
WORLD FASCISM AND WAR

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

1. WHAT IS FASCIST WORLD POLICY?

IT WAS only after the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany in 1933 that fascism developed what might properly be called a world policy of conquest. Prior to that the program of fascism and the fascist movements, besides oppressing the toiling masses in their home countries and warring upon weaker neighboring peoples, consisted principally in attempts to break up the Versailles Peace Treaty. But with the advent of Hitler the fascists redoubled all these activities and also began to move directly towards winning a preponderance of international power that would enable them to redivide the world to suit themselves.

The several fascist powers, combining themselves into a bloc, a fascist international, have launched into a whole series of wars and other violent aggressions. Thus, Japan, after conquering Manchuria, is now trying to overrun all China; Germany has seized Austria and is also maneuvering to grab Czechoslovakia and a whole row of Balkan countries; and Italy, after capturing Ethiopia with fire and sword, is now warring murderously against Spain, is plotting to seize Egypt and Palestine; Poland is scheming to overrun Lithuania, etc. And the

fascist aggressors multiply and increase, in boldness and intensity. Fascism is imperialism rampant.

The heart of the fascists' plan to hack their way to world hegemony is to carry through eventually a general assault upon the Soviet Union, the greatest of all obstacles in the path of fascism. By smashing the U.S.S.R. the fascist hope, at the same time, to deal an overwhelming blow to the trade union and revolutionary movement throughout the world, to smash bourgeois democracy in all countries, to conquer great stretches of rich territory, Soviet and otherwise, to destroy the independence of many countries, and to make the allied fascist countries the most powerful imperialist world combination.

This plan for the fascist conquest of world hegemony by overthrowing the U.S.S.R. is primarily German in origin. It is the Hitler fascist expression of the traditional German imperialist "*Drang nach Osten*," the hunger for the rich Ukraine and Black Sea provinces and Balkan domination, and also of imperial Germany's long fight for world leadership. The projected anti-Soviet war also has deep roots in Japanese imperialist policy, Japan profoundly craving the destruction of the Soviet government in order to seize its vital eastern Maritime

Provinces and thereby to remove the greatest barrier to Japanese conquest of Asia. Italian imperialism likewise has a big immediate stake in this program of anti-Soviet aggression, Italy anticipating for itself in the event of victory a huge extension of its territory and influence in the Balkan and Mediterranean areas.

Repeatedly, the fascist leaders have given expression to their anti-Soviet world strategy. It is forecast in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*; Hugenberg, at the London Conference, voiced it by demanding the Ukraine for Germany; Hitler, at the Nazi Nuremberg Congress, similarly declared that in the conquest of the U.S.S.R. the German people would find the solution to their economic difficulties. Many statements by General Araki, and likewise the text of the notorious Tanaka memorandum, show how definitely the Japanese militarists also have in mind an allied war upon the Soviet Union. The steady refusal of Germany and Japan to sign non-aggression pacts with the Soviet government is in line with this whole murderous scheme.

But the overthrow of the Soviet Union is much more easily planned than accomplished. In the way stands the powerful Red Army, backed by a great united people who are animated by a burning revolutionary spirit. Moreover, the fascists understand quite well that when they finally launch their attack upon this tremendous power, they will run the risk, not only of military defeat, but also of proletarian revolution at home that would wipe out their capitalist systems.

Therefore, the fascists find it neces-

sary to prepare most thoroughly for the eventual anti-Soviet war they have in mind. They are compelled to work out a whole series of major strategic moves on a world scale which, they hope, will create such a favorable relation of forces internationally as will permit them to carry through successfully their savage plan of overthrowing and dividing up the Soviet Union. Among the most basic of these war measures against the Soviet Union are the following:

1. To re-arm Germany and to build up a powerful military alliance between Germany, Japan, and Italy which, supported by Poland and as many as possible of the Balkan and Baltic fascist and near-fascist nations, is to simultaneously attack the U.S.S.R. and its Eastern European allies on all fronts and destroy them in a sudden, short, devastating war.

2. To neutralize and weaken Great Britain and France by cutting off their Eastern European allies and by setting up a four-power pact between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, ostensibly to maintain peace in Western Europe, but actually to give the fascist bloc a free hand to attack the Soviet Union. As for the United States, the fascists hope it will be kept from any possible interference by the strong isolationist sentiment prevailing within its borders.

3. To weaken beforehand the armed forces, industries and defensive power generally of the Soviet Union, and to prepare a counter-revolutionary *coup d'etat* in that country to synchronize with the fascist invasion, by building up within the U.S.S.R. a whole network of spies, wreckers, assassins, etc., out of the remnants of

the dispossessed, one-time ruling classes (tsarist militarists, kulaks, etc.) and out of the degenerated former opposition groups (Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, etc.).

4. To prepare the capitalist world ideologically and to paralyze all mass resistance to the impending bloody assault upon the Soviet system and democracy in all countries, by carrying on a huge international Red-baiting crusade under the general slogan of saving the world from Bolshevism.

This, in broad outline, is the core of the German-inspired conspiracy of world fascism to crush and eliminate democracy and socialism from the earth and to march to world dominance by the overthrow of the Soviet government and the butchery of its people. The plan comprehensively provides that the fascist attackers be fully armed and united, the intended victims weakened and demoralized, the potentially hostile capitalist democracies neutralized and paralyzed, and the large masses of people everywhere so inflamed and confused with fascist prejudices and nationalistic hatreds that they would permit the terrible fascist war crime to take place. It is the most diabolical and gigantic project of mass murder and human enslavement ever conceived in all history.

Thus, there are two sides to fascist world policy: first, the various deprecations being carried on by the several fascist powers on their own account against other nations, but which are being more and more supported by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis and, second, the planned general war against the Soviet Union. And, as we shall see later on, these two phases of

policy, in some respects at least, are contradictory, the various campaigns of aggression by the individual fascist powers tending to interfere with their joint project of a general war against the U.S.S.R.

II. THE FASCIST WAR OFFENSIVE

The fascists have progressed far with their planned war upon the Soviet Union, with its great stake of the defeat of world socialism and democracy and the setting up of fascist world hegemony. Germany has been heavily re-armed and is still feverishly strengthening its land, air and naval forces; an aggressive fascist triple alliance has been built up between Germany, Italy and Japan, and it has drawn within its orbit Poland and various other states bordering upon the U.S.S.R.; elaborate moves have also been made to weaken France and Great Britain and to tie them into an anti-Soviet four-power pact; strong and militant fascist movements have been organized in many countries; in the Soviet Union the recent treason trials and spy exposures showed how busily the fascist powers and their Trotskyite agents had been working to build up their espionage and wrecking organizations to undermine the defensive power of that country; and, finally, the world is now being deluged on an unprecedented scale with anti-Soviet propaganda and all capitalist countries are being militantly urged to support the German-Japanese-Italian anti-Comintern pact to exterminate all Reds (and with them, all democracy).

The foregoing bare outline of what the fascists have done to advance their anti-Soviet plans shows the grave

menace that now exists of a concerted war attack upon the land of socialism, with all the terrible sufferings and dangers that this will involve for the human race. Stalin's recent letter in reply to the question of young Ivanov emphasizes the acute danger of the outbreak of the fascist anti-Soviet war.

And, as we have seen, the fascists are no less busily developing war in various other directions. Already, in China, Spain, and Ethiopia, they have thrown one-fourth of the world's population into war by their barbarous raids upon these peoples; their recently organized raid by the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo bloc upon Austria, Spain and Lithuania set the whole world trembling on the very brink of war, and they have created such a dangerous tension with a whole series of other capitalist and colonial countries that a devastating war may break out at any time, at any one of a dozen points to deluge the world with blood.

III. OBSTACLES IN THE PATH OF FASCISM

While the fascist powers have undoubtedly scored important successes in their fight against democracy and socialism and in preparing their war for world domination, they are by no means having things all their own way. On the contrary, their strategy of war, aggression and conquest, especially their planned assault upon the Soviet Union, has developed many weaknesses and is meeting with great resistances that threaten their whole project of conquest with eventual irretrievable disaster. It is necessary, therefore, that we examine into these weak spots in the fascist front so that we may be able to take full and con-

scious advantage of them in our struggle against fascism and war.

The first and most serious of the mass resistances barring the advance of the fascist war-makers is the tremendous and rapidly increasing defensive strength of the Soviet Union. The swift growth of the industries, the rapid collectivization of agriculture, the rise in the living and cultural standards of the masses, the ruthless cleaning out of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies and wreckers and the smashing of their planned pro-fascist uprising, and the vast mechanization and general strengthening of the Soviet military forces, have all contributed enormously to enhance the armed power and unconquerable revolutionary spirit of the U.S.S.R. Besides all this, the lessons of the Spanish and Chinese wars show clearly that modern military technique definitely favors the defense, it being now estimated by experts that an attacking nation, confronting a modern army, must have an advantage of about three to one in order to insure success. All of which makes ducks and drakes of the fascists' hoped-for quick victory over the Soviet Union by a lightning-like attack. They now realize that when they begin their war on the U.S.S.R., they will face a long and desperate struggle which will test all their strength to the uttermost and in which the very existence of their own governments will be at stake, not only from the powerful Red Army, but also from the rebellious masses in their home countries.

The second basic difficulty that confronts the fascists in their planned conquest of world hegemony by overthrowing the Soviet government is

lack of unity of interest and concentration of forces among the fascist powers themselves for this task. While it is true that nothing would be more gratifying and advantageous to all the fascist governments than the violent overthrow of the Soviet government, still the fascist powers have not yet been able to combine all their forces on this central aim of their world strategy. On the contrary, as we have already remarked, they are engaging in a whole series of other wars in China, Spain, etc., to advance their own individual imperialistic ambitions in these areas.

Many fascists who have very much in mind the eventual attack upon the Soviet Union, justify these individual wars from a strategical point of view on the grounds that they are all strengthening the fascist powers by furnishing them much-needed war materials, increased armaments, added man-power, better strategic positions, and intensified mass fighting spirit, and that these wars may even give the fascist bloc world hegemony before the anti-Soviet war is actually begun.

But such fascist estimates and hopes are over-optimistic. Whatever gains the fascist powers have made through these many war aggressions have been more than offset by negative results. This is because the several fascist wars: (a) decentralize the world fascist strategy into a series of local struggles and scatter the fascist forces out along a too-extended battle line; (b) create antagonisms between the fascist powers themselves (Germany and Poland over Danzig; Germany and Italy over the Balkans; Germany and Japan over the Caroline Islands, etc.); (c) stretch the fascists' resources almost to

the breaking point, thereby causing financial and economic crises in Germany, Japan and Italy and subjecting the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis to great strain; and (d) raise up a host of powerful enemies throughout the world that are highly dangerous to the whole fascist cause.

The German fascists have not been blind to the weakness developed in their world strategy of a united fascist war against the Soviet Union through the tendency of their co-conspirators—Japan and Italy—instead of concentrating more directly upon the anti-Soviet drive, to plunge into a whole series of imperialistic war adventures of their own. In consequence, the German strategists have tried to overcome these decentralizing tendencies in the fascist powers' ranks, even while, at the same time, they have been giving aid to Japan's and Italy's war projects and also engaging in similar ruthless imperialistic adventures of their own (Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc.). This at least partly explains Germany's original only partial entrance into the Spanish situation and also Hitler's attempt to free Japan from its Chinese involvement by offering to "arbitrate" the war.

The third big obstruction before the fascists' anti-Soviet war plans is the rising opposition of the governments of the capitalist democracies. This occurs largely because the decentralizing tendency above noted—of the fascist powers carrying on war aggressions on many fronts—tends to provoke Great Britain, France and the United States into active resistance against the fascist plans of conquest and world domination.

The fascist dictators, boldly using

their anti-Communist bloc, have constantly shown the utmost contempt for the capitalist democracies, obviously considering them to be more or less helpless before their concentrated ideological and military onslaughts. They have literally spat upon these countries and boldly infringed upon their most vital imperialist interests; they have gutted the League of Nations, torn up the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg peace pact, overrun various colonial and semi-colonial countries, and interfered with other countries' internal affairs, and generally have trampled underfoot all established international law.

The governments of the capitalist democracies have submitted to all this injury and abuse, retreating constantly before the incredible fascist insolence and aggression, giving the fascist bloc one easy victory after another and thereby also a stimulus for further aggression. They have supinely stood aside and allowed the overrunning of China, Ethiopia, Spain and Austria. Indeed, powerful sections of finance capital in Great Britain, France and the United States are decidedly fascist-minded and are inclined to give Germany, Japan and Italy a pretty free hand and often considerable assistance in their maraudings. Such ultra-reactionary elements welcome a world growth of fascism in order to defeat the revolutionary and democratic forces at home and abroad. Thus, the Chamberlain British government, fearing revolution in Germany, Italy and Japan, makes concessions to these countries, and, at the same time, would like to see Germany and the Soviet Union weaken each other in a great war,

while imperial England stood aside and fattened on the conflict.

The capitalist democracies, however, despite all their shameful retreats, compromises, and even open collusions with the fascist aggressors, nevertheless constitute a serious and growing danger to the fascists' plans of world conquest. Large sections of the British capitalist class (not to speak of the anti-fascist opposition of huge masses of the middle class and working class, constituting easily a majority of the English people) are becoming increasingly alarmed at the Japanese threat to England's Indian and Chinese colonial interests, at Germany's brutal seizure of Austria and its insistent demand for the return of its colonies, and at Italy's bold attempt to cut the British Empire's "life line" in the Mediterranean. The resignation of Anthony Eden was an important sign of this growing fear in English ruling circles, and so also is the tremendous British program of rearmament now going on. French ruling capitalist class circles are likewise being deeply stirred and antagonized by the heavy rearmament of Germany, by the weakening of France's Balkan alliances, by the threat to Czechoslovakia and to France's African and Chinese colonies, by the danger of a possible fascist Spain, etc. This alarm is reflected in the great strengthening of France's military defenses and in the re-emphasis now being placed upon the Franco-Soviet pact. American imperialism also is being aroused by the Japanese attempt to slam shut the open door in the Far East, by Japan's menace to the Philippines, by the sinister activities of Mussolini and Hitler in Latin-

America; and this fear of the imperialist fascist aggressor powers lies at the bottom of the present big expansion of American naval and air forces.

The awakening opposition of the democratic powers against the fascist aggressors carried with it a double danger for all the fascist plans of conquest: (a) a disastrous war breaking out between one or more of the capitalist democracies, and one or more of the fascist countries, and (b) the forcing of the capitalist democracies (which are being pressed by their peace-loving masses) into a policy of joint collective security to restrain the fascist war-makers. Both of these contingencies are distinct possibilities in the present situation, and the advent of either of them could be disastrous to the fascist powers' aggressions, both against the Soviet Union and other countries.

The question of collective security is constantly becoming more widely accepted as the only way to maintain world peace. The big hindrance to its achievement so far has been the reactionary stand of the Tory British government. The U.S.S.R. is definitely committed to a collective security policy; France would also go along if England did; and, judging by Roosevelt's October 5 speech, so would the United States. But England has refused, and blocked all real efforts at setting up a real security pact. Now, however, things are changing in that country. The resignation of Anthony Eden and the growing split in the Conservative Party caused by Hitler's seizure of Austria and increased attacks upon Spain, show that at last in England a powerful collective security movement is developing even in capi-

talist circles. For this to lead to a general pact between the U.S.S.R., France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. to preserve the world peace would be a major disaster to the fascists.

The fourth, and vastly important obstacle to the fascist plan of a general war against the Soviet Union (with its objectives of the defeat of world democracy and socialism and the establishment of fascist international domination) is the tremendous anti-fascist mass peace movement that the fascists' war aggressions are raising up in all parts of the earth. Fascist leaders universally have had a gross underestimation of the resistance of the world toiling masses against their plans of war aggression and human enslavement. From the outset the fascist butchers have considered the people as only so much cannon-fodder that could readily be propagandized and terrorized into obedience and they have looked for no serious resistance from that quarter. This contemptuous attitude is not surprising in view of the easy victories the fascists won over the workers of Italy, Germany and Austria because of Social-Democratic misleadership. The only masses for whom the fascists have shown a wholesome fear are the Soviet people, with their powerful Red Army and determined Communist leadership.

The course of events is showing, however, how greatly the fascists have miscalculated the resistance of the masses. In many countries the toilers, alarmed and outraged by the fascists' ruthless military aggressions and terrorism, are developing huge People's Front anti-fascist peace movements and are struggling in militant defense

of their lives, living standards, democratic rights and national independence. These growing movements are the elemental force which threatens eventual destruction to the fascists, both internationally and in the individual countries.

Thus, in Spain, where the Italian, German and Spanish fascists originally expected the overthrow of the democratic republic to be a matter of only a few days at most, these marauders now find themselves in the midst of the second year of an exhausting major war against an aroused and heroic people. In China it is much the same general story: whereas Japan hoped for a sort of joy parade to easy victory, it now actually confronts a great war, which even its own over-optimistic generals are now prophesying will last for at least a year more.

In the Soviet Union also the workers and peasants, with even more militant anti-fascist spirit, have completely shattered the carefully built fascist espionage machine which was to have been such a vital aid to the fascists in the anti-Soviet war, and they have built the most powerful military force in the world to defeat the eventual fascist attack. In France the masses have organized a broad anti-fascist People's Front and despite every fascist, Trotskyite intrigue, they are steadily consolidating it. England is also beginning to seethe with military mass peace sentiment, as was demonstrated by the recent action of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress in demanding a policy of collective security. In Poland the Peasants Party, representing 70 per cent of the people, has declared for a policy of

collective security with the democracies.

Even in Germany, Italy and Japan, despite the prevailing extreme terrorism and demagoguery, there is also growing a deep mass peace sentiment which will eventually burst forth into revolutionary struggle against the war-making fascists. In short, the anti-fascist peace movement grows rapidly all over the world and is full of menace to war-making fascism.

In the United States also great masses of toilers are commencing to realize the suicidal folly of the traditional American isolationism and are developing (even if still confusedly) a huge anti-fascist peace movement with a program of collective security action by all peace-loving nations against the fascist war aggressors. They are beginning to understand that such isolationist policies only stimulate fascist aggressions abroad and must eventually bring these world marauders to America's door, and it is also being borne home to these masses that fascist victory abroad can only have the result of enormously strengthening the fascist danger in the United States. The American people are learning that they have the very greatest interest in fighting against fascism and for peace, and that this necessitates international action.

The fifth great weakness in the planned fascist general attack on the Soviet Union is that the world struggle the fascists are provoking is not developing primarily around the issue enunciated by them; that is, of a "holy crusade to save the world from Bolshevism"; but on the contrary, the struggle tends to turn around a different issue; that of "Democracy and

peace versus fascism and war." Thus instead of the fascists succeeding in narrowing down the fight to only the revolutionary elements on one side and everybody else on the other, as they hoped for, what is actually happening is that the great masses of the people, awakening to the barbarous menace of fascism, with its anti-democratic, pro-war program, are gradually consolidating their forces and developing a broad anti-war, anti-fascist struggle in defense of their threatened lives, living standards, culture, democratic liberties and national independence.

IV. THE SHARPENING DANGER OF FASCISM AND WAR

From the foregoing it is manifest that the fascist powers, despite the successes they have scored and the menacing force they have built up, have not succeeded, so far at least, in their plan of isolating the Soviet Union and then falling upon it in sudden, crushing force with a great solidly organized bloc of fascist nations, while the rest of the world, drugged by fascist propaganda, stands by and makes no resistance. On the contrary, the fascist world strategy is meeting with heavy and unexpected obstacles. These, we have seen, are: (a) an enormous strengthening militarily of the Soviet Union; (b) the fascist countries, lacking unity and resources, are weakening their potential strength by excessive armaments and various wars; (c) the capitalist democratic governments are being antagonized by the fascists and may be forced into an anti-fascist war or into a collective security pact; (d) the great masses of the people in many countries, instead

of being the passive cannon fodder the fascists expected, are making a most powerful and effective resistance, and (e) the present world issue of struggle turns not around the fascists' slogan of "Save the world from Bolshevism," but around the people's watchword, "Democracy and peace versus fascism and war."

The development of all this powerful resistance to the fascist barbarians and war aggressors is a striking proof of the correctness of the political line of the Communist International. The Comintern has developed the People's Front movements in various countries; it has championed the collective security movement on a world scale, and it has steadily taught the toiling masses everywhere that the central immediate issue raised by the advent of fascism is the defense of democracy and peace from the fascist war-makers and culture destroyers.

Although in the foregoing pages we have seen the great and growing obstacles that stand in the path of the fascists, we cannot assume from this that, therefore, the fascist plot to overthrow the Soviet Union is smashed; that the fascist powers have already defeated themselves by decentralizing their attack and by taking on too many enemies at one time; that the democratic forces of the world are now so firmly united as to have definitely secured the upper-hand over the fascists; that peace is secured and that there is now no longer any real danger of a major world war.

On the contrary, to arrive at such unjustified and over-optimistic conclusions would be the gravest possible political error. In reality, as we have pointed out earlier, never was the

menace of fascism and the danger of war, especially against the Soviet Union, so great as now. The fascist Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance is intensifying its bid for world supremacy, and it knows that it cannot achieve this aim so long as the U.S.S.R., the Gibraltar of peace, democracy and socialism, stands. Stalin's recent celebrated article shows the extreme danger of a fascist assault upon the Soviet Union.

Among the major war possibilities that now menace the peace of the world and which especially threaten the U.S.S.R., are the following:

1. The danger of a fascist military victory or a patched-up peace in Spain or China, or conquests elsewhere (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc.), which would give the fascist powers greater economic resources and also free their hands to war upon the Soviet Union or to develop new attacks upon the capitalist democracies and colonial countries.

2. The danger of the serious divisions existing among the democratic powers (England and United States), or between them and the U.S.S.R. preventing the building up of a policy of collective security.

3. The danger of the establishment of a four-power pact (England, France, Germany and Italy) which would facilitate the fascist attack upon the Soviet Union, and also the policy of support by the Tory English government to the fascist bloc.

4. The danger of a fascist seizure of the government in one or more of the capitalist countries that would throw the balance of power decisively in favor of the allied fascist states, and thus open the door to fresh fas-

cist aggressions upon various countries and also for the hoped-for attack upon the Soviet government.

5. The danger that some new outrageous fascist aggression, such as Hitler's annexation of Austria or his proposed seizures of Czechoslovakia, may provoke a general war.

6. The acute danger that the deepening financial, economic, political and military difficulties now being faced by the fascist countries may induce the reckless fascist adventurers—who realize that the time factor is working against them—to try to cut the Gordian knot by provoking a general war, or especially a war against the U.S.S.R.

V. HOW TO FIGHT THE MENACE OF FASCISM AND WAR

The threat of fascism and war now hangs like a great storm cloud over the world. The fascist barbarians are threatening humanity with the greatest butchery in all its history, by provoking a great war in which all human freedom, culture and civilization will be at stake. Only by resolute and intelligent mass resistance can this catastrophe be averted.

The experience of the past few years shows that such mass resistance can and is being organized along the lines supported by the Communist International. The center of this strategy for the defense of peace and freedom is systematically to take every advantage of the weaknesses in the fascist strategy and to build up every resistance in the path of the fascists. In the foregoing pages we have seen what the most important of these strategical weaknesses and mass resistances are. Now let us briefly point out how

these factors can be utilized by us:

1. Support the Soviet Union: The U.S.S.R. is the greatest of all barriers in the way of the fascists, therefore, the masses' anti-fascist, anti-war strategy must aim at strengthening and supporting it. The Soviet people are taking care of this job brilliantly by building up the country's defenses, and it is the task of Communists and other militants abroad to cooperate with these defenders of freedom by actively supporting the Soviet Union's peace policy, by popularizing its socialist achievements, by making the masses understand that the U.S.S.R. is the main bulwark of world democracy, by refuting the slanders of the anti-Soviet Red-baiters, and by preparing the masses to give the U.S.S.R. active assistance in the threatening fascist war upon that country.

2. Strengthen the mass resistance against the fascist war attacks: It is necessary for the workers of all countries to give the most active and direct aid, financial, military, boycott, etc., to those peoples who are directly assailed by the fascists, as in Ethiopia, Spain, and China. This support serves the double purpose of defending the masses' rights and lives and of weakening the fascists' world forces. Here the decentralizing tendency in fascist strategy—which launches wars on many fronts—plays into our hands and we must take the fullest advantage of it by developing the most desperate resistance wherever the fascists begin their wars. Make world fascism break its neck in Spain and China and wherever else it starts wars against the people.

3. Build the People's Front: the great anti-fascist, anti-war sentiment

in every country must be organized and educated. Fascism must be killed in all its nests. The way to do this is through the People's Front, which unites the broad masses of workers, farmers and middle classes to struggle in defense of their living standards, civil liberties, culture, national independence, and their very lives. This People's Front must be lined up against the fascists on every front; cultural, industrial, political, military.

4. Establish collective security: What the fascist war-makers dread most of all internationally is a policy of collective security by the democratic nations. But their policy of invasions and war-making tends to provoke the democracies into precisely just such a defensive pact. Here again we must take advantage of the loophole in their strategy by bringing all efforts to bear upon the three big capitalist democracies to form a collective security agreement with the Soviet Union. The fight for collective security is tied up with the struggle against fascism on a national as well as world basis and will become the more effective as the growing People's Front movement in the various capitalist countries are able to exert greater pressure against their governments, or to assume control of them altogether.

5. For democracy and peace versus fascism and war: The final vital element of our anti-fascist, anti-war strategy is to keep clearly before the world's masses the true issue that is at stake. We have seen earlier that the fascists are not making predominant their slogan of "Save the world from Bolshevism," and we must make their failure complete and disastrous by

still more effectively emphasizing our central slogan of "Democracy and peace versus fascism and war," in spite of all the contrary dovetailed efforts of fascists, Trotskyites, Bukharinists and "Left" Socialists.

These are our main tasks in the present great fight against fascism and war—to support the Soviet Union in its peace policy; to strengthen the military resistance of the attacked masses in Ethiopia, Spain and China, to build the People's Front in all countries; to fight for an international collective security pact between Great

Britain, France, United States and the U.S.S.R.; to keep clear the central fighting issue of democracy and peace against fascism and war.

This is the peace policy of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. There is the most urgent necessity that it be put militantly into effect on all fronts. It is the sole path to world peace, freedom and progress. Only along this line can the fascists be smashed, the democratic liberties of the people be preserved, and the way be opened for a rapid growth of world socialism.