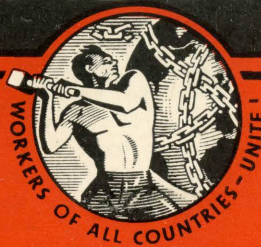


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# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

1939



No. 12

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# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Vol. XVI

DECEMBER, 1939

No. 12

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# The Communist International Greet Stalin On His Sixtieth Birthday

**T**O THE leader, teacher and friend of the working people of the world: To you, dear Comrade Stalin, the great leader, wise teacher and supremely beloved friend of the working people of the whole world, the Executive Committee of the Communist International conveys its ardent Bolshevik greetings on the occasion of your sixtieth birthday.

Your glorious and heroic path as a dauntless revolutionary, a great theoretician and leader of the socialist revolution, serves and shall always serve as a splendid example for the proletarian revolutionaries of all countries.

From the small underground revolutionary circles in Transcaucasia through prison and exile, through the stormy years of revolution and civil war, through the difficult years of struggle against economic devastation, you carried aloft the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and under this banner you led the working class to the triumph of socialism on one-sixth of the world.

Together with Lenin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, you led the working class of Russia to the victory of the great socialist revolution which, for the first time in history, has transformed the exploited and the oppressed into the sovereign masters of their own destiny, into the builders of the new socialist society.

The victory of the working class of the Land of Soviets strengthens the faith of the workers of the world in their own forces, imbues them with bright hope and inspires all working people to take up the struggle against their exploiters.

Under Lenin's and your leadership,

Comrade Stalin, the Land of Soviets has become a powerful and impregnable bulwark of the movement of emancipation of the workers, farmers and enslaved nations of the whole world.

Everywhere, in every corner of the earth, the oppressed and disinherited, when they rise against their oppressors, inscribe on their banners the names of Lenin and Stalin.

Together with Lenin you stood at the cradle of the storm-born Communist International.

The Communist International grew, gained strength and developed on the basis of the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, on the basis of your own works of genius and the great historic experience of the Bolshevik Party.

You defended the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International against the multitude of enemies who sought to distort Lenin's doctrine and divert us from Lenin's path; you enriched, supplemented and developed the great doctrine of Lenin in conformity with the new conditions of the class struggle of the international proletariat.

From you, Comrade Stalin, the Communists of all countries learned and are learning supreme devotion to the working class cause which you have served for more than forty years and to which you are prepared to "devote all your strength, all your faculties and, if need be, all your blood to the very last drop."

From you, Comrade Stalin, the Communists learned and are learning to work tirelessly to strengthen their contacts with the working class masses, self-sacrificingly to defend their day-to-day interests and with supreme devotion to

fight for the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

From you they learned and are learning adherence to lofty Bolshevik principles and to place the interests of the cause of Communism above everything else.

From you they learned and are learning profound hatred for all enemies of the working class, and Bolshevik relentlessness towards the Social-Democratic and other agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement.

From you they learned and are learning unsurpassed skill in Bolshevik strategy and tactics; ability soberly to appraise the alignment of class forces, combined with fearless Bolshevik daring.

From you they learned and are learning iron firmness in pursuing their aim, tenacity which surmounts any and every obstacle, and flexible tactics necessary in carrying out decisions.

From you they learned and are learning never to become conceited over successes and never to succumb to panic in moments of difficulty or temporary reverses.

From you the Communists of all countries learned and are learning to be true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, the highest manifestation of which is the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

From you they learned and are learning that effective proletarian internationalism which welds the working people of all countries, nations and races into fighting legions.

From you the Communists learned and are learning how to fight against imperialist war, for peace, for the happiness and freedom of the peoples.

For many years your prudent policy, Comrade Stalin, saved mankind from the new imperialist war which menaced it.

When the dark forces of capitalism unleashed their criminal war, you did not allow the imperialist robbers to in-

volve the Soviet people in this bloody carnage; you thereby defended the cause of peace and frustrated the efforts of the warmongers to plunge many European nations into this war.

You heeded the voice of the working people of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia languishing under a foreign yoke, and on your noble initiative the Soviet people fraternally extended a helping hand to them.

When the plutocratic clique of the Mannerheims and Tanners embarked on war provocations against the U.S.S.R., when the working people of Finland established their own People's Government, the Soviet people, under your leadership, responded to the call of the Finnish people and came to their aid in the struggle against their hangmen, the agents of French imperialism.

Millions of working people the world over support and shall continue to support the policy of the Soviet Union which is inspired by you, for this policy conforms to their interests and facilitates their struggle for emancipation.

They know that you, Comrade Stalin, have no other aim save that of serving the emancipation of humanity, that you have no other life than that devoted to the well-being and happiness of the working people.

The Communists of all countries, expressing the sentiments and thoughts of millions of people, vow to you, our dear and beloved Comrade Stalin, that they will transform your great teachings into deeds and will devote all their strength to achieve the triumph of Communism, to the cause of Lenin and Stalin.

May the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin live and conquer!

May Comrade Stalin, the great leader and teacher of the international proletariat, live many, many years, to the joy of the working people!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

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# Molotov's Broadcast to the Soviet People

## On November 29, 1939

**M**EN and women, citizens of the Soviet Union: The hostile policy pursued by the present government of Finland toward our country compels us to take immediate measures to ensure the external security of our state.

You know that in the course of the past two months the Soviet government patiently conducted negotiations with the government of Finland concerning proposals which, in the present alarming situation, it regarded as the minimum essential for ensuring the security of the country and especially for the security of Leningrad.

In these negotiations the government of Finland adopted an attitude of irreconcilable hostility toward our country. Instead of finding the ground for agreement in a friendly manner, the present rulers of Finland, to please the foreign imperialists who instigate hostility toward the Soviet Union, took a different course.

Despite all the concessions we made, the negotiations ended without yielding any result. The consequences of this are now known.

In recent days, abominable provocations have been commenced by the Finnish militarists on the frontier between the Soviet Union and Finland, including even artillery firing on our troops near Leningrad, which caused grave losses in Red Army units.

Attempts of our government to forestall repetition of these provocations by means of practical proposals addressed to the government of Finland, far from finding any support, again met with the hostile policy of the ruling circles of Finland.

As you know from yesterday's note

of the Soviet government, they replied to our proposals by a hostile refusal and brazen denial of the facts, by a derisive attitude toward the victims we have lost, by an undisguised striving to keep Leningrad under immediate threat of their troops also in the future.

All this has definitely shown that the present government of Finland, which became entangled in its anti-Soviet ties with the imperialists, does not wish to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union. It continues in its hostile attitude toward our country and does not wish to pay any regard to the provisions of the non-aggression pact concluded between our countries, desiring to keep our glorious Leningrad under military threat.

From such a government and from its thoughtless military clique we can now expect only fresh insolent provocations. The Soviet government was therefore compelled yesterday to declare that henceforth it considered itself free from the obligations undertaken under the non-aggression pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Finland and violated in an irresponsible manner by the government of Finland.

In view of fresh attacks by Finnish military units on Soviet troops at the Soviet-Finnish frontier, the government has now been compelled to adopt new decisions. The government can no longer tolerate the present situation, the responsibility for which fully rests with the government of Finland.

The government of the U.S.S.R. arrived at the conclusion that it can no longer maintain normal relations with the government of Finland and therefore found it necessary immediately to recall

its political and economic representatives from Finland.

Along with this, the government gave orders to the high command of the Red Army and Navy to be ready for any surprise and immediately to check possible fresh sallies on the part of the Finnish military clique.

The hostile foreign press asserts that the measures being taken by us are aimed at the seizure of Finnish territory or its annexation to the U.S.S.R. This is a malicious slander. The Soviet government has had no such intentions.

More than that, if Finland herself pursued a friendly policy toward the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, which always strove for friendly relations with Finland, would be ready to meet her halfway in regard to territorial concessions. Under this condition the Soviet government would be ready favorably to consider even such a question as reuniting the Karelian people inhabiting the main districts of present Soviet Karelia with the kindred Finnish people in a single and independent Finnish state.

For this, however, it is necessary that the government of Finland should maintain not a hostile but a friendly attitude toward the U.S.S.R., which would correspond to the vital interests of both countries.

Others assert that the measures carried out by us are aimed against Finland's independence or at interference in her internal and external affairs. This is an equally malicious slander.

Irrespective of the regime existing in

Finland we consider her an independent and sovereign state in her external and internal policies. We firmly hold that the Finnish people should itself decide its internal and external affairs in the manner it deems necessary itself.

At the proper time, the peoples of the Soviet Union did what was necessary for the creation of an independent Finland. The peoples of our country are ready also in the future to render the Finnish people assistance in ensuring its free and independent development.

The Soviet Union has equally no intention of prejudicing to any extent the interests of other states in Finland. Questions of the relations between Finland and other states form a matter of exclusive concern of Finland herself, and the Soviet Union does not consider itself entitled to interfere in this matter.

The only purpose of our measures is to ensure the security of the Soviet Union and especially Leningrad, with its population of three and a half million. In the present international atmosphere, heated by war, we cannot make the solution of this vital and urgent state problem dependent on the ill-will of the present Finnish rulers.

This question will have to be solved by the efforts of the Soviet Union itself in friendly collaboration with the Finnish people. We have no doubt that a favorable solution of the problem of ensuring the security of Leningrad will provide a foundation of indestructible friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Finland.



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# The Real Representatives of the People

**T**HE imperialist Polish state, which completely collapsed and disintegrated in a few days of war as a result of its inner untenability, left the toiling population of Poland to its fate. On the other hand, the statesmen, the big capitalists and big landowners fled head over heels. The megalomania of these gentlemen who for years had been dreaming of a Poland that would extend from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea collapsed like a house of cards. What did they care about the fate of the Polish people, the existence of the Polish state? They saved their own money and their own skins. But they gambled with the lives of the toiling population.

The Soviet Government could not remain neutral in the face of these circumstances, because the former Poland was also inhabited by eleven million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians who, at the dictation of the Western imperialist powers, were exposed for twenty long years to the most frightful exploitation and oppression by the Polish Pans. And so V. M. Molotov, the head of the Soviet Government, announced on September 17, 1939:

“The Soviet Union regards it as its sacred duty to come to the aid of its Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian brothers living in Poland.”

In order to give practical aid to the neighboring brother peoples, the Soviet Government issued instructions to the workers and peasants' Red Army “to cross the border and take under your protection the life and property of the population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia.”

This campaign of liberation by the Red Army has no equal in history. No army in the world has ever been received

by a people with such enthusiasm as were the Red Army men by the Western Ukrainians and West Byelo-Russians. In a few days, the Red Army liberated a territory of 196,000 square kilometers with a population of approximately thirteen million people, including around seven million Ukrainians, three million Byelo-Russians, one million Poles and one million Jews.

From the very entrance of the Red Army, the population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia began to take their fate into their own hands. Peasant committees were set up in the villages, the factories were put under the control of the workers, the Polish police was liquidated and was replaced by a volunteer people's militia which helped to support and safeguard the new order which was arising in the cities and villages. Cities and villages, which seemed to have been devoid of all life under the regime of the Polish Pans, throbbled with a new, pulsating life when the Red Army entered.

Surveys were carried out on the great estates of the former landowners so that this land which was now ownerless could be turned over for cultivation and use to its rightful owner, the peasants. In the cities, the capitalists were compelled to continue running their factories and submit to workers' control. Ownerless factories were put under the management of the workers in the plant. In the cities and villages provisional administrations were set up which helped the workers and peasants in every way in the organization of their new life.

The most important work, however, which was accomplished in scarcely a month was the preparation and carrying through of the elections to the National Assemblies in Lemberg and Byelostok

that had already met by the end of October.

Election meetings took place everywhere in the liberated territories, called by peasant committees, factories, provisional administrations, etc. The unanimous will of the people was expressed in these election meetings: Join the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia must no longer be separated from the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia by an artificial boundary. Men and women workers spoke for it, men and women peasants spoke for it, illiterates and intellectuals spoke for it; all those spoke for it who had sat in prisons and penitentiaries because of their struggle against the Polish hangmen's regime and those who had left the dark cells behind them to carry on the struggle for a happy future after the collapse of the Polish state and after the liberation of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia.

The population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia chose the best among them as their people's representatives. Among those elected to the National Assembly of the Ukraine, there were 402 workers, 819 peasants, 234 toiling intellectuals. The number of women who were elected to the Ukrainian National Assembly amounted to 239.

And these real representatives of the people, the deputies to the Ukrainian National Assembly, unanimously adopted the historic declaration on October 27 and 28 which states:

"In accord with the unanimous will of the liberated people of Western Ukraine, following the example of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian National Assembly proclaims the establishment of Soviet Power in the entire territory of Western Ukraine. From today on all power in Western Ukraine belongs to the toilers in the cities and villages. . . ."

An almost identical resolution was adopted by the 926 deputies in the National Assembly of West Byelo-Russia.

Deputy Pritzki, who spoke at the session of the Supreme Soviet, explained the principles guiding the National Assembly in determining the future state system:

"There, where the Soviet Power exists, there wage slavery has been abolished forever, the exploitation of man by man has been abolished. There, where the Soviet Power exists, there the right to work, the right to rest, the right to education, the right to material maintenance in old age and even in illness and inability to work are guaranteed by the Stalin Constitution. There, where the Soviet Power exists, there the Stalinist concern for the people is the *leitmotif* of the entire life and only there can one speak of real democracy for the broad masses of the toilers. There, where the Soviet Power exists, there is no national oppression and injustice nor can there be any; and all of the peoples constitute a single family. Only under the Soviet Power is such an unprecedented flourishing of the culture of all peoples possible."

The meaning of the Soviet Power for the toilers was profoundly understood by the population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia. And therefore it is not surprising that more than 90 per cent of all the voters in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia voted for the convocation of a National Assembly and authorized their deputies to decide on the establishment of Soviet Power, confiscation of the estates of the landowners, monasteries and public officials, nationalization of banks and big industry. Therefore, it is not surprising that the National Assemblies in Lemberg and Byelostok came to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. with the request that Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia be accepted into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and that they requested the Soviet of Nationalities to unite the previously separated territories of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia.

That which found expression at the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet in the speeches of the members of the Plenipotentiary Commission of both National Assemblies char-

acterizes the sentiments of almost the entire population of the liberated territories. Thus the Ukrainian woman, Efimtchuk-Dyatchuk, said:

"There are two emotions in my heart today: the first is great joy and the second sorrow for the long years which have passed in vain. . . ."

Joy triumphed over sorrow. And not only the people of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, not only the people of the Soviet Union, but all the peoples of the earth know what the Deputy of

the Supreme Soviet, Comrade Vyschinsky, proclaimed:

"There is no power on earth that can turn back the wheel of history, there is no power on earth that can destroy or even shake our union of the free peoples, the free Soviet land which is steadily advancing to communism."

Imbued with this faith, the peoples of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia have begun to construct their new happy life. Imbued with this faith, the peoples of the world look to and base themselves on the free socialist Soviet Union.

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## A New Life Has Begun

**T**HE Land of Socialism, the great family of Soviet peoples, has increased its population by 13,000,000 persons. Thirteen million brothers and sisters from Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia have become Soviet citizens. This historic act of state, which was accomplished by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in its sessions of November 1 and 2 of this year, was the occasion for a great celebration by the population of both Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia.

For twenty long years, the workers and peasants, the small artisans and the toiling intellectuals had borne the heavy yoke of foreign Polish rule and of their own bourgeoisie. In the Poland of the Pans, the Western Ukrainian and West Byelo-Russian workers were without work, the peasants without land, the artisans without orders, the intellectuals without employment. Hunger, misery and want, sickness, disease and cultural backwardness were the gifts with which the landlords and capitalists overwhelmed the toiling population of these territories.

The cultural backwardness to which the Polish Pans condemned these territories was so great that the inhabitants of whole villages had never even seen a single film in their lives; indeed, it was so great that even in the cities, those who now and then went to a movie were considered "rich." Established theaters playing in Ukrainian or Byelo-Russian were non-existent. A twelve-year-old lad explained to Soviet artists who were giving a concert in the liberated territories that he was listening to music for the first time in his life. Indeed, even Chumek, who was the prize-winning violinist in the international competition at Warsaw, had no possibil-

ity of securing an engagement, but in order to exist had to travel as a "wandering violinist" through the small villages of Western Ukraine and arrange his own concerts. However, not only enjoyment of the fine arts was withheld from the toiling people, but all schools and academies which had formerly been conducted in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian languages were closed down by the Polish masters. In the state institutions no worker or peasant was allowed to speak in his mother tongue. Indeed, even the old Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian folk-songs were not allowed. Even these harmless joys were denied the population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia.

It is certainly not surprising that the brother peoples of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia did not put up with the lot imposed on them by the Polish Pans, but resisted it to the utmost. The number of courageous and dauntless struggles against Polish foreign domination, against Polish imperialism were not insignificant. And yet, everyone that rebelled against the Polish oppressors knew that only the road to imprisonment or death was open to him.

Anyone, picturing even for a moment the dreadful existence of the toiling population of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, will be able to gauge the joy with which the news of the entrance of the Red Army on September 17, 1939, was received. The peoples of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia were sure of this: The Red Army comes to help us. It will liberate us from the domination of the Polish landlords and capitalists, from the intolerable foreign rule of the Polish Pans.

Faith in the Soviet Power and its glorious Red Army inspired everyone.

With this faith in the Soviet Power, the confidence of the people in their own power was also strengthened. Wherever necessary, the people were right on the spot. They showed the Red Army the way, repaired streets and bridges which the Polish officers had destroyed, uncovered the hiding places of the Polish officers, etc.

The entrance of the Red Army surpassed all the expectations of the population. The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army which, with splendid military equipment, crossed the entire length of the Russian-Polish boundary, by order of the Soviet government, to take their brother peoples of the Ukraine and Byelo-Russia on the other side of the border under their protection, brought the inhabitants of these territories not only the long-sought-for freedom; they brought them not only peace but bread as well. But more than all that: they brought newspapers, books, pictures, radios, films, theaters, concerts, schools, universities, hospitals, convalescent homes. They brought work to the workers, land to the peasants, and to the intellectuals the possibility to pursue their callings.

Two worlds came into direct contact here: the world of triumphant socialism and the world of decaying and dying capitalism. The people who yesterday were still slaves today became masters; those who yesterday were still living in hopeless despair found today that broad perspectives opened up; those who yesterday were still condemned to silence today could speak in their own mother tongue before large masses of people, concerning the dismal past, the joyous present and the bright future.

For twenty long years, the Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians on both sides of the border had had no direct contact with one another. Now, they came into direct contact. Workers and peasants, artisans, teachers, doctors, artists and entrepreneurs of the Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia came into personal contact with Soviet people, with Red Army men, writers and artists from the Soviet Union. These personal meetings revealed to everyone the tremendous

difference that had grown up between the two worlds in the last twenty years. Information from the Soviet Union on the victorious construction of socialism, on the tremendous achievements in industry and agriculture, on the consequent well-being of the country, on the transformation of the people and their mode of life, on the great Stalin Constitution, and so forth, had, because of the hostile attitude of the former Polish government toward the Soviet Union, reached the masses only to a slight extent. To them it was a beautiful dream which they did not believe would become a reality so soon. To the Soviet people, on the other hand, the world of capitalism was something new. The great majority know about it only from stories and books. The young Red Army men knew nothing of oppression and exploitation; they could not imagine what unemployment means; they could not understand, for example, that a man like Professor Studinski, who, as the oldest deputy opened the Western Ukrainian National Assembly, had been unemployed for twenty years, that countless young people had had neither education nor work.

And so it happened that a Red Army man who needed a few workers to improve a street—accustomed to conditions in the Soviet Union—went to the head of the provisional administration, expending a great deal of energy and a lot of words, instead of simply going to the employment office and asking for a few of the many unemployed for this work. So it happened that at a concert arranged by Soviet artists, the artists and Red Army men were asked questions by members of the audience as to whether the Soviet Union needed engineers and doctors. When this question was answered in the affirmative, others asked whether coal miners and bakers were also needed and so it went on until a small, inconspicuous man in the middle of the hall suddenly called out: Have you heard? They also need tailors. People must be well off there. Then we shall also have work!

But the Red Army did not meet only

its class brothers; it also came face to face with the class enemy: officers, capitalists, landowners and counts. The encounters with the members of this class were very diverse. Officers tried repeatedly to resist the Red Army, to attack it from ambush. Employers thought that by closing their plants they would be able to disorganize the economic life of the country. A count on whose estate arms and machine guns were found pretended to be a harmless art lover. But all this did not help them. The Red Army men did not only have steel weapons; they also had a keen eye and a clear head. The fighting spirit of the Polish officers was quickly broken; the employers had to reopen their plants; they had to hire more workers than before and to limit the working day to eight hours. The counts had to exchange their castles for less comfortable dwelling places; the castles were used for children's homes, convalescent homes, etc. Schools and universities conducted in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian languages were opened.

Polish foreign rule was at an end; capitalist exploitation was finished. The Red Army men know the history of the great Soviet Union. They know the glorious road covered by the Soviet peoples under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the road by which the old tsarist Russia was transformed into a blossoming Land of Socialism despite

civil war and intervention, despite the conspiracies of national and international counter-revolution. It was the task of the Red Army to offer a helping hand to its brother peoples in Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia, to bring them peace, freedom and happiness. The Red Army had gloriously fulfilled this assignment.

It was the heartfelt wish and the unanimous will of nearly thirteen million people of Western Ukraine and West Byelo-Russia to throw off the capitalist system, to liberate themselves from the twenty-year-old Polish domination and to enter the land of the free Soviet peoples. The people's meetings in Lemberg and Byelostok gave expression to this wish and this will of the peoples. Delegations from these people's meetings brought the request of their peoples to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The deputies of the Supreme Soviet, and with them the entire Soviet people, granted this request of their brother peoples at their historic Fifth Extraordinary Session. Thirteen million people became Soviet citizens overnight. Thirteen million escaped the hell of capitalism, the horror of the imperialist war and the unbearable rule of the Polish Pans. Thirteen million people have begun a new life, a life of happiness, work and joy, a life in the Land of Socialism.

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## The Labor-Guard of the Bourgeoisie

**B**EFORE the outbreak of the European war, a strong movement against the criminal policy of the Chamberlain Government had emerged in England. Not only the English Communists predicted that the policy of this government would lead the English people and all Europe to a catastrophe, but voices among the labor masses could also be heard more and more distinctly calling for the overthrow of Chamberlain as a most urgent task. The struggle for a change of English policy, for a clear orientation on the peace policy of the Soviet Union, for the establishment of the peace front desired by the Soviet Union, was extremely popular in England at that time. The collaboration of all forces that regarded the overthrow of Chamberlain as indispensable for saving England and Europe from catastrophe was supported not only by the Communists but also by many organizations of the Labor Party and the trade unions.

But the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions stubbornly resisted all these efforts. When Chamberlain flew to Berchtesgaden in order to prepare the betrayal of Munich, the *Daily Herald*, organ of the Labor Party and the trade unions, wrote: "Good luck, Chamberlain!" When the audience at a public meeting of the Labor Party vigorously protested against the fact that Labor leader Morrison approved the flight to Berchtesgaden, Morrison had the brass to accuse this opposition of warmongering.

On January 12, 1939, the *Daily Herald* wrote that it was certainly possible to overthrow the Government but that the Labor Party did not wish "to take office purely on the ground of excitement and dissatisfaction." Mr. Bevin, one of the authoritative trade union leaders, de-

clared outright that the trade unions would leave the Labor Party should it dare to ally itself with other forces against Chamberlain. Another influential trade union leader, Mr. Marchbanks, threatened the local organizations of the Labor Party with revocation of their right to vote in the party if they should continue to come out for collaboration of all opposition forces against Chamberlain. Members of the Labor Party were forbidden to cooperate with other persons and groups in their activity against the Government. The Labor Member of Parliament, Stafford Cripps, was expelled from the party because he did not give up the struggle for unity of all opposition forces against the Chamberlain Government.

The Citrines and Bevins, the Greenwoods and Morrisons justified this systematic prevention of common action against the Chamberlain Government on the ground that any political cooperation with other groupings endangered the "independence" of the Labor Party. Mr. Marchbanks declared with the noble indignation of the 150 per cent class fighter that the Labor Party could not collaborate with the "class enemy" at any price. And all these Labor leaders asserted with a pious air: "We do not want to dilute our socialism!" Hence as long as certain bourgeois politicians saw a danger in the policy of the Chamberlain Government, as long as a popular current demanded the establishment of a real European peace front, the Labor leaders guarded the "independence" of the Labor Party day and night against such tendencies and endeavors. They declared that under no circumstances must the Labor movement collaborate with the "class enemy," not even when this "class enemy" is temporarily fol-

lowing a course which is conducive to the interests of the people, the interests of peace. They beat their chests and cried that the goal of the working class under all circumstances is socialism and the working class, therefore, cannot support any endeavors whose goal is anything but socialism.

Under the pretext of a truly puritanical concern for the "independence" of the Labor movement, for its sharp demarcation from every "class enemy," for the "socialist" goal, the Citrines, Bevins and Marchbanks, the Atlees, Greenwoods and Morrisons saved the Chamberlain Government from imminent overthrow and gave it the possibility of unleashing the European war.

The war has become a reality, thanks to the policy of the Chamberlain Government, thanks to the policy of the Labor leaders who prevented the overthrow of the Government in good time. And what about the independence of the Labor movement, the attitude towards the class enemy, the socialist goal?

The leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions unconditionally support the Government's war policy. They cooperate closely with the Government in the war industry. As the October-December number of the labor magazine, *Political Quarterly*, informs us, they occupy desks in the Ministry of Information side by side with the conservative bureaucrats. The Labor members who had been strictly prohibited from belonging to non-partisan, anti-fascist committees are now urged by their party leadership to join the various committees of the war government. Local "information committees" in which paid functionaries of the Conservatives and the Labor Party cooperate are being set up in every election district of the country. The much-touted "independence" of the Labor Party has proved to be a fraud. The complete dependence of the Labor Party on the ruling bourgeoisie is notorious.

And what about the cry against the "class enemy"? As long as Churchill, Eden and Duff Cooper flirted with the opposition against the Chamberlain Government, the Labor leaders regarded

them as "class enemies," collaboration with whom they indignantly rejected. Now that these gentlemen belong to the war government, the Labor leaders are cooperating most closely with them. As long as it was possible to overthrow the Chamberlain Government by means of election agreements, the Labor leaders were mortal enemies of such agreements. But now, the Labor leaders have come to an agreement with the Chamberlain Government to forego by-elections and from time to time to agree on a common candidate.

It is obvious that the Labor leadership does not regard the bourgeoisie as a class enemy, that for it there is only one class enemy: the revolutionary workers and their Communist vanguard. For it, sections of the bourgeoisie likewise become "class enemies" only when they are prepared, temporarily, to take part with the Communists in a people's movement. The moment the bourgeoisie comes forward as a single reactionary force, everything is in fine order for the Labor leaders. Then they cooperate unreservedly with the united reactionary bourgeoisie.

And what about the socialist goal of the Labor leadership? Oh, these gentlemen get excited about "pure, undiluted socialism" only as long as they wanted to use this slogan to prevent the establishment of a popular peace movement, the uniting of diverse forces for the struggle for peace and against the conservative war provocateurs, only as long as the struggle for the maintenance of peace and not the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism was the immediate question. But now that the struggle against war-guilty capitalism is the immediate issue, now that the perspective of socialism is opening up before the working class, the Labor leaders are in a hurry to sing another tune. Now they proclaim only the goal of winning the war, defeating Germany and extending the rule of glorious English "democracy" over all of Europe. Now, the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the capitalist class enemy and for socialism is simply "high treason" to them.

As a matter of fact, if the English



workers compare the policy of the Labor leadership before the war and during the war, they will see that the Labor leaders are nothing but the most faithful servants of the bourgeoisie, the most hardened war provocateurs. With an astounding supply of "socialist" phrases, before the war, they prevented the overthrow of the Chamberlain Government by a popular peace movement. Since the outbreak of the war, they have replaced the "socialist" phrases by "anti-fascist"

phrases and heralded before the whole world their cooperation with the entire reactionary bourgeoisie, with Chamberlain as well as with Churchill, with Halifax as well as with Eden. Their "independence" is nothing but independence from the true will of the working class. Their struggle against the "class enemy" is nothing but a struggle against the revolutionary workers. And their "socialism" is nothing but a shameless misleading of the public.

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# What Do You Say, Mr. Bevin?

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. BEVIN, LEADER OF THE TRANSPORT  
AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

BY S. M. TRUKHALEV

*(Chairman of the Central Committee of the Moscow and Leningrad  
Chauffeurs' Union)*

**T**HE second imperialist war has been raging in the center of Europe for over two months. The ruling circles of Great Britain are trying to convince the world that Great Britain and France are waging this war for "civilization" and "democracy." The leaders of the British trade unions, who have sold themselves to the bosses, are doing their utmost to poison the class consciousness of the British workers with lies. These honorable gentlemen use all and every means in order to conceal from the working class the true nature of this war which the imperialists of Great Britain are waging for world supremacy and for the right to rob and oppress colonial peoples with impunity.

In the general chorus of trade union officials who have sold themselves to the capitalists, you, Mr. Bevin, as leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union, play no mean role. You are aware of the fact that the British transport workers are raising their voices in protest against this war and are demanding the conclusion of peace. In Lancashire, only a month ago, the local transport company discharged 1,300 workers out of their total staff of 2,000. In October, 2,000 workers of the Carter Peterson Company went on strike against longer working hours. Dozens of letters streamed into the headquarters of your union from local transport workers' organizations, protesting against the war, against the dismissal of workers, against longer working hours and wage cuts. Instead of supporting the initiative of the workers

in their noble striving to put an end to this war, you, Mr. Bevin, are betraying their vital interests, dooming the workers to hunger and poverty. It is by no means an envious role that you have chosen, Mr. Bevin. But how much strength and energy you devote to slandering the Land of Socialism, to slandering its historic achievements and to belittling the cultural and material progress of its working people.

I shall not enumerate all the achievements of our country, led by the genius of humanity, the great leader of the working people, Comrade Stalin. Let me confine myself to the industry most familiar to both of us—motor transport.

In Great Britain the output of automobiles is falling rapidly. In the Land of Soviets it is increasing systematically. In Great Britain, the number of workers employed in the automobile transport industry is steadily declining and unemployment shows a sharp increase. In the U.S.S.R. the number of workers and employees in the motor transport industry has increased more than twenty-fold in the last ten years and has now topped the 3,000,000 mark. But we still require more chauffeurs and maintenance men. The members of our union work from seven to eight hours a day. And what is the position in your country, in much-famed England? As a rule the working day is nine hours, but in very many places it is ten to twelve hours.

We have read in the English papers that since the outbreak of the war one-half of the London bus workers have

been left without employment and the remainder have been subjected to wage cuts.

Your English papers tell us that drivers' wages are being cut substantially. In the Land of Soviets, the average wages of drivers have increased three-fold in the past seven years.

Can an ordinary transport worker in Britain even dream of becoming a highly-skilled, university-trained engineer? In the Soviet Union scores and hundreds of thousands of workers graduate every year from universities and technical schools. All education is free, at the expense of the state. Moreover, the state pays a stipend to every student. Soviet students can devote all their time to their studies, knowing that they shall never be without employment.

During the Third Five-Year Plan period, 2,000,000 drivers and approximately 500,000 automobile repair workers will be trained in the various schools and study courses of the Soviet Union. In this period our universities and technical schools will train tens of thousands of engineers and technicians for the motor transport industry.

Can an ordinary British transport worker ever hope to become director of a transport organization? Certainly not! His lot is to toil for the capitalist, in constant fear of losing his job. But in our country, in the last two years alone, tens of thousands of rank-and-file chauffeurs and automobile repair workers have become directors of trusts, factories, garages and repair shops.

In our country labor is a matter of honor and glory. People are decorated with Orders of Merit and promoted to important government positions as a reward for good work. In our country it is the working people who run the affairs of state. But in your country, in England, as in every other capitalist country, labor is an involuntary burden. Men of science, highly-skilled experts are prepared to take up any work that will provide them with their daily bread. At the close of last year one out of every ten Englishmen was unemployed, and at present the number is still greater.

What you in England call "social in-

surance" is as far from the state social insurance system we have in the U.S.S.R. as the earth is from the skies. In the U.S.S.R. social insurance is in the hands of the trade unions who have at their disposal social insurance funds running into billions of rubles. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to every citizen the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, to material security during illness and in old age, and the right to education. In the U.S.S.R. the people receive medical treatment free of charge. But what is there in your country, Mr. Bevin? The sick worker pays out his last pennies in doctors' bills. Your pensions are a sheer insult to the working class. In 1938 the British Government economized £8,500,000 in unemployment benefits, while unemployed workers died of hunger.

In our country, if a worker is sick, he receives sick benefit until complete recovery. In 1938 the Moscow and Leningrad Chauffeurs' Union, which has an aggregate membership of 140,000, paid out 23,940,000 rubles in sick benefits. Men at the age of 60 and women at the age of 55 are entitled to pensions; the state takes care of them. What can you point to in your country, to compare with this, Mr. Bevin?

In our country chauffeurs receive an annual monthly holiday with full pay. Our union alone sent 3,130 workers and employees to world-famous health resorts in the Crimea and Caucasus in 1938, having spent 2,500,000 rubles out of the social insurance funds for this purpose. In addition our union sent 12-100 of its members to rest homes. In the last two years our union has built out of its own funds three rest homes in picturesque, healthy localities. Thousands of motor transport workers go there every year for their holidays. What has the Transport and General Workers' Union, of which you, Mr. Bevin, are the leader, done by way of providing rest and recreation for the workers?

Our union, in common with all trade unions in the U.S.S.R., displays special solicitude for the children of its members. Thousands of children spend their summer holidays every year in kindergartens,

children's sanatoria and summer camps, which provide all facilities for rest and wholesome recreation. In 1938 alone we appropriated 850,000 rubles for this work. The 1939 appropriations have been increased to 1,270,000 rubles. Now, what can you contrast to this, Mr. Bevin?

Our trade union spent 42,000,000 rubles in 1938 alone on various welfare services for its members. Thousands of transport workers participate in choruses, in musical, dramatic and similar circles. Our Moscow club has a chorus made up of the children of Moscow motor transport workers. The delegation of London transport workers who visited the U.S.S.R. on the twenty-first anniversary of the October Revolution had occasion to see this group perform.

Our union maintains six clubs, two sport stadiums, a water-sports center, hundreds of libraries, local broadcasting centers and club rooms in the places of work, it has its own magazines and newspapers. All of these are at the service of the motor transport workers and their families.

Have the British transport workers the opportunity boldly to criticize the work of their trade union, without running the risk of being expelled and finding themselves unemployed? Certainly not! But in our country, 96 per cent of the members of our union took part in the elections, by secret ballot, of leading trade union bodies. Rank-and-file trade union members boldly criticized individual shortcomings in the work of their elected officials and made proposals designed to improve the work of the union. This cannot be done by the members of your transport workers' union, Mr. Bevin, for you as leader of this union stand for the interests of the employers and against the interests of the workers. You stand for imperialist war, for the policy of the capitalist moneybags. And when the members of your union demand of you a clear report about your actions, about your participation in the imperialist war, you, Mr. Bevin, seek cover by resorting to hypocritical phrases about saving "civilization" and "democracy."

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## Turkey Draws Nearer to "Western Civilization"

THE more open the rapacious character of the struggle of the imperialist powers becomes, the bigger become the lies and falsehoods which the imperialists utilize to justify and disguise their war. Political hypocrisy becomes the most modern disguise of tense bourgeois politics. They never lie so much as in time of war. Today this truth is corroborated anew.

The echo of these lies is also clearly audible in Turkey which recently concluded a mutual assistance pact with England and France.

Whatever phrases the ruling circles of Turkey may use to adorn this pact, it certainly does not alter the fact that Turkey has concluded a mutual assistance pact with the *belligerent imperialist powers* and has thereby entered on the path of war. Turkey has abandoned the policy of neutrality and has assumed military obligations towards England and France.

These obligations are so serious that in the very near future they must perceptibly affect the entire policy of Turkey. This new-found "friend" and ally, Turkey, has associated itself with those continental imperialist robbers who at present belong to the most obstinate adherents of the continuation of the war.

The Turkish people cannot understand why the Turkish government circles preferred to draw close to the old and sworn enemies of Turkish independence, instead of strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union whose existence and policy assured to a high degree the victory of the Turkish people's national struggle for freedom.

It is no secret that the Turkish delegation at the Moscow negotiations on the mutual assistance pact took over the un-

enviable role of spokesman for the plans of Anglo-French diplomacy; that, speculating on traditional Soviet-Turkish friendship, they tried to drive a wedge between Germany and the U.S.S.R. and involve the Soviet Union in a combination which was directed primarily against Germany and in all events against the opponents of England and France on the Mediterranean Sea.

The Anglo-French imperialists, who always take pains to let others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them, strive to draw the Balkan peninsula into the deadly orbit of war in order to create a war front there against Germany. They want to transform Turkey into a strategic base for the realization of these intrigues.

The August number of the periodical *Great Britain and the East*, organ of the English Colonial Office, has written quite frankly concerning this:

"The role which the military forces of Turkey can play in Europe is obvious. As the most powerful member of the Balkan Entente, it can not only be of help to its partners, Rumania and Greece, in case of necessity, but can also keep Bulgaria down. . . ."

The English periodical, however, does not only have that in mind. It speaks with cynical frankness of another, still less enviable, role for Turkey, the role of Anglo-French policeman in case a national liberation movement becomes active in the Arabian countries which are under the domination of England and France:

"What role," asks the periodical, "will Turkey play in the event of an outbreak of war in Asia? . . . It can play a most effective role as a policeman outside its

own boundaries. Certain pessimistic voices of Arabians actually point to the fact that England and France will leave Syria and Palestine to Turkey in time of war."

Anglo-French imperialism attempts to stir up the antagonism which formerly existed between the Turks and Arabians and, in line with the old principle of oppression, "divide and rule," to incite the Turks against the Arabians.

The new and by no means independent international position of Turkey will have its effect on the internal situation of the country within a very short time. According to indications from London and Paris, a change is taking place in the foreign trade of Turkey, which is already becoming noticeable in the sharp rise in prices, in the dearth of a number of commodities, in the growth of speculation; the struggle against it is limited to only a few formal measures.

The new situation is also reflected in the Turkish press which is inspired by London and Paris today. On reading the Turkish press, one frequently meets with almost identical reproductions of the English-French viewpoint on international events. This explains why everything that refers to the Soviet Union is dished up to the reader in a form distorted beyond recognition or in a lying, perverted manner; that goes not only for the foreign news, which is published extensively, but also for the "original" articles of the Turkish journalists.

On the other hand, England and France are represented in the Turkish press as firm pillars of democracy. It is self-understood that they count Turkey among the fighters "for democracy."

Under present Turkish conditions that sounds amazing, to say the least, for everyone knows how little of real democracy is allowed the toilers in the present state system of Turkey.

The imperialist character of the present war in Europe is obvious to every honest worker, to every thinking person. What is also obvious is the great danger which the present attitude of the Turkish Government represents for Turkey. That is why the Turkish press and the

Foreign Minister of Turkey, Saracoglu, resort to a lot of words in an effort to prove the "peace-loving" character of Turkey's alliance with the belligerent powers. But once the road of unmitigated demagoguery has been taken, it is difficult to restrain the flow of hollow and resounding phrases through which the gun muzzles of the "peaceful" Anglo-French-Turkish pact protrude. We hear the following bombast of the ministerial rhetorician Saracoglu from the tribune of parliament:

"This pact," the Minister declares, "is not merely a military and diplomatic document but it represents the beginning of a happy and fruitful era in the political as well as the military sphere, in the social as well as the economic sphere. In the eyes of the great nations of England and France, Turkey, with its science, its culture and its army, is a necessary element of the civilization, the progress and the peace of humanity and especially for the existence of England and France. This constitutes the great significance of the pact. I am convinced that today we are making greater strides on the road of progress and civilization. . . ."

Undoubtedly a correct thought was inadvertently expressed in all these pompous tirades, namely, that Turkey represents "a necessary element of civilization and progress . . . for the existence of England and France." As a matter of fact, England and France have always regarded Turkey as an object of that imperialist "civilization" with which the imperialists bless backward countries and peoples. Turkey was always one of those backward countries whose exploitation and enslavement was a "necessary element of progress" for the imperialist robbers. In reality, this constitutes the great significance of the pact, as Saracoglu metaphorically indicated.

The Turkish people know very well what it means to be a "necessary element of civilization" for the imperialist powers. They experienced all these unbearable burdens during the excruciating period of the rule of the last Sultans when Turkey was a semi-colony, oppressed and enslaved by foreign loans

and the rapacious administration of the Court rabble which was a blind tool in the hands of the Western European bearers of "civilization." Are not the present leaders dragging Turkey back to that horrible period?

And later, these very same "friends" of today—the imperialists of England and France—imposed the disgraceful Treaty of Sevres on Turkey, which had been crushed by the war, depriving Turkey of its last remnants of independence and dismembering it. These bearers of "civilization" attempted to wipe Turkey off the map. Out of the past, we hear the voice of Ataturk who characterized that historical period of Turkey as follows:

"The army is destroyed, its weapons and guns are taken from it. The Entente powers do not observe the conditions of the armistice. Under various pretexts, their armies and fleets are in Constantinople. The province of Adana is occupied by the French; Urfa, Marash, Aintab, by the English. The Italian troops are concentrated in Adalia and

Konia. English divisions occupy Mersin and Constantinople. . . . Finally, on May 15, 1919 . . . Smyrna is occupied by the Greek army in agreement with the Entente powers." (M. Kemal, *The Road of the New Turkey*.)

Now, in connection with the ruling circles of Turkey drawing closer to the Anglo-French imperialists, the national independence, which the Turkish people achieved at the cost of tremendous effort and sacrifice, is once more seriously endangered. The English and French imperialists rejoice and yield to the alluring hope of utilizing Turkey for their interests in diverse ways. They spare no amount of cheap praise for the Turkish people; in return, their Turkish eulogizers sing the more costly song of praise of imperialist "civilization." However, the toiling masses of Turkey regard these machinations with profoundly justified mistrust and reply by closing their ranks for the decisive struggle against reaction and imperialism.

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# French Imperialism and the Syrian People

**D**URING the World War of 1914-18, French imperialism mobilized 736,000 soldiers and 200,000 workers from its colonies, including 260,000 soldiers in Tunis and Algiers of whom 240,000 were sent to the front. According to official data, not more than 50,000 of the mobilized workers and peasants remained alive.

During the first imperialist World War of 1914-18, the population of the French colonies amounted to 41,000,000 people. Now it amounts to 65,000,000.

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French imperialism is again recruiting cannon fodder in its colonies for the present war in Europe instigated by the imperialist war incendiaries. According to the first calculations of the French General Staff, approximately 3,000,000 soldiers in the French colonies are to be mobilized for this war. The number of those to be mobilized are apportioned among the colonies in the following way: North Africa—1,500,000; South Africa—130,000; Madagascar—100,000; and so forth. Syria is to mobilize 110,000 men.

Syria, a small country east of the Mediterranean Sea, with a territory of 200,000 square kilometers and a population of around 3,000,000 is, in economic respects, a very backward, semi-colonial, agrarian country. Syrian industry was always at a very low level but the twenty year domination of French imperialism had actually annihilated the native industry, ruined thousands of artisans and increased the army of unemployed.

Feudal survivals still remain in agri-

culture which is based primarily on the cultivation of cotton and tobacco and on highly developed sheep-breeding. Approximately 90 per cent of the cultivated land is in the hands of large landowners who lease part of their land to the peasants and in return demand one-third of the crops from the peasants. Working-off rent is a very common phenomenon in Syria.

The French colonizers are closely bound up with the native big landowners; they buy agricultural raw material from them, extend credit to them, afford them administrative aid in the exploitation and oppression of the Syrian peasants.

Syrian economy is controlled by French capital: banks, railroads, and highways, ports, power plants, street cars, telephones, water works and factories are in the hands of French concessionaires.

Syria is not only a source of raw material for French imperialism, a source of cheap labor power, but also an important strategic point at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. The Beirut-Bagdad Highway extends across Syria from west to east. Control of the lines of communication which unite France and Indo-China is maintained through Syria. It is also important that one of the Mosul oil lines (Mosul-Trablis) runs through Syria.

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The Syrian people had already struggled for their independence when they were still under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire. When France assumed its mandate over Syria, the hatred of the people for the power of the king was



obvious. The armed revolt of 1920, which was conducted under the leadership of the Syrian people's hero Yusef El Asmi, was a heroic and shining example in the history of the liberation struggle of the Syrian people. French imperialism suppressed this heroic uprising with fire and sword and flooded Syria with the blood of the rebellious people. Yusef El Asmi was murdered. In spite of the ruthless terror and the horrible persecution, a new revolt broke out in 1922 which, like the popular uprising in 1920, was conducted under the slogan "National Independence, Democracy, Republic."

In 1928 the king was deposed. Under the pressure of the popular movement, the French imperialists granted Syria the right to convoke a "national assembly" which was abolished again a year later. The abolition of the "national assembly" evoked still greater discontent and a strong ferment among the Syrian masses.

Two years later, the French imperialists had formally to declare Syria a republic; but, actually, the entire state power of the country remained in the hands of the high commissioners who were appointed by the French Government.

In order better to control the popular movement in the country, Syria was divided into four federated republics which were only caricatures of a republic. The colonial government followed the principle of "divide and rule."

The popular movement for the liberation of Syria from the power of French imperialism grew. In 1936, under the pressure of this movement, an agreement was reached between the Syrian Republic and France whereby Syria would arise as an independent republic after three years. Three years have elapsed but this agreement has still not materialized.

Instead of granting Syria its promised independence, the French colonizers dispersed the Syrian parliament in the autumn of 1939, liquidated the republic, drove out the lawful government, abrogated the elementary democratic rights and liberties, forbade workers' or-

ganizations and drove them into illegality.

Blackest reaction began its campaign against the Syrian people. The High Commissioner of Syria, Mr. Pue, and General Weygand who commands the French troops in Syria, declared themselves dictators of Syria in conformity with the will of the French imperialists.

French imperialism bases itself on the most backward native feudal elements in Syria, on the agents of foreign capital. These local reactionary forces and their parties openly supported the colonizers in the beginning of 1939 when their troops attacked demonstrators and strikers in the streets of Damascus and Aleppo.

Hand in hand with French imperialism, the native reactionaries inaugurated a ruthless campaign against the Syrian "republic," against the granting of democratic rights and liberties to the people. The French concessionaires demanded suppression of the unions, and a struggle against those workers who demanded the shortening of the working day, the establishment of a minimum wage, the right to strike, the freedom of trade unions, etc.

All this proves that French imperialism, even before the beginning of the present war, prepared the ground for the imperialist war through intensified reaction and repressive measures against the working class and the oppressed people in order to paralyze the resistance of the toiling masses to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

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The working class and the peasants of Syria are exposed to the most inhuman exploitation. The living conditions of the toilers of Syria are becoming more and more intolerable while the profits of the French concessionaires are constantly rising.

The very fact that the profits of the French concessionaires in Livan alone for 1937-38 amounted to 40,000,000 francs is indicative. How the profits

mount, and how they are distributed among the separate organizations, is shown in the following table\*:

	1937	1938
	<i>(in francs)</i>	
Syrian Bank . . . .	4,400,000	5,500,000
Syrian-Egyptian Bank . . . . .	416,000	444,000
Beirut Electric Company . . . . .	7,400,000	8,428,000
Siglesk Electric Company . . . . .	465,000	597,000
Beirut Railroad . .	3,555,000	6,176,000
Beirut Port . . . . .	3,890,000	6,500,000
Eastern Radio Co.	1,900,000	4,340,000
Beirut Waterworks Company . . . . .	727,000	1,000,000
"Regie" Tobacco Monopoly . . . . .	—	5,500,000

Some concessions constitute a "state within the state." Thus, for example, the tobacco monopoly "Regie" exercises a veritable rule of terror over the workers and peasants. The "Regie's" armed guards and its officials have as much power as the government.

The railroad company is also a "state within the state." It does not submit to any state laws and regulations but acts despotically. Its power is so great that it prohibits the workers from establishing a trade union of their own and, in addition, forbids them to enter existing trade unions.

The foreign capitalists in Syria have their own police force which serves to keep the workers under surveillance: workers reading democratic papers are immediately discharged and revolutionary-minded workers are arrested. In order to break the solidarity and unity of the workers, the concessionaires have divided the workers into two categories: permanent and temporary workers. The permanent workers are under the constant threat of being fired and being placed in the category of temporary workers.

\* This table is taken from the economic periodical *Le Chronique* (July, 1939), published in the Arabic and French languages.

The intense exploitation of the workers and the repressive measures by the foreign capitalists help constantly to intensify the class struggle in Syria. In 1939, there were strikes of streetcar workers and construction workers. The textile workers struck and demonstrated and, in the chauffeurs' strike, there was armed resistance. All this shows the defensive struggle of the workers against the attacks of foreign capital on the rights and living conditions of the toilers.

The French bourgeoisie is systematically mobilizing the economic reserves and the human forces of Syria to wage the war which it started. Nearly the entire adult population and the entire economic wealth of Syria have already been mobilized for war service. As a result, the condition of the Syrian masses has become still worse. During the first weeks of the war, the price of bread rose 66 per cent, and the price of flour and other absolute necessities increased approximately to the same extent. Hunger has begun in Syria. Protests of the toilers against high prices and hunger, against privation and speculation, are pouring in from the cities as well as from the villages to the High Commissioner of Syria. The High Commissioner has a very simple answer to these protests: whips and bayonets.

French imperialism uses the methods of open violence as well as deception and demagoguery towards the Syrian people. In the attack against the Syrian people, the "Socialists," the Dashnaks, the Zionists and other betrayers of the interests of the working class and the people perform great services for French imperialism.

On October 5, 1939, the Syrian "Socialists," the Dashnaks, together with the reactionary parties of Syria and the local feudal elements, sent a letter to the High Commissioner of Syria assuring him that they would support France in this war "up to its victorious conclusion." They cynically declare that the present imperialist war is a war for freedom, thereby pouring oil on the fire of the French bourgeoisie. With this lying slogan, they endeavor to mobilize

the sons of the Syrian people in the service of French imperialism.

However, regardless of the demagogy, the persecution and terror, regardless of the prohibition of the Communist Party and the arrest of many Communists, regardless of the French dictatorship, the working class and the peasantry and the entire revolutionary people of Syria have not given up the struggle for their independence and freedom. The struggle for freedom and national independence was not halted but, on the contrary, assumed even greater proportions.

The correspondent of the Turkish pa-

per *Djumchurit* reported from Beirut on September 25, 1939:

"Despite increased terror, despite strong repressive measures, proclamations are being distributed in cities and villages. The proclamations state: 'We shall fight and die only for our independence, only for Syria's freedom!'"

This means that the Syrian people do not propose to lay down their lives on the war front for the predatory interests of French imperialism. Neither the bayonets of French imperialism, internal reaction, nor the Blums and Paul Faures can silence the revolutionary voice of the Syrian people.

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# What Is the War About?

BY WILHELM PIECK

**T**HE BIG capitalist powers participating in the present European War are employing every method of agitation in an effort to conceal their *imperialist war aims* from the toiling masses and to hide behind the pretext of other aims. In this endeavor, the big capitalist powers of England and France are ardently supported by the Social-Democratic leaders of the Second International. These Social-Democratic leaders help the big capitalist powers carry out their imperialist predatory plans; they are just as much afraid as the others that the masses will wake up to the enormous crime being perpetrated by this war and they fear the revolutionary conclusions which the masses will draw from it.

Lenin taught the masses that there are two kinds of wars, "just and unjust, progressive and reactionary wars, wars of progressive classes and wars of reactionary classes, wars that serve to strengthen class oppression and wars that serve to overthrow it."\* Hence one must start from the question as to "what class content the war has, what class is waging the war, what policy is finding its expression in the war."\*\*

These fundamental distinctions made by Lenin were further explained in the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*:

"The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of war:

"(a) *Just* wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave

them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"(b) *Unjust* wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations."\*

The ruling classes of the countries participating directly or indirectly in the war and also of the neutral countries naturally attempt to conceal the *imperialist character of the war*, to deceive the toiling masses regarding the real causes and the imperialist aims of the war and win them for support of the war by means of skillful war propaganda. In order to nullify the imperialist war plans of the ruling classes, it is necessary to undertake a thorough study of the war and its course, to uncover its real causes and aims and to *expose the deceptive maneuvers* to which the ruling classes resort for the purpose of confusing the masses. The irreconcilable antagonism between *the class interests of the toiling masses* and the interests of the bourgeoisie contribute towards opening the eyes of the masses to the true character of the war. Aside from this, another circumstance has been added since the last World War which is decisive for the stand of the toiling masses towards the war: that is the existence of the Soviet Union and its socialist peace policy which is in absolute harmony with the interests of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries.

What is the issue in the present European war that is being waged be-

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 282, Russ. ed.

\*\* *Ibid.*, p. 284.

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\* *The History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, pp. 167-168. International Publishers, New York.

tween Anglo-French imperialism on the one hand and German imperialism on the other? That can best be understood by noting the abrupt manner in which the English and French Governments reject all attempts at restoring peace. The Chamberlain Government has categorically declared—and the Daladier Government has followed it in this—that they do not want to end the war and bring about peace, but that they are determined to continue the war against Germany until “*Hitlerism is destroyed.*” In order to win the toiling masses of England and France for support of this war, the imperialist governments of both these countries seek to create the impression that they are waging the war for democracy, for the national freedom of small peoples and for the guarantee of a lasting, honorable peace. In this way they want to deceive the masses regarding the imperialist and reactionary plans for the realization of which they are continuing the war. And once again, as in the World War of 1914-18, the Social-Democratic leaders give assistance to this deception of the masses and support the war for carrying through the imperialist and reactionary plans of British imperialism.

English imperialism has always followed tortuous secret paths in its foreign policy in order to conceal its real intentions and to let other peoples bleed for its extension of power. It is continuing this policy in this war also. *Its aim is to subjugate the German people, to establish a “conservative” regime in Germany that will consider it its mission to be the gendarme of capitalism against the Soviet Union.* The German people are to be forced to their knees by means of hunger blockades and military force. An even worse Versailles than 1918 is to be imposed on it, a regime no less reactionary than the present is to be forced on it, and it is to be prohibited from liberating itself from the chains of imperialism and reaction. Germany is to be carved up into vassal states of British imperialism through which the latter hopes to realize its war plans against the Soviet Union. The *Social-Democratic leaders,*

including the German Social-Democrats, support these war aims of British imperialism by means of the vilest incitement against the Soviet Union and against the Communists; they call for support of the war against Germany.

English imperialism was particularly concerned that within the framework of its world-dominating position it exercise *hegemony in Europe* in relation to French and German imperialism. It went along now with the one and now with the other, played one off against the other in order to keep either of them from becoming too powerful on the Continent. The forces of German imperialism were smashed by means of the World War and the Versailles Peace dictate.

But English imperialism did not want to forego a counterweight to French imperialism. However, far more important to British imperialism was a counterweight to the socialist Soviet Union. English imperialism, therefore, endeavored to help German imperialism back onto its feet. When German capitalism saw its advance and rule menaced by the growing radicalization of the masses, English imperialism helped it to *establish its fascist dictatorship* by means of which the toiling masses of Germany were to be prevented from freeing themselves from the rule of big capital.

The English support given to German imperialism was partly aimed against French imperialism also, but primarily against the Soviet Union. When both states sought to ensure themselves against *German imperialist aggression by means of a collective security pact,* “Hitlerism,” as the form of German imperialism’s rule, was given the greatest support by British imperialism, partly by tolerating military measures in contradiction to the Versailles Peace Treaty, partly by openly supporting its aggressions.

The facts are still fresh in our memory, so that they need only be enumerated here: Introduction of universal military service, production of the heaviest armaments, military occupation of the Rhineland zones; furthermore, military intervention against the Spanish

people and military invasion and occupation of Austria. In carrying out its plans, the imperialist rulers of England were more and more openly supported by the French imperialists. Chamberlain's negotiations with Hitler in Berchtesgaden and the Munich Pact surrendering a part of Czechoslovakia were carried out in full agreement with the French Government which did not shrink from the most shameless violation of its treaty obligations to Czechoslovakia and from abandoning the collective security pact with the Soviet Union. Chamberlain sought to justify this support of German imperialism with the hypocritical declaration that this had ensured peace for an entire generation.

Naturally, English imperialism did not support German imperialism in order to ensure peace, but in order to drive it into *war against the Soviet Union*. The incitement which the Nazi leaders carried on against the Soviet Union and the Anti-Comintern Pact which they inaugurated with Japan, Italy and other countries appeared to coincide with the calculations of English imperialism. Both states—the English imperialists hoped—would weaken themselves to such an extent in such a war that England, as the dictator of peace, would reap the fruits of its policy and exercise unrestricted hegemony in Europe and plunder the European countries.

This calculation of English imperialism did not materialize. The Soviet Union had become such a great power as a result of its socialist development and the development of its military powers that German imperialism shrank back from a military attack against the Soviet Union and did not want to assume the great risk of a war with this power. Placed by English imperialism before the immediate decision to unleash war against the Soviet Union because of the demands on Poland, German imperialism was compelled to conclude a *non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union*. This pact smashed the maneuvers of English imperialism for a war between Germany and the Soviet Union.

The conclusion of the non-aggression

pact and the frontier and friendship pact between the Soviet Union and the German Reich is a *magnificent triumph of the Soviet Union's peace policy*. This pact brought about a historic turn in the international situation; it removed the great danger of war between the peoples of the two mightiest states on the European continent and restricted the theater of war. That English imperialism is indignant at this result of the Soviet Union's peace policy is quite understandable considering the policy it pursues. But the *leaders of the Second International* also cry murder and fall all over themselves in their incitement against the Soviet Union. With sanctimonious "indignation" against the Soviet Union, they seek to distract the toiling masses from the crime that this reactionary outfit of Social-Democratic leaders are perpetrating in calling for war against the German people and propagating war against the Soviet Union.

In its war plans against the Soviet Union, English imperialism is not only concerned with hegemony in Europe but also with insurance against the growing radicalization of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries which is constantly increasing the danger of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of imperialism and the victory of socialism. The tremendous example of victorious socialism in the Soviet Union is exercising an extraordinarily strong influence on the yearning of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries for socialism and is imbuing them with greater and greater sympathy for the Soviet Union.

The toiling masses in all countries understand more and more that the interests of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries and the toiling masses in the Soviet Union are not opposed, that *the policy of the Soviet Union is only for the benefit of the toiling masses*, that a war against the Soviet Union is directed against the interests of the toiling masses in all countries and that the enemies of the Soviet Union are also their enemies. *The international bond of the masses with the Soviet Union*, with

the ideas of socialism, will become stronger and stronger in the course of the war. When the capitalists shout "treason" because the masses are in favor of the Soviet Union and its peace policy, when they persecute the Communists on that account and throw them into jail, this only confirms that they regard the national state only as the affair of the bourgeoisie and not of the toiling masses.

It is fear of the revolutionary radicalization of the toiling masses, it is *fear of socialism*, that is driving the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries to resort to greater and greater terror against the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. This fear also gives rise to the incitement against the Soviet Union and the will to devastate the Land of Socialism by means of war. In these reactionary attacks against the working class of the whole world and against the Soviet Union, *the Social-Democratic leaders are on the side of the bourgeoisie*. They spew spleen and gall against the Soviet Union and against the Communists. They do not want socialism, they do not want the liberation of the masses from the yoke of capitalism, they want to maintain it and act as its bodyguard against the fighting masses of labor. That is why they want to prevent the unity of the working class, of the toiling masses against big capital, against the imperialist war criminals. That is why they want war against the Soviet Union.

Chamberlain and Daladier seek to mitigate their war crime by the hypocritical declaration that their war is not directed against the German people but against "Hitlerism." But in reality, they attempt to starve out the German people and to extend the war to women and children, the old and sick. Their declarations are also in sharp contrast to the chauvinist incitement carried on in the press of the French and English war criminals against the German people. The German people are slandered as a predatory people, as a mass dominated by instincts of conquest and beasts of prey. The destruction of Germany is demanded openly; it is to be rendered

powerless for generations and to be subjected to a thorough "moderation cure" by the victors. This vile incitement is intended to whip up the toiling masses in France and England against the German people so that they give their blood and lives for the imperialist war aims of the great capitalist powers.

German imperialism has inspired its neighboring peoples, especially the French people, with fear and terror as a result of its military aggressions which had previously been supported by British imperialism, and has called forth the profoundest hatred of these peoples. The English and French imperialists are attempting to exploit this sentiment of the masses of people for the war against the German people. *But the German people want peace.*

The toiling masses of Germany have no desires for world domination, they do not want to oppress any other peoples but want to live in peace and friendship with them. They are in accord with what their imprisoned leader, Ernst Thaelmann, repeatedly declared in Germany six and a half years ago and especially on October 31, 1932, seven years ago, at a mass meeting in Paris, when he said to the French masses:

"We Communists say to you French workers and toiling people: Your fellow sufferer in Germany, the worker and peasant there, is not your enemy but your natural ally! Likewise we say to the German toilers that the French workers and toilers are never their enemies but their class comrades!

"Nothing, nothing ties us, the representatives of the working class of Germany, to the German bourgeoisie, to the German capitalists. The German capitalists oppress us. They take from the masses whatever they can take. They apply the most unbearable methods of brutal dictatorship against the masses. They attempt to rob the people of their last political rights, of every trace of freedom, every social gain no matter how slight. The German capitalists are our *mortal enemies!* Everything unites us, the representatives of the German working class, with you, the workers, the toilers, the exploited masses of the French people. . . .

"The bond of solidarity which we as Communists have forged stronger than ever with our international action against imperialist war and the Versailles system, signifies a great *historic responsibility* for you also, French comrades. If the German working class emerges victorious from the class struggles, French imperialism will harbor the thought of bloody imperialist intervention against the German workers' and peasants' republic. Then it is your task to put a spoke in the interventionist plans of our common enemy."

These words are directed in the same spirit to the toiling masses of England.

The toiling masses of Germany have nothing in common with the plans of conquest and the colonial claims of German monopoly capitalism; they are profoundly hostile to the rule of this small top layer of the richest industrial and bank capitalists, the Krupps, Stinneses, Thyssens, Kirdorfs, Voegelers, Flicks, Siemens, Schoeders and company. It is these circles that are interested in conquering foreign countries and subjugating foreign peoples in order to seize immeasurable riches for themselves. They are the only benefactors of the war economy in Germany which is producing heavy armaments for the war while depriving the German people of the most essential means of subsistence. It is they who are mercilessly ruining the peasant farms, the handicraft and small trade in the cities. *They are the real masters of Germany.*

The catastrophic economic policy of German monopoly capitalism is giving rise to increasing indignation among the toiling masses which is being directed more and more against the capitalist system, against the rule of big capital. These anti-capitalist sentiments are even penetrating deep into the ranks of the National-Socialist followers. In order to distract the masses from these sentiments, the Nazi leaders are attempting to persuade them that the alleged people's community, the so-called Labor Front, the Winter Aid, the "Strength Through Joy" organizations in Germany is "socialism" and that "socialism" is the aim of their war. But there can be no

socialism where big capital rules, where the toiling masses are oppressed and exploited.

*What socialism is can be seen by the toiling masses in the Soviet Union* where state power and the means of production are in the hands of the toiling masses, where the class of capitalists and big landowners has been liquidated and the toiling masses control production and policies through their organizations. Socialism in the Soviet Union is being documented in the uninterrupted advance in the well-being and the culture of the toiling masses, in the realization of socialist democracy, of national liberation and the fraternal union of the many nations of the great Soviet people, in the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government.

The irreconcilable antagonism between the interests of the capitalists and those of the toiling masses is becoming more distinct in the war. While the big capitalists are making enormous profits and wealth from the war, unheard-of restrictions on their living standards and sacrifices of blood and life are being imposed upon the toiling masses. The political oppression of the toiling masses is also assuming more acute forms. The preservation of the toiling people requires that it take up *the sharpest struggle against this exploitation and enslavement, for adequate living conditions and for political rights.* The toiling masses of Germany will fight together with the Austrian, Czech and Polish people who are oppressed by German imperialism for their liberation from oppression by German imperialism and for their full right of national self-determination.

The war between England, France and Germany is an imperialist war which is being waged by the capitalists of these countries for the redivision of the earth, a war which must not be supported by the toiling masses but most vigorously combatted by them. The Social-Democratic leaders of the Second International, who call upon the masses to support this war on the side of English and French imperialism, are thereby acting



against the most vital interests of the toiling masses. The pact that the Soviet Union concluded with Germany was the greatest service to the toiling masses because it prevented war between the two powers and the extension of the imperialist war into a general world war. The pact does not, as the Social-Democratic leaders assert in their incitement against the Soviet Union and against the Communists, serve to support the aggression and war of German imperialism; it supports the will of the toiling masses for peace.

As against the criminal plan of English and French imperialism to defeat the German people through war, impose an even worse Versailles on it than in 1914, and drive it into war against the Soviet Union, the toiling masses of the entire world, especially the English and French working class, have the task of making it impossible for them to carry through this crime and of forcing the English and French governments to stop the war against Germany. The imperialist war must be countered by the solidarity of the toiling masses. Only in this way can an end be put to this crime.

The toiling masses must clearly recognize their enemies and their friends in this war. The *mighty Land of Socialism,*

*the Soviet Union, stands beside them as their friend.* Whoever attacks the Soviet Union, whoever incites against this land and its glorious government, is no friend of the toiling masses of all countries, but their enemy who is helping the imperialist war criminals. It is the Communists in every country who are fighting courageously against the imperialist war criminals for the establishment of peace, for the improvement of the living conditions and the extension of the political rights of the toiling masses, and for socialism.

*The enemies of the toiling masses* are the imperialists, the big capitalists and big landowners, reaction in every form, the Socialist leaders and Trotskyite bandits who are tied up with capitalist reaction and who incite and fight against the Soviet Union and against the Communists.

The toiling masses are confronted by the clear-cut alternative of choosing between these friends and enemies, of deciding whether they go with or against the imperialist war criminals, whether they go with or against the Social-Democratic and Trotskyite accomplices of these criminals, whether they go with or against the Soviet Union, with or against socialism.

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# The Betrayal of the International Proletariat by Social-Democracy

BY F. LANG

THE extreme sharpening and intensification of the imperialist contradictions and antagonisms, which have already assumed the form of a great armed conflict between the imperialist powers, are forcing all classes, groups, parties and organizations to indicate their position and formulate their attitude on the bloody events. The attitude of the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie is clear: it is *their* war, it is being waged in *their* predatory interests and they are ready at all times to fight up to the last breath of the proletarians and toilers they have sent to the front.

However, for reasons easily understood, the ruling class of every belligerent country is exerting every effort to keep the masses and especially the proletariat in the dark regarding the true background, nature and character of the war now in process. For that reason, simultaneously with the mobilization of the army and transportation of the soldiers to the various frontiers, it is also mobilizing an army of journalists, propagandists, ink-slingers and "learned" hacks who have the task of presenting the war of their own ruling class as a "justified" war or even as a "war of liberation," to present their own war incendiaries to the people in the disguise of champions of "justice" and "lasting peace."

It is all the more necessary that the exploited class, the proletariat, onto whose shoulders are shifted the greatest sacrifice of life and welfare, adopt a clear and unmistakable position on this war. The revolutionary proletariat is no

devotee of abstract "integral pacifism" which generally rejects *every* war alike *before* the outbreak of the war only to go over to the camp of "its" bourgeoisie *after* its outbreak.

Moreover, in Marxism-Leninism, in the experiences of the Party of the Bolsheviks, the revolutionary proletariat has that compass which enables it to distinguish between a really *just* war, a national war of liberation and independence, and an *unjust* war of conquest and enslavement of foreign peoples and to determine its attitude accordingly and give a correct orientation to the entire working people. For this very reason, the war provocateurs make the greatest efforts to knock this compass out of the hands of the proletariat, to becloud its consciousness, to bring confusion into its ranks, to widen the split in the working class and to isolate it from the other toiling masses of people. However, the bourgeoisie is unable to fulfil this task thoroughly under its own direction. It is compelled to transfer it to its agents *within* the working class, to the reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic parties and reformist trade unions.

Just as in 1914, so today also, the leaders of the Second International, above all the leaders of the English Labor Party and the English trade unions as well as the most prominent men of the French Socialist Party, have openly and shamelessly gone over to the positions of "their" monopoly capitalists. They decreed the cessation of the class struggle, proclaimed civil peace and placed their parties, their press, their youth organ-

izations as well as the apparatus of the powerful organizations of the laboring masses, the trade union federations, the cultural and educational societies, in the service of the imperialist war drive.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY UP TO THE WAR

Under the influence of the defeat of the German working class in 1933 and later of the Austrian and Czechoslovak labor movements, under the influence of the tremendous victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, and last, but not least, under the influence of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people, a far-reaching process of realignment and differentiation occurred among the broadest masses of the international proletariat and even of the petty-bourgeois strata. The striving of the workers for unity in their ranks, in order to defeat the reactionary attacks of the bourgeoisie, to wring certain concessions in the interest of the exploited, and to conduct an energetic and promising struggle for the maintenance of peace, assumed ever greater proportions. This *leftward* development of the working masses, this coming closer of the workers belonging to various parties, this drive for activity and cooperation also had its effect on certain circles of functionaries of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions.

That part of Social-Democracy in the process of being revolutionized recognized more and more the significance of the Soviet Union as the citadel of the socialist revolution, the significance of its historic victories for the entire liberation struggle of all oppressed masses.

However, the crafty politicians of the parties of the Second International, their past, present and future ministers, afraid of being swept overboard by the high waves of mass activity, pretended to be influenced by the sentiments of the masses in order secretly to betray them all the more thoroughly. That they had never changed in reality was manifested most clearly by their provocative attacks against the Land of Socialism. Every step which the Soviet Union took to strengthen socialism, to consolidate its victories, to deepen the moral and political unity of

the Soviet peoples, to destroy the last remnants of the hostile classes and to advance along the road to the establishment of Communist society, was put under suspicion, ridiculed and calumniated by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy.

For a while, Blum and Company were compelled to take into account the growing demands of the working class for unity and militant action but, at the same time, they did everything in their power to undermine this unity, to hinder the activity of the masses, to drive a wedge between the toilers of the capitalist world and those in the Soviet Union and to force the proletariat to put on the yoke of its exploiters. It was the Blum government that decreed the "pause" and thereby prevented the realization of the *modest* demands of the People's Front program. It was the Blum government that inaugurated the "non-intervention policy" in Spain, the policy which prolonged the Spanish war and actually was the rope with which the Spanish republic was strangled. Blum and the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party of France approved the dispatch of Runciman to Prague. They applauded when Chamberlain went to Godesberg to prepare the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. They enthusiastically greeted the Munich Pact. The "Socialist" Chamber group gave Daladier a vote of confidence and the leadership of the Socialist Party gratuitously gave Chamberlain and Daladier the title of "saviors of peace."

During this entire time, the leadership of the Socialist Party of France shouted that they were against the formation of an "ideological bloc" and against "ideological wars." They propagated the convocation of an international conference which, according to the resolution of the "Socialist" Chamber group of January 19, 1939, should deal with "the political, economic, financial and colonial problems" in order to "come to an understanding" with Germany and Italy "on the utilization of the colonies, on the distribution of their products and on the immigration question."

At the conferences and congresses of

the Socialist Party, voices of influential groups were raised for the fulfillment of all the wishes of Germany and Italy in order to "organize peace."

The English Labor Party and English trade unions took a similar stand. They actively supported the "non-intervention" policy of the Chamberlain government, they greeted the active cooperation of the British governing circles in the destruction of Czechoslovakia, they demanded raw materials and colonial mandates for Germany and Italy, they thwarted the unity of the working class, etc.

This policy which the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy pursued at the time can only be explained if viewed in connection with the policy of the imperialist ruling classes. These reactionary leaders were fond of imagining themselves as "organizers of peace" because their respective bourgeoisies lulled themselves with the hope that they would be able to use imperialist Germany as the gendarme of reaction against the revolutionary labor movement and as the battering ram against the fortress of socialism, the Soviet Union.

The Anglo-French imperialists were for "non-intervention" in Spain because they desired the victory of bloody reaction and speculated, furthermore, on being able in this way to provoke war between Germany-Italy, on the one hand, countries which had militarily intervened in Spain, and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, a country which had helped the Spanish republic morally and politically. Hence, the Blums, Paul Faures, the Citrines and Daltons likewise swore by so-called non-intervention.

The Anglo-French imperialists had Czechoslovakia dismembered in the hope that they would succeed in involving the Soviet Union in an isolated war with Germany. They excluded the Soviet Union from the negotiations in which the Czech question was to be "settled" in order to create the dangerous materials for conflicts and tensions between the Soviet Union and Germany by means of an accomplished fact.

The monopoly capitalists and their governments were extremely generous and "peaceful" towards German and Italian imperialism as long as they hoped they could thereby encourage German reaction to launch the "crusade against Bolshevism." The Blums, Daltons and Co. acted accordingly: They deserted Czechoslovakia, praised the Munich conspiracy as an act of peace and supported in every shape and manner the efforts of the war provocateurs to carry the firebrand of war to the Soviet Union.

*The ruling class called the tune and their "Socialist" lackeys played it.* They pretended to be "pacifists" and decided opponents of every so-called "ideological war." They were for all possible concessions to the German and Italian imperialists as long as all this was in accord with the plans of the ruling classes of their countries. Under the mask of "peace," under the slogan of "rather slavery than death," they promoted the war provocations of finance capital against the bulwark of socialism. But the moment the bourgeoisie of Great Britain and France had to recognize that Germany did not want to go to war for them against the Soviet Union but that the German efforts at expansion threatened the English and French possessions and spheres of power, their "Socialist" lackeys became overnight ardent supporters of the allegedly "ideological war."

#### SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR

Soon after the outbreak of the imperialist war in Europe, the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy concluded their anti-communist civil peace with the ruling classes.

The leaders of the English Labor Party who had stubbornly rejected every united front of the working class and any collaboration with bourgeois opposition circles against the out-and-out reactionary, anti-labor Chamberlain government on the ground that this would defile the principles of "pure socialism," established a united front with the war-mongering bourgeoisie during the criti-

cal days with lightning speed and entered into cooperation with its executive organ, the "National" government.

In France, the "Socialist" leaders broke the united front. They split the trade unions and thereby actively helped heavy industry, the big capitalists, to rob the workers of their social gains. These leaders joined the pack of the corrupt bourgeoisie in howling at the Soviet Union and led the campaign of incitement and slander against the revolutionary workers and their Communist Party. A deputy of the Socialist Party of France published a letter to Daladier in the organ of the Comité de Forges, the *Temps*, of September 2, in which he demanded the suppression of the Communist Party (which was not long in coming).

The originator of the notorious "non-intervention" policy in Spain, Leon Blum, had the brass to interfere in the affairs of the revolutionary workers, the members and supporters of the Communist Party and to urge them, in threatening terms, to renounce their Party and their revolutionary principles. After the illegalization of the Communist Party, the same "champion" of democracy, Leon Blum, declared that he "felt that the majority of our party [that is, of the Socialist Party—*F.L.*] will regard it [the dissolution of the Communist Party] as natural and legal." These lackeys of finance capital sanctioned the outrages of the war incendiaries.

The ridiculous bankrupts who act as leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany are carrying on incitement in their sheet, which is supported by the bourgeoisie, for a war against the Soviet Union, for terror against the Communists.

In the neutral countries, also—in Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, and so forth—the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy are carrying on vehement incitement against all workers who do not hitch themselves to the wagon of the warmongers and profiteers, who will not let themselves be used against the Soviet Union in the interest of their bourgeoisies. Anti-communism is trumps

in the parties of the Second International. The Anti-Comintern Pact which was intended as a war alliance of the so-called Axis powers was transformed into a worthless scrap of paper by the Soviet Union's non-aggression pact with Germany. The war incendiaries and their "Socialist" accomplices are shouting themselves hoarse against this Non-Aggression Pact, raising the dirty banner of the belligerent Anti-Comintern Pact.

On what grounds do these so-called Socialists justify their latest civil peace with the bourgeoisie? Their argument which they rehash in all possible variations runs as follows: "Our" governments are waging a war in "defense of democracy." "Our" governments are waging an "unselfish" war in solidarity with the Poles. "Our" governments have absolutely no desire for annexations and tribute. In a word, "our" governments are waging a war not for the redivision of the world but for its . . . pacification.

The Greenwood and Daltons, the Leon Blums and Paul Faures, who give "their" financial oligarchs and their governing representatives a free, "anti-fascist," "democratic" certificate of good behavior, *thereby only repeat the arguments that the bourgeoisie itself uses to mask its real war and conquest aims, to deceive and mislead the masses.*

Where were the "anti-fascist" lions, Chamberlain and Daladier, when it was a question of helping the Spanish republic? Where were these "democrats" when it was a question of granting protection and asylum to the Spanish fighters for liberation and the defenseless women and children who were fleeing from the murderers of the masses? The "democrats" put them in concentration camps! Where were these "democrats" when it was a question of supporting the Ethiopians, the Austrians, the Czechs and Albanians?

What kind of "democrats" are these who prohibit the third strongest Party of France, the Communist Party, destroy its press, and rob the presses and buildings that were bought with workers' pennies? What kind of "democrats" are

these who hound revolutionary workers and throw everyone into jail who has an opinion different from the mercenary representatives of the imperialist bourgeoisie? Do not these persecutions of the workers show clearly to everyone that this "democracy" which was always the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is now dropping its cloak and stepping forward openly as the brutal dictatorship of finance capital? What interest can the workers have in defending this dictatorship of the ruling class in its predatory war against its twin brother on the other side of the border?

What kind of "anti-annexationists" are these that deny the people of India the right of self-determination and political liberties, that oppress hundreds of millions of colonial peoples and plunder them to the bone? If these French, English, Belgian and other "Socialists" are really against annexations, they should first of all be against the annexations of their own ruling class. If they are seriously for the right of self-determination of nations, they would first of all come out for the right of self-determination for the peoples of India, Indo-China, Algiers, etc., etc. Otherwise it is nothing but an empty phrase which they bandy in the service of their finance oligarchy!

"Solidarity" with Poland? The Entente-imperialists were always in "solidarity" with the anti-people's, anti-Soviet regime of Poland. Poland was always pampered by them as a "sanitary cordon" against Bolshevism. In 1920, when the Soviet land was in the midst of a most difficult struggle against the White Guard and foreign interventionists and was hard pressed from all sides, the Poland of the *Shlyakhta* attacked the young socialist power:

"The plan of the Poles was to seize the Soviet Ukraine . . . to restore the power of the Polish magnates in these regions, to extend the frontiers of the Polish state so that they stretched 'from sea to sea,' from Danzig to Odessa, and, in return for his aid, to help Wrangel smash the Red Army and restore the power of the landlords and capitalists in Soviet Russia.

"This plan was approved by the Entente states."\*

In his speech at the Congress of the All-Russian Union of Glass and Porcelain workers (April 29, 1920), Lenin said in speaking of the Polish campaign:

"It is quite clear that Poland is receiving the most energetic military support from France, England and the entire Entente."\*\*

Everyone can still remember how the Poland of the Pans pounced like a vulture on the mutilated body of Czechoslovakia and carried its booty to "safety."

What interest have the workers, Socialists, honest fighters for the liberation of the peoples from the imperialist yoke in rushing to the aid of *this* Poland of the forests of gallows and concentration camps, this prison of the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, and Jews, this dungeon of the Polish proletarians and peasants?

The Western imperialists wanted to preserve their "barrier" against communism. The revolutionary workers, the exploited and nationally oppressed of the world will not shed any tears over this "barrier." And they must certainly be curious "Socialist leaders" who call upon the masses to take up arms for this anti-labor, anti-Socialist, imperialist and anti-Soviet Poland, while these same "Socialist leaders" rejected *any*, even the slightest, united action for the Spanish people which fought heroically for its freedom for nearly three years, these leaders who, indeed, even abetted and actively supported its torturers. They must certainly be seasoned agents of the bourgeoisie who shed bloody tears while masking as "Socialists" because "Count" Radziwell, lord of vast estates, and his ilk have been arrested and their lands have been turned over to the peasants they had squeezed dry.

No "ideals" are being fought for in this war. This war is not being waged in defense of "democracy" against "fas-

\* *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, p. 241. International Publishers, New York.

\*\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, p. 308, Russian edition.

cism" or for the triumph of "justice." This war is being waged purely for purposes of imperialist conquest. Rivers of blood are flowing so that the vaults of the finance magnates may be filled with loot.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918, as we know, ended with the victory of the group of imperialist states led by Great Britain. But it was a pyrrhic victory for the imperialists, because the world war gave rise to the first state of the workers and peasants. With the triumph of socialism on one-sixth of the earth, the capitalist system received a blow from which it can never recover.

But the Versailles Treaty proved to be a pyrrhic victory even from the purely capitalist viewpoint. A big state like Germany does not allow itself to be condemned to permanent impotence. Germany was able to recover from its blows, the German imperialists were once more able to threaten the predominance of Western imperialism.

To defeat Germany, to reharass it under the yoke of Versailles, to divide the world anew in favor of the Anglo-French imperialists and then to undertake the certainly neck-breaking attempt to destroy or at least weaken the Soviet-land—that, and only that, is the war aim of Anglo-French imperialism.

When the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy call upon the workers to "defend the fatherland," they call upon them to defend the *imperialist* war aims and interests, the privileges and prerogatives of the ruling class to plunder the weaker peoples. When these leaders assure the governments of their unlimited support as the leaders of the Labor Party in Great Britain and the leadership of the Socialist Party in France are doing in countless statements and speeches, they are thereby supporting their "own" warmongers. When these reactionary leaders inscribe anti-Communism on their banners, when they unleash such an incitement in their newspapers against the revolutionary workers that they surrender them thereby to persecution by police, gendarmerie and court martial, when day after day,

they vent spleen and gall against the invincible Land of Socialism, they show that *they are the accomplices of the imperialist war provocateurs.*

The outbreak of the war is a signal that the general crisis of capitalism is being greatly intensified. The ruling classes are no longer able to carry through their predatory raids by "normal" means; they can no longer bridge the accumulated contradictions by the method of negotiations, by diplomatic methods, but are compelled to resort to force of arms, to launch the most brutal force, war and mass murder. The revolutionary proletariat becomes more and more conscious at such a time that the exploited class must be on its guard, that it must understand how to take advantage of the opportunity and throw its forces into the balance in order to bring about decisions for its own interests and the interests of the entire working people. It cannot be the task of slaves to risk their lives for the slave-owners, to bleed and die for their profits. The war of the bourgeoisie is the signal for the proletariat that the time has come to lead the fight energetically and systematically at the head of the masses for the liberation of the overwhelming majority of the population.

But the social-imperialists call upon the masses to help their oppressors to weather the crisis, to strengthen their positions anew and to "save" the tottering system of capitalism from disintegration. They hate the revolution and see their main enemy in the powerful Land of Socialism which is in the process of gradual transition to communism.

Polish Social-Democracy, in its war-inciting appeal, called upon the people to "fight against Bolshevism with the same unity as in 1920." At a meeting of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party leadership which decided on the expulsion of Leon Nicole, the notorious Bringolf declared:

"If a Soviet government should arise in Germany, the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland would have to adopt the same hostile attitude towards this Soviet

Government as towards the German-Hitler regime."

The so-called party leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany states outright that after Hitler there must not be any "Bolshevism" in Germany. This uprooted "authority" which already sees the trees of the Anglo-French war incendiaries growing into the skies, recommends itself to its masters in the following words:

"It [that is, the Socialist Party of Germany—*F.L.*] was never a class struggle party in the sense that it strove for the rule of one class and the maintenance of this rule at any price and by every means." (*Friedrich Stampfer in the Neuer Vorwärts*, September 17, 1939.)

These and similar utterances as well as the outbursts of rage against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties show how closely tied up the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy are with monopoly capital, how much they try to maintain the rule of the exploiting class "by every means and at any price." They are scared to death that the workers might reflect and begin to speak to the imperialists in the language that one uses towards robbers as soon as one becomes conscious of one's power. For that reason the agents of the class enemy within the labor movement do not carry their anti-Communist hearts on their sleeves, for that reason they undertake the most convulsive attempts to separate the laboring masses from the Land of Socialism, the inspiration of all exploited. For whoever betrays the interests of the oppressed class to its oppressors is compelled by force of the inner logic of things to make a common front against the Soviet Union which has no other interests than those of the toilers, than those of socialism.

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The present situation, however, differs essentially from that of 1914. Today, victorious socialism is a living reality on one-sixth of the earth and inspires a growing determination to fight in the oppressed of the capitalist world. Today

there are revolutionary mass parties in the capitalist countries which no amount of savage persecutions can destroy and which are doing their utmost to find the correct road and to mobilize the masses for struggle *for their own interests*. Today there are millions of workers who have worked honestly and in a comradely manner with their Communist class comrades for years in the united front movement which has left a profound influence on their entire political orientation. All this is a guarantee to us that the social-imperialists will not succeed for long in misleading and deceiving the masses.

The resistance of the French workers to the splitting maneuvers of the reformist government agents, the splitting of the Socialist Party of Switzerland as a result of the expulsion of Leon Nicole because of his attitude towards the imperialist war and towards the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the stand taken by many Socialist organizations of England, the Scandinavian and other countries, the enthusiastic greetings of the liberating act of the Red Army by huge mass meetings of workers, etc., show that the clarification process within the working class is progressing. This change in the sentiment of the masses, this differentiation and radicalization process cannot be held up by any kind of maneuvers and machinations of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy.

In this war the working class has the tremendous task of unifying itself in the struggle against the war-guilty imperialists and their Social-Democratic accomplices. The Social-Democratic leaders have openly gone over to the side of the belligerent bourgeoisie. They have descended to the level of auxiliary police against the revolutionary workers. Everywhere they disrupt the united workers' organizations, and in the service of reaction split the forces of the working class. In all countries, it is they who call for police terror against the Communists, who stir up the war flames and do everything possible to conjure up a war of the capitalist states against the socialist Soviet Union.

The working class, in sharp contrast to the maneuvers of the Social-Democratic



leaders, wishes to end the war and abolish capitalism, the cause of all imperialist wars. Only the working class in alliance with the socialist Soviet Union is able to stop the war and to bring peace to the peoples. But in order to become this decisive force, the working class must drive the accomplices of the bourgeoisie out of their ranks and unite in struggle against the Social-Democratic leaders. Only in struggle against these leaders can the working class resolutely defend itself against the transfer of the

war burdens to the toilers, can it successfully defend its wages and its political rights, can it effectively oppose the increasing police terror, can it attract to itself broad masses of people and open the way out of the misery of the war for the peoples. Only in alliance with the socialist Soviet Union can the working class fulfil its historic mission and liberate humanity from the rule of horror of the bourgeoisie which gives rise to crisis after crisis and war after war.

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# England's Difficulties in India

BY F. HOFMEISTER

**T**HE famous English schools, Eton and Oxford, in which the young Lords and other gentlemen's sons are initiated into the secrets of the art of government and the administrative practice of the British Empire, value nothing so much as good manners in their curriculum. Good manners, gentleman-like behavior, stoic calmness and self-discipline even in the most difficult situations are regarded as an indispensable element of British statecraft.

However, these principles, sanctified by long years of tradition, are apparently being maintained with great difficulty by the old Lords who govern the English world empire today. While they still feign deliberate calmness, superiority and strong nerves in relation to Europe and the "civilized" world, they are becoming visibly more nervous in relation to India. Some of these Lords even seem to have completely forgotten the early diplomatic breeding they acquired at Eton and Oxford.

India, the Indian people, three hundred and fifty million strong, which has been plundered, oppressed and ravaged by England for three hundred years, whose immeasurable wealth in material and human reserves constituted the actual foundation of England's greatness, wealth and world domination, this India does not really want to obey England any more. Indeed it causes downright embarrassment to England which pathetically claims to be waging the war in the name of civilization and democracy against fascism and oppression, in the name of the liberty and independence of nations. The India which has so often been deceived and deluded by England,

which in the last world war supplied a million and a half soldiers, which contributed four and a half billion rupees to the war expenditures, and, in addition, donated one hundred and forty-five million pounds sterling "as a gift to the British Crown"—this India, after the bad experiences of the last war, now demands deeds and not words from England, this India is exposing England's lying imperialist war aims and is clearly and decisively demanding national autonomy, the status of an independent dominion.

The English colonial lords who do not want to let go of the valuable loot twist and turn. The old methods are no longer effective. The India which has been awakened to national consciousness will not allow itself to be sidetracked from the road of national struggle for liberation once it has entered upon it.

In this war, as in the last, England wants to have the material and human reserves of India at its disposal. India has financed England's wars all along, India's soldiers fought England's battles. From 1859 to 1900 alone, India's troops participated in a hundred and ten English campaigns. India's people starve and perish and are periodically afflicted by epidemics and famine. Eighteen million Indians died in the famine year of 1918 and millions annually die of hunger.

According to the statistics compiled by the Indian delegation in the International Labor Office, the number of unemployed amount to forty million people, just as many as the total population of Great Britain! The living standard of the Indian population is fantastically low, the number of illiterates amounts

to 92 per cent! The Indian peasants are deeply in debt to usurers and landlords. In a period of eight years, from 1930 to 1938, their debts rose from nine to sixteen billion rupees. Workers' wages are inconceivably low, while the working day is thirteen to fourteen hours.

On the other hand, India's public receipts are used for the construction of strategic roads and railways as well as for army purposes. India's state debt of nine hundred million pounds sterling has arisen mainly through these expenditures. Thus, one hundred and twenty-five million pounds sterling were recently used for the modernization of the Indian army. One can understand that England does not want to lose such a valuable booty as India at any price. For, from the days of early capitalism up to the present, enormous sums have flowed annually from India to England in the form of monopolies, duties, taxes, interest and profits.

No wonder, therefore, that the lords and colonial masters are beginning to lose their nerves and good manners in face of the dangerous disobedience of the Indians.

When the war broke out in Europe, the Englishmen thought they would be able to make short shrift of India. England immediately issued a "law for the defense of India" in which India, without its consent, was declared a belligerent party. Despite the express protest of the Indian National Congress, India's troops were shipped to Singapore and Egypt. England passed a series of war measures that placed the entire economic and political life of the country under the strict control of the English authorities. The legal pretext for these measures was supplied by the amendments to the Indian Provincial Constitution of 1937, adopted by the British Parliament in April, 1939, which give dictatorial powers to the British Viceroy and the English Governors in case of war. Only after all these *faits accomplis* did the English Lords graciously deign to listen to the Indian people.

The spokesman of the Indian people in their struggle for national liberation is the Indian National Congress which

represents the largest party, consisting of four million members. The former chairman of the Congress, the outstanding progressive leader of National Revolutionary India, Jawaharlal Nehru, issued the following statement in the name of the Congress at the very beginning of the war:

"The Indian Congress is of the opinion that the question of India's participation in the war can only be decided by the Indian people which will not permit its resources to be used for imperialist purposes. . . . If England is really waging war for democracy, it must definitely put an end to its imperialist policy and establish complete democracy in India. The Indian people must be given the right to convene a constituent assembly, to administer itself and also to determine its own future policy. . . . The Executive Committee calls upon the English Government to make an unequivocal statement regarding the aims it is pursuing in this war and also what it intends to do for India."

For the English Lords, this was an entirely new language. Despite this, they still tried to employ the methods of appeasement and procrastination. To the inquiry concerning the aims pursued by England in this war, they replied in the old arrogant tone:

"The English Government will take counsel with the representatives of the parties and social organizations as well as with the native princes at the end of the war in order to assure themselves of their help and cooperation in working out the changes in India's state structure."

This reply aroused the greatest indignation among the Indian people. Even Gandhi, who had originally come out for unconditional support of England, was compelled to demand a number of guarantees from the Viceroy. The English bureaucracy under the leadership of the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, tried to maneuver. The utterly non-committal and vague conversations which the Viceroy held with fifty-two leading Indian personalities were made public in the White Book, *India and the War*, recently published by the English Government.

In substance, the statements of the Viceroy were to the effect that England was sympathetically considering dominion status for India, and that it would discuss this question at a round table conference "as soon as possible," that is, after the war, because England cannot change the treaty obligations towards the Indian princes by a stroke of the pen. (*Spectator*, October 6, 1939.)

These and similar evasive replies and subterfuges of the English Government are presented in every key. Thus *The Economist* of October 21, 1939: "The least that can be promised is that the development towards an autonomous India, retarded by the war, will be accelerated *after the war*." (Our emphasis—*F.H.*)

A gem of political hypocrisy was provided by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech of October 26. He confirmed the assurance of dominion status which had been given by Lord Irvin, but blamed the many *splits* existing in India for the fact that it could not yet be carried out practically. He did not blush to speak of a common enemy of India and England, alluding to the Soviet Union, and, in so doing, attempted to give an appearance of truth to the British canard that Soviet troops were in Sinkiang on the northwest and northeastern borders of India. He hoped, therefore, that the Indians would soon accomplish unification and continued:

"It is our mission in the world not to govern other peoples but to help them govern themselves. After the victorious conclusion of the war, we intend immediately to proceed to settle the constitutional difficulties in India. India will play a great role in the new world. India will be a *model for the League of Nations*. India which has known no war for ages stands firm as a rock through the reign of law and justice." (*Nationalzeitung*, Basle, October 27, 1939.)

Only a veteran hypocrite like Sir Samuel Hoare could pull off a thing like this without blushing, the same Hoare who can look upon long years of activity in India and has contributed most to the

political splits in India, to the religious animosity between the Hindus and Mohammedans.

The English Government, basing itself on the Indian Princes who are profoundly hated by the people and who are devoted to the British for better or worse, basing itself on the leader of the Liberal Party, Sapru, on the leaders of the Moslem League, Jinnah and Sikander Hyat Khan, as well as on their direct agents, Fazlul Hug and the notorious traitor Roy, is doing everything to introduce animosity and disruption into the national revolutionary camp in order to find a convenient pretext for the contention that India cannot govern itself.

The vague promises of Lord Linlithgow, Hoare and others were correctly understood by the Indian National Congress and the Indian people. The arrogant demand of the English Government that the question of dominion status be postponed until the end of the war and that they be satisfied with the interim solution of a "consultative group" composed of the princes, the state representatives and parties and directed by the Governor General, was answered by the Indian National Congress by recalling eight provincial governments under their political influence (out of a total of eleven) as a mark of protest.

Under the circumstances, this demonstration is certainly one of the most effective forms of protest: it is neither disobedience nor strike; that is, the war is not supported but neither is the government hindered. However, the English Government will be compelled to suspend the provincial autonomy and govern bureaucratically through its governors for lack of a working majority. In this way, England's unbearable imperialist colonial rule, which was concealed somewhat by the fig leaf of the apparently autonomous provincial governments, is revealed in its stark naked brutality before the whole Indian people.

The Indian National Congress has administered a merited and powerful rebuff to the English challenge. In its struggle for national liberation, the Congress has the full support of the Indian

proletariat. The Indian proletariat, which has experienced extraordinary organizational and political growth in recent years, has already become a serious factor in the national struggle for liberation. The Indian proletariat as well as the entire Indian people is supported in its struggle against British colonial domination by the English revolutionary workers. Thus the Communist Party of England published the following statement on November 7 regarding the Indian question:

"The English Government plans to draw the Indian people into the war, so it declares that the aim of the war is the defense of democracy. But the Government refuses to set forth its real aims or to offer more than trite promises. The Communist Party condemns the position of the leaders of the Labor Party who merely want to secure new lying promises from the English Government in order to obtain India's aid in this war. The Communist Party demands the immediate convocation of the Indian Constituent Assembly so that the Indian people may have the opportunity to determine its own constitution."

To what extent England is playing with fire in India can be seen especially from the inordinately strained relations that have developed during recent weeks between the English Government and the political representatives of the Indian people. The negotiations which Lord Linlithgow resumed at the last minute, so to speak, with the President of the Indian National Congress, Rajendra Prasad, with the leader of the Moslem League, Jinnah, and with Gandhi, have collapsed. The break between the Indian Congress Party and the English Government is now complete.

Aside from Hoare's speech, there are the intrigues of Lord Zetland whose attitude on the Indian question has been raised to an Indian program by the English Upper House as well as by the English Government. Lord Zetland wants to revive the well-tried method of playing one Indian Party off against the other, especially, the Mohammedans against the

Hindus. But this method has outlived its usefulness. The English "argument" that the question of the Indian constitution cannot be taken up now because the Congress Party would have a majority in the Constitutional Assembly was indignantly rejected not only by the Hindus but also by a large part of the Mohammedans and especially by Gandhi. The British thesis that the Hindus must first reach an agreement with the Mohammedans and insure their minority rights is intended to place the decision regarding the political fate of India in the hands of a minority, especially in the hands of the pro-English Jinnah. The President of the Indian National Congress, Prasad, therefore refused to discuss a compromise with Jinnah and thus avoided the trap set by the English Viceroy.

Moreover, Jinnah's ultra-conservative Moslem League is far from being able to speak in the name of all the Indian Mohammedans. Thus, in Madras, many members of other parties, including Mohammedans, voted for the Congress; and the same was true in other provinces when the withdrawal of the provincial governments was voted on. In a radio speech on November 10, Gandhi resolutely raised the demand for a constitutional assembly for India. In view of England's speculation on playing off India's national and religious differences against one another, he stated:

"Religious animosity is used by the English Government in order to put obstacles in the way of Indian aspirations for freedom. The Indian National Congress has never participated in religious conflicts. Hence the Congress prefers to stand aside at present and not to participate in the Government."

In connection with the withdrawal of the eight provincial governments, the situation in India has become exceedingly acute. Today, India is ruled dictatorially by the English Governors in accord with paragraph 93 of the Indian Constitution, since they have the combined legislative, executive and administrative power in their hands. As a result

of this turn in events, the most important Indian parties, including the Mohammedans, have refused to support England in this war until India has achieved its independence.

The artificially incited national and religious conflicts which enormously facilitated England's governing of India are more and more receding into the background in face of the powerful development of the all-national liberation movement. All political camps in India are recognizing more and more distinctly that the democratic solution of India's independence movement cannot be an affair of foreign dictatorship but the affair of the politically liberated Indian people themselves.

The crisis of England's Indian policy which has been latent for years has entered an acute stage. The Indian problem will undoubtedly become even more acute in the course of the war particularly since the British have already passed over to threats. The Indian National Congress, which is assured of the general sympathy of the Indian people and the support of all progressive elements in the country as a result of its slogan of India's complete independence from English imperialism, is now denied

the right by Englishmen to speak in the name of the entire Indian people.

"These demands [of the National Congress] can and must not be fully conceded!" categorically exclaims *The Spectator* of October 20, 1939. And now England begins to act in accord with the well-known India recipe of the satirical periodical, *Punch*, which repeated Disraeli's familiar remark that "India is the most precious jewel in the British Crown," and added ambiguously: "Therefore this jewel must be firmly mounted for India."

Intrigues of the English Government will not force the Indian people from the road of national liberation which they have already consciously and resolutely taken. The situation in India today has changed decisively in contrast to 1914. The October Revolution of 1917 has powerfully aroused the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially India. The progressive sections of India and the Indian proletariat, which have fought a number of big class battles in recent years, the growing unity and fighting activity of the Indian peasants, are already the heralds announcing the storm of a powerfully developing national revolutionary liberation struggle.

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# The Disappearance of a Bastard State

BY FRANZ SCHNEIDER

## I

**A**T THE first test of strength, the Poland of the Pans proved to be a thoroughly decayed and dying creature. In less than three weeks this Poland disappeared from the map of Europe.

No one who knew this incredibly dis-solute regime, its barbarous methods of oppression and its frantic and utterly spurious policy towards the nationalities was in any way surprised that this imperialist "Great Poland" with its preposterous plans of conquest and chauvinist ways should have embarked upon mortally dangerous foreign adventures and come to grief in the process. The only thing surprising was the thoroughness, the extent and the tempo of its collapse.

A wealth of material has already been published on the economic, social, political, cultural and national contradictions of Poland which led to the bankruptcy of this bastard state, as Lenin called imperialist Poland. The present investigation is therefore confined to a systematic summary and illumination of the adventurous, imperialist foreign policy of Poland which proved fatal to that country.

A country with a totally heterogeneous and extraordinarily backward economy and a nationally heterogeneous population; a country with strong survivals of feudal serf conditions and eight to nine million "surplus" people; a country in which nearly 80 per cent of its key industries were in the hands of international finance capital and the mass of the population was always starving; a country in which the toiling people were bled white, insulted, tormented and bes-

tially terrorized by a parasitic army, an enormously inflated executive apparatus and a numerically enormous bureaucracy; a country in which machine guns and bayonets were the only means used to solve the social question and bloody punitive expeditions were raised to a government principle; a country which pursued an insane imperialist great-power policy on such a defective social, economic and political foundation—such a country, torn by inner and outer contradictions, was by its very nature incapable of life and, as a political anachronism, necessarily condemned to bankruptcy and collapse.

The disappearance of imperialist Poland was the result of a process of decay that had been going on for more than twenty years. The contradictions already present at the birth of the Polish state and driven to an intolerable point in the course of the years were absolutely insoluble under the conditions of the prevailing regime in Poland. The Poland of the Pans which kept the great mass of the people out of active political life, which pursued a policy of strangling the national minorities, which subordinated its domestic and foreign policy to international finance capital and placed itself at the disposal of the highest bidder for any imperialist adventure—this Poland found no support at the decisive hour among the people to whom it was alien and who felt an intense hatred for it.

## II

The Poland of the Pans, which emerged from the political retort of Versailles as an artificial state prod-

uct, was, from its hardly glorious beginnings up to its inglorious end, a tool and pawn in the hands of Entente imperialism.

In the political conception of the Entente, this Poland had a double duty to perform: on the one hand, to be constantly prepared for military use against defeated but still feared Germany; on the other hand, to serve "as a bastion of West European civilization" against Bolshevism. In reality, this Poland was a gendarme of international finance capital and a strategic point of attack against revolutionary Russia. (See Lloyd George, *The Truth About the Peace Treaties*, Vol. I, p. 310ff, London, 1938.)

The Entente erected a "sanitary cordon" of buffer states primarily against socialism in order to bolt the door between revolutionary Russia and revolutionary Central and Western Europe. In this connection, Poland was assigned the most active role. For these reasons alone—especially through the maneuvers of France—a "Great Poland" was created whereby the peace-makers of Versailles, without regard for natural ethnological boundaries and unconcerned about any consequences for the future, simply drew with the sword the borders of this "Great Poland." Undoubtedly a sample of this manner of solving territorial questions by the sword was the creation of the Corridor and the Free City of Danzig which gave Poland access to the sea; likewise, the boundary drawn against revolutionary Russia, a boundary running from Finland to Rumania and looking as if it had been cut off by a knife.

This "Great Poland" received—in part, directly at Versailles, in part, as a later steal with the sanction of Versailles—a number of non-Polish territories with national minorities reaching the alarming figure of 40 per cent of the total population of Poland, a circumstance which was to prove fatal to this Poland of the Pans. For the national question represented a centrifugal force with an irresistible effect in the newly created Polish state. The Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians, the Germans, Jews and Lith-

uanians who were not connected with one another and with the Poles by any common historic and spiritual ties and who were held together solely by sheer force and who, moreover, even economically and culturally, constituted an unconnected conglomeration—all these minorities bitterly hated the yoke of the Polish Pans and the overwhelming majority were never reconciled to it.

From the very inception of its "independent" existence, the Poland of the Pans began to pursue a predatory imperialist policy. Drunk with victory and lusting for booty, the slogan of the Polish Pans was not the "Piastic" ethnographic Poland but the "Poland of the Jagellonic period," the Poland of 1772, and their political program was: the creation of a "Great Poland from sea to sea," from the Baltic to the Black Sea, indeed, up to the Caspian Sea, tearing off the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelo-Russia and a federation of these states under Poland's suzerainty, hegemony in the Baltic and in Central Europe, and finally the acquisition of colonies overseas.

The Poland of the heroic people which had fought for a century to restore its national freedom, which sacrificed its best sons in the struggle against the bloody rule of the Romanovs, the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs which had cut up Poland's soil and torn Poland's people apart, the Poland whose national martyrdom and revolutionary elan once won the sympathy of the world—this Poland had been betrayed, squandered and dissipated by the Polish Pans in the very first days that national freedom was restored. The ideals of the freedom-loving Polish people were trampled on by the Polish Pans and besmirched by the cowardly and treacherous attack on revolutionary Russia which was waging a great struggle against domestic and foreign counter-revolution and was bleeding from a thousand wounds.

The Poland of the heroic fighters for freedom had been seized by adventurers and political gamblers, rabid chauvinists and pogromists, a corrupt clique of aristocrats, officers, bankers, parasites and swindlers. Their own Polish people and



the other peoples were harassed, plundered and outraged in the vilest manner; every movement for freedom was most brutally clubbed and shot down.

Lloyd George, who is undoubtedly an authority on the history of Poland's origin, says the following concerning this Poland of political adventurers and imperialist megalomaniacs:

"Drunk with the new wine of freedom which the Allies gave Poland, it now fancied itself to be the unrestricted mistress of Central Europe. Poland's ambition was boundless. It demanded Galicia, the Ukraine, Lithuania and parts of White Russia. Had the inhabitants of these territories been asked, they would have indignantly rejected the domination of Poland." (*Op. cit.*, p. 308.)

The words of H. Wagner (*The Polish Danger*, p. 31, Berlin, 1930) are no less striking even though one-sided in their viewpoint:

"Within its ethnographic borders, in the Vistula center, Poland could become a useful member of the European body of states and enter upon a modest but assured development in accord with the strength of its people. It is its misfortune that the boundaries given to it at Versailles spur it on to further expansion and therefore it can easily be destroyed some day by its incurable great-power mania."

The seed of the destruction of imperialist Poland was planted in Versailles. This Poland came into the world as the creation of Entente imperialism; that same imperialism, which was joined by Poland's own unrestrained imperialism, also led to the destruction of this Poland.

### III

From the first to the last days of its existence, Poland's foreign policy depended, on the one hand, on the momentary relations of England and France with Germany and, on the other hand, on their relations to the Soviet Union—it depended on them even when Poland appeared to be following its own path in foreign policy.

Because of its geographical position and because of its territorial differences, especially with Germany, Poland was always dominated by two questions in its foreign policy: the Polish-German and Polish-Russian questions. This dualism of its foreign policy which imperialist Poland could not solve was the direct and immediate consequence of the brazen land-thievery committed against two great powers which, in the days of Versailles, had been in a politically constrained position. Imperialist Poland, which not only wanted to perpetuate this robbery of countries but also wanted to extend it considerably—primarily at the expense of the Soviet Union—subsequently became a dangerous center of unrest which more than once threatened the peace of Europe. This mutual interweaving and criss-crossing of the interests of Entente imperialism and Polish imperialism in their policy towards Germany and the Soviet Union finally drove Poland into a blind alley in its foreign relations from which there was no longer any escape.

As a result of these two questions, there were two orientations in imperialist Poland. One regarded Danzig-Kattowitz as the axis of the Polish state on which Poland would have to endure the pressure of Germany which had grown strong again, and therefore demanded a normalization of relations with the Soviet Union. This was the tendency of the Polish big bourgeoisie which held power up to the time of Pilsudski's *coup d'etat* and later played the role of "opposition" to him.

Diametrically opposed to this was the conception of Pilsudski and the clique of colonels around him who regarded the Vilna-Lemberg line as Poland's axis which was to be directed against the Soviet Union, a conception to which imperialist Poland clung up to its end.

On September 9, 1918, the Soviet government voluntarily recognized the independence of Poland. This recognition was the logical result of the principle of self-determination and the revolutionary justice of the Russian people and could have been the solid basis for good-neighborly relations between Po-

land and Soviet Russia. Rene Martel (*Poland and We*, p. 241, Paris, 1928), a man who studied post-war Poland thoroughly, remarked quite pertinently:

"It was the Polish Poland that was recognized and not the East Macedonia of peoples exposed to the most cruel, ignorant and tyrannical masters we have ever seen."

But the Poland of the Pans would not be guided by comprehensible national and patriotic interests but by class interests and followed in the footsteps of the imperialist robbers right from the start.

The Poland of the Pans conquered Galicia, stole Vilna and the Vilna territory (October 1920). Wielowieski's note to the Entente in this connection cynically states:

"This occupation guarantees Poland security in the east and, in the future, it might serve as a base for military action by the Allies against Russia." (Casimir Smogorzewski, "Poland and the German Armistice," *Review of the History of the World War*, p. 146, Paris, 1928.)

M. Painleve agreed with this view in the following words: "For us French, Poland's military power is equal to a French army operating on the Vistula."

Needless to say, Clemenceau and Poincaré were of the same opinion. The Poland of the Pans therefore obstinately ignored all Soviet Russian peace proposals and began to march against revolutionary Russia.

Said Comrade Stalin:

"There is no doubt that the campaign of the Poland of the Pans against Russia of the workers and peasants is in reality a campaign of the Entente. . . . The matter is primarily this, that without the support of the Entente, Poland would not have been able to organize its attack against Russia, that first of all France, but also England and America, supported Poland's attack with weapons, armaments, money and instructors. The contradictions within the Entente on the Polish question do not change matters for they only concern the form of the

support to Poland but not the support itself."\*

In all the campaigns of the Entente against the Soviet Union, in the combined attack of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and the Anglo-French intervention troops, Poland played the most active role. The social-chauvinist Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.), whose role of procurer to Polish imperialism dates from those days, was naturally not missing from the chorus of Polish chauvinists who were clamoring for a crusade against Soviet Russia. The leader of the P.P.S., Daszynski, wrote in the *Vorwärts* of January 4, 1920, in the days when Poland had begun its campaign against Soviet Russia: "It would be of enormous importance for the entire future of Poland if the border were to be extended to the Dnieper."

Although the Polish troops that had advanced as far as Kiev had been hurled back as far as Warsaw by the legendary power of the Red Army, the Pans did not surrender their hopes for the realization of their plans. The so-called "miracle of the Vistula," in which, as has been proved, the traitors Trotsky and Tukachevsky had a hand, saved the Poland of the Pans, which subsequently became the refuge stamping-ground of the Petluras and Savinkovs as well as of the entire White Guard riff-raff who carried on their anti-Soviet activities.

The speculations of the Polish Pans on a new war against the Soviet Union were also the reason for the provocations and acts of terror perpetrated uninterruptedly for years after the conclusion of peace at Riga, in March, 1921; in 1927, they led to the murder of the Soviet Ambassador, Voikov; they were also the reason for the continuously brusque rejection of a non-aggression pact which had been offered Poland by Soviet Russia since 1921 and was concluded only in 1932 under an entirely changed constellation of forces.

\* J. V. Stalin, *Articles and Speeches on the Ukraine*, p. 90, Russian ed., Party Publishing House, 1936.

## IV

After his *coup d'état* in May, 1926, Pilsudski's anti-Soviet tendency was raised to a state program. The new situation in Europe following the Locarno Treaty (October, 1925), which placed the eastern frontiers of France and Belgium under international guarantee but failed to settle the questions of the Polish-German frontier, called forth embitterment against France on the part of the Polish Pans. The ideology hitherto cultivated in Poland that the "watch on the Rhine" was inseparable from the "watch on the Vistula" suffered a serious blow. Germany, which was taken into the League of Nations and which announced the revision of the status quo in the east because of the sharp friction with Poland, now appeared to Poland as an acute danger. Imperialist Poland was now looking out for new, additional guarantees, since it regarded the Versailles Treaty and its military alliances with France and Rumania as no longer offering sufficient guarantees.

At this time, England came onto the scene. To the extent that England's relations with the Soviet Union became more acute (the Arcos raid in 1927, breaking off of Anglo-Russian relations), its interest in Poland grew. In 1927, England granted Poland a stabilization loan and worked feverishly to establish a bloc against the Soviet Union; in this connection, it found an important supplier of cannon fodder in Poland and made it a serious factor in its anti-Soviet policy. "The frontiers of India must be defended on the Dnieper," was the popular slogan in England at that time.

Despite all its efforts, however, England was not able to remove Poland's distrust of Germany, especially since England, fearing France's hegemony on the Continent in the period after Versailles, was visibly encouraging Germany's rise. But as the creation of Versailles, Poland was most interested in the maintenance of the status quo. Poland therefore opposed the premature evacuation of the Rhineland zone; it opposed revision of reparations payments and adopted an intransigent attitude

toward Germany in all international questions. This aroused anti-Polish sentiments and desires for revenge in Germany. Nevertheless, the anti-Soviet policy of England and Poland pushed definitely towards normalizing relations with Germany, a policy faithfully carried out by the "pro-German" Pilsudski.

Although in incredible economic straits, Poland, with English and—despite somewhat cooled relations with France—French money, maintained an extraordinarily large army, especially cavalry. With this, Pilsudski intended to operate on Russia's vast territories. He built up a war industry, strategic roads and railways as well as extensive fortifications—all exclusively against the Soviet Union. The frontiers toward Germany were practically unfortified. The Poland of the Pans now continued to brandish their weapons against the Soviet Union, to act provocatively and to speak in a swaggering tone.

The boastful swagger of the military paper, *Polska Zbrojna*, Pilsudski's own newspaper, however, could not mislead such an authority on Poland as the above-mentioned Rene Martel. As far back as 1928 he wrote:

"Yes, Great Poland is here. But is this Poland also strong and powerful? That is the question. We do not hesitate to reply categorically: No, Poland is not strong. It is weak, incurably weak, and will remain so as long as it will not return to the normal and legitimate boundaries of its ethnographic domain." (*Op. cit.*, p. 224.)

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933, which profoundly shook the capitalist states, caused a setback to the anti-Soviet plans of the imperialists. Nevertheless, regardless of the increased interests in the Soviet market, the capitalist states constantly vacillated between their trade interests and their fear of the growth of the Soviet Union. The decisive turn occurred in 1933 when Hitler came to power in Germany. At the same time, the pet idea of Anglo-French diplomacy, the idea of a four-power pact, assumed tangible forms; a project whose realization certainly presupposed the satisfying

of Germany, especially by returning the Corridor to it.

Pilsudski stormed at France's betrayal and then, on his own account, began to seek a rapprochement with National-Socialist Germany in order to realize his anti-Soviet plans in the future in association with German imperialism. In January, 1934, Poland concluded a ten-year non-aggression pact with Germany. Barthou's attempt in the spring of 1934 to meet German aggression by collective security was rejected by Poland, as was the Eastern pact proposed by France and the Soviet Union.

In order to give special emphasis to its zeal to serve German imperialism and so that the unsettled bills between Germany and Poland be forgotten, the Poland of the Pans developed a feverish activity. The convicted spy and Polish Foreign Minister Beck now became the traveling salesman of German imperialism. Beck worked for a "bloc of the Baltic states," agitated in Rumania against the Soviet Union, conducted a campaign of incitement against Czechoslovakia in order to disrupt the Little Entente, carried on disruptive work in the League of Nations, attacked paragraph 16 of the League of Nations Covenant which provides for sanctions against the aggressor and even conspired with Japan against the Soviet Union.

In connection with the new economic crisis which broke out in the middle of 1937—long before the devastating consequences of the preceding crisis of 1929-1933 had been liquidated—the international situation in 1935-1937 led to a considerable aggravation of the contradictions between the capitalist countries.

"As a consequence, the aggressor states redoubled their efforts to recoup themselves for the losses caused by the economic crisis at home at the expense of other, poorly defended, countries." \*

Like the other aggressors, Poland, hard hit by the new crisis and, in recent years, gripped by a constantly growing strike movement and a rebellion of the

workers and peasants, especially in the national districts, also thought that it could master its internal difficulties by plunging into imperialist adventures.

After Pilsudski's death in 1935, imperialist Poland ran completely amuck in foreign affairs. But despite Pilsudski's constant wooing of Germany, a real lasting normalization of the two countries did not take place because the contradictions were too profound.

Imperialist Germany, which had utilized Poland in foreign affairs and had secured various concessions from it with the nebulous promise of compensating it with Soviet Ukraine, did not have the slightest intention of giving up the territories it had lost to Poland. Despite the non-aggression pact—and to Poland's great discomfiture—the anti-Polish movement in Danzig and Upper Silesia did not cease for a moment. Imperialist Poland had become the prisoner of its deluding and suicidal policy.

The Poland of the Pans had its full measure of guilt in the anarchy which had taken hold of world politics during the last few years, in the unrestrained aggression and the criminal gambling with the fate of small peoples. With utter blindness, it hailed the events in Ethiopia, China, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia, pounced on Czechoslovakia in its greed for loot, and prepared to pounce upon Lithuania.

Poland pursued this policy under the patronage of England and France which long ago had steered a course towards a four-power pact and which they wanted to extend to a five-power pact by including Poland. For this purpose, they had paralyzed the League of Nations, pursued the notorious policy of "non-intervention" in Spain; they had surrendered Austria and Czechoslovakia and concluded the Munich Pact; they had disrupted the peace front and helped German imperialism to grow—in a word, they had done everything to realize their counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet plans.

In order to divert German aggression towards the Soviet Union, either to combine it with Polish imperialism or, in case Poland should resist, to leave it to

\* *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, p. 331.

its fate, France declared after Munich that it was not interested in Eastern Europe. It was all the same to England and France whether German imperialism received the necessary common frontiers with the Soviet Union "on credit" or whether it took them forcibly as long as it ultimately turned against the Soviet Union.

For the sake of their counter-revolutionary plans, these so-called "democratic" states were quite ready to pass over the attacks of the fascist aggressors which were directed at their own interests with a mild reprimand as mere "excesses." While they undoubtedly feared the aggressors' increase in power, they were still more afraid of the revolutionary labor movement in Europe and the national liberation movement in Asia.

Says the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* :

"... The ruling circles of Britain are roughly pursuing the same policy as was pursued under tsardom by the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeois, who, while fearing the 'excesses' of tsarist policy, feared the people even more and therefore resorted to a policy of pleading with the tsar and, consequently, of *conspiring* with the tsar against the people. As we know, the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie of Russia paid dearly for this dual policy. It may be presumed that history will exact retribution also from the ruling circles of Britain, and of their friends in France and the U.S.A."\*

This brilliant prediction has literally come to pass.

Through its undeviating and firm peace policy, the Soviet Union has been able to thwart all imperialist plots, conspiracies and maneuvers. Thus also the most recent cunning plot of Chamberlain and Daladier to launch a combined German-Polish aggression against the Soviet Union, while simultaneously disguising this plot by conducting spurious negotiations which they dragged out for months. In order to torpedo the establishment of the peace front desired by all

peoples, the Poland of the Pans at the behest of Chamberlain and Daladier brazenly and arrogantly rejected Soviet aid. And when the previously close relations between Poland and Germany became cooler and cooler and the signs of a bloody conflict increased, Poland's hour of doom had already struck. Poland's newly concluded alliance with England and France was only its death sentence.

The plans of Anglo-French and Polish imperialism were shattered by the vigilance of the Soviet government. The diabolical plans of counter-revolution were smashed by a brilliantly conducted counter-attack. The imperialists, whose zealously guarded balance of power was destroyed by this counter-attack, then fell upon one another. The blow proved to be a boomerang.

The granite frontiers of the Soviet Union offer no special attraction to the aggressors. Imperialist aggression always took the line of least resistance and this was also true in the case of Poland. Although the Poland of the Pans, the imperialist hyena among the imperialist beasts of prey, remained true to its anti-Soviet program and took part in all the conspiracies against the Soviet Union, nevertheless, it fell victim to the law of the imperialist jungle, the law of might.

## V

The Poland of the Pans was destroyed by its own inner and outer contradictions and by the contradictions of the imperialist great powers into which it had maneuvered itself.

The unprecedented speed with which the state organization of Poland disintegrated was the most conclusive proof of its inability to live. In order to prevent Poland, which had collapsed under the blows of Germany, from becoming the experimental ground for "all kinds of accidents and surprises," but primarily to protect the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian blood-brothers, who had been cruelly oppressed by Poland, and to reunite them with the Soviet fatherland, the Soviet Union occupied these territories which clearly belonged to it eth-

\* *Ibid.*, p. 334.

nologically without taking an inch of Polish soil. The Soviet Union likewise rectified a twenty-year old injustice by generously returning Vilna and the Vilna territory to Lithuania. The extraordinary joy with which the Red Army was greeted everywhere and received as a liberator from misery and suffering and unprecedented oppression was one more proof that the Poland of the Pans had thoroughly deserved to disappear.

By its resolute deed, the Soviet Union did a service to world peace and the world proletariat, the greatness, scope and political consequences of which perhaps cannot yet be seen in their full significance by the peoples who are misled by refined lies and malicious slanders. But the truth cannot be permanently concealed despite the imperialist befuddling tactics. The peoples of the capitalist countries will soon recognize that it was the Soviet Union that defended their interests at the critical hour and not the hypocritical Chamberlains and Daladiers who continuously betrayed the cause of their peoples and world peace and still continue their betrayal. "The interests of the Soviet Union coincide with the fundamental interests of the peoples of other countries," Comrade Molotov said at the special Fourth Session of the Supreme Soviet, and his words have proved to be entirely true.

The war which France and England are now waging allegedly on account of Poland, a war which they disguise as "a fight of democracy against fascism," is being fought for other aims. Chamberlain unwittingly let the cat out of the bag in speaking before the House of Commons on October 3: "While Poland was the immediate cause of the war, nevertheless, Poland is not the actual reason for the war."

Quite right! The "myth of Poland" and the new Polish government of Sikorski are only theatrical props. The actual reason for the war is the upset balance of power between the imperialist robbers—the saturated robbers who do not want to yield any of their possessions and the hungry robbers who are

looking for new booty. This war waged by England and France under the lying slogans of "freedom and civilization," with the notorious procurers of imperialism from the Second International joining in the chorus, no longer has anything to do with Poland.

In order to conceal their real imperialist war aims, the Anglo-French bourgeoisie are waging this war with deceptive slogans. Their hoarse cry about "Hitler's broken promise" and about the "Soviet Union's desertion of the peace front" arises only from the rage and chagrin over the fact that all their plans to divert the aggression of German imperialism against the Soviet Union have collapsed and that the spirits that they conjured up have been turned against themselves by the consistent policy of the Soviet Union.

*The New Statesman and Nation* of October 23 says quite cogently:

"The war for the Poland of the Pans is a war which has the least justification in modern history. . . . This is the spirit which was once created by Versailles, which in the post-war period paid dishonorable generals to break into Soviet Russia; it is the spirit that denied democratic Germany every right and then got down on its knees before Nazi Germany; it is the spirit that sabotaged the League of Nations, which neglected every deed of democracy that we should have supported during the last eight years and which has now let England and France slip into a war which should never have occurred."

It is true this war, which is a continuation of the treacherous policy of Anglo-French reaction and war provocation, is the logical consequence of the spirit of Versailles that would like to prepare a new Versailles, a super-Versailles.

The Poland of the Pans, the creature of Versailles, has come to a disgraceful end. With the disappearance of this imperialist Poland, one of the most dangerous breeding grounds for unrest in Europe has been liquidated. National Poland will experience its renaissance. The Poland of the Pans, imperialist Poland, will never rise again.

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# Manifesto of the Communist Party of Finland

(Recorded from a radio broadcast of November 30, 1939, and translated from the Finnish language)

**W**ORKERS, peasants, intellectuals, the present rulers of Finland, the notorious Cajander, Erkko, Tanner, Mannerheim and others, have brought our country to a criminal war against the Soviet Union. They have provoked this war for a long time, so long that finally the limit of the Soviet government's patience was reached. They arrogantly turned down all of the Soviet Union's proposals about securing firm, good-neighborly relations, and no other possibility was left for the Soviet Union to guarantee its safety at the Finnish frontier than to wipe out, by armed force, the seat of war established by the Finnish bourgeoisie.

The Land of Soviets has never threatened and never alarmed Finland. On the contrary, immediately after the great October Revolution, the Soviet power voluntarily gave Finland complete independence, something that no other power in Russia would ever have granted. But the Finnish bourgeoisie, instead of strengthening Finland's independence by peaceful relations with the magnanimous Soviet people, systematically misused Finland's position to the detriment of the interests and safety of her great neighboring country, and thereby of Finland itself.

The rulers of White-Guard Finland have shown by their entire policy that they are ready to sell the independence and security of Finland to the foreign imperialist powers, that they are ready for a proper price to serve their anti-Soviet military aspirations.

And if the Finnish rulers now hypocritically assert that all they ever wanted was to uphold Finland's "independ-

ence" and "neutrality," then these liars must be answered: you will not go far with such lies. They have been completely exposed by facts known to everybody.

*The first fact* was the campaign against Olonetz undertaken by the Finnish White Guards in the spring of 1919 in collaboration with the imperialists of England and France.

*The second fact* is the drive of the Finnish White Guard band into Ingermanlandia for the organization of an uprising there in the autumn of 1919, at the beginning of Yudenich's offensive, when Mannerheim, the butcher of the Finnish workers, publicly demanded the dispatch of the Finnish army to "conquer" Petrograd.

*The third fact* is the new drive undertaken in 1921-22 into Karelia under the command of Finnish army officers with the support of the British imperialists.

*The fourth fact* — also characteristic of the "neutrality" of the Finnish government — the reorganization of Finland's armed forces in 1924-25 was carried through by the officer-delegation called from England under the leadership of General Kirk, the very same one who, in the summer of 1931, again visited Finland to check up on military preparations on the Isthmus of Karelia.

*The fifth fact* is the slanderous baiting of the Soviet Union and the chauvinistic agitation for "a great Finland" that has gone on uninterruptedly in Finland, coupled with crazy hallucinations about conquests "as far as the Urals."

*The sixth fact* is that after Mannerheim's visit to London the government of Finland threatened — despite the Soviet

Union's protest—to set about, together with Sweden, the building of fortifications on the Aland Islands, to be used by the imperialists in an anti-Soviet war.

*The seventh fact* is that with the same end in view, ten times more airdromes were built in Finland than were necessary for the country's own aviation, new military chemical plants were built, and the islands in the Gulf of Finland were made ready to receive the squadrons of the enemies of the U.S.S.R.

A whole series of similar villainous tricks lie on the conscience of Finland's capitalist potentates.

For over twenty-one years our country has, like gentry-ridden Poland, been a *nest of anti-Soviet intrigues*, where ministers and staff officers, together with Swedish bankers, imperialists of the Great Powers and all sorts of anti-Soviet adventurers have concocted military intrigues against the U.S.S.R. They have concocted them until they have themselves become enmeshed in their own network. And now, when these gentlemen have got into a scrape they are demanding that the entire Finnish people fight for them against the mighty Red Army.

But the wide masses of the Finnish people have no desire to sacrifice their lives for the Mannerheims and other provocateurs of war. The masses of the people of Finland, to whom the independence of their country is dear, know that *the only way to guarantee and strengthen this independence is to maintain friendly collaboration with the great Soviet Union.*

Why did not the government of Finland agree to the treaty proposed by the Soviet government for settling the question of security by peaceful means, in accord with the interests of both countries? Only because it did not want to renounce hostile action aimed at undermining the security of the Soviet Union, action conducted at the dictates of the imperialist enemies of the U.S.S.R. and Finland. Why did not the Finnish government agree to move the frontier on the Isthmus of Karelia away from Leningrad so that this city—with its millions of population—should not be under the

threat of artillery fire from Finnish territory? Only that the Mannerheims and other agents of the foreign imperialists might continue to dream of "conquering Russia."

Is it not a fact that the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania arrived at agreement with the Soviet Union regarding the mutual strengthening of their security, and the peoples of these countries have not lost one iota of their independence? Why, then, did not the government of Finland agree to less important measures of regulating mutual relations? Only because it is the lickspittle of the greedy Finnish bankers and export industry capitalists, who have sold the independence of our country for a mess of pottage.

Such a government cannot guard the *national interests of Finland*. It is not a national government, but an *instrument of foreign capital*, a government of capitalists and landlords. Such a government cannot defend the cause of *peace*, for it is a *government of warmongers*.

*Such a government must be driven out! It must be thrown off the backs of the people!*

Finland has till now been the promised land of the mill-owners, bank directors, bureaucracy, timber merchants and landlords. Those who work have always lived in oppression and want, but the bloodsuckers and sundry speculators have enriched themselves. And on every occasion when the working class of our country has, by its struggle and with the aid of its organizations, striven to achieve even the slightest improvement of its disastrous conditions, the capitalists have seized a suitable moment to attack the workers, deprive them of their small achievements, and to fill their pockets by the unrestrained exploitation of the working people. That was how they behaved in 1918, that was how they behaved in 1930, and that is how they are also behaving now. Under the pretext of "the defense of the country," the working day has already been lengthened to ten hours, wages have been cut, the prices of articles of prime necessity have been forced up high, and the families of mobilized workers and



small agriculturists have been left to live in poverty.

You can expect nothing from the present Parliament. It gives the people stones instead of bread. In the recent period all it has decreed has been emergency laws to stifle all civil rights. Reaction is in full swing, raging more furiously than at any time before.

*The treacherous leaders of Finnish Social-Democracy* have completely lost all shame. They have openly linked themselves with the worst warmongers and Lapua butchers. The Social-Democratic ministers and bureaucrats are expending all their energies fussing around as professional liars and bloodhounds of bourgeois reaction, and giving their services to the notorious Finnish Okhranka.

White-Guard Finland is, at the present moment, the blackest country in Europe. Indescribable poverty weighs down the workers and all the needy folk of Finland. An end, however, has now come to the patience of our working people.

No former government deceived the people more unscrupulously than the present governmental gang of Kallio, Cajander, Erkkö and Tanner. Let this contemptible government, which did everything possible to bring our people to ruin, be *the last government of capitalists and landlords of Finland*.

This government itself feels that it is hated and cursed by the masses of the Finnish people. It fears the truth worse than the plague. It knows that if the masses of the people had, during the last few weeks, possessed even elementary freedom of speech, tens of thousands of workers, farmers and mobilized soldiers would have already proclaimed, for all to hear, the same truth as we are here proclaiming. They would have hurled straight into the face of these potentates the words: *Down with the bankrupt government gang! Down with the hangmen of the people and their underlings!*

The criminal war of the Finnish capitalists against the socialist Soviet Union must be turned into a resolute struggle of the working people against the people's oppressors.

It is necessary to establish a *wide*

*people's front* of the working people: the entire working class, the peasantry, handicraftsmen, small traders and working intellectuals, *i.e.*, the enormous majority of our people must be united into a single people's front to defend their interests, while there must be brought to power a *government of working people*, *i.e.*, a *popular government basing itself on this front*.

Some comrades imagine that we must demand the organization of Soviet power in Finland. They are mistaken. Such an important question of the fundamental reorganization of the entire social regime cannot be solved by one party or even by the working class alone. This question can only be solved by the entire people, by all laboring classes. In any case, this question cannot be solved without the agreement of the peasantry and without the sanction of the Diet.

Others think that Finland should enter the Soviet Union as a component part of it, that the incorporation of Finland in the U.S.S.R. can best of all guarantee Finland against perils from the imperialist powers. These comrades are also mistaken. First, the Finnish democratic republic, as a non-Soviet type of state, cannot become part of the Soviet Union, which is a Soviet type of state. Secondly, the Soviet Union, in pursuance of its national policy, does not desire to extend its frontiers at the expense of the Finnish state; the Soviet Union, as is well known, stands for guaranteeing the existence of a separate and independent Finland, bound to the U.S.S.R. solely by a mutual assistance pact. As regards guaranteeing Finland against perils from imperialist powers, a mutual assistance pact between Finland and the U.S.S.R. will be quite a sufficient instrument for providing such a guarantee.

The question of the immediate program of a new government requires collective discussion between various groups and representatives of the participants in a future popular front and government. We put forward the following proposals for collective discussion:

The first task of Finland's people's

government must be to end the war and conclude peace, to establish a democratic system in our country, to ensure Finland's independence by improving her relations with the Soviet Union and concluding a mutual assistance pact between the Finnish democratic republic and the U.S.S.R., and, finally, by establishing good-neighborly relations with all neighboring countries.

The government of the Finnish democratic republic should address a proposal to the government of the U.S.S.R. to meet the age-old national hope of the Finnish people and to reunite to Finland districts of Soviet Karelia, populated in the majority by Karelians. We have grounds for hoping that if we establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union will satisfy such a proposal.

The immediate tasks of Finland's people's government also include:

1. The creation of a people's army of Finland;
2. The establishment of state control over big private banks and big industrial enterprises, and measures for assisting middle-sized and small enterprises;
3. Operation of measures to abolish completely unemployment;
4. The working day to be reduced to eight hours, the workers to be guaranteed a two-week vacation and the rents of workers and office employees to be reduced;
5. The confiscation of estates of the big landed proprietors, without touching the land and property of the peasants, and the confiscated lands to be handed over to the peasants without land or with little land;
6. The peasants to be released from the payment of tax arrears;
7. State aid of every kind to improve the farms of small holders, primarily by allocating to them additional land and pastures, and when possible woodlands for domestic needs, from estates confiscated from the big landowners;
8. Democratization of the state system, administration and legal system;
9. Increase of state subsidies for cultural needs and the reorganization of

the school system; a guarantee of the possibility of schools being attended by the children of workers and other needy people, and also every solicitude about developing public education, science, literature and art in a progressive spirit.

The government of the Finnish bourgeoisie has no way out and the Finnish army command has no chances of success. It will receive no effective aid from anywhere. The foreign imperialists have willingly incited the stupid rulers of Finland to go to war, but having achieved this, they will prefer to remain on one side. The Red Army is an invincible army backed up by the strength of a gigantic people of 183,000,000.

It is even ridiculous to imagine that the petty generals of the Finnish Army could hold out against the Red Army. The Red Army is better trained and equipped than any army in the world. Above all, its strength is based on the fact that it is the army of workers and peasants liberated from exploitation. The ranks of the Red Army are not divided by the gulf of class contradictions which, in the Finnish Army, as in all bourgeois armies, divide officers and men from one another. The Red Army is as monolithic as a rock of granite. Its discipline is unyielding, since it is based not on mechanical compulsion, but on the consciousness and heroism of its men.

Every Red Army man and commander, inspired by the noble feeling of internationalism, knows that he is fighting *for a just cause*. The Red Army knows that it will come to Finland not as a conqueror but as *liberator of our people* from the yoke of capitalism.

The great Soviet Union has no intentions of limiting in the slightest degree the right of Finland to self-determination and sovereignty. In this respect also the policy of the socialist Soviet Union differs entirely from the policy of all capitalist governments. The Soviet Union will never and nowhere begin to conduct a war of conquest. This is also completely understood by the Red Army, which comes to Finland as a friend and not as an enemy of our people. And the Red Army, on its part, knows that it

has tens of thousands of friends in the ranks of the Finnish Army, and in the rear of this army—hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants who, with joyous impatience, are awaiting the approach of the Red Army.

*Soldiers of the Finnish Army!* Realize your position and make your decision at the first opportunity. Beware of helping the hopeless military adventure of the Mannerheims. In any case, it will be of no avail—it will only mean bringing ruin on yourselves. You will see that the resistance of the petty Finnish generals will soon come to an end.

Soldiers, don't believe the official lie about "defense of the fatherland." You have been led not to defend your fatherland, but to defend the military adventure of Erikko and Mannerheim. The great socialist Soviet Union has no intention whatsoever of acquiring the territory of little Finland. As soon as Finland puts a stop to the policy of hostility to, and of undermining the security of, the U.S.S.R., the Soviet government will secure for Finland not only peace, but also the complete independence and inviolability of its territory.

Don't believe the lie that the government of Erikko-Mannerheim is fighting allegedly for "the freedom of the people." This government has itself destroyed the freedom of the people and is now afraid that the Red Army will help the working people of Finland to win power and freedom for themselves. It is not for the people, but for the oppressors of the people, that you, soldiers, have now been sent to the front.

Members and officials of trade union organizations, cooperative organizations and of the Social-Democratic Party: Beware of linking up your fate with that of the frenzied bourgeois warmongers! Turn your backs on the gang of the traitor Tanner! Let this gang be alone with the other hangmen—they will not last long.

Small agriculturists and all the rest of the peasant population! Don't believe the lie being spread that you are now threatened with having your land taken away from you or that your farms will

be collectivized! Nobody will dare to touch your land! Nobody will compel you to organize collective farms! On the contrary, the working class is striving to have the land taken from the big landowners and handed over to the peasants. The working people wants to live in peace, in alliance and in cooperation with the wide peasant population. And only if these two chief laboring classes are closely allied one with the other, and take account of each other's mutual interests, will the democratic state system stand on a firm base.

Swedish workers living in Finland, fishermen and other working people: Link up with the democratic people's front so that, hand in hand with the Finnish workers, you may uphold your interests and secure the guarantee that an end will be put to all national oppression in Finland!

Professional workers and working intellectuals: Support our front of working people and fight for its victory, for only through such a victory will the path open up for the advance of the really popular culture of Finland! Until now Finland has been a refuge for reaction and spiritual darkness, from which science, art and literature have suffered and been enfeebled. Victory of the front of the working people will give wide scope to cultural progress. Let our country now become a center of education and of high national culture. Wider possibilities will open up for the activity of engineers and technicians. Agronomists, agricultural and cattle-breeding consultants and foresters will be able to take part in developing agriculture on an extensive scale. Doctors and other medical personnel will be given the great public task of improving public health. And the important work of school teachers will be more highly valued and will be freed of the chains of reaction.

\* \* \*

*Comrades, working men and women:* For the second time in the history of Finland, the Finnish working class is beginning an open struggle against the oppression of the plutocracy. The first

experience of the struggle of the workers and the *torpare* [poor peasants who work not only on their own land, but also as agricultural laborers, industrial workers, etc.] in 1918 ended in the victory of the capitalists and the landlords. Now it is the turn of the working people, now it is the working people who must be victorious!

On what is our confidence in victory now based, and why did we suffer defeat in 1918?

First, because the working class of Finland did not, at that time, have a really revolutionary party, a *Communist Party*, able correctly to lead the struggle of the workers and small farmers. Now it has a Communist Party, a Party which has for over twenty years been conducting a persistent struggle for the economic and political interests of the workers, and has, in its policy, learned also to take account of the interests of the peasants and intellectuals. Amid unceasing persecution it has become steeled, acquired fighting experience, and learned the Bolshevik art of winning victory.

Second, because in 1918 the foreign imperialists sent troops to the aid of your oppressors, the Finnish hangmen, whereas the Soviet state was still too weak to prevent imperialist interference in Finland's affairs. Now, on the contrary, the Soviet country is the most powerful state in the world. It is the great ally of the people and democracy of Finland. The guarantees of security given by it are sufficiently weighty to prevent the imperialists sending their troops to interfere in the affairs of the Finnish people.

The land of victorious socialism is proving in practice that it is the generous friend, and bulwark of the national future of small nations. While the imperialists are attempting to subjugate the small nations, to bind them in chains, the socialist Soviet Union approaches the neighboring countries with sincere friendship, considerably taking account of their needs, interests and national

hopes. This is convincingly proved by the policy of the Soviet Union toward Lithuania. The Lithuanian people for a long time hoped to secure the return of their capital city Vilna, of which they had been deprived, and of Vilna province. But no single great power in the world would have agreed to satisfy this desire of the Lithuanian people. Only the Soviet Union, true to its generous national policy, proved to be in a position to satisfy the hopes of the Lithuanian people. And the Lithuanian state received its capital city, Vilna, and Vilna province from the Soviet Union. The Finnish people, which has dreamed for over two hundred years of reuniting the Karelian people with the Finnish nation and with the Finnish state, can also confidently count on the fulfilment of this, its dearest national hope.

World history has not yet known such a national policy. It is the national policy of the socialist state. And this new national policy is also showing unparalleled results. While the imperialist powers, thanks to their national oppression, are reaping the fruits of the hatred, enmity and alienation of peoples, the socialist Soviet Union, by its magnanimity, is achieving the reconciliation, love and true alliance of peoples.

We address ourselves, above all, to the glorious youth of the working people. Our youth know that without struggle and sacrifice it is impossible to achieve the freedom and liberation of their country from the oppression of the hangmen. Now there is the struggle ahead for such decisive victory for which it is worth taking risks and making sacrifices. The time has come to overthrow the government of hangmen! The days have come of the liberation of our people!

Long live the victory of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals of Finland! Long live the independent Finnish democratic republic!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND.

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