

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

No. 7

1940

## LESSONS OF THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

THE TECHNIQUE  
OF IMPERIALIST WAR PROPAGANDA  
F. SCHILLING

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# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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## LESSONS OF THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR

**T**HE second imperialist war is developing at a whirlwind pace. On April 9 Denmark and Norway were dragged into the war, on May 10 the war conflagration spread to Holland and Belgium, and on June 11 Italy opened hostilities, thus bringing the Mediterranean Sea into the zone of war. By the end of May military operations embraced the thickly populated districts of Northern France, and June 14 witnessed the fall of Paris. The end of that month brought the complete military collapse of France. If Japan's predatory war against China is included, a total of 1,500,000,000 people are now involved in one way or another in the present imperialist conflict.

Although there were no great military encounters at the Western Front until May 10, the comparatively brief span of two months has shown the tremendous sacrifices which the present struggle of the imperialists for a repartition of the world has demanded and will continue to demand in the future. On each side millions of soldiers, equipped with the most modern means of mass murder and mass destruction, are offered up in this holocaust. Young lives are being snuffed out by the hundred thousand. Other hundreds of thousands are wounded and will be cripples for the rest of their lives. Bridges,

railroads and terminals, airfields, and factories, dwelling houses, whole blocks of them, and even entire districts and cities representing billions in value, the fruit of years of hard work, are converted into debris. And through these ruins wander haggard mothers in desperate search of their lost or slain children. Millions of the civil population have been deprived of a roof over their heads. They are compelled to abandon the last of their meager possessions, and to flee in a continuous stream along the country roads, not knowing what fate has in store for them. Only the pen of a Barbusse could adequately describe the terrors which the hell of war holds for humanity.

Twenty-five years have rolled by since the first imperialist war. And these two decades and a half sufficed to plunge humanity once more into the abyss, into a war comprising so vast an area and causing such terror wherever it strikes that alongside it even the most barbaric wars of the past pale into insignificance. No wonder the people clamor ever more loudly to learn the causes of these recurrent catastrophes, to ascertain the identity of those responsible for them. They press ever more urgently for a final way out of war. And as the truth dawns in the minds of the masses, the real forces they represent will

rapidly gain strength and become able in struggle to find the way out.

\* \* \*

What system of society, what classes of society conducted the war of 1914-18? Capitalism, imperialism, the imperialist bourgeoisie. What were the real, not the alleged, aims pursued by the rival imperialist states in 1914-18? The issue was a repartition of the world. New booty and new territories to be taken from their competitors were the stakes they fought for. This was the goal to achieve for which the capitalists offered up scores of millions of human beings, destroyed countless factories, railroads, dwellings, stores of goods, etc., causing losses running into the billions and thrusting humanity into the direst misery.

After the termination of the first imperialist war, capitalism was shaken to its foundations. True, one group of the belligerent imperialist powers had succeeded in flooring its rival and had pocketed rich booty, yet an unhealable wound had been inflicted upon capitalism as a whole: One-sixth of the earth's surface became lost to it; capitalism ceased to be a system embracing the entire globe. On one-sixth of the globe power had passed into the hands of the working class. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the great socialist October Revolution had inaugurated a new epoch in the history of mankind.

It was a critical juncture for the bourgeoisie. In several countries, particularly those that had been defeated, their rule had begun to totter, and millions of soldiers at the

front were imbued with the desire "to clean house," "to sweep out the Augean stables." A storm pregnant with great social changes swept the world at that time. It seemed that history would exact just retribution from this rotten and accursed capitalist system not only on one-sixth of the earth. But it turned out otherwise. Five-sixths of the world remained capitalist.

To the class-conscious, revolutionary proletarians, to the Communists of the various capitalist countries, it was quite evident at the time that the historically proper moment had been allowed to slip by and that the retention of power by the capitalists would lead to new misery, to a new mass destruction of life and property. But to most people this was not yet clear. They still believed it possible to achieve without much fighting, without much sacrifice, a better system of society, a better world; they believed that this could be done under the leadership of the same classes whose conscience was burdened with the four-year slaughter of nations. The intimidated bourgeoisie and the "Socialist" charlatans at their service did all in their power to nurse such illusions among the popular masses.

Did not the imperialists of all warring countries make a solemn vow that this would be the last war? And did not the imperialists in the same breath already at that time proclaim their war of intervention against the young Soviet republic? It has not been forgotten that immediately after the conclusion of the Versailles peace, petty predatory wars broke out all over the world. Some of these

small wars aimed at carrying into execution certain details provided for in the "peace" dictated at Versailles and other towns in the vicinity of Paris—details which harbored the germs of future conflicts that would again take the form of a repartition of the world.

Who does not recall that during the last World War one of the main slogans promulgated by the imperialists and on which they placed such high hopes was that of the self-determination of nations? Their avowed purpose was "to liberate the small and even the smallest nations," and to give them the right to participate in the League of Nations as equals of the great and even the greatest nations. And how were these slogans brought to fruition? The principle of self-determination was not even formally applied to the hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. These people continued to suffer under the yoke of imperialism, while "conditions of peace" were dictated to the vanquished states and nations that were utterly abhorrent to every sense of equality and national self-determination. The victorious imperialist powers converted the League of Nations into a hatchery of intrigues and conspiracies, more than one of which was directed against the Land of Socialism.

The capitalist wolves in sheep's clothing conjured up before the nations illusory visions of a "world of peace" so that one might have thought that the imperialist beasts of prey had suddenly been transformed into lovely, gentle creatures;

moreover, being past masters in the art of deception, they bamboozled the people with promises of a "new" social order that was to be ushered in under their auspices. They held out the promise of a new life without struggle, without sacrifice, and above all without revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And all this they called "socialism in our day." They proclaimed that "socialism was on the march" and that there would be "neither lords nor beggars."

In those days they "socialized" everything, of course in words only: banks, mines, heavy industry and large estates. There also came into being a multitude of "socialization" commissions on which sat many a plutocratic banker and industrialist and at times also members of the old aristocracy with pedigrees a yard long. Is there any need to speak today of the futile achievements of these socialization commissions?

What Herculean efforts capitalists made at that time to trumpet forth to a disillusioned world that in their particular country an era of all possible liberties had dawned. In some countries constitutions were rewritten to include the principle that "all power is vested in the people." From this many concluded that this cleared the road for the march of the people to its highest goal, socialism. And how simple and painless it all was! All that was required was that the right number of right ballots be deposited. . . . And if now and then machine-guns were turned on the people "in whom all power was vested," the lackeys of capitalism

hastened to explain that they were not turned on the people but on rebels. Thus the capitalists made progress step by step—from post-war “liberties,” cut to the above pattern, to the present-day concentration camps, those modern torture chambers, down to today’s sanguinary war dictatorship.

Need we recall to memory how the capitalists drew the peoples into the last World War and with what deceptive promises they lied themselves out of their predicament when on the verge of drowning; how they wrested one achievement after another away from the people as soon as they had mustered the necessary strength to do so, and how they riveted the irons of a most brutal dictatorship upon the masses of the people? Need we recall how in the end, after a lapse of only twenty-five years, they once more drove the nations to the most frightful shambles of all times? There is no need to hark back to these occurrences. For one thing is certain: the people today have had to pay a very high price in the loss of life and property, because they did not follow the example of the Soviet nations, because they had not cast off the yoke of bourgeois rule. Not to draw now the proper conclusions from the experience that had cost so dear would be tantamount to exposing the peoples to new suffering and bloody warfare.

\* \* \*

The capitalist system shares the prisoners’ dock with Social-Democratism, which forms an inseparable part of it. It requires no lengthy argument to prove that the whole

cabal of “Socialist” leaders, hailing from the various Social-Democratic parties and the Second International in general, have had their hand in this campaign of deception, in this swindling and hoodwinking of the masses. These people were the high sheriffs who supervised the execution of the despicable deeds of the capitalists. If not for their aid the bourgeoisie would never have succeeded in saving the capitalist system.

Would any ex-serviceman have believed the fairy tale of “eternal peace,” if it had been transmitted to him by a hangman in general’s uniform? It required a wretched cheat of the stripe of Kautsky to make the masses believe that they could end war without ending capitalism.

Would the oppressed nations have believed at that time that the era of “national self-determination” and of “political freedom” had been ushered in, if this gospel had been preached to them by a slave-owner, or the proprietor of an Indian plantation, or a scion of the House of Habsburg? No, this required a pharisee of the stamp of MacDonald?

What chance would there have been of leading the people so long by the nose with pacifist fairy tales, if Schneider, Krupp, Vickers-Armstrong, Zakharov and other munition kings had assumed the role of preachers of pacifism? None. That was a job that had to be fixed by people like Leon Blum.

Would the workers have granted any credence to propaganda that the capitalists themselves would socialize property and in the end would even teach the workers to build up



socialism, if a Rothschild or a Morgan had written learned treatises on the subject? This task had to be delegated to a chap like Otto Bauer.

Would it have been possible at that time to persuade the people in the interests of its own liberation and of entering the road to socialism to exchange their bullets for ballots, if a prison warden had been the exponent of such wisdom? Only a "Socialist" leader with a red carnation in his buttonhole and "revolutionary" phrases on his lips was at that time suitable for such a purpose.

Would it have been possible to turn these guns, of which the people had been cheated, against the same people with impunity, if the cohort of Junker adventurers had been commanded by a Kapp? Kapp had attempted this once and everybody knows how this experiment ended. Hence, people of the brand of Noske or Hösing had to be entrusted with this work. "Somebody has to do the dirty work," was Noske's classical expression.

Call to mind the misdeeds of this vile rabble: the Kautskys, Noskes, MacDonalds and their disciples, the Citrines, Blums, Jouhaux and their ilk. How many the strikes they betrayed, the trade unions they smashed and other labor organization which they broke up! How many workers' rights were bartered away by them for a lucrative berth! How many police and prison regulations directed against the people and the working class movement! How many agreements of collective bargaining were worsened with their connivance! How many the crusts

of bread of which the jobless have been deprived! How much of the people's property, how many millions of public funds have been guzzled down the throats of insatiable bankers, manufacturers, big landlords and deposed kings! Of course, on payment of a small commission. How many of these millions have they let wander into the pockets of the munition makers, how many into the coffers of the church, and how many into the treasury of the state!

This was their work every day of the year.

Concomitant with this systematic shifting of the cost of the war and the consequences it entailed onto the shoulders of the working people, the road to reaction was being cleared. The tale of the "lesser evil" is still fresh in the minds of all. Everybody remembers how the Socialists cleared the path for all those forces of darkness which subsequently were instrumental in unleashing the present war.

It is therefore essential to become cognizant of the whole truth. In a number of countries capitalism would have been gone beyond salvation after the last World War had not Social-Democratism come to its rescue. And the Social-Democratic leaders would have been unable to afford assistance if the majority of the workers in these countries had not believed in them. Today the workers are paying heavily for having so credulously listened to the advice of Social-Democratism and the Social-Democratic leaders. Clearly, one of the first lessons to be drawn by the workers of all capitalist coun-

tries is resolutely and finally to put an end to Social-Democratism in the working class movement; otherwise the history of the last twenty-five years may be repeated once more in the not very distant future.

\* \* \*

There were times when the bourgeoisie usurped the role of leader of the people, demanding that the laboring classes, particularly the workers, accept bourgeois leadership on the ground that it was in the interests of the nation as a whole. The events we are now witnessing in connection with the second imperialist war once more confirm emphatically that the bourgeoisie has lost every jot and tittle of moral right to parade as the leading class of the nation, as the protector of national interests. We are witnessing the utter bankruptcy, political as well as moral, of the ruling class and of its statesmen and other representative people. One need but examine the policy pursued by the representatives of the bourgeoisie of any one of the belligerent countries to establish the fact that it runs absolutely counter to the interests of its people.

How can the people be interested in the prosecution of the policy of Versailles? How can they be interested in the struggle for world supremacy, the basic cause of the World War, if the maintenance of this supremacy requires that each generation twice spend prolifically of its blood? What benefit for the people to emerge victorious from an imperialist war of aggression if it is merely the occasion for increased warfare to come, and in the long run

merely adds new chains to their existing bondage? What benefit can a people derive from the fact that with its aid half of Europe, a number of highly civilized nations, are subjugated and the war for world domination continues? What national interests of the people may one expect to discover in the plans of conquest of the bourgeoisie, if these plans cost the life of even a single person, not to speak of the millions that will fall in the fight for their realization. Nay, the cause for which the people are being driven to slaughter on the field of battle is not their cause but the cause of their oppressors.

The political and moral bankruptcy of the ruling classes becomes apparent to the people particularly at a time when the egoistic plans of their oppressors suffer shipwreck under the heavy blows of their opponents, and it becomes a question of really defending the interests of the nation and even its bare national existence. To stake the existence of a people for the sake of promoting their own plans of conquest and domination is something the bourgeoisie is perfectly capable of; but if their throw of the dice is unlucky, if their reckless gamble ends in a clean-out, the bourgeoisie appears before the people in its perfectly abominable moral and political disintegration, in its horrendous nakedness. We had testimony of this during the last World War and today can witness the same. Yesterday's most ardent patriots are the first to take flight today. Those who but yesterday demanded of the people the sacrifice of life and property on the altar of

the fatherland are today busily employed in bringing their capital to a haven of security. Those who yesterday were still prating about "the defense of the fatherland and the interests of our country" are today the first to commit treason to the people, to the nation.

The working class of the capitalist countries is paying dearly for its failure to settle accounts with the bourgeoisie in the interests of its own class at the time it could have done so. At the same time many peoples realize today as a result of tragic experience that it is imperative in the interests of their national existence to shake off their bankrupt bourgeois politicians and to entrust the destinies of the nation to a new class, a new leader, the working class.

\* \* \*

The Soviet Union is a vivid example and a living embodiment of what the working class can do in the interests of the peoples and humanity in general, once it has shaken off the yoke of capitalism. The establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union, that stupendous task which the working class has accomplished under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, headed by such men of genius as Lenin and Stalin, arouses so much the more admiration and acclaim when viewed against the background of the new imperialist war, the new catastrophe into which imperialism has cast more than half of the human race.

For more than two and a half decades imperialists have had the op-

portunity of "newly organizing" the five-sixths of the world which they had hacked to pieces. But they have led the nations into a new worldwide slaughter. The Soviet Union has secured for its peoples the peace and happiness that it assures, and keeps war distant from its borders. The imperialists had ample opportunity to show how they could regulate the coexistence of various nationalities within their domains. But they could merely demonstrate their ability to oppress nationalities, to engender national hatred and race prejudice and to provoke endless national dissensions. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, has made manifest to the whole world how a multiplicity of peoples can live fraternally side by side, in mutual esteem and perfect solidarity. The capitalists had many years to offer proof of their ability to make use of the riches of the earth and the high technical development of human labor in the interests of society; but they merely demonstrated the fact that their system was the progenitor of enormous economic crises which condemned millions of people to unbearable starvation and destitution while at the same time immense stores of provisions and manufactured goods intended for mass consumption are being deliberately destroyed.

Contrast with this the economic prosperity in the Soviet Union which has erected on the ruins of an old world an economic system under which crises are impossible, and which permits the standard of living of its inhabitants to be raised uninterruptedly. Socialism exhibits its

immeasurable superiority to the capitalist system, a fact which today no one any longer can dispute.

The ruling classes are aware that with the present imperialist war they have conjured up spirits which it will not be easy for them to control. The bankruptcy of capitalism becomes ever more apparent to the masses. It is too much to expect that the people will simply let things take their old course when the present sanguinary war will have come to an end, which would mean that the present generation might live to see a repetition of the insane cycle of the last twenty-five years. The bourgeoisie knows this full well, and it is therefore preparing in advance a repetition, in somewhat different form, of the deceptive maneuver which it practiced during the last war. It is trying hard to represent its cause as the cause of liberty, or even as the cause of socialism.

But today people have a much better idea of what socialism is than twenty years ago. They know that it implies power in the hands of the working class; the banks, big factories and all land in the hands of the working people; the disarmament of the bourgeoisie and its praetorian guard, and the arming of the working people. They know that socialism denotes full liberty for the people and its organizations and no liberty for the capitalists and their bands conspiring against the people; that it denotes liberty and the fraternal coexistence of nations, and the extirpation of all national oppres-

sion; that socialism means peace, and not war and imperialist expeditions of conquest. Finally, today the toiling masses know better than to believe, as many did twenty years ago, that it is possible to receive socialism as the gift of the class which derives its existence from the oppression and exploitation of other classes and peoples. They have learned from experience that when this class is in dire straits, it will promise the masses anything and everything only to take it all back at the first opportunity; and, lastly, the people have now abandoned the illusory idea that the regime which gives rise to wars, crises, oppression and poverty will collapse of its own weight. Today they know that socialism must be fought for and can only be gained by hard struggle. But at the same time they also know that the sacrifices which this struggle will require will be much fewer than are demanded by the imperialists in their wars of conquest. And today the proletarians hold in much higher esteem the party which will lead them to victory in the struggle for real socialism, the party which is changing the world on the basis of the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—the Communist Party. The fact that the imperialists are forced to conceal their real aims behind talk of socialism proves most conclusively the power that lies in the very idea of socialism. And if in these baleful days of imperialist war the nations see any streak of hope at all, it is in the victory of socialism.



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# THE IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE FOR A NEW REDIVISION OF THE WORLD

BY E. VARGA

**N**EVER has human history been so rich in events, nor the succession of social formations so rapid as in the last century. This will be clear if we picture the world as it was a hundred years ago.

In 1840, the capitalist mode of production was already, in the main, the dominant one in the majority of the countries of the world. But the capitalist system had reached its highest development in several of the countries of Western Europe and in the United States of America; only in these countries had the bourgeoisie won political power and established a political regime answering to the interests of the capitalist mode of production.

Germany was still split up into thirty-six states, each with strong survivals of feudalism, its own currency and customs duties and its own laws. In the 1867 preface to *Capital*, Marx wrote of continental Europe, contrasting it to England, as follows:

“ . . . We, like all the rest of Continental Western Europe, suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside of modern evils, a

whole series of inherited evils oppress us, arising from the passive survival of antiquated modes of production, with their inevitable train of social and political anachronisms. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*”

The Hapsburg monarchy on the Danube was a feudal absolutism in every respect. Italy was partly split up into a multiplicity of tiny states, and partly was under the foreign yoke of the Hapsburgs. In Russia, serfdom and the tsarist autocracy continued in full sway. In Turkey, which at that time embraced all Asia Minor, Northern Africa and the Balkans, a feudal system prevailed, headed by a military-clerical chief in the person of the Sultan. Japan, which was still completely cut off from the outer world, was partly under the sway of a pre-feudal system. As to Asia, with the exception of India, only its outskirts had been opened up by the capitalist powers of Europe.

Capitalist technique was still very primitive, looked at with our eyes of today. Textiles were the predominating branch of capitalist industry. In all Europe there were

only 3,000 kilometers of railways, while in Asia and Africa there were no railways at all. Electricity, gas, automobiles and the chemical industry were still unknown.

But those were times of unhampered technical development, of free competition and falling prices. Marx and Engels wrote in 1848, in *The Communist Manifesto*, that:

“. . . the cheap prices of its [the bourgeoisie's—E. V.] commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate.”

The cyclical movement of capitalist reproduction and the periodical crises of over-production had already begun in Western Europe. But the rapid expansion of the capitalist market as the result of the conversion of the peasants, who had hitherto maintained a self-sufficing economy, into purchasers and producers of commodities, facilitated and expedited the passing of the crises.

It was a time when capitalism still signified progress and the rapid development of productive forces. It may still have appeared to the bourgeoisie that its special class interests coincided with the interests of society in general. Hymns of praise were sung to capitalism.

But amidst the chorus of eulogizers of capitalism, discordant notes, the warning voices of the accusers and doubters, like Sismondi and the utopians, could already be detected. In England the mass movement of the Chartists had already arisen, and was criticizing

the capitalist evil. But the man who was destined to discover the inherent laws of the capitalist mode of production and its historically transitional character—Karl Marx—was then, in 1840, still a student at the Berlin University.

It was a time when England was undisputably the leading capitalist country, the “workshop of the world,” the mistress of the seas, a country which fought for its interests by the hand of foreign mercenaries, by the hand of other nations. England's hegemony had already lasted for about half a century.

This was the “comparatively peaceful” era of capitalism, as Lenin called it. Since the struggle for markets was chiefly waged by means of cheap prices, it was enough for British capital to open new trading ports in other countries. There was no need for it to conquer these countries outright. Even as late as 1852 Disraeli, the British Conservative Prime Minister, declared: “The colonies are millstones around our necks.” (V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter VI.)

\* \* \*

Sixty years later, in 1900, the world presented an entirely different picture. The capitalist mode of production had brought the whole world under its sway. At the same time, the character of capitalism itself had changed. By virtue of its inherent laws of development, capitalism of the period of free competition had been converted into monopoly capitalism, imperialism. The transition to imperialism had been

attended by profound changes, with which the reader will be familiar from Lenin's brilliant work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. We shall only dwell on the factors which have a direct bearing on the wars for the redivision of the world.

Combined in monopolies, finance capital seeks to secure maximum profits not so much by increasing the sale of commodities at low prices, as was the case in the period of free competition, as by high monopoly prices. This is attainable only by the artificial restriction of supply, by the elimination of free competition. For this purpose, associations of employers are first of all formed in the various branches of production in each country; after this, foreign competition is eliminated, or at least weakened, by the introduction of protective tariffs; the "home market" is protected so as to allow only home monopoly capital access to it. In some cases the monopolistic combines of the stronger imperialist powers divide up the world's markets and form international cartels.

But owing to high monopoly prices, the capacity of the home market is insufficient for capital, which accordingly experiences a need for foreign markets. And as the finance capital of all imperialist countries is striving for the same end, competition, ousted from the home markets, is resumed in the foreign market and in an even more acute form, the form of dumping, that is, the sale of commodities abroad at below the cost of production, and sometimes even below

self-cost. Only a monopoly of foreign markets makes it possible to sell goods abroad, too, at high monopoly prices. Consequently, monopoly capital, unlike the capital of the time of free competition, strives to bring foreign countries *under its political sway*, to transform them into colonies, to redivide the world among the imperialist powers in order to safeguard their monopoly in the markets.

There is one other reason that induces monopoly capital to subjugate other countries.

The high super-profits accumulate in the hands of the monopolistic combines in the form of money. This newly accumulated capital cannot find a fruitful field of investment in one or another branch of production in the home country, for if it did the production and supply of goods would exceed the capacity of the market (in view of the high prices imposed by the monopolies), which would lead to a fall in prices. Hence, the tendency to export capital to countries capitalistically still undeveloped, where "profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap." (*Ibid.*, Chapter IV.)

But in order profitably to invest its capital in a foreign, backward country and to compel the native population to work as wage laborers, the financial oligarchy needs a guarantee of the security of its property and the right to dispose of the labor power of the natives. That is achieved best of all by conquering and enslaving the backward

country, by converting it into a colony. And so, the export of capital is a stimulus to the imperialist policy of conquest.

An industrial monopoly is best guaranteed against the appearance of new competitors when the sources of raw material required for the production of its goods are its own exclusive property. Hence, the hunt for sources of raw materials all over the world, often enough not so much for the exploitation of these sources as to prevent their falling into the hands of competitors, present or future.

How is the monopoly of sources of raw material to be secured? The best way is for the imperialist power concerned to seize the country in which these sources lie and convert it into its own colony or semi-colony. The hunt for

sources of raw material is therefore another stimulus to the imperialist policy of conquest.

But as the financial oligarchies in all imperialist countries pursue a similar policy of conquest, wars among the imperialist marauders for periodical redivisions of the world are inevitable.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, parallel with the transition to monopoly capitalism, another highly important change was in progress among the imperialist countries: as a result of the law of unevenness of capitalist development, Great Britain was overtaken by two of her competitors—Germany and the United States of America—who ousted her from her monopoly position as the “workshop of the world.” Here are a few figures in illustration:

	PRODUCTION			
	Coal (millions of tons)	Iron	Steel (thousands of tons)	Cotton (consumption)
<i>1850</i>				
Great Britain .....	49.0	3,200	.....	640
U.S.A. ....	6.3	564	.....	.....
Germany .....	5.2	208	6	18
<i>1870</i>				
Great Britain .....	110.0	6,000	200	1,100
U.S.A. ....	29.5	1,665	69	263**
Germany .....	26.4	1,391	170	81
<i>1900</i>				
Great Britain .....	225	9,000	4,900	1,540
U.S.A. ....	241	13,789	10,188	875
Germany .....	109	8,521	6,646	307
<i>1913</i>				
Great Britain .....	287	10,300	7,700	1,920
U.S.A. ....	509	31,900	31,301	1,307
Germany .....	190*	19,300	18,329	486

Source: *World Economic Crises*, Vol. I, Institute of World Economy and World Politics of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1937.

\* Plus 87,000,000 tons of bituminous coal.

\*\* Figures for 1871.



As we see, Great Britain, which in 1870 still far surpassed her competitors in all the more important branches of production, by the end of the nineteenth century had been overtaken and outstripped by her competitors—Germany and the United States—in all branches except the textile industry, whose importance had relatively diminished compared with heavy industry. This particularly applies to the highly important “new” branches of industry, of which figures are not available for purposes of comparison. But it may be safely said that Germany had surpassed Great Britain

in every branch of the chemical industry, and that the United States as well as Germany had surpassed her in the machine-building industry. There can be no doubt that on the eve of the first world imperialist war both German and American capitalism, if we take only their power at home, were much stronger than British capitalism.

But the possession of colonies did not keep pace with the development of the internal strength of the leading capitalist powers. Significant in this respect are the figures cited by Lenin in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter VI.

#### COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS ON THE EVE OF THE WORLD WAR OF 1914

	<i>Great Britain</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>United States of America</i>	<i>Japan</i>
Territory (millions of square kilom- eters) .....	33.5	10.6	2.9	17.4	0.3	0.3
P o p u l a t i o n (millions) .....	393.5	55.5	12.3	33.2	9.7	19.2

The size of the population of the colonies is, of course, economically more important than their territory, which may, as was the case with Germany's African colonies, consist chiefly of sterile deserts. We find that the population of the colonies exploited by British imperialism was three times as large as the population of all the colonies of the other five great powers together!

In particular, the colonial possessions of Germany and the United States, which had economically outstripped Great Britain in the last quarter of the nineteenth

century, did not at all correspond to the economic, military and political might of these two powers.

Actually, British capital occupied an even more privileged position. In addition to its own colonies, it intensively exploited those belonging to the small states, especially the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the Dutch colonies in Asia. In the “semi-colonies” (China, Turkey, Persia), whose population Lenin estimated at 361,200,000, as well as in a number of the South American “dependent” countries like the Argentine and Uruguay, Great Britain

had vast capital investments and powerful economic and political interests. According to the laws of imperialism, such a state of affairs was bound to raise the problem of a forcible redivision of the world.

At that period American finance capital was by no means as interested in a redivision of the world as German finance capital. The vast territory of the United States of America abounded in sources of raw material of all kinds: coal, oil, ore, cotton, etc. Part of the arable area was still uncultivated. Neither was there any particular urge to export capital, as it could be quite profitably invested at home. Consequently, there was no "superfluous" capital in the United States; on the contrary, right up to the first World War America imported capital, and at the time of the outbreak of the war owed some \$7,000,000,000 to other countries, including \$4,000,000,000 to Great Britain.\*

What American monopoly capital needed most of all was additional sources of cheap labor power. These it acquired not in the way the imperialist states of Europe did—by exporting capital to colonial countries where labor was cheap—but by importing millions of immigrant workers from all parts of the world. This influx of immigrants, or new consumers of goods, made possible the constant and extensive enlargement of the home market. Hence, the export of goods was not as important for the United States as for the European countries. The United States exported less than 10 per cent

of its output, whereas Great Britain, France and Germany exported approximately 23 or 25 per cent.

Quite different was the position of German monopoly capital. Germany had no sources of the highly important raw materials, such as oil, non-ferrous metals, textile staples and fats, on her own territory; she also lacked foodstuffs. In order to import all these Germany had to export large quantities of her industrial manufactures, and this brought her into conflict with the colonial monopoly of the imperialist powers, especially of Great Britain.

The apologists of British imperialism, of course, never tired of asserting that in accordance with the "most favored nation" principle the British colonies were open to the trade and the capital of all countries on an equal footing with those of Great Britain. Formally, this was correct, but actually, it was far from the case. The building of railways and ports, electrification, the supply of rolling stock and the exploitation of sources of raw material in the British world empire were virtually a monopoly of British capital. Unless he has the "protection" of the authorities, no capitalist can secure in the colonies the labor power he needs. British capital likewise controlled the shipping, the banks and the credit system of the colonies. It was very hard for "foreign" capital to find any profitable field of investment in the British and French colonies.

Quite different was the case in the colonial possessions of states which were poor in capital. While tsarist Russia was engaged in colo-

\* Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments*, Washington, 1938.

nial conquest in Manchuria and Central Asia, the raw material resources of the Ukraine and of Baku were being intensively exploited by British, French and Belgian capital. Russia had become entangled in debt to the Western powers and was dependent on them.

The English have always been fond of asserting that the Germans may acquire in the market the raw materials produced in the British colonies on the same terms as British merchants. The British imperialists pretend to be oblivious of the fact that even so the colonial super-profits derived from the production of raw materials remain in the pockets of the British colonial capitalists.

The contradictions between the economic might of German monopoly capitalism (which in 1913 had undoubtedly far outstripped Great Britain), and the fact that the colonial population under its sway amounted to only 3 per cent of the population of the British colonies must be borne in mind in analyzing the causes that gave rise to the first world imperialist war. Great Britain's reply to Germany's attempt to create her own colonial empire in Asia Minor (nominally under the rule of Turkey)\* by building a railway from Berlin to Baghdad was to encircle Germany. Great Britain concluded military treaties with

France, Japan and, in 1907, with Russia, with which she had never found herself in the same camp ever since the Napoleonic wars. (Tsarist Russia felt that Germany's advance was a menace to her colonies in Central Asia and to her claims to Constantinople.)

British diplomatic intrigues had prepared the way for Italy's desertion of Germany and for the adhesion of the United States to the British bloc. The first world imperialist war was essentially a war between Germany and Great Britain for colonial possessions. As Lenin said, the problem of colonial possessions was decided on the battlefields of Europe.

The issue of the war was not in Germany's favor. Under the Versailles Peace she lost even those not very valuable colonies which she had possessed before the war; large slices were cut off from her European territory, and a huge burden of reparations was imposed on her. All this was done with the object of preventing German capitalism from ever recovering and becoming a competitor of equal strength to Britain. Turkey was deprived of all her regions that had a non-Turkish population. Great Britain rounded out her colonial empire in Africa, obtained a straight road from Cape Town to Cairo, and established new lines of communication with India through Arabia and Iraq. Such a division of the world was even more advantageous to Britain and France than the one that had existed before the World War. Italy was left out in the cold.

The nations under the colonial

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\* That German finance capital chose this particular territory for the foundation of a colonial empire was not fortuitous. Whereas Germany possessed a more powerful army, England enjoyed superiority on the high seas. Colonial seizures in overseas countries would have met with the resistance of the British navy, whereas Asia Minor could be reached by internal waterways through Austria-Hungary and the Balkans.

yoke of tsardom were liberated by the great October Socialist Revolution. Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, with the aid of the Soviet Union, largely or entirely shook off their dependence on imperialism.

As a result of the first imperialist world war and the changes that had directly sprung from it, the relation of forces by the time of the outbreak of the second imperialist war was as follows:

### COLONIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE GREAT POWERS

(Millions of square kilometers and millions of inhabitants)

	Colonies		Home Countries 1932		Total	
	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.	Area	Pop.
Great Britain .....	34.9	466.5	0.25	46.2	35.1	512.7
France .....	11.9	65.1	0.55	42.0	12.45	107.1
Germany .....	.....	.....	0.47	64.8	0.47	64.8
United States .....	0.3	14.6	9.4	124.6	9.70	139.2
Japan (without newly conquered provinces of China) .....	0.3	28.0	0.4	65.5	0.7	93.5
Total, five great powers .....	47.4	574.2	11.07	343.1	58.42	917.3
Colonies of other pow- ers (Belgium, Hol- land, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Nor- way and Portugal)	9.6	87.6	.....	.....	9.6	87.6
Semi-colonies and de- pendent countries (Arabia, Butan, Ne- pal, Sien, Central and South Ameri- can countries, Ethi- opia and Liberia)....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34.9	150.0
Countries fully or mainly liberated from imperialist de- pendence (China, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan) .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.0	480.7
Other countries (capi- talist) .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.98	224.1
Union of Soviet So- cialist Republics .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21.2	163.2
Mongolia and Tuva People's Republic ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.4	1.6
The world .....					132.5	2,024.5



This table shows that Great Britain's superiority in the colonial world had become even greater than before the first World War. Great Britain had over 466,000,000 colonial people under her sway (a small part of this number—the inhabitants of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and part of South Africa, a total of about 20,000,000—are English; they are not colonial people in the true sense of the word, but they are in a state of economic and financial dependence on England), while France, the United States and Japan together had only 108,000,000. Until she conquered Ethiopia, Italy's colonies were only of slight value; Germany had no colonies at all.

\* \* \*

Since the first World War, the importance of colonies to the monopoly capital of the imperialist powers has increased. The general crisis of capitalism, which was still in an embryonic state before the World War, has now developed to the full. In all capitalist countries, the contradiction between the tendency of capital to extend production, on the one hand, and the relative restriction of the markets, on the other, has grown more acute. Hence, the chronic idleness of a large share of production capital, chronic mass unemployment and a chronic redundancy of loan capital.

The finance capital of the imperialist powers is seeking a way out of the situation by strengthening its monopoly in its colonial markets, which is clearly shown by the following figures.\* This tendency

has markedly developed in the past six years.

#### GREAT BRITAIN'S TRADE WITH HER COLONIAL EMPIRE

(percentage of total trade)

	1904-13	1919-28	1929-34
Import .....	25.7	33.0	32.9
Export .....	34.8	40.5	44.6

#### FRANCE'S TRADE WITH HER COLONIAL EMPIRE

(percentage of total trade)

	1904-13	1919-28	1929-34
Import .....	10.6	10.8	16.4
Export .....	12.6	14.9	24.1

These figures quite clearly reveal the rapidly increasing importance to these countries of their own colonies as markets, and show why wars for colonies, for a new redivision of the world are inevitable in the era of imperialism in general, and in the period of the general crisis of capitalism in particular.

This increase in trade with the colonies was achieved by the abandonment of the "most favored nation" principle and the introduction of tariffs for the protection of English goods in the colonies and of colonial goods in England. Trade between the component parts of the British empire had likewise increased.

The most complete monopoly is that of Japan in the Korean market. In 1936, of Korea's total imports amounting to 762,000,000 yen, 717,000,000 yen came from Japan and Manchuria, and of total exports amounting to 593,000,000 yen, goods to the value of 518,000,000 yen were exported to Japan and of 56,000,000 yen to Manchuria.\*

\* G. Clark, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*, New York, 1936.

\* Hubner's *Weltstatistik*, 1939.

We find the contradiction between the economic might of the monopoly capital of Germany and of Great Britain, on the one hand, and their colonial possessions, on the other—which was one of the chief causes of the first World War—reproduced in a far more acute degree two decades later. The plan of the British and French finance oligarchy to hold their dangerous competitor—German finance capital—in a state of permanent economic suppression suffered a fiasco. It did so owing to the inherent laws of the capitalist mode of production, owing to the

rivalry between Great Britain and France and the rivalry between Great Britain and the United States. Notwithstanding the predatory Versailles Peace imposed on Germany, notwithstanding the heavy burden of reparations, German capitalism entered on a new phase of progress, partly with the help of American and British loan capital. By 1938, German capitalism had again taken first place among the capitalist countries of Europe, which is incontrovertibly proved by the following figures quoted in the *League of Nations Year Book* for 1938-39:

## OUTPUT IN 1938

	Germany	Great Britain	France
Coal, anthracite (millions of tons).....	186	232	47
Coal, bituminous (millions of tons) .....	195	.....	....
Iron (millions of tons) .....	18.6	6.9	6.0
Steel (millions of tons) .....	23.2	10.6	6.2
Aluminum (thousands of tons) .....	160	23	45
Electricity (billions of kilowatts).....	55	25	19

These figures show that Germany has again considerably outstripped her European rivals economically. As is inevitable under capitalism, economic development was accompanied by growing military power. The measures that had been taken to limit German armaments ceased to be effective and by 1939 Germany again possessed a powerful army and a stronger air force than any capitalist country in the world. Between the economic and military might of German capitalism, on the one hand, and its total lack of colonial possessions on the other, there was a similar if not more acute contradiction than in 1914. German monopoly capital began to demand an appropriate share in the exploitation of colonies. As in 1914, the

reply of the British bourgeoisie was a new attempt to encircle Germany.

The importance of colonies as sources of raw material has grown considerably since the first World War. The British Empire's monopoly of certain raw materials, such as nickel, tin and rubber (the monopoly of rubber is shared by Great Britain and Holland) has become the source of vast super-profits. With the progress of technology such rare metals as manganese, chromium and molybdenum have become indispensable to modern metallurgy.

How true today is what Lenin wrote twenty-four years ago!

"... Monopolies are most firmly established when *all* the sources of raw materials are controlled by the

one group. And we have seen with what zeal the international capitalist combines exert every effort to make it impossible for their rivals to compete with them; for example, by buying up mineral lands, oil fields, etc. Colonial possession alone gives complete guarantee of success to the monopolies against all the risks of a struggle with competitors, including the risk that the latter will defend themselves by means of a law establishing a state monopoly. The more capitalism is developed, the more the need for raw materials is felt, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds throughout the whole world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter VI.)

Alongside of the economic importance of the colonial sources of raw material, their strategic importance is now greater than ever before. Oil, iron ore, non-ferrous metals, rare metals, rubber and many other kinds of raw material are indispensable for the conduct of modern warfare.

The bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries which lacked colonies suffered politically as well as economically. With the development of the general crisis of capitalism, the growing acuteness of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the formation of strong Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, and the stimulus furnished to the revolutionary working class movement all over the world by the progress of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., it has become more important than

ever to the bourgeoisie to have a buttress within the working class in the shape of a bribed labor aristocracy. Only when this social basis of opportunism in the working class movement existed could Social-Democracy play its traditional role as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. But to maintain a labor aristocracy, colonial super-profits, foreign capital investments and the brutal exploitation of defenseless colonial peoples were required.

The possession or lack of colonies explains the difference in the position of the Social-Democratic parties in the various capitalist countries today. Two sharply-defined groups of countries have arisen in the past ten years. The first group consists of the "rich" countries, the countries with extensive colonial possessions and huge capital investments abroad and with a corrupt labor aristocracy at home: Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries (the latter do not possess large colonies and, with the exception of Sweden, have no foreign capital investments, but they were to a large extent appendages and satellites of the British Empire). In all the countries of this group, the Social-Democrats are a legal mass party, are represented in the bourgeois coalition governments and continue to be the main social support of the bourgeoisie. But Social-Democracy is encountering the growing resistance of the working class, as a result of the activities of the Communist parties.

The second group consists of the "poor" countries, countries with no foreign investments and with no, or

only very small colonial possessions: Germany, Italy, Spain, etc. The bourgeoisie of these countries is not in a position to maintain a labor aristocracy large enough to guarantee success to the activities of Social-Democratic parties in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie of these countries has entirely dispensed with the services of the Social-Democratic parties, has driven them underground and has attempted to transfer to other parties the function of main social prop of the bourgeoisie hitherto performed by the Social-Democratic parties.

Colonies are not only of economic and political, but also of strategical value. Today, more than ever before, every newly conquered region serves as a strategical base for further conquest. Any rocky island, however sterile and bare, is of the utmost value if it helps to strengthen the strategical position of some imperialist country; territory is important in itself, irrespective of its economic value. Hence the increased tendency on the part of the imperialists to seize any area they can, if only to prevent it becoming a military base for others. Economic, political and strategical factors in conjunction render a struggle for a new redivision of the world inevitable in the period of the general crisis of capitalism.

The present war is an imperialist war for the redivision of the world. And what Lenin said of the World War of 1914 likewise applies to the present war. The way for this war was similarly paved by *all* the imperialist countries. The financial

oligarchies of all the imperialist countries bear an equal responsibility for it.

Lenin wrote in 1916, and repeated the idea several times before the October Revolution, that the proletarian revolution would break out "in connection with war." \* At that time it never occurred to the ruling classes that their rule was in any way endangered. But they know it today, and are afraid of it. The example of the Soviet Union is a warning to them. Nevertheless, the inherent laws of capitalism drive them to launch again into a struggle for a redivision of the world. The power of the Soviet Union, the strength of the Red Army, their fear of the working masses in their own country, and Stalin's wise peace policy all helped to frustrate the Munich policy of a united front of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. The antagonisms among the imperialist powers against the Soviet of the world have *temporarily* proved to be stronger than the fundamental antagonism between capitalism and socialism.

The war between the imperialist states is undoubtedly weakening the entire capitalist system. The superiority of socialism stands out all the more clearly and distinctly. The conditions for successful proletarian revolutions are ripening in a number of other countries, and so are the conditions for successful anti-imperialist revolutions in the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries.

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\* V. I. Lenin, "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.

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## THE TECHNIQUE AND METHODS OF IMPERIALIST WAR PROPAGANDA

BY F. SCHILLING

*"When war is declared,  
truth is the first casualty."*

**A** PRIME requisite in modern warfare is not only "money and money again," as Montecuccoli, a general in the Thirty Years' War, used to say, and not only iron, copper and oil, as others say today, but also men.

If the war is one in which the masses fight for aims which they hold dear, for their national and social liberty, they will display miracles of courage, valor, heroism and self-sacrifice even against an enemy far superior in strength and armament. In illustration, we have only to recall the Paris Commune, the heroic struggle of the Spanish republic and the liberation war of the Chinese people. One outstanding example of a really just war of the people was the victorious struggle against imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia after the great socialist revolution of October, 1917.

When the masses are waging a revolutionary war of liberation, they have no need of false and spurious slogans, distortions of fact, or any of the other methods and devices to which the bourgeoisie

resorts to justify its wars. In a revolutionary war, propaganda consists of the briefest and most convincing expression of the aspirations and demands of the masses for liberty. Propaganda in this case coincides with the organization and political leadership of *one's own* class and of the broad masses of the people, whose interests are indetical; its purpose is not to deceive any class whatever and to get it to fight for aims which are alien and hostile to it. In such wars, the propagandists are men of the people, who have sprung from the ranks of the masses and talk their language. They have no need for any special "science of propaganda."

But the case is different in an imperialist war, when the masses have to be got to fight for alien, imperialist aims against their own interests and to bear all the sacrifices of war. That is the cardinal and decisive problem which faces every imperialist government in time of war, and naturally also during the preparations for war. The larger the number actively participating in the war, the greater the sacrifices the war demands of the masses, the richer the experience of a people

and the more advanced its political maturity, the more difficult it is for the bourgeoisie and its governments to solve this problem and the greater is the effort required to win the support of the masses for the imperialist war. In this branch of imperialist warfare the bourgeois experts and military specialists have developed a regular "science" of "war propaganda." During the first imperialist World War of 1914-18 modern war propaganda was brought to perfection. After the war, on the basis of the experience gained in it, the methods of war propaganda were zealously studied, improved and developed in all capitalist countries and adapted to modern war tactics and especially to the modern media of propaganda, such as radio.

A comprehensive literature on the subject has sprung up in which the theoretical principles and practical application of war propaganda are discussed with astonishing candor. It is hailed in the literature of all the imperialist countries as a new arm, of no less importance than the old arms, like the infantry, artillery, etc. This is borne out by the practice of the belligerent powers in the present imperialist war.

\* \* \*

Not only do the imperialists and their propagandists conceal from the masses the truth about war, but they have developed a regular "theory" regarding the necessity and utility of falsehood in imperialist war. Lord Stanley Baldwin, who for many years was Prime Minister of Britain, once said that "in the arena of international rivalry and

conflict men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen."\* And Daladier in this war also acknowledged this "virtue" of bourgeois statesmen when he said during the debate on the censorship in the Chamber that "in certain circumstances even the dissemination of the truth may be dangerous." (*Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, February 28, 1940.)

Nevertheless, war propaganda cannot just merrily lie; it must guard itself against premature exposure and refutation. In his *Propaganda in the Next War*, Sydney Rogersen, publicity chief of a big British chemical trust, lays down the following principle of propaganda among the enemy: tell the truth, but tell it in the way that suits you best; above all avoid a direct lie if you possibly can, for in propaganda you are lost the moment you are caught telling a lie.

At the Press Conference which was a permanent feature in Germany during the World War, one of the officials of the War Press Bureau declared to the newspaper representatives that "the important thing is not so much the accuracy of the information as the effect it produces.\*\*

There are lies which quickly achieve their purpose—as to divert attention from some ready-prepared event—and are then immediately

\* Quoted in *Falsehood in War Time*, by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.

\*\* Hellmut von Gerlach, *Die Zeit der grossen Luege*. Schwedler, in his book *Das Nachrichtenwesen*, says of this permanent Press Conference: "During the war it was a great institution for obscuring and concealing the truth . . . a chronic war lie."

forgotten. But imperialist war propaganda is also, and principally, built on lies whose effect is designed to be more permanent. This applies especially to the lies an imperialist country spreads about its own aims and intentions and those of its enemy. Lord Ponsonby says in his *Falsehood in War Time* (London, 1928):

"People must never be allowed to become despondent; so victories must be exaggerated and defeats, if not concealed, at any rate minimized, and the stimulus of indignation, horror and hatred must be assiduously and continuously pumped into the public mind by means of 'propaganda'. . . . Facts must be distorted, relevant circumstances concealed, and a picture presented which by its crude coloring will persuade the ignorant people that their Government is blameless, their cause is righteous, and that the indisputable wickedness of the enemy has been proved beyond question." (pp. 14-15.)

By ceaseless reiteration, the continuous fabrication of unverifiable reports of enemy atrocities, the forcible suppression of all freedom of speech and by hermetically sealing off the country from the outside world, the bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries were able during the first World War to pass off their lies as truth on a vast scale. Lenin wrote in December, 1914:

"Hundreds of millions are being spent every year for the propaganda of ideas favorable to those classes [the landlords and capitalists interested in the war—*F.S.*]. It is quite a sizable mill; everything is grist for it, beginning with . . . chauvinists

by conviction, and ending with chauvinists by opportunism and spinelessness. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, "In the National Pride of the Great Russians," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 99.)

\* \* \*

What lying catchwords did the imperialist governments resort to in 1914 to justify the war? Lenin painted a clear picture of them with a few brief strokes in November, 1914:

"One of the belligerent groups of nations is headed by the German bourgeoisie. It has fooled the working class and the laboring masses by asserting that it wages the war for the defense of the fatherland, liberty and civilization, for the liberation of the peoples that are oppressed by tsarism, for the destruction of reactionary tsarism. . . .

"At the head of the other group of belligerent nations are the English and French bourgeoisie which fool the working class and the laboring masses by asserting that this group leads a war for the fatherland, freedom and civilization against the militarism and despotism of Germany. . . .

"Neither of the two groups of belligerent countries is behind the other in robberies, bestialities and endless brutalities of war. But in order to fool the proletarians and detract attention . . . the bourgeoisie of each country strives . . . by means of patriotic phrases, to extol the significance of 'its own' national war and to assert that it strives to vanquish the adversary not for the sake of robbery and seizure of lands, but for the sake of 'liberating' all other peoples except its own." (V. I. Lenin, "The Russian Social-Democrats and the War," *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.)

It is superfluous today to refute these hypocritical war aims of the time of the World War. The inventors of these lies have done it very effectively themselves. All the more interesting is it therefore to recall a few details of the witches' cauldron of lies and incitement of national hatred that was set a'boiling in those days. Take, for example, the circumstances attending Great Britain's entry into the World War. On July 31, 1914, an article in the *Times* stated that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was to be expected and that England would then enter the war, as her interests would be imperilled. General Percin related in 1925 in the *Ere Nouvelle* (reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian* of January 27, 1925) that, as member of the Superior Council of War, he had attended a conference of the French General Staff in 1910 at which it was stated that a war with Germany was bound to lead to the occupation of Belgium, and that France would not wait to be forestalled by Germany. England's part in the war had been determined long before in a secret compact with France, as had likewise the possibility of the occupation of Belgium. When, however, Germany actually did occupy Belgium and forestalled France, the British Government acted as if it was taken by surprise and that it was only horror of this violation of international law and sympathy for a weak, attacked nation which had compelled it to enter the war.

We have already witnessed in the present war plenty of similar instances of small nations being

pushed forward and unscrupulously sacrificed. Even the sham "surprise" at Germany's invasion of Belgium has been repeated. That Belgium would become a theater of operations in this war, too, was clear to the British and French governments from the moment they adopted the plan to compel Germany to engage her forces on as many fronts as possible.

The American magazine *Current History*, in its April, 1940, issue, reproduced a map printed in *The New York Times* indicating the probable lines of attack of a German offensive, and the reader will find to his astonishment that they are the very lines which the German offensive actually took. According to this map, the first column was to advance from Arnhem to Utrecht, the second across the Maas and the Albert Canal to Brussels, and the third through Maastricht and Luttich to Namur. Lastly, an arrow south of Maubeuge shows where a breach would be forced towards Rheims. There were therefore no grounds for the Allies' surprise. All they wanted was—as in 1914—to derive advantage from the initiative of the German army for their own propaganda purposes. It was only the Dutch and Belgian peoples, who had been fooled by all the governments, including their own in particular, that were taken by surprise. They had one more opportunity to test the old saying of the Thirty Years' War:

*Kommt Krieg ins Land,  
Gibts Luegen wie Sand.\**

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\* In war time lies are as abundant as sand on the seashore.



On May 8, Reuter reported that large bodies of German troops were moving towards the Dutch frontier. On May 9, this report was vigorously denied by the German *Nachrichten-Buero*, which was considered necessary by the attackers to insure their military success. Less understandable was a Havas message of May 9 published in all the French, British and Swiss newspapers:

“Amsterdam, May 9 (Havas). Next Saturday [May 11] normal rail traffic will be resumed in Holland. The restrictions introduced on May 7 were necessitated by the recall of men on furlough. It is presumed that with the resumption of normal rail traffic the whole situation will return to normal.”\*

The printer's ink was not yet dry when half of Holland was already occupied by German troops. . . .

Lenin time and again exposed the argument used by the Entente in its propaganda during the World War that it was fighting solely in the interests of Serbia and especially Belgium, that is, of small nations. In a lecture he delivered in May, 1917, in Petrograd, he quoted from “an organ of the American billionaires” which “with purely American frankness and purely American cynicism” declared: “In Europe a war is going on for world supremacy. For world supremacy two things are needed: dollars and banks. We have the dollars; we will create the banks and rule the world.” And Lenin goes on to say:

“This is what a leading newspaper of the American billionaires said. I must say that this cynical American phrase, uttered by a swelled-headed and arrogant billionaire, contains a thousand times more truth than the thousands of articles written by bourgeois liars who claim that this war is a war for some sort of national interests, national problems, and other obvious lies of the same sort, which throw all history overboard and take a single example, for instance, the fact that the German robber attacked Belgium. The latter is undoubtedly true. Yes, that group of predatory powers did indeed attack Belgium with incredible ferocity; but it only did what the other group or robbers did yesterday by other means, and is doing today against other nations.” (V. I. Lenin, *War and the Workers*, pp. 11-12.)

The slogans of the American imperialists in the World War—“Make the world safe for democracy!” and “War to end war!”—were exposed by Woodrow Wilson as lies, although only after the end of the war. On September 5, 1919, he said in a speech:

“Is there any man or woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? . . . This was an industrial and commercial war.”

But this admission does not prevent Wilson's successors and the other imperialists from trying twenty years later, to inculcate the very opposite into the minds, not of small children, but of grown nations.

\* Quoted from the *National-Zeitung*, Basle, May 10, 1940.

The immense sacrifices which the belligerent imperialists demand of nations and the frightful sufferings that war imposes on the people have given rise to one of the fundamental precepts of their war propaganda: stress your own love of peace and declare the sole culpability of your opponent for the war; and assert that you have nothing, absolutely nothing, against the people ruled by the enemy government, that you are in the war solely in order to liberate these people from this government and to bring freedom to the peoples and nations oppressed by it. While the government of the German Kaiser proclaimed its sympathy for the peoples oppressed by tsardom and for the "poor Hindus languishing under British rule," the propaganda of the Entente, for its part, was concerned for the fate of the nations oppressed by the despotism of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and of the German Kaiser. "Having declared the enemy the sole culprit and originator of the war," Ponsonby says, "the next step is to personify the enemy." The Entente accordingly created for propaganda purposes the figure of the "criminal Kaiser" and the Central Powers the figure of the "Tiger" (Clemenceau). However, this differentiation between the people and the government of the enemy country was practiced only in the early stages of the World War. For in order to ensure mutual massacre and destruction, the mutual incitement had to be brought to a white heat.

How rapidly "sympathy" and "hatred" towards a nation can suc-

ceed each other in war propaganda was richly illustrated in the case of the Italian propaganda chiefs during the World War. Shortly before Rumania entered the war, the *Popolo d'Italia* wrote:

"People must at last cease describing the Rumanians as our sister nation. They are not Romans at all . . . they spring from a mixture of Avars, Huns and Turks, and so one can easily imagine what a gang of rascals has sprung from such an origin. . . ."

But after Rumania had entered the war on the side of the Entente Powers, this same newspaper wrote:

"The Rumanians have now proved in the most striking manner that they are worthy sons of the ancient Romans. . . ."

Now the Rumanians were again a "sister nation," just as were the French. The word "sister nation" is employed whenever it suits imperialist aims, but is rejected whenever it interferes with war propaganda, as is the case, for example, in the present war. In a speech delivered on March 27, 1940, Mussolini said:

"Whatever course events may take, we do not want to hear any more about brotherhoods, sisterhoods, cousinhoods or other remote kinships, for the relations between states are based on power, and these power relations are the deciding factor in politics."

For all its importance and far-reaching effect, there are definite bounds to war propaganda beyond which it cannot step; and when these bounds have been reached a

rapid retrogression begins. The false propaganda of the imperialists thereupon turns against themselves. While it was possible to give a powerful shock to the masses of the belligerent countries at the beginning of the World War and to cause general confusion (in which the social-imperialists of all countries played no small part), the circumstances produced by the long years of war proved still more powerful, and the masses gradually began to see beyond the fog of lies by which they had been deliberately enveloped.

Faber, who during the World War was Chairman of the German Newspaper Publishers' Society and whose loyalty to the government is beyond all question, tells of the simply incredible and fantastic instructions he and the other newspaper representatives used to receive from the High Command. He says:

"The Army Command believed that the popular mind could be molded by the press in any desired direction. Apart from ignoring, suppressing or veiling unpleasant facts liable to cool popular ardor, all that was required, they thought, were stern and energetic commands to direct the press like an army, and through it the national sentiment, according to the wishes and orders of the Army Command. All that was lacking was good will and initiative and energy of political leadership. The Army Command believed that the counter influences at work among the people, the restriction of political rights, as, for example, the suspension of constitutional reform in Prussia, the disappointment over the course of the military opera-

tions, the antagonisms of political views and aims, that all these things . . . whose effect it was helping to intensify, could be paralyzed by manufacturing public opinion."\*

It refused to realize that even the best war propaganda had reached the limit of effectiveness.

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Today the imperialists of the belligerent countries have learned from the lessons of the first imperialist war and are trying to improve their "system" and expand their propaganda to gigantic proportions. Whereas at the beginning of the last World War many members of the ruling circles of the belligerent countries did not realize the tremendous significance of war propaganda, today no doubt exists on this score. The governments of both the warring groups now possess huge propaganda machines in the shape of Ministries of Information and Propaganda which they have placed in charge of their most experienced experts. The technical means of propaganda have likewise been greatly perfected since the first imperialist war, especially as a result of the development and spread of the radio. Tens of millions of people can be influenced effectively, rapidly and simultaneously, and whereas formerly it was very difficult and only attainable through roundabout ways it is now possible to carry on direct propaganda day after day among the population of the "enemy" country. According to the figures of the *Union*

\* *Zeitungs-Verlag*, No. 38, September 19, 1919.

*Internationale de Radiodiffusion*, Geneva, the number of registered radio receiving sets at the beginning of 1940 was as follows:

Germany—13,700,000, or about 181 per 1,000 inhabitants.

England—9,000,000, or about 182 per 1,000 inhabitants.

France—5,200,000, or about 125 per 1,000 inhabitants.

In America (where no official statistics are available) it was calculated that at the end of 1939 there were about 33,000,000 receiving sets. Britain and Germany daily broadcast in twenty different languages. The comparatively short distances the broadcasts have to cover make it possible to utilize medium wave lengths, which renders jamming technically difficult and permits of reception on simple receiving sets.

The uniform control and direction of the press, the news agencies and other technical means of propaganda, such as films, have been placed on an even stricter footing than during the World War. Everybody knows about the strict control and uniform direction of the press in Germany and Italy. But it would be a mistake to think that nothing has been done in this respect in those capitalist countries which call themselves democratic. In France, all periodicals opposed to the imperialist war were suppressed at one blow, and their editors, at least those that could be laid hands on, were arrested. In Great Britain, five or six newspaper lords and their trusts are absolute rulers of the press, which they have naturally placed at the service of the war.

Indicative of the state of the press in Britain is the fact that the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labor Party, is owned by Odhams, a capitalist newspaper trust, which among other periodicals publishes the conservative and reactionary paper *John Bull*. When a conflict arose over the editorial direction of the paper, Attlee, Citrine and other leaders of the Labor Party assented to their party organ being placed under the charge of Mr. Cudlipp, a member of the Conservative Party and former editor of the arch-reactionary Beaverbrook trust.

Characteristic of the state of the press in America, as well as in Great Britain, is the following statement by Cantwell, a bourgeois journalist, in the *American New Republic* (November 8, 1939), in an article on the future of American journalism:

"The 2,000 dailies, the 1,200 weekly magazines and the 2,000 monthlies, with all their competition . . . act together in a fashion that a totalitarian government must envy. I have been reading back over the papers from some thirty cities to see how they treated the first days and weeks of the war and it is difficult to see how a Propaganda Ministry could have decreed a more uniform reaction."

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Thus imperialist war propaganda was able from the very outbreak of the present war to draw upon broad experience, trained forces and a splendid technical and organizational machine. Yet from the very outset it encountered far greater

difficulties and obstacles than in 1914.

There are a number of reasons for this.

The most important was that in 1914 the whole world was under the sway of imperialism, whereas today socialism reigns over one-sixth of the earth, and that the confidence of the working people of the capitalist countries in the bourgeoisie, in capitalism, has been seriously undermined by a daily comparison of the development in the capitalist and the socialist worlds. Another reason, one closely bound up with the first, is the fact that, in contradistinction to 1914, the International did not collapse, but, in the shape of the Communist International and its affiliated parties, continued to function and is waging an active struggle against the imperialist war. Lastly, the memory of the last war is still fresh in the minds of a large section of the working masses, and moreover millions of people can still recollect the methods of war propaganda and incitement employed in those days.

Besides these fundamental reasons for the difficulties and obstacles encountered by imperialist war propaganda in general, there are a number of special reasons which deserve to be examined in detail.

Firstly, in addition to its obvious advantages, radio has placed the war propaganda of all the imperialist countries in a difficult position. Formerly, it lay more or less in the discretion of the governments either to inform, not inform or (as was mostly the case) deceive their people at home as to the state of affairs

at the fronts, and consequently as to the strength of their own and the enemy's troops.

Napoleon might instruct the staff of his *Moniteur*: "If unpleasant news is received by the government it must not be published until one is so certain of its authenticity that it cannot be published any longer because it is already known to the whole world."

In 1914 it was still possible for the French Government to conceal the advance of the German army from the public for weeks; throughout the entire month of August, 1914, the French military communiqués said nothing about the state of affairs at the front: the capture of Mülhausen was reported on August 9, and only on August 30 was it announced that the Germans had reached the Somme. On the other hand, the German military command, following Napoleon's precept, never informed the German public at all of their defeat on the Marne (see Heinrich Binder, *Was wir als Kriegsberichterstatter nicht sagen durften*). But in the age of the radio such concealment is no longer possible. Today the war propagandists are obliged to adopt more subtle methods, for notwithstanding mutual jamming and the imposition of heavy fines for listening in to foreign stations, the broadcasts of the "enemy" are listened to by millions of people on both sides and are circulated in the most diverse ways.

But an even greater blow to the war propagandists is the double-edged nature of the radio. It cannot be denied that in the midst of the

mutual abuse and exposure a great many truths are uttered, for each of the warring parties asserts that the other is oppressing and terrorizing its citizens, suppressing the truth, etc. As these mutual truths are broadcast through the ether daily, the thoughtful hearer often obtains a by no means bad picture of both the imperialist groups that are fighting for world supremacy. Or take another case: the warring governments speak very reluctantly of their own losses and far more willingly of the losses of the enemy. As a result, the losses of both groups of countries become very rapidly known—although in distorted form.

Thus the mutual war campaign over the radio furnishes a daily demonstration to millions of people of the utter senselessness and criminality of the imperialist war. Powerful as is the influence of the radio in a revolutionary war, in a war among the imperialist powers it proves to be a doubled-edged weapon.

To this must be added that the "ideological" propaganda among the enemy population, which at the beginning of the war was practiced particularly by Britain and France, subsequently abated considerably when the British and French imperialists were obliged to exercise more caution with regard to the "anti-fascist" hue of their war propaganda. For these methods of propaganda also proved to be a dangerous boomerang. In its reactionary war policy, the French Government met with such resistance from its own people that it had to

impose its ostensibly "anti-fascist war" on the working masses by terrorist and repressive measures that became less and less distinguishable from those against which its "anti-fascist" propaganda was supposedly directed. Its attempts to press the traditions of the democratic struggle of the masses for freedom into the service of a reactionary, imperialist war suffered a fiasco. Can one go on writing and talking about concentration camps, dictatorships, suppression of the press, arrests, etc., in the enemy's country when one's own country is setting up concentration camps, filling the prisons with workers, suppressing the most popular newspapers and at the same time appointing arch-reactionaries who have been stubbornly fighting the masses for years to the highest positions of state?

The war propaganda experts in the capitalist countries are endeavoring to overcome the difficulties created for them by the imperialist class policy of their governments by operating supposedly "illegal" broadcasting stations, which pretend to be speaking in the name of a "national opposition," for which nobody is held responsible and which therefore need set no limits to their demagogy.\* In this way the French Cagouards are able to broadcast anti-fascist speeches (in German) and the Germans are able to voice their indignation (in

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\* Outstanding examples are the so-called "Freedom Station" (which makes skillful use of the traditions of the illegal broadcasting station of the German Communist Party), "La voix de la paix," the "New British Broadcasting Station" and "Free Ireland."

French and English) at the persecution of the Communists in France. Even in the foreign language broadcasts of the official stations of the belligerent countries marked differences are to be observed in the arguments and even the news as compared with the broadcasts intended for home consumption.

While at the beginning of the war of 1914 it was possible to create the illusion of a united nation, the imperialists have found this impossible in the present war, and the greatest difficulties were encountered from the outset especially by those governments which thought they could carry on propaganda for a reactionary, imperialist war among the masses—who had become class-conscious and had built up strong organizations in their struggle against reaction, imperialism and capitalist dictatorship—with the help of slogans borrowed from the struggle of these masses and associated in the latter's minds with very definite ideas and a very definite revolutionary policy.

That is one of the reasons why British and French war propaganda could not achieve the advantages it had enjoyed in the first imperialist war, but, on the contrary, proved to be far inferior, and why it awakened profound distrust among the masses. This has been strikingly borne out in parliamentary debates and in numerous newspaper articles criticizing the weakness of the propaganda. During the big debate on the censorship in the French Chamber in February, 1940, "the Information and Propaganda Departments were criticized on all

sides for their inconsistency and inefficacy."\*

On February 29, 1940, *Figaro* demanded that "more meaning and spirit be put into the radio broadcasts on the subject of French policy," and the social-patriot Rivière complained in the *Populaire* on March 4 that the voice of the people who addressed the workers through the press and especially through the radio found "no response in the hearts of the workers," for the speakers appointed by the government "do not know how to talk to the workers." He recommended that the speakers should be selected "from among the working class."

The chiefs of the information and propaganda departments have themselves often complained of the difficulties of carrying on propaganda under the existing circumstances. For example, the French Commissar-General of Propaganda, Gireaudoux, a fashion writer, declared that he first had to convince the public that France had to go to war, and, then, when it seemed to him that this had already been attained, to convince it that there were good reasons why France was not fighting the war.\*\*

Numerous examples from the propaganda of both groups could be cited to show what an unholy confusion reigns and how they bristle with crying contradictions. One day (September 1, 1939), Chamberlain declares in the House that Britain's quarrel is not with the German peo-

\* *Neue Zuercher Zeitung*, February 28, 1940.

\*\* Gireaudoux's complaints go back to the period when no big clashes between the warring groups had yet taken place.

ple, but only with the National-Socialist regime, while a few months later (April 17, 1940), Eden declares that the war is being waged, not against the Nazis, but against Germany. While Attlee (January 5, 1940), announced in a radio broadcast "to the German people" that Germany would be offered an "honorable peace," "A Reader" in the *Daily Herald* (December 2, 1939), wanted to have "no more talk of sappy peace terms." In the early stage of the war especially, it was claimed that the aims of the Allies in the war were to restore Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

The London and Paris broadcasting stations made insistent appeals to the Czech and Austrian peoples to support the British and French Governments in this war, on the grounds that they had been the best friends of these two nations in the past and would be so in the future. In a leaflet\* dropped by English airplanes over Germany it was stated:

"This war is quite unnecessary. German land and German rights are threatened from no side. No one hindered . . . the Anschluss with Austria, and the bloodless incorporation of Sudetenland into the Reich. Neither we nor any other land put obstacles in the way of German expansion. . . . All German aims, so long as they were just, could have been settled in a peaceful manner."

Greater chaos in the propaganda of a belligerent power can scarcely be imagined.

This chaos is not only due to the fact that it is becoming increasingly harder for the propagandists to reconcile the requirements of mass deceit with a ruthless, reactionary and imperialist policy; it is also the consequence of disunity in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. It is no secret that among the leaders of British and French policy there are both active supporters of the war against Germany and open or concealed capitulators.

Henri de Kerellis declared in his paper *Epoque* and in an open session of Parliament (January 15, 1940), that there were quite a number of enemy agents in the Chamber and that they showed a particular interest in the French press. On February 29, Kerillis complained in the Chamber that "a certain section of the press is still accessible to enemy propaganda agents." Incidentally, numerous precedents of this kind may be found in history, and it is by no means surprising when we recall Clausewitz's dictum that "war is a continuation of politics by other means."\* Napoleon made a regular practice of bribing German journalists,\*\* and Bismarck, who spent large sums for the purpose of influencing French public opinion, declared when he had to make a public report of the use of the so-called "reptile fund" for the bribing of the press, that "large sums were swallowed up by our foreign embassies. One can do nothing with a few thousand marks, but

\* Reprinted in the *News Chronicle* of September 6, 1939.

\* Quoted by V. I. Lenin in *War and the Workers*, p. 5.

\*\* Groth, *Die Zeitung*, Vol. II, p. 52.



one can do a lot abroad with some 500,000 or 800,000 marks."\*

During the Franco-German War, a number of German newspapers were again in the pay of Napoleon III and—as official documents show—received from 4,000 to 23,000 francs each from him.\*\* One recalls these words of Kerillis when, in the days when the north of France to the English Channel had been converted into a huge battlefield strewn with hundreds of thousands of corpses, the national criminals could find nothing better to do than to arrest several more thousands of Communists and to condemn twelve of them to death.

While the British and French bourgeoisie sought to lend their propaganda an "anti-fascist" hue, propaganda in Germany received an "anti-capitalist" and even "socialist" stamp. Slogans such as "For German Socialism!" "Down with the Plutocracy!" predominated. Even Marx's and Engels' slogan from *The Communist Manifesto* calling upon the workers of all countries to unite has been pressed into the services of war propaganda. It now runs as follows: "Workers of all countries, unite against the rule of plutocracy!"—the "plutocracy" in the language of German propaganda being England. It should be recalled in this connection that the slogan "War Socialism" of the time of the first imperialist war was also a German invention. At that time it was assiduously used by the traitorous social-patriots, the Social-Democratic

trade union bureaucrats, etc., for the purposes of their war propaganda among the working class.

A certain part of the war propaganda was devoted to influencing the neutral countries with the object of inducing them to join the war. The lying propaganda designed to deceive public opinion was supported by a large section of the "neutral" bourgeoisie and reached its zenith during the Soviet-Finnish conflict provoked by the British and French warmongers. A diabolical concert of lies and slanders was raised with the principal object of driving the Scandinavian countries into a war against the Soviet Union and thus turning the Scandinavian peninsula into a base of operations for the British and French imperialists. The true purpose of the campaign was naturally concealed, but the truth sometimes seeped through in articles and speeches. We find, for example, the following statement in *The Nineteenth Century and After*:

"So far from trying to limit the war, the Allies should try to make it spread. It is in the interest of the Germans to fight on one front only. It is in the interest of the Allies to fight on two, three, or, for that matter, a dozen fronts. . . .

"The question is not whether 'the general cause of the democratic countries' is harmed or not, but whether the Allies . . . are to win the war (whether they and their associates are democratic or not is irrelevant)."

In order to achieve their purpose the propaganda centers of the warmongers fabricated a running string

\* *Ibid.*, p. 204.

\*\* Wuttke, *Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entwicklung der öffentlichen Meinung*.

of "Finnish victories." The typewriter generals destroyed whole divisions of the Red Army in a few minutes and had the Finnish White Guards perform feats of biblical heroism. For instance, a young Finnish White shot down seven Soviet planes in two minutes, and two solitary Finnish skiers surrounded and captured an entire Soviet battalion. The purpose was to persuade the small states that a war against the Red Army would be nothing but a pleasant promenade. George Seldes, United Press correspondent in the first imperialist war, declared in a series of articles in the *New Masses* that in his thirty-one years' experience as a journalist he had never witnessed such a concentrated international campaign of lies in the press and on the air as that launched against the Soviet Union in December, 1939. He confuted a number of the most widespread lies by simply comparing the various newspaper and radio reports and exposed a large number of faked photographs, most of which had been taken during air bombardments in Spain.

A description of the origin of the numerous "eye-witness reports" of newspaper correspondents "from the Finnish front" was given by a thoroughly anti-Soviet correspondent of the *National-Zeitung*, Basle (April 4, 1940), who was in Helsingfors during the war. He related that the whole area of General Headquarters in St. Michel and the entire war zone, which covered over one-sixth of the country, was closed to journalists, and that in the rear, and, still more, abroad, "they

lost all criterion of the forces that contended with each other up there during those one hundred and four days." But the Finnish White Headquarters, far from having any objection to, were very much interested in, the journalists "at the small Headquarters in the Hotel Kämp in Helsingfors, and the host of journalists who gathered in Stockholm around 'Colonel X'—a little Dane by the name of Eskelund—and who had not seen the Finnish Headquarters even from afar" spreading their lying reports all over the world. "Perhaps it may help to bring Sweden to her feet, or make it easier for the Americans to fork out their money," Toivola, the Finnish Minister of Information, is reported to have said to the correspondent of the Basle *National-Zeitung*.

The American Institute of Propaganda has also made an investigation of the propaganda launched in connection with the Finnish-Soviet War and has attempted to establish the sources of some of the lies, in which it has in many cases succeeded. In a special bulletin on the subject, the Institute finds that the propaganda battle against the Soviet Union was won by the Finnish White Guards, with the strong support of their American friends, but that the Red Army won the war.

But did the Finnish White Guards really win the propaganda battle, in which they were nothing but a puppet of the imperialists and generals who were stirring up war against the Soviet Union? Quite the contrary. Facts were, and are, the best and most effective propaganda

for the socialist state, and they had—as could not be otherwise—a far stronger influence than the transparent propaganda lies designed for momentary effect. After peace was concluded in Moscow, the popularity of the Soviet Union and confidence in its peace policy were greatly enhanced all over the world. The American Institute of Propaganda criticized the Soviet Union for not having, like the Finnish White Guards and their masters, carried on any propaganda during the war. To be sure, the Soviet Union rejected and despised what these people are accustomed to call propaganda, but it possessed and possesses a much stronger weapon, namely, the identity of its interests with those of the working masses in all countries and of all peace-loving nations. To bring this home to the working people of all countries is the task which the Communists set themselves in their propaganda against the imperialist war and in support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

And here we touch the Achilles' heel of all imperialist war propaganda: It cannot escape the incontrovertible fact that a war waged by imperialists is detrimental to the interests of the working masses and of their "own" and the "enemy's"

people. However skillfully they manipulate, sooner or later the masses, without whom no war can be waged, will realize their own interests.

At the beginning of November, 1939, the London *Times* published a letter from L. P. Jacks, of Oxford, in which he declared that after a careful analysis of war propaganda, he found it impossible to distinguish between what was said and written by leading statesmen in 1914-18 and what is being said and written by them today.

"It would seem," he writes, "that this literature is about to repeat itself, at least in substance, which naturally awakes the fear that the sequel to the second edition may turn out a repetition of the sequel to the first."

The inexorable course of the war, which is daily imposing untold sufferings and sacrifices on the nations, is reducing to nought the imperialists' unbridled campaign of lies by the force of the facts themselves. Facts are stubborn things. The masses are learning from their own experience and are becoming more convinced every day how right the Communists are in their implacable struggle against the imperialist war and the system that gave rise to it.

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# UNDER THE HEEL OF FRANCO

SPAIN TODAY

BY JESUS HERNANDEZ

**I**TALY'S entry into the war has resulted in a great extension of the present imperialist conflict and the appearance of new theaters of war.

The Spanish people stand in immediate danger of being involved in this war. This is a consequence not only of Spain's geographical situation; it is due largely to the policy of the ruling class of Spain, who during their war against the Spanish people undertook international obligations that tie them hand and foot and will inevitably compel them to hurl the country into the abyss of war.

With this danger looming, what is the position in Franco Spain today?

For over a year now Spain has been under the iron heel of the Phalanx dictatorship. But though Franco's "victory" made him master of the soil of Spain he has not conquered the Spanish people. The heroes of "non-intervention" and the traitors on the *Junta de Defensiva* (Council of Defense), Casado, Besteiro, Miaja, Mera and Co., when they stabbed the Spanish people in the back, threw open for Franco the doors of republican Spain and unconditionally surrendered, without

firing a shot, whole cities and fronts that the armies of the Phalanx and of the foreign invaders could never have captured. But there are still forts holding out and positions that the hangmen could not overpower—the positions of the people, the great people who for three years, beset by difficulties on every hand, put up successful resistance, and who today, despite the terror that sweeps the face of Spain, stand as firm, unbending and full of fighting determination as they did in the battle itself.

Spain is a volcano; it is dormant but far from extinct. The capitalists and land magnates, the military and the princes of the church are doing their best to institute a bloody reign of terror, and Spain is entering upon a new and tragic chapter in her history.

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So far Franco has met with very little success in his efforts to consolidate his regime. The reason is that he has not solved the three major problems facing him: the country's disastrous economic state, the friction among his followers, and the hostility of the masses.

For all their blustering propaganda about "resurrecting the country," the boosters of the *España Imperial* cannot hush up the disastrous position. It is a fact that practically nothing has been done to restore the factories, railway lines, ports, roads, bridges, cars, shipping and rolling stock destroyed or damaged during the war. Between the outbreak of the war and its conclusion, the transport facilities of Spain deteriorated as follows: railways by 40 per cent, motor traffic by 60 per cent and water traffic by 25 per cent. The disorganization of production and economic life generally has entailed a corresponding diminution in the extraction and processing of coal, copper, zinc, lead, potash, mercury and other minerals. The output of these materials, which are in great demand among all the capitalist states in view of the war situation, is still below that of 1935. Coal has been rationed throughout Spain.

The other important Spanish industry is the textile industry of Catalonia, which before the war employed 250,000 workers. The industry is at present in the grip of a frightful crisis, due mainly to the rising cost of raw materials (Spain imports all the cotton it uses). What is more, many of the most powerful mills were disabled as a large part of the machinery was dismantled and transported to other parts of the country to be used for war material production.

Spain's heavy industries, concentrated in the Basque country, are employed mostly for war purposes and accordingly cannot supply in-

dustry and transport with the machinery and rolling stock they require. As Spain is in any case mainly an agrarian country, with rather backward poorly developed industries, employing less than two million workers, the situation is very grave indeed. Spain has always had to import large quantities of machinery and manufactured goods, and some agricultural produce as well, and now the need is particularly acute. According to the official data, the indispensable imports total a value of 1,835,000,000 pesetas. On the other hand, the Spanish gold supply, which in 1936 totaled over 2,000,000,000 pesetas, dwindled down to only about one-twentieth of that sum during the war. The two million pound loan Franco recently secured from England, and the trade agreement that he has signed with England and France, can hardly contribute much to easing Spain's painful position.

We have not dealt with the huge sums needed to restore Spain's devastated cities and villages, nor with the violent inflation Franco has brought on by increasing the amount of paper currency in circulation five times over, which has made the rate of exchange of the peseta in the world market ridiculously low. But even so the facts show that Franco has not cracked his hardest nut, namely, supplying industry with equipment and materials. Nor does the present international situation afford any prospects of improvement of conditions in Spain at an early date.

The outlook in agriculture is equally dismal. Spain is mainly an

agrarian country, and over 60 per cent of its working population are employed on the land. In the old days the proceeds from agricultural exports helped to no little extent to cover the cost of the imports. According to the returns for 1935, when all exports totaled 4,544,000,000 gold pesetas, agricultural products accounted for 3,919,000,000. Today there is a shortage of agricultural produce in Spain. Serrano Suñer, the Minister of the Interior and Chief of the Falanx, when he enumerated the products Spain is short of in one of his speeches, included in this category, besides sugar, wheat, etc., also olive oil and rice.

But some difficulty is experienced in explaining to the masses why a country like Spain, where olive oil used to be one of the leading export articles, should now experience a shortage of this product. The same holds true of rice.

Bread is rationed, the daily ration being half a pound a person. The vegetable ration is from 9 to 10 ounces per person weekly; meat and eggs are issued at irregular intervals in ridiculously small quantities (about a quarter of a pound of meat and one egg per person). These grave difficulties in which the Franco regime finds itself are due not so much to reductions in the area under crops, as Serrano Suñer tried to make out. The Falangists keep quiet about the main reason, which is that in comparison with 1935 the yield has deteriorated enormously. That is the *root cause* why Spain is today having to do without foodstuffs that it had in plenty only

yesterday. It also explains why the harvest was so poor last year.

The underlying reasons for this disastrous plight of agriculture, for the way the country has been plunged into hunger and want, are the following: First, the peasants have been robbed of the land they were granted by the People's Front government. In the area which was republican territory up to the end of the war (without the rest of Spain) this amounted to nearly thirteen and a half million acres. Secondly, the poor peasants receive no credits to purchase stock, seed and fertilizer. And, thirdly, the peasants are compelled to sell their crops to the state at arbitrarily fixed prices, which often enough do not even cover production expenses. The position has also been aggravated by the abolition of social legislation. Last, but not least, comes the fact that hundreds of thousands of peasants were killed in action or butchered, imprisoned or exiled by Franco's followers.

The general effects of all these inhuman and reactionary measures has been to plunge the peasant population into utter want and desperation. In their anxiety to escape the clutches of hunger and destitution, the peasants flee to the towns, ignoring the laws forbidding their admission. New social problems arise in consequence; the ranks of paupers and criminals are swelling and their numbers in Spain have reached huge proportions. Of the peasants who remain, many reduce their sowing areas to the minimum covering their own prime needs. Another logical consequence of the government's

pressure on the peasantry is widespread concealment of crops.

The peasants' resentment and indignation over this state of affairs are so violent that the authorities are constrained to provide them with some sort of outlet. They are attempting to win the support of the peasants by passing a fake law on "resettlement of the land," which promises "allotments of land to several thousand former tenants [all who could not prove their loyalty to the Franco regime were killed, or else evicted and thrown into jail] and new settlers—ex-service-men and soldiers' widows and orphans."

This law of Franco's is intended to drive a wedge between the republican part of Spain and the part he had occupied before the end of the war. This is plain from the clause precluding the application of the law to any peasant who remained to the end on republican territory. But the Spanish peasant, who has seen better days, who was master of the land he had received as his property from the republican People's Front Government, whose rent and taxation arrears were cancelled by that Government and who, under the policy of a Communist Minister of Agriculture, began to get out of his chronic state of "land and seed hunger"—the Spanish peasant will never resign himself to a regime that throws him back to the blackest days of ancient slavery.

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The difficulties that have seized all branches of economic life have naturally served to aggravate the dis-

sension among the various groups making up the only party existing in Spain—the *Falange Tradicionalista de las J.O.N.S.* In a speech he delivered on December 31, 1939, Franco said, alluding to these subterranean rumblings in his party:

"Don't you see the nefarious intrigues intended to sow mistrust inside and outside our movement? Don't you realize that the purpose of these senseless rumors about a military dictatorship or about the restoration of the old regime is none other than to revive the anarchy that spelt the doom of Primo de Rivera's cause?"

When he said this, Franco had in mind the adherents of monarchism, who are actively preparing themselves for the eventual restoration of the monarchy. Their intrigues and machinations are a constant thorn in the side of the Falanx, who are demanding stringent measures for their suppression. The General Secretary of the Falanx, Muño Grande, openly threatened the opponents of the Falanx when he said that "the Falanx would take vigorous steps to keep down those who had in their day proved themselves incapable of commanding and were now proving themselves incapable of obeying."

Muño Grande was removed from his post a few days after delivering this speech, but this did not allay the discord between the two groups; if anything, it served to increase it.

The monarchists and traditionalists, who have a strong following in the services, among the aristocracy and the highest clergy, are also supported by certain groups of indus-

trial and finance capitalists in the Basque country and Catalonia. These monarchist groups are in close contact with the Allies, particularly with England.

Allied pressure has been brought to bear on Franco through various channels ever since it became probable that the Mediterranean would be turned into a scene of operations, even before Italy's entry into the war. The Allies did everything to further the ends of the monarchists, for a monarchist regime in Spain would have the effect of subjecting it completely to British influence. With this end in view the London bankers put pressure on the Spanish industrial and merchant bourgeoisie and on the terrified and ruined petty bourgeois. They made their assistance in saving Spain from the looming economic catastrophe contingent on her shaping her foreign policy to British and French interests, or at least taking up a stand that would preclude the growth of Italian and German influence over Spain.

It is an interesting and symptomatic fact that the efforts of the leaders of the Social-Democrats, the Anarchists, and other groups in the Spanish republican movement today have been employed in the same direction.

Garcia Pradas, an agent-provocateur of the lowest species, who sets himself up as the "theoretician" of Spanish Anarchism, expressed the following view in the Argentine Social-Democratic press:

"I believe that as a result of circumstances that may arise one fine

day, a campaign against Spain may become possible and necessary. If we can launch it ourselves, it will be a Spanish campaign; if not, it could be a French campaign, possibly by way of the Pyrenees, or a British campaign—by way of Portugal."

Prieto, a Social-Democrat, who throughout the Spanish people's heroic fight pursued a policy of defeat and capitulation, also expounds his views on the possible course of events in Spain. In his opinion, the man best suited for leadership at the present time is Julian Besteiro, the leading spirit of the *Junta de Defensiva*, which threw open the gates of Madrid for Franco to enter.

As for the leaders of the republican movement, they are considerably more explicit and unreserved than the "Socialists" and the Anarchists. A conference of former republican ministers held in Mexico with Martinez Barrios presiding issued a statement to the effect that "as soon as the constitutional and parliamentary monarchy was restored in Spain, it would be their duty to form a political opposition." In other words, they are prepared to take their place in the monarchist system that is being hatched under Britain's auspices.

These efforts of the British and French imperialists and their agents inside and outside Spain openly clash with the position of the *Caudillo* and the Phalanx, who cling to the skirts of Mussolini. Although Franco is anxious to keep Spain out of the conflict for the time being, he is speeding up his war preparations.



It is a matter of common knowledge that ever since the end of the national-revolutionary war Mussolini has maintained in Spain an army of a hundred thousand Italians. These are camouflaged as civilian working men, but actually they are former troops of the Italian regular forces which took part in the war. A noteworthy fact is that the present Italian Minister to Spain is the former Commander-in-Chief of the Italian expeditionary force in Spain, General Cambara. That the Balearic Isles are in reality an Italian possession is likewise an open secret.

German influence over Franco and his satellites is as powerful as Italian. The German press and the German wireless stations, which issue seven broadcasts in Spanish every day, are displaying great pertinacity in fostering and propagating the "imperial idea of new Spain."

The meager information that comes out of Franco Spain reveals that a force of half a million men is at present under arms and its distribution over the country's territory speaks for itself. In the first place, a number of divisions have been concentrated near the Pyrenean border, for example, in Pamplona, Barcelona, Lerida, Gerona, Saragossa, Huesca and Burgos—a fact which may not be unconnected with Marshal Pétain's "discovery" that the Pyrenean border is fortified. In the South the divisions are distributed between Algeciras, Seville and Granada, which directly threaten Gibraltar. Two army corps are stationed in Morocco, with headquarters at Ceuta and Melilla. The leading industrial plants

are engaged largely in producing munitions: the Euzkalduna Works manufacture tanks, shells and cartridges; the Echevarria Works, tanks, cannon and ammunition; the Naval Works, shells, machine-guns and other munitions; the Zarroza Works, tanks, rifles and engineering equipment; the Trubia Works in Asturias, the Naval Works in Reinosa and the Sagunto Works in Valencia all manufacture different kinds of armaments. The shipyards too are engaged mainly in building new naval vessels and overhauling existing ones.

The pilots' schools are training 4,000 new airmen. The aviation industry is being rapidly enlarged. Large numbers of military flying fields have been laid out. Besides what it is now producing, the Spanish Government also commands all the armaments accumulated in the country during the war.

No sooner was the war over in Spain than the Franco newspapers launched a violent campaign of imperialist demands. They dragged into the light of day the so-called "Testament of Isabella the Catholic," and curiosities like the following, which we quote from the *Noticario Universal* of April 24, 1939, were to be met with in the Spanish press:

"Spain today is entering into her new position as a natural bulwark of the Western Mediterranean and the Straits of Gibraltar. The powerful seaports of Valencia, Alicante and Cartagena in the East of Spain, with Barcelona in the North, Malaga, Algeciras and Cadiz in the South, Mahon in Minorca and Spain's naval and air bases are

strategically invaluable. . . . Spain is now making ready to play the part history has assigned her."

On the outbreak of the imperialist war this campaign was greatly intensified. Spain laid claim to Gibraltar and Tangier, and shortly after Italy entered the war Tangier was occupied by Spanish troops.

The *Informaciones* of May 29, 1940, wrote that "the moment had arrived to demand the alteration of the political map." It mentioned a number of errors in the political map of Europe, Gibraltar being one of these. The Franco press proclaims with one accord that Spain has never recognized the alienation of Gibraltar and that her determined stand on this issue is a sign of "the regeneration of Spain's political might."

Both of these two groups, in hatching their plans to plunge the Spanish people into war, are playing with fire on top of a barrel of gunpowder. The people of Spain have been taught by their own bloody experience what the difference is between a national-revolutionary war and this second imperialist war. The people of Spain will never forget either the foreign invasion or the policy of "non-intervention" that reduced the country to slavery. The people of Spain fought for three years, arms in hand, for their freedom and independence, for peace throughout the world. If they are dragged into the war, they will know where to direct their heaviest blow, who their main enemies are, and what interests they have really to fight for: for peace

and Spanish independence and against the imperialist war, against Franco and all warmongers inside Spain.

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The ruling classes of Spain fear the people as they fear the plague. They know that although they have overpowered the people they have not subdued them. And so, they shrink from the risky venture of involving themselves in the present imperialist war. They would, as Franco has stated on more than one occasion, prefer to remain neutral. But this anxiety is tempered by a fear of being left out in the cold when it comes to the division of the spoils.

Franco has robbed the people of all their political and social rights; all the material and cultural gains that the Spanish people won in long years of struggle have been abolished. Except for the Phalanx organizations, there is no trace of freedom of assembly or combination. The minimum wage laws and the limitations on working hours have also been given short shrift. The employers, in addition to the right of hiring and dismissing workers at will, have been empowered to penalize and fine their employees. Every applicant for a job has to present a certificate issued by one of the Phalanx organizations testifying to his "loyalty to national Spain" during and since the war. What this means in practice is that a large part of the working population have been left without any chance of getting work. Unemployment benefits have been abolished. The authorities have

not issued any figures on unemployment, but it is a fact that the unemployed problem in Spain has already assumed menacing proportions. On the first anniversary of Franco's "victory," the Governor of Barcelona said in his speech: "The best way we can commemorate this victory is for every employer and manufacturer to take an extra man on his staff." So Franco's authorities go a-begging, while the Madrid papers carry advertisements like the following: "Former members of the Legion at present unemployed should apply for work to the Italian consulate in their place of residence."

In their vicious efforts to crush out the national spirit of the Catalans, the Basques and the Galicians, the Falanx have not only abolished the rights of autonomy granted to Catalonia and the Basque region by the Spanish People's Republic, but are actually banning the national literature and cultural traditions of these peoples and making the use of their native tongues an object of the most rabid persecution. As these measures of Franco's centralized regime, this unchecked policy of insult and oppression, affect nearly a third of the population of Spain, resentment and indignation are very widespread indeed.

Writing on this topic, the *London News Chronicle* of April 5, 1940, said:

"The Franco regime is cancelling one by one the reforms that had been introduced, and two of its actions [its treatment of national and agrarian problems] are so definitely

retrogressive that one cannot easily consider the regime as anything but a temporary one, maintaining itself in office by maintaining its opponents in prison."

These reactionary policies of the Franco regime are bound to increase the resentment and loathing felt for it among the masses. Muño Grande, while still General Secretary of the Falanx, was forced himself to admit it. In his speech at the inaugural meeting of the Madrid Political and Social Research Society he said with some bitterness:

"We must find a way to the hearts of the people and change *their present sense of subjection to the regime* into a feeling of devotion to it." (*A.B.C.*, February 19, 1940.)

How great must be the discontent among the people and their indignation with the Franco regime may be seen from an admission made by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, who said in one of his speeches:

"Under the Reds these people bore hunger in silence; but now they refuse to put up with hunger or even to make the least sacrifice."

The *Correo Catalan* of March 31, 1940, published the following peevish utterance of the Civil Governor of Barcelona:

"I am not trying to win the working masses. That would be absolutely pointless, for it will be quite impossible until enough time has elapsed and new generations are

born finally to eradicate this spirit of hatred."

The representative of the Phalanx in the Madrid Municipal Council, Count Montarco, spoke in the same irritable vein in a press interview when he talked about the "reforms" effected in Madrid: "We must make short work of this place, with its sneers and gibes." (A.B.C., February 19, 1940.)

The noble count, whose splenetic comment gives a sufficient thumbnail sketch to judge of his personality, took good care, however, not to say anything about the profound political meaning, the profound dislike and ridicule of the Franco regime and its chiefs that the people of Madrid put into their sneers and gibes. Here is an example: To honor the memory of their founder, Primo de Rivera who was shot in the early months of the war, the Phalanx had taken to referring to him as "the dear departed." The mocking Madridians now have tacked this appellation onto the homely commodity of bread, in token of its disappearance from their diet. Very often one may find chalked up on the walls the mocking lines: "*Menos Franco y mas pan blanco.*" (Let's have less of Franco and more white bread.)

In an article in his paper on January 3, 1940, the *Times* correspondent spoke of the Spanish people's hostility to the Phalanx butchers. He wrote:

"Reconciliation is so remote in the minds as in the hearts of Spaniards that no attempt has been made to

practice it. The half of Spain that won aspires to put its foot on the neck of the half that lost, and the half that lost is as rebellious at heart as ever."

Opposition to the Franco regime is not limited to the working class and the peasants. It has outgrown these class divisions, spread far and wide and embraced the petty bourgeoisie, which, as is generally known, plays a big part in Spanish economic life. The dissatisfaction of this section of the population finds an outlet in refusal to pay the monstrous taxes that the state imposes on their small workshops and businesses. Every day columns and columns of names are published in the Spanish papers of shopkeepers and small businessmen penalized and imprisoned for non-payment of taxes.

The effect of this policy is to produce a growing number of bitter enemies of the Franco regime. In addition, it encourages a monstrous spread of banditism, which also causes suffering among the working population. As the masses have been put on hunger rations, they are forced to meet their most essential requirements in all kinds of round-about ways, paying fabulous prices for what they need. This gives rise to absolutely unlimited profiteering. The state bleeds the small shopkeepers white, and they in turn do the same to their customers. All over the country, the people are muttering: "This can't last much longer."

The Government and the Phalanx are doing all they can to combat this "silent" enemy, whose presence makes itself felt everywhere, even

though he has no definite organization. In their effort to live down the impression that the Franco regime is a provisional state of things, and at the same time to win over more of the younger generation, they are staging large-scale sports festivals, arranging all kinds of contests and trips, implanting militarist ideas among the young people and putting boys and girls in uniform.

The religious fanaticism that is so deep-seated among certain sections of the Spanish people, particularly in the countryside, is being worked up to the highest possible pitch. The church, with its confessions, sermons and holy processions, has again wormed itself into every part of the country's life. The church is everywhere: in the government machine, of which it is an official part, in the universities, in the government and private schools, in the army and the political organizations; and, naturally, it is not without its connections with commerce and industry. A no less persevering activity is displayed by the leaders and "representatives" of the philanthropic bodies, such as the Auxilio Social (Social Aid), who seek out the homes of the "needy"—mostly the families of prisoners—and distribute small charity gifts. They are all engaged in a persistent and systematic campaign to persuade the people that, as one of the Falanx shibboleths has it, "they must make certain sacrifices today for the sake of the autarchy that will tomorrow relieve Spain of dependence on foreign countries, multiply our wealth and improve the welfare of every Spaniard."

The success of this propaganda and the ceaseless activity of the Falanx, accompanied moreover by a reign of vicious terror against all hostile to the regime, should not be underrated.

The bestial terror of the Franco regime has got its claws deep into the living, mutilated body of the Spanish people. House searches and arrests, mass round-ups and a hue-and-cry after "all individuals who played any part under the former regime" constitute one of the "victors'" chief occupations. In order to single out the Communists, Franco has issued a special law "against all forms of Communist organizations," promising pardon and clemency for all who "denounce Communists or confess belonging to Communist organizations." This law, issued after a year of Franco's rule, is most eloquent proof that today, under these most difficult new conditions, the Communist Party functionaries are still the leaders of the people, true to them and leading their struggle for liberation from Franco's reign of terror.

The Franco press itself gives the best possible information about the activities of the Communists when it carries items like the following:

"The police have arrested forty-one members of the Communist Party and of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, who were engaged in resurrecting the latter. . . . The police believe these to be a section of a widely ramified organization."

The Falanx are so vicious in their hate for their enemies that not

even Catholic priests are spared if they "sympathized" with the republic. In the same article on January 3, 1940, the *Times* wrote:

"Fifty Basque priests still lie in prison. Two of them were recently reprieved from death by General Franco, but the mayors of Tudelia and Eibar were shot."

A well-known Jesuit, Father Perez del Pulgar, who was sentenced to penal servitude, met his death recently in the central penitentiary at Alcala de Henares.

If even priests of the Catholic Church, which is so strong an influence in Franco Spain, are shot on charges of "sympathizing" with the republic or championing autonomy for the Basques, what scruples of conscience or humanity can halt these brutes of the Falanx when it comes to the sons of republican Spain?

Yet, despite this reign of terror, the people of Spain never desist from their fight for the liberation of the prisoners. The lamentations of suffering mothers, the weeping of the numberless orphans, the cries and tears of the prisoners' wives, constantly assault the ears of Spain's butchers.

Franco has been compelled by the growing dissatisfaction among the people to proclaim two amnesties which can only be regarded as extorted concessions. But these amnesties do not affect the main body of prisoners, for one of them applies to prisoners sentenced to terms of up to six years, and the other to prisoners with sentences of up to twelve years; whereas the sentences

of all prisoners of importance who have escaped the death penalty range from twelve to thirty years. In the middle of April, the *Manchester Guardian* wrote that as long as there was in Spain so large a number of people who refuse to recognize the Franco regime, that regime would not be able to record the slightest progress, and that sooner or later Franco would be obliged to proclaim a far-reaching amnesty, such as could alone bring peace to Spain.

The people of Spain, who by their heroic efforts succeeded in saving from death a million of their finest fighters, now languishing in prison, as well as the valiant soldiers of the International Brigades, who are sharing their hard lot in foreign countries, these people of Spain are keeping up their fight against the Franco regime under a reign of the most gruesome terror such as the history of civilized humanity has never known before.

The call for a general amnesty, which the millions of Spaniards in Franco's dungeons have taken up, is today an ardent appeal to all who have still a shred of human conscience or progressive ideas. It is an appeal that cannot and shall not remain unanswered.

Let no one think that Spain's dire economic straits, or the bitter conflicts that shake the foundation of her rulers' power, or the hostility and resistance of the masses in their present form are in themselves enough to bring on the collapse of the Franco regime. Nor should we believe that these factors can effectively prevent the Spanish reac-

tionaries from plunging the country into war, or can fling open the gates of the dungeons and jails. That is not so. Our aim must be to use the situation within the country and abroad to unite the movements of resistance and the struggle of the masses against Franco's reign of terror. Our aim must be to link up this struggle within the country with the struggle outside, and to focus it on the people's definite and most vital interests—interests for the achievement of which it will be pos-

sible to weld all the forces of the people and lead them united into battle. Among these immediate aims there stand out two which chime truest with the aspirations of the Spanish people. These are:

To fight Franco and all who are driving Spain to the shambles of the second imperialist war, to fight for peace and Spain's independence.

To fight for the liberation of the million prisoners, for a general amnesty for all who fought for republican Spain.

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## THE "NEW REGIME" OF WANG CHING-WEI

BY A. KOLAN

**A**FTER the flight of Wang Ching-wei and his faction from Chungking, the Japanese imperialists made repeated announcements about the impending formation of a Central Government headed by Wang Ching-wei.

The first announcement was made in April, 1939, in connection with Wang Ching-wei's visit to North China and his negotiations with the late Marshal Wu Pei-fu. The proposal was made to Marshal Wu Pei-fu at that time to take the initiative in concluding "peace" with Japan, and he was offered the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Minister of War in the "Central Government." But Wu Pei-fu refused to play the part of a Japanese puppet. Soon after he died, mysteriously enough, of "tooth-ache."

How is it that Wu Pei-fu, veteran henchman of the imperialists and wily politician, rejected the high post that was offered him by Wang Ching-wei at the behest of the Japanese imperialists?

Wu Pei-fu, like the former Manchurian satrap Chang Tso-lin, belonged to the category of Chinese militarists who had long oriented themselves on a bloc of the Chinese feudalists with the imperialists. The

only difference between Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin was that the former catered to the Anglo-American imperialists whereas the latter served the Japanese. It would not have been particularly difficult for Wu Pei-fu to switch his services from his Anglo-American masters to the Japanese imperialists if he had been convinced of the efficacy of a bloc between the Japanese imperialists and the feudal and reactionary bourgeois circles of China which he represented.

But the fact is that he had no such confidence.

The rule of the Japanese in occupied Manchuria showed that the Japanese imperialists had no further need of the Chang Tso-lins, since Japan was now fighting not to extend her sphere of influence in China, but to transform China into a Japanese colony. For this reason powerful intermediaries who could lay claim to any measure of military strength or who had any sort of social base in the country were neither desirable nor tolerated by the Japanese imperialists.

This, in all probability, explains the failure with which the Japanese and Wang Ching-wei met in the negotiations with Wu Pei-fu. According to reports in the foreign



press, one of the demands made by Wu Pei-fu was that in the occupied areas of China, Japan should leave no more than 5 per cent of the Japanese troops there at that time and immediately withdraw all other Japanese military forces from China. Further, he demanded that the Japanese assist him in building up and equipping an army of 400,000, which would be under his sole command, and which would be responsible for maintaining "law and order" in China. In short, Wu Pei-fu wanted to bag for himself and his class the greatest possible "independence" and "equality" in relation to the Japanese imperialists. But he did not succeed in this.

Wu Pei-fu understood how utterly fallacious and groundless were the Japanese machinations in connection with Konoe's declaration and Wang Ching-wei's speech. But having turned down the offer to enter the "Central Government," Wu Pei-fu could easily have exposed the new plans of the Japanese imperialists to subjugate China "through the intermediary of the Chinese themselves." Hence the sudden affliction of "toothache" which soon carried Wu Pei-fu to the grave was very much to the advantage of Wang Ching-wei and his masters.

After his attempt to unite the puppet "governments" of Peiping and Nanking and to establish himself at their head had fallen through, and after the failure of his negotiations with prominent representatives of the ruling classes of China, Wang Ching-wei adopted new methods of undermining, and

began to operate behind the mask of the Kuomintang and nationalism.

On August 22, 1939, Wang Ching-wei staged a farce in the New Asia Hotel (the residence of Wang Ching-wei in Hongkew, the Japanese concession in Shanghai), entitled the "*Sixth Extraordinary Congress of the Orthodox Kuomintang*." This burlesque of Wang Ching-wei's was sponsored by General Mabuchi, the chief of the Department of Propaganda and Information of the Japanese Army in China. The handful of Wang Ching-wei followers—twenty or thirty people—seated themselves on a hastily constructed stage and represented the "Congress Presidium," the "Congress" itself consisting of a few dozen ex-government officials, money-lenders, ruined landlords, and a sprinkling of opium-den frequenters and the like who lived on the funds of the Japanese intelligence service.

At this "congress" an "orthodox Kuomintang" was proclaimed, its functionaries were elected and what was of vast importance to the "orthodox Kuomintang," portfolios were distributed among the members of Wang Ching-wei's pseudo-nationalist government. It is amusing to note that this so-called "Sixth Congress of the Orthodox Kuomintang" expelled Chiang Kai-shek and all his supporters, viz., the entire Kuomintang, from the "Kuomintang," and proclaimed Sun Yat-sen's three principles as revised by Wang Ching-wei in the "orthodox" spirit, i.e., in the spirit of China's subjugation to Japan. The "Congress" addressed a "touching" greeting to the

Japanese Army and the Japanese Government, requesting assistance and support for "Wang Ching-wei's mission."

The "fame" of the "Sixth Congress of the Orthodox Kuomintang" had scarcely died down when events of the utmost moment took place in Europe and all over the world.

The imperialist war began in Europe, changing the entire alignment of forces not only in Europe but throughout the globe. In the Far East, at that time, the Red Army dealt a crushing blow at the Japanese aggressors at Nomonkhan.

The Hiranuma Cabinet, with which Wang Ching-wei had concluded a secret agreement for a joint effort against Communism and against Chiang Kai-shek as far back as April, 1939, fell as a result of the events. The fashionable screen of "Anti-Communism," which was so convenient a cover for the Japanese aggressive designs on China and manufactured, as it were, especially for "Wang Ching-wei's mission," could now no longer serve its former purpose.

In order to extricate themselves from their difficult position and to shape a "new course" in their policy, the Japanese imperialists needed a certain measure of time. It must be stated that this "new course" was mapped out in the course of most acute friction between the two main groups of Japanese finance capital: the old established firms (Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo) and the young firms around which the military and court circles aligned themselves. Both groups were of the opinion

that the speediest termination of the war with China was the most imperative task of Japanese imperialism, but they diverged on the question of the ways and means of achieving this.

The old firms asserted that it was necessary to start immediate negotiations with England and the United States concerning a new agreement at the expense of China, so as to force the Chungking Government to capitulate with the help of these powers.

This position is to be explained first by the fact that the old firms and the "moderate" circle of Japanese militarists connected with them hold sway primarily in *North China*. The old firms know that the British, French and American imperialists are prepared not only to concede North China to them, but even to afford them substantial credits for its exploitation in return for a guarantee that the interests of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. would be recognized in Central and South China.

Secondly, the old firms have their puppet government in North China, namely, the Wang Keh-min "Provisional Government," and consider Wang Ching-wei's "Central Government" wholly superfluous, serving only to stimulate the Chungking Government to offer further resistance to Japan. And, finally, the old firms are taking no chances on having the young firms, which support Wang Ching-wei, infringe on their economic interests through him in the occupied area of China, and North China in particular.

The young firms take an entirely

different stand: they are decidedly opposed to any agreement with other imperialists and favor the establishment of the so-called "new order in Eastern Asia."

This position is explained, first, by the fact that the young firms and the extremist Japanese militarists and court circles connected with the former hold sway primarily in *Central China*. They are interested in utterly destroying the economic basis of their competitors—Great Britain, France and the U.S.A.—in China. The "new order in Eastern Asia," which they proclaim, provides for the abolition of the British and French concessions and the abolition of extra-territoriality and the like privileges for all other powers in China, with a view to confirming in China the complete and undivided colonial domination of Japan.

Secondly, the young concerns are counting on extending their tentacles to Chungking with Wang Ching-wei's assistance, and, by splitting the united anti-Japanese national front, laying hold of all China, preserving the appearance of her "territorial integralism" and "administrative independence." Finally, they have hopes of gradually squeezing out the old firms from China, just as the Aikava firm is doing with no little success in recent years in Manchuria.

Thus, a fierce conflict flared up between these two groups of Japanese imperialists on the question of the formation of the Wang Ching-wei "government."

The Abe Cabinet, which replaced the Hiranuma Government, repre-

sented the interests of the old firms. It showed great promptitude in attempting to arrive at an agreement with the Anglo-French and particularly the American imperialists, and evidently did not set itself the task of forming a Wang Ching-wei "government." It was no accident that Wang Keh-min, the puppet of the old firms in North China, chose just that time to carry on a furious campaign against Wang Ching-wei. Not only did he categorically refuse to participate in Wang Ching-wei's "government," but he furthermore issued a special order to the pro-Japanese puppet "Sinminghwei" society, the essence of which was very simply to drive out the representatives of the "Orthodox Kuomintang" from North China.

Wang Ching-wei's position became increasingly difficult. Not only was he unable to depend on the masses of the Chinese population for support, but he could not even count on the wavering elements of the Kuomintang, except for the outright traitors, of course. The Japanese intelligence service and the Japanese militarists tried to create a "mass base" for him, at least in Shanghai, Nanking and the other occupied cities, but even in those places the results were negligible.

At the beginning of September, 1939, General Mabuchi announced through the press that the Japanese Army was taking upon itself the "noble task" of helping Wang Ching-wei form a "national government" and establish an "Orthodox Kuomintang." Entering into the details of this "noble task," General Mabuchi explained that all former

Chinese officials, Kuomintang functionaries, journalists, teachers, merchants and bankers remaining in Shanghai or Nanking had to be won over to the side of Wang Ching-wei by any means.

With this end in view the Japanese intelligence service issued compulsory drafts of the "Orthodox Kuomintang" in all cities occupied by the Japanese and sent them to their intended victims with a note to the effect that direct or indirect refusal to support Wang Ching-wei would bring upon them reprisals on the part of the Japanese police and Wang Ching-wei's gang. In Shanghai and other occupied cities, all sorts of lies were trumped up, similar to the "resolution of the meeting of 25,000 railwaymen," which was concocted by two hired agents of the Japanese intelligence service. Wang Ching-wei's agents began to commit terrorist acts against the supporters of Chiang Kai-shek.

But all these efforts of the Japanese intelligence service merely served to fan the hatred of the Chinese people for Wang Ching-wei. In response to Wang Ching-wei's machinations, the workers, students, artisans and peasants launched a widespread movement for the further mobilization of the national resources of China and increased resistance to Japan. The attempts to form a Wang Ching-wei "government" fell flat, and he had no other recourse but to wait in attendance on Japanese imperialism in the hopes of a more favorable situation.

However, in January of this year Wang Ching-wei's stock rose again. Around this time the British, French

and American imperialists were seeking a rapprochement with Japanese imperialism, playing on the latter's anti-Soviet sentiments. Under certain conditions they were even willing to help Japan in China. The reactionary elements in China intensified their campaign against the Communist Party, the Eighth Army and special districts, striving to provoke a split in the united national anti-Japanese front and thereby to pave the way for the capitulation of China.

In Japan itself, a sharp conflict flared up between the groups in connection with Saito Takao's speech at the 75th session of the Japanese Parliament, which subjected the extremist plans of the Japanese militarists to severe criticism.

The upper hand was gained by the young firms, which succeeded in having Saito Takao expelled from Parliament and from the Minseitō Party. The government placed further restrictions on industry and trade within Japan and increased its control over them. The "new course" with regard to China was hailed.

And at this same session of Parliament, Premier Yonai announced the Japanese government's intention of putting an end to all attempts to interfere with the formation of the Wang Ching-wei "government" and to establish this "government" in the nearest future.

Wang Ching-wei concluded a new secret agreement with the Japanese, according to which he agreed to recognize Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia as Japan's "special zones."

This, of course, was very much to the liking of the Aikava firm and the Kwantung army, which are lording it over Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia. Further, Wang Ching-wei agreed to recognize *de facto* the territorial, political and administrative autonomy of North China, which particularly pleased the old firms of Japanese imperialism. Moreover, Wang Ching-wei obligated himself to hand over to the Japanese capitalists the principal sources of raw material and the large industrial enterprises, which pleased both the young and the old firms of Japanese finance capital.

Finally, he agreed to the Japanese troops remaining stationed in all the most important strategic points until "the complete pacification of China" and to the retention by Japan of the ports and islands of South China, which the Japanese fleet had seized, as naval bases. Thus Wang Ching-wei pleased the army and navy also. This time the Japanese government succeeded without particular difficulty in curbing the unduly zealous General Kito, Wang Keh-min's main boss and instigator, forcing the latter to conclude an agreement with Wang Ching-wei at the conference in Tsingtao in February, 1940. Following on this, the Japanese government hastened to prepare the ground for the recognition of Wang Ching-wei's "government" by the foreign powers. With this end in view, the Japanese government promised to reopen navigation on the Yangtse River and to remove a number of the restrictions on trade

and industry for British, French and American capital.

On his part, Wang Ching-wei began to make emphatic declarations in the press and to foreign newspaper correspondents about his intention of "protecting the interests of third powers in China."

The entire situation inspired the Japanese with confidence in the success of the Wang Ching-wei "government," which they hastened to set up at a so-called conference in Nanking on March 30, 1940.

This time the farce staged by Wang Ching-wei was entitled "the return of the national government to the capital." The "stage" was decorated with Chinese flags and emblems of the Kuomintang and there was a lavish display of fireworks.

The conference of Japanese puppets in Nanking proclaimed the formation of the Wang Ching-wei "government," which included Wang Ching-wei—Acting Provisional President and Chairman of the Legislative Yuan; Chen Kun-po, Minister of Foreign Affairs and General Secretary of the Legislative Chamber; Chon Fo-hai, Minister of Finance, and others.

All these persons have long been known in China for their insuperable weakness for Japanese money and their willingness to perform any service for the Japanese intelligence service for the sake of hard cash.

The following incidents are a vivid illustration of the "selfless" devotion of these people to their Japanese masters. A few days after the formation of the Wang Ching-

wei "government" a certain Japanese officer publicly beat up on a street in Nanking the Minister of Foreign Affairs and General Secretary of the Legislative Yuan of the Wang Ching-wei "national government"—Chen Kun-po. Another Japanese officer slapped the face of Chon Fo-hai, the Minister of Finance of this same "government." In both cases this "highly instructive" method of "inculcating respect" was the result of the fact that the Japanese officers' automobiles were overtaken by the cars of the "Ministers." The Wang Ching-wei Ministers were instilled with still greater respect for the "force of Japanese arms."

Soon after these incidents, Wang Ching-wei's camp began to be deserted by those of his former followers who still retained the slightest degree of human dignity. As far back as January, Kau Chung-wu and Tao Si-shen had deserted and exposed his secret agreement with Japan. Then Ku Ming-yui, Wang Ching-wei's old col-

league, quit him together with a number of other former followers. The hatred of the entire Chinese people for Wang Ching-wei is mounting, although there are still elements in the country who sympathize with and support him.

The events in Europe are rapidly changing the situation in the Pacific. But whatever may happen, it is obvious even now that the "new regime" and the "new national government" of Wang Ching-wei's are the stillborn offsprings of Japanese imperialism and testify not to its strength but to its weakness. This "regime" can exist, after having gathered around itself the venal reactionary scum in China, only so long as it is able to depend on the support of the Japanese bayonets in China.

But when the mighty wave of the Chinese people's struggle for national emancipation hurtles down on the Japanese interventionists, it will sweep away together with the latter the infamous Wang Ching-wei "government."

# THE LIBERATION OF BESSARABIA

By J. HENDRICH

**T**HE Red banner of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics today waves victoriously over Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. Over three and a half million people have been liberated from frightful national and social oppression and have become an integral and creative part of the new and happy socialist life.

The incorporation of these regions into the Soviet Union and their Ukrainian motherland rectifies a grave historical injustice committed against this people and against the Soviet Union.

For Bessarabia is a Ukrainian land; the majority of its people are of the same blood as the Ukrainian nation. According to the census of 1897, 76 per cent of the population of this region were Ukrainians, Moldavians and Russians, 12 per cent Jews and 5 per cent Bulgarians. And Bessarabia was intimately bound up with the rest of Russia before its forcible occupation by Rumania, not only in nationality and culture, but also economically: Moscow supplied it with textile goods, the Donbas with coal and Baku with oil, while Odessa was its ancient and natural "window onto the world," through which its agricultural produce, its famous fruit and tobacco

were dispatched to all parts of the world.

Then came the difficult years of civil war, when the people of Russia, led by the working class and the glorious party of Lenin and Stalin, threw off their chains, in order, after the defeat of tsardom—that gendarme of reactionary Europe and jailor of nations—and after the defeat of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, to turn Russia, by a mighty effort, into the politically most progressive country in the world. But the forces of the old society—the White Guard counter-revolutionary armies, the armies of intervention and the navies of the British and French imperialists—swooped down like vultures on the Soviet people. Taking advantage of the difficulties and embarrassments of the Soviet people, the Rumanian boyars eagerly joined the counter-revolutionary crusade and occupied Bessarabia. But even Rumanian diplomacy could find no "moral excuse" for this act of violence. As a result of the negotiations between the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic and Rumania, which lasted from March 5 to 9, 1918, an agreement was finally drawn up and signed by Avarescu, the Rumanian Foreign

Minister, in which it was stated that "Rumania undertakes to evacuate Bessarabia within two months."

The "boyar's word" was given, but not kept; Bessarabia was not evacuated and its laboring population remained under the solicitous patronage of the Rumanian *Siguranza*\* Bessarabia was one of those many unhappy countries in which the imperialists had long ago professed particular interest. Even during the first imperialist war the British and French imperialists, striving to draw Rumania into the vortex of war, promised the Rumanian bourgeoisie everything in creation, including even Bessarabia, notwithstanding the fact that tsarist Russia was their ally. And when the tsarist throne was overthrown and the red flag waved over Russia, held aloft by the firm hands of the workers, the interest of the British and French imperialists in Bessarabia grew immensely, and they hastened to recognize Rumania's occupation of that region as lawful and just. For the occupation of Bessarabia by the Rumanian boyars was an integral part of the counter-revolutionary intervention organized by London and Paris.

The "patriotic" Russian bourgeoisie likewise played their part in the enslavement of Bessarabia by foreign conquerors. Deprived of their privileges and driven from their snug posts the Russian bourgeoisie shamefully betrayed the interests of their nation just as the bourgeois classes all over the world

do when their class interests are menaced.

And so the Bessarabian people were forcibly subjugated with the help of the imperialist Entente and the Russian White Guards. Naturally, the wishes of the Bessarabian people themselves were never consulted. The notorious Bessarabian *Sfatul Cerija* (Regional Council) was an instrument of the usurpers; it has never been elected by the people and did not give a fig for the opinion of the people. And even so, only 38 of its 162 members cast their votes in support of the "Act of Incorporation of Bessarabia into Rumania."

With the occupation of Bessarabia, frightful burdens were imposed upon its people, who were subjected to shameless national and social oppression. The Rumanian boyars set up their landlord government in the occupied region, exercised through the notorious *Siguranza*. The land, which the Revolution had turned over to the laboring peasants, was now taken away from the latter and handed over to the big landlords and to rich peasants imported from old Rumania and settled in Bessarabia with the help of the government to form a "reliable basis" for the regime of occupation. Bessarabian industry was considerably lessened and the working class reduced to beggary in the literal sense of the word. The population of the towns steadily diminished. Even in Kishenev, which had remained an important administrative center and to which came many members of the Rumanian state apparatus of oppression, the size of the population

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\* Political police.—Ed.



was reduced by one-third. This fertile and sunny land was converted into a veritable hell for the working people. Even *Romania*, the Rumanian official newspaper, described the poverty and want in the Bessarabian countryside in the following words:

“Owing to the poverty-stricken condition of the Bessarabian peasants, of 94,699 children born in one year, 59,131 died in infancy. Medical statistics for 1937 record 37,334 cases of tuberculosis, 17,451 cases of trachoma and 90,000 cases of malaria. Owing to want and inadequate hygienic measures, infectious diseases spread very rapidly.”

Under these circumstances, the cultural state of the Bessarabian people will be easily imagined. The Rumanian boyars showed no concern for the cultural requirements of the working people; on the contrary, they were afraid of any advance in the national Ukrainian culture; they suppressed Ukrainian culture and closed down the Ukrainian schools. And so, at a time when the free Ukrainian people in the Soviet regions was astonishing the world by the constructive development of their new culture, national in form and socialist in content, 80 per cent of the population of Bessarabia were illiterate.

The Bessarabian people suffered intolerably; but the Bessarabian people also fought heroically. The happy lot of their free brothers beyond the Dniester who, now that the difficulties of the Civil War had been overcome, were building a new, socialist order of society, was a model and inspiration to the Bessarabian people in their difficult

struggle. The revolutionary tension in the unhappy Bessarabian land gave rise to open outbreaks of revolt. The year 1919 witnessed a powerful uprising in Hotin and the year 1934 an uprising in Tatarbuniar. Local revolts and risings of the oppressed peasantry became the order of the day. According to official statistics, from the date of occupation to 1924 there were a total of 153 uprisings, large and small. The *Siguranza* raged in all its fury, and blood flowed like water. According to statistics of the Rumanian Ministry of Home Affairs, over 30,000 were killed “during rioting” in the first ten years of the occupation; actually, however, the number of these Bessarabian martyrs was much higher.

Thus lived and died the working people of the beautiful, rich and fertile land which had every natural opportunity of endowing its children with happiness and prosperity.

The ruling circles of the “democratic West” were well aware of these frightful conditions, but they preferred to keep silent, for the severance of Bessarabia held an important part in their schemes against the Soviet Union. In this sense, the bloodstained Rumanian *Siguranza* protected not only the rule of the Rumanian boyars and the kulak settlers, but also one of the positions of the Western imperialists directed against the Soviet Union.

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No better off or freer lived the working folk of Bukovina.

The whole northern part of Bukovina is inhabited by a Ukrainian

population who are allied in language, culture and history to the great Ukrainian people. Under the rule of Austria-Hungary, these people were subjected to severe social and national oppression; the Austrian regime zealously stifled the national Ukrainian culture and even attempted artificially to foster a so-called "Ruthenian nationality" in order to sever all bonds between the inhabitants of this region and neighboring Ukraina.

When Austria-Hungary collapsed under the blows of military defeat, and especially under the blows of its own people, and when the great liberating slogan of the October Revolution swept through Europe and roused the working class and whole nations, the Ukrainian inhabitants of Bukovina also raised their heads. On October 3, 1918, a national meeting of the working people took place in Czernowitz which amidst indescribable enthusiasm resolved on incorporation with the Soviet Ukraine. But the imperialists, flouting the right of self-determination, retaliated by occupying Bukovina. Several days after the historic national meeting, Rumanian troops entered Czernowitz, and the whole of Bukovina, in spite of the expressed will of the people, was incorporated into Rumania. The British and French imperialists, who were at that time engaged in revising the map of Europe, naturally approved of this act of violence, which they had themselves instigated, and the Conference of Sevres (August 1920) "legalized" this piratical act against a whole people. The occupation of Bukovina by the

Rumanian boyars meant another important position won for the schemes against the Soviet Union. A broad bridge was formed between Poland and Rumania offering the Polish gentry and the Rumanian boyars a more convenient base for the war against Soviet Russia which was then being planned by the Entente imperialists.

With the Rumanian occupation, the life of the Ukrainian people became harder than it had ever been under Austrian rule—and that is saying a lot. In 1921, the Rumanian authorities instituted a "land reform," the effect of which was to drive the Ukrainian peasants from their wretched little fields and to turn over the land to "deserving" Rumanian police and to "reliable elements" who had settled in these regions. The Ukrainian schools, wretched as they were, were subjected to even severer repression, the Ukrainian peasant cooperatives were dissolved and all liberties ruthlessly abolished.

Poverty and hunger, revolutionary ferment and peasant revolts, jails and executions—such was the life of the working people in this beautiful and fertile region.

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Such was the life and such was the rule in Bessarabia and Bukovina for twenty-two long years.

But in these twenty-two years the world has changed. And to the great fortune of working humanity, it had changed in a different way, in quite a different way from what the Rumanian boyars and their British and French masters had expected.

Today the Soviet Union is no longer bound hand and foot; it has now developed into a powerful socialist state whose rights have to be respected. In the note which V. M. Molotov handed in the name of the Soviet Government to the Rumanian Ambassador in Moscow on June 26, 1940, this change was clearly emphasized. After referring to the injustice of the seizure of Bessarabia—which the Soviet Government had never recognized—the note went on to say:

“Now that the military weakness of the U.S.S.R. is a thing of the past, and the international situation that has arisen demands the urgent regulation of unsettled questions inherited from the past in order at last to lay a secure foundation of peace between the countries, the Soviet Union deems it necessary and timely, in the interests of the restoration of justice, to proceed immediately in conjunction with Rumania to settle the question of the return of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union.”

As regards Northern Bukovina, the note stated:

“The Government of the U.S.S.R. considers that the question of the return of Bessarabia is organically connected with the question of the transfer to the Soviet Union of that part of Bukovina, the overwhelming majority of whose population are bound to the Soviet Ukraine both by common historical destiny and by common language and national composition. This act would be all the more just for the fact that the transfer of the northern part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union might constitute some compensation—although in a very small degree, to

be sure—for the tremendous injury suffered by the Soviet Union and the population of Bessarabia during the twenty-two years of Rumanian rule in Bessarabia.”

The Rumanian Government did well to accept the proposals of the Soviet Government. Bessarabia was liberated and one of the most crying injustices of modern times was repaired in a peaceful way, without war, thanks to the power and strength of the Soviet Union.

We need not expatiate on the benefits accruing to the working population of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by the incorporation of these regions into the Soviet Union. In one day, the whole life of the workers and peasants of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina underwent a dizzying change: only yesterday they were still slaves of foreign masters, oppressed nationally and socially; today they are free members of a free nation and proud collaborators in the building of a new and happy socialist future. Only yesterday the Rumanian big landlords exercised their absolute sway in the countryside; today the land has once more become the property of the poor Bessarabian peasants, who twenty-two years ago had been driven from their holdings. The Soviet tanks, crossing the Dneister in long columns, were everywhere greeted with jubilation and showered with flowers. Everywhere, peasants rushed to meet them, themselves removing the obstacles which the Rumanian army had left in their retreat. In every village, spontaneous meetings were held around every Soviet tank and

automobile, at which the peasants joyfully greeted the Red Army with offerings of bread and salt—the traditional symbol of welcome.

"We have been waiting for you for twenty-two years," said the peasants, "and at last you have come! Many, many thanks!" Women and children, their eyes filled with tears, told the story of their former misery and time and again begged the Red Army men for assurances that they would never leave, would not abandon them any more.

The working population of Kishenev experienced the happiest and most exciting time in its history. As the mighty Soviet planes circled over the town, huge crowds hurried to the airdrome to welcome the Red airmen. Everybody wanted to press the hands of the liberators, everybody wanted to tell them of their former hard lot and to express their joy and gratitude. The entry of the motorized units of the Red Army into Kishenev was the signal for a popular celebration, accompanied by exultant processions and countless spontaneous meetings.

The demonstrations of joy and enthusiasm were no less jubilant in Czernowitz. Here many Rumanian soldiers mingled with the enthusiastic crowds. They gleefully related how, on learning of the cession of Bessarabia, they had hastily left their units and hid themselves in the city to await the arrival of the Red troops. The Rumanian boyars, the capitalists and the whole gang of oppressors and exploiters of the people, just as hastily packed their trunks to leave with the retreating gendarmes.

But the former Bessarabians who lived scattered over Rumania decided to return home immediately. In the city of Galatz, where over 2,000 Bessarabian workers had gathered at the railway station to return to their now liberated country, the agents of the *Siguranza*, without any reason or excuse whatever, and solely as a last act of provocation, opened fired on the crowd, leaving over a hundred dead on the spot. . . .

Whereas everywhere, the advance of imperialist armies is accompanied by destruction and despair, the arrival of the Red Army was the signal for a popular holiday, a day of freedom and celebration of a new and happy life.

This new great act of the Soviet Union is of importance not only to the people of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, but to the international working class and all laboring humanity. Thanks to its power and strength, the U.S.S.R. broke the yoke of the Polish gentry and insured a new life for the peoples of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia; and the cultural and economic progress which these regions are now experiencing is indicative of the value and importance of this act of liberation. Thanks to its power and strength, the U.S.S.R. has insured peace and security to the Baltic nations; it has saved these peoples from the clutches of war and from becoming objects of imperialist barter and has thwarted the schemes of the reactionaries which menaced the peace of these countries. Thanks to its power and strength, the U.S.S.R. has

now brought freedom to the Ukrainian population of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and has thus removed another obstacle to the peaceful co-existence of the nations. These acts have served all over the world to strengthen the self-confidence of the working people, who are now passing through the most frightful hell mankind has ever known, and who find in the Soviet Union and its policy of peace and liberation the most reliable support in their struggle for peace and freedom.

Secondly, the Soviet Union is resolutely destroying all the "strategical outposts" erected against it by the imperialists. The Entente imperialists, who after the first imperialist war revised the map of Europe and established a "new order" on the continent, did not forget to establish at various important strategical points bases for an attack on the Soviet Union which they so detested and which had escaped from the sphere of imperialist influence. That is why the Polish gentry and the Rumanian boyars were endowed so generously, the purpose of the gifts being to obligate them to perform a special mission; that is also why the imperialists showed such a particu-

lar interest in the Baltic states, counting on the readiness of the reactionary circles in these countries to launch into any adventurous gamble, heedless of the interests of their own people. These "strategical zones" around the Soviet state have now been destroyed once and for all. The rule of the Polish gentry is now a thing of the past; over Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina waves the Red banner of Soviet rule, while peace on the coasts of the Baltic is guaranteed not only by the Red Army, but also by the will of the masses, which has found clear expression now that they have been released from the pressure of the reactionary dictatorship that weighed on them for so many years. And, lastly, the acts of liberation of the Soviet Government serve to strengthen the security of the socialist Soviet country and to further enhance the outstanding role which the Soviet Union is today playing in the international arena. Today, every working man, wherever he may live, realizes the significance of this international role of the U.S.S.R. in his struggle against the senseless horrors of imperialist war, in his struggle against oppression and want, in his struggle for peace and freedom.

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# SATURNINO BARNETO ATIENSA

IN MEMORIAM

BY JESUS HERNANDEZ

**T**HE Spanish people have lost a true son and ardent revolutionary in Saturnino Barneto Atienza, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, who passed away after a serious illness on June 10, 1940.

Saturnino Barneto was born in Merida (Province of Badajoz) in 1896. A working man's son, he soon came to know hardship and want. When only nine he was forced to leave school and earn his living and from then on his whole childhood and youth were spent in painful toil. An eager reader, Barneto lost sleep and rest, devouring whatever fell into his hands—books, pamphlets, newspapers. Whatever hardship he had to endure, he never abandoned study. He resolved—with the determination that was ever among his strongest traits—on acquiring knowledge.

At the age of sixteen Barneto joined the Anarcho-Syndicalist organization and soon proved himself an agitator and organizer of no mean caliber.

Barneto's whole life was a self-abnegating struggle against the oppressors of the Spanish people, a

single tale of persecution, imprisonment and banishment. Between 1919 and 1930 Barneto was arrested seven times and spent many long months in prison. He was banished three times, but each time he effected his escape.

Up to the time when he entered the Communist Party, Barneto was active in the syndicalist movement, organizing strikes and conducting anti-militarist propaganda.

In 1927-28 Barneto's political views underwent a radical change. His practical experiences of work among the masses and contact with the views of Communism convinced him of the futility and danger of Anarcho-Syndicalism in theory and practice. With his accustomed intensity, Comrade Barneto set out to study the classical works of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Russian revolution. A whole new world opened before him, a realm of new principles and ideas. For the first time he became acquainted with the proletarian party's methods of struggle. Convinced of the correctness of these methods, he ranged himself under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

On Comrade José Díaz' recommendation, Comrade Barneto in 1928 became a member of the Communist Party of Spain. Up to the time of the fascist insurrection on July 18, 1936, he worked in the trade union movement.

In Seville, where he worked most of the time, he organized several large strikes, and he was a popular and greatly respected figure among the workers.

In 1932, at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, Comrade Barneto was elected to the Party's Central Committee, and retained this position until his death.

Comrade Barneto was an active figure in the resistance to the fascist insurrection and foreign intervention. At the outbreak of the insurrection he was still in Seville, and there organized the workers to resist the insurgents. Dogged by the fascists, with their sleuths at his heels, he was compelled to leave Seville for Madrid. Cheated of their prey, Franco's bloodhounds vented their spite on Barneto's mother, who was shot after the most inhuman tortures. His wife and two children too

were victimized in revenge, tortured and thrown into jail.

Comrade Barneto's health had already been undermined by constant imprisonment, exile and want; and the fierce struggle against the mortal enemies of the Spanish people finally wrecked it. But even so he would not desist from the fight; seriously ill, tortured by pain and suffering, he remained at the post that the Party had assigned him.

Whatever work the Party saw fit to make Comrade Barneto's charge, he gave it all his energies and efforts, ever displaying a true proletarian revolutionary's courage, selfless devotion and resolve.

In Saturnino Barneto the working class of Spain has lost one of its finest sons, one whose devotion to the cause of the Spanish people's liberation, to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin, was absolute and unbounded.

The radiant image of this proletarian revolutionary will ever live on in the hearts of the people of Spain, firing them with the will to fight with still greater determination and endurance for their liberation.

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## DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

**A** *DECLARATION of the Communist Party of France, distributed in the country, reads:*

The French people are experiencing tragic days. Tremendous calamities, which the Communist Party sought to avert, have befallen them, A foreign army has burst into France. The French imperialists, having unleashed the war, having brought the people to catastrophe, and having brought millions of workers and peasants to their doom on the fields of battle, are preparing to capitulate, behind the backs of the people. France is faced with the danger of disappearing as a nation, as an independent state.

We see before us the bankruptcy of the French bourgeoisie, its regime, its corrupt politicians, its incompetent generals. It is utter bankruptcy. It is the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie which provided food for the chauvinistic revenge propaganda of German reaction and facilitated its advent to power.

It is the bankruptcy of the Livals, Flandins, Daladiers, Bonnets and Blums who, against the interests of the French people, and to the detriment of the cause of peace, gave all possible support to the machinations of world reaction. It was the Livals, who signed the Rome Agreements, which gave Italy a free hand to conquer Ethiopia and prepared the

present onslaught of Italian fascism on France. It was the Flandins who strengthened German imperialism, by allowing it to remilitarize the left bank of the Rhine. It was the Blums who, by their criminal policy of so-called non-intervention, brought danger to the Pyrenean frontiers and cleared the way for the conquerors. It was Daladier and his Ministers who handed over to Germany, together with Czechoslovakia, the armaments of its forty divisions, including 1,600 airplanes and 500 tanks, which are now being used to slaughter French soldiers. It was creatures of the stock exchange, such as Bonnet, who systematically sabotaged the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact. All these scoundrels are directly and immediately responsible for the imperialist war. It was they who hurled our people into this criminal carnage.

It is the bankruptcy of the Radical and Socialist politicians, the reactionary top leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, who betrayed the working people, smashed the People's Front, which hindered the outbreak of the imperialist war, betrayed the program of the People's Front, let loose the forces of reaction and caused the present war.

It is the bankruptcy of the Socialist Party and its vile leaders, who stand forth as the ringleaders



of the imperialist war, and who did everything possible to confuse the workers and bring to nothing their struggle for the cause of peace which corresponds to the interests of the people. They it is who, by their foul slander of the Soviet people, its socialist regime and its workers' and peasants' government, did more than anybody else—despite the feelings of the French people—to bring about the alienation of our country from the Soviet Union, and facilitated the isolation of France.

Would France have fallen into its present tragic position if the French Government had pursued a loyal and honest policy towards the great Soviet people, if it had accepted the Soviet proposals, which were aimed at the maintenance of peace and the organization of collective security, instead of systematically rejecting them?

It is the bankruptcy of the incompetent generals with their out-of-date ideas about war, who ignored the achievements of modern military technique, the possibilities provided by it and the inevitable changes in the conduct of military operations. It is the bankruptcy of the General Staff which obstinately sought to prove, despite common sense, that the present war would only be a positional one. With Daladier, who for eight years was Minister of War, directly responsible, the General Staff threw away billions of francs on the construction of the Maginot Line, thereby dooming France to passive defense. It ignored the significance of the two most important types of arms of modern war, war of maneuver,

namely, the tank and the airplane.

The French bourgeoisie and their General Staff had eight months, quite long enough, in which to make up for lost time and to organize the real defense of the country. But they were neither able nor willing to use this time to speed up the production of tanks and aircraft. They did not even build fortifications. They did not extend the Maginot Line to Dunkirk, although it was easy to foresee that the German offensive would be undertaken via Holland and Belgium. During these eight months the French bourgeoisie did not undertake a single military operation against Germany on whom it had declared war. It had its hands full in organizing an insidious blow against the Soviet Union, which was not at war with France. With this end in view it incited and armed the Finnish White-Guards, and dispatched an expeditionary corps to Syria, in preparation for an attack on Baku and the Soviet Black Sea Coast.

During these eight months the imperialist bourgeoisie of France, their actions governed by their narrow class interests, did not concern itself at all with the defense of France itself, and the organization of the protection of the northern frontiers of France and Paris. All it thought about was how best to maintain and consolidate its domination over the colonies. During these eight months the bourgeoisie waged war not against the German army, but against the working class of its own country, throwing thousands of advanced workers, thousands of the best sons of the people into jails and

concentration camps. It disorganized war production by driving the most highly skilled workers out of the munition plants for the mere fact that they were Communists or Communist Party sympathizers. The bourgeoisie subjected the most steadfast and honest defenders of the people to fierce persecution, while it handed out the highest posts in the army and in the state machine to those agents of German imperialism, the Cagouards. The bourgeoisie, by pursuing its line of suppressing and wiping out the most active section of the nation, the Communists, the foremost fighters among the working people, undermined the morale of the people and the army, weakened the defense of France, and doomed it to military defeats. While Germany made systematic and painstaking preparations for its big offensive, Daladier and Blum were occupied in hunting down the Communists, and were secretly working to hand over the workers of Northern France and Paris, the most revolutionary, the most advanced and most militant section of the working class, to be overrun and plundered by foreign military forces.

In order to save France from catastrophe, it would be necessary urgently to adopt extremely bold, heroic measures of a political, social, economic, military and organizational character, measures which would mobilize all the wealth, all the resources and all the means of the country for the defense of the people, measures that would let loose the initiative of the masses of the people. It would be necessary, first

of all, to put a stop to the policy of repression against the masses of the people, the policy of hunting down the Communists, and to restore democratic rights and liberties.

At the same time it would be necessary immediately to remove the Cagouards from responsible posts, to deal ruthlessly with traitors, saboteurs, speculators and all "fifth column" hirelings.

However, the bourgeoisie and the government continue to pursue measures of an opposite character. Our people are today paying for the crimes of their capitalist masters, for the treachery of their bourgeois and "Socialist" rulers, are paying with their suffering and their blood. With them, shedding their blood, are over a million Communists and Communist sympathizers at present in the army.

And we Communists say to the people:

The bourgeoisie has brought our country to the brink of destruction. Today, when German imperialism is putting into practice its plan of enslaving France, all that the French bourgeoisie is concerned with is to save its privileges, its capital, its class domination. It is ready to sacrifice the independence of our country, to sacrifice the vital interests of our people. It is ready to come to terms with the conqueror, to use German bayonets behind which to seek shelter from the reckoning which the indignant people are preparing for it. The bourgeoisie and their "Socialists" are a real curse to the people. Their regime is one

of organized treachery towards our nation.

We Communists of France have always fought against capitalist exploitation, against political oppression by the bourgeoisie, against the exploitation and oppression of the colonial peoples. We have always fought against the robber imperialist policy of the French bourgeoisie towards other peoples, and particularly towards the German people. With all the greater right, justification and strength will we fight against the enslavement of our people by foreign imperialists. The working class, the people of France

will never be reconciled to foreign enslavement.

As ever, under all conditions, so in the present days of severe trials, horror and boundless calamities, we Communists have been and remain with our people. Their fate is our fate. We profoundly believe in the strength and the future of our people, in the future of France. Our people will not perish. Their will and their freedom-loving spirit are not to be shattered by the dark forces of traitors, exploiters, plunderers and conquerors!

*June, 1940.*

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## MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN\*

**A** MANIFESTO of the Communist Party of Great Britain declares among other things the following:

Now that the full horror of mechanized warfare is to be unloosed against the people of Britain, with all its danger to life and limb, to innocent women and children, to the democratic organizations of the working class movement, there is growing recognition of the situation ahead. But it can be faced. The workers can defeat all enemies within and without if, in the first place, the organized workers get together and act now in defense of democracy, liberties, lives and homes. Only the organized working class can lead and save the people. A new government must come to power now, a government really representative of the working class, a people's government in which there is not a representative of imperialism or a friend of fascism, a government which shall be capable of organizing the defense of the people and in the unity of the working people of all countries find a way to peace that is not a peace of subjection. The Communist Party calls on all workers in the factories, trade unions, local Labor Parties, Cooperative Guilds to get together

and develop a movement which will secure the formation of such a government. . . . We of the Communist Party, who have consistently fought for the real defense and interests of the people, who have consistently given warnings of the outcome now reached, put forward now the most urgent measures which need immediately to be carried through:

1. Clear out all supporters of fascism, the men of Munich, from commanding positions.

2. Conscript wealth and nationalize the key industries, banks, transport, mines. Establish equal distribution of food supply.

3. Secure the election of workers' control committees in the factories to safeguard workers' conditions and end waste and profiteering.

4. Arm the workers in the factories.

5. Provide increased pay for men in the armed forces; give adequate allowances and pensions to their dependents. Break down the class system of the appointment of officers.

6. Provide more adequate air-raid precautions and evacuation schemes.

7. Withdraw all regulations that take away the right of free speech, press, meeting and organization of the working class movement.

8. Cancel the partition of Ireland; give full freedom to the Indian peo-

\* This and the following document appeared in the *Daily Worker*, London, June 24, 1940.

ple and all peoples of the British Empire.

9. Build up unity and close friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the working people of all countries.

\* \* \*

*A message to the French people sent by the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Communist Party of France, states among other things the following:*

In this hour of terrible suffering and disaster of the workers and peasants of France the Communist Party of Great Britain expresses deepest sympathy and sends warmest fraternal greetings to the working people of France. The magnificent courage and heroism of the French workers in their struggle against fascism have been betrayed by the Two Hundred Families who for years plotted with foreign fascism against the interests of the French people. At their bidding Daladier and Blum destroyed the People's Front through which the most powerful forces had been mobilized for struggle against fascism. At their bidding republican Spain and Czechoslovakia were betrayed; at their bidding this war was begun—and step by step the armies of

France were betrayed. Now France lies desolate with the fascist invader overrunning her fairest provinces, capital and great industrial region. A military dictatorship oppresses the French people. The treachery of the Government's politicians has been completed by capitulation.

But the working people of France and their Communist Party have not capitulated. In conditions of the greatest difficulty and hardship they carry forward the glorious traditions of the French people. The flame of revolutionary France burns steadily. We assure the working people of France of our solidarity and action in the coming struggle against those who have betrayed France and those who have conquered France through that betrayal. We recognize the heavy responsibility of the British Government, the Fifth Column and the Munich-men for the present position of France and for the sufferings of the people. We fight side by side with you against the common enemies, inspired by the knowledge that the workers and peasants of France, led by the Communist Party, will find the way to achieving the unity of the French people and victory in the struggle for an independent, free and happy France.

## LEAFLET OF THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS

**T**HE following are excerpts from a leaflet circulated in Germany by the Communists:\*

. . . In common with the French and British Communists, the Communists of Germany have from the very outset fought against the present imperialist war and for peace. From the very start, the Communists took their stand against extending this unjust war, against involving neutral countries in it, and against the rape of small nations. The responsibility and blame for this unparalleled bloodshed and mass slaughter, for all the ghastly devastation rest on the big capitalist warmongers of both camps.

The German Communists are fighting against the imperialist aims of their "own" capitalists and exploiters, just as the British and French Communists are waging a struggle against their "own" capitalists and exploiters. From the very outset the Communists pursued an independent policy, guided solely by the interests of the working people and having an unyielding faith in the peace policy of the Soviet Union which alone stands out as a force making for peace amidst the present imperialist chaos.

German imperialism does not speak on behalf of the millions of German working people, when,

under the plea of *Lebensraum* it seeks to establish its control over the nations of Europe and the colonies. It is deceiving the working folk when it maintains that Germany's victory is allegedly a precondition for a radical improvement in the position of the German workers and working people in general. For many years it has used this as a pretext for systematically imposing fresh burdens and new privations on the German people. In actual fact every success in foreign policy scored by the present regime in Germany only serves to intensify the oppression and exploitation of the masses, and enhances the power of big capital, the Krupps and their ilk. Before, they maintained that it was a matter of securing equal rights for Germany, but gradually the avid capitalist rulers began to increase their imperialist demands more and more. The German working class and millions of working folk in town and country have suffered all too much from the inhuman conditions forced upon them by the imperialist "peace" treaty of Versailles to strive for the enslavement of other nations.

The victorious peace which the German imperialists wish to thrust upon the peoples of Europe at the price of the lives of millions of German soldiers in no way corresponds to the interests of the Ger-

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\* Printed in the *Ny Dag* (Stockholm) of June 6, 1940.

man working class and working people in general. Hence, it does not correspond to the real national interests of the German people. Such a peace would only be in accord with the interests of Germany's big capitalists who would thereby strengthen their rule over the laboring people of Germany, would prolong the oppression of the people and would enslave even more foreign nations for the sake of their own profits.

We German Communists are fighting for the immediate cessation of this imperialist robber war which only imposes new gruesome sacrifices on the peoples, in particular the German people, and brings them new suffering, famine and untold hardships. Every day that this carnage continues brings only distress and plight to the working folk, leads to the ruination of economic life and to the unprecedented enslavement of the peoples by the hyenas of finance capital of both belligerent camps. It is already clear that instead of the promised improvement in the conditions of the working people, the ruling class is thrusting the entire burden of the war and of the tremendous devastation caused by it upon the people.

The German Communists express their wholehearted sympathy for the victims of imperialist violence in Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg as well as for the enslaved Czech, Polish and Austrian peoples. The German Communists feel themselves bound with the working class of these countries by bonds of solidarity and

struggle. The German Communists appeal to the German workers and peasants clad in soldiers' uniforms not to allow themselves to be used for the enslavement, terror and plunder of their fellow workers in regions occupied by the German armies. The German proletarians feel themselves at one with the workers and peasants of France, who are now bearing the brunt of the horrors of war. They feel their solidarity with their brothers in England and France in the latter's struggle against the imperialists of their own countries. . . .

The present imperialist war has brought out sharper than ever before the contrast between the interests and aims of the German working class and those of German big capital. The workers and peasants see the capitalists wax rich on the war and rake in millions in war profits, while unbearable burdens are imposed on the masses of the people, while rivers of blood flow at the fronts, and the battlefields are covered with the corpses of the sons of the German people. In order to make use of the masses for the predatory aims of the imperialists, the German rulers have made the demagogical claim that Germany must emerge victorious so that so-called "German Socialism" can be fully achieved. The working people of Germany remember only too well what became of similar promises made during the first World War and have themselves felt the effects of this "German Socialism" as operated by German monopoly capital.

The enrichment of war profiteers,

increased power for trust directors in accordance with the compulsory regulation of economic life—designed to increase the nation's war effort and the introduction of a brutal military-criminal code—all demonstrate to the working masses of Germany that the capitalists and landlords are using this war to intensify the savage enslavement and exploitation of the workers and working people in general. Just as Germany's rulers have hitherto enslaved other peoples, they are now intensifying the oppression of their own people. All their demagogic phrases about "socialism" can never hide the fact that these reactionaries are, and cannot help being, the mortal enemies of socialism. The greater their conquests, the worse for the German people.

A regime which keeps behind prison bars thousands of the finest champions for peace, liberty and bread, including Ernst Thaelmann, cannot enjoy any confidence whatsoever among the workers. But even this wanton terror cannot hinder the people from giving vent to their hatred of imperialist war and from expressing their determination to fight for peace. However, the rapid achievement of peace demands fearless struggle to put an end to the oppression of the working people.

When the latter are in a position to determine their own destiny they will lose no time in bringing about peace. To achieve this aim it is imperative to unite the forces of the working class, to bring about the united action of the workers and to establish an alliance of the working class with other sections of the working population with the aim in view of developing a powerful popular movement.

The German working class and the workers of all other countries are equally interested in an early termination of the present slaughter and in settling accounts with those responsible for the war. The German Communists raise aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism against the imperialist war. They are fighting for a peace that will preclude the enslavement of other nations and the plunder of other countries, a peace without indemnities, a peace among nations based on free, reciprocal agreement.

The German Communists declare that the peoples can put an end to this monstrous war and that peace along these lines can be achieved by concerted struggle of the working class of all countries, and by solidarity with the great Land of Socialism.



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## DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

**I**N CONNECTION with recent events, the Communist Party of Italy has issued a declaration in which it is stated:

The fascist plutocracy, who have for eighteen years throttled Italy, have committed a new crime. They have flung our people into a bloody carnage, their actions being undertaken with all the perfidy and cynicism that are part of them. Like the cowardly and greedy plunderers they are, they waited for a suitable moment to snatch their slice of the booty. They hurled themselves on the French people at the very time when this people, betrayed by their bourgeoisie and brought by the latter to catastrophe, were conducting a desperate fight for their existence as an independent nation.

The fascist rulers, like the German imperialists, have concluded an "armistice" with the French bourgeoisie. This "armistice" fastens a yoke on the French people many times more severe than the robber Versailles Treaty. But this armistice is the effort of the French bourgeoisie, terror-stricken of its own people, to secure its safety. The French bourgeoisie tremble at the very idea that the people will call to account the traitors who brought the country to such an awful catastrophe. The armies of occupation in France are there not only to guarantee the conquests of the imperial-

ist victors, but also to defend the regime of exploitation in France, Italy and other capitalist countries. They are there to guarantee to the French ruling classes the possibility of keeping the workers and peasants in chains and of squeezing the last ounce out of the working people of France.

The "armistice" has been concluded. But the war goes on. For the Italian people it is only beginning in earnest. British aircraft and warships are bombarding Italian ports and industrial centers. Workers, old people, women and children are massacred, for the fascist rulers who have drawn Italy into the war did not concern themselves even to construct shelters for the civil population. The sons of our people are dying in the deserts of Africa, are perishing in the depths of the Mediterranean Sea. The fascist clique are helping German imperialism to establish its hegemony over the capitalist world in the hope that it will strengthen their terror regime. By this means they hope to be able to grow still richer at the cost of the blood of our people, to plunder and enslave a large number of foreign peoples.

It is not the first time that the bourgeoisie has drawn our people into bloody catastrophe. Twenty-five years ago this same bourgeoisie and the fascist chiefs bribed by them involved our people in the World

War. At that time they drove the masses into the war on the side of the British and French imperialists, just as they have driven them this time into a war on the side of the German imperialists. Six hundred and eighty thousand killed and two million wounded were sacrificed by the Italian bourgeoisie in the first war. In addition 140,000,000,000 lira were wrung from the sweat and blood of the working people. The people endured the sufferings of famine, while the Italian bourgeoisie enriched itself behind the lines.

When the fascist clique came to power, they promised to do away with corruption, to abolish capitalism, to ensure the well being of the people. But what became of these promises? The fascist clique immediately wiped out all the rights and liberties of the people; they trod the Constitution under foot, and established a regime of terror and murder. They flung the country into new adventures, hurled the people into still greater poverty; then condemned the people to privation, to still more horrible hardships.

The fascist bourgeoisie compelled the Italian soldiers to wage war against the peasants of Libya, who were engaged in defending their land and their hearths and homes. The robber war in Ethiopia, undertaken by the same plutocracy, cost the Italian people tens of thousands of Italian lives. The ruthless "pacification" of the Ethiopian people has already cost the working people of our towns and villages a total of 74,000,000,000

lira. The blood of Italians, basely deceived by the fascist rulers, was shed so as to enable the Spanish reactionaries to enslave their noble people. This blood was shed so as to restore in Spain the power of the capitalists and landlords, to secure mercury, copper, potash and other riches for the Italian capitalists.

The people suffered and shed their blood, while the Mussolini-Ciano dynasty, the Farinaccis and their like after each war acquired new wealth and pocketed new profits: Shady manipulations and corruption spread everywhere to all rungs of the state machine, particularly the top, among the adventurers and parasites who usurped power and are treading the people's rights and liberties in the dust.

Now the fascist rulers want to sell our people to German imperialism. It is their intention to transform our people into the jailers and executioners of nations who are already groaning under the yoke of their own oppressors and who have never encroached on our lives and property. The fascist rulers assert that the Italian people will only know a better life when they have subjected other peoples.

But the lessons of history should be remembered. What, for example, did the "victory" of 1914-18 bring to the French people? The "victory" did not do away with the hardships of the people, but only intensified the poverty of the masses, while enriching a handful of parasites. The "victory" was followed twenty years later by a still more horrible war of revenge, that has cost the working people of France unpa-

ralleled privation and suffering.

The fascist rulers declare that we must win supremacy in the Mediterranean, that we must defeat the British plutocracy, so as to put an end to our poverty and tribulations. What an impudent lie! Our country possesses sufficient natural riches to satisfy the lives of our people. We could exchange our products for the raw materials that we lack, if our enormous riches had not been snatched up by a handful of capitalist vultures. The overthrow of the British plutocracy is the affair of the British people. Our job is to overthrow the Italian fascist plutocracy which like vampires suck the blood of our people.

On behalf of the noble Italian people, who have produced immortal masterpieces and have given to mankind Galileo, Giordano Bruno, Campanella and Garibaldi, we Communists declare that *our people have no desire to be either the slaves of their own fascist bourgeoisie, the vassals of foreign imperialism, or the jailers and oppressors of other peoples. They have no wish to enslave the fraternal French people. And we Communists declare that the Italian people do not, and never will, recognize the shameful conditions of the "armistice" imposed on the French people by German and Italian imperialism.* Our people condemn the brutal oppression of Indians, Arabs, Negroes and other colonial people by British imperialism, but have no wish to see the British people brought to destruction. We stand for the freedom and independence of all nations and, primarily, for the free-

dom and independence of the Ethiopian, Libyan and Albanian peoples enslaved by Italian imperialism. The struggle of these peoples for their liberation facilitates our own struggle against our exploiters and oppressors.

The Italian people have nothing to expect from a war of plunder. Such a war can only profit the fascist bourgeoisie; for eighteen years they have shown that they cannot exist without such wars. The Italian people want to live in peace with the French, British, German and other peoples; they want to be the masters of their own destinies and to establish close and trustworthy collaboration with all nations. Our people are vitally interested in the immediate cessation of the bloody slaughter which is engulfing hundreds of thousands of human lives, provoking awful destruction and is inflicting terrible suffering on the working people. The working class is faced today with the imperative task of putting an end to this war of plunder. Faithfully interpreting the feelings and aspirations of the people, the Communist Party calls on the working people to undertake a struggle for the following:

1. For the immediate cessation of military operations on all fronts, and the immediate return of all troops now in the colonies or beyond the bounds of Italy.

2. For a peace without territorial annexation either in France, the Mediterranean Basin, Africa, or in the Balkans, for a peace without spoliation and the enslavement of foreign peoples, for a peace without indemnities.

3. For the independence of the peoples of Ethiopia, Libya and Albania, oppressed by Italian imperialism.

4. For the arrest and trial of profiteers, money-grubbers and plutocrats who are growing rich out of the calamities of the people; for the arrest and trial of the fascist bureaucrats, who oppress and terrorize the working people—of all those who bear the responsibility for the policy of provocation and blackmail that led to the present war.

5. For the confiscation of the wealth fraudulently acquired by the entire fascist potentates, beginning with the Mussolini-Ciano family, Farinacci and other fascist shady dealers.

6. For the liberation of all political prisoners and exiles; for the restoration of the people's liberties, right of organization and assembly, freedom of the press, and the free election of municipal councils.

7. For the abolition of all restrictions on the sale of agricultural products, restrictions beneficial to the profiteers but detrimental to the peasants.

8. For the abolition of taxes levied on industrial workers, small peasants, office employees and all working people; for the confiscation of war profits; for a levy on capital.

9. For the abolition, in the army, of the privileges of the fascist caste, who as spies and stool-pigeons terrorize the soldiers; for the real disbandment of the fascist militia.

10. For a general wage increase to be effected with the agreement

of delegates, freely elected by the working people.

11. For allowances to the families of mobilized men, sufficient to guarantee their existence, and for the release of these families from taxation and the payment of rent; for increased rates of pay for soldiers.

The Communist Party openly declares that only a workers' and peasants' government can put an end to capitalist exploitation and imperialist wars, and guarantee the complete emancipation of the Italian working masses. At the same time the Communist Party declares its readiness to collaborate with all parties, organizations and groups that will really fight for the fulfilment of the measures proposed.

There is a force in Italy capable of uniting the Italian people into a single, solid and compact bloc and of leading them in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against imperialist war, for freedom. This force is the powerful army of four million industrial workers concentrated in the huge industrial plants of Milan, Turin, Naples, Brescia and other towns; and of the huge mass of agricultural laborers weighed down under the yoke of the big landed proprietors. This force is *our heroic working class*. But what the working class lacks is the consciousness of its might, and a solid proletarian organization. Only by uniting its own ranks can the working class rally all the remaining forces of the people, regardless of political and religious convictions, can it rally all the forces of the nation who are opposed to the war and fascist tyranny.

The bourgeoisie in order to wage their war of plunder had to arm the working people. The Communists turn to the workers, peasants, to all working people in uniform, and say to them: Hold on to these arms; don't put them down until you have driven out the fascist plutocracy, and have brought peace and freedom to the country.

There is only one country in the world where complete freedom for the people already reigns, where the people themselves are the real masters of their fate, where everything, the factories, banks, the land and natural wealth, belongs to the people. This is the U.S.S.R., the great land of socialism. In the land where the loathsome tyranny of the Russian tsars was savagely and arbitrarily used against the people, the workers and peasants are building a new world, a socialist world, one

that no longer knows of exploitation and oppression, a world of brotherhood between peoples, who enjoy all the fruits of their peaceful labor. This new world rose up out of the horrors and ruins of the first imperialist World War, when the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Bolshevik Party, overthrew once and for all the power of the capitalists and landlords, and when they took power into their own hands, thereby ushering in a new era in the history of mankind. The Italian Communists will exert all their energies to ensure that the working class and the people of Italy take the only correct path, the Bolshevik path, the path of Lenin-Stalin, the path that leads to the final victory of labor over capital, to the complete liberation of the working people.

*Middle of June, 1940.*



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