

The Chauvinist "Anti-Japanese Campaign" of American Stalinists

(Continued from last week)

IV.

Can the proletariat utilize contradictions existing between imperialist powers? It not only can but must. It is the direct duty of the workers (of which Lenin spoke hundreds of times), in the struggle for power as well as after the seizure of power, to utilize every "crack" (as Lenin put it) that weakens the class enemy and correspondingly strengthens the forces of the revolution.

Utilizing antagonisms between the non-proletarian classes in general or between different groups of the bourgeoisie, PRIOR TO AND DURING THE SEIZURE OF POWER, the proletariat however cannot consider these antagonisms as its MAIN reserve, as a principal factor determining its tactics. This factor plays a secondary subordinate role compared with the mobilization of the direct reserves of the proletariat. The line of utilization of these antagonisms, PRIMARILY taken as the main line of the Party, upon which the latter builds all its tactics, means to abandon mobilization of the proletarian masses for the struggle against its own bourgeoisie and to minimize the role of the proletariat as the principal factor in the struggle.

Comrade Browder is trying to find a basis for the main line of the Communist Party in America in its struggle against war, the line of utilization of the inter-imperialist contradictions in long quotations from Lenin, namely Lenin's speeches at the Moscow Party Conference, Nov. 20, 1920, at a meeting of secretaries of Moscow Party nuclei of Nov. 26, 1920 and at the meeting of the Communist fraction of the 8th Congress of Soviets on Dec. 21, 1920. Their attempts to find support in Lenin have no basis, and only reveal a superficial and mechanical approach to the fundamentals of Lenin's theory.

In Comrade Browder's presentation of the question, two things are confused, namely, the policy of the Soviet state in relation to capitalist countries and the line of Communist parties in the capitalist countries in the struggle against the war. Lenin raised the question of permissibility in principle and tactical necessity of utilizing inter-imperialist contradictions for the Soviet STATE. Lenin's speeches quoted by Browder dealt precisely with the PROLETARIAN STATE. Thus the leadership of the American Party has mechanically identified the tactics of the proletariat after taking power with the tactics of the proletariat while still fighting for power, and drawn a complete parallel between the foreign policy of the Soviet State and the line of the Communist Party in a capitalist country.

The one-sided line developed by the leadership of the CPUSA in the struggle against war led in practice to very serious distortions. The Communist Party in practice

carried on its struggle against the threat of war primarily AS A STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE IMPERIALISM. While carrying out a widespread campaign of utilizing the robber acts of Japanese imperialism, the CPUSA put in the secondary place ITS TASK OF UNMASKING AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND mobilizing the masses to struggle against it. It is very indicative that for the last 2½ months (April, May and the first half of June) only one leading article appeared in the Daily Worker exposing the sending of war supplies from America to Japan (Daily Worker April 20); in another leading article, on May 18, one example of sending war supplies from America to Japan was mentioned in passing, and on June 1 there was a news item about the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. To be sure, the Daily Worker printed exposures about the recruiting of White Guards carried on by Japan and Czechoslovakia (Daily Worker, April 25) and the purchase of arms by Japan in other countries of the world (facts were brought out showing the purchase of war supplies by Japan in Birmingham, Glasgow and Austria) (Daily Worker, May 18), but in neither case was any mention made of the purchase of arms by Japan in the United States. The Party was not able to organize a campaign to stop the sending of arms from America to Japan. To be sure, the Daily Worker called upon the workers to do this, but this was done either to an absolutely inadequate extent or else in an extremely abstract form. Instead of taking a concrete example to show where, when and by whom arms were being sent to Japan, of carrying on a campaign centered around this concrete basis, the central organ of the Party came to the workers with general appeals such as this: "Refuse to work upon to make or transport anything whatever for use to Japanese imperialism in making war on the Chinese people and the USSR." (Daily Worker, May 21).

A number of documents received here show that the line of the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggle against the war danger was understood by the local organizations of the Party to mean an exclusive struggle against Japanese imperialism, in which the struggle against the American bourgeoisie takes second place. It is characteristic that in the minutes of the meetings of the District Committee the anti-war committee of the Party has come to be called simply the "Anti-Japanese campaign" and that with regard to the proposal of the Politburo for the organization of an anti-war campaign, the District Committees issued instructions such as this: "Organize a demonstration against the Japanese Consulate if there is any in the city." And if there is none? The instructions of the District Committee say nothing about what should be done, probably considering that its anti-war campaign ends there.

The C.I.'s Guilt for the Policy of the C.P.U.S.A.

We publish herewith the second half of the communication sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. in 1932 in connection with the chauvinistic "anti-Japanese" campaign conducted by the latter. The American Stalinists had launched such slogans as "Out the Japanese ambassador and commercial representatives from the United States!" and the demand for the U.S. to break off diplomatic relationships with Japan in connection with the attack of the latter upon China and Manchuria, and the threat against the Soviet Union. By the whole manner in which the campaign was conducted, the American Stalinists, under the cover of "defending the Soviet Union" were ranging themselves on the side of American imperialism, covering it up, and playing into the hands of William Randolph Hearst and others of his kind. The whole campaign was a stench in the nostrils of every revolutionary worker. When the Militant submitted it to a vigorous criticism, we were denounced publicly by Browder as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" and "enemies of the Soviet Union".

The document of the Moscow Party with regard to the utilization of the contradictions between American and Japanese imperialism was expressed in the Daily Worker in a still more flagrantly incorrect form, sometimes leading to outright opportunist conclusions. This line was "explained" at times by the Daily Worker in this form: "We know the importance that Lenin attributed to the existence of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers from the point of view of strengthening the forces of the revolution which he expressed in the repeating of the old popular proverb: 'When thieves fall out honest people get their due.'" (Daily Worker, April 16). The error of the Daily Worker expressed in the publication in the issue of April 12 of a telegram from a bourgeois correspondent dealing with Radek's article in Izvestia, (an error which was condemned by all comrades in their speeches at the Politburo but not condemned in any resolutions of the Politburo) was not a chance error but the result of the incorrect position of the Party in the anti-war campaign. The Daily Worker not only published this telegram in an emphatically sensational form, without any attempt to verify the information that Radek put the question in such a way as to mean that the United States was a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union; the Daily Worker also printed an editorial declaring that this alleged declaration of Radek

represented a "new step" in the policy of the Soviet Union and that this step creates NEW POSSIBILITIES for the mobilization of the masses in the United States directly in support of this policy, i.e., in support of the line based on the assumption that the United States is a "natural ally" of the Soviet Union. Such flagrantly opportunist conclusions were possible only because of the incorrect position of the Party which substituted the mobilization of the masses for struggle against American imperialism with speculation on the zig-zags of foreign policies of the world powers. In the Daily Worker, April 14, we find a statement which leads directly to opportunist conclusions.

"In order to not be directly (!) responsible for the conflagration of world war this spring, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM MUST first of all STOP encouraging Japanese imperialism, CHANGE ITS own hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, and put an IMMEDIATE STOP to the shipping of munitions and material for armament directly or indirectly to Japan." (Daily Worker, April 14).

This "appeal" to American imperialism, inviting it to change its imperialist class nature, leads directly to the social democratic attitude of reformist admonitions instead of revolutionary struggle, to reformist illusions instead of exposure of American imperialism, and to appeals and admonitions to imperialism, instead of calling upon the masses to struggle against it.

The Party proclaimed on one day one conception of the role of inter-imperialist contradictions and on another day another, diametrically opposed to it, without any attempts to explain to the workers and without any serious attempts to criticize previous errors, to explain them and correct them. Thus, for example, the Politburo unanimously approved, on May 13, the line of Comrade Browder's article, which he formulated as follows: "This line is the fullest possible utilization of the inner-imperialist contradictions for the purpose of PREVENTING or HINDERING the establishment of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union," and four days later we find, in a leading article of the Daily Worker, May 18, the following statement: "Let no one imagine for a moment that the events of the past few days in Japan indicate that intervention against the Soviet Union may thereby be postponed by the inner-conflict between the imperialists. No greater or more dangerous illusion could arise." And in the Daily Worker of June 4 it says: "The conflict between Japan and the United States for domination of the Pacific does not prevent the war against the Chinese people and war preparations against the Soviet Union being carried through."

The lack of any serious explanation by the Party of these vacillations on the basic questions of the anti-war campaign and the lack of

thorough discussion and criticism of the anti-war line of the Party in the Politburo constitutes a serious shortcoming of the entire leadership of the CPUSA. This lack of self-criticism cannot in any way be replaced by such "criticism" of the errors of other parties as the unfounded, unjust and tactless attack on the leaders of the British Communist Party which was made by Comrade Browder at the Politburo meeting May 11-13.

VI
From further material which we received here it is clear that the question of the line of the American Party in the struggle against war came to the surface at the meetings of the Politburo May 11-13, and that some comrades brought up the question of the correctness of this line, and particularly the correctness of the line of Comrade Browder's article. At these meetings of the Politburo it was stated that the tactics of the CPUSA were "based to an extreme degree on the question of Japanese-American contradictions". However, none of the comrades pointed out clearly what errors had been made or worked out a clear and correct line. The 3 day discussion of the question ended in UNANIMOUS adoption by the Politburo of a resolution declaring that "the general line of the Politburo on the war situation is correct" and also the speech of Comrade Browder which represented the line of the Politburo; "nevertheless, serious deviations occurred in the conduct of the anti-war campaign, both of commission and omission"; the Secretariat was instructed to "thoroughly examine all phases of the Party's work and to work out a clear plan for strengthening our struggle for the next PB meeting". On the question what the results of this investigation were and whether or not any kind of proposal was put forward by the Secretariat we have received no material, and the representatives of the Politbureau who have arrived for this ECCI plenum were able to point out the distortions which occurred or to clearly understand them, or much less correct them.

It is the important task of the CPUSA to bring complete clarity into its line and in the practice of the struggle against the war danger, and to overcome all errors, confusions and contradictions in the formulation and carry out this line, and on the basis of the correction of this line and the explanation of it to the Party and to the workers, to continue to further mobilize the

masses to struggle against it. The Party proclaimed on one day one conception of the role of inter-imperialist contradictions and on another day another, diametrically opposed to it, without any attempts to explain to the workers and without any serious attempts to criticize previous errors, to explain them and correct them. Thus, for example, the Politburo unanimously approved, on May 13, the line of Comrade Browder's article, which he formulated as follows: "This line is the fullest possible utilization of the inner-imperialist contradictions for the purpose of PREVENTING or HINDERING the establishment of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union," and four days later we find, in a leading article of the Daily Worker, May 18, the following statement: "Let no one imagine for a moment that the events of the past few days in Japan indicate that intervention against the Soviet Union may thereby be postponed by the inner-conflict between the imperialists. No greater or more dangerous illusion could arise." And in the Daily Worker of June 4 it says: "The conflict between Japan and the United States for domination of the Pacific does not prevent the war against the Chinese people and war preparations against the Soviet Union being carried through."

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American working class for struggle against the war danger and intervention.

The immediate tasks of the leadership of the CPUSA are the following:

1. To organize in the leading organs of the Party a detailed discussion of the line and practice of the Party in the struggle against the war danger on the basis of this letter.

2. To propose to Comrades Weinstein and Browder to correct the errors of their former statements in articles to be published in "The Communist".

3. To publish in the Daily Worker a series of articles explaining the incorrectness of the previous statements of the Daily Worker and explaining the line of the Party to the workers.

4. To continue an energetic campaign of exposure of the robber policy of Japanese imperialism. No slackening of this campaign must be permitted as has recently been the case in the Daily Worker (the first half of June); on the contrary this campaign must be intensified.

5. To intensify the systematic unmasking of the role of American imperialism in its preparation for war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

6. To take up concrete examples of the sending of war supplies from the USA to Japan, concentrating our agitation on these examples and organizing action of the workers on every concrete occasion.

7. To carry on relentless anti-war propaganda among the agricultural workers, poor farmers and the Negroes.

8. To draw the foreign workers into the anti-war campaign of the Party, especially the Japanese workers, organizing joint groups of American and Japanese workers in anti-war demonstrations, with Japanese placards, etc., thus emphasizing to the masses our proletarian solidarity with the workers of Japan.

9. To systematically discuss in the Politburo reports on the progress of the anti-war campaign of the Party, particularly as carried on by the Daily Worker.

Erratum
Our proofreader allowed an error of the linotype to appear in the previous installment of this document. In the introduction it is stated that this is a "letter sent to the leaders of the Communist party in this country by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, dated Sept. 27, 1934." A note at the top reads: "Received N. Y. Nov. 14, 1932.—E.B." The first date is obviously wrong. Instead of Sept. 27, 1934 it should read Sept. 27, 1932. It will be noted that point VI follows point IV. This is due to an error in the Comintern document which we have meticulously followed, making neither grammatical nor typographical corrections.—Ed.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

What's Wrong With this Picture

Harold Riegelman, representing the Republican party said: "The police provisions against disorder were arranged with the highest degree of efficiency and intelligence. Police activity was non-partisan in every sense."

Similar sentiments were expressed by Ben Howe for the city Fusion party and George Gordon Battle for the Democratic party.

David Freedman, representing the Communist party, joined with the representatives of the above mentioned parties in congratulating the Police Department. "It is the first time that the Communist Party has had direct contact with the Police Department, and directly at headquarters," he said. "It is an indication that an honest election is possible with the cooperation of the city authorities."

Among the complaints, the dispatch goes on to say, from which these items are abstracted, was one from Frank R. Crosswaite, Socialist candidate for United States Representative for the 21st district, Manhattan, who complained that in eight or ten election districts the lever above his name on the machines was locked, so that votes for him could not be cast. They were similarly locked the last time he ran, he declared.

The Majesty of the Law or What's Sauce for the Goose is Poison for the Gander

Because Albert Jackson, 23 years old, was caught with the "loot consisting of 3 dimes, a battered nickel and three pennies, one of the latter of such old coinage that it readily was identified on the witness stand by the complainant," a sentence of thirty years in the penitentiary was imposed on him by his Imperial Majesty Judge Allen in General Sessions. William Epson, 22, and Winslow Cameron, 24, confederates of Jackson, received terms of from ten to thirty years

each. In their pursuit of the eternal verities of American democracy—Life, Liberty and Happiness these boys never dreamed that they would be tripped up by a couple of tin dimes, a battered nickel and a few old pennies.

Fish, Flesh or the Best Discipline of Lenin?

Ill-fated Strahan, able bodied seaman, blushed recently when he asked for a copy of his birth certificate and was told that he was a girl. He scurried about and found the doctor who had brought him into this complicated world. The medico thereupon proceeded to a notary public, plunked down two bits and swore that Strahan was a boy. And so the matter now stands. All of which suggests tremendous possibilities. If a notary's public seal can determine so complicated a matter as one's sex then why not determine other controversial subjects by this very convenient method. For instance the discipleship of Lenin. Walter Durnity and Joseph Djughashvili are both equally emphatic as to Stalin being the best disciple of Lenin. Now the question can finally be cleared up, thanks to the hitherto fore doubtful Strahan. What is lacking is the seal. Any seal will do. A good Soviet seal will be acceptable to us. Stalin, his thee to a notary!

Between Ourselves
If all the readers of this column were as loyal to it as M. Morris of Manhattan, a better column indeed could be turned out. What we ask you to do is to tear out any clipping that you find striking and that might serve as material for the column. Mail it in addressed to Reviewing the News, c/o the Militant, 144 2nd Ave., N. Y. C. Comrades in the hinterland please take notice.

Warning

Don't work the items up yourself. Leave that to your columnist. The reason for that being, not that we think we can do it better but that all items commented on in this column are authentic whether quotes are used around quotations or not.

—GLEE.

Support the Militant; Continue Your Pledge

As we have repeatedly stated, no revolutionary paper can be self-sustaining. It must necessarily depend upon a subsidy in one form or another.

The Militant has attempted to work up a list of Pledgers as its main financial support, since the organization itself could not possibly supply the needed subsidy.

It was largely through the help of our Pledgers that we have been able to weather the many storms in the past few months. But some of our Pledgers have not kept up their payments recently and we have been obliged to go along on a credit basis. Now the piled up debts are pressing very hard on us and we must find some means of liquidating them. Especially is this necessary in view of the steps which are progressing toward the formation of a new revolutionary workers party. We want the official organ of the new party to get a good start.

We take this opportunity to make a special appeal to all our Pledgers: We ask specifically that those who are able to do so, send in their pledges in advance to January 1st. In response to our appeal in the last issue, Jefferson Hall and the comrades in the Downtown Branch of Local New York paid up on their pledges. And comrade Rhodes of California contributed two dollars.

It was through the help of these comrades and a few others that we were able to get out this issue of the paper. We hope that all who are at all able to make a special donation at this time will answer this call.

BOOKS
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PIONEER BOOKSHOP
102 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

"3 SONGS ABOUT LENIN"

CAMEO Thea. 42 St.
East of Broadway
25c to 1 P.M.

Special Offer

The following letter was received in reply to our circular letter to all branches asking them to take up the new subscription drive for the Militant.

"Dear Comrades:
The Branch Executive Committee today selected two captains who are to be actively in charge of the division of the Branch into competitive teams and take active charge of the new Militant Sub Drive. This will come before the Branch at the next meeting. You'll be hearing from Minneapolis.

Comradely yours,
OSCAR COOVER."

Minneapolis has the habit of saying little and doing much. We know that we can expect big results. We hope other branches will follow this example.

THIS DRIVE ENDS DECEMBER 31st. GET BUSY!
What the Militant means to our readers is indicated by the following excerpt from a letter. It is only one of many.

"Dear Comrades:
I have enjoyed reading the Militant and wish that I could continue to take it. However, present conditions make this impossible. . . . Your efforts toward unity with other fractions are to be commended. I remain with best wishes.

Yours for the Revolution,
A member of R.P.C. of S.P."

If those of our readers who are more fortunately situated will come to the assistance of the Militant, we will be able to send the paper to this reader and many other until such time as they are able to pay for their subscriptions.

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SPECIAL OFFER.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Add Your Name to New Party Honor Roll

Manhattan:

Schwalbe	1.00
Wasserman	2.00
Bord	1.00
Nash	1.00
Wright	5.00
Feiner	1.00
Schiff	1.00
Robert	1.00
Tinos	1.00
Ross	25
Morris	25
Brant	50
Kujawsky	1.00
Marlen	2.00
Orland	1.00
Shoen	1.00
Spiro	1.00
Rolone	1.00
Lewis	1.00
Morris D.	1.00
Stevens	1.00
Borkeson	1.00
Lewitt	1.00
Schlossberg	1.00
Weber	2.00
Konkow	2.00
Sterling	1.00
Nelson	1.00
Winter	50
Hubbard	1.00
Victor	1.00
Bernstein	1.00
Sam Gordon	2.00
Karsner	1.00
Cutler	1.00
Mann	1.00
Tanis	1.00

Bronx:

Stamm	1.00
Streeter	1.00
Eldensohn	1.00
Swkabeck	1.00
Lankin	50
Turshman	1.00
Glade	1.00
Charles	1.00
Brandmark	1.00

Boro Park Branch:

Berg	1.00
Kamat	1.00
Engel	2.00
Bauman	1.00
Leeser	1.00
Levine	1.00
Avrin	2.00
Tovin	1.00

Harlem Branch

T. R.	2.00
Black	1.00

MARCH OF EVENTS

The Danger in France

The maturing political crisis centering about the "reform" of the French Constitution, in actuality an attempt to seat more firmly the dictatorial Bonapartist government of Doumergue-Tardieu, is filled with the utmost danger to the French proletariat. The Parisian workers are at the forefront of the united struggle against the government that represents the preliminary stage leading to fascism. Well aware that the decisions made by Paris today will be those made by the provinces tomorrow, the bourgeoisie is determined to strike a crushing blow at the Paris workers as soon as possible. Tardieu would like to imitate the deeds of Gil Robles in Spain. He wishes to provoke an armed struggle at the time chosen by the bourgeoisie, when the stage has been set to drown in blood any armed resistance by the masses. The troops already encircle Paris, the fascist forces have been ordered to stand by and not to take to the streets prematurely.

In this situation the middle classes are being cleft asunder, the upper layers moving to the right and gathering under the banner of the big bourgeoisie, the wider lower strata of the exploited petty bourgeoisie moving leftwards towards the united front of the so-

S. M. 6.00
Turshman 1.00
Beecher 1.00
Cochran 1.00
Visconti 25

Brownsville Branch

Lorenz	1.00
George	.15
Schaap	1.00

Total \$76.50

The names listed above are entirely from our N. Y. membership. Other branches, sympathizers, friends are urged to follow their example. The new party needs your support NOW!

—JACK WEBER.

cialists and communists. Herriot is working might and main to prevent this split of forces in the middle class Radical Socialist party; in reality he is attempting to force the entire middle class under the yoke of Bonapartism and fascism. But in so deep-going a crisis Herriot is powerless to suppress the profound antagonisms that exist in the middle class and that drive a sharp wedge between the oppressed layers and the oppressing top sections. And with the splitting asunder of this class the revolutionary crisis will have matured.

The Commune Once Again

Under the frightful threat of armed reaction, the workers of Paris and of all France will have every reason to turn their thoughts to the Commune once again. The pressure of the events makes mandatory on the advanced workers that they utilize the united front to establish everywhere Communes or Soviets. Only with this powerful weapon of defense and struggle can the utmost forces of the proletariat and the supporting toilers be properly organized and given leadership so as to defend workers' democratic rights, so as to guide the general strike for the overthrow of the Doumergue government of reaction, so as to establish a workers' government with a single legislative-executive chamber, the Commune itself. The armed working class, the workers' militia, must be formed without delay to defend working class rights, to protect the Commune and to place itself at the disposal of this repository of workers' democracy. The Commune is the ultimate aim, the highest goal, of the united front against fascism under present circumstances in France. The lessons of Austria, now again of Spain, are plain and clear, that militant struggle must be organized in advance and directed towards a clearly defined goal. That goal is the establishing and maintaining of Soviets or Communes. The fate of the French and of the world proletariat rests on the ability of the French workers to grasp clearly the costly lessons of recent history. It is given to the modern French proletariat to add anew to their glorious revolutionary traditions.

—JACK WEBER.