Hitler, they are nevertheless afraid that a war brought about by the German fascists with the active support of the Pilsudski group would "lead to an attack by Communism on Western Europe and might end in its victory". The mind of National Democracy is divided—it would if it dared.

National Democracy is extremely sceptical of the Franco-Soviet Treaty. It cannot reconcile itself to the present line taken by the foreign policy of France and the influence of the People's Front on this policy. National Democracy would willingly agree to the localization of war on the territory of the Soviet Union if such localization were only possible.

It is the task of the Communists stubbornly to explain to the masses the essentially peaceful character of the mutual assistance pacts and the real role of the Red Army as the bulwark of peace, to emphasize at every step that the pact offered by the Soviet Union and signed by a number of countries would help to curb the military strivings of German fascism. It is our task to give concrete examples day in and day out to prove that the Soviet Union, victoriously building socialism, is not interested in war, but on the contrary is interested in the development of a struggle for peace, that the efforts of the Soviet Union are directed towards the gigantic work of socialist construction, which requires peace.

The Communist Party of Poland is fighting to build up a powerful fighting front against the warmongers in the shortest possible time, because only such a front can save the Polish people and the people oppressed by the Polish bourgeoisie from disaster.

Cracow and Lvov show that it will be difficult for fascism to harness the masses of people in Poland, Polish West Ukraine and Polish White Russia to Hitler's war chariot. All that is honest among the Polish, White Russian and Ukrainian peoples condemns the adventurist policy of the Pilsudski clique.

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Cracow and Lvov left their imprint in the *celebration of May Day*. The May Day demonstrations were devoted to the memory of the heroes of Cracow and Lvov. May Day strikes covered a considerable majority of the proletariat. The demonstrations in the streets were of a genuinely mass character. The Communists strove to bring about a complete May Day united front against fascism and the warmongers. The bourgeois press remarks on the prevalence in the demonstrations of the slogans of the people's anti-fascist front, advanced by the Communists. One of the most important places in the May Day demonstrations was occupied by the united trade unions which marched under the banner of working class unity. Peasants and intellectuals participated in the May Day demonstrations on a larger scale than in previous years. Delegations of peasants and intellectuals could be seen in the workers' columns.

Cracow and Lvov, and subsequently the May Day demonstrations, are a big step forward along the path to the rise of the people's anti-fascist front. This front must and will be set up in spite of all obstacles.

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In the face of these tremendous events, the Communist Party stretches out the hand of brotherhood to all who hate fascism. The united front today is a question of life for the toiling masses.

The Communist Party calls upon the working class to unite their forces against the government of hunger, terror and war.

In connection with the bloody punishment meted out to the masses in Cracow and Lvov, they are demanding the trial of the assassins of the workers, placing the responsibility for the murders first and foremost on the Minister for Home Affairs, the Provincial Governor and the Chiefs of Police, as the direct agents of the fascist regime. In launching the slogan: "Down with the government of murderers and Hitler agents", the Communists are trying to build up the people's front for the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. The Communists counter every attempt at rotten compromise on the basis of the fascist constitution by the demand for the immediate dissolution of the government-appointed Sejm and unhindered elections to a Constituent Assembly on the basis of a universal, secret, direct, equal and proportional ballot.

The victory of the united proletarian and anti-fascist people's front in Spain and France is showing the masses of the Polish people, in spite of all the specific features of the situation in the country, the only correct path along which they must move.

*Only a government which calls together a Constituent Assembly, which gives democratic rights to the people, which gives work and bread, which gives land to the peasants without purchase, which breaks off the military treaty with Hitler Germany and carries on a firm policy of collective security—only such a government can now obtain the support of the masses of the people.*

# The Struggle to Carry Through the Line of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I.

By RAYMOND GUYOT

**T**HE basic instruction of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International required that the Young Communist Leagues be reconstructed into mass non-party organizations answering all the needs of the youth and educating the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and that unity be established with the Socialist, anti-fascist and progressive youth, and, in some countries, with the national-revolutionary youth.

It is as yet early for the results of the operation of this instruction throughout the entire Young Communist International to be summed up. However, it is already possible by basing ourselves on the experience of Young Communist organizations in a few countries to analyze new facts and to draw certain conclusions for our future work.

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The majority of the Leagues did well in the way they organized the popularization of the decisions of the Sixth Congress. Mass meetings of Communist, Socialist, republican and democratic youth, and in some places also Christian youth, passed off with great success in the United States, France, Czechoslovakia and Great Britain.

At the National Congress of the Young Communist League of Great Britain held recently, many delegates attended from cooperative, Labor, Christian and other organizations. In the same way the Eighth Congress of the Young Communist League of France demonstrated to what extent the decisions of the Sixth Congress had been carried to the masses. The Congress was attended by representatives of the central committees of the anti-clerical, republican, pacifist youth and Socialist students' organizations and of the United Sports Federation.

The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. called forth enthusiasm among hundreds of thousands of young men and girls from among the toilers. And our enemies also reacted in their own way and *mobilized all their forces to resist the struggle for unity among the youth.*

The fascist press in all countries, particularly in Germany, reacted furiously to the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I.

The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I., reads an article published in the magazine *Wille und Macht*, aim at seizing upon the requirements and hopes of the young people, to send the Young Communists into Hitler's organizations in order to prepare the proletarian revolution. Here we see all the fear of the fascist demagogues at the demands of the young people of Germany, for not a single one of the

existing demands of these young people has been satisfied; in fact, their living conditions have become worse.

The leaders of the Catholic church attack the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. and spread slanderous fabrications about the Young Communists, striving to weaken the urge of the young Catholics towards unification with the young anti-fascists. In an article published in the American Catholic press, a writer states that "*Communism and its tactics at the present time constitute a great force and an extremely sharp danger*", and accuses the Y.C.I. of carrying out "*the orders of the Kremlin*", and the Young Communists of "*wanting to destroy the family and plant evil morals*".

As far back as March, the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. of France gave the following exhaustive reply to the question of the attitude of the Y.C.L. to the family and to morals.

"We cannot and will not remain indifferent to the alarming picture drawn by statistics. The number of marriages for the period from 1930 to 1935 decreased by almost 100,000. Figures of births and deaths for the first three-quarters of 1935 show that the number of deaths surpasses the number of births by 10,000. A regime which creates such a state of affairs must be condemned as one which endangers the very existence of the country.

"We cannot and will not remain indifferent to the fact that the bourgeoisie are driving the young generation into immorality. Insofar as only one road—the street—is open to large numbers of young girls; insofar as there is no other path for many young people to take but that of robbery and murder; insofar as large numbers of children loaf about the streets and end in prison, then the morals which the bourgeoisie hold before us are nothing but lies.

"Often the bourgeoisie—(Oh, hypocrisy!)—charge us with being enemies of morality. No, our morals are the truest and the most splendid morals. Our morals consist in bringing up the younger generation in the spirit of struggle for a regime where all mankind will be brothers. Together with Lenin we say—'Our morals are completely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat!'

"To guarantee the future of France; to give our youth the possibility of laying the foundations of happiness, to bring up the youth in the spirit of all that is splendid and noble—that is our aim."\*

In spite, however, of all slanders, the Christian youth are uniting with the anti-fascist youth. The movement disturbs the Pope himself. Not long ago, as reported by the press, he called the French Cardinal, Bandillart, in order to share his apprehensions with him.

"His Holiness, Pius XI", we learn, "shared with the Cardinal his serious alarm for the Catholic youth, alarm called forth by the dangerous activities of the evil enemies of the

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\* Speech of Comrade Raymond Guyot at the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. of France.

church, who are trying to win away the youth on the basis of material interests."

In April of this year, the Catholic magazine *Sept* interviewed the leaders of the Young Communist organization of France on this same question. It received the following answer:

"We are confident of the superiority of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, but understand perfectly well that others may have other beliefs. We see the purpose of our existence in activity for the good of humanity. We are often charged with being defenders of force and propagating the class struggle.

"On the contrary, our aim is the destruction of the class struggle, our ideal is a society in which there are no classes, a brotherhood where man is no longer the enemy of man.

"What is more, young Catholics, who are firmly convinced of the truth of their belief, should not fear contamination with 'materialist atheism' any more than we fear that we may lose our convictions as a result of coming in contact with them.

"We struggle against religion in as much as it is made to aid and abet the exploitation of man by man, in as much as it hinders the great task of liberating humanity, a task we have taken upon ourselves. For this reason we can only support our comrades of the 'Young Catholic Workers' when, inspired by their religious feelings, they oppose unfair statements by unscrupulous bosses in the factories."

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The young generation in the capitalist countries, with their unsatisfied desires and needs, see in the Soviet Union, the land where live the happiest youth in the world, the realization of the hopes and dreams towards which they are striving. This is one of the most powerful factors aiding the Young Communist organizations of all countries to educate not only the Communist youth but also all progressive youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

Not long ago the Young People's League affiliated to the Benes Party (Czechoslovakia) addressed a letter to the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, which stated:

"The Executive Committee of the Young People's League affiliated to the Benes Party is attentively following the creative work being done in the Soviet Union; we see what an active part our young people are taking in this work. We are also following your preparations for the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. The Young Socialists of Czechoslovakia are delighted with the work being done by the young generation to guarantee the strength of the Soviet Union and to raise the cultural and material level of the people and are happy at your success. Our League has a membership of 35,000 young men and women, filled with warm sympathy for your people, for only on this basis is it possible to set up a movement for the preservation of peace."

Sympathy towards the Soviet Union is growing among the young people of France. Often at meetings and demonstrations one hears speakers from the Young Communist League, from the Young Socialist organizations and from the Anti-Clerical and Republican Young People's organizations, all with equal warmth expressing their joy at the successes of the U.S.S.R. and its peace policy. In Spain the Young Socialists express themselves decisively in defense of the Soviet Union, and express their admiration and confidence in the man who is the leader of this great work, in Comrade Stalin.

The Young Communist organizations in a number of countries have begun to carry on systematic work to popularize the tremendous and rich experiences of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. It is to be regretted, however, that a number of Sections of the Y.C.I. still lag very much behind in this sphere. This lagging behind must be overcome.

#### UNITY BETWEEN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF SPAIN

An official delegation from the Young Socialist League of Spain participated at the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. and declared their agreement with the decisions of the Congress. At that time unclarity still existed on a number of questions, as for example on the question of the attitude of the Young Socialist organization to the U.S.S.R., on the character of the organization, on the question of international contacts. For this reason the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I., in recommending to the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Spain that they develop a movement for the united front and for unity among the youth throughout the entire country, at the same time recommended that they explain these questions to the young people in friendly collaboration with the leaders of the Spanish Young Socialist organization.

On February 16, 1936, the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. addressed a letter to the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist League of Spain, in which it stated the following:

"We desire really to cooperate with the Socialist and Communist youth of Spain for the solution of the difficulties which still exist on the road to the organizational unity of both Leagues. In order to secure a fundamental discussion of all questions arising in connection with unity, we invite you comrades from the Young Socialist League to send a delegation from your Executive Committee, after the elections, to the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. We are confident that our proposal will be favorably received by you."

The Young Socialists of Spain, who battled so courageously together with the Young Communists on the barricades of Asturias against fascism, who honestly and enthusiastically brought about the united front with the Young Communists, gave a positive answer to the proposal made by the Y.C.I. At the beginning of March a delegation consisting

of representatives of the Young Socialist League, led by their General Secretary, Comrade Carillo and representatives of the Young Communist League, led by their General Secretary, Comrade Medrano, came to conduct negotiations with the Y.C.I.

The discussion, which was of a most cordial character, as should be the case between class brothers who wish to struggle and conquer together, was very successful. In complete agreement with the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I., the Spanish delegation accepted the decision to address a manifesto to all young workers, peasants, to all young toilers in Spain.

This manifesto, drawn up and signed by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League and the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist League, is one of the most important documents issued in the entire post-war history of the international movement of the revolutionary youth.

The manifesto expresses the wish that "*this unification should lead to the unification of the entire generation of young toilers*". The character of the united organization is described in this manifesto as follows:

"We wish to build a new type of organization, an organization capable of leading the younger generation and of educating it in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. we shall build an organization of young workers and peasants, which will protect the economic, political, and cultural interests of these young people day in and day out, which will struggle against fascism and imperialist war, against the capitalist regime as a whole, for freedom and for the victory of socialism."

It is a known fact that in a number of countries the leaders of the Young Socialists have declared the policy of unity as outlined by the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. to be "an unprincipled jumble". The newspaper of the German Young Socialists in Czechoslovakia made the slanderous assertion that the "Young Communist International had betrayed the principles which it had maintained up to the present, and that it stands to reason this also means the betrayal of socialism".

It would be interesting to hear the opinion of these leaders of the Socialist youth as regards the experience in Spain!

The revolutionary youth of Spain decisively reject the argument advanced by the leaders of some of the Young Socialist Leagues, particularly of the French League, that unity among the youth is impossible before a united party of the working class has been created. The revolutionary youth of Spain have also displayed great political maturity in regard to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. In the joint manifesto of the Young Communists and Young Socialists of Spain, the following is emphasized:

"We will carry on a decisive struggle against the Trotskyists, the splitters and saboteurs of the labor movement, against



all enemies of the Soviet Union—the country where socialism is winning under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.”

International relations are defined in the manifesto in the following manner:

“The united organization holds to the principles of proletarian internationalism and affiliates to the Young Communist International as a sympathetic organization. Working on an international scale, it will bend all its efforts so that its example may serve to create a united international of youth. With this aim in view the united organization will support cordial and friendly relations and cooperate with sections as well as with Left elements in the Young Socialist International.”

The united organization of the youth in Spain will without any doubt be a serious factor in establishing a united international of the youth. We are of the opinion that the moment has come for bringing about unity with the Left Leagues which met in Toulouse in July and December, 1935, and expressed themselves in favor of organizational unity with the youth leagues of Belgium, France, Italy, the United States, Switzerland, Austria and with the Socialist Students' International. In just the same way it would be desirable for them all together to make a joint appeal to the Young Socialist International to establish a united front and to bring about the fusion of both internationals of youth.

By taking the path leading to the winning over of the masses, the Spanish comrades have shown excellent political foresightedness. This example must serve as a valuable lesson for those Young Socialist Leagues which are still treading the sectarian path, isolating themselves from the masses and beginning to disintegrate, a situation which is most harmful for all the revolutionary youth.

We know—and our Spanish comrades also know—what great hardships we shall still have to meet with on the road to the solution of all the tasks outlined in the manifesto. It is precisely because Spanish fascism has been beaten that it is still more energetically resorting to the weapon of provocation; it is striving to set the peasants against the united youth, falsely accusing the latter of endangering the religious beliefs of the Catholic youth. In the working class movement itself certain Socialist and anarchist leaders will hold back unity or will resist it.

A group of Spanish Trotskyists, under the leadership of the renegade Bulejosa, who penetrated into the Young Socialist League, is already attempting to split the Young Socialist League of Spain in order to disrupt the movement for unity. The energetic repulse given under the leadership of Comrade Carillo to this attempt gives us grounds for expecting that the counter-revolutionaries—splitters, and enemies of unity—will be quickly disposed of.

## THE REORGANIZATION OF THE WORK OF THE Y.C.L. OF FRANCE

In France we have valuable experience in reconstructing the Young Communist League. Up to the present time the life of the lower organizations, cells, and groups went on approximately in the following way: once a week or once a fortnight a meeting would be held in some cafe, a discussion would take place—and that was all. The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. meant that we can no longer continue to carry on in such a way in France where we are a legal body, and we must immediately take our "place in the sun", so as to struggle against fascism and war, and for the rights of the young people, we must open up clubs and organize circles for the young generation.

Clubs have been set up and they are carrying on regular work. In place of eight, ten or fifteen members in the lower Young Communist organizations, we now have 80 to 100 and in some places as many as 200 members. A young people's club, a study circle, in a given neighborhood or city, becomes the center where the young generation gather, where they study, read the newspapers, play billiards, and listen to lectures, and where they are drawn into the political life of the country, into action of one kind or another.

The movement is developing particularly well in the city of Paris and in the territory around it. There are some good examples in the North, in Marseilles, and in a number of other regions of France.

Mention must be made of the valuable experiences of the young girl Communists in France. Hitherto there were very few girls in the League. After the Sixth Congress we told the young girl Communists of Paris and its suburbs: "You are completely independent. Utilize your existing numbers as a core, and set up a mass organization." Within two months fifteen clubs for young girls were organized in Paris. Here lectures by writers, professors, doctors and Party workers are given. Here the girls can find all kinds of games, can read newspapers, and books. There are organized tailoring and sewing circles as well. The girls knit sweaters and then distribute them to the unemployed in the neighborhood. The club has become the center of activity for the young girls in the neighborhood.

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Formerly parents were against their daughters' joining the Young Communist League. Now we can cite the letter of one mother who writes: "I am sending you my daughter. She will join your club and I hope you will educate her well." A father appears at a meeting in Vitry with his daughter; leading her by the hand, he says to the chairman: "I have been told that you have opened a club. I bring my daughter to you." We are beginning to win the confidence of the fathers and mothers who formerly were against us. The honorary chairman of such a club may be the wife of a writer, of a doctor, of a Communist mayor.

The movement for unity among the young peasants, although less developed, has already very valuable practical experience to its credit. Here are a few examples:

Thaurigny, a village in East Pyrenees, has a population of 250 people. At the beginning of December, a Young Peasants' Club was opened there. This wooden house, painted and decorated by the local peasants, soon opened its doors to all the young people in the village. They came in great numbers to read our papers and pamphlets. All the young people in the village come to the dances regularly organized at the club. As a result, all the young people in the village joined the Young Communist League within a few weeks.

In Genestelle, a village in the Ardechois region, the young people also took it on themselves to organize a Young Peasants' Club. They organized a lottery, and put out a contribution list since they intended to build a club not only with billiards and a library, but also with all other games. Social evenings are to be held on Sundays. Thanks to generous contributions, the club is being built rapidly.

The same is true of Albussac, in the region of Correze. The example set by this village was quickly followed by other villages in Correze. In Charente, in Aveyron, in Upper Savoie—everywhere—there proudly stands the Young Peasants' Club, artistically decorated and often with a red flag flying from the roof.

Young Communist organizations are growing among young students as well. In the Sorbonne, there is a Young Communist circle with 40 members. Lectures have been given here on "The Family and the Fatherland", and "Marxism and Military Tactics".

In the Voltaire Lyceum we have 30 Young Communists and 200 members of a students' "Fellowship". A ping-pong group of 60 members has also been organized here. Now a football team is being organized. Marxian study circles are being organized. The "Fellowship" comes to the aid of the students and in this way aids them in their studies.

In the Boule school there is an organization with 80 members. It is a self-study circle where mutual aid is practiced. The Committee of the organization includes representatives of Christian, Communist and non-party youth. The chairman is a well-known artist, Francis Jourdan. The Young Communists are organizing Marxian groups.

Basing itself upon this experience, the Seventh Congress of the Young Communist League of France defined the character and the tasks of the League as follows:

The League is open to all young people who want to struggle for peace and liberty, for their rights and who sympathize with the ideal of socialism, the living embodiment of which is the U.S.S.R. The League is open to all young people who want to receive an education. Our organizations respond to all the strivings and requirements of the youth; our League is open to all young anti-fascists; it is a mass non-party organization where the broadest democracy reigns.

In order to cover diverse sections of young people, it is necessary that groups of young girls set up their own clubs, to unite all young women engaged in the struggle against fascism and war. In all the villages of France, Young Peasant Women's Clubs must be established for those loyal to democratic liberties and the progressive aspirations

of the peasantry. In the universities and schools, in lyceums, in professional schools, it is necessary to create Marxian and anti-fascist student circles for the purpose of saving the culture of France and ensuring its full bloom. By developing the scout movement and organizing camps we shall draw all adolescents towards the League. The Young Communist League, by keeping to this courageous line of development, will become an organization uniting young men and women, young workers and peasants, young students, in short, all young people, inspired with a stubborn will to struggle against fascism and war and with a strong desire to create a new world.

Two years ago the Young Communist League of France did not have more than 5,000 members and on April 15, 1936, its membership was 32,500. The slogan has been launched to raise this figure to 50,000 members by June 1. The circulation of the *Avangard*, the central organ of the League, is 45,000 copies.

The reorganization of the League has made possible not only an increase in its membership. Thanks to the struggle for unity in the ranks of the young Socialists and Republicans, a strong urge has developed for the creation of a united league. This question was placed before the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. of France.

Under these conditions why not unite our forces, why not direct our common efforts towards establishing a big mass anti-fascist organization, an organization for the revolutionary education of the toiling youth? What a powerful force we will become if we unite our ranks! What a magnetic center we will become for all young people thirsting for action and hungry for knowledge!

The three organizations—the Young Communist League, the Young Socialist League and the League of Young Republicans—together have a membership of over 100,000 young anti-fascists and revolutionaries, and if they were to combine their forces they would call forth tremendous enthusiasm in the ranks of all the toiling youth, who would flow into the united league in countless numbers.

Such a united league is absolutely necessary in the interests of the youth for the sake of their future. This is fully realizable and, what is more, realizable in the nearest future, since all three of the organizations are already fighting side by side, have put forth a joint program, and are animated by the common desire to struggle against the old world, the world of exploitation of man by man.

On the question of unity, the Eighth Congress of the Young Communist League gave the following answer:

“From the tribune of the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. we declare to the young Socialists, the young anti-clericals and Republicans, as well as all other anti-fascist youth organizations, our readiness immediately to enter into contact with them, in order jointly to decide on the best means for coordinating and uniting our strength and aspirations.”\*

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\* Report of Raymond Guyot at the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. of France.

Such are the prospects opening up before the Young Communists of France.

EXPERIENCES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY AMONG THE YOUNG  
PEOPLE OF BULGARIA

The Young Communists of Bulgaria have broken with the sectarianism which doomed them to deep isolation, and have taken the first steps to find a different path—and these first steps have been crowned with success. Eleven youth organizations have put out a manifesto in which they proclaim the rights of the youth.

At a joint meeting, delegates of these organizations laid down a general line and came to an agreement regarding a program and leadership. They were convinced of mutual agreement on all questions.

The movement for the unification of all democratic and revolutionary forces in Bulgaria is developing quickly. In March of this year, the Central Committee of the Young Socialist and Young Communist organizations issued a joint appeal to young Socialists, Communists, peasants and to the Executive Committees of the Y.C.I. and the Young Socialist International, in which they stated:

“Having at our joint meeting discussed the hard economic and political conditions of the young people of Bulgaria who are denied absolutely all rights, we have decided that it is necessary still more to consolidate our forces against the common enemy—fascism.

“The experiences of our joint work and united activity convince us that all our demands and needs can be satisfied only if we have joint action, and unify all our forces. There is no basis for prolonging the split in the ranks of the young workers and peasants of our country.

“We approve and endorse the proposal made by the Young Communist International to the Young Socialist International, the proposal for united action on an international scale against the aggression of Italian fascism in Ethiopia and in defense of peace.”

Thus grows the unity of all democratic forces and young anti-fascists in Bulgaria.

YOUNG COMMUNISTS IN SOUTH AND CARIBBEAN AMERICA

In Argentina, the Young Communist League (6,000 members), having great authority and influential cadres, proved able, by leading the national revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement of the youth, to unite all Young Communists, Socialists and Radicals on the basis of an anti-imperialist and national revolutionary program. This opens before them the prospects of gathering together 50,000 members on this basis. A Central Committee consisting of 25 members has been set up. Among these 25 members are seven Communists. The chairman and the secretary of the Central Committee are Communists.

A series of facts shows that organizations of the youth in the cities

are growing rapidly. In a very short time organizations with 60 to 70 members have increased their membership to 300 to 400 members.

To this example of Argentina we can also add the example of Mexico, where a league of revolutionary organizations of the youth exists, embracing the Young Socialists of Mexico, the National League of Students of Regular Schools, the Federation of Student-Socialists, the Young Communist League, the League of Revolutionary Students, and the Left wing of student bodies.

Thus the decision of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. is beginning to be carried into life in Mexico and the Argentine:

“The task of drawing the youth into the anti-imperialist people’s front demands that work be begun in the direction of creating a new type of mass organization of the youth, of a national-liberation character, in place of the narrow political groups, isolated from the basic masses of the youth.”

#### FIRST SUCCESSES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY AMONG THE ITALIAN YOUTH

The first successes may be registered in the field of the reconstruction of our Leagues in the fascist countries. The tasks placed by the Sixth Congress before the Leagues of these countries can be expressed in a few words: to pass from activity as small groups and from general agitation to legal and semi-legal mass activity.

The experience gained by our Italian comrades during the past six months shows us that such a task is capable of fulfilment, and that determined work in this direction gives the results for which we waited a number of years, when the Italian Young Communist League lived a boxed-up life, almost exclusively conspiratorial, and separated from the broad masses of the youth.

The struggle against the robber war of Italian fascism in Africa was carried on by our comrades within the organizations of the fascist and Catholic youth. The work of our Italian comrades still has defects, it has not yet by far developed to the necessary extent; nevertheless, it already is of some interest from the point of view of *methods* of carrying it on. Agitation against war among the Catholic youth takes as its starting point the ideological position of Christian pacifism and exposes the deep contradictions between this position and the declarations made by a number of bishops who preach the victory of the Italian army. In several instances it has resulted in protests, petitions, etc., coming from the young Catholics themselves. This work among the young Catholics has seriously worried the fascist newspapers (it is a well-known fact that the fascist government stands behind the newspapers) which spoke of “scandalous contacts” and even cited decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. The *Lavoro Fascista*, for example, wrote in its editorial of April 8:

“Religion is being utilized in order to provide Moscow with new adherents. An attempt is being made to utilize the anti-

fascist sentiments of certain Christian circles in order to prepare one of the most foul of all unions."

Our comrades have been able in their work among the young fascists to estimate the importance of certain forms of fascist propaganda in order to study the sentiments of the Italian youth in relation to war and to utilize these sentiments.

For example, one of the ideas of fascist propaganda, namely, pride in the civilizing mission of Italy in a barbarous country, had great influence over wide sections of young people. Our comrades replied to these young fascists: spreading civilization is one of the most noble forms of human activity, but civilization presupposes education, not murder. What can the Ethiopians think of our civilization when they see their villages destroyed, and women, old men and children destroyed by bombing?

This argument which was built not upon a negation of the feeling of pride in a civilizing mission, but on the attempt to direct this feeling along paths the very reverse of war, has found a ready response in the ranks of the young fascists.

A study of this last experience of our Italian comrades confirms the correctness of the line of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. for the fascist countries, and shows us what huge possibilities are opened by the tactic of the Trojan Horse about which Comrade Dimitroff spoke in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

#### CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the experience accumulated by these various types of organizations enables us to draw certain conclusions of a general character:

1. The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. have fully justified themselves in practice.

2. The majority of the Communist Parties and of the Young Communist Leagues have shown great daring and great political maturity in the application of these decisions to the concrete situation in each separate country, in accordance with the spirit of the decisions of the Sixth Congress. In Spain, a united organization of Young Socialists has been formed, in France the prospects exist for the unification of the anti-fascist forces, in Bulgaria a united democratic and revolutionary organization is being created, and in Argentina—a bloc of an anti-imperialist character.

3. This process of reconstructing the Leagues has ensured an increase in the authority, influence and membership of the Leagues. In the European countries (excluding the U.S.S.R.), the number of members of the Young Communist League has grown from 86,300 in September, 1935 (Sixth Congress) to 137,000 in March of 1936. Particularly brilliant examples are given by Spain (from 9,000 to 33,000), France (from 18,000 to 31,000) and Czechoslovakia (from 14,000 to 22,000).

4. The reconstruction of the Leagues makes it possible to raise the problem of unification with the anti-fascist youth (France, Argentina,

Mexico) in a more real manner. In spite of the resistance of the leaders of the Second International, in spite of the fact that the leaders of the Young Socialist International are not favorably inclined to, and at the last plenary session of their Executive Committee (Brussels, April 1, 1936) rejected a proposal for the united front with the Y.C.I. (62 voting against 25), the united front and the idea of a single international of youth are rapidly developing. A vote in favor of the united front at the conference of the Labor League of Youth in England (82 against 75) constitutes a big success for the movement for a single international front. The unification of the Young Socialist and Communist organizations in Spain, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Argentina and Mexico lays the first firm basis for the creation of a single international of youth. It is necessary to act more boldly in order to set moving the Leagues which are lagging behind in the reconstruction and unification of forces (Belgium and the Scandinavian countries).

5. How can we carry this gigantic task to the very end? For this purpose we must strive to bring about a situation whereby the struggle on the ideological front in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and the struggle against the counter-revolutionary splitting activities of the Trotskyists, and for the creation of cadres devoted to the cause of the revolution and bound up with the masses, should become the central task facing the Young Communist International.

#### THE TASKS FACING THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff, the helmsman of the Communist International, exposed with striking force the shortcomings of the Sections of the Communist International in their leadership of the youth, in drawing the young people into the struggle against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and the threat of war.

In his report to the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitroff said the following:

“ . . . We must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the toiling youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected these tasks in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken count of the special economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to revolutionary education of the youth.”\*

And further, Comrade Dimitroff emphasized:

“A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well for they ought to lead and support the Young Communist League in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a Young Communist League problem. *It is a problem for the entire Communist movement.*”\*\*

\* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front Against War and Fascism*, p. 61.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 2.



This call by Comrade Dimitroff has already met with a warm response in many Communist Parties—in France, Czechoslovakia, Germany and Italy—but to our regret not in all the Sections of the Communist International.

The first experience of the Communist Party in solving the new tasks placed before the young people's movement already deserves a thorough review. Let us point to the basic conclusions of this experience:

1. The direction given by Comrade Dimitroff at the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. to the effect that "it is fully possible for the young people in the ranks of the Young Communist International *independently* to develop their revolutionary movement and to solve the questions of this movement", must be carried out.

2. The problem of the youth must be regarded not as the problem of the Young Communist League but as the problem of the Communist Party. This demands that the Communist Parties and their Central Committees elaborate a definite political line in relation to the entire young generation of toilers and, consequently, in relation to the various young people's organizations.

3. A correct direction must be given not only to the Young Communist League but also the young Socialists, to the young anti-fascists. The Communist Parties, with their authority and their influence, must help the entire young generation to understand the correct path, namely, the revolutionary path.

The analysis of the work of the Young Communist Leagues in a number of countries has made it possible for us to draw certain valuable conclusions as to the future of our movement. It is necessary to make a thorough analysis of the policy of the leaders of the Young Socialist International in relation to the movement of the youth for unity. A correct estimate must be made of the new advance in the movement of the young generation.

On this basis, the Young Communist International will be enabled to indicate the further methods and forms of struggle to fulfil the line of its Sixth Congress—to create unity among the toiling youth struggling against fascism and its henchmen, for peace, bread and liberty.

# More Agitation, More Propaganda!

By E. FISHER

**C**APITALISM maintains its rule not only through its banks and trusts, its law courts and barracks, and its financial and governmental apparatus of power. It also rules by reason of the fact that it has at its disposal almost unlimited means and possibilities for carrying on propaganda and agitation. Instruction and education, science and art, books and newspapers, the radio, the cinema, the theater—all these day in and day out pump the ideas of the ruling class into the minds of the masses of the people, all these seek to win over and waylay, to attack and overpower the hearts and the minds of the oppressed toilers. The fascist dictatorship has increased and intensified this propaganda to the very limit. All its instruments play one and the same tune, and the orchestra of the fascist ministries of propaganda blare out their deafening music.

Many of our comrades are inclined dangerously to underestimate the propaganda and agitation of our enemies. They regard questions of agitation and propaganda as secondary ones, and fail to understand that in the present situation it is precisely these questions which demand the most tremendous and concentrated attention. It is absolutely a decisive task facing all the Communist Parties, day in and day out, to carry on the propaganda of our ideas in a new way as against fascism, which is trying by every means, secretly or by open attack, to gain possession of the minds of the masses. *Propaganda and again propaganda*, utilizing literally every possibility to bring our ideas to the masses, to set our arguments against those of the fascists and reformists, so as to introduce the fresh breeze of our viewpoint into the atmosphere poisoned by fascism—such is the duty of all Communist Parties now more than ever before. One of the most important prerequisites for a successful struggle against the fascist oppressors and warmongers, for a successful attack upon the ruinous illusions of the reformists, is the quantitative and qualitative improvement of our propaganda by the issuance of *more* books, *more* pamphlets, *more* newspapers, *better* books, *better* pamphlets and *better* newspapers.

## WHAT IS THE ESSENCE OF THIS PROPAGANDA, THIS AGITATION?

It may appear useless to raise this question once more, a question which has been answered so many times. But as in practice some of our comrades confuse agitation and propaganda, while some of them think that propaganda should be put into the background at present to make way for agitation, we would recall how Lenin replied to this question. Speaking of the definition given by Plekhanov, Lenin wrote:

“Up to now we thought (with Plekhanov, and with all the leaders of the international labor movement), that a propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the reasons why crises are

inevitable in modern society, must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed into socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present 'many ideas', so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however, speaking on the same subject will take as an illustration a fact that is most widely known and outstanding among his audience—say, the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc.—and utilizing this fact . . . will direct all his efforts to presenting a *single idea* to the 'masses', i.e., the idea of the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth, the increase of poverty; he will strive to *rouse* discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist."\*

Agitation and propaganda must supplement each other. Neither of them must be disdained at the expense of the other, nor must one be confused with the other. If some comrades at the present time imagine that once we are directly agitating for democratic liberties for the people, it is necessary therefore to limit our agitation and propaganda for the dictatorship of the proletariat, they are wrong, just as others are wrong who think that one cannot agitate for urgent demands of one kind or another without immediately adding "long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" Is there any need to talk less about Communism in order to find a better approach to the masses, in order to bring about the united front, to organize the people's front? On the contrary, we must talk all the more about Communism, about Soviet power, and about our principles, but only in suitable circumstances. We must make the starting point of our agitation the immediate experiences, needs and demands of the masses, and must illustrate questions vividly and clearly, without complicating these questions with long-winded explanations and theoretical constructions. But at the same time we must justify our policy, explain its reasons, show its prospects, demonstrate how it is linked up with our struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In our agitation we seize upon questions which are closest to the masses, which are charged with explosive matter, and which can be directly understood by the masses—such as the death of an unemployed worker from starvation, a case of graft, a bloody sentence by a class court, etc. We concentrate on this, deliberately passing over a number of other less scandalous events; but at the same time we show in our propaganda that the death of the unemployed worker from starvation, etc., is no *chance* event, that it is a *symptom* of capitalism and that the endless repetition of such things can only be prevented by the destruction of capitalism, and the building of socialism.

We must avoid the uncouth and meaningless habit of piling everything together in an agitational manifesto or article, squeezing *all* our arguments and demands into them. We know of manifestoes and articles which are crammed full of arguments and demands, but which are more likely to send people to sleep than to rouse them. In agitational mani-

\* Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

festoes or articles, we focus everything on a *single* thought, on a *single* slogan, so as to develop our thesis in our propaganda from *all* points of view. Of course, we can say a great deal to the masses, but the art of the agitator is to be able at each moment to seize upon that which is most effective, to say only those things which at the given moment can inflame people even without detailed argument. The slogan of our French comrades "*Make the Rich Pay!*" is an expression of great agitational skill. This slogan is as clear as day to the masses. It pierces their minds without needing long and detailed explanations, and fires and convinces them without detailed arguments.

In our explanatory work, of course, we shall always declare that it is necessary to go further, that only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only Soviet power can permanently satisfy the needs of the toilers, and finally put an end to want. Broad masses of the people at the present time take a doubtful or even negative attitude to this idea, and our agitation and propaganda will make it easier for them to accept it. Thus we must always supplement agitation with propaganda, correctly inter-relating them and developing them both to perfection.

#### TO WHOM DO WE SPEAK AND FOR WHOM DO WE WRITE?

The first question which we must ask ourselves is: to *whom* do we speak, and for *whom* do we write? Are we appealing to Party comrades, to non-party workers or to members of other parties? Are we talking to workers who know us, who trust us, or to those toilers, to those peasants, independent craftsmen and intellectuals, who still take an attitude of distrust towards us? Are we writing the given manifesto for the whole of the toiling people or for a definite class, for definite groups and strata? Are we writing the given article for our younger people or for the workers in a big industrial region, or for peasants? To *whom* are we appealing, *who* must be affected by our words and what particular effect must be produced? This is the first question. It is a question which is frequently not put and not answered. There are those who make speeches at mass meetings which are the same as they make at District Party conferences, who speak at meetings of the youth exactly as though they are speaking to old functionaries—in general they speak not to living people but to some abstract audience which must go to the trouble of penetrating into the ideas of the speaker, instead of the speaker taking the trouble to make his ideas penetrate the minds of his listeners. There are manifestoes and articles which are written, possibly, for the archives of world history or for captious pedants and highbrows, but not for the masses to whom they are supposed to be addressed.

From the theoretical point of view no objection can be raised to many of these manifestoes and articles. They have only one slight defect—they leave the reader *indifferent*; they do not arouse any response in him. It is not enough to say something which contains no mistake; it must be said in such a way that it has a direct effect in definite circumstances on definite groups, strata, and masses of people.

"Think of *what* to say but still more of *how* to say it." Our agitators and propagandists should remember these warning words of Goethe.

In order fully to heed this warning, I must know to whom I am talking, for whom I am writing; I must know what is agitating my reader, my listener, most of all at the given moment, to what questions he demands a reply, what mistaken arguments have been instilled into his mind, what social and political environment exerts its influence on him. I must make my starting point the desires and needs, the hopes and fears of these people, and not the theses and decisions of whose correctness I have still to convince them and to the fulfillment of which I have to attract them. In his concluding speech at Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff ruthlessly criticized those Communists who cannot talk simply and concretely, using images which are close to the masses and which they understand, and who still cannot abandon the abstract formulas which they have learned by heart:

"Many of our comrades", said Comrade Dimitroff, "think that the more high-sounding words, and the more formulas and theses unintelligible to the masses they use, the better their agitation and propaganda, forgetting that the greatest leaders and theoreticians of the working class of our epoch, Lenin and Stalin, have always spoken and written in highly popular language, readily understood by the broad masses.

"Every one of us must make it a law, a Bolshevik law, an elementary rule:

*"When writing or speaking always have in mind the rank-and-file worker, who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you! You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak."*

It is a historic fact that we Communists are *right* on all decisive questions; but we must convince the masses of this, and shall only *remain right* if we approach them not as dull doctrinaires but as real agitators and propagandists; if we do not demand that the masses learn our language today, but instead realize that it is our duty to learn their language.

#### THE NEW LANGUAGE

"We must talk in a new language!" This has been set out in many decisions, but it is being carried into practice only very slowly. This new language—the language which rouses millions to struggle—is not only a question of *style*, but, first and foremost, a question of a line of approach. One Party in the Communist International is setting an example in this respect. The Communist Party of France is a Party which talks in a completely new, strong and rich language.

What is this new language? Our French comrades are really talking in *the language of their people*, of the French people, in the language of their great past, of Voltaire, of Diderot, of revolution, the language of reality, of the present day. And how can we learn this language of the masses, this language of the people? We cannot learn it behind locked doors and windows. We can only learn it by throwing the doors and windows wide open and letting in a current of the fresh air which the masses, the people, breathe; we can only learn it when

we begin to feel that we are responsible *for the fate and the future of our country and people*. Our French comrades' propaganda at the present time for the "unity of the people against the 200 families" is something more than a brilliant stylistic epigram; it is an expression of a great genuine feeling: "We are France, the people and the country, we Communists are the most consistent and passionate defenders of the people, of the life of the country, of its culture, of its inexhaustible wealth, which is being plundered by a couple of hundred families who personify capitalist exploitation". The new language arises from the new tactical approach. We are not a sect and are not carrying on a discussion behind closed doors and windows; we are the heart of the people, the brain of the masses, the Party which will be France some day.

All of us have a tremendous amount to learn from our French comrades: the songs of the French people and the masterly products of French literature. The brilliant sunshine of their country and the brilliance of their revolutionary history are beginning to get into their language. And when Thorez begins his speech at the Congress not with a dry-as-dust analysis but with a stirring description of the wealth and beauty of France, it is characteristic of the position and the language of the French Communist Party.

Our comrades in other Communist Parties have tried to create a new language, artificially, so to speak, to lard their articles and manifestoes with words and phrases used by the fascists, to adapt themselves to the language of the enemy instead of drawing what they need from the mighty well of the language of the people. This is a dangerous misunderstanding. In Germany, there can be nothing more mistaken than to borrow elements of phraseology from the abominable language of Hitler and Goebbels. But, on the other hand, we must learn the language of the peasant wars and folk songs, the language of Lessing and Goethe, Buechner and Heine, the rich and free language of the German people. We must not be afraid of this. We shall not, however, succeed without mistakes. We shall cause discussion. Possibly we shall sometimes take up a wrong tone. But the people will understand us if we talk to them not in the drab language of dry resolutions but in the beautiful and vivid language of the people themselves.

#### REACT TO EVERYTHING AND REACT QUICKLY

We must react to *everything* that rouses feeling among the masses and which interests the people, and our reaction must be *swift*. In this respect we can learn from our French comrades, from the example of their congress, their manifestoes, their central organ *l'Humanite*. There is not a single question in public life to which they are indifferent. What can be more erroneous than for a Communist to say: "That is no affair of ours." No, everything is our affair, whether it has to do with economic questions or the school, with foreign policy or the family, the foreign trade balance or the decline in culture. Our agitation, our propaganda, must become more varied and manysided, must take on a wider scope, taking into account not only the economic demands of the people but also their every other requirement. We Communists are out to remake the

world. We form our own opinion about everything that takes place in the capitalist world. There are times when some seemingly side issues—such as a trial full of scandal, the question of the flag, the showing of a film—may cause more direct excitement among the masses than a new tax on grain. The events that directly affect the masses must be seized upon by our agitation. Our propaganda must arise from the actual facts of life and not from general premises.

This applies particularly to our agitation locally. In a provincial town, in a certain country where our Party is illegal, two children died of starvation, but our local Party paper published a leading article on Japan. Take a second example from a fascist country. In a certain big factory, the workers declared a protest strike, but the District Committee gave a report of this on the last page, devoting all the other pages to general political questions. These are poor methods of agitation. We must speak out *instantly* about the things that are exciting, worrying and disturbing the masses at the given moment, even taking the risk that this position will not be 100 per cent correct. While reacting rapidly to all the questions of the day, we must not overestimate the written word and underestimate verbal agitation. Some of our comrades think that the rapid preparation of a proclamation is the crowning glory of agitation; that if it is down in black and white, the Party has done its duty. This is an underestimation of living direct agitation from mouth to mouth, from *person to person*. A proclamation is a necessary thing if we cannot approach people in any other way or if we need to inform the broad masses of something in a hurry, to let them know the viewpoint of the Party; but a proclamation cannot take the place either of verbal agitation or of newspapers or pamphlets.

Our *slogans* must be worked out with special care. The first principle is not to put out too many slogans. We should not present the masses with a long list of slogans—it merely confuses the issue and weakens the striking force of each separate slogan. Our agitation must not be monotonous, and must embrace the many sides of social life, of the interests and needs of the toilers, and they must be repeated insistently, tirelessly and driven as though with a hammer into the consciousness of the people, so that no one can escape their influence. To acquire this force, *our slogans must be directly understandable to the masses, must correspond to their most profound hopes*. Complicated or ambiguous slogans should not be launched. We must learn from the experience of the agitation of our opponents, but under no circumstances may we borrow the element of ambiguity which is frequently used by fascism. The slogan of the Bolsheviks after the February Revolution in Russia: "Bread, peace, freedom!" is a model for the Sections of the Comintern, and so is the slogan of our French comrades: "Make the rich pay!" Our slogans must not only be clear and simple, and accessible to the mind of every person, even if he is politically unsophisticated. They must really be capable of fulfillment and must *seem* so to the masses, capable of fulfillment in a future that is not completely beyond the horizon. Slogans which, though they undoubtedly correspond to our program, strike the masses whom we address as being either incompre-

hensible or impracticable, are bad slogans. It would be sectarianism to proclaim these slogans, consoling ourselves with the thought that "if the masses do not understand, so much the worse for them; it is we and not those who do not listen to us, who are historically right". For the very aim of our agitation and propaganda is to convince the masses. It would be splendid, of course, if the masses were ready even now to undertake the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But as they are not ready for this, we must first put out such slogans as will lead the masses to struggle. If we advance slogans which are correct in themselves but are abstract, and refer to the too far distant future, and do not correspond to the direct needs of the masses, this is bad agitation. It is good agitation when we are able to give expression to the desires of the masses and the will of the Party in a few short words which, however, are not complicated, and are full of meaning.

#### REFUTE THE ARGUMENTS OF THE ENEMY!

Hitherto, our propaganda has lagged very much behind the tasks and the possibilities facing our Party. Tremendous masses of people have come into motion. They realize the extreme instability and unreliability of the old capitalist world. They are seeking a way out of the crisis and the war danger. Their hearts, their minds, are more than ever thirsting for the new. They are interested in the U.S.S.R., in Communism, as never before. They ask hundreds of questions and want us to answer hundreds of questions. But they listen not only to us; they also listen to the fascist "soul catchers". The masses want something *new*, something powerful that is capable of influencing their future. In such circumstances, it is more than ever important to *reply* by the most energetic propaganda to all questions, to *refute all arguments of the enemy*, to open up wide prospects for those who are thirsting for aid.

It is sometimes impossible to get rid of the feeling that we ourselves do not adequately understand our role, the majesty of our tasks at the given historic moment. Millions of people are listening to us, but we say far too little to these people. We must secure the participation of all those who are filled with our ideas, who sympathize with these ideas, of all those who can write and have the ability to give creative expression to the great things for which we are fighting, so as to form a whole *army of books, pamphlets and newspapers* to serve as a battering ram against the frightful propaganda of the enemy. Let us have propaganda about the Soviet Union, but new and vivid propaganda. Tell the world how nations are awakening to life in the U.S.S.R., how the young people live there, how proletarian democracy is developing, how the new man is being born, how the heroic type of new man is coming to maturity—and tell all this not in the dull language of resolutions and official reports, but in the language of vivid experiences, a language that is youthful and dashing. Let us write books against war, about the people's front, about democracy, about the people of the Communist International and first and foremost about our principles, about Soviet power, about the *world outlook of Communism*. Let us take a glance into the depths of history, and with a broad brush and brilliant colors paint the



path of mankind to communism, the struggle of mankind for the kingdom of joy and freedom, of creative work and brotherhood, and, standing at the threshold of the new world, let us dare to speak of the splendor and wealth of this new world. Let us appeal first and foremost to the *young people* whom fascism is trying to win by its ideology, which sparkles with the variegated tints of decay, and whom it has already partly won, and carry on a serious and merciless struggle against this ideology.

#### APPEAL TO THE MIND AND SENSES

We must not vulgarize this propaganda. In our agitation at mass meetings, we can crush an opponent with a funny story, but in propaganda we must reply to all arguments and primarily those which are most imposing and which create the greatest impression. Some propagandists invent themselves an opponent, tear quotations out of their context, rip them to pieces and think that the opponent is done for. Very often they achieve the very reverse. We must, of course, expose obvious foolishness on the part of our opponents. But we must first and foremost *settle accounts* with those arguments of our opponents which really influence the masses. In doing this, we should appeal to the mind of the reader, but not only to his *mind*. By this alone we shall not shake the ideological position of the enemy; we must be able to touch his *feelings*.

And, finally, it would be a gross mistake to suppose that many things are already well known, that they follow as a matter of course. Very often we take as a "matter of course" things which most of all make our readers rack their brains, things which it is our duty first of all to explain to them. In the publication of every book and pamphlet, we must bear in mind that for many readers this is perhaps the first book, the first pamphlet, that tells them about our ideas. After reading the first book or pamphlet they will either want to find more about us or they will say in disappointment: "It's some sort of mysterious language that I don't understand." Each product of our propaganda must stand on its own legs, must possess vitality and completeness and must be comprehensible when taken by itself. We must always bear in mind that at the present time our propaganda is addressed to many non-Marxists who have a very hazy conception of the circle of our ideas. They may not examine every subordinate clause through a magnifying glass, but they clearly sense whether the things we tell them are forceful, living and original, or whether they are simply a rubber stamp, a pale reflection of the great and bold ideas of Communism that are transforming the world. We must think of these *new* people who are paying heed to us, and must talk in a *new* language, which is not only understandable but exciting.

Our tasks are great, and so are our possibilities. To carry out these tasks and exhaust these possibilities, we must raise and strengthen our propaganda to the extreme. Let the loud and clear call of our voices help the helpless, steady the wavering and fill those in the fight with the most tremendous determination. Proper propaganda can break down the walls of lies built by capitalism. Therefore, comrades, *more agitation, more propaganda!*

# The Victory of the People's Front in France

**I**N THE voting of April 26 and May 3 this year, the French people gave unequivocal expression to their will to struggle for peace and liberty. The great majority of the French people gave their votes to the parties which demand that the fascist leagues be dispersed and disarmed, to the parties which struggle against the French agents of Hitler, to the parties which want to make the rich pay.

In the past three months the People's Front has gained splendid victories in Spain and in France. Where the masses of the people have but the slightest opportunity of freely expressing their will, they declare against fascism and against war. And the People's Front is the only correct policy for rallying the masses against the enemies of liberty and peace. Such is the chief lesson of the parliamentary elections in France and Spain.

The French electors, noted for their strong attachment to their traditional parties, have begun to move. For the first time in the history of post-war France, questions of foreign policy, questions of war and peace, played the paramount role in the election campaign. Even in constituency No. 1 in Paris, one of the citadels of the bourgeoisie, Tetanger, the leader of the fascist "Patriotic Youth" league, lost many votes which were given to the Communist candidates. The president of the ex-servicemen's organization, Goy, an agent of Hitler in France, suffered the most ignominious defeat. Furthermore, quite a few of the Right wing candidates of the Radical Socialist Party who in January of this year supported Laval's pro-Hitler line came to grief. The masses of the people in France clearly and definitely declared against collaboration with German fascism, the chief instigator of war in Europe.

Typical of the anti-fascist moods of the masses is the solidarity of the People's Front manifested in the second round of the elections. The idea of collaboration, of joint action of the parties in the struggle against the common enemy, is in harmony with the deepest aspirations of the masses.

The glorious Communist Party of France, the organizer of the victories achieved by the masses of the people of France, correctly points in its estimation of the elections to the fact that the French people showed their love for freedom and peace.

The victory of the Communist Party is a tremendous one. The Communist group in parliament has increased from 10 to 72 deputies. The number of votes cast for the Communist Party increased from 796,000 to 1,503,000, *i.e.*, by 707,000 votes or by 93 per cent. The Communist Party received nearly twice as many votes, not only in the big

cities where the workers are moving to the Left at a rapid rate, but gained big successes in purely peasant districts, as well.

In Paris and its suburbs the Communist Party received 460,000 votes as against 280,000 votes in 1932. In Paris and the Seine District, out of the 60 deputies elected, 32 are Communists. (In 1932 only four Communist deputies were elected.) We observed an immense increase in the number of Communist votes in all the industrial region: in the Northern District (Lille) the number of votes polled by the Communist Party increased from 77,000 to 105,000. In the Rhone District (Lyons)—from 13,000 to 35,000, in the Bouche du Rhone District (Marseilles)—from 15,000 to 54,000, in the Loire District (St. Etienne)—from 6,000 to 23,000, in the Gironde District (Bordeaux)—from 5,000 to 15,000. At the same time the Communists registered important successes in the purely peasant districts: in the Lot district, the number of votes polled by the Communist Party rose from 1,000 to 10,000, in the Eastern Pyrenees—from 2,000 to 9,000, in the Var district—from 5,000 to 20,000.

The elections showed the *polarization* of class forces. This *polarization is much more of a Left than of a Right character*. This is shown by the fact that the parties of the People's Front increased their votes at the expense of the other parties, that the relative importance of the workers' parties in the People's Front, primarily the Communists, has greatly increased.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party won 800,000 votes. On the whole, the 435,000 votes lost by the Radicals went to the Communist and Socialist Parties and not to the Rights. Only in agricultural districts were the parties of the Right able to win away some votes from the Radicals. But, in other districts, industrial and agrarian, the Rights lost a far greater number of votes to the parties of the People's Front. The Parties of the People's Front won about 300,000 votes in all from the parties of the Right center and Right. On the other hand, within the bloc of the parties of the Right center and of the Rights approximately the same number of votes passed from the Right center to the more open Right parties and groupings.

The victory of the People's Front in the elections does not do away with the need for a further energetic struggle against fascism. *The struggle is by no means ended. On the contrary—the real mass struggle to disband and disarm the fascist bands, and to isolate them from the masses, is still ahead. A persistent struggle to defeat the fascists completely, and once and for all to ensure and extend democratic rights and liberties, and to fulfil the demands of the workers and peasants as well as a stubborn struggle to maintain peace lie still ahead.* But the People's Front is now in an incomparably better position for the development of this struggle than previously.

The 200 richest families and their agents who rule over the people of France will not let matters rest quietly. Immediately after the first round of the elections, the banking magnates and heavy industry bosses organized a panic on the stock exchange in order to influence the elections in favor of the parties of the Right. The bosses of the banks and the

stock exchange will undoubtedly attempt in the near future to compel the French people, chiefly by means of the devaluation of the franc, to submit to their will, and to discredit the Left government established as the result of the elections.

However, the elections have shown that this will be playing with fire. Here is a characteristic episode: A notorious reactionary, Paul Reinant, who was a candidate in the second election district of Paris, in the district where the banks and the stock exchange are located, was elected to parliament by a majority of only 27 votes. Paul Reinant is known as a representative of the banks, as a man who has on numerous occasions threatened the devaluation of the franc.

The victory of the People's Front in France is a victory for the new tactical line of the Communist International. The Communist Party of France is a recognized fighter for proletarian unity and for the anti-fascist people's front. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff stated that: "The French Communist Party is showing an example to all Sections as to how the united front tactics must be carried out. . . ."

The eight months that have passed since the Seventh Congress have proved how correct Comrade Dimitroff was. The toiling people of France are becoming more and more convinced in actual practice that the Communist Party is self-sacrificingly fighting for the happiness of the toiling people.

The election victory places big new tasks before the Communist Party of France. The Communist Party will apply all its strength, its entire skill in order to strengthen and consolidate organizationally the great people's movement for freedom, peace and bread.

## May Day, 1936

**F**IRST reports about the May Day demonstrations this year showed the growing militant activity of the international proletariat. The First of May strikes and demonstrations this year were carried out under the slogan of proletarian unity. The chief slogan of the First of May demonstrations was: "The United Struggle of the Proletariat Against the Fascist Instigators of New Wars, and for the Preservation of Peace."

On the First of May the workers of Madrid and New York, of Paris and Warsaw, of Prague and Tokio demonstrated their readiness to struggle against the fascist instigators of a new war and for liberty and bread. The workers of the capitalist countries on the First of May greeted the proletariat and all the peoples of the Soviet Union who on this day joyously celebrated the spring holiday of socialism.

On the First of May the revolutionary proletariat of Spain, which has overthrown the hated fascist yoke, demonstrated on the streets of the cities of Spain its mighty will to struggle against fascism, to struggle to carry the people's revolution to its end. Two hundred and fifty thousand people demonstrated in Madrid and tens of thousands demonstrated in other large cities. There was a complete stoppage of work in all the factories in Madrid. The proletarians of Spain expressed their militant solidarity with the great land of the Soviets in hundreds of slogans and posters.

The workers of Paris met the First of May with a joint strike. One hundred and twenty thousand metal workers struck work in the Paris region; the building workers stopped work completely; 95 per cent of the printers, 75 per cent of the leather and boot workers and 100 per cent of the tobacco workers struck work. The workers forced the closing, on the First of May, of such large enterprises as the automobile plants of Citroen and Renault. In Marseilles a demonstration of 80,000 took place; in Lille there was a demonstration of 25,000; in Bordeaux a general strike—no newspapers appeared and not a street car moved. In Havre the dock workers went on strike. Out of 650 municipal tram cars only 14 were on the streets in the daytime and 25 in the evening. A meeting of 25,000 took place.

In New York 300,000 demonstrated under the banner of unity. The workers of New York and other American cities came out on the streets in order to express their hatred against German fascism and its agents in the U.S.A. They called for the creation of a people's front, for a struggle against war and fascism, for a struggle for a shorter working week, for unemployment insurance and for the struggle for equal rights for the Negro.

The first of May demonstrations of the proletariat in Poland this year served as a serious warning to the fascist regime which two days before the First of May organized a bloodbath in the industrial center

of Chrzanow. Cracow, Lvov, Chrzanow—such is the gory record of Polish fascism in the recent months.

On the First of May 80 per cent of the shops and factories in Warsaw did not work. The majority of the demonstrators marched under the slogan of the united front. The entire Polish press remarked on the militant character of the First of May demonstrations. Demonstrations in which tens of thousands of workers took part took place in many cities in Poland. These demonstrations were directed against fascism and the danger of war, against agreement with Hitler, and for an alliance with the U.S.S.R.

Large May Day demonstrations took place in London and in all the large centers in England. In London about 100,000 demonstrated.

In Belgium, Greece, Mexico and a number of other countries gigantic demonstrations marching under the banner of the united front took place.

The slogan of "For Peace and Freedom!" was repeated in dozens of variations in all the First of May demonstrations.

The proletariat and the toilers of the entire world came out on the First of May against fascism and for the creation of the united fighting front for peace.

Two days after the First of May the workers and the toilers of France won a brilliant victory in the elections. This historic victory showed that it is possible to carry on a successful struggle against fascism, against the approaching new war. *This victory has shown that successful resistance to fascism and war is only possible along the lines of the united proletarian front and the anti-fascist people's front.* There is no other way. The experience of France as well as the experience of Spain will serve as a mighty weapon in the hands of the adherents of the united front.

The workers of France were able to score a victory over the French agents of Hitler. This was possible because the French workers have in spite of all difficulties found the road to the united struggle of the proletariat and all toilers. On the day when the united proletarian front is brought about on an international scale the main prerequisite for a successful struggle for peace will be created—and the first victory over the instigators of war *throughout the world* will be won.

May Day, 1936, has shown that the consciousness of the need for a united struggle by the working class to defeat fascism and war is gaining ever new adherents among the workers and toilers in all countries.

# How Otto Bauer Invents New Theories

By E. FISHER

**I**N HIS interview with the American journalist Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin explained why it is that although the most varied organizations exist in the U.S.S.R., the Land of Socialism, there is not more than one party there. This is what he said:

“We have no contending parties any more than we have a capitalist class contending against a working class which is exploited by the capitalists. Our society consists exclusively of free toilers of town and country—workers, peasants, intellectuals. Each of these strata may have its special interests and express them by means of the numerous public organizations that exist. But since there are no classes, since the dividing lines between classes have been obliterated, since only a slight, but not a fundamental, difference between various strata in socialist society has remained, there can be no soil for the creation of contending parties. Where there are not several classes there cannot be several parties, for a party is part of a class.”\*

This would appear to be clear and convincing to everybody, and particularly to the Marxist. However, there are people in the Second International who cannot admit this fact without relinquishing the last vestige of their right to their existence, namely, the Mensheviks. To justify their existence, they need the theory that parties are necessary even in a classless society. Otto Bauer has relieved them of the burden of discovering this “theory”, by advancing the following arguments to his readers, in the April number of *Kampf*:

“When, for example, a new branch of industry has to be set up in capitalist society, the question is decided by two or three capitalists; in the developed socialist society, this question has to be solved by the people themselves. There, some will say: let us build up a new branch of industry close to the coal mines! There we shall obtain the highest possible productivity, there, the industry will cater to the requirements of the society which it has to serve, with the least expenditure. But others will reply: let us build the new branch of industry in a healthy, beautiful spot! There the workers engaged in it will lead the most beautiful, the healthiest lives. Thus, inside the developed socialist society parties [*Parteiungen*] will be formed and those who put the *economic* interests of society as a whole to the forefront will counterpose those who decide the question from the viewpoint of hygienic, cultural, and aesthetic interests; those who stand for the *common* interests will counterpose those who have in mind the *special* interests of the workers of some separate branch of industry; those who want rapidly to extend the pro-

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\* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 14, International Publishers, New York.

ductive apparatus in the interests of *future* generations will counterpose those who want to raise the standards of living of the *present* generation."

Otto Bauer has long been endowed with the gift of giving a theoretical framework to a political point, as, for instance, was the case when Austrian Social-Democracy supported the "healthening" of the bankrupt *Kreditanstalt*, and wanted to calm the indignation of the workers with the theory that this bank was something in the nature of "state capitalism" and that state capitalism is the prologue to socialism. But seldom has a theory elaborated by Otto Bauer been so unconvincing as this theory of "party formations" in a socialist society.

Of course in developed socialist society, every new question can call forth new arguments; the problems of town construction, industry, education, architecture, cultural living conditions, etc., will arouse heated discussions among the masses of the people (a number of such discussions are going on now in the Soviet Union), and the answer to them will be given in various democratic forms. But how will parties be formed in the struggle around these questions? One is in favor of garden cities, another, of more compact towns. It appears, then, that two parties have to be established with their own central committees, functionaries, newspapers, and programs. But at the same time another question comes up for discussion: whether to educate our children in boarding schools or in day schools? What then? Another two parties with their own central committees, etc.? And then—horror of horrors!—the following difficulty arises: I ought to vote for A. at the elections, the candidate of the party standing for garden-cities; but although A. is in favor of garden cities, he is against boarding schools, whereas I stand for both garden cities and boarding schools. Have I to vote for A. or not vote at all? What party, after all, must I support?

Otto Bauer wants to make things simple and easy for me; he wants to persuade me that there will be only two parties: "the party of the present generation" and "the party of the future generation", but I must, regrettably, admit that there are hundreds of questions, which cannot possibly fit into this scheme, and that I cannot manage with just two parties, but shall be compelled to establish one party for my economic requirements, a second for cultural, a third for educational, etc. Torn between all these parties, I shall take the liberty, one fine day, of asking myself the question: what are all these parties for? I can defend my viewpoint in any newspaper, at any meeting, at any conference; on one question A. will be on my side, on another, he will be my opponent, but there will be no need, on this account, for us to split up into two parties. On one question I shall be with the majority, and on the other with the minority, without, on this account, organizing parties with each majority or each minority.

If Otto Bauer nevertheless tries to persuade us that socialist society cannot manage without parties, then what he is worried about is not the future, which he depicts entirely wrongly, but about the present; what he is concerned about is not hypotheses but the Mensheviks, just as after



the voting of financial measures to revive the *Kreditanstalt*, the question at issue was not that of "state capitalism", but of expending the revenue from taxes in order to revive the bankrupt *Kreditanstalt*. And the examples he produces to strengthen his shaky theory are not accidental ones; they are reminiscent of the old discussion which he knows so well. Otto Bauer still remembers clearly the time when together with the Mensheviks he made fierce attacks against the C.P.S.U. because, during the First Five-Year Plan, it concentrated all the forces of the working class upon the task of building up heavy industry as rapidly as possible. Today even Otto Bauer will not deny that if the U.S.S.R. had followed his advice, it would today be totally unarmed in the midst of the whole world of enemies, that the developed heavy industry serves as the foundation of its might and well-being. His examples are taken from the pages of this discussion ("Shall we build the new industry close to coal mines or in beautiful surroundings?").

Otto Bauer's affairs are in a bad way, and so are his "theories". In the classless society, and inside the Communist Party, differences of opinion can and do arise, and discussions take place on many concrete questions which are not concerned with the aims or the line, but with their everyday practical application. Out of serious and friendly discussions around all these questions of business, decisions are taken in the interests of "the present generation" who, if not provided for, will not, after all, be able to create anything for the "coming generation". But what do not exist in the Communist Party are factions, and what there will never be in socialist society are parties engaged in fighting against each other. In capitalist society common interests do not exist; the interests of classes confront each other sharply and irreconcilably, and that is why parties are necessary there. In the classless society a number of special interests may exist, but stronger than all these particular interests is the common interest, for there are no classes. Therefore, in the classless society, a number of different organizations exist, but there are no different parties. Those who fail to understand this are like the man who cannot see the mountains, because he has his nose up against a wall. It is the Mensheviks who are in front of Otto Bauer's nose.

# The "Peace Loving" Howls of Herr Goering

By K. ROLPH

**H**OWL not, thou most hated of all mankind and the gods", said Zeus, the father of the gods, in the Greek myth, to Ares, the boastful, blood-thirsty god of war, who showered so much pity on his own person. The ancient poet Homer, who endowed the Greek gods with the immortal life of his art, possessed a subtle sense of humor and was filled with contemptuous irony towards Ares; he put him in the most awkward situations, but he never once dared to cloth the brutal god of war as the angel of peace, nor to force him to utter words of peace while brandishing weapons and roaring out war-cries.

German fascism, however, by advocating peace in the Rhineland to the rumble of cannon and converting one peace treaty into a scrap of paper while proposing others, has placed itself in this position. The peace-loving speeches uttered by Hitler and Goebbels were extremely original; but still more outlandish was the sound of the peaceful speeches of the corpulent morphine fiend who burned down the Reichstag and who makes his appearance every day before the enslaved people of Germany in some new uniform. Goering shouted so loudly from the house-tops about what Hitler means by peace, that the German newspapers only published a few phrases from his speeches, and maintained a discreet silence concerning the rest. The Ares of German fascism, robed in the garments of the angel of peace, talked thus, in Dortmund on March 17, about the desire for peace which moves the "Fuehrer":

"We shall not be forced to our knees. If it comes to sanctions, then the party will once more call for a desperate struggle, and, in reply, a wave of meetings will spread throughout Germany. Then, gentlemen, you may eat all the butter of the world yourselves. If you want to pin us down under your heel, then the last sour German apple will be more sweet to us than all the finest foreign fruits, for all our unpleasant grimaces at such unaccustomed food.

"It will be our sport to show you how we can manage with substitutes. . . . We shall make Germany a smithy for the forging of arms! Every clod of our soil will be defended and the enemy will pay for it in thousands of dead. . . . It is an incredible thing for them to barter with us on account of a few battalions, and thus to frustrate the admirable proposals made by Adolph Hitler."

The fascist rulers have brought the toilers of Germany to such a pass that they have long been unable to obtain butter for themselves; they are already eating the last sour German apple. But coming from the lips of the fat Air Minister, it is indeed an awful threat against Europe to hear him howl: "Eat your own butter!"—and to listen to

his assurance that he prefers to distort his face still more rather than eat foreign fruits.

Goering continued his speech on March 27, in Karlsruhe, where he devoted the following words to European peace:

"We warn you that we have again become mighty. Our armaments are mighty, but mightier yet are German hearts. You have to realize that the Germans will defend themselves with the last drop of the courage which comes from desperation. We shall endure courageously all that Providence sends us. So long as we have Adolph Hitler, Providence, the blessing of God, will remain with us. . . .

"Look into the steely, indomitable eyes of our leader, and you will be invincible!"

Nobody is dreaming of attacking Germany. None of the countries around Germany wants war. Against whom then must the German people defend themselves "with the last drop of the courage which comes from desperation"? The war danger became so great precisely when German fascism began to utter bellicose speeches and make preparations for war, when it began to be a menace to peace, when the peoples around Germany wants war. Against whom then must the German will accuse Switzerland of aiming at war; but if even Switzerland is feverishly arming as a result of the impression made by the "peaceful policy" of the National-Socialists, if it is about to build fortresses along the German frontier, it becomes obvious that the words: "The Germans will defend themselves with the last drop of the courage which comes from desperation" are full of bloody mockery. Against Switzerland? Against Holland? Against Belgium? Against Czechoslovakia? These little states understand what it means when Goering trumpets over the frontier: "We warn you that we have again become mighty." There is no need for them to "look into the steely indomitable eyes of the leader" to understand what is taking place. They know what to expect when Goering roars: "We shall endure courageously all that Providence sends us." Providence in Germany today is Adolph Hitler's pseudonym. And Adolph Hitler is the pseudonym for the war industry, for several dozen landlords thirsting for land, and big industrialists longing for war profits. What this Providence is likely to send, Goering knows better than anybody else: they are the bombers which are at the disposal of his own Ministry.

While Ribbentrop proposes a new patent for peace—trade mark "Made in Germany" and guaranteed for 25 years—and flies round the world as the Mercury of German fascism, the Ares of this same German fascism fills the air with the sound of his "peace-loving" roars. The German newspapers print the innocent utterances of Ribbentrop and maintain a discreet silence about the roars of Goering. But it is precisely that which is to be heard in the brutal roaring of Goering that is being forged in the "arms smithy" of German fascism, namely "war!" the aim of which is to destroy that of which Ribbentrop innocently speaks—"peace".

# Revolutionary Mongolia and the Lust of Japanese Imperialism

By S. NATSOV

**T**HE struggle of the Japanese imperialists against the independence of the Mongolian people must not be regarded as an *isolated* incident but as part of the general network of preparations for a new world war.

The national-revolutionary movement of the Mongolian people which began in 1921, and overthrew the domination of the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese militarists and Russian whiteguards, was the product of the great October Socialist Revolution of 1927. The masses of the people of Mongolia fought against their foreign and internal enemies and were able in 1921 to achieve victory over them precisely because they received tremendous help and support from the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

In supporting and assisting the Mongolian people in their struggle for national independence, the victorious proletariat of Soviet Russia were fulfilling the will of the great Lenin as to the need for supporting the toiling masses of the backward countries in their struggle against the imperialists and their henchmen.

In his interview with Mr. Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin said:

“If Japan should venture to attack the Mongolian People’s Republic, and encroach upon its independence, we will have to help the Mongolian People’s Republic. Stomonyakov, Litvinov’s assistant, recently informed the Japanese ambassador in Moscow of this, and pointed to the immutable friendly relations which the U.S.S.R. has been maintaining with the Mongolian People’s Republic since 1921. We will help the Mongolian People’s Republic just as we helped it in 1921.”\*

The direct and clear answer given by Comrade Stalin to the question as to the position of the Soviet Union in the event of a Japanese onslaught upon the Mongolian People’s Republic is an expression of the inflexible will of the millions of toilers living in the powerful land of the Soviets.

In a letter to Comrade Stalin, the 12,000 workers, engineers and technicians of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant clearly expressed this idea and the will of the great people of the Soviet Union to assist the Mongolian people in their struggle. In this letter they stated:

“We do not want war. But we are not asleep. Let all the imperialists of the world, hunting after foreign territory, know that we do not need foreign territory, but we will not give up to anyone a single inch of our own territory. We will not allow a single foot of the enemy to tread on it. Neither will we

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\* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 3, International Publishers, New York.

allow anyone to attack or violate the independence of the friendly Mongolian People's Republic. At the first call of our Party and government we will come to its defense, since the people of the U.S.S.R. and Mongolian People's Republic are linked together by a friendship of many years standing, cemented by blood in the civil war."\*

The masses of the people of the Mongolian People's Republic are now seized by a single passion and firm determination to defend their fatherland against the attacks of the Japanese imperialists and their Manchurian lackeys. The work of the Twentieth Session of the Small Hural (executive council—*Ed.*) of the Mongolian People's Republic, which met at the end of March, 1936, shows the extraordinary solidarity and unity of the entire leadership of Mongolia, the unwavering determination to defend the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Twentieth Session of the Small Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic wholly and completely endorsed the foreign policy of the government of the Mongolian People's Republic, expressed particularly in the agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic as to mutual assistance. The Session of the Small Hural endorsed the line of the government in its negotiations with Manchukuo as regards border questions, and also the whole of the work done by the government to defend the national independence of the Mongolian People's Republic and to strengthen its ability to defend itself. The Session of the Small Hural endorsed all the measures undertaken by the government to increase the forces and technical equipment of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, and also to improve the material conditions of the commanders (officers—*Ed.*) of the army.

The masses of people of the Mongolian People's Republic are expressing their greatest thanks to the Soviet Union for the aid given in the past and now being given by the U.S.S.R. to the Mongolian people in their struggle for national independence. This feeling of gratitude of the Mongolian people to the Soviet Union was correctly expressed not long ago by one of the leaders of the Mongolian government. At a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Mongolian National Revolutionary Party, Amor, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, stated the following:

"It is with tremendous satisfaction that we have acquainted ourselves with the statement which Stalin made to the correspondent of the American press during their conversation on March 1 on the question of the attack which Japan is preparing against the Mongolian People's Republic. . . . The broad masses of the Mongolian people are filled with a feeling of profound thanks to the great Soviet Union for the honest and unselfish support being rendered by the Soviet Union in the struggle of the Mongolian people for their national independence and freedom."

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\* See *Pravda*, March 12, 1936, Letter to Comrade Stalin from the workers and engineering and technical staff of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant.

In this friendship between the Mongolian people and the people of the U.S.S.R., and in strengthening connections with the world revolutionary movement lies one of the greatest guarantees of the further development of the Mongolian revolution and the consolidation of the independent existence and activity of the Mongolian People's Republic.

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Tsarist Russia and imperialist Japan plundered Mongolia like robbers. The basis of the economic life of Mongolia, namely cattle breeding, declined from year to year. Almost all of the toiling *arats*\* of Mongolia were in debt to Chinese and Russian tradesmen and moneylenders who took not less than from 60 per cent to 80 per cent in interest per annum. It is estimated that in 1912 the debt of the Mongols to Chinese moneylenders was \$25,000,000 for 800,000 of the poor population. And the Mongols were robbed by "their own" princes and Buddhist monasteries which gave their cattle to the *arats* to pasture under enslaving conditions. It is estimated that the upkeep of monasteries cost the people from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 yearly. The merciless exploitation of the *arats* by the foreign imperialists, Chinese moneylenders, Mongolian feudal lords and monasteries gave rise to a mighty wave of indignation among the people. An anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution broke out in the country and wiped out the power of the feudal lords, the privileges of the monasteries and the profits of Chinese moneylenders and foreign imperialists.

In the past ten years Mongolia has made tremendous strides forward in building up its economic life, in developing the productive forces of the country. Industrial enterprises have appeared in the Mongolian People's Republic in which the native inhabitants of the country—Mongols—are mastering the technique of production. The largest enterprise in the Mongolian People's Republic is an industrial enterprise employing 1,200 workers built in Ulan-Bator after the Revolution.

Cattle breeding in Mongolia also began to develop rapidly after the Revolution. Whereas in 1924 there were 275,000 camels in the Mongolian People's Republic, in 1934, on the other hand, the figure had grown to 529,000. In 1924 there were 1,339,800 horses while in 1934 the figure was 1,610,000. In 1924, there were 1,512,100 heads of large-horned cattle, in 1934 the figure was 2,034,000. In 1924, there were 10,649,200 goats and sheep, in 1934 the figure was 16,869,100.

All of these definite successes in developing the economic life of the Mongolian People's Republic have been achieved by the People's Revolutionary government, the toilers of the country under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, and with the support of the revolutionary trade unions of Mongolia. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party was founded in 1920. The basic aims of the party were to bring the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution to its culmination, to defend the independence of the country, and to ensure the gradual transition of the Mongolian people to a non-capitalist path of development.

\* *Shepherds.—Ed.*

At the Ninth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party, the secretary of the Central Committee, Lubsan-Shirab, said:

"We do not want our people, who freed themselves ten to thirteen years ago from feudal oppression, to develop along the path where capitalist oppression awaits them. . . . We want with the brotherly aid of the U.S.S.R. gradually to pass to the social order in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, no hunger and poverty, no destitution."

By the year 1934 the People's Revolutionary Party had 460 primary organizations, and 7,500 members, while the Revolutionary League of Youth of Mongolia had more than 5,000 members.

These successes in the development of the economic life of the Mongolian People's Republic and in its cultural and political development enrage all the enemies of the Mongolian revolution, all the enemies of the Mongolian people—the Japanese imperialists, Chinese generals and Mongolian feudal lords. The Japanese imperialists fear that other countries bordering on Mongolia will follow the example of the Mongolian People's Republic, withdraw from the imperialist system and declare war against imperialist robbery. It is this which explains the fact that for the period of almost 15 years since Mongolia has lived an independent existence, the enemies of the Mongolian people at home and abroad have many times attempted to destroy independent revolutionary Mongolia. And each time they have been decisively driven back by the agricultural laborers and poor and middle farmers.

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Imperialist Japan does not want to reconcile itself to the existence of the independent Mongolian People's Republic. The well-known General Araki in his pamphlet *The Tasks of Japan in the Epoch of Siova* wrote:

"In questions of regulating the population, of ensuring supplies of food, and of raw materials for heavy industry, and finally for state defense purposes, the existence of the Japanese empire is closely connected with Manchuria and Mongolia. If we do not set up our prestige in Manchuria and Mongolia, then we will not at all be able to spread the great ideals of Japan. . . . Mongolia must, in any case, be territory which belongs to the East. No matter what enemy opposes the spreading of the idea of the empire, he must be destroyed. . . ."

In November, 1935, an article appeared in the magazine *Hakan* in which the author especially emphasized the point that the seizure of the Mongolian People's Republic is only a stage in Japanese aggression, in the following words:

"After the formation of independent Manchukuo, the next task is the establishment of independent Mongolia. The natural course for the further development and advance of Japan must be in the direction of Mongolia, Tientsin, Tibet and India."

The Japanese imperialists openly assert that the Mongolian People's Republic cannot exist as an independent government. The Japanese not

only discuss this in the offices of the War Department and General Staff, but they write it in newspapers and magazines. On August 24, 1935, the Tokyo radio station broadcast the following official communication of the Simbun-Rengo agency:

"In official circles it is pointed out that Outer Mongolia cannot always remain isolated, taking into consideration the connections between the Mongols of Outer Mongolia and other Mongolians. The 5,000,000 Mongols who live in the Far East are divided in the following way: in Outer Mongolia, 770,000; in Inner Mongolia, including Chahar and Suiyuan, 1,240,000; in Manchukuo, 2,000,000; in Tientsin and the Buryat-Mongolian Republic, 1,000,000. A representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that 'Manchukuo is now knocking at the door of Outer Mongolia in the same way as Admiral Perry knocked at the door of Japan 80 years ago to open Japan for the outer world'."

The Japanese imperialists are preparing practical steps for uniting all the Mongols under the guardianship of Japanese imperialism. First of all they want to liquidate the independent Mongolian People's Republic, so that they can penetrate into Tientsin through Outer Mongolia, and carry out destructive counter-revolutionary work against the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Buryat-Mongolia. The statement of the *Harbin Simbun* is extremely characteristic in this connection. On July 13, 1935, this newspaper wrote:

"The zone of Urga-Uliassutai-Kobdo is the most important zone for preserving peace in Eastern Asia. To leave this zone under the domination of an unclear and indefinite Outer Mongolian government is more dangerous than wrapping the Japanese sea in a thick fog."

The Japanese imperialists are attempting to play upon the national feelings of the Mongolians so as to mask their robber plans. They are reviving the cult of Genghis Khan as a national hero. They are impudently propagating a race struggle. For instance, the well-known Yamamoto Sanechicho writes:

"The Mongolian people will never forget their greatest hero. A few centuries have passed since Genghis Khan entered Europe. History is a dream. A strong antagonism is again developing today between the white and yellow races. . . . In general the Mongols are very qualified and talented in military and political affairs. If they systematically improve these capabilities they will be able to produce heroes as brave as Genghis Khan."\*

The Japanese imperialists are carrying on their destructive, counter-revolutionary activities in Mongolia under the slogan of a "united Mongolia". This hypocritical policy of the Japanese imperialists in relation to the Mongolian People's Republic is clear even to the bour-

\* *Kaizo*, September, 1935.



geois press of other capitalist countries. In the American bulletin *Foreign Policy Reports* it states that:

"Mongolia is both a potential battleground and participating factor in the conflict that is maturing in the Far East. . . .

"Japan's program holds out to the princes and lamas the possibility of re-establishing a unified Mongolia under Japanese hegemony. . . .

"The Inner Mongolian princes would probably elect submission to Japan. . . . In Outer Mongolia the mass of the people is building a new social order in which the former privileges and vested interests of the princes and lamas are being eliminated. . . . The changes in Outer Mongolia are grounded on a 'genuinely pro-Mongol intention, and the process of change is in the hands of Mongols'. In Outer Mongolia alone both subordinate and high executive positions are held by Mongols, the schools are unmistakably Mongol, and the troops are Mongol throughout."\*

For the last year and a half or two the Japanese imperialists have been organizing one act of provocation after another, organizing systematic raids upon the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. At the beginning, these raids were made by small groups of from ten to thirty men. Now these attacks are being made by detachments of several hundred soldiers who are transported on dozens of automobiles with machine guns and artillery. Many battles are taking place between Mongolian border guards and Japanese-Manchurian raiders.

If we take only the two months, February and March 1936, the Japanese made five large raids on the Mongolian People's Republic. On February 12, 1936, for instance, a Japanese-Manchurian detachment of five hundred men on twenty trucks and one passenger machine, armed with regular and hand machine guns and three cannon, crossed the Mongolian border accompanied by two tanks and two airplanes, and attacked the border outpost of the Mongolian People's Republic in Bulun-Dersu. The Mongolian outpost offered energetic resistance to the raiders, but because the raiders had five times as many soldiers and because of a flanking movement by the Japanese-Manchurian soldiers, the Mongolian border guards were forced to retreat, leaving one light cannon and one machine gun which were seized and carried off by the Japanese-Manchurians. After these first battles, the Japanese and Manchurian soldiers followed the retreating Mongolian outpost and penetrated still further into the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic to a point ten to twelve kilometers from the border. However, with the aid of reinforcements, the Mongolian border guards drove these Japanese-Manchurian soldiers back to Manchuria. The losses among the Mongolian border guards as a result of the raid were one killed and seven wounded. The Japanese-Manchurian raiders lost no less than ten killed and up to twenty wounded.

On March 24, 1936, the Japanese once more attacked the Mongolian People's Republic. A Japanese-Manchurian detachment on three trucks

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\* *Foreign Policy Reports*, Vol. XI, No. 19, November 20, 1935, p. 236.

attacked a Mongolian border outpost in the district of Mongol-Dzagas near the Bor-Nor lake on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. Firing began, during which reinforcements came to the Japanese-Manchurians on four trucks. The Mongolian outpost beat off the attack, and forced the raiders to retreat to the territory of Manchukuo.

On the following morning, on March 25, 1935, about 200 Japanese-Manchurian soldiers once again began to approach the district of Mongol-Dzagas, and in the evening opened rifle and machine-gun fire upon the Mongolian outpost, at the same time giving two artillery shots. The Mongolian border guards answered fire, but because of their small numbers as compared with the Japanese and Manchurians, they retreated under cover of darkness to the district of the Dry Lake.

At daybreak, on March 26, the Japanese and Manchurian soldiers, on discovering that the Mongolian outpost had retreated, crossed the Halhingol River and occupied the quarters of the Mongolian outpost, and only left there at one o'clock in the afternoon after a Mongolian airplane appeared in the district where the conflict was taking place.

On March 29, 1936, a Japanese and Manchurian detachment on seven trucks and one passenger machine attacked the Mongolian border outpost in Adick-Dolon, which is 45 kilometers south of the border. On the same day an attack by another Japanese and Manchurian detachment on two trucks was made upon the Mongolian outpost of Bulundersu which is eight kilometers from the border and fifty kilometers northeast of the outpost of Adick-Dolon, and they opened fire upon the Mongolian outpost. The Mongolian border guards, on receiving reinforcements, drove back the Japanese-Manchurian raiders to the territory of Manchukuo.

The last big raid was made on March 31, 1936. On this day, Japanese-Manchurian soldiers on several dozens of trucks, supported by a battery, tanks, armored cars and aviation, once more attacked the Mongolian border outpost, Adick-Dolon, seized Adick-Dolon and advanced to attack Tomsick-Bulock. At one time the Japanese-Manchurian soldiers were able to get quite close to Tomsick-Bulock, which is 45 kilometers from the Manchurian border, on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. Nevertheless, the Mongolian soldiers, receiving reinforcements, offered energetic resistance and forced the Japanese-Manchurian soldiers to retreat to Adick-Dolon.

The Japanese-Manchurians in their turn received reinforcements and renewed their attack, striving to occupy Tomsick-Bulock. The fight between the Mongolians and the Japanese-Manchurians lasted all of March 31 and part of the night of April 1 and ended only on the morning of April 1. The border guards defeated the many attempts of the Japanese-Manchurians to seize Tomsick-Bulock, and succeeded in completely driving the Japanese-Manchurian detachment to the border, and then driving them out, with serious losses.

In addition to the raids on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, Japanese-Manchurian soldiers systematically destroy border posts on the Mongolian-Manchurian border, so that they can state that

the border posts of Mongolia are not on Mongolian but on Manchurian territory, and demand their removal. For instance, on January 23, 1936, south of the Nordock-Ula hill, a car appeared with the Japanese-Manchurian soldiers who destroyed a border *obo*, (a mound of stones placed on the highest point of the border in that locality and in the middle of which a border post is fixed) and took the border post away with them. On January 24, 1936, Japanese-Manchurian soldiers destroyed the border *obo* opposite the Bain-Usu outpost which is 50 kilometers south of the Kerulum River. On the same day an *obo* was also destroyed on the border in the district of the Hara-Nur Lake. On December 22, 1935, three trucks with Japanese-Manchurian soldiers traveled along the Mongolian-Manchurian border on the sector from Bain-Usu to Mergen-Hamara and destroyed all the border marks on this section of the border.

One could continue listing the provocations of the Japanese military clique. The government of the Mongolian People's Republic have used all ways and means to show their desire for peace, and, at the same time, their readiness to defend the borders of their country from the Japanese invaders.

The proletariat and toilers of all countries should raise a powerful protest against the robber, bandit actions of the Japanese imperialists, and extend a brotherly hand to help the Mongolian people in their struggle against the rapacious Japanese imperialists.

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The provocative actions of the Japanese military clique on the Mongolian-Manchurian border forced the toiling masses of the Mongolian People's Republic to raise the alarm for the fate of their country. Fulfilling the will of the people, the government made request to the government of the U.S.S.R. to ratify an agreement to give each other aid in case of an attack by a third country.

The government of the U.S.S.R. gave a positive reply to this request. But this agreement of mutual aid was not in a written form, and its character was that of an oral agreement. Only after the provocative character of the Japanese attacks upon the Mongolian People's Republic during 1935 and the beginning of 1936 became clear, did the government of the U.S.S.R. agree to the repeated request of the Mongolian government to sign a mutual assistance pact. This pact was signed on March 12, 1936, in the city of Ulan-Bator.

This mutual assistance pact between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic is an example of consistent struggle for peace, an example of unselfish support based on complete equality and mutual appreciation between the U.S.S.R. and the peaceful and friendly Mongolian people who are heroically struggling for their right to live an independent existence. It is not a document of unexpected or accidental origin. It has a long history which is strengthened by the bloody joint struggle of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples against the remnants of the Russian whiteguards who were supported by international, and first and foremost, Japanese imperialism.

The source of the Soviet-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact lies

in the joint struggle of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples against the robber band of the hireling of the Japanese interventionists, Baron Ungern, who strove to enslave the Mongolian people and turn Outer Mongolia into a Japanese colony, into a base for further attacks by Japanese imperialism upon the U.S.S.R. It is in this common struggle of the Soviet and Mongolian peoples against the bands of Ungern that the agreement between Soviet Russia and the Mongolian People's Republic to give each other aid in the future as well in the event that one side is threatened by military attack from a third came into being and has been operated in practice.

Thus, the mutual assistance pact between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, which was signed on March 12, 1936, is the formulation in writing of the 1934 agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic, which in its turn made concrete and more precise the obligations to render mutual assistance which arose in 1921 on the basis of the joint struggle against the Japanese interventionists in the shape of their whiteguard agents. This history of the origin of the Soviet-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact is quite clearly expressed in the text of this pact itself.

"The governments of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and of the Mongolian People's Republic, making their starting point the relations of unswerving friendship existing between their respective countries, since the time when, in 1921, the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic was with the support of the Red Army liberated from whiteguard detachments connected with the military forces which had invaded the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and governed by the desire to support the cause of peace in the Far East and assist in further strengthening the friendly relations existing between them, have decided to give shape in this protocol to the gentlemen's agreement in existence between them since November, 1934, which envisages mutual support by all measures to avoid and forestall threats of a military attack, and to render each other aid and support in case of an attack by any third party upon the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics or the Mongolian People's Republic, and it is with this end in view that we have signed the present protocol."

The Mutual Assistance Pact between the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic is a profoundly peaceful document. The only aim of the Mongolian-Soviet agreement is to forestall the warmongers in the Far East, and therefore the U.S.S.R. is prepared to assist the Mongolian people in case they are attacked by Japanese imperialism. Nevertheless there are people who wish to misinterpret the real meaning of the Soviet-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact; they attempt to present this profoundly peaceful pact as some kind of a military agreement directed against a third party. The opponents of war and the friends of peace already correctly understand the meaning of the Soviet-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact. For instance the *Ere Nouvelle* of April 9, 1936, points out that:

"The Soviet-Mongolian pact is the product of the threat of Japanese aggression. The installation of Japanese in Ulan-Bator would mean much more than an 'unfriendly' gesture. It would be a threat to the Soviet Union."

*Le Populaire* of April 9, 1936, wrote:

"Japan established Manchukuo, occupied the province of Jehol, laid its hands on Northern China, penetrated Inner Mongolia without the U.S.S.R. even expressing the smallest protest or even making a symbolic gesture of opposition. Nevertheless, the attacks of Japanese soldiers on the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic represented a direct threat to Soviet territory. The Japanese occupation of Outer Mongolia would mean the establishment of Japanese control over the Siberian railroad and over the entire region from the East to Baikal. Therefore the Soviet Union could not remain passive when faced with such a serious danger."

The interests of the U.S.S.R. and China dictated the view of the need to prevent the possibility of Mongolia being turned into a colony of Japanese imperialism. If the robber Japanese imperialists were to secure control over Mongolia, they would act a thousand times more impudently and brazenly against the U.S.S.R. and against China. For a stretch of 3,000 kilometers the borders of the U.S.S.R. and for a stretch of 4,000 kilometers the borders of China would be directly menaced by the Japanese military clique. Therefore it is difficult to understand the protest of the Nanking government against the Soviet-Mongolian Mutual Assistance Pact. This protest of the Nanking government does not follow from the interests of the great Chinese people who are engaged in struggle against Japanese imperialism. It is the result of pressure exerted by the Japanese military clique on the Nanking government and is mainly directed against the interest of the Chinese people.

The interests of the great Chinese people coincide with the interest of Soviet-Mongolian friendship. The people of China know that to strengthen the Mongolian People's Republic is at the same time to strengthen the position of the great Chinese people who are struggling for the independence and unity of their country.

# A Book on Communism for the Broad Masses

By G. MINWORD

**T**HE appearance of Comrade Browder's book, *What Is Communism?*\* is an excellent contribution to the ideological propagandist and agitational work of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. This book may be considered as the direct result of the work performed by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International under the leadership of Comrade Dimitroff in the sphere of reconstructing the policy of the Communist Parties by placing before them the task of becoming a mass political party of the proletariat and to be in the forefront in all phases of political life. The book provides every American worker, every toiler, every anti-fascist, with a clear, comprehensible and popular reply to a number of the vital questions of the class struggle as well as to a number of questions of principle connected with the tactics of the Communists.

Comrade Browder's book consists of 21 short chapters. These chapters are based on the articles and speeches of the author so reworked as to answer the burning questions of the moment. Every chapter consisting of eight to ten pages is devoted to one particular question, and makes light and easy reading. The book is written in a simple language. The different questions are dealt with in a polemical style, directed against enemies or opponents, with explanations of perplexing questions, exposing slanders of the enemies, as well as trying to persuade those holding mistaken views. All this is presented as practical problems from the life and struggles of the American masses.

The central questions dealt with in the book are the problems of the united front, the struggle against fascism, the struggle to maintain peace, and these questions are presented not merely in the light of the policy of the Communist Party, but as questions vitally affecting the very depths of the interests and lives of the broad masses of the people. It is precisely these features of the book which make it particularly valuable and make it possible to reach wide circles of readers. Comrade Browder's book is really a popular book on American Communism. It will be read to advantage by the members of the Communist Party, it will strengthen the front of the Party's sympathizers, it will bring closer to the Party many who are wavering, and will impel many toilers, who have been poisoned against the Communists by the yellow reactionary press, to ponder over its pages.

The first chapter in the book is called "Who Are the Americans?" Obviously, the Communists of each country must first and foremost de-

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\* Earl Browder, *What Is Communism?*, Vanguard Press, New York, 235 pages.

termine their attitude towards their people—their past, present and future. But in the U.S.A., by virtue of a number of peculiarities in the development of the country and of the Communist Party itself, this question is a particularly vital one. The *leit motif* of the campaign of the reactionary press and politicians against the Communists is that Communism is a kind of foreign phenomenon to America, that Communism and the Communists have been “planted there from abroad”, that “Americanism” is incompatible with Communism, etc. “If you don’t like this country, why don’t you go back to where you came from?” is the question put to the Communists by the Hearst press, which is conducting a campaign for the deportation of all Communists and Left workers from the U.S.A. With true revolutionary passion and indignation born of the best traditions of the American people and their struggle against oppressors, Comrade Browder replies to the slanders of Hearst:

“The truth is, if you insist on knowing, Mr. Hearst, we Communists like this country very much. We cannot think of any other spot on the globe where we would rather be than exactly this one. We love our country. Our affection is all the more deep in that we have watered it with the sweat of our labor—labor which made this country what it is; our mothers nourished it with the tears they shed over the troubles and tragedies of rearing babies in a land controlled by profit and profit-makers. If we did not love our country so much, perhaps we would surrender it to Wall Street” (p. 13).

Comrade Browder shows the revolutionary and progressive meaning of the word “Americanism” that was given to it by the founders of America, who used it to signify the love of freedom and the hatred of tyranny, the desire for progress and revolutionary activity, freed from all convention and fetters; something which had overcome all effete forms and relations. Hearst’s reactionary “Americanism” is something entirely opposed to the Americanism of the founders of America.

In conclusion Comrade Browder, tracing all the changes in the life of the people from the time of the Declaration of Independence, states:

“. . . the men who will write our modern declaration of independence of a dying capitalist system must feed themselves upon the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the modern representatives of human progress” (pp. 20-21).

And one cannot without emotion read the final paragraph of this chapter:

“This is what we mean by Americanism. This is how we love our country, with the same burning love which Lenin bore for Russia, his native land. Like Lenin, we will fight to free our land from the blood-sucking reactionaries, place it in the hands of the masses, bring it into the international brotherhood of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and realize the prophetic lines of Walt Whitman: ‘We have adhered too long

to petty limits . . . the time has come to enfold the world'. . ."  
(p. 21).

The next chapter, "Big Trouble Ahead", deals with the question of why Communism became such a big issue in America, and explains to the reader that only Communism offers a solution to the tasks which confront the proletariat and the masses of the American people today and which arise out of the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the growth of reaction and fascism in the capitalist countries, and the menace of war.

The third chapter is devoted to an analysis of the depression of a special kind in the U.S.A. Thus, these two chapters are bound by an organic tie: the general analysis of the situation in the U.S.A. today and the tasks confronting the American people.

The next four chapters are also organically connected: "Fascism: American Brand", "Huey Long's Assassination", "Father Coughlin: Priest or Politician", and "Prophets of the Promised Land"—all of which give an analysis of the fascist tendencies in the U.S.A. and of different movements which are also possible feeding grounds for fascism.

The four chapters which follow also form one whole: "The Split in the Socialist Movement", "The United Front", "A Farmer-Labor Party", "Can the Workers Lead a People's Movement?" These chapters are concerned with the questions of the united working class front and a people's front in America. They throw light upon important contemporary questions of the tactics of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., such as the question of building the united front and the Farmer-Labor Party. A number of general questions are also dealt with in them, for example, the question as to who is responsible for the split in the working class and the question as to why the proletariat is called upon to be the leader of all the toilers.

The next chapter deals with the question of the trade union movement in the light of the 55th Convention of the A. F. of L. It would be advisable that in the future editions of this book there should be added more material on the trade union movement, the struggle for trade union unity, for industrial unionism, and on the struggle for a united powerful A. F. of L.—a mighty citadel of the masses in the struggle against the attacks of capital, fascism and war.

Two important groups of tactical questions are raised in the chapters entitled "The Question of Tactics", and "Force and Violence". The Right Socialists, opponents of the united front, and also the reactionary press, not infrequently spread the slanderous accusation that the Communists provoke the capitalists to reactionary action and that the Communist Party is responsible both for the war menace and the offensive of fascism. Comrade Browder convincingly unmask the capitalist, self-seeking character of this accusation. Comrade Browder declares that the essence of this theory is a demand that the capitalists be allowed to exploit and oppress the masses calmly, freely and unrestrictedly.



"Every person", writes Comrade Browder, "who brings forward this argument of 'provocation' has, consciously or unconsciously, adopted the viewpoint of the exploiting class" (p. 155).

Then Comrade Browder develops the viewpoint of the proletariat on this question showing by a number of examples that the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie leads to fatal consequences, and that only the class struggle on the part of the toilers can offer effective resistance to reaction and fascism.

The importance of the chapter entitled "Force and Violence" must be particularly stressed. The rules of a number of mass organizations of the U.S.A. (for example those of a number of Farmer-Labor Parties) contain a point which declares that persons or groups advocating force and violence cannot be members of these organizations. This point is directed primarily against the anarchists or terrorists, including fascists, but it is sometimes interpreted so as to exclude Communists from these mass organizations. Further, there are a number of laws against terroristic acts which are also sometimes used by reactionaries against the Communists.

Comrade Browder, on the basis of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, bearing in mind the concrete situation in the U.S.A., convincingly explains the attitude of the Communist Party towards force and violence. Comrade Browder first of all shows that in the long run questions of class struggle in capitalist society can not be decided otherwise but through revolutionary struggles and revolutions.

Comrade Browder continues:

"Wherever capitalism is confronted with a life-and-death crisis, it turns to fascist force and violence to destroy the civil liberties of the masses. It is the capitalist who utilizes unlimited violence against the toilers; it is the fascists who raise mass sadism to a ruling principle" (p. 166).

On the contrary, writes Comrade Browder: "Communists, despite what their enemies say, do not advocate or idealize violence" (p.166).

The Communists would not be the advance guard of the proletariat if they did not say to the toiling masses in advance: you cannot hope that the exploiting classes will voluntarily relinquish their positions; the masses will have to resort to violence against them. But this revolutionary violence will be directed not against the masses but by the masses against reactionary murderers and gangsters for the interests of mankind. It will save millions of lives, for it will put an end to fascist hatred of mankind, to exploitation and to wars.

The chapter "The Fight for Peace" convincingly criticizes the isolationist and neutrality policy and sentiments so widespread in the U.S.A. and supported by the agitation of the abettors of the fascist warmongers. Comrade Browder puts forward as against these the Communist Party's struggle for peace, the policy of the united front in the struggle for peace, and the support of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., support of the measures adopted against the aggressor and the consolidation of collective security. As against the hypocritical slogan of

neutrality covering up the imperialist policy of the U.S.A. and abetting the fascist instigators of war, the Communist Party put forward the slogans: "Keep America out of war, by keeping war out of the world", "Curb the instigators of war by supporting the measures of the League of Nations directed against the aggressor", "For strengthening collective security, for supporting the peace policy of the Soviet Union, for maintaining peace".

The chapter entitled "The Negro People and Labor" explains the tasks of the struggle for the united front as applied to the Negro question. There is no need to call attention to the great importance of this question for the U.S.A.

The chapter which follows—"What About Religion?"—is especially important. Millions of people who belong to religious organizations, despite all their differences of opinion with the Communists on questions of religion, can and want to fight together with them against the offensive of capital, fascism and war. And the Communist Party of the U.S.A. reveals its political maturity when, through Comrade Browder, it opportunely and correctly raises the question of the possibility and necessity of making a united front with these masses.

The Chapter "The Family and Revolution" should be noted, as it is of live interest to broad masses of people. Comrade Browder points out that not only are the Communists not "against the family", but, on the contrary, that only under socialism can there be created a really comradely, happy, free family.

In the important chapter "How the Communist Party Works", Comrade Browder refutes the widespread slanderous lies put forward by enemies about "instructions from Moscow", about "plots", "conspiracies", etc. The Communist Party is a legal mass party, fighting for legal conditions of work. It is the Party of the proletarian masses, and its policy is determined and adapted to suit their interests.

The chapter "Where Socialism Already Exists" reveals all the historic victories which the peoples of the U.S.S.R. have attained under the leadership of their great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. And here Comrade Browder indicates what socialism could achieve for the U.S.A.

The last chapter, "A Glimpse of Soviet America", describes this question in more detail.

The book also contains the Manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Comrade Browder's book reflects the ideological growth of the leading cadres of the world Communist movement who have learned to speak not only to thousands of Communists but to the millions of people whom the crisis and the developments of the last years have awakened to active political life. It is to be hoped that this truly people's book will be widely distributed.

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