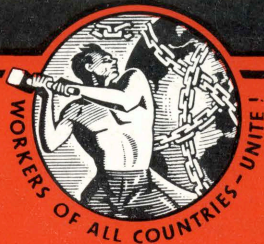


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# Twenty-Two Years of Soviet Power

## MANIFESTO OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

**P**ROLETARIANS and working people throughout the world! Today the working people of all lands are greeting the twenty-second anniversary of the great October socialist revolution. Today the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are summing up the epoch-making results of the victories of socialism, won under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin. Completing the construction of classless socialist society, the Soviet people is advancing to communism.

Great are the achievements of the land of the Soviets. Every day, every hour sees the further growth of socialist industry. The socialist foundations of the collective farm countryside are becoming increasingly stable. The well being of the masses of the people is growing with every new socialist victory. The joyous and happy life of the peoples of the Soviet country is in full swing. Its young generation look with confidence into their radiant future. Powerful talents are being brought forth by the Soviet land. Miracles are being worked by the Stakhanov movement. New units of the Soviet intelligentsia are rising up, serving with the utmost devotion the cause of socialism. The Stalinist amity of the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. is gathering strength. The Soviet people are united as never before, welded indissolubly to their Party, to their government. The military might of the land of socialism is growing steadfastly. The frontiers of the Soviet land are becoming increasingly unassailable. The weight carried by the Soviet Union on the international arena has increased

immeasurably. By their great achievements the Soviet people are opening up a new page in their history, a brilliant page in the life of the whole of mankind.

Absolutely different are the conditions in which the working people of the capitalist countries greet this noteworthy anniversary. They greet it in the midst of the second imperialist war begun by their governments. For over two years already the Japanese imperialists have been tearing the flesh of China, which is fighting for its independence. War is being waged in the very heart of Europe. The ruling circles of England, France and Germany are waging war *for world supremacy*. This war is the continuation of the many years of imperialist strife in the camp of capitalism. Three of the richest states—England, France and the U.S.A.—hold sway over the most important world routes and markets. They seized possession of the main sources of raw materials. In their hands are huge economic resources. They hold over one-half of mankind in subjection. They cover up the exploitation of the working people, the exploitation of the oppressed peoples with the false phantom of democracy so as the more easily to deceive the masses. Fighting against their world supremacy, and for their own mastery, are the other capitalist states, which came later on to the arena of colonial expansion. They want to divide anew, to their own advantage, the sources of raw materials, food, gold reserves, and the huge masses of people in the colonies. Such is the real meaning of this war, which is an unjust, reactionary, imperialist war. In this war the blame falls

on all the capitalist governments, and primarily the ruling classes of the belligerent states.

The working class cannot support such a war. The Communists have always fought against such a war. They repeatedly warned the working people that the ruling classes were preparing an annihilating, sanguinary butchery for hundreds of millions of people. The bourgeoisie prepared this war for years. They prepared it by their agreements, conferences, and blocs, using pacifist, allegedly peaceable phrases to cover up their brutal imperialist nature. They prepared it by their intrigues and provocations against the land of the Soviets. They prepared this war by the onslaught on Ethiopia, by the intervention in Spain, by the invasion of China. They directly prepared this war by the Munich Pact. The bourgeoisie began this war because they became hopelessly entangled in the insurmountable contradictions of the capitalist system and are endeavoring to solve these contradictions by means of new wars.

For over two decades the Soviet Union has conducted an increasing struggle for the maintenance of peace. It displayed supreme restraint and firmness in face of unceasing acts of provocation on its frontiers. It proposed general and partial disarmament, and the organization of collective security. It did everything in its power to help the establishment of a stable peace front. But the bourgeois governments rejected all its proposals. They continued their crazed policy of isolating the U.S.S.R. However, despite all machinations the Soviet Union continued to uphold the cause of peace. And even when it became clear to everybody that war was already inevitable the Soviet Union made a last effort to save peace. It undertook negotiations with the governments of England and France. But the provokers of war were aiming at something else. They were striving to utilize the negotiations to lull the vigilance of the masses, to rid themselves of the responsibility for the war prepared by them. They were inciting Poland

against the land of the Soviets. While engaged in negotiations with the U.S.S.R., they were trying surreptitiously to hound Germany against the U.S.S.R.

By concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany, the Soviet Union foiled the insidious plans of the provokers of anti-Soviet war. By this pact it placed its peoples beyond the bounds of the sanguinary slaughter and narrowed the arena of the European war conflagration. And when the Polish state—that real prison of peoples—fell to pieces, the Soviet Union gave a helping hand to the fraternal peoples of West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. It wrested thirteen million people from the slough of war, liberated them from the oppression of the Polish landlords and capitalists. It gave them the right themselves to determine their political and social order and guaranteed them freedom of national self-determination.

By its mutual assistance pacts with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the U.S.S.R. defended these countries from the plunderous designs of the imperialist states. By all its might it has rendered secure their independence, and strengthened the security of the Soviet frontiers. By handing over to Lithuania the city of Vilno which was seized twenty years ago by the Polish generals, the U.S.S.R. gave an unparalleled example of respect for the national rights of small nations.

By its declaration in favor of the cessation of the war, by its amity and frontier pact with Germany, the Soviet Union has made a new contribution to the cause of peace. It is hindering the provokers of war from drawing the Danube states and the Baltic countries into the war. It is frustrating the machinations of those who are striving to transform the European war into a world war. The working people of all countries will never forget this great service rendered by the Soviet Union.

However, the dark forces of war continue to rage. They want war "to a victorious finish," they want war to the fulfillment of their imperialist aims. For

this they are driving the peoples to the slaughter.

But what, proletarians and working people, do you stand to gain from this war?

Now already reaction is everywhere undertaking a furious offensive. Now already the bourgeois dictatorship is cynically casting off the "democratic" mask, crushing the movement of the working people, and establishing a regime of military terror. Now already the bourgeoisie are worsening your conditions both in the warring and non-warring countries. Now already they are depriving you of the remnants of your rights and achievements.

They are shamelessly plundering you by lengthening the working day, cutting wages, raising the price of articles of prime necessity. They are still further throttling millions of peasants with taxation. They are laying villages waste, leaving the fields uncultivated, by taking the peasants' sons away to the war. Your blood and sufferings are a source of enrichment for the parasitic gang of speculators and war free-booters. They are brazenly revelling in the rear, while compelling you to rot and die in the trenches at the front.

The bourgeoisie of the so-called neutral states are also warming their hands at the fire of war. Under the pharisaical mask of "neutrality" they are growing rich on war orders. The American bourgeoisie are interested in the further spread of the war, they are repealing the embargo on the export of arms to the warring countries because war orders guarantee enormous profits to the uncrowned kings of the war industry, and the manufacturers of guns, and planes and other types of military supplies. The Italian bourgeoisie are only waiting for a suitable moment to hurl themselves on the vanquished and snatch their share of the booty. All the governments of the "neutral" countries are using the war to plunder the masses of the people, to intensify reaction, to crush the working class movement.

*Workers!* Don't believe those who summon you to the war under the flag of national unity. What can there be in common between you and those who trade in guns and human blood? What unity can there be between exploited and exploiters? Don't believe those who are dragging you to the war under the false pretext of the defense of democracy. What right to speak of democracy have those who oppress India, Indo-China, the Arab countries, who keep half of the world in the chains of colonial slavery? By their loans the bankers of London and Paris have in the past saved, and continue now to save, the worse reactionary regimes in Europe. The Lords of Britain maintain reaction on all the five continents of the earth. The belauded democrats of France throw Communist deputies into jail, destroy the Communist press, abolish political liberties. *It is not for the freedom of nations that they are fighting, but for their enslavement. Not for the salvation of democracy from fascism, but for the triumph of reaction. Not for a stable peace, but for new imperialist conquests, fraught with new wars.*

But the bourgeoisie could not have begun or have waged this war had they not been aided by the treacherous top leaders of the Social-Democratic parties. These leaders are now coming forward as the pioneers of reaction. It is they who are taking up the bankrupt anti-Comintern banner. It is they who are now calling on the workers to die in order to restore the reactionary regime of the Pilsudski clique. It is the Blums who at the dictates of reaction disrupted the united working class and People's Front in France. It is on the demand of Blum that members of the Communist Parliamentary group are being court-martialled, that Communist Municipal Councils are being disbanded, and that Communists are being arrested in thousands. It is Blum together with Jouhaux, who—on orders from the magnates of finance capital—is splitting the French trade unions. It is the Blums, together with the British Labor leaders, who prevented

united action of the international proletariat.

*Proletarians and working people!* More than ever before you need fighting unity for the struggle against war, reaction, and the capitalist offensive. But now this unity is only possible apart from, and against, the leaders of Social-Democracy, who have crossed over wholly and completely to the service of the imperialists. There can be neither a united workers' front, nor people's front with them, or with the leaders of the other petty-bourgeois parties that are supporting the war.

Now working class unity, and the united people's front must be established from below in a struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie, against the top leaders of the Social-Democratic and other petty-bourgeois parties who have gone bankrupt and have crossed over to the camp of the imperialists, in a struggle to stop the imperialist war, that is bringing ruin, starvation and death to millions of working people.

Hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers now stand at the parting of the ways. Where is their place, in the camp of imperialist reaction, or with their class brothers waging a struggle against it? With the instigators of imperialist war, or with the millions of workers and peasants who are thirsting for peace? With the stranglers and butchers of liberty, or with those who are self-sacrificingly defending it? Their place is in the common fighting front of the great army of labor which is fighting for peace, bread and liberty.

In a ruthless struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the treacherous Social-Democratic leaders will the Communist and Social-Democratic workers hammer out unity in their ranks.

The working class, while exposing the plunderous character of the present war and mobilizing the widest masses against it, comes forward as the defender of the vital, fundamental interests of all working people of town and country, who bear on their backs all the burdens and sacrifices of the imperialist war begun by the

ruling classes. By coming forward as the basic force of the united people's front of struggle against war and reaction, the working class thereby upholds the interests of all working folk, of the entire people, for whom the war means countless hardships and the intensification of capitalist oppression.

By conducting a struggle against the enemy in its own country, the working class hammers out unity between the proletarians of all lands, hammers out the most unfailing instrument of its victory.

*Brother proletarians!* The Communist International calls you to the struggle against the imperialist war. It calls on you "*to be true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries.*" (Stalin.)

The Communist International calls you to its ranks, under the great banner of *Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.*

The Communist International calls on you to strengthen the fraternal alliance with the toilers of town and country, with the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It calls on you to defend the Chinese people against the imperialist plunderers.

*Proletarians, working people!* By your joint efforts put a stop to the nefarious crime being perpetrated. Come out against those who stand for the continuation of the war! Expose them as abettors of the imperialists, who are hurling millions of people to destruction for the sake of their mercenary interests, their criminal aims! Demand the release of the imprisoned vanguard fighters of the working class! Demand the arrest of the war freebooters and profiteers! Fight for the freedom of your organizations, of assembly and of your honest working class press! Defend every inch of your rights and your achievements. Don't allow the bourgeoisie to throw all the burdens of the war onto your backs. Wives, mothers and sisters, don't furtively wipe tears from your eyes, but demand—for all to hear—that your hus-



bands, sons and brothers are returned to you from the trenches.

Rally closer, working people, around the great land of socialism, render supreme support to its socialist peace policy, aimed at the well-being of all nations.

Let your battle-cry ring out to the whole world:

*Down with imperialist war!*

*Down with capitalist reaction!*

*Down with the war instigators, profiteers and freebooters!*

*No support for the policy of the ruling*

*classes aimed at continuing and spreading the imperialist slaughter!*

*Demand the immediate cessation of the plunderous, unjust imperialist war!*

*Peace to the peoples!*

*Bread, rights and freedom to the working people!*

*Long live the fraternal alliance of the workers of the whole world!*

*Long live the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of peace, freedom and socialism, the fatherland of the working people of all lands!*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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# The War and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries

BY GEORGI DIMITROFF

## I.

**T**HROUGHOUT all the years following the first world imperialist war the Communists, basing themselves on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, incessantly explained to the working people that capitalism, by its very nature, gives rise to wars, that the contradictions between the imperialist countries were not eliminated by Versailles and by the other imperialist peace treaties, but, on the contrary, that these contradictions would break out after some time with new and still greater force.

Lenin taught that wars are the inevitable accompaniment of imperialism. The plunder of foreign lands, the conquest and spoliation of colonies, the seizure of markets serve as the cause of wars between the capitalist states.

Stalin repeatedly uttered warnings regarding the danger of a new imperialist war and disclosed the causes giving rise to it. In his report at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in 1930, he said:

“The bourgeois states are furiously arming and re-equipping their forces. What for? Of course, not for a friendly talk, but for war. The imperialists need war because it is the only means of dividing the world afresh, dividing anew the markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for capital investment.”\*

In a talk with Roy Howard on March 1, 1936, Stalin stressed the point that the chief cause of wars lies in capitalism, in

its imperialist, predatory manifestations. He said at that time:

“You remember how the first World War arose. It arose out of the desire to redivide the world. Today we have the same background. There are capitalist states which consider that they were cheated in the previous redistribution of spheres of influence, territories, sources of raw materials, markets, etc., and which would want another redivision that would be in their favor. Capitalism in its imperialist phase is a system which considers war to be a legitimate instrument for settling international disputes, a legal method in fact, if not in law.”\*

The events of the recent period completely confirm the correctness of these far-sighted warnings uttered by Stalin. They also testify to how correct the Communists were when they pointed out that the peoples would, in the very nearest future, be hurled into the flames of war, if the international working class should fail, by its united and resolute militant actions, to curb in time the instigators and provokers of war. They also testify to how timely were the tenacious efforts of the Communist International, directed toward the establishment of a powerful fighting front against war.

The second imperialist war, which began with the onslaught on the peoples of Ethiopia, Spain and China, has now developed into a war between the biggest capitalist states. The war has been transferred to the heart of Europe, and threatens to become a world slaughter.

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\* J. V. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 256, International Publishers, New York.

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\* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, p. 6, International Publishers, New York.

In its character and essence, the present war is, on the part of both warring sides, an *imperialist, unjust war*, despite the fraudulent slogans being employed by the ruling classes of the warring capitalist states in their endeavor to hide their real aims from the masses of the people.

The character of a war, as Lenin taught, "depends not on who attacked and on whose side the 'enemy' is, but on *which class* is waging the war, what policy is being continued by the given war."

Now, as in 1914, the war is being waged by the imperialist bourgeoisie. This war is the direct continuation of the struggle between the imperialist powers for a new repartition of the earth, *for world domination*.

Only the blind can fail to see, and only out-and-out charlatans and deceivers can deny, that the present war between Britain and France, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, is being waged for colonies, sources of raw materials, for domination over sea routes, for the subjugation and exploitation of foreign peoples. As is well known, Great Britain is a huge empire with a colonial population of 480,000,000, while France possesses colonies inhabited by 70,000,000 people. Germany, which as a result of the first imperialist war was deprived of its colonies, is now putting forward claims for a division of the colonial booty in the hands of the British and French imperialists.

The bourgeoisie of England and France, however, have no intention of letting their huge possessions slip out of their hands. They want to hold undivided sway over hundreds of millions of colonial slaves, to maintain their imperialist positions, to ensure the possibility of new conquests, to enfeeble their rival and to place it in a position of dependence on them. Herein lies the essence of the present war. The clash of arms between the warring states is for hegemony in Europe, for colonial possessions in Africa and in other parts of the globe, for oil, coal, iron, rubber, and not at all in defense of "democracy," "liberty,"

"international law," and the guarantee of the independence of small countries and peoples, as is howled by the bourgeois press and the Social-Democratic deceivers of the working class.

The interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie also determine the position of the majority of the capitalist states not directly participating in the war. Their neutrality policy is hypocritical through and through and above all is this true of the neutrality of the biggest capitalist state—the U.S.A.

The American bourgeoisie did not lift a finger when Japan attacked China. What is more, they are in actual fact the chief contractors of war supplies to Japanese imperialism. Under the flag of neutrality the American imperialists are inflaming war in the Far East, so as to enfeeble Japan and China, and then, basing themselves on their might, to dictate their conditions to the belligerent countries and firmly to establish themselves in China.

Under the flag of neutrality the American bourgeoisie are encouraging the further inflammation of the European war, becoming in fact an arms factory for Great Britain and France, and raking in enormous war profits at the expense of the blood of the peoples of the warring countries. They are aiming to drive their rivals out of the world markets, to strengthen their imperialist positions and to consolidate their domination on the seas and oceans.

Just as hypocritical in character is the neutrality of the other non-belligerent capitalist countries. Their bourgeoisie are doing everything to pile up as big profits as possible out of the war. Therefore, even if they stand for peace for their own country, they encourage war between the other states. They use their neutrality as a commodity with which to haggle, endeavoring to sell it to the highest bidder.

Many of these neutral states, and above all Italy, are waiting for the time when, as the war goes on, the chances of victory for one side or the other become clear, so as to take the side of the strong, and to dig their teeth into the

vanquished and to tear away their share of the booty.

Thus the position both of the belligerent and of the "neutral" states shows with the utmost clarity that *the responsibility for the war lies with the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries and primarily with the ruling circles of the belligerent states.*

## II.

Two stages can be clearly discerned in the course of the second imperialist war. In the first stage, Italy, Germany and Japan came forward directly as aggressor states. They took the offensive, while the other capitalist states—England, France and the U.S.A.—retreated, in the endeavor to avoid a decisive clash with their rivals and to turn their expansion in another direction, against the land of socialism. Now, on the other hand, the imperialists of Britain and France have passed over to the offensive, have hurled their peoples into war against Germany, endeavoring in every way to win a number of other states to their side.

Whereas previously the above-mentioned European states were divided into aggressor and non-aggressor powers, that is, into those who were directly the war-makers and those who for the time being did not come out openly as aggressors, although behind the scenes they encouraged aggression against other countries, now this division does not correspond to the real position. This difference has disappeared. What is more, *it is the British and French imperialists who now come forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war.*

What has given rise to this change in the position of the chief imperialist rivals, a change of very substantial significance from the point of view of understanding the events now taking place?

As is well known, present-day Germany grew up on the basis of slogans of revenge against Versailles and of being the shock troops of international reaction against "world bolshevism," against the U.S.S.R. The National-Socialist regime

received every kind of support from British and French imperialism, precisely so that it could fulfil its "historic" anti-Bolshevik mission. It made wide use of the constant concessions made by Britain and France and, taking the law into its own hands, liquidated the Versailles Treaty, created an armed force, laid its hands on Austria, Czechoslovakia and Memel and won certain positions in Spain.

As long as the British and French imperialists hoped to turn Germany's expansion eastward, they encouraged in every way its aggressive strivings, doing this at the expense of other peoples under the flag of the "non-intervention" policy. They renounced collective security and transformed the League of Nations—their own creation—into a laughing stock. They also accepted with great satisfaction the conclusion of the much noised "Anti-Comintern" pact between Germany, Italy and Japan and the establishment of the so-called Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "triangle." The culminating point of this policy was the well-known deal at Munich, from whence the heads of the British and French governments returned home as the "saviors of peace," exultant that they had at length succeeded in turning the aggression of Germany against the U.S.S.R.

But by that time the Soviet Union constituted a gigantic force. Rallied around the tested and victorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people, by successfully fulfilling two huge five-year plans, had established a powerful socialist industry, had carried through the transfer of small peasant economy to the path of socialism, and had achieved the consolidation of the collective farm system. On this basis there was guaranteed the indestructible defensive capacity of the land of socialism, resting on the moral and political unity of its people, on the splendidly equipped Red Army, and the most profound Soviet patriotism. By the construction of socialist society and by its wise Stalinist peace policy, the Soviet Union immeasurably increased its importance on the international arena and won tremendous confidence and love

among the masses of the people of all countries, including Germany itself.

Therefore when, in the opinion of the imperialists, a suitable moment had arrived for Germany to fulfil its role as shock troop against the U.S.S.R., Germany could not make up its mind to do so. It had first to reckon with the economic and military might of the Soviet Union and with the moral unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, ready to defend their socialist country to the last drop of blood and capable of crushing any enemy; second, the rulers of Germany were compelled to take account of the fact that they would fail to rally the majority of the German people to a war against the great land of socialism.

In such a state of affairs, Germany was faced with the dilemma—*either* to fall into the position of underling of British and French imperialism, to go to war against the Soviet Union and risk its neck in this war; *or*, to make a decisive turn in its foreign policy and to take the path of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.

As the facts show, the leaders of Germany selected the second path.

At the same time, the ruling circles of Britain and France, on their part, while spending months of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. for the alleged purpose of establishing a common front against aggression, were in actual fact using every means possible to prevent this front from being established. Until the very last moment of the negotiations they did not in the least give up their striving to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into collision. This is also confirmed, by the way, by the *White Paper* published by the British government itself regarding the negotiations between the British ambassador, Neville Henderson, and Hitler on the eve of the German-Polish war.

But the British and French imperialists miscalculated. *They staked on an anti-Soviet war but lost.*

The Soviet Union, operating a *socialist foreign policy*, by concluding a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, frustrated the insidious plans of the pro-

vokers of war, ensured peace between the two biggest states in Europe and strengthened its influence over the entire course of international development.

After the conclusion of the German-Soviet treaty, the bourgeoisie of Britain and France, no longer having any hope of war by Germany against the U.S.S.R., turned to the path of armed struggle against their chief imperialist rival. They did this under the pretext of defending their vassal-reactionary-landlord Poland—the very Poland which the British and French imperialists had established as an outpost against the land of the Soviets and by whose hands they wanted in 1920 to strangle the young Soviet republic. The very same Poland whose potentates deprived Lithuania of Vilna and who not so long ago tore a piece out of the territory of Czechoslovakia. *They staked on Poland but here also they lost.* The Polish state, which constituted a prison of peoples with its regime of reaction and terror, oppression and plunder of millions of Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Polish working people themselves, at the very first military blow, disclosed all its internal rottenness and fell to pieces in some two weeks.

In these conditions, the Soviet Union, pursuing its own independent policy, a policy dictated by the interests of socialism which coincide with the interests of the working people of all lands, undertook resolute measures to ensure peace throughout the east of Europe. By the entry of the Red Army into West Ukraine and West Byelo-Russian, the Soviet people rendered aid to their brothers groaning under the yoke of the Polish gentry, extricated 13,000,000 working people from sanguinary slaughter, emancipated them from capitalist slavery, opened up before them the road to a happy life and secured them freedom of national and cultural development. By concluding the German-Soviet amity and frontier treaty the U.S.S.R. not only eliminated the immediate danger of war for its peoples but also created a barrier against the extension of the imperialist war.

By concluding mutual assistance pacts with the small Baltic countries, which were constantly menaced with the danger of falling victim to the big imperialist states, the U.S.S.R. established the guarantee of their national independence and secured their defense against imperialist aggression, and strengthened the defensive capacity of its own country.

The transfer of the city of Vilna and the Vilna region to Lithuania once again clearly shows the exceptional attention displayed by the land of socialism toward the national interests of small peoples. There never has been nor is there today in the world any state, other than the Soviet Union, which has, of its own accord, ceded a whole region to a small people living on its borders, out of regard for the national interests of this people.

At a time when imperialist war is raging in Europe, when the bourgeoisie are inflaming chauvinism, inciting one nation against another, the Soviet Union establishes good neighborly relations with the surrounding states, being guided in this by the Stalinist policy of peace and friendship of nations. By its entire policy the U.S.S.R. is rendering an inestimable service to the cause of world peace, in which the peoples of all lands are interested.

*But the imperialists of Great Britain and France, having taken the path of war, do not want to leave it.* On the contrary, they are dragging the peoples further and further onto the fields of battle, covering up in every way the real character of the war. With this end in view they are setting into motion all the means of the ideological deception of the masses.

The older generation of workers who experienced the first world imperialist war well remember how at that time the press of Britain and France sought day in and day out to prove that the governments of these countries were waging war only in "defense of the fatherland," against "Prussian militarism," while the German press in its turn sought to convince people that the war was being waged against "Russian tsarism." In ac-

tual fact, however, as is well known, what was taking place was a struggle between two groups of imperialists for the repartition of the earth.

Now the ruling classes of Britain and France who today, as at that time, are pursuing imperialist aims, have altered the means and slogans of ideological deception in accordance with the situation of today. Speculating on the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses, they put forward the slogan of "anti-fascist" war and proclaim that their war against Germany is a "war of democracy against fascism," a war against "Hitlerism," a war for the freedom of nations.

But what fine apostles of "anti-fascist" war these are, who for so many years gave every indulgence to those against whom they are fighting today, and who disrupted the united front of the people's struggle against fascism and war, when the entire international situation advanced this struggle as the most important task of the moment. What fine "fighters for the freedom of nations" these are, who for centuries have kept millions of colonial slaves in bondage and who play with the fate of small nations as bargaining counters in their imperialist deals. What fine "defenders of democracy" these are who in their own countries are destroying the last remnants of the democratic rights of the popular masses, closing down their newspapers, removing their elected representatives and persecuting all who raise their voice against the present anti-popular war.

The French bourgeoisie is now reviving the blackest days of counter-revolutionary terror. Since the days of the sanguinary suppression of the Paris Commune, France has not experienced such a drive of reaction against the working class. The banning of the Communist Party of France, the arrest of the revolutionary representatives of the French proletariat in Parliament—the most consistent fighters against reaction of every kind—serves as a clear proof of how false and hypocritical are the declarations regarding the democratic anti-fascist character of the war.

The reactionary bourgeoisie hurls itself against the Communists because *it fears the truth about the war more than fire*, because the Communist Party is the only party that can organize the struggle of the proletariat and all working people against the imperialist war.

The bourgeoisie is doing everything to compel millions of people to go to war and to die for a cause that is alien to them. But the proletariat, the working people, having nothing to defend in this war. It is not their war, but the war of their exploiters. It brings them suffering, privation, ruin and death. Were they to support such a war they would merely defend the interests of their enslavers and oppressors, they would be supporting capitalist slavery.

*For the working class there is only one true stand—irreconcilable, courageous struggle against the imperialist war, struggle against the culprits and vehicles of this war primarily in their own country, struggle to end this predatory war. This is the most just of causes, one dictated by the fundamental interests of the proletariat and all working people.*

### III.

The war that has unfolded between the imperialist countries has radically changed the international situation.

The war is leading to an acute sharpening of all the basic contradictions of the capitalist world. The longer it goes on, the more does it sharpen the contradictions between the imperialist states. It is sharpening the contradictions between the metropolitan countries and the colonies, between the dominating and the oppressed nations. And the most important thing is that it is laying bare the class relations in bourgeois society and sharpening to the uttermost limits the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the whole world of the exploited and the handful of exploiters.

The war is disclosing all the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and is giving rise to a most acute and profound crisis of capitalism.

The imperialist war is calling forth a regrouping of the class forces in the capitalist countries. In the camp of the bourgeoisie, the group interests of its different sections are receding before the common class interests of the bourgeoisie. The previously existing division into various opposing groups, into more reactionary and less reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie, is yielding place to their common interest in conducting the war and preserving capitalism. "National Unity" is being established from the extreme reactionary to the extreme "Left" wing of the bourgeoisie, including the top leaders of the petty bourgeois parties. But at the same time the other pole is witnessing the beginning of the accelerated departure of the war-ruined masses from the position of support for bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties to the position of struggle against the imperialist war and against the bourgeoisie waging it.

Decisive significance in the administration of the state, both in the warring and in the majority of the other capitalist countries, is being assumed by the most bellicose, chauvinistic, most reactionary elements of the financial bourgeoisie. A regime of military dictatorship is in fact being established, although frequently masked by various outward decorations, for the suppression of the indignation of the masses against the war and for the safeguarding of the bourgeois system against possible convulsions. Everywhere in the capitalist world, not only in the warring countries, a furious reactionary drive is taking place against the working class and the toiling masses.

Thus, that which in the period preceding the present war was characteristic of the regime of the fascist countries is becoming—in the conditions of the war let loose—increasingly prevalent in the countries of so-called bourgeois democracy.

In these changed conditions *the tasks facing the working class also assume a new character. Whereas formerly the task was to concentrate all forces on the struggle to avert the imperialist war, to*

*curb the warmongers, now the mobilization of the widest masses for the struggle against the war already being waged, and to bring it to an end, is the prime task of the moment.* Whereas formerly it was a question of barring the road to the onslaught of capital and fascist reaction, now the working class is faced with the task of conducting a most resolute struggle against the regime being established of unbridled terror, oppression and plunder of the popular masses; it is faced with the task of insuring that the ruling classes are prevented from placing the burdens of the war on the backs of the working people.

Whereas formerly the efforts of the working class were directed primarily to the defense of the daily interests of the working people and to guarding them against the plunder and license of the capitalist exploiters—and it was impossible, by virtue of the absence of the necessary preconditions, to place the abolition of capitalist slavery on the order of the day—now, to the extent that the crisis called forth by the war grows deeper, this task will face the working class with ever-growing acuteness.

The changed situation and the new tasks of the working class also demand a corresponding change in the tactics of the Communist Parties. The united proletarian and people's front tactics pursued in recent years made it possible for the proletariat and the laboring masses temporarily to hold up the offensive of capital and imperialist reaction in a number of countries. It helped the Spanish people to conduct an armed struggle for two and a half years against internal reaction and the foreign interventionists. It made it possible for the proletariat of France to secure considerable social gains. The people's front movement awakened wide masses of people in town and country to activity, and rallied them to the struggle to uphold their own interests against the reactionary cliques. This movement rendered it possible to postpone for a time the outbreak of the European war.

The tactics of the united people's front are fully applicable even now in China

and also in colonial and dependent countries, the peoples of which are conducting a struggle for their national liberation.

But these tactics, *in the form* in which they were conducted prior to the present war, are no longer suitable for other countries. The necessity of changing the tactics is conditioned by the change in the situation and the tactics facing the working class, and also by the position occupied in connection with the imperialist war by the leading circles of the parties that previously took part in the people's front.

The tactics of the united people's front presupposed joint action by the Communist Parties and the Social-Democratic and petty bourgeois "democratic" and "radical" parties against reaction and war. But the top sections of these latter parties have now openly passed over to the position of active support for the imperialist war. The Social-Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" funkeys of the bourgeoisie are brazenly distorting the anti-fascist slogans of the people's front, and are using them to deceive the masses of the people and to cover up the imperialist character of the war. Under the flag of "national unity" they have in fact established a common front with the capitalists, a front stretching from the Conservatives to the Labor leaders—in England, and from the Cagouards to the Socialists—in France.

The top leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions shamelessly took up front-rank posts in the camp of the imperialists from the very first day of the war. As long as the ruling classes of Britain and France had hopes of directing Germany's expansion against the Soviet Union and of utilizing the reactionary regime of the German bourgeoisie against the revolutionary working class movement, the Social-Democratic leaders stood for the policy of concessions to the desires of Germany. They preached "integral pacifism," fulminated against those who exposed the men of Munich, preached "peace at any price" and proposed the peaceful regulation of questions concern-



ing the distribution of sources of raw materials, spheres of influences and colonies.

But when it became clear that German expansion was taking place not in the direction of the Soviet Union, but against the spheres of domination and the colonies of Britain and France, and that, on the other hand, the Soviet Union had no intention of pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for them, the "socialist" pacifists became transformed into the most furious instigators of war. They directed the poisonous sting of their slander against the land of socialism, against the revolutionary workers and the Communist Parties.

The leading circles of the Second International are fulfilling the most filthy and criminal role in the blood-dripping slaughter machine of the war. They are deceiving the masses by their homilies regarding the anti-fascist character of the war and are helping the bourgeoisie to drive the peoples to the slaughterhouse. The ruling classes well know that the masses of the people will not believe the British lords, the French bankers and their press when they try to convince them of the anti-fascist character of the war, and allege that it is being waged in defense of Poland and in the interests of their own peoples. In the war of 1914-1918 already the bourgeoisie was aware that without the assistance of Social-Democracy it would be unable to set alight the flames of chauvinism, to deceive the masses with the slogan of "the defense of the fatherland" and to drive them to the field of death for the sake of its imperialist interests. Now it is again placing great hopes on Social-Democracy.

The behavior of the leading circles of the Second International and their social-chauvinistic position in the war also throws a vivid light on the whole of their previous policy, the policy of stubbornly sabotaging unity in the ranks of the working class and its struggle directed toward averting the imperialist war. The Communist International did everything to unite, to rally together the forces of the working class for this end.

It addressed to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions a proposal for united action by the international proletariat against the Italian onslaught on Ethiopia. It proposed joint action by all working class organizations to repulse Japanese imperialism when it attacked the Chinese people. On numerous occasions, as everybody knows, it addressed a similar proposal for joint action in defense of the Spanish people. The Communists persistently pointed out at that time that the policy of "non-intervention" was leading to the kindling of a new imperialist war. At the time of "Munich" the Communists strove to secure the establishment of a real front of the peoples, with the participation of the U.S.S.R., against the provokers of war. But the Social-Democratic leaders systematically disrupted all these efforts of the Communists.

It now becomes clear to all who do not wish to close their eyes to incontrovertible facts that it is precisely the Social-Democratic leaders—all these Blums and Paul Faures, Citrines, Atlees, Greenwoods, and De Brouckeres—who bear the *direct responsibility* for the fact that they, by disrupting the united actions of the international proletariat capable of preventing war, *rendered it possible for the bourgeoisie to doom millions of people to destruction for the sake of its mercenary interests.*

It is Blum and his confederates together with the British and French bourgeoisie who strangled republican Spain by the policy of "non-intervention," supported the Munich "peace-makers" for the purpose of war against the Soviet Union, and who now are demanding that the working people should go to their death for the restoration of the bankrupt reactionary state of the Polish landlords and capitalists.

It is he and his confederates who disrupted the united working class and People's Front in France and opened up the floodgates to the most furious bourgeois reaction against the working class. It is they, together with Jouhaux, who are now stabbing the French proletariat

in the back, by splitting its united trade unions and placing them at the service of the war. It is Blum and his confederates who are now dragging the workers and peasants to shed blood and die for the maintenance of the colonial domination of the British and French imperialists over the peoples of India, Morocco, Indo-China.

It is the Blums, the De Brouckeres, the British Labor leaders, together with the bourgeoisie of France and Britain, who are taking up the discredited banner of the "Anti-Comintern" which the German National-Socialists were compelled by the force of circumstances to give up. It is the Social-Democratic Ministers of a number of countries who refused to sell arms to the Spanish people for its heroic struggle, and who now, behind the mask of neutrality, are assisting the war contractors in every way in their trade in the weapons of death, and are inflaming the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

It clearly follows from the above that *the Communists can have no united front whatsoever with those who are in a common front with the imperialists and support the criminal anti-popular war.* The working class and all working people have nothing in common with the Social-Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" politicians who are betraying the vital interests of the popular masses. *Between the masses of the people and these lackeys of imperialism lies the abyss of sanguinary war.*

But in the conditions of the war and of the crisis which it has called into being the need for working class unity and for rallying the wide masses of the working people around the working class rises more acutely than formerly. Millions of working people in the capitalist world, and above all in the warring countries, are vitally interested in bringing about militant working class unity and establishing a real popular front against the war let loose by the capitalists, against raging reaction and the unbridled plunder of the masses. And the Communists will not only not cease the struggle for unity of the proletarian

ranks and for rallying together the masses of the working people, but will also increase their efforts tenfold in this direction.

However, the question now of bringing working class unity about and of creating a united popular front is raised *in a new fashion.* In the period preceding the war, the Communists strove to bring about united working class action by agreements between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. Now such an agreement is no longer thinkable. In the present situation, working class unity can and must be achieved *from below*, on the basis of the development of the movement of the working masses themselves and in a resolute struggle against the treacherous leaders of the Social-Democratic parties. And this process will be facilitated to a great degree by the comradely relations that have been established in recent years between the Communists and a considerable section of the Social-Democratic workers in the joint struggle against reaction and the war-makers.

It will also be facilitated by the fact that the Social-Democratic parties, under the weight of the criminal policy of their leaderships, will increasingly disintegrate, and the healthy proletarian section of these parties will join with the Communists in taking the path of struggle against the imperialist war and capitalism.

In the preceding period the Communists strove to secure the establishment of a united popular front by agreements with the Social-Democratic and other petty bourgeois "democratic" and "radical" parties in the person of their leading bodies, on the basis of a common platform of struggle against fascism and war. But to the extent that the top leaders of these parties have crossed over wholly and completely into the camp of the imperialists, while certain of them, such as the French Radicals, are directly in charge of the conduct of the war, there can be no question of such agreements. Now the mustering of the working class, of the basic masses of the peasantry, of the urban working folk

and of the progressive intelligentsia can and must be brought about apart from and against the leadership of these parties, on the basis of the struggle against the imperialist war and reaction in a united front *from below*. *Such a united fighting front of the masses cannot be brought about without a most resolute struggle against the Social-Democratic, "democratic" and "radical" flunkeys of imperialism, for the elimination of the influence of these agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement and for their isolation from the masses of the working people.*

#### IV.

History now faces the working class of the capitalist countries with tasks of enormous importance. They have to extricate millions of people from the abyss of war, to save their countries and peoples from ruin, devastation and destruction. Only the working class, taking the lead of the basic masses of the peasantry and the working people of the cities, is in a position resolutely to resist the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to put an end to their sanguinary criminal work and to do away once and for all with the causes giving rise to imperialist wars.

These tasks, which face the working class, are quite capable of fulfillment. Now, the forces of the international proletariat have grown immeasurably by comparison with the first imperialist war. Its vanguard detachment—the working class of the U.S.S.R.—has established an impregnable fortress of socialism. The existence of the Soviet Union multiplies the might of the working class of all the capitalist countries and fortifies their confidence in their own strength.

As distinct from the first imperialist war, the trust of the working masses in the bourgeoisie, in capitalism, has already at the beginning of the present war been considerably undermined and will continue increasingly to be undermined. The Social-Democratic leaders will not succeed for long in deceiving the masses, as they were able to do during the first imperialist war. Their treacher-

ous policy, their anti-Communist, anti-Soviet drive, is already causing acute discontent in the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties themselves. As the war goes on, the indignation of the masses will grow and the anti-war movement will become increasingly extensive. The most furious persecution by the bourgeoisie is not in a position to hold up and stifle the struggle of the working people against the imperialist war.

The historic role of the Communist vanguard of the working class is at the present moment to organize and to take the lead of this struggle. If the Communists are to be able successfully to fulfil this role of theirs, they must show an example of the correct understanding of the essence of the present war and utterly smash the legend regarding its alleged anti-fascist, just character, so assiduously spread about by the Social-Democratic leaders. *Explain, explain and once again explain the real state of affairs to the masses*—this above all at the present moment is the most important condition for the mobilization of the masses for the struggle against the imperialist war and capitalist reaction.

The unfolding of a really wide movement against the imperialist war and reaction can only be successful if the Communists act and conduct the struggle in the very midst of the masses, keep a sharp watch as to their state of mind, take careful heed of their voice, and take their needs and sufferings to heart. The Communists must not run ahead. They must put forward slogans that correspond to the concrete situation, slogans that can be understood and grasped by the masses, they must always take the lead of the movement of the masses and lead them on to the solution of the maturing new tasks.

The present exceptionally serious situation demands of the Communists that they do not give way at all to repression and persecution, but come forward resolutely and courageously against the war, against the bourgeoisie of their own country, that they act in the way Lenin taught, in the way taught now by the

great, wise leader of the working people, Stalin.

The Communist Parties must rapidly reorganize their ranks in accordance with the conditions of the war, purge their ranks of rotten, capitulatory elements, and establish iron Bolshevik discipline. They must concentrate the fire against opportunism, which is expressed in slipping into the position of "defending the fatherland," in support of the fairy tale about the anti-fascist character of the war, and in retreat before the acts of repression of the bourgeoisie. And the sooner the Communist Parties achieve all this, the better will they be able to carry through their independent leading role in the working class movement and the more successful can they fulfil the tasks now facing them.

As the war goes on, all the Communist Parties, all working class organizations, all active workers are put to the supreme test. Individual weak elements, faint hearts will drop away at sharp turns. Elements alien to the working class, careerists, renegades, who have tacked themselves onto the Communist Party, will be thrown overboard. The Communist Parties as a whole will undoubtedly stand the test. They will become still

better steeled in the coming battles. New hundreds of thousands of fighters for the working class cause will fill the ranks of the army of Communism.

The Communist Parties and the working class of the capitalist countries will be inspired by the heroic example of the Russian Bolsheviks, by the example of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which in 1914-1918 showed the proletariat the true way out of the war and subsequently secured the victory of socialism over one-sixth of the globe.

By holding aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, and strengthening the bonds of fraternal solidarity between the working class of all countries the Communists will thereby help all working people to fulfil their historic mission.

*The imperialists of the warring countries have begun the war for a new partition of the earth, for world domination, dooming millions of people to destruction.*

*It is for the working class to put an end to this war in its own way, in its own interests and in the interests of the entire world of labor, thus creating the conditions for the abolition of the fundamental causes of imperialist wars.*

October, 1939.

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## In Search of War Aims

THE English and French imperialists are waging war without being able to convince the masses of the necessity of the war. They cannot let their *true* war aims be known since no English worker, no French peasant, is prepared to sacrifice himself for the imperialist interests of the ruling circles of England and France. The English and French imperialists are careful not to say outright: We are waging war in order to curb our German competitors. We are waging war because we regard the plundering of colonies as our unchallengeable privilege. We are waging war because Germany has not done us the favor of mortally weakening itself by a military clash with the Soviet giant and, at the same time, checking the development of socialism. The peoples will refuse to march to their death for these *true* war aims and, for that reason, Chamberlain and Daladier are compelled to deceive the masses with other war aims, to invent something for which the masses are prepared to lay down their lives.

The English and French imperialists hitherto have not succeeded in inventing a popular war aim acceptable to the masses. The Social-Democratic and "democratic" agents of big capital whose function is to influence and mislead the masses by means of "ideological" ballyhoo, see, much to their horror, that the catch-words used hitherto are no longer capable of arousing a war spirit among the toilers. They therefore keep on appealing to the governments to hurry and finally think up something new and lend the war a seeming justification. The governments, in turn, demand that the "ideologists" of capitalism cook up a war aim for them even if they have to break their necks, an aim that will, on the one hand, conceal the true war aims and, on the

other hand, has sufficient "drawing power" to pull the masses behind it.

In their replies to Hitler, Daladier and Chamberlain attempted to invent something new without succeeding in producing the desired war spirit in France and England. In his radio speech on October 10, Daladier even went so far as to indicate the *real* war aims in nebulous words when he said: "If we really want peace, lasting peace, we must finally understand that the time of conquests is past, the time when conquests can bring prosperity. . . ." In other words: as long as England and France were after conquests, these conquests were a source of "prosperity"—for the English and French capitalists. But now that England and France have conquered the most lucrative colonies, the entire world is supposed to recognize these conquests as legitimate and to regard the status fixed in the Versailles Treaty as final.

The conquest of large parts of the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia and Lithuania by the Polish Pans has therefore brought prosperity (certainly not to the toilers who were reduced to the worst poverty); now that these conquests have been ended, Mr. Daladier considers this a reason for driving the people of France into war. To be sure, the people of France are of a different mind and do not want to die so that the Polish landowners may once more wield the whip and plunder the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian peasants.

In order to overcome the justified revulsion of the English and French toilers for such a war, the "ideologists" of big capital are laboring to cook up the most elevated and glittering war aims possible.

On September 23, the English "pacifist," Norman Angell, stated in the magazine *Time and Tide*: "What we lack are

not *material* powers, but the *moral* ability to use these powers for really common aims." In other words: England and France have enough guns, airplanes and sources of raw material to wage the war, but what is lacking are the "moral" pretexts with which the masses are won for war. In order to correct this defect, Norman Angell proposes that the state federation of England, France, the Scandinavian states, the Netherlands, the English Dominions and the United States of America be advanced as the war aim. At all events, America can predominate in such an empire and defend this empire "to the last drop of blood and to the last dollar." Such a super-empire would be strong enough to ensure lasting peace. This idea of a "Federation of Democratic States" is being energetically propagated in England. A newly established society occupies itself with the propaganda for such an "international order which will once and for all put an end to aggression." The purpose of this propaganda is obvious: the peoples want peace. The "ideologists" of big capital now try to convince the peoples that the war must be waged in order to federate all the "democratic" states into a super empire and thereby to produce the basis for lasting peace.

This idea put on the market as a brand new product is in reality an old unsalable product of imperialism. It was none other than Trotsky who, during the first imperialist war, tried to thwart Lenin's revolutionary demands by means of such propaganda for a "United States of Europe." At that time, Lenin exposed and demonstrated the thoroughly reactionary character of this slogan:

"A United States of Europe under capitalism is equivalent to an agreement to divide up the colonies. Under capitalism, however, no other basis, no other principle of division is possible except force. . . . Division cannot take place except in 'proportion to strength.' And strength changes in the course of economic development. . . . There is and there can be no other way of testing the real strength of a capitalist state than that of war. . . ."

"Of course, *temporary* agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible. In this sense the United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America. . . ."

The profound truth of this statement remains unchanged to this day. The "democratic" war propagandists have taken over Trotsky's thoroughly reactionary slogan and adapted it to the conditions of the second imperialist war. The united "democratic" states, including America, is nothing more than a trust of the richest imperialists for the suppression of socialism and for the defense of the stolen colonies against the states which came off worse in the partition of the world, primarily against Germany. Any such super empire would not be an insurance of peace but right from the start machinery producing new wars.

Some propagandists of capitalism even go further than the supporters of the "United Democratic States." They want the federation of *all* capitalist states, including Germany, against the forces of socialism. The American columnist, Dorothy Thompson, characterized the European war as follows in the *New York Herald Tribune* of October 13:

"It is the war of the European spirit against an alien spirit. . . . This war is a civil war to force Germany back into Western civilization and then reorganize and strengthen that civilization by cooperative efforts.

"The peace terms cannot be written. . . . They must be created. . . . In order to make that peace one must have Germany back in the body of Western civilization."

The highpoint of this "body of Western civilization" was Munich, *the war conspiracy of the capitalist powers against socialism*. Germany is to be forced by the war to return to this

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 140. International Publishers, New York.

"Western civilization" and fulfil its "task" as the "battering-ram" against socialism. This idea was expressed even more clearly by another American publicist, Walter Lippmann. On October 12, he wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"The fact is that although Poland and Czechoslovakia must be reconstituted in the interest of Germany and of Europe, in the face of the Russian development they cannot now be reconstituted, except under German protection. But Nazism is incapable of providing this German protection to the borderland peoples of Central Europe. . . .

"There can be no safety for Germany or for Europe except through a Germany capable of becoming the protector of the European borderland. There is and always has been such a Germany. Whether it can emerge and take command before the situation becomes utterly catastrophic is the great question of our time. . . .

"If they [the English and French imperialists] convince the Germans that the creation of a strong conservative Germany is their only real war aim, they may yet save the world from great danger and incalculable misery."

Thus, Walter Lippmann appeals to the German bourgeoisie to take over "protection" of the "borderland peoples"—protection against whom? Naturally, against socialism, against the "utterly catastrophic situation" in which the capitalists and landowners are being driven out of the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, against the "great

danger" that the peoples shake off the yoke of capitalism. The American publicist therefore gives the English and French capitalists the urgent advice to proclaim the creation of a "strong conservative Germany" as the "only real war aim," hence the creation of a reactionary regime in Germany which will regard the "protection" of the European capitalists against the forces of socialism as its most important task.

As we see, all these war aims proposed by the "ideologists" of imperialism stem from the same train of thought: the war must be waged in order to bring about the strongest possible and most aggressive possible bloc of the capitalist powers against socialism, against the Soviet Union. However, this so-to-speak "ideological" justification of the imperialist war has one big disadvantage for the belligerent imperialists: It comes entirely too close to the *truth*. This is precisely what the masses suspect: that the war is not being waged for justice and freedom, but as a war for the defense of stolen colonies and as a war for the creation of a Germany that will return to the policy of Munich and will pass over, in the service of Western capital, to attack the land of socialism. And it is just this war that the masses do not want to wage, this war for the arch-reactionary interests of decaying capitalism. That is why in England and France they are still looking for a war aim that will prevent the peoples from recognizing the *true* war aims of the bourgeoisie.

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# The Protection of Peace for Small Nations

**T**HE socialist Soviet power has given more than sixty nations, which were oppressed by Russian imperialism of the old tsarist empire with the utmost cruelty, the possibility of an all-sided national development. United by socialism, joined together in an invincible union of Socialist Republics, all nations of the Soviet state enjoy not only equal rights, economic, political and cultural equality, but also the most powerful protection against every hostile aggressor, the greatest possible guarantee of their peaceful development.

A different fate befell those nations of the old tsarist empire which were torn from their brother nations by the forcible intervention of the imperialist powers and, pushed around by the English, French and German imperialists, became completely dependent on the great imperialist powers; with incomparable cynicism, this condition was described as "independence."

The imperialist Great Powers did not deny for a moment that with their arbitrary setting up of states in Eastern Europe, they were only pursuing the aim of erecting a "sanitary cordon" against the land of socialism, a political "Maginot line," a system of fortified attacking points against the socialist Soviet Union. They saw to it that in all of these states, under the "protectorate" of the English, French and Germans interchangeably, the worst reaction came to power, that in all these states the oppression of the toilers assumed the most terrible forms. In all of these states the bloodiest dictatorships were the darlings of the "Western democracies."

The peoples had to suffer and remain silent. In London, Paris or Berlin was determined whether, like the Western

Ukrainians, West Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians of the land around Vilna, they fell under the barbarous foreign rule of the Polish Pans, or whether, like other peoples, they just vegetated in small states whose reactionary bourgeoisie blindly obeyed the instructions of foreign imperialists. The nations themselves, the toiling masses, were never asked what solution they themselves desired; their so-called "independence" consisted just in this, that they were nothing more than silent pawns in the game of the big imperialists.

These facts were by no means unknown, and even bourgeois politicians and journalists have pointed out from time to time that the saber-drawn border between Poland and the Soviet Union would be untenable in the long run, that the justification for a state could not consist exclusively in the fact that it was a part of a so-called "sanitary cordon" against socialism. The inevitable has finally happened; the so-called "sanitary cordon" has collapsed and the natural affinity of brother peoples is beginning to assert itself. The Soviet Union has freed 11,000,000 unspeakably oppressed Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians from intolerable foreign rule, has given them the full right of self-determination and has received them of their own free will into the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, into the great brotherhood of free Soviet peoples. The Soviet Union has thereby not only led them out of the hell of capitalism, but also out of the hell of the imperialist war; breathing freely in the world of socialism, they enter the world of peace.

The Soviet Union, however, has not only saved the Western Ukrainians and West Byelo-Russians, but also the small



Baltic nations from imperialist war. Hitherto these nations were defenseless and exposed to the arbitrary decisions of the Great Powers. Their lands were regarded as natural "deploying grounds" for imperialist armies. Their "neutrality," their "independence," meant only that they were forced to subordinate themselves to the wishes of the imperialist Great Powers. German imperialism established itself in Finland and primarily in Esthonia where it united all the forces of counter-revolution around German groups. English imperialism acquired large stretches of land on the islands extending along the Baltic coast in order to establish a military foothold. Under various imperialist influences, the Baltic states were transformed into hotbeds of anti-Soviet intrigues and machinations. And up to the last moment England attached the greatest value on keeping open these "deploying grounds" to German imperialism against the land of socialism.

The peoples of the Baltic states were always confronted by the menace of war and that in the full consciousness of their defenselessness.

An end was now put to this intolerable condition; the Soviet Union assumed the military protection of the Baltic states by means of mutual assistance pacts, and thereby gave them the most powerful guarantee for peace. The Soviet Union has done even more; it has rendered the economic development of these countries secure and has opened up the prospect of a brighter future to the peoples of the Baltic. Lastly, it has set about the just solution of the national question in these territories: it has reunited the Lithuanians, who had fallen under the foreign domination of the Polish Pans, with their brothers and has returned to Lithuania the territory of Vilna, of which Poland had once robbed it. Through this wise and just policy, the Soviet Union has finally removed the tinder which the imperialist powers had been piling up for twenty years in the infamous "sanitary cordon" and has converted a mine-field of imperialism into a field of peaceful labor.

One would think that not only every Socialist but also every honest democrat could not help but unreservedly acknowledge this truly historic accomplishment. But not so the so-called "Socialists" who occupy the leading functions in the Second International. With a howl of unparalleled rage, they answer the peace work of the socialist Soviet Union which in a few weeks removed this mass of tinder which the imperialist states have been piling up for twenty years.

It is "treason," they sputter, for the Soviet Union to have freed 11,000,000 Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians and to have assured their advancement and their peace; thus, these gentlemen would have preferred to hand over these toilers to German imperialism. This preference is entirely in accord with the mental attitude of so-called "Socialists" who, without shame, called the barbaric Polish foreign domination "national freedom" and expected the oppressed Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians to be drawn into the war for the maintenance of this intolerable tyranny. Of course the Socialist workers have an opinion different from that of the hired men of imperialism disguised as "Socialists." Of the many expressions of opinion, we wish to cite only the resolution of the Maidstone organization of the English Labor Party published by the *Daily Worker* of London on September 22. This resolution states:

"We know full well that without such a step all of Poland, the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia would have come under the domination of Germany within a week. We greet the intervention of the Soviet Union which saved more than 11,000,000 people from the National-Socialist yoke and gave them the possibility of leading a life of human dignity, of living without fear of the morrow, of enjoying all the national and cultural rights that heretofore they had not known."

But to the "Socialist" leaders, it appears execrable to liberate people from capitalist oppression, which is oppression irrespective of whether it is perpetrated on them by the Polish Pans or German conquerors. And they do not

howl any less about the protection of peace which the Soviet Union undertook in the Baltic states than about the freeing of Western Ukraine and Byelorussia. The same "Socialists" who saw a "progressive act" in the military conquest of Austria by German imperialism, and characterized the struggle for the independence of Austria as "reactionary," suddenly shed tears over the alleged loss of "independence" of the Baltic states which actually rescued and secured their own independence through the pacts concluded with the Soviet Union.

What did it matter to them that Lithuania got back the territory that had been robbed by Poland, that the Soviet Union through its Red Army guarantees the peace of the Baltic peoples, that the trade agreement assures the economic development of these countries, that the friends of Mr. Alfred Rosenberg, the Baltic barons, are requested to migrate to Germany, that the toilers on the Baltic Sea can breathe freely for the first time in twenty years!

All this doesn't mean a thing to these so-called "Socialists." They who are trying to drag all of the neutral states into the imperialist war, are beyond themselves with rage because some of these states have been put out of reach of the imperialist clutches, because the socialist Soviet Union stands guard over their peace and because this example has a

great effect on other peoples, above all, on the Balkan people who see in the great socialist peace power more and more the protective barrier against the spread of the imperialist war to new areas of Europe.

The Soviet Union strives to keep the imperialist war away from as many peoples as possible. The so-called Socialists of the Second International strive to drag as many peoples as possible into the imperialist war.

The toilers in every land will most assuredly decide in favor of socialism, which removes the tinder accumulated by the imperialists, which reunites the nations forcibly torn apart by imperialism, which helps the common interests of the peoples to assert themselves, which strives to extend the area of peace and to restrict the area of war. But the so-called "Socialists" who shed tears for all the imperialist tinder that has been eliminated, who expect the peoples to take up arms for the restoration of Polish rule over millions of people, who defend the interests of the landowners and capitalists everywhere as "national interests," who strive to extend the field of war over the whole earth—these so-called "Socialists" will receive a well-earned kick from the peoples and will fly where they can drink in brotherhood with the Polish ex-Pans and can find a miserable self-satisfaction in impotent curses against socialism.

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# Friedrich Adler Recalls the First International For a Minute

THE Social-Democratic privy councilors, secret agents and open hirelings of finance capital should have had the right to expect that Friedrich Adler, who is on the verge of resigning as secretary of the Second International which is in the process of dissolution, would "tactfully" spare them the shameful embarrassment of recalling the "glorious memory" of the First International as Engels so movingly described it. The first embarrassment overcome, the Government Socialists and Socialists who were expecting Ministerial posts would find, however, that their factotum had behaved bravely and that his task had been solved to their complete satisfaction. For, "a minute" is certainly not much, but it was sufficient for Adler to disgrace the memory of Marx and Engels and to contribute his "bit" to the incitement against the Soviet Union, an incitement which has become obligatory with the "Socialist" poisoners against the land in which the principles of the First International are given flesh and blood and are further developed.

Adler, full of quotations as he is, cites from the Inaugural Address the well-known passage on the duty of the working class "to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments" and "counteract" them.\* It is really timely to recall the reasons for this admonition by the founders of the First International and with this in mind to expose the secret intrigues and plots of Leon Blum for the suppression of the Spanish republic by means of the infamous "non-intervention policy." It is really timely to

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\* *Founding of the First International*, p. 38. International Publishers, New York.

discuss the question of whether the parties of the Second International have exposed the "cordial relations" between Blum and English monopoly capital, between Blum and the English government offices, as displayed, for example, during the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia; whether they mastered "the secrets of international politics," not in order to continue to keep them a secret but to expose them to the workers. It would be very useful to discuss the question of which "laws of morality and justice" the English-French imperialists are observing in the present war and whether it is in accord with the spirit of revolutionary Marxism to place the working class in the service of these war provocateurs as the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy are doing. It would be very proper and useful for the international working class to discuss the question of what aims "Nordic socialism" or, more prosaically, the "Socialist" Ministers of the Scandinavian countries are pursuing with their conspiracies against the land of socialism, and to call upon the proletarians to "counteract" them.

Needless to say, Adler was careful not to touch these questions. He boasts that the "International" today, in contrast to 1914, is "unified": "The profound conflict that shattered the International at the outbreak of the war in 1914," he writes, "does not exist today."

In 1914, to wit, every party of the Second International, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party and a few smaller groups, marched with *their* bourgeoisie; today, however, nearly all of them "march" in closed ranks with the English-French imperialists! Consequently, the Second International today does not need to worry about the "problem" of

how to live under one roof while being bondsmen of different masters; it has moved lock, stock and barrel over to the reserve of the Anglo-French finance magnates and their war-making governments. Truly a really great blessing has befallen this living corpse which bears the title of Second International: "Unity"—under the banner of the English and French war incendiaries, under the banner of calumny against the Soviet Union, under the banner of the vicious drive conducted jointly with the ruling class against the revolutionary workers who are active in the spirit of the Inaugural Address of the First International and will not submit to subjugation by their exploiters but fight against them; "unity" under the banner of support of the predatory war, war terror, the unconditional endorsement of the brutal dictatorship of monopoly capital—has been attained and established!

Friedrich Adler, however, would not be the worthy "protector" of bankrupt Austro-"Marxism" if he did not mix a few "revolutionary" drops in his vulgar opportunist brew. After greeting the "Socialist" Parties for their role as supporting pillars of the "Western" imperialists and hailing the absence of "conflicts" in this question which might otherwise bury the last remnants of the Second International, he begins to speculate on what will follow Germany's defeat. Once more he falls back on the Inaugural Address from which he quotes the following sentence: "To conquer po-

litical power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."\*

On Adler's lips, this is nothing but a paraphrasing of the hypocritical speeches of the English and French warmongers to the effect that after the "victory," a "new world" must arise. To sanction this ardent diligence in the service of the imperialists, to preach civil peace today and then to put the masses off with fine words afterwards, that is most repulsive Jesuitism. To hand over the proletariat to the ruling class *today* and then to try to make it believe that *after* the victory of these same ruling classes over their imperialist competitors the struggle for the conquest of power will begin, only means to deride the working class, to attack it from the rear and to keep it back from the *present* struggle in the name of the coming struggle.

How little Adler permits even a thought of the conquest of power by the working class is shown best by his laments over the disappearance of the power of the Pans in liberated Ukraine and West Byelorussia and by his slander of the Soviet Union in which the "new world," the world of socialism, is not a promise of the Anglo-French master class but a radiant fact. Whoever dares to attack this *socialist reality* shows that he is nothing by a lackey of big capital no matter how many "revolutionary" phrases he mouths!

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\* *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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## The "Socialist" Night-Riders of Imperialism

**B**OUND up with capitalism for better or worse, the Social-Democratic war provocateurs feel that their end is approaching. Since the Soviet Union freed Western Ukraine and West Byelorussia from the hell of capitalism, and socialism extended its boundaries, since the idea of storming capitalism is maturing with new vigor among the workers of all countries, the Social-Democratic leaders' old fear of the revolution, their old hatred of the socialist Soviet power, has risen to the point of a veritable phobia. Since the German rulers, to the great dismay of world capital, no longer preach a "crusade against Bolshevism," since they have renounced the policy of the "Anti-Comintern Pact," the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders hasten to take over the function that world capital had originally planned for fascism, the function of shock troop against communism. They want to show the bourgeoisie that they are the most dependable fighters against socialism, that they fully deserve the confidence of Wall Street and The City, of the French finance magnates and the "proud Rhenish entrepreneurs."

The traitorous declaration of the Spanish "Socialist" Besteiro, that his hatred of communism is decidedly greater than his hatred of fascism, is repeated in a hundred different ways by the leaders of the Second International. One of the leading people of the French Trade Union Federation, Dumoulin, made a statement in the reactionary bourgeois paper *Petit Parisien* of September 28, saying:

"Our government is fighting against Nazism on the international arena and against Communism inside the country.

That looks very good to me. When the war is ended and we shall have defeated Nazism, we must undertake the task of driving Communism out of Asia also. . . ."

The Dumoulines in France take the place of the Rosenbergs in Germany and boastfully offer to drive "Communism out of Asia." The Japanese samurai, who had hitherto "undertaken" this task without success, have thus found new partners for a new "Anti-Comintern Pact" in the French "Socialists" of the stripe of Dumoulin; they can tell this new partner how they fared in this "undertaking" at Lake Khasan and at the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic. Indeed, for the time being, the Dumoulines, Blums and Paul Faures are busy distinguishing themselves in the struggle against the "enemy within" and are leading the police in the witch-hunt against Communism. They have taken over the task on the "theater of war inside France" of ferreting out the "enemy within" and being the bodyguard of "their" government in the struggle against the revolutionary workers. They want to show "their" bourgeoisie that they are just as dependable in this as any Cagoulard. They were the first to demand the suppression of the Communist Party of France. They were the first to resort to the shameful methods of extortion in order to force the Communists to either renounce their convictions or be outlawed. And they were the first to preach a "crusade against Bolshevism" and to proclaim as a war aim that Communism not only be "driven out" of Europe but also out of Asia.

These Social-Democratic war provocateurs cannot forgive the Soviet Union

because its wise and bold peace policy saved not only the Soviet peoples but the peoples of the Baltic Sea and the Balkans from being dragged into the war, because it succeeded in restricting the theater of war. All the less can they forgive the Soviet Union for this historic deed for which hundreds of millions of people are most profoundly grateful since this tremendously increases the influence of socialism and further extends socialism's power of attraction. The gentlemen of the Second International, on the contrary, want the war to spread more and more and, above all, to engulf the land of socialism. Leon Blum called upon the neutral states to enter the war on the side of the English and French imperialists and thereby fan the flames of war throughout Europe. Frothing at the mouth, his colleague, Rudolf Hilferding, repeated this demand and, in the *Neue Vorwärts* of September 24, called on *all* the neutral states to participate in the holocaust. He wrote:

"The cooperation of Hitler and Stalin, however, must call forth the forces—above all in the biggest and most powerful of neutrals, in the United States—that are determined to take up the fight for culture and freedom in this struggle between freedom and despotism. For England and France have now become the champions of human rights and cultural development and it is the duty of everyone to give them *unqualified* support. . . ."

In his insane hatred of socialism, Mr. Hilferding thus wants the United States not only to participate in the war against Germany but also to involve the Soviet Union in war. He wants this all the more since the Japanese militarists, to his greatest chagrin, have been compelled to cease their war provocations against the Soviet Union. Choking with anger, Mr. Hilferding declares:

"The battles lasting many months between Russian and Japanese troops on the Mongolian and Manchurian border have been halted. A commission will determine the boundaries in the hitherto

disputed areas. Russia and Japan are establishing peace and friendship. . . . Now Stalin has also fulfilled this wish of German policy. . . ."

As we see, anti-Communism leads to complete befuddlement. The whole world knows that it was not the Soviet Union but the Japanese military clique that provoked the war complications in the Far East, that the Soviet Union always strove for peaceful relations with Japan but that it always hurled back all Japanese aggressions with an iron hand. Now Japan has ceased these aggressions and has declared its readiness to respect the borders protected by the Soviet power. One must be an out-and-out idiot or an out-and-out anti-Communist to be satisfied with Mr. Hilferding's logic. To be sure, it is not a question of logic here but of the barely muffled howl of rage of an inveterate enemy of the Soviet Union who vainly endeavors to collect an army against socialism.

Germany is not waging war against the Soviet Union. Japan has halted its belligerent acts against the Soviet Union. The state of the Polish Pans, whose "function" it was in the game of the capitalists to be the fortified sallyport against the land of socialism, has collapsed. Who therefore, Mr. Hilferding asks, gnashing his teeth, who therefore will wage the war which the Social-Democratic war provocateurs yearn for so passionately, the war to "drive out" communism, the war against the Soviet Union? He looks around gloomily and "discovers" America: the United States should wage this war, a *world war* should break out in order to satisfy the wishes of the Social-Democratic war provocateurs!

When the Spanish people waged its war of liberation against the fascist invaders, the leaders of the Second International were for "non-intervention." They considered it their task to "localize" this war of liberation and slanderously called the Communists "warmonsters" because they came out for energetic support of the Spanish fighters for freedom. But the moment the English

and French imperialists wage war, these same leaders of the Second International call upon all neutrals to enter the war and to extend the theater of war throughout the world. They are for “neutrality” in every war of liberation, for “neutrality” which treacherously attacks the fighters for freedom from the rear. They are for unconditional support of

the war when the bourgeoisie wages war. More than that, they demand that this war become a war against the Soviet Union, a world holocaust with the aim of “driving out” communism, of overthrowing socialism. With this war-squawking over the battlefields of Europe, they sing their own ignominious funeral dirge.

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## Labor Leaders Whip Up War Frenzy

**T**HE day after England's entry into the war, Greenwood, the leader of the Labor Party, declared in the English Parliament: "This morning we meet in an easier atmosphere."

The central organ of the Labor Party, the *Daily Herald*, wrote on September 9: "We shall not end this war until Hitler is completely vanquished." In the same issue, this paper urges the English government "to take the *offensive* with all our forces."

In his speech in the British Parliament on September 9, Greenwood called for "resolute conduct of the war" and *decided rejection of peace offers*.

The *Daily Herald* of September 22 accuses the English government of faint-hearted conduct of the war. It urges the greater use of the air force for "surprise attacks."

Previously the reactionary English Labor leaders became known to the world as champions in handling the weapon of fraudulent pseudo-pacifism. We recall the "daring" maneuvers of the Labor leaders in the "non-intervention policy." They overflowed with heartfelt compassion for the Spanish people; they "profoundly deplored" the no longer concealable help of British imperialism to the enemies of the Spanish people. But—so they said—all that must be endured, for that is the only way to preserve "peace." They were the advisers of the traitors of the Spanish people, of Caballero, Beistero and Co. and urged them to "action," to open the front to the Franco men. All this happened "in the interest of peace" in order to avoid "unnecessary bloodshed."

We recall the truly touching spectacle with which Messers Citrine and Bevin, Greenwood and Attlee presented to us

after Chamberlain's return from Munich in September, 1938, when the latter had handed over a bourgeois-democratic country as cash payment to German imperialism. At that time, the English Labor leaders raised Chamberlain to the rank of an umbrella man of peace and praised, as an outpouring of wisdom, goodness and peaceableness, his underhanded deal which did not serve the cause of peace but served the preparation of an anti-Soviet war.

It is evident that this pseudo-pacifism of the English Labor leaders has been of great service to British imperialism. The intentions of English and French imperialism in this period are no longer secret; by means of provocations and bribery (surrender of small and weak states) they attempted to incite Germany against the Soviet Union. The reactionary Labor leader, as mortal enemies of living socialism, assumed the task of disguising these plans of English imperialism by their "pacifism."

Their general plan having been smashed by the vigilance and strength of the Soviet Union, English and French imperialism now considered it necessary to take up the struggle themselves against their competitor, against German imperialism, for world domination, after the latter, with their aid, had become strong again and had become a menace to the security of their exploitation of half a billion people.

Despite all the maneuvers of the Labor leaders, the mass of English workers and petty bourgeois find it hard to believe that first you fatten German imperialism, hand over other nations to it, provide it with favorable, strategic positions, and then, over night, you start a long and gruesome war purportedly on



behalf of the utterly rotten Polish state which distinguished itself by cynical suppression of national minorities and brazen lust for conquest.

No less suspicious are the English masses of the alleged character of this war as a "fight for democracy and justice." Large sections of the English working class and petty bourgeoisie are anything but inspired by the war. Without being clear as yet about the tricks and intentions of their imperialists, they remain skeptical or deaf to official propaganda and they are in no way convinced that national interests required this war.

The reactionary Labor leaders who displayed hypocritical "sympathy" for the peoples of Spain and Czechoslovakia, and covered up the crimes and intentions of their imperialists with lying "pacifism," must now sing another tune: in place of the "pacifist" parley, belligerent fanfare. They "accuse" the government of not energetically enough prosecuting the war; they demand an energetic war offensive and drastic bomb warfare; they discredit in advance all peace offers; especially do they incite against the Soviet Union. The cannons are not roaring loudly enough for them. They cannot wait until rivers of blood flow in frightful battles in which the people's will for peace will be lost.

With this war cry, they attempt to distort the instinctive opposition of the masses to an unjust, imperialist war into an "opposition" to an alleged weak conduct of the war by the English government.

The reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie of England is fully aware of the value of this propaganda of their lackeys in the camp of the working class. Thus, for example, the conservative paper

*Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* wrote on September 13, 1939:

"Never in history has there been such close collaboration between the government and the representatives of the Labor movement as in the past few months. No step having any bearing on the condition of the workers was undertaken without previous consultation with Citrine and his colleagues of the Trade Union Congress or with the leaders of the opposition [that is, the Labor Party]. State secrets were confided to them. Behind the scenes and publicly, people like Citrine and Bevin, as representatives of the trade unions, played an invaluable role in the preparation of national defense. In this way, the Socialist and trade union movement has the serious responsibility of waging the war in the most energetic manner."

Certainly these services of the English Labor leaders are "invaluable," if not priceless, for British imperialism. But the fact that now they not only work behind the scenes but also come out into the open to whip up an insane war frenzy, to call for offensives and bombing raids, shows that something has grown up within the English working class and petty bourgeoisie that increases extraordinarily the risk of this war for the English bourgeoisie. It may be—many signs point to this—that in the course of this war, the reins of the English Labor movement will slip out of the hands of such leaders as Citrine and Bevin, Greenwood and Attlee and the rest. It may be that the great English working class, curbed and tormented, is becoming conscious of its invincible power. That would indeed be a result of this imperialist war which definitely contradicts the war aims of the English imperialists and their lackeys.

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# On the Twenty-Second Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution

By JOSE DIAZ

**T**HE Soviet peoples are balancing up the new achievements in their triumphant advance toward communism. The anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution in the U.S.S.R. is a day of peace, celebration and joy, a day of the fraternity of all the peoples of the great socialist state, of peoples who have achieved freedom and a happy life in the difficult days of battle of the great October and in the years of the Civil War. On the twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution, the people of the Soviet Union present to the whole world as a grand reality what for the workers in the capitalist countries is their great, life-long dream.

Millions of workers and peasants now recall the regime of exploitation and oppression as a past never to return. They recall the rule of the exploiting classes, the national dissension that was stirred up in the country by the tsarist satraps, as a remote past. They recall the old capitalist factories with their backward technique, the old individual agriculture with its antediluvian implements. The new people, the masters of the new technique, the new life that has penetrated to the outermost boundaries of the land of socialism, have nothing left of the past but the memory.

"In the sphere of the social and political development of the country, we must regard the most important achievement during the period under review to be the fact that the remnants of the exploiting classes have been completely eliminated, that the workers, peasants and intellectuals have been welded into

one common front of the working people, that the moral and political unity of Soviet society has been strengthened, that the friendship among the nations of our country has become closer and, as a result, that the political life of our country has been completely democratized and a new Constitution created."\*

Where, in what other country in the world, has one ever heard such language? That is the language of the triumphant working class, the language of the happy Soviet people which has uninterruptedly developed socialist industry and socialist agriculture. That is the language of a people that knows no unemployment, no hunger and no lash. That is the power of the socialist world that is growing at an undreamed-of rate, the power that burst the landlord and capitalist chains, worn for years by the brother nations of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. That is the power that guarantees the existence and independence of small nations, that is the bulwark of peace and the hope of the working class of the entire world. That is the power of the socialist world whose triumphs on the road to communism inspire the toilers of all countries for the struggle against capitalism.

Based on its achievements, its power and its will, the Soviet peoples march forward with a firm steps toward new triumphs of socialism. Hundreds of thousands of Stakhanov workers, men and

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\* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 19. International Publishers, New York.

women, are driving socialist industry forward by their enthusiasm, by their creative work. Each day they achieve new, higher standards of work; each day, they perfect technique. They are the models for new cadres that are arising in socialist industry. Millions of collective peasants, men and women, increase the harvest every year by their socialist attitude towards labor, increase their well being and, at the same time, the well being of their socialist homeland. The Soviet intellectuals, the people of science, enhance the culture and the knowledge of the people by their efforts, carry the Soviet banner to the heights of world science.

The workers, the peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet land who are joined in fraternal, indestructible unity are realizing in a Bolshevik manner the Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan.

Bound by fraternal friendship, the peoples of the Soviet Union daily strengthen the power of the great socialist state, of the fatherland of the proletariat of the entire world.

Millions of non-Party Bolsheviks who are loyally devoted to the cause of Lenin and Stalin have rallied around the Bolshevik Party. However, in the short time since the opening of the Party rolls, 1,357,795 people, joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) as candidates; of these, 582,998 in the period from the Eighteenth Party Congress to October 1, 1939, that is, in six months. During the same period, 528,777 new Party members were admitted into the C.P.S.U. (B.), 230,715 of these in the last six months.

These tremendous achievements of the Bolshevik Party testify to the growing ties between the Bolsheviks with and without Party books, to the enormous political development of the workers, the collective peasants and the Soviet intellectuals who have already raised themselves to the level of their vanguard, the Communist Party. That is proof of the love and confidence of the Soviet people to their Party, to their leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin. That is proof

of the love and confidence of the Soviet people to the Party which consolidates the great socialist triumphs, which is leading the people of the U.S.S.R. to communism under the banner of socialist democracy, under the banner of the Stalinist Constitution, to the Party which is strong because of its unity and discipline, its proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism, to the Party which is leading the mighty unconquerable Red Army of workers and peasants, which stands guard at the borders of the Soviet Union, firm and unshakable and assures the tranquillity and well being of the land of socialism.

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The steady and magnificent development of the land of socialism is in contrast to the world of capitalism in which injustice and terror, hunger and unemployment reign, conditions which have been made even worse by the imperialist war. Millions of workers and peasants have been torn away from their wives and children and hurled into the hell of war.

The Anglo-French imperialists and their Social-Democratic accomplices are resorting to every means in order to justify this imperialist reactionary war. In order to unleash this war, the reactionary Poland of the *Shlyakhta* was utilized. They tried to represent it as a victim while concealing the fact that it was a gendarme state, an oppressor of peoples, a country in which the workers and peasants lived in unbelievable misery. They concealed the fact, too, that the Polish bourgeoisie, the landowners and generals, in league with English and French imperialists, thwarted the establishment of a peace front for which the Soviet Union was striving. Through all their deeds, the war incendiaries wanted to divert the aggression against the Soviet Union and to incite Germany to a war against the land of socialism.

In order to be able to justify this imperialist war to the masses of people on whom it was forced, they demagogically declare that the aim of the present war is: struggle against "Hitlerism,"

"for the freedom and independence of nations."

But the question arises, what kind of freedom do the imperialists of Great Britain, who maintain their empire at the expense of the oppression of millions of colonial peoples, want to establish? What kind of freedom do the imperialists of France want to establish who, aside from their policy of colonial oppression, destroy all the gains of the French workers and peasants, who have driven the Communist Party into illegality and throw the best sons of the working class into prison?

It is clear that the slogans of the English and French war incendiaries are nothing but demagogic phrases which they apply in order to persuade the working class and the peoples that this war is in their very own interest and in order to assure, in this way, the active participation of the masses in this unjust predatory war.

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On the one hand, the twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution is observed by the peoples of the Soviet Union while recording new triumphs of their consistent peace policy and constantly growing well being; on the other hand, while hunger and a war policy prevail in the capitalist countries.

Why do wars inevitably recur in the capitalist world? The working class must know the causes of war. Then, it will be able to recognize those who are responsible for the catastrophe of war by which the people are constantly afflicted; then they will recognize against whom they must direct their blows.

In his work, *Foundations of Leninism*, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The monopolistic possession of 'spheres of influence' and colonies, the uneven development of the different capitalist countries which leads to a bitter struggle for the redivision of the world between the countries which have already seized the territories of the globe, and those countries which want to receive their 'share'; imperialist wars,

the only method of restoring the disturbed 'equilibrium.' . . ."

It is absolutely clear that capitalism is responsible and is the organizer of imperialist wars; capitalism bears war within itself as clouds bear the storm.

The scope of the imperialist war, however, could have been restricted against the will of the capitalists, just as the strangulation of the just war of the Spanish people could have been prevented. To do this, the working class, which is the backbone of modern society, would have had to raise its powerful voice and say: No! But Social-Democracy, the faithful ally of capitalism, has split the working class and throttled its struggle.

The present betrayal of Social-Democracy is proceeding just as it did in 1914-18. At that time, the Second International betrayed the cause of the working class, refused to carry out the decisions of its own congress against the war, refused to mobilize the working class against its own imperialist bourgeoisie and thereby facilitated the war for redivision of the world by the imperialist powers.

Now, the Second International and its sections are repeating the betrayal perpetrated by them. But now a new fact is added. At that time the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties concluded a "holy alliance" with the bourgeoisies of their countries for the struggle against other capitalist countries. Today, these traitors do yoeman service for the dirtiest counter-revolutionary campaigns against the land of socialism. The working class must draw the correct conclusions from all this. They must know who their friends are and who their enemies are.

\* \* \*

Reaction is intensifying its attacks against the working class in all capitalist countries. Injustice, misery and unemployment reign in the capitalist world.

\* Joseph Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, pp. 32-33. International Publishers, New York.

Danger that the war will spread is growing day by day.

The working class has no interest whatsoever in this war which the bourgeoisie is waging for the maintenance and consolidation of capitalist slavery. It will gain nothing from this war. It fights against the imperialist war, it fights for peace, bread and freedom.

In the struggle against the imperialist war, the working class must realize unity within its ranks, a unity of the struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie of its own country and against their accomplices—the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. It must strengthen its ties with the peasantry, with the toilers of city and village, work tirelessly to unite the broadest masses in the united and people's front against the imperialist war and against reaction, and relentlessly expose the leadership of the petty-bourgeois parties that support the imperialist war.

The working class of the imperialist countries must strengthen the bond of friendship with the colonial peoples in order to help them in their struggle for national liberation.

The working class must faithfully guard the cause of proletarian internationalism, the cause of fraternal unity of the workers of all countries.

Now more than ever, the working class must remember the word which Comrade Stalin uttered at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) :

“The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capi-

talism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory.”\*

On the twenty-second anniversary of the great October Revolution, the revolutionary workers, the collective peasants and the intellectuals of the Soviet Union celebrate the consolidation of the socialist system, the strengthening of the defense capacity of the country, the triumphant advance on the road to communism.

But this is not only a holiday of the Soviet people, it is a day of celebration for the entire international proletariat, for every victory of the land of socialism is also a victory for the working class of the entire world. That is why the international proletariat must resolutely and boldly defend the land of socialism. It is its cause because it thereby strengthens its own position in the struggle for its own liberation. The working class of the capitalist countries must strengthen their bond of friendship with the peoples of the land of socialism to the utmost.

The progressive workers of all countries call upon the toilers of city and countryside to learn from the history of the Bolsheviks, to follow their example and to build up a society in which life will be free, joyous and happy.

Long live the victorious twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution!

Long live the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

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\* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 62.

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# Lenin's Voice and the Imperialist War

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY  
(BOLSHEVIKS) AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WAR

BY A. VLADIMIROV

FROM the very beginning of the first imperialist World War, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, in contrast to the social-reformist parties, adopted a clear and firm position of struggle against the imperialist war, against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the watchdog of capitalism, tsarism. *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* states the following regarding the first period of the war:

"The leaders of the Socialist parties betrayed the proletariat and adopted the position of social-chauvinism and defense of the imperialist bourgeoisie. They helped the imperialist governments to hoodwink the working class and to poison it with the venom of nationalism. Using the defense of the fatherland as a plea, these social-traitors began to incite the German workers against the French workers, and the British and French workers against the German workers. Only an insignificant minority of the Second International kept to the internationalist position and went against the current; true, they did not do so confidently and definitely enough, but go against the current they did."\*

On November 1, 1914, the central organ of the Bolsheviks, the *Social-Democrat*, No. 33, published in Geneva at that time, printed the appeal of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) against the

imperialist war. This appeal was entitled "The War and Russian Social-Democracy."\*

This appeal is one of the most important historical documents of the international labor movement. Even today, after twenty-five years, this appeal is still important as a militant beacon and a bold appeal to the workers to struggle against the imperialist war.

\* \* \*

The imperialists had been preparing the World War of 1914-18 for a long time. During that period, the revolutionary workers of all countries waged a struggle against the gigantic growth of armaments, against the increasing reaction, against the war preparations.

The parties of the Second International in which the international labor movement was united at that time, under pressure of the working masses, frequently adopted protest resolutions addressed to the imperialist governments. The resolution of the Congress at Stuttgart (1907) and the manifesto of the Basle Congress (1912) of the Second International confirmed the resolutions of the earlier International Congresses on the struggle against imperialism and militarism. The Resolution of the Stuttgart Congress stated that: "The struggle against militarism cannot be separated

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\* *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 164. International Publishers, New York.

\* V. I. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy," *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 123. International Publishers, New York.

from the socialist class struggle in general."\*

The Manifesto of the Basle Congress emphasized that the proletariat considers it a crime to allow the incitement of the workers of one country against the workers of another: "It is with satisfaction that the Congress records the complete unanimity of the Socialist parties and the trade unions of all countries in the war against war."\*\*

The slogan "war against war" was extremely popular in the international labor movement before the outbreak of the war in 1914. It was supported by millions organized in the trade unions and other mass organizations of the proletariat. The leaders of the Second International took a sacred oath that in case the imperialists should start the war, they would be opposed by the entire strength of the organized working class, that they would unloose an uprising with all its consequences for the capitalists.

At the beginning of August, 1914, the imperialist war broke out. The leaders of the Second International and the heads of the Social-Democratic parties of the belligerent countries hastened to shelve the old revolutionary resolutions on the predatory and imperialist character of the war preparations and called on the workers "to defend the fatherland," that is, mutually to exterminate one another for the purpose of increasing the profits of the capitalists, for the glorious victory of their bourgeoisie.

The Social-Democratic parties openly went over to the side of the ruling exploiting classes. They concluded civil peace with the imperialists. That was a disgraceful betrayal. Official representatives of the European labor movement came out as bearers of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. Vandervelde, Guesde and Sembat entered the imperialist governments. Plekhanov also supported the war quite openly. Kautsky still hid behind pseudo-Marxist phrases and confused the class consciousness of

the workers with the poison of chauvinism.

The leaders of the Second International who only a short time ago had "threatened" the imperialists with the slogan "war against war" went hand in hand with the general staffs of their bourgeois governments. The toiling masses, betrayed and deceived by the Social-Democratic leaders, were sent to the front. In the majority of parties of the Second International, social chauvinism and opportunism gained the upper hand over international proletarian solidarity. The imperialists celebrated the victory.

The world was shrouded in profound impenetrable darkness. What had happened? Why was one worker fighting against another? Had not the Socialists previously asserted that the war would be a predatory war; then why were they supporting it? Why did they who had previously sent threats to the imperialists call for civil peace with them today? What was to be done? These were the vexing and disquieting questions which the proletariat, confronted by the bloody imperialist war, asked itself.

In this situation, the opposition of Lenin and the Bolsheviks to the imperialist war was of world historic significance. In spite of the strictest censorship and the shameful behavior of the leaders of the Second International, Lenin's great words concerning the ways and means of liberation from the bloody war and the opportunist betrayal penetrated the minds of the progressive workers in the rear and the soldiers at the front.

During the period of the first imperialist war, the Bolsheviks were the only political party whose previous history had fully prepared them for a successful struggle to unite the working class of the entire world, for a real revolutionary beginning in the creation of a militant international workers' organization. For Lenin, the founder of the Bolshevik Party, the pupil and continuer of the works of Marx and Engels, who restored the Marxist teachings and freed them from all distortions and falsifications by the opportunists of the Second Inter-

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 467.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 469.

national, developed these teachings further, applied them to the conditions of a new epoch, imperialism, the new conditions of the class struggle.

When the imperialist World War started in 1914, the veteran party of the Bolsheviks in Russia, which had fought gloriously on the barricades in 1905, under Lenin's leadership opposed this war with courage and conviction.

The Appeal of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks), written by Lenin twenty-five years ago, was a Leninist platform of struggle against the war not only in Russia: it was a platform of struggle against the war for the workers of all countries. The Bolsheviks showed the international labor movement the only correct road.

This Appeal, above all, exposed the predatory imperialist character of the war. The war was the result of the fact that the contradictions of capitalism had been intensified to the extreme, an intensification of the struggle for markets and spheres of influence in the epoch of monopoly capitalism, of the struggle for the redivision of the already partitioned world among the most powerful imperialist robbers. This unjust war was waged for purposes of robbery and conquest, to consolidate and strengthen the exploitation and enslavement of millions of toilers by the magnates of finance capital.

"Neither of the two groups of belligerent countries lags behind the other in plunder, atrocities and the endless brutalities of war. But in order to fool the proletariat and distract its attention from the only real war of liberation, namely, civil war against the bourgeoisie both of 'its own' and 'foreign' countries, in order to further this lofty aim, the bourgeoisie of each country strives, by means of lying phrases of patriotism, to extol the significance of 'its own' national war and to assert that it strives to vanquish the enemy, not for the sake of plundering and seizing territory, but for the sake of 'liberating' all other peoples, except its own." \*

The appeal entitled "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" tore the mask off both groups of belligerent imperialist states and pointed out their predatory aims in the war.

The Bolsheviks called upon the class-conscious workers to expose the real meaning of the war. The workers were obligated to expose the lie which the bourgeoisie spread in justification of the war.

"But the more zealously the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries strive to disunite the workers and pit them against one another, the more ferociously they employ the system of martial law and military censorship (which, even now, in time of war, are applied more strictly against the 'enemy within' than against the enemy without) for this lofty purpose, the more urgent is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism roused by the 'patriotic' bourgeois cliques of all countries." \*

The appeal of the Bolsheviks against the war of 1914-18 proclaimed the truth about the character of the war. It pilloried Social-Democracy's betrayal of the cause of the working class and its desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie.

In the situation of fanned chauvinism, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks swam courageously and with firm determination against the stream, explaining to the people the true aims and objects of the war and proclaiming the truth concerning the complete collapse of the Second International. The betrayal of the Social-Democratic parties is an irrefutable fact. Socialism was confounded with nationalism, the Socialist standpoint with the chauvinist, bourgeois and liberal.

The Appeal subjected the lies and sophisms of the Social-Democratic leaders to devastating exposure. None of their machinations enabled them to cover up their betrayal; the betrayal was manifest. The decisions of the International Congresses of the Second Inter-

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, pp. 124-125.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 125.



national obligated the Socialists of all countries to fight against chauvinism, against the war under all circumstances. The opportunists violated these decisions. They proclaimed civil peace.

The analysis of the collapse of the Second International is one of the profoundest points of the Appeal which gave the progressive workers the key to an understanding of the true reasons of the crisis in the international labor movement since the beginning of the war.

"The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism, which grew up on the soil of a past, specific (so-called 'peaceful') historical epoch, and which has practically dominated the International during the past few years."\*

The opportunists had been preparing this collapse for a long time. They prepared it by going over step by step to the positions of the class enemies on the most important questions of the class struggle. The Second International was permeated more and more by opportunism and decay and on the eve of the war found itself completely in the hands of the opportunists who adapted their whole work to the interests of the bourgeoisie. This adaptation followed the line of actual severance from the proletarian revolution, from the class struggle, from the serious struggle against militarism, from illegal forms of organization. This International was bound to collapse at the first great shock. And in the very first days of the war it collapsed ignominiously.

In order to unite the working class in the struggle against the war, it was necessary to bury the Second International which had fallen victim to opportunism and to establish a new International free from all opportunism.

The Appeal posed this question in the sharpest way:

"It is impossible to carry out the tasks of socialism at the present time, it is impossible to achieve a really international unity of the workers without

radically breaking with opportunism and without explaining to the masses the inevitability of its bankruptcy."\*

The Appeal of the Bolsheviks for a decisive break with opportunism and for clarification of the unavoidable collapse of the Second International laid the basis in the international labor movement for the Third, Communist, International. Lenin and the Bolsheviks who had fought against opportunism for a decade were the forces which laid the ideological, political and organizational foundation for the new, really militant, International of workers.

The Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) called upon the workers of all countries above all to wage the struggle against chauvinism in each given country, the struggle of the toilers against their bourgeoisie, against their own government.

The slogan of "turning the imperialist war into civil war" was the decisive and fundamental slogan of the Appeal.

"Transform the present imperialist war into civil war—is the only correct proletarian slogan; it is indicated by the experience of the Commune, was outlined by the Basle resolution (1912) and it logically follows from all the conditions of an imperialist war among highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult such a transformation may appear at any given time, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, persistent, undeviating, preparatory work in this direction, since war has become a fact."\*\*

Thus, already at the beginning of the war of 1914-18, Lenin showed the working class the way out of the imperialist war. In less than a year after the outbreak of the war, Lenin had established and theoretically proved the possibility of breaking through the front of imperialism at one or at several points, the possibility of the victory of socialism at first in a few countries or even in a single country. Thereby, Lenin opened

\* *Ibid.*

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 130.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 128.

up the greatest revolutionary perspectives which armed the working class of all countries with a new world historic weapon in the struggle for socialism.

Lenin's well-known article, "The United States of Europe Slogan," appeared on August 23, 1915. This article briefly formulated Lenin's brilliant teaching of the uneven development of capitalism and of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. This Leninist teaching has nullified all the efforts of the Trotskyite enemies of the working class to attack Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin, who subjected the economic contents and the significance of the slogan of "The United States of Europe" to analysis, came to the following conclusion:

"From the point of view of the economic conditions of imperialism, *i.e.*, capital exports and the partition of the world among the 'progressive' and 'civilized' colonial powers, the United States of Europe is either impossible or reactionary under capitalism." \*

It is impossible under capitalism because the distribution of colonies, markets and capital export, of sources of raw material and spheres of influence can only be achieved by means of war. Agreements among the capitalist countries of Europe are possible of course, but such agreements are only temporary and are utterly reactionary.

Starting from a profound analysis of the main features and characteristics of imperialism as the highest phase of capitalism in which all the fundamental capitalist contradictions are sharpened to the extreme and great armed collisions between the imperialist states become unavoidable, Lenin demonstrated the *possibility* of breaking through the imperialist front by the working class of

one or several countries, the *possibility of the victory of socialism* in a single country. What was impossible during the old pre-monopolist capitalism has now become possible under imperialism.

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would confront the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries. . . ." \*

Lenin's brilliant conclusion concerning the possibility of the victory of socialism in a single country under the conditions of imperialism was a new and great contribution and a further development of the Marxist theory of the proletarian revolution. It was arrived at in the relentless struggle against all open and concealed enemies of Bolshevism and the working class.

The slogan of the Bolsheviks, "Turn the Imperialist War into a Civil War," rapidly met with a powerful response among the masses of all countries. But, above all, it found its brilliant world historic realization under the leadership of the great geniuses of humanity, Lenin and Stalin, under the conditions of Russia and, in 1917, led to the victory of the great socialist October Revolution, to the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

In 1914, the Bolsheviks saved the honor and the future of the international proletariat. The Appeal of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) issued twenty-five years ago is one of the most important documents of world Communism.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 139.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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# What Are Chamberlain and Daladier Fighting For?

BY W. LEITNER .

**I**N THE declarations of the French and English governments, the assertion is repeated again and again that they are waging the war for the vital rights of nations, and especially small nations, and against Hitler's treaty violations. The same gentlemen who perpetrated the worst breach of promise and the violation of treaties towards Czechoslovakia in Munich, who handed Spain over to Franco and the invaders, and did not lift a finger for China and Ethiopia, now suddenly claim that they declared war for the protection of the peoples and especially for the defense of Poland.

The facts tell a different story. We want to recall a few of these facts and, in so doing, base ourselves on indisputable documents of the English and French war politicians.

After the fate of Czechoslovakia had been sealed at Munich, Daladier stated to a representative of the *Deutsche Nachrichten Büro*:

"Thanks to the high understanding of the representatives of the European powers, war has been avoided and an honorable peace for all nations has been assured. . . . Both nations [Germany and France] must come to a sincere understanding with one another and I am happy to be able to dedicate my energies to this necessary and fruitful understanding."

Leon Blum could not refrain from writing in the *Populaire* of October 1, 1938:

"Life has become normal. One can go to work again and sleep comfortably,

one can enjoy the beauty of the autumn sun."

To be sure, these ringing assurances did not resound in an atmosphere of peace. The French bourgeoisie whose representatives capitulated to Hitler Germany at Munich, at the same time whipped up a vicious war incitement against the Soviet Union. This same press which today tries to slander the Soviet Union for not participating in the second great imperialist war shrieked that the Soviet Union wanted war instead of Munich. In company with the English and North American press, it comfortably engaged in conjectures on how, when and where Hitler Germany would attack the Soviet Union.

In order to spur on Hitler Germany to embark directly on such an adventure, the capitalist press of France conducted a cunning, unscrupulous campaign for the annulment of the Franco-Soviet Pact which found a loud echo in the French Parliament. The French government organ, the *Temps*, supplied the theoretical foundation for this campaign in which it also included the Franco-Polish Pact. In its issue of October 2, 1938, for example, this paper demanded annulment of the Franco-Soviet and Franco-Polish pacts in direct connection with the situation produced by Munich and wrote apropos of the Anglo-German "peace" declaration arranged by Chamberlain and Hitler:

"It is clear that the changes in the situation in Central Europe, brought about by the Munich agreement of the four main powers, necessitate a revision

of the numerous doctrines hitherto prevailing. Above all, it is clear that these changes eliminate much of the practical value of the Franco-Polish alliance and of the Franco-Russia Assistance Pact."

That means: The French imperialists were not only trying to incite Germany against the Soviet Union at that time, but they were also prepared to sacrifice Poland in the interests of this plan. Leon Blum, who in the interests of French imperialism now drivels about the sanctity of treaties, was also prepared to clear the road to the East for Hitler Germany. Thus, he said in the French Chamber at the beginning of October of last year:

"France must above all clarify the status of its international obligations. It must possess the frankness and courage to renounce those whose faithful fulfillment it is not absolutely prepared to carry out." (*Populaire*, October 5, 1938.)

Even before Munich, the reactionary French Deputy Flandin and his accomplices had demanded the betrayal of Czechoslovakia on the ground that France's policy should concentrate on France's overseas interests. After Munich, this became the official policy of the French government which was formulated more precisely by *Le Temps* at the end of October. This paper wrote:

"France must regain the feeling of a possessor of an empire. It must capitalize on the riches of its colonial empire which have not yet been exploited and must categorically reject all of Germany's demands for the colonies that the Versailles Peace Treaty had taken from it and which, moreover, in the possession of France, have experienced a complete transformation. Finally, France must ask itself the question of whether it can remain bound for an unlimited time by treaties of alliance and assistance pacts which expose it to the danger of becoming the first victim of an aggression and which in many cases appear to be irreconcilable with one another."

As official documentation of this French policy, there followed the joint declaration of Daladier and Ribbentrop

at the end of November of last year which the Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* interpreted in the following manner: "Now the boundaries of French policy once more correspond to the geographical boundaries of France." This unequivocal statement that French policy is concerned solely with its own empire and not with the freedom and peace of the peoples was in no way challenged by French government circles and the capitalist press of France.

Right after Munich, neither Daladier nor Leon Blum really anticipated that the French bourgeoisie's dreams of being able to exploit Africa unmolested while the peoples in Eastern Europe were tearing one another apart would end in a rude awakening. Their house of cards suffered the first blow when, at the beginning of December of last year, Italian Foreign Minister Ciano delivered his famous speech in which he described Italy's military preparedness during the Munich days, and the fascist deputies burst out with the cry of "Tunis, Djibouti, Savoy!" Thereupon, *Le Temps* wrote indignantly on December 2 of last year:

"The worst is the Italian Irredentism which has gripped the peninsula again. Previously this Irredentism was directed against Austria; today, it is directed against France. It signifies greed for territory. But such desires offer no possibility for negotiations. It is a question of national honor."

The honorable gentlemen who determine the foreign policy of France did not feel the slightest scruple when they put Czechoslovakia on the operating table at Munich. But they suddenly discovered their national honor when pieces of Africa, the stocks and profits of the Suez Canal Company were involved.

The newspaper of Leon Blum hastened to call for a new "turn" in French foreign policy. Under the pressure of the Italian demands and their support by Germany, the *Populaire* wrote on December 2 of last year:

"To be able to resist the common pres-

sure of Italy and Germany, France must depend upon England. And not only on England but also on Poland, on the U.S.S.R., on Rumania."

Hence, Poland to the front again! French colonial possessions were menaced.

Mr. Bonnet likewise understood the necessity of a new maneuver. For he hurriedly declared in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Chamber, where he opposed the Italian demand, that the Franco-Polish and the Franco-Soviet pacts continued to be valid. In the same breath, to be sure, he again attempted to whet the appetite of the German imperialists for the Soviet Union. He brazenly declared that the Franco-Soviet Pact would not be operative in case a strong "autonomous movement" should arise in the Ukraine. The communiqué on the session of the Chamber committee, edited by the French foreign ministry, promptly suppressed the discussion on the Franco-Soviet Pact. But there is not the slightest doubt as to the motives that prompted Mr. Bonnet and the politicians of France to haul out the Franco-Polish and Franco-Soviet pacts again. Thus, an important witness in this case, the *Times*, literally said concerning this on March 16 of this year:

"There is no doubt that after Munich, the leaders of the French government believed and hoped that Germany would continue its drive to the East and would leave France alone as the price for French passivity. As a result of this, their attitude towards French engagements in Europe bordered on indifference. Nevertheless, the violent Italian campaign against France and the still unsolved question of the extent of German readiness to support the Italian demands permitted the pendulum to swing sufficiently in the other direction to cause the Foreign Minister, after prolonged silence, to emphasize the further validity of the French engagements with Germany's Eastern neighbors."

The attempt to induce Germany to attack the Soviet Union was pursued even more openly by the reactionary

circles in England and their press to which the Chamberlain government gave its tacit support. A whole flock of English newspaper correspondents haunted Slovakia, Poland and Carpatho-Ukraine after Munich so they would not miss the moment when the German army columns would be set in motion against the Soviet Union. Every unemployed White Guard adventurer who was loafing around in these areas was good enough to be interviewed on the "coming crusade." The "more serious" English newspapers like the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* took over, so to speak, the diplomatic conduct of the campaign and, in their over-zealousness, they blurted out things that had to shun the light of publicity. At the same time, they made every effort to show Poland the advantages of cooperating with Germany.

At the beginning of this year, Colonel Beck was in Monte Carlo waiting, as the French journalist Kerillis informs us in the *Epoque* of January 6, for an invitation from French Foreign Minister Bonnet. This invitation was not forthcoming. The French and English governments had not yet given up hope for military complications between Germany and the Soviet Union. Mr. Beck understood the hint when the invitation was not extended and instead of going to Paris he went to Hitler at Berchtesgaden.

The big capitalist press of the West tensely awaited the outcome. At first, they attached great expectations to the visit regarding the question of Danzig and the Corridor. The *Times*, *l'Oeuvre* and other newspapers hastened to report that Poland had offered Hitler important concessions, among others the construction of an extra-territorial motor highway through the Corridor. In those days, as we see, this press was not at all disinclined towards Polish territorial concessions to Germany as long as they would pave the way for an attack on the Soviet Union. On January 7, 1939, the *Times* then had the following report sent from Berlin on the conversations between Hitler and Beck:

"It is learned that the line of action

favored by the German government provides for an extension of the anti-Comintern Pact in Europe and that in a more concrete form. It is to be assumed, therefore, that Mr. Hitler inquired of Colonel Beck as to what the Polish attitude would be to such a policy and that he expressed the hope that the Polish government would not confine itself to a passive role. It is quite certain that a prominent member of the German government—possibly Field Marshal Goering—will take a trip to the Southeast this month, with Belgrade as his first objective. Here also it will be a question of activating the anti-Communist front. Germany is already taking practical steps, especially in Carpatho-Ukraine (!) and it may be expected that political preparatory work will be intensified in the Southeast during the coming weeks and months."

If the paper of London's City wanted to "activize" Poland and Germany jointly against the Soviet Union in this way, one may be sure that the City also wanted to participate actively in some way. This is actually revealed with the utmost frankness by the same *Times* correspondent. For at this time, Montague Norman, head of the Bank of England, paid a visit to Schacht. Regarding this, the *Times* correspondent says that the two gentlemen "may have dealt with the question of German expansion to the East," since "in the future, a lucrative field for foreign capital and for economic collaboration between Germany and England might be offered here."

The paper of the English Foreign Office, the *Daily Telegraph*, even stated in its issue of January 11, 1939,

"... that the conversations in Berchtesgaden apparently assumed that the *Eastern plans of Germany could be realized with the help of Polish good-will through strong diplomatic action.* . . . It is assumed that in any case Hitler would try to protect his rear by concluding an air pact with England and France. It seems that Hitler intends to extend his political as well as his economic influence up to the borders of the Soviet Union but not across Polish territory. Latvia and Estonia in the North and Rumania in the South would consti-

tute points of contact with Russia without touching Polish territory. If Poland had not seized the Vilna district from Lithuania in 1920, Lithuania would constitute the most convenient point of contact with the Soviet Union."

To be sure, by January 28 of this year, the *Times* found it necessary to put a little damper on its hopeful expectations. For on this day, the paper wrote anxiously about the German-Polish conversations:

"There will be no campaign for the creation of an independent Ukraine this spring since a venture in this direction would be ill-advised without years of careful preparation, unless Germany had the full support of Poland, Rumania or both simultaneously. For that reason, there would scarcely be any kind of active operations against the Soviet Union this spring."

Finally, the *Daily Telegraph* of January 28 expressed the disappointment of English government circles with the statement "that the main subject of Ribbentrop's conversations in Warsaw was Polish neutrality in case of a conflict with the Western powers on account of Germany's colonial demands."

To be sure, the French journalist Kerrillis, writing in the *Epoque* of January 11, had already very clearly warned against the hopeless expectations which the English and French bourgeoisie had attached to the conversations between Hitler and Beck. He stated:

"Hitler had declared that, confronted by the choice between an attack on France and an attack on the Ukraine, he has decided on an attack on France. He has recognized the argument of Mussolini who pointed out the danger of a war against the Soviet Union."

The English reactionary Member of Parliament, Amery, described the character of the present war much more accurately than the sanctimonious declarations of Chamberlain and Daladier, when, according to the *Times* of February 13, he declared to French colonial specialists:

"The situation has developed far be-

yond the mere question of returning Germany's former colonies. What is happening is a struggle for world hegemony and the cycle of 1866-1870-1914 is now being repeated at an accelerated tempo. It is necessary for the English and French governments to agree to reply to the German colonial demands with a firm and precise 'No.' It is urgently necessary that the colonial and military officials of the French and English colonial empires work together more closely."

Amery was once an English colonial Minister and became well-known because of his plans for the closer union of the English colonial empire and his violent resistance to reform India. When he spoke of the struggle for world hegemony, he had in mind English rule over hundreds of millions of colonial slaves which he saw menaced by German colonial demands. His words offer the real explanation for the fact that Chamberlain and Daladier went in search of allies in the spring of this year. The great debate on the colonial question which broke out in the first months of this year between the German-Italian and the Anglo-French press is the real background of these efforts. After Hitler's Reichstag speech of January 30, the English and French imperialists were afraid that Germany did not want to attack the Ukraine but was endangering their colonial possessions. As long as it was a question of other nations, the English and French imperialists were ready to make all kinds of concessions. But in reply to Hitler's colonial demands, the *Times* declared on January 31:

"Likewise, no solution is conceivable that regards the possession of colonies in purely material terms and does not maintain and further develop the idea of European trusteeship for the natives."

The same gentlemen who negotiated over the fate of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia and China, in small businesslike conclaves, suddenly declared that colonial peoples could not be turned over to other states over the heads of these peoples. Whereas it is to be noted that English and French imperialism was very careful not to give this argu-

ment even the most elementary justification by granting the right of self-determination to the colonial peoples.

In addition to the colonial demands of Germany and Italy, it was primarily the increasingly intensified commercial rivalry between Germany and England that led to tensions in Europe. The English Minister of Trade Hudson made a speech in which he threw down the gauntlet to Germany announcing extraordinary measures for combating German competition. In its issue of December 3, 1938, the *Times* found the suitable military analogy to this speech. The paper wrote:

"In respect to trade as well as to the defense of the country, the real goal consists in developing a system of volunteer organizations which will enable us to compete with the totalitarian countries."

In the succeeding months, England proceeded to combat German competition by means of extensive grants of commodity credits to the countries of Southeast Europe. In addition to the need of winning allies for the defense of its colonial possessions, it was, above all, a struggle for the markets of Eastern and Southeast Europe that caused the Chamberlain government to conclude alliances with these countries against Germany.

Even before the occupation of the remainder of Czechoslovakia, the imperialist rivalry between Germany and England had found expression in the oldest barometer of Anglo-German rivalry—naval armaments. Germany had announced that it would increase its submarine fleet beyond the figure originally scheduled. England proceeded to construct dozens of new warships in order to insure its favored weapon, the blockade, in case of war.

The negotiations which the Chamberlain and Daladier governments initiated with the Soviet government also bore the stamp of double-dealing, of Machiavellian intrigue. While they conducted negotiations with the Soviet Union under the pretext of a common front against aggression, their diplomats were

secretly trying to induce Hitler Germany and Poland to come to an "understanding" under Anglo-French aegis and to adopt a common front against the Soviet Union. During the last days of August, the British Ambassador in Berlin, Henderson, was still endeavoring to pave the way for an alliance between England and Germany provided that Poland as the second partner of English imperialism would not come out the loser.

This fact can be seen from Henderson's own reports to Foreign Minister Halifax which were published in the English *White Book*. This also was intended as a maneuver in order to direct Hitler Germany's attention to the Soviet Union, just as on the other hand, the talk about German plans of aggression against the Soviet Union was intended to produce an unbridgeable abyss between the Soviet Union and Germany.

It would certainly have fitted perfectly into the plans of the English and French imperialists had a tremendous war conflagration broken out between the Soviet Union and Germany. Possessing an undamaged military power, they hoped that at the end, they would be able to reshape not only the situation in Central Europe in accord with their own interests but that they would also be able to exclude the Soviet Union from international politics. The furious rage of their scribes at the failure of this bloody plan and the still unrelinquished

hopes of the English, French and North American capitalist press for a clash between Germany and the Soviet Union, show that this and nothing else was their aim.

Our judgment of the alleged "anti-aggression war" of Chamberlain and Daladier follows logically from this:

Allegedly fighters against aggression who hope to cook their own imperialist soup on the fire engulfing the nations in Eastern Europe, they are not waging war for the sake of peace. Their claims are a fraud and their words are lies. If anything were still missing to round out the picture, the words of English government representatives regarding the Indian question would be sufficient. Just as in the last war, the Indian people were promised the right of self-determination after the "victory," so the English Minister for India has once again given the Indian people a promissory note which is to be cashed only after English imperialism, at the cost of tremendous sacrifices by the Indian people, has defeated its German competitors. Today as then, the war is being waged for the exploitation and domination of hundreds of millions of colonial slaves at the expense of these slaves and of the working class of the imperialist countries with "promises" to the colonial slaves and with "democratic" snares for the working class in order to find will- ing cannon fodder.



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# The Workers and Peasants Draw New Boundaries

BY A. CLAIRE

**A**T DAWN, on September 17, millions of leaflets were dropped over Western Ukraine with the call of the Commander of the Front, Semyon Timoshenko, for a *people's war*:

"Rise up in all your power, lift up your horny fist, people of Western Ukraine! With gun, scythe, pitchfork and axe, move against your eternal enemies, the Polish Pans. . . . On your soil, there must be no place for the Pans and their henchmen, no place for landowners and capitalists. The land, the pastures and meadows of the Pans in your hands! Overthrow the power of the landowners, seize power, decide your own fate! Take up arms, comrades, we are coming to your aid!"

At the break of day on September 17, the entire length of the thousand-kilometer border between Sovietland and the colonial territory of the Polish Pans shone with the gleam of the Red Army bayonets.

The commander of the Red troops, Efremenko, tore up the boundary post. He tossed it on a waiting auto and said:

"We shall set up this boundary post again where the Party and the government direct us. Forward, for our Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian brothers!"

Ten days later this boundary post was set up again; ten days later, this unprecedented campaign of liberation was already ended.

Tanks with the Red Star opened the way to peace, socialism and fraternity of the peoples. They were able to take the shortest and best route because the

peasants and workers, the women and children, showed them the way! In a Ukrainian village, a lad ran up to a Soviet tank operator: "I am not afraid of you, you aren't a soldier, you are a Red Army man!" Red troops had halted for a short time. In front of them was a small river, but the bridge was destroyed. A few hours later, peasant boys approached the commander: "The road is repaired." The commandant thanked them and went to see for himself. He was astonished: Before him arched a strong bridge capable of supporting cavalry, artillery and tanks. The commandant wanted to write down the names of the peasants, but they said: "What do you want names for, we all have the same name, we are brothers. . . ."

The Red cavalry entered a village; wagons full of bread, provisions and hay rolled towards them. The poor, bare-footed, poorly-dressed Byelo-Russian peasants absolutely refused to take money for it. You see, they had collected everything for *their own*, they said. They had to be taught the new order, now *their* order, in a friendly, patient way: The Red Army takes nothing without paying for it. . . .

The Red Army men were called for protection against bands of Polish officers, and the Red Army men came in order to rescue the people from pogroms. The Red Army men extinguished fires, repaired the railway lines, brought food for the children. Scarcely had the noise of war been stilled than the small tanks with Red Stars arrived with bread, salt, groats, oil, fruit, cloth and matches for

the people. The Red Army opened the gates of the concentration camps and the prisons—and they opened the doors of the universities to the children of workers, peasants and employees.

The Red Army entered a village—the farm laborers received land and the poor peasants, horses and cows. The palaces of the landowners were turned into schools, sanatoria, hospitals. Here and there grenades were still bursting, but in Byelostok, the congress of peasant committees, the new masters of the land and villages, was already in session.

The Red Army entered a city—free hospitals, children's homes, milk stations for children, schools in which free education is given in Ukrainian, Jewish and Byelo-Russian were opened. Those who were slaves but yesterday now came into power. Workers' control was established in the shops; in the factories and plants that had been left behind by the owners, the worker-directors took over management.

The hour hands of the clocks were set ahead two hours and the city adopted *Moscow time*. The seven and eight-hour day was introduced into the factories.

Announcements appeared on the walls and in the newspapers: "Workers wanted!" Doctors, lawyers, teachers and engineers left the counters of dirty little shops and bars where they had been driven by want. They discarded the apprentice's garb and have now become intellectuals again; they have regained their place in society. In Byelostok during the very first days of the Red Army's entry, thirty unemployed doctors received work. In Vilna, a botanical laboratory was opened for the schools of the city where there are now forty-eight new schools. . . .

Entire divisions, battalions and squadrons of the former Polish army melted away before the Red Army. The soldiers threw their weapons away. A handful of Soviet warriors could disarm hundreds of officers. The prisoners were received by a Soviet commander, a commissar. He called them "comrades" and this

friendly, simple word immediately relaxed their frightened expressions. He told them the truth, the bitter truth concerning their mercenary, cowardly, swaggering generals and rulers. He told them about the aims of the liberation march of the Red Army—and he didn't have to say much. They saw everything with their own eyes! The prisoners were fed, the Red Army men shared bread, meat and cigarettes with them and then they let the prisoners go—*home*. They went free, saw that the Red cavalry had not trampled down the fields, saw how the peasants divided the land of the landowner, how tenderly the Red Army men treated the pale, careworn children and provided them with food. They brought their hatred for the Polish oppressors into the wretched huts of the Polish village and into the workers' quarters on the outskirts of the cities and sowed the seed of the just war of liberation. . . .

The Red Commander, the Red Army men, the tank operator, was no conqueror; he was a liberator, a teacher, a founder of new life. Scarcely had the shots died away than Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian songs rang out, than the voice of the radio rang out: "Moscow speaking, Kiev speaking, Minsk speaking. . . ." The doors of the theaters and movies opened. No translators were necessary here. The wise, smiling eyes of Lenin looked out from the screen; Chapayev raced by on a fiery steed before the spectators; the artists sang their own national airs. And the people laughed and sang—so infectious and happy was the laugh of the men in the Red Army coats, in the blue outfits of the tank operators. As if by magic, the front was given a new hinterland. No army in the world had ever advanced this way, no army in the world had ever merged so with the people whose country they entered.

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Nineteen years ago, another army had moved into these districts. In 1920, the legions of Marshal Pilsudski broke into

the land of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia with a flourish of trumpets, with pomp and ostentation and shiny new uniforms and arms, by no means produced in their own country. They occupied Zhitomir, Berdichev, Kiev. But scarcely a month had passed before the Polish armies, under the onslaught of Budenny's cavalry, forgot their fanfare and fled back in panic to Lvov and Warsaw, leaving behind huge masses of war material of West European origin. The Polish army escaped complete annihilation at that time only because of special circumstances, one of which was Trotsky's betrayal. At that time, a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the front against Poland and Wrangel, Comrade Stalin, soberly and calmly analyzing the perspectives of the war, wrote:

"No army in the world can be victorious without a strong hinterland (we mean of course, a lasting and secure victory). For the front, the hinterland is the most important thing, for it alone provides the front not only with all kinds of supplies but also with people—with fighters, sentiments and ideas. A vacillating, and what is more, a hostile hinterland, transforms even the best, most compact army into a wavering and disordered mass."\*

Beyond the Polish army with their new uniforms and their shiny weapons, the Bolsheviks saw the *hinterland* of this army. Beyond Pilsudski's legions, they saw the Poland of the Pans. At that time, nineteen years ago, the Bolsheviks were by no means unaware of the fact that this hinterland—even though it was the hinterland of the Poland of the Pans—was still filled with the feeling of national unity against Russia, against that old Russia which for centuries had suppressed and destroyed the Polish culture, language and statehood. The Bolsheviks were fully aware that, in a *class* respect, Poland was heterogeneous, but that "the

class conflicts have not yet assumed such strength that they break through the feeling of national unity and affect the front, which in a class respect is heterogeneous."\*

But the Bolsheviks also saw the other side of this feeling of national solidarity on the part of the Polish army and its inevitable effect on the imperialist "great power," the Poland of the Pans.

Comrade Stalin predicted *why* the Polish army would suffer a defeat and he was not mistaken:

"By crossing the borders of Poland and penetrating far into the territory bordering on Poland, the Polish troops leave their national hinterland behind, weaken their ties with it, and find themselves in national surroundings that are foreign, and for the most part, hostile to them. And worse than that. This hostility is even increased by the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population of the territory bordering on Poland (Byelo-Russia, Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine) consists of *non-Polish* peasants who must bear the yoke of *Polish* landowners."\*\*

What drove Poland to break into these territories that displayed mortal enmity towards it? Pilsudski sent his legions into battle under the slogan of "Poland from sea to sea," from Danzig to Odessa. But even though the Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian and Russian peasants did not understand foreign languages, they understood very well the real meaning of this slogan: "The land to the large landowners, the factories to the capitalists, an end to Soviet power." The Ukrainian peasant looked at the Polish officer that came to his village and saw behind him the Counts Potozki, Sangushki, Tyshkevicz, Branitski and the Prince Radziwill who, before the Revolution, possessed more than three million dessiatines of land and numerous sugar refineries, distilleries and sawmills in the Ukraine.

But, the Red Army in 1920 marched

\* Joseph Stalin, *Speeches and Articles on the Ukraine*, p. 93, Russian edition.

\* *Ibid.*

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 94.

under the simple slogan, understandable to all: "Down with the Polish Pans!" The great strategist and marshal of the revolution, Stalin, grasped the main weakness of the enemy as he did in the case of his famous rout of Denikin: *the place where the blow against the enemy was to be delivered.*

"No matter where the *Polish* troops advance, they will meet with resistance everywhere by the Ukrainian, Russian, Byelo-Russian muzhik who expects the Soviet troops to liberate him from the Polish landowners. But in this respect the position of the *Soviet troops*, on the contrary, is entirely favorable: for them, all districts are 'suitable,' so to speak, because the Soviet troops do not strengthen the power of the Polish Pans in their advance, they overthrow it."\*

Two kinds of hinterlands, two kinds of war: the just war of liberation of Soviet Russia and the predatory war of conquest of the Polish Pans. Only a month after Comrade Stalin wrote these words, Pilsudski began to feel that the ground under his feet and his *hinterland* was beginning to give way. The complete rottenness and weakness of the army and the regime was carried through invisible channels from the front to the hinterland and from the hinterland to the front. Pilsudski could not conceal this: "Panic broke out in localities hundreds of kilometers away from the front and often even in the highest staffs, and penetrated deeper and deeper into the hinterland. . . . Thus the front which was most dangerous for me, the *internal front*, began to take shape."

The Red Army waged a just war, a war of liberation. Such a war only strengthens the hinterland. But the Poland of the Pans had no hinterland that could nourish its front with stirring ideas and sentiments. Already in 1920, it had a difficult internal front torn by national enmity, class conflicts and contradictions. "In order to test the actual

power of a capitalist state, there is and can be no means other than war." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol XVIII.) Poland did not pass this test in 1920. And in the first days of the test in 1939, it collapsed like a house of cards.

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In the Soviet Union, to adapt Talleyrand's famous words, they forget nothing and learned everything. Even at that time, during the war of 1920, when the Soviet people defended themselves against this attempted invasion, they understood perfectly well what it was that spurred on the greedy and swaggering Poland of Pilsudski and Smigly-Rydz to wars of conquest. With unerring penetration, Lenin and Stalin uncovered not only the causes of the rottenness and untenability of the Polish state but also its place in the system of world capitalism and its inevitable disintegration. Poland arose as a patched up, badly designed state, sewed together with the threads of national oppression from that division of the war loot which history knows by the name of the Versailles system.

"It has shown that Poland has been bound up only too closely with the entire system of international imperialism. You know that after the destruction of Germany, the allied imperialists—France, England, America and Japan—concluded the Versailles Treaty which is certainly infinitely more barbaric than the notorious Brest peace over which so much noise has been made. . . . The Versailles peace made a buffer state out of Poland which is supposed to protect Germany from contact with the Communism of Soviet Russia and which the Entente regards as a weapon against the Bolsheviks."\*

Thus Lenin wrote already in 1920.

Clemenceau cynically characterized this role of the Polish state in the following concise words: "We are erecting a barrier, a barbed-wire barricade

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 95.

against the menace of Bolshevik Russia." For decency's sake and evidently for the inspiration of the Polish Pans, he added: "There are nations which, like Poland, stand in the front ranks of civilization by their struggle against the Soviets. . . ."

Clemenceau's successors are less cynical in their speeches. Chameleon-like, they are ready to accept the fig leaf offered them by Leon Blum and company: the barrier and the barbed-wire barricade, they now call an embodiment of "democracy" which has fallen victim to "fascist aggression."

This "innocent victim" proved to be an insatiable beast of prey at that time when the world was divided among the victors of the first World War. Taking advantage of the situation in November, 1918, the Poles seized Lvov (Lemberg) and, in the middle of 1919, the Polish troops grabbed the Western Ukraine. In February, 1920, Poland opened hostilities against the Lithuanian-Byelo-Russian Republic.

In 1920, Marshal Pilsudski openly proclaimed imperialist aims as the foundation of Poland's foreign policy:

"Poland is confronted by a great question, shall it become a state which is equal in strength to the great powers of the world or shall it be a small state which requires the aid of the strong states? Poland has not yet answered this question. It must still undergo the test of its powers. Great efforts lie ahead of us which all of us, the present generation, must undertake if we wish to turn the wheel of history to the point where the Polish republic will not only become the greatest military power in the whole East but also the greatest cultural force."

Whence such ambition, whence such extravagant claims of a country of thirty-four million inhabitants, nine-tenths of whom consist of indescribably impoverished peasants? Whence this insane presumption to make Poland the "strongest military power in the whole East"? Lenin gave the clearest answer to these questions when he wrote:

"Poland was one of those small states formerly belonging to the Russian empire which fought hardest against the great Russian nationalities and which advanced the most claims to large territories not occupied by Poles. We concluded peace with Esthonia, Finland and Latvia likewise against the will of the imperialist Entente. But that was easier because the bourgeoisie in Finland, Esthonia and Latvia had no imperialist aims of their own for the sake of which a struggle against the Soviet republic would have been necessary, whereas the aspirations of the Polish bourgeois republic were directed not only against Lithuania and White Russia but also against the Ukraine. In addition, it is being driven to this by the centuries-old struggle of Poland which was once a great power and now contrasts itself to the great power, Russia. Today, too, Poland cannot refrain from this centuries-old struggle."\*

It was not only dreams that the marshals and colonels cherished. Marshal Pilsudski did not only look to the East but also to the West. There lay plundered, prostrate Germany. And on the other side of Germany, the immense money-bag of France was filling out; and there was also the City in London. It was not so much the recollections of the seventeenth century that turned the heads of the Polish Pans as the promises and pledges of the real lords and masters of Poland, the imperialists of England and France.

"If the Entente in its long-range plans for military intervention can count on any of the Russian border states in which the bourgeois order has persisted, it is only on Poland. . . ."

Lenin knew that definitely. He was never mistaken.

When, in 1920, Budenny's cavalry and the Soviet troops expelled Pilsudski's hordes from Soviet Byelo-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine and drove them up to the gates of Warsaw, the declamations

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV.

\* \* *Ibid.*

about the "greatest military and cultural power" speedily turned into a lament. The newspaper *Kurier Poranny* revealed the truth during those inglorious days:

"Who forced us into war? Who pushed us into war if not the Entente? It must finally be stated plainly and clearly before the entire world that in November and December, 1918, Poland intended to settle the question of its Eastern borders directly with the Soviet Union by diplomatic means and did not do this *only because of pressure by the Entente*. In January, 1919, the Polish government was informed . . . that the Entente demands that we wage war against the Soviet Republic, that it makes this the condition for recognition of our independence and reserves to itself the exclusive right to determine our borders in the East which would be extended in proportion to the services we rendered to 'civilization.'"

We see that the Polish press at that time even began to put Clemenceau's fine phrase about the "civilizing" role of Poland in quotation marks!

The old sinner, Lloyd George, now produces claims out of the dust of the archives of Versailles to the effect that not a single word was said either in Saint Germain or in Sèvres about Poland's rights to Eastern Galicia, that is, the Western Ukraine. He simply forgets to recall that as a reward for the campaigns against Soviet Russia, the Entente sanctioned the theft of the Western Ukraine by Poland and granted the Polish robbers the "right" to administer the stolen territories for twenty-five years. This period has not yet expired, but the "right" was annulled *de facto* and—in justice we must say—independent of the will of the former and present Entente.

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Nineteen years have passed. Separated by a border 412 kilometers long, two states existed side by side, both with many nationalities, the Soviet Union and Poland. Two hundred and ninety-two of the approximately 300 military airports

of Poland were located at the border of the Soviet Union. From year to year the forces and the sources of power of the Sovietland increased. The former fields of the Polish Pans in the Soviet Ukraine and in Soviet Byelo-Russia resounded with the noise of tractors and harvesters. For a long time, the border ridges which once separated the estates of Counts Branitski and Potoski from the small strips of peasant land have been covered with golden wheat, luxuriant sugar-beets and snow-white cotton.

A boundary is a line drawn on the map. Yet, if one were to look around from the top of a hill in any village of the Ukraine or Byelo-Russia in the border districts of the U.S.S.R., with what forcible impact would one realize that this line was the most tangible reality! On the other side of the Soviet border, in the villages of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, no song rang out. There, one saw sparse, low rye fields, rank with weeds. No smoke from factories. Only occasionally, one saw a miserable nag pulling a wretched cart. . . . Two worlds. The world of the fraternal union of peoples, of well-being and of culture, of joyous songs and healthy children—and the world of unheard-of national subjugation, the world of punitive expeditions, of injustice and murder perpetrated on people merely because they were Ukrainians, Jews or Byelo-Russians. And these were two kinds of *hinterlands*. This could not be forgotten.

And the Soviet Union never forgot this Polish hinterland. Events themselves pressed more and more urgently for it to be remembered. The flames of the new imperialist war came closer and closer. In 1938, Poland wanted to occupy Lithuania. But the Soviet Union, the great protector of peace and small nations, placed itself between Poland and Lithuania. And the robber withdrew. In September, 1938, the robber, spurred on by its master, the imperialists of the great powers, got up courage again and grabbed the Teschen district of Czechoslo-

vakia. As always, the Polish Pans embellished this robbery with pompous declarations. Marshal Smigly-Rydz wrote in his orders to the Polish army: "Today, you are crossing the Olsha River which has played the humiliating role of a border for twenty years. The greatness of the Polish republic is crossing the river together with you."

But it was not the "greatness of the Polish republic" that the Soviet people saw at that time, but the inhumanly oppressed Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Polish workers and peasants. When Leon Blum declared at that time, in September, 1938, after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, that one could now sleep peacefully again and enjoy the beauties of the golden autumn, the *Pravda* wrote on September 21 for those who had ears to hear and eyes to see:

"The ruling circles of Poland are taking active part in the campaign against Czechoslovakia. The Polish reactionary press is raising a howl about the rights of the Sudeten Germans and the other national minorities in Czechoslovakia. However, if one wanted to count the number of Poles living in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian districts of the Polish state, the result of this count could scarcely be cited as a reason for these districts belonging to Poland. And if one should interest himself further in the ticklish question as to what right to national self-determination and generally what rights the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian population has, the result would be no less eloquent."

Exactly one year later, in September, 1939, Poland entered into war against Germany. In the Soviet Union, it was seen clearly the kind of war Poland was waging. Lenin has taught us:

"War is a *continuation of politics*. We must study the politics before the war, the politics that led up to and brought about the war. If the politics were imperialistic, that is, politics of the defense of the interests of finance capital, of robbery and subjugation of colonies and

foreign countries, then the war resulting from these politics is imperialistic."\*

All the clamor of Leon Blum and company about the "defenseless victim" which is defending its "freedom" could not drown out the truth. The state of the Polish Pans was no innocent Red Riding-hood and, in the world of imperialism, there is not only *one* bad wolf. And a wolf remains a wolf whether he happens to attack or whether he happens to be attacked. These old tales were exposed by Lenin a long time ago. He wrote:

"To the Philistine, it is important *where* the troops are, who is winning *at the moment*. To the Marxist, what is important is *for what* the *given* war is being waged in which now one or the other army can be victorious."\*\*

Who could be surprised that the "poor Red Riding-hood" rejected the aid of the Soviet Union? For how would that Poland have been able to agree to aid from the socialist state when, just a few months before, it withdrew its troops from the Lithuanian border only as a result of the threat of the immediate cancellation of the non-aggression pact of the Soviet Union with Poland? How would that Poland of Colonel Beck and President Moscicki have been able to "agree" to help from the Red Army when, just a year ago, it sent its own troops to the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia in order to crush the peasants who had set fire to the mansions of the landowners and who had already prepared, by uprisings, to welcome the Red Army?

The Poland of the Pans did not place its hopes on aid from the Red Army. As was the case nineteen years ago, the Polish marshals were promised an entirely different aid and this for the same services to "civilization." The Polish colonels were not concerned with the "defense of the fatherland" just as little

\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.

\*\* *Ibid.*

as the gentlemen of Versailles were concerned with the "defense of democracy."

"To recognize 'defense of the country' in the given war means to consider this war a 'just' war serving the interest of the proletariat—that's all and no more. For invasion is not excluded in any war."\*

What interests of the proletariat—of the Polish, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian and international proletariat—could and would such a Poland defend, that barbed-wire barricade against the Soviet Union, that oppressor of other peoples and of its own people, that miscarriage of the Versailles "peace"?

The Polish Pans have voluntarily placed the head of their own people on the block, have voluntarily offered to turn their country into a sally-port for unleashing a new war. The Soviet people did not doubt for a moment *against whom* this new war was to be turned. In this connection, we have thoroughly explicit predictions by Lenin:

"In the sphere of politics, the imperialist war has shown that precisely from the standpoint of the imperialists, it is *sometimes* far more advantageous to have a small politically independent but financially dependent nation as an ally. . . . It is therefore entirely possible that, together with a policy of direct strangling of small nations, imperialism will simultaneously carry through a policy which it can never fully renounce, a policy in individual cases, of 'involuntary' alliances with new small national states or with bastard states of the type of Poland."\*\*

And that is what happened. During peace time—more accurately, during the time of *preparation for war*—this bastard state was a field of fabulous enrichment for foreign capital. The share of

foreign capitalists in Poland's petroleum industry amounted to 85 per cent, in the steel and metal industry 66.8 per cent, in the chemical industry 49.2 per cent. Poland paid more than four hundred million zloty annually to the capitalists of England, France, the United States and Holland in the form of dividends and interest. During *war time*, on the basis of fraudulent promises and pledges, this bastard state handed over its borders and its territory on credit; it became a "victim" which brought its own self to market.

No matter how much the most zealous lackeys of the type of a *Daily Herald* would like to extricate their masters, no matter with what revolting hypocrisy they may speak of the "terrible and tragic failure" of England and France to lift a finger for Poland, facts remain facts: the war "for defense of the fatherland" is now being waged without a fatherland to defend; for, this "fatherland" was an *invention, a fiction*. The Polish peasants had no fatherland; that is even admitted by the high dignitary Pan Minister Poniatowski who says that they were "beyond the pale of human existence." The Polish agricultural workers had no fatherland. They themselves tell us through the lips of the worker Krszysjak in Wanda Vassiliewska's book:

"The homeland was an endless gloomy day. The roaring of the administrator, dampness which streams down the walls of the barracks, the crooked legs and pimply necks of the barrack children, potato peelings from which the people made soup, rotten straw to lie on. . . . That was a homeland of the landowners, masters and priests. . . ."

But the eleven million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians of the Poland which has now collapsed actually had a fatherland—a great, mighty, peaceful country whose mission is the liberation of the toilers from capitalist slavery. This real fatherland did what was expected of it by the people who had been torn away

\* *Ibid.*

\*\* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 300, Russian edition.



from it for twenty years and held in slavery: it called on the Red Army for the war of liberation, the only just war.

The Soviet Union has saved the eleven million inhabitants of the Polish colonies from two-fold oppression: first, from the yoke of capitalism; and, secondly, from allowing their country to become, as was the case twenty-five years ago, the sally-port and the theater of a new war. And the toilers of the liberated areas have voted (in a mighty people's referendum) for unification with the Soviet Union, for socialism.

By saving and liberating the peoples of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, the Soviet Union won—and this

forever—another piece of the earth from capitalism for socialism, another piece of the earth from the forces of war for the forces of peace. What honest worker, no matter in what part of the world, will not rejoice over this and what honest worker will not joyfully subscribe to the words of Lenin:

*“These Messrs. capitalists in England and France believe that they are the ones to determine the boundaries but, thank God, there is someone else also that determines these boundaries: the workers and peasants have learned to determine boundaries themselves.” \**

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\* *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV.

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# The Austrian People's Struggle for Freedom

BY F. FURNBERG

**S**CARCELY eighteen months after the occupation of Austria by the German armies, the Austrian people were dragged into the imperialist war. Today, the sons of the Austrian workers and peasants are in Poland and at the West front in a murderous war which has been unleashed by the imperialists for the domination of Europe and the capitalist world. Today, a period of unimaginable suffering and frightful oppression has begun for the toilers of Austria in comparison with which everything that had gone before—and that was certainly not inconsiderable—seems like a mere trifle. Once more the imperialists find themselves in an armed struggle for partition of the world, for partition of the sources of profit, and the working people are expected to foot the bill.

When the first imperialist war broke out, the Austrian people—disregarding the Bosnian campaign—had had a fifty-year period of peace behind them, from 1866 to 1914. At that time, in 1914, the imperialists of all countries succeeded in concealing the true character of the war from the overwhelming majority of the people behind lying phrases about the "defense of the fatherland." In this, they were aided by the Social-Democratic leaders.

At that time, the people had not yet had the personal experience of the tortures of a modern war, of mass armies and developed technique. At that time, the chain of capitalism still encircled the entire globe, strong and unbroken. As yet, there was no socialist state. During the twenty-five years since then, the peoples of capitalist Europe have gone through a purgatory of suffering. And

our Austrian people are among those who have suffered most.

The first imperialist World War of 1914-18 had already imposed the heaviest blood-sacrifices, misery and starvation on the Austrian people and primarily on the working class, to an extent hitherto unknown; for the decayed Hapsburg monarchy, the multi-national Austria-Hungary was among the powers least capable of resistance. Incompetent army leaders, corruption and miserable organization increased the suffering of the masses. The flower of the people died at the front. The masses starved in the rear. Gradually the recognition dawned that this war was only in the interest of the ruling class, that it was a struggle among the imperialists being fought out by the masses. And with the collapse of the military power of Austria-Hungary and Germany, the revolution occurred.

But this did not end the sufferings of the people. The victors were the Entente imperialists whose sole aspiration was to enjoy the fruits of their victory, that is, to squeeze the last drop out of the masses of the conquered countries, to enslave them. Internally, power was seized by Social-Democracy which had just recently supported the imperialist war and was now crawling on its belly before the imperialists of England and France and, at the same time, was doing its utmost to help the bourgeoisie of its own country to return to the saddle.

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy disintegrated; Austria was cut up. Yesterday, still the center of an empire of fifty-six million people, Austria, today, was left a small country of only six and a half million people. Torn from a great

economic body and turned over to the mercy of the victorious imperialists, our country was in such a condition that poverty and misery continued to grow and starvation increased.

Only one power could save the country, the working class. But the working class, which was passing over to the offensive, was disarmed and held down by Social-Democracy. For years, Austria continued to vegetate, unable to live or die, keeping itself alive on the crumbs tossed to it by Western imperialism. Our country and our people experienced the most severe economic crises of capitalism. More than once, there was an opportunity to break the chains of our own and foreign capital, but again and again the Social-Democratic leaders prevented it. The Austrian workers waged hard-fought and costly battles against their oppressors in the years 1919, 1921, 1924 and 1927. But all their efforts were in vain, for the Social-Democratic Party was able to keep the majority of the working class from taking part in the working class struggle.

And so the period of the struggle against fascism arrived. Despite heroic resistance, the Austrian working class was defeated. In 1934, it suffered a bloody defeat and was robbed of its organizations. Chained hand and foot, it was finally handed over to German imperialism which occupied our country on March 12, 1938. Eighteen months' rule of the executioner's axe, concentration camps, economic enslavement and war preparations followed. And today, after twenty-five years, the Austrian people have been dragged into the imperialist war again, into a war whose effects from the very first have been much worse than in 1914. That is the "order" of capitalism.

This time it is much more difficult for the imperialists to disguise their war as a "just" war in the interests of the people. The German imperialists pretend to be fighting for the liberation of Germans in Poland while at the same time they are brutally oppressing millions of Austrians, Czechs and Slovaks. And what about the German people themselves?

Are they not being exploited and oppressed as never before by the capitalist master class? The German imperialists are transferring the German and Polish toilers in Poland from oppression by Polish capitalists and Pans to oppression by German capital. At the same time, they want to snatch colonies from the English imperialists and dominate the capitalist world.

The English capitalists whose attempt to involve the Soviet Union in a war with Germany failed have taken up this struggle for world domination. They will not voluntarily relinquish first place to the German imperialists. All their prattle about fighting for the independence of Poland, about fighting for "democracy" and for "destruction of Hitlerism" is a fraud. These gentlemen who have been oppressing India for centuries, who are holding down the Irish people, who regard the "natives" in all Asiatic and African countries as their slaves, who support reaction all over the world, who have just recently made possible the strangling of the Spanish People's Republic and betrayed Austria and Czechoslovakia, who are the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union—these gentlemen are suddenly supposed to have become "democrats" friendly to the people.

Can any person today be really so naive as to believe that English capital will spend even a pound sterling for the freedom of the Polish or the German people? Nothing of the kind! They drive the peoples into the war in the interest of their imperialist domination. When these gentlemen whisper into the ear of the Austrian people that they are waging this war for their liberation, we ask them: Why did your interest in us suddenly awaken in September, 1939, after it became clear that your speculation on a war between Germany and the Soviet Union had crashed? It would have been easy for you to support us in our struggle for freedom in 1937 and 1938. But at that time, Chamberlain and his Berlin ambassador, Henderson, invited the German imperialists to forcibly occupy our country. Because they fell into

Hitler's trap? Don't try to play innocent! At that time, the fate of our people was only a card in your imperialist game and today you would like to have us be a card again. You don't want our liberation; you only want to change the names of our oppressors; you want to install taskmasters over us who represent your interests and not those of the German imperialists.

The Viennese worker, the Tyrolean or Carinthian peasant have no interests to defend in Poland or in France. This war is not their war. On the contrary, it is directed against them also. We fight against this war with all our might and in doing this are conscious that we are thereby promoting the defeat of German imperialism but not a victory of English or French imperialism. We will work daily in order to cast off the rule of imperialism, to abolish foreign domination and to win our right of self-determination. But in doing this, we shall never fight for the interests of English and French capital. No, we shall gain our liberation in the struggle against German and English-French imperialism, in alliance with the German, English and French working class.

\* \* \*

In order to realize what this imperialist war brings to the German, Austrian and Czech people, it is only necessary to set forth the bare facts. The picture is truly frightful.

German newspapers are already carrying pages full of death notices which begin: "Fallen on the field of honor." Thousands and tens of thousands of sons of the people are killed and maimed. The cemeteries and hospitals are doing a rushing business. And all of these victims are dying not to win freedom for the people but to make it possible for the imperialists to redivide the world.

This war is a result and at the same time a phase of the process of the decay of capitalism. The "organized character" of the conduct of the war inside Germany, its "totality," are nothing but an expression of this process of decay. This is shown by all the measures adopt-

ed by the ruling class of Germany for the conduct of this war.

Capitalism cannot even insure the most primitive means for feeding the people. Let it not be said that these are simply war measures. No, this imperialist war was started precisely because capitalism believes that this will offer a way out of its mortal crisis, out of a crisis which no longer makes it possible to insure even the simplest means of subsistence for the masses of people. The war and the war measures merely make this fact apparent suddenly and with full brutality in all of the belligerent countries. It is as if this were intended to hammer into the masses of people: this system can no longer assure you even of a piece of dry bread.

In England, the misery of the starving unemployed is growing, prices are soaring, the offensive against wages is beginning. In France, the workers are forced to work to the point of complete exhaustion for a mere pittance and, by means of wage deductions, to finance the war of the rich. This system is most developed in Germany which entered the war with smaller reserves than England and France. But this system of transferring all of the costs of the imperialist war onto the backs of the toilers is also developing in England and France after the model of the German war economy.

The German toiler's eating is regulated by a definite standard. It amounts to 500 grams of meat, 2,400 grams of bread or flour, 90 grams of butter, etc., a week.

That is a starvation ration. But even this starvation standard is being reduced and, in the course of the war, will be reduced still more.

There are no cards for clothes or shoes, but purchase slips. But only he gets a purchase slip who possesses less than the officially fixed standard. This standard in the case of clothing, for example, amounts to: three shirts, three pairs of underwear, six pairs of socks or stockings, six handkerchiefs.

Thus, for example, whoever has six handkerchiefs can buy one only when one of his others is in rags. Practically,

this means that for the next period, the German toiler can buy neither clothes nor shoes.

The same holds for the most important household objects for which a similar standard has been set up and which permits only, for example, two bed sheets per person.

Since the worker and employee can only spend a small part of his wage or salary on food, clothing, heat, etc., because he is almost unable to get any of these things any more, wages and salaries must be cut. Otherwise the smuggling-trade prices would become too high and the bourgeoisie does not wish its sources of supply to become too dear.

The cuts are made along three lines: (1) General reduction of wages and salaries. It was decreed on the first day of the war. It benefits the employers who must turn over a part of it to the state as war tax. Thus, in this way also, German capital wants to be sure of its profit from the war right from the start. (2) Introduction of a war tax on beer and tobacco. (3) Introduction of a war tax on all incomes above 200 marks per month.

This wage reduction is intended to give the German imperialists the means for waging the war, as the German newspapers openly declare, since war loans are not possible today.

All restrictions on working time, Sunday rest and vacations are being abolished. Overtime and Sunday work are therefore no longer paid in Germany.

The German press advances an argument in defense of this slave existence of the masses: the soldiers at the front are worse off; they are even risking their lives. This is to what imperialism has brought the masses! They ought to be happy that they are allowed to exist at all. But the German people, the German worker, will reply: We neither want to die nor vegetate as slaves. Let the system die that brought us to this.

The consequences of this entire system for the economy of the country are catastrophic. The entire manufactured goods industry which works for direct mass consumption is through when it has no

orders for the army. The plants that cannot be adjusted to meet war requirements are closed down. *All* industry will now work *only* for the war. It is clear that this completely one-sided, so-to-speak 100 per cent, orientation of industry must lead to the disruption of the entire economy of the country. Trade—in so far as it is not trade in the means of subsistence—is also being reduced to a minimum. Tens of thousands of business people in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia are through. They have left only the possibility of entering the army at the front or the army in the war industry plants.

The peasants are only seemingly in a better position because they produce the means of subsistence. In reality, not only do their sons bleed to death at the front but the economy of the peasant is being ruined, too. The state grabs the product of the peasant's labor at miserably low prices. The money that he gets for his products goes in part as taxes and contributions to the state and the remainder slips through his fingers for he is compelled to pay insane prices for the most essential industrial commodities in the smuggling-trade. But his farm and his stock will deteriorate and, after a short while, he will see that he is living off his own substance.

And over all this reigns the capitalist regime of force which is so brutally cynical today that even the court procedure against its class opponents has been abolished. They simply announce in the newspaper and on the radio: "Citizen N. has been shot because of refusal to carry out tasks important to the state." "Citizen N. was shot for refusal to enter military service." "Citizen N. was shot for 'sabotage.'"

This is the countenance of the "totalitarian war" which German imperialism is waging today. This is capital's rule by force in its most extreme form, which lays hold of everything and everybody and makes a prison of an entire country. This is a decaying and disintegrating system which seeks to purchase a respite for itself by use of force at home and abroad. This is the picture of the war

in the "Great German Reich." But the situation of the Czech people is even worse than that of the German people. They are weighed down by the leaden weight of unrestrained national oppression; their country is being rung dry while thousands perish.

And the Austrian people also suffer national oppression. The greater the difficulties become for the present rulers of Germany, the more brutally will they treat the Austrian people. But it is just as certain that the peaceful Austrian people who hate this imperialist war will show their teeth and will develop a struggle against the oppressors that will dumbfound them.

The co-ordinated press blares out daily that this war is in the interests of the people. But who profits from the war? The suffering of the people is indisputable and is often admitted by the rulers themselves. But how is monopoly capital getting along? By means of the same war contingency decree which reduced all wages and salaries, the capitalists are guaranteed that the war taxes under no circumstances are so high as not to leave at least 35 per cent of the profits for the owner. Behind this 35 per cent are millions and millions in profits that are squeezed out of the masses and which benefit only monopoly capital. The "totalitarian war" of imperialist Germany is nothing but the "totalitarian" convergence of all surplus value into the pockets of a few, into the pockets of the real war profiteers. That's how it is today. And what about the war aims? Is the war being waged for the economic improvement, for the political and national liberation of the masses in "Greater Germany"? No, the war has just the opposite goal and that is the very reason that the imperialists started it.

The Austrian Communists are fighting with all their might against this imperialist war. At the head of the working class, they are conducting a stubborn struggle against economic and political enslavement, and, thereby, they represent the future interests of the Austrian working class and the Austrian people.

The Communist Party is the only party that shows the masses the way out, the only party whose policy can ultimately bring the peoples a lasting peace, a peace based on socialism and thereby the peaceful coexistence of peoples. The Communist Party holds aloft the banner of the struggle for peace, bread and freedom.

The Communist Party of Austria and the Austrian working class are closely bound up with the German and Czech people and, primarily, with the German and Czech working class. We are fighting against the foreign domination of Austria, for the right of self-determination for the Austrian people. Down with the commissars and commandants of foreign rule! The Austrian people must decide for themselves the form of their state organization and their foreign relations. We know that in this struggle the German working class will be on our side.

The Communist Party of Austria is fighting with all its might against the war economy in all of its forms. Today more than ever our slogan is: Eight hours is the limit! Let the employers work more if they want to wage war. Let them pay for their own war. Hence: Down with the war profiteers, for higher wages and pay for all overtime work! For adequate support of the women and children of all mobilized men and victims of the war!

In their struggle against the imperialist war, the Austrian working class will do everything to establish an alliance with the broadest masses of the peasantry. The workers will not permit themselves to be incited against the peasants again. It is not the peasants' fault if there is nothing to eat, but the fault of the big capitalists who started this war, of the big landowners who share the profits with the capitalists.

The Austrian worker, the Austrian peasant, the Austrian small business man, the Austrian soldier all belong in one front against the imperialist war, against the foreign rule. It must be explained to the masses of peasants and petty bourgeoisie that they must unite with the working class, with the only force that is able to lead Austria to-

wards a new, bright, peaceful future. The entire Austrian people must gain the conviction that, together with the foreign German rulers, their Austrian henchmen, the Austrian capitalists, must be driven out.

The stronger and more successful our struggle against the German imperialists and their Austrian adherents will be, the better will we be able to conduct the struggle against the French and English imperialists. When the Nazis tell us that the task is now to defeat English and French capital, we reply: We also strike at English and French capitalism when we drive out the German and Austrian capitalists and their taskmasters, the Nazi commissars, and thereby weaken the entire system of capitalism. In this way, and only in this way, do we fight together with the English and French working class.

For that reason, we resolutely combat the attempt to misuse the Austrian emigres for the aims of Anglo-French imperialism, to press them into the French army. The reactionary character of the attempt to create a so-called Austrian legion becomes clear from the very fact that Prince Starhemberg has issued the call for its creation. It is with this reactionary hangman's assistant that Chamberlain and Daladier want to carry out Austrian "liberation." This association of the two exposes them for what they are: enemies of the freedom of the Austrian people.

The former leaders of the Social-Democratic Party have become open lackeys of Chamberlain and Daladier today. They help to disguise the imperialist war as a "just" war. Thereby, they consciously damage the anti-imperialist struggle of the German working class as well as the struggle of the English and French working class against their own oppressors.

The German Social-Democratic leaders in emigration have not learned anything and have not forgotten anything. They have become even more traitorous than before. Their sole concern today is to enable the bourgeoisie to find a way out of the crisis of the war.

The German bourgeoisie is at war with English imperialism today for the domination of Europe. One current of the German bourgeoisie regards this struggle as too dangerous. There are tendencies in it that are satisfied for the time being to play second fiddle in Europe, to ensure the tottering class rule of the bourgeoisie in Europe with the help of Chamberlain and in alliance with English and French capital. The most zealous representatives of these tendencies, and to a certain extent their ambassadors, are the leaders of German Social-Democracy who have been picked out of the rubbish heap of history by Chamberlain, polished up on the surface and presented as "representatives of democracy."

At the behest of Chamberlain, these Social-Democratic leaders are conducting a furious struggle for the maintenance of capitalism in Europe. For that reason, they curse, calumniate and slander the Communists and primarily the Soviet Union. They want to achieve the "honor" of being placed at the head of the struggle against socialism. They want to show the English and French bourgeoisie that they are much more reliable than Hitler in the struggle against the Soviet Union and they hope to be able to replace the present reactionary dictatorship over the German people by their equally reactionary, equally bloody rule at the point of English and French bayonets. They are just as much the mortal enemies of the final liberation of the German working class, just as much the mortal enemies of a free socialist future in which the right of self-determination for the peoples will be realized, as the National-Socialist leaders. The whole difference consists in who does the hiring and paying.

The establishment of the revolutionary unity of the working class is more necessary than ever. We Communists are ready to make every sacrifice in order to establish this unity and we will put all of our energies in the service of this unity. But just as we leave no doubt that we are for the defeat of German imperialism, not on order to bring about

the victory of British and French imperialism, so we leave no doubt that there can be no connection between us and these Social-Democratic representatives of reaction. These warmongers of 1914, these butchers of the German revolution, the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who paved the way for German fascism, stand on the other side of the barricades. No honest, upright, freedom-loving person can have anything in common with them.

The Revolutionary Socialists of Austria declared in their appeal at the beginning of September that they want to fight for socialism, that there must be no more November, 1918, that is, no betrayal of the revolution. They want to "preserve their political independence even if it is restricted." (Gustav Richter, *Sozialistischer Kampf*, No. 18, p. 415.) That is evidently supposed to mean that they want to preserve their independence from English and French imperialism, but only "restricted." And at the same time, the Revolutionary Socialists turn against the Soviet Union, permit their periodical to publish the vilest slanders against the Soviet Union just at this time.

The Communist Party of Austria addresses itself to the Socialist workers and states plainly: We are for the revolutionary unity of the Austrian working class in the struggle against the imperialist war, in the struggle against the domination of the German and Austrian bourgeoisie, in the struggle for socialism. But we say just as plainly: Two worlds face one another today: the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. There, a bloody war for imperialist interests at the expense of the peoples; here, friendly unity for the construction of a new world in the interest of the toilers of the entire globe. There is and can be no unity with those who are the agents of imperialism, with those who are fighting against the bulwark of socialism, against the Soviet Union.

He lies and deceives who says that he is fighting for the liberation of his country and at the same time supports the French capitalists who prohibit the Com-

munist Party of France and seek to split and destroy the labor movement. He lies and deceives who says that he is fighting for socialism and at the same time strengthens the enemies of the Soviet Union at the moment when the Red Army is fulfilling its liberating role in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. One must make up his mind. The leaders of the Revolutionary Socialists have decided for the imperialists. But the workers will turn against the agents of Anglo-French imperialism, against the lackeys of the German bourgeoisie, and will take their place in the ranks of the socialist front with the Soviet Union at its head.

The revolutionary Austrian working class understands the position of the Soviet Union. It understands that the Soviet Union has never orientated itself on this or that capitalist state but only on one state, on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The revolutionary Austrian working class knows, feels and sees that every strengthening of the Soviet Union strengthens its own power. This is just the thing that gives rise to the furious incitement against the Soviet Union by the capitalists and Social-Democratic leaders who see their doom sealed.

Only the position of the Soviet Union, which orientates on the Soviet people's own power, is internationalist; for this power is socialistic; it fights and works for the future of the international working class. This very position and only this position realizes the international unity of the working class with the Soviet Union. When the Red Army marched to liberate their brothers in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, the hearts and minds of the Austrian working class were with them, the Austrian working class whose bond with the Soviet Union, with the leader of the international working class, Comrade Stalin, has always grown and will continue to grow stronger.

Events show that the prediction of the Communists has proved to be correct. Just as it is a fact that the second imperialist war has started, so it is also



true, as the Communists point out, that we are living in the epoch of wars and revolutions.

Ever since National-Socialism came to power, we Communists have made every effort to spare the masses the suffering of war. We did not succeed, thanks to the maneuvers of the reactionary bourgeoisie, thanks to the cowardice of the petty-bourgeois parties and because of the fact that the Social-Democratic leaders would not under any circumstances cut themselves loose from the bourgeoisie.

The imperialist war has become a fact. From this fact we draw the conclusions and state clearly that only socialism ensures lasting peace to the masses.

The Communist Party of Austria approaches the coming great battles, united and with closed ranks. It will weld the

Austrian working class into an unbreakable unity. This Austrian working class, tested in battle, will stand at the head of the struggle of all the toilers of Austria for their national and social liberation. Scores and hundreds of new leaders will arise from their ranks who will unite the entire toiling people around the working class.

Let the hyenas howl, the caravan moves on. It wends its historic way. The Communist Party of Austria fights for the smallest demand of the masses in the war misery; it develops the struggle step by step up to the final liberation of humanity from the fetters of capital. It fights under the glorious banner of the Communist International, under the victorious banner of Lenin and Stalin.

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