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# Japan the CHAMPION of the Colored Races?

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The Negro's Stake in Democracy

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THIS PAMPHLET, issued by the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., was prepared in collaboration by the following outstanding Negro Communists:

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## Introduction

**T**ODAY the "Good Earth" of China is drenched with the blood and tears of millions of its women and children. Age-old monuments and institutions, representing five thousand years' contribution to world culture, face destruction. Once flourishing towns and villages lie in ruins. This is the scene behind the lines of the advancing armies of Japanese conquest.

Peace-loving humanity the world over stands aghast at this, the latest crime of the Japanese war lords against a peaceful nation. But the deepest disillusionment is felt by the millions of colored peoples in America, Africa and Asia who once regarded seriously Japan's claim to leadership of the colored world. Among these peoples, the ruthless violation of the independence and integrity of another colored nation by Japan has caused a sharp revulsion of feeling.

The change of feeling among colored peoples is aptly expressed by the great Indian poet-philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore:

"... All Asia once admired Japan and cherished great hopes that Asia had at last found in Japan the answer to the West; that the new power of Japan would be devoted to safeguarding the civilization of the East against foreign interests. But it was not long before Japan betrayed the awakening hope, and turned its back on everything that was wonderful and significant in its symbolic rise. Japan itself now represents an even worse menace to the defenseless people of the East. And worse than its economic exploitation, worse than its territorial aggression, are the massacres which it perpetrates day after day, and its shameless defense of this inhumanity."

Japanese treachery does not stop with the wanton slaughter of innocent Chinese people. Today she stands exposed in open alliance with the worst enemies of the colored peoples the world over. Her partnership with Mussolini, the assassin of the Ethiopians, is common knowledge.

Further, Japan is an outspoken ally and partner of Hitler, who loudly proclaims his contempt for the Negro as an inferior being. As a member of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo bloc, Japan stands exposed as a leading conspirator in the worldwide fascist plot to deprive the colored peoples of the meager liberties they now enjoy, and of even the hope of progress.

Manifestly, the key to the understanding of the present world conflict cannot be found in the simple but dangerous formula of a fight between colored and white races for world supremacy. The fundamental issue of the present world situation springs not from race divisions, but from deep-lying social conflicts, which today find their chief expression in the death grapple between fascism and democracy.

Where do the best interests of the Negro lie in this momentous struggle? Shall we stake our existing rights, meager as they are, but the result of centuries of struggle for freedom, on fascism? Does not democracy, with all its limitations, offer the best channel for continuing and extending the fight for Negro freedom? Would the victory of fascism in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America advance the cause of the colored people?

For the American Negroes, for the African and Asiatic peoples, these are the questions raised in the present Sino-Japanese conflict, and raised, ominously enough in every important center of Negro life in the United States, by spokesmen of Japanese imperialism. The purpose of this pamphlet is to give a clear answer to these questions.

## I. Japan's Real Aims in Asia

JAPAN'S real objectives were clearly set forth in the notorious Tanaka memorandum, a secret document presented to the Mikado in 1927 by the then Premier, Baron Tanaka:

"... A more dangerous factor," this memorandum declared, "is the fact that the Chinese people *may wake up* one fine day. . . . *We must fear the day when China unites*, and her industries begin to flourish.

"We must from now onwards pursue our own military ends and seize the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia, by diverse ways in order to be able on the one hand *to destroy the military, political, and economic development of China*. . . . This is the key of our continental policy."

The Japanese military aggression in China has proceeded, to the letter, along the line laid down by the Tanaka document, which prescribed not only *what* was to be done in China, but the *manner* in which it was to be done.

The Japanese military began their campaign of "liberation of the darker races" in 1895, by an unprovoked attack on China, as a result of which, besides grabbing off chunks of territory, including Formosa, the Japanese forced the poverty-stricken Chinese to pay an indemnity of \$150,000,000. Then, in 1900, the Japanese helped the Western imperialist powers to put down the Boxer Uprising, which was a desperate effort of the Chinese to free themselves of foreign exploitation and oppression. In 1910, Japan forcibly annexed Korea.

Later on, when as a result of the World War, Germany lost her Chinese concessions, Japan, instead of returning them to her colored neighbor, seized them for herself in true imperialist

fashion. It was during the World War, in 1915, that Japan presented to China her infamous Twenty-one Demands which, had they been accepted by China, would have meant the end of her independence and her conversion into a Japanese colony.

Japan struck her next blow in 1931, seizing Manchuria, and carrying her aggression by continuous stages during the following years to all North China. The insolence of Japan increased as she tasted blood. She began to claim jurisdiction over the whole national Chinese government and its policies. Japan conquered Manchuria and established the puppet state of Manchukuo, at the same time carrying through a military attack upon Shanghai. In 1933, these conquests were extended to Jehol. During 1933-36, Japan extended her conquests to Inner Mongolia, setting up puppet states under Japanese control. Drunk with the successes of all these raids, Japan today proceeds directly against the central government of China, aiming at the complete subjugation of all China to the Japanese imperialist yoke.

#### JAPANESE "LAW AND ORDER" IN MANCHURIA

What is the fate of the peoples in these territories conquered by the Japanese militarists? How does Japan carry out her self-ordained mission of "liberator" of the Asiatic peoples?

We have before us the record of six years of Japanese militarist rule in Manchuria. The conquerors have completely taken over the governmental and economic life of the country.

The Japanese, in order to maintain their rule against a rebellious population, find it necessary to keep a permanent Japanese army of occupation, numbering 130,000 men, on Manchurian soil. But even under the protection of this mighty armed force they feel themselves insecure, and every Japanese official, merchant, and colonist is armed to the teeth.

The soil of Manchuria is one of the richest in the world, yet the peasants are completely ruined. Their cultivated land has



been confiscated, and they have been compelled to break virgin soil. Forced labor has been instituted. The Manchurian peasants, like the natives of most of the African colonies, are forced to build roads and railways without pay. As the result of confiscation of their land, and the heavy burden of taxes levied upon them, thousands of peasants have been forced off the land to search for work in the cities. One-third of the land is now lying untilled.

The industrial workers are no better off. They are paid no more than a quarter the wages Japanese workers receive (which are low enough). While a Japanese worker gets thirty cents an hour, the Manchurian worker is paid seven cents.

All Manchurian universities were closed when the Japanese occupied the country. Special permission from Japanese-controlled Manchukuan authorities is necessary in order to pursue university studies. The number of secondary schools has been reduced. Students are forced to learn Japanese, and study in that language. According to the journal *Kweng Min* of November, 1936, a total of 300 children out of the entire population of Manchuria (30,000,000) were admitted to secondary schools in 1936.

#### JAPAN "LIBERATES" THE KOREANS

The most damning indictment of Japanese imperialism is the rape and subjugation of the Korean people.

Since the time of its annexation by Japan in 1910, Korea has been governed by a series of notorious generals—the present one being the fascist-jingoist, General Jiro Minami. Under Japanese rule, the ancient culture of Korea, which has a history dating back to the twelfth century B.C., is being systematically destroyed. Freedom of speech, press, and assemblage is denied. The Korean language is forbidden in schools, the Japanese language being forced upon the population as the official tongue. Every city, village, mountain, river, and dis-

tract has been given a Japanese name. It has been a relentless wiping out of every vestige of Korean culture and influence.

Thousands of students, workers, peasants, and national-revolutionaries have been thrown into prison by the Japanese police.

*The blood of thousands of Koreans, massacred in the struggle for independence from Japanese rule, bears witness to the fact that imperialism knows no color.*

But even worse than the fate of the Koreans is the "justice" meted out to the Formosans. In 1910, the Japanese government appropriated 9,750,000 yen for a five-year campaign of extermination of recalcitrant tribes in which thousands upon thousands of the island aborigines who refused to submit to Japanese rule were wiped out. For cold-blooded brutality, this wholesale murder of a people is paralleled only by the organized wiping out of the Australian aborigines.

Clearly the demagogic slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," in the mouths of the Japanese war-lords is but a cloak to hide their predatory aim of making the whole of Asia a Japanese chattel.

#### JAPAN INVITED THE WESTERN POWERS TO SHARE PLUNDER OF CHINA

With Japanese armies meeting increasing difficulties as a result of the heroic resistance of the Chinese people, sentiment for the resumption of Anglo-Japanese cooperation is gaining headway in the leading governmental circles of both Japan and Great Britain. *The New York Times* of March 24, 1938, commenting editorially upon the possibilities of a compromise between Britain and Japan for the partitioning of China on the basis of Britain's recognition of Japan's present conquests, states:

"Despite the barrage of bitter Japanese criticism of British policy in China, which has been featured in the Japanese press ever since the beginning of present hostilities, it is not improbable that Great Britain—as reported from Shanghai yesterday—is preparing to nego-

tiate with Japan. Such action would be consistent with Prime Minister Chamberlain's attitude toward Italy and Germany. None the less, if London were willing, *Tokyo certainly would welcome the opportunity to discuss the possibility of trading off Japanese assurances of fair dealings with British business and investments in Central China, in exchange for the participation of British capital in Japanese development of the vast resources of North China.*"

Thus while propagandists of Japanese imperialism attempt to rally sympathy for Nippon's aggression in China by prattle about her "mission" as a "liberator" of the Asiatic peoples from the yoke of "white" imperialism, Japanese rulers woo the Tory government of Great Britain—offering it a split in the spoils, in return for aid in the consolidation of Japan's conquest of China.

## II. Behind the Scenes in Japan

**W**HAT is the secret of Japan's rise as a great power?

The Japanese rulers have arrived at their "place in the sun" as a result of the most shameful betrayals of their colored neighbors on the Asiatic mainland, and of the frightful oppression, poverty and suffering of the majority of the Japanese people.

Japan is ruled by an absolute monarchy in the service of big monied interests. According to the figures of the Imperial Credit Bureau for 1927, there were 3,000 millionaires in Japan, the majority of them residing in Tokyo. At the head of these millionaires stands His Most August Majesty, Emperor Hirohito himself, who is the richest man in Japan. Finance capital in Japan, as in every imperialist country, rules through the monopoly of the big banks, and through its control of

industry, agriculture, and foreign trade. Economic control of the country is largely concentrated in the hands of the so-called Big Five Banks, behind which stand the great banking families, the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi. These bankers, controlling thousands of undertakings, occupy the key positions in the economic life of Japan, enriching themselves at the expense of millions of peasants, workers, and petty tradesmen.

Japanese industry presents a highly complicated picture. While wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few billionaires, Japanese industry to a considerable part consists of small and medium-sized establishments, using the most backward methods of production. It extends through a series of stages from peasant home industry, exploited by the landlords, merchants and loan-sharks, to gigantic industrial establishments, textile mills, and highly organized metal and war industries.

This complicated pattern merely shows that the exploiting classes of Japan, in extorting fabulous wealth from the plunder of the masses, have not hesitated to use all forms of backward and medieval exploitation in the oppression of their people. The Japanese money lords have succeeded in combining under the cloak of an absolute monarchy the most up-to-date forms of twentieth century wage-slavery, with a primitive plundering of the masses reminiscent of the Middle Ages.

The money lords have to a certain extent merged with the landlord class in order to keep the masses in a condition amounting to colonial slavery. But the money lords—the big bankers and industrialists, that is, the finance capitalists—represented chiefly by Mitsui and Mitsubishi, are the main bosses. They are the real rulers of Japan; the real arbiters of the fate of its seventy million people.

#### WHAT PRICE SUCCESS?

Let us glance at the bottom of Japan's social pyramid.

The living conditions of the Japanese masses are notoriously

lower than those of any other industrial country. Indeed, they are comparable only to those of a colonial people. For example, in 1932, the total rural population owned altogether only 9 per cent of the cultivated area. The starvation rent-in-kind, a sort of sharecropping system similar to that practiced in our own Southern States, deprives the peasants of two-thirds of their crops. Oppressive taxes and interest payments add to this burden.

The peasants are forced to sell their daughters into brothels and cotton mills. Five thousand girls were sold during the first half of 1932 alone. Indeed, it can be said that the wealth of Japan's rulers is built almost directly on the backs of Japanese women. The spinning and weaving industry—second in importance in Japan—employs 740,000 women as against 150,000 men. Child labor is widespread, constituting 11 per cent of all industrial employment.

The average wage is one-eighth that received by the average American industrial worker. In the textile industry, with its majority of women wage-workers, it is only one-twelfth.

Working hours are among the longest in the world, with wage earners working from twelve to nineteen hours a day. The school teachers are not paid even their paltry five yen a month, and are literally starving.

How can the Japanese imperialists, who today preserve a form of peonage in the agriculture of their own country, who tenaciously cling to old Middle-Age serf forms in the exploitation of the Japanese masses, and who deny to their own people the most elementary democracy—how can they be expected to give democratic culture and enlightenment to their colonial subjects?

#### JAPAN GOES FASCIST

The series of post-World War depressions which have spread unemployment and suffering throughout the capitalist world

struck the unstable economy of Japan with extraordinary force. Their profits threatened by sharpened competition in the world market, and further menaced by the growing discontent of the masses at home, the Japanese ruling class, as that of Italy and Germany, embarked upon a policy of intensified oppression at home and provocative aggression abroad. These are the main factors behind the development of fascism in Japan.

At the beginning of the present aggression against China, the outspoken fascist Admiral Suetsugu was appointed Minister of the Interior, with full powers for maintaining "civil order."

He proceeded rapidly to clean up the "rear" of the Japanese war machine by crushing all militant and progressive organizations in Japan itself, arresting their leaders and forcing them into illegality. He declared illegal the Proletarian Party of Japan, the League of Workers and the Peasants Councils of Japan, and dissolved the trade unions and peasant unions affiliated to these organizations in every part of Japan. He carried through the arrest of 15,371 members of these organizations, among them the well-known trade union leader and General Secretary of the Proletarian Party, Deputy Kato Kanju, the well-known peasant leader and Deputy, Kuroda Kiaso, four former university professors, and a large number of municipal councillors and officials. This list included the Baroness Ishimoto, the leading birth-control advocate in Japan.

Following the recent reverses of Japanese arms in China, Japan's rulers forced through the notorious National Mobilization Law, which transformed the country into a dictatorship under the navy and army command. Under this law, labor is virtually militarized, and industry and goods are subject to military disposition. The meager democratic rights of the people were discarded, and an openly terroristic dictator-

ship of the financial oligarchs and militarists was set up over the masses.

Italian fascism has committed the greatest single crime against the Negro peoples in the present period of world history—the rape of Ethiopia.

Japanese imperialism, through its aggression against China in 1931-32 and its defiance of the peace forces of the world at that time, brought about the general world situation which enabled fascist Italy to launch its war of 1935-36 against Ethiopia.

Prior to this war, the Japanese government had employed its demagogic pose of protecting the colored races in the service of its economic penetration of East Africa. Distance and Ethiopia's lack of a seacoast had hindered Japan from obtaining such a stranglehold on Ethiopia as she now has on the semi-colonial colored people of Siam.

Prior to his war against Ethiopia, Mussolini's speeches had been anti-Japanese in trend.

But the war brought about a new relationship between Japan and Italy. Japan relinquished her Ethiopian perspectives and agreed that Ethiopia should be a province for Italian imperialism. This agreement was expressed in the Japanese recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia on December 2, 1936.

In return Japan sought Italian recognition of the colored people of China as the proper prey of Japanese imperialism. This agreement was expressed in Italian recognition of Manchukuo on November 29, 1937.

These facts show how intimate is the connection between the Italian fascists, the worst enemies of the Negro peoples of the world, and the Japanese imperialists, the colored attackers and oppressors of colored peoples.

These two predatory forces have joined in an attack upon world democracy at its weakest link, the British Empire. Capitalist democracy is weakest in its oppression of subject peoples. The hold of British capital on its subject peoples is slipping,

and the Tory policy of concessions to fascism has intensified this weakness.

Furthermore, the government of Haile Selassie, while not yet democratic in the capitalist sense, was progressive in relation to the economic stage of the history of the country. The emperor was working for the internal *unification* of the country. The very fact that Ethiopia was willing to fight for its independence, that it was necessary to launch a war to subjugate it, shows that in spite of its weakness Ethiopia was progressive. The guerrilla warfare which has continued since the conquest is an expression of the elemental desire of the people for democracy and independence.

The accomplishments and objectives of both Italian and Japanese imperialism are against democracy. The growing unity and democracy of China in defense of its independence are the main obstacles to Japanese expansion. The Chinese employment of guerrilla warfare is especially effective.

The alliance of Italy and Japan against democracy and for plunder was also advanced through the offices of Nazi Germany. The success of Japan in China in 1931-32 and the success of Italy in Ethiopia in 1935-36 had made it possible for Italy and Germany jointly to invade Spain. Italy and Germany jointly recognized their puppet Franco in November, 1936. On November 25, the German and Japanese governments signed an "Anti-Comintern Pact." This was an agreement for joint action against democracy and for plunder, directed in the first place against the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Thus the German Nazis, whose chief demand is for colonies, to get some Negroes to exploit, and the Japanese samurais, whose greatest pleasure is the crushing of colored peoples, their own and others, have ganged up on the Soviet Union, where colored peoples enjoy complete democracy and independence. The Soviet Union will be able to defend its own and peoples of all colors in all countries will come to its aid. But what of the



colored peoples now under the suzerainty of Great Britain, France, Holland, etc.? Among these we see a tremendous solidarity movement with Ethiopia and China and with the white people of Spain as well.

### III. Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis and the Race Myth

**T**HUS the alliance of fascist Japan with the European fascist powers, Italy and Germany, is perfectly logical. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis is sealed upon the basis of predatory aims and hatred of democracy common to all three partners. It aims at a division of the world in favor of the fascist powers, and the destruction of democracy and of the freedom of weaker peoples, and the complete suppression of the aspirations of all colonial and subject peoples for national independence.

Imperial Japan, the self-proclaimed "protector of the darker peoples," openly and directly sides with the worst enemies of the Negro people: with Mussolini, the raper of Ethiopia, and with Hitler, not only champion of "Aryan" superiority, but endorser of lynching, who in his book, *Mein Kampf (My Fight)*, said:

"In each Negro, in one of the kindest disposition, is the latent brute and primitive man who can be tamed neither by centuries of slavery nor by the extreme varnish of civilization. All assimilation, all education, is bound to fail on account of the racial inborn features of the blood. One can therefore understand why, in the Southern states of America, sheer necessity compels the white race to act in an abhorrent and perhaps even cruel manner against Negroes. And, of course, the Negroes who are lynched do not merit any regret."

Small wonder that the Negro-baiter, Hitler, should rush to the defense of his Japanese ally with the following statement:

"I cannot agree with those politicians who believe they are rendering the European world a service by banning Japan. . . . I believe that a Japanese defeat would never be any good to Europe or America."

#### THE RACE MYTH EXPLODED

In the face of such a traitorous alliance with Hitler and Mussolini, the Japanese propagandists have the gall to appeal to racial solidarity and sentiment, to call upon the colored peoples of the world to unite behind imperial Japan as their leader against a "hostile white world"!

What are these racial theories, anyhow, upon which the whole illusion of the Japanese "leadership of the darker peoples" is based? Whose interests do they serve? Is not the theory of natural antagonism between races essentially the theory of the bitterest enemies of the Negro people? Does not Hitler seek to justify his campaign of extermination of the Jewish people in Germany and Austria, his demand for African colonies, his aim for territorial aggrandizement in Europe, on the grounds of race? Is not Hitler's "Aryan superman," destined to rule and lead over "inferior" mankind by virtue of some mysterious "inborn features of the blood," simply a myth used as a cover for Nazi policies of aggression which are threatening the peace of the world today? Does not Mussolini justify his regime of plunder and rapine in Ethiopia by prattle about the "civilizing mission" of the "superior Italians" in bringing light and culture to the "barbarous Africans"?

Obviously, the theory of race as an explanation of the oppression of colored peoples is the best weapon in the hands of the Negroes' worst enemies, the stock-in-trade of the Negro-baiting lynch-lords of the South, the Bilbos, the Ellenders, etc.! Japan has used this vicious race superiority theory in

claiming for herself the leadership of the East; but it is the worst kind of a theory for Negroes to endorse. It is a two-edged sword that has been used against us in the past and is more likely to be used against us than for us in the future. What is the difference between Hitler's "Aryan" superman doctrine of world rule, and the Mikado's "divine mission" to rule the "lesser breeds" of Asia?

How little a part this fiction of "race" plays in practical world politics is shown by the fact that Hitler has admitted the Japanese into a charmed circle of "superior peoples"—"the Aryans of the East."

Furthermore, the Japanese rulers with their talk about the "divine racial mission" of Japan in the East, to bring "order and civilization" to the "inferior" non-Japanese people of Asia, have, it is clear, accepted the questionable honor bestowed upon them by the Negro-hater, Hitler.

The Negro and other darker peoples cannot free themselves by conceding the race theories of their bitterest enemies, theories which have as their aim the justification of their oppression. These theories, refuted by every reputable anthropologist today, are calculated to maintain the division among the worldwide forces of progress and democracy, those forces in every country which are striving to unite in order to hold back the tide of international fascism which threatens to engulf the world.

#### JAPAN BETRAYS ETHIOPIA

With Tokyo agents feverishly trying to sell the idea of the "liberation of the colored races" by the grace of imperial Japan, it is surely pertinent to ask what happened to the promises in regard to Ethiopia of the Masao Dodos, and of the leaders of the Pro-Japanese Pacific Movement of the Darker Peoples, that Japan would save the Ethiopians?

We remember that in the autumn of 1935, when fascist

Italy launched its piratical invasion of Ethiopia, many eagerly turned their eyes toward the self-proclaimed "champion" of the darker peoples. Were we not assured by Japanese agents and apologists that the might of the Empire of the Rising Sun would be exerted on behalf of the menaced Ethiopian people? Were we not assured that the whole world was about to be given proof that imperialist Japan was in reality the champion and the defender of the colored peoples?

And what happened? Everybody now knows that Japan's rulers did not lift a finger to help the heroic Ethiopian people. On the contrary, the Japanese government sabotaged every move designed to hinder the fascist aggressors and to aid the Ethiopian people.

And did not the Japanese government in 1936 shamelessly give its approval to the rape of Ethiopia by extending formal recognition of Mussolini's "Ethiopian Empire," thereby sabotaging Emperor Haile Selassie's efforts to block Mussolini's campaign for international recognition of his pretensions to rule the Ethiopian people?

Japan's seizure of Manchuria cast a shadow over Ethiopia. Japan's methods in Manchuria were used later on as a model by Mussolini in his war against Ethiopia. Mussolini emulated Japan's policy of attacking without a declaration of war. The Italian dictator's confidence in preparing for the seizure of Ethiopia, his arrogance in dealing with the League of Nations, were largely inspired by Japan's earlier successes in Manchuria, its violation of the League of Nations Covenant guaranteeing the territorial integrity of member nations, its successful defiance of the League.

Thus we have the spectacle of the "protector" of the darker peoples not only endorsing the rape of Ethiopia but inspiring that rape by its own lawless adventures in the Far East.

#### IV. Japan and the Soviet Union— Two Policies Toward China

**L**ET US compare the policy of military fascist Japan toward China with the policy of another great power and neighbor of China—the socialist Soviet Union.

From its inception, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics denounced the imperialistic foreign policy of the former tsarist regime.

On July 25, 1919, when the Soviet government was a scant year and a half old, it declared its policy toward China. It relinquished all conquests made in China by tsarist imperialism, and proposed friendly relations with China on the basis of complete equality. The first point of the proclamation states that the "Government of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republics declares all treaties concluded by the previous government with China to be null and void; it relinquishes all conquests of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China; it returns to China for all time everything of which that country has been robbed by the tsarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie, and it does so without demanding compensation."

In 1924, when the Soviet Union concluded a treaty with China on the basis of the policy enunciated in 1919, the world was provided with an example of how a socialist nation, rejecting the predatory aims of imperialism, treats a weaker neighbor. It was the first treaty China had ever signed on the basis of full equality and friendship. In 1937, a pact of non-aggression between China and the Soviet Union was signed—a

treaty in which the Soviet Union once more confirmed her absolutely just attitude toward weaker peoples.

But imperialist Japan has behaved toward China like all other imperialist bandits. Where the Soviet Union sought to aid the Chinese people to overcome their feudal backwardness Japan used its superior military development to force shameful conditions upon China.

To continue the contrast further: the Soviet Union eliminated special privileges for Russian citizens in China. Japan insisted upon holding China to the degrading system of extra-territoriality, under which Chinese courts may not exercise jurisdiction over foreigners charged with criminal offenses, but must turn them over to the Consular Courts maintained by Japan and other imperialist powers on the territory of China, for trial of their own nationals.

The Soviet Union renounced all predatory slave-treaties imposed upon China by the tsarist government. It voluntarily renounced all conquests made by the former regime in China. It treated China as an equal.

Japan, on the other hand, upheld and defended together with the other imperialist powers the unequal treaties, the special rights and privileges, and all the apparatus of foreign domination of China.

The Soviet Union repudiated the Boxer Protocol, which China was forced to sign after the bloody suppression of the anti-foreign, anti-imperialist Boxer Rebellion of 1900, by the armed forces of tsarist Russia, Britain, France, the United States, Germany, and Japan.

Japan's rulers, on the contrary, insisted upon their pound of flesh, demanding regular indemnity payments from China under the Boxer Protocol.

The friendly attitude of the Soviet Union toward China naturally was reflected in the sympathies of the Chinese people toward their powerful socialist neighbor. The gratitude of the

people was expressed by Doctor Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionist, as follows:

“ . . . I firmly believe that the assistance which you have rendered my country up to now will remain constant. In bidding you farewell, dear comrades, I express the hope that the day is near when the U.S.S.R. will welcome a mighty and free China as a friend and ally, and that in the great struggles for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world, both allies will march side by side to victory.”  
(From letter by Doctor Sun Yat-sen to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet government.)

Particularly significant in this connection is the contrast between the fate of the Manchurians, Koreans, and Formosans, on the one hand, crushed under the heel of their Japanese conquerors; and, on the other, the freedom and democracy obtaining in the Outer Mongolian People's Republic—a country which has the friendship and the help of the great peoples of the Soviet Union.

In a Report on the Mongolian People's Republic, published on November 20, 1935, by the American Foreign Policy Association, which numbers among its members many experts on questions of international policy, we read:

“In Outer Mongolia the masses of the people are building up a new social order, and are thereby abolishing the former rights of the princes and lamas. . . . *In contrast to Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, the changes in Outer Mongolia are founded on intentions actually corresponding with Mongolian interests, and even the process of change is in the hands of the Mongols.* . . . It is only in Outer Mongolia that the lower and higher administrative posts are held by Mongols, the schools indubitably Mongolian, and the troops completely Mongolian.”

Japanese-controlled Manchuria, where the “civil service” of Manchukuo consists of 6,000 persons, 4,000 of whom are Japanese, presents an entirely different picture.

Further, states the report, “the government controls the key positions of economy, such as the banks and the foreign trade monopoly.” Contrast this democratic control of the Mongolian

people over their own economy with the ruthless imperialist-fascist domination of Manchurian, Korean, and Formosan economy by the Japanese.

When the Soviet Union initiated a movement of more than fifty nations, including the non-League member the United States, condemning Italy's aggression against Ethiopia, Japan as well as Germany stood aloof. Teclé Hawariate, delegate of Ethiopia, gave an interview to James W. Ford at Geneva, and he praised the stand taken by the Soviet Union (*Daily Worker*, September 30, 1935). The Soviet film "Abyssinia" explodes the lie of Mussolini's propaganda machine that the Emperor Haile Selassie fled from Ethiopia because of cowardice. The Negus and Litvinoff at Geneva together have fought for world peace.

## V. The Real Liberators of China

ONE-FOURTH of the human race lives in China. Is it any wonder that the imperialists have dreaded the prospect of the consolidation of China's four hundred and fifty million people into a united and powerful nation?

Today, China's huge population stands united against the invader. And it is the recognition of this vital fact that furnishes the key to the understanding of the attitude of all groups to the present Sino-Japanese War. Baron Tanaka's fear of an awakened China, its threat to Japan's expansionist dreams, are indeed well-founded. A new and united China faces the Japanese invader. The Chinese people have overcome division within their ranks and now stand solidly together, determined to fling off the foreign yoke and to secure the independence of their country.



The program around which this unity has been achieved was clearly outlined in 1936 in the stirring "Manifesto to the Whole of the Chinese People on Resistance to Japan and the Salvation of the Fatherland," addressed to the Kuomintang (Chinese People's Party) by the government of the Chinese Soviet districts and the Communist Party. This historic document called for "the establishment of an All-China United People's Government of National Defense," to resist the encroachments of the Japanese imperialists. Declaring that the main task facing such a government "will be to organize resistance to Japanese imperialism, and the salvation of the fatherland," the manifesto called for the extension of democratic liberties to all sections of the Chinese people, and the improvement of the living conditions of the masses, as the best guarantee for unity of the people against the invaders.

At the present time, the national salvation movement in China is moving forward under the banner of this program. The Japanese military fascists and the reactionary imperialist circles in Europe and America—all of those who have benefited from the disunity of China in the past, and the semi-colonial oppression of its peoples—have due cause for alarm. For it is against the sinister forces of reaction the world over that this movement is directed. Its aim is *to establish a free, independent China.*

The Japanese fascists-militarists, under the guise of liberating China, are attempting to crush the united liberation movement of the Chinese people. They are attempting to crush the struggle of an awakened Chinese people—the most powerful force fighting for a free China, a free Asia. It is clear that the real liberators of China are the Chinese people themselves, and it is this force that the Japanese rulers fear.

## VI. The Enemy Is Fascism

THE theory of Japan as the champion of the darker races ignores the fact that militarist-fascist Japan itself is oppressing weaker colored peoples in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria. It tends to divert attention from the main danger threatening the Negro and colonial peoples and all humanity—the deadly menace of fascism. It is clear that support for the ally of Mussolini and Hitler means support for fascism, support for colonial oppression.

Fascism in every land, in its drive for power, as well as in its efforts to retain power, invariably fastens upon racial prejudices and animosities, fanning them into a flame to divide the people. Here in the United States, a far-flung system of racial oppression—based upon ideas rooted deep in chattel slavery and with strong survivals up to the present day—provides a fertile soil for fascism.

With the rise of fascism, we have seen a new revival on a world scale of the spurious "Science of Race," false theories of Negro inferiority, and of the "'Nordic' master race." Hitler has taken over, lock, stock and barrel, the racial theories of Gobineau, of Madison Grant, of Lothrop Stoddard, and of the Southern Bourbons, as a weapon against the Jews, and to support his demands for the right of Nazi Germany to African colonies.

To the ear of the American Negro, is there not a ring of familiarity in the following, from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*:

"The black-haired Jewish youth lies in wait for hours, satanic joy in his face, for the unsuspecting girl, whom he defiles with his blood and thereby robs from her own race. . . .

"There were and are Jews who brought Negroes to the Rhine, always with the same aim and idea in their minds of destroying, through the bastardization that must inevitably result, the white race which they hate—of bringing it down from its high cultural and political level, and themselves getting the mastery over it."

In Nazi Germany, it is the Jewish people who are the scape-goats for fascist race hatred and slander. In America, no one can doubt that the Negro will be the worst sufferer, should fascism be victorious in this country.

#### WHAT FASCISM WOULD MEAN TO THE NEGRO

Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, in a speech made on April 3, 1938, at a banquet commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Jewish Daily Courier* in Chicago, declared that fascism, "arrogant, devoid of conscience, and knowing no mercy for man, woman, or child," is a real threat to American institutions.

"Do not forget," he warned, "that in America the Jews are not the only minority group. One has only to turn his mind from the international Ku Kluxism of fascism, to the Ku Kluxism that is natively American, in order to discover here a rich field for oppression and terrorism!

"Against this background, it is not difficult to foresee that fascism, if it should ever become established in this country, would have not only its Jewish devil, it would have its Negro devil. . . ."

Let us not be deceived, therefore, by the false contention that the condition of Negroes "could not be worse under fascism"; that we have "always known fascism."

What would fascist rule mean to the Negro? Let us imagine for a moment that the policies of the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion were the official policies of the national government at Washington, as today anti-Semitism is the official policy of the Nazi murder regime in Germany. That is what the victory of fascism in our country would mean for the Negro.

Today, lynching is still considered a crime before the law.

Under fascism, the lynching of Negroes would be elevated to a national institution, legalized as a method of keeping the Negro "in his place," in the same manner that bloody pogroms against the Jews in Germany have become the official policy of the Hitler regime. "Most of the Negroes lynched (in the United States) do not merit any regret," says Hitler, friend of Italy and Japan.

In the South, especially, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution are openly violated. Notwithstanding that fact, these amendments remain a part of the law of the land, and as such provide the legal basis upon which the Negro people are at present fighting against Jim-crowism and lynching. The Negro's fight now takes the form of a fight for acknowledged constitutional rights, which are illegally violated, particularly in the South. If, however, America goes fascist, Negroes would have no constitutional rights whatever in the South or anywhere else. As Ickes intimates, the Ku Klux Klan would be the Constitution. Those constitutional provisions upon which Negroes can today build their struggle for full civil rights would have no existence under a fascist regime.

Fascism would mean the abrogation of the Constitution itself, and would wipe out completely the results of seventy years of struggle and sacrifice in the cause of Negro freedom, and plunge the Negro people back into virtually pre-Civil War status. It would mean that the infamous Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court, wiped out in blood on a hundred battlefields of the Civil War, would again become the law of the land—the decision which declared:

"They [the Negroes] are beings of an inferior order, altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they have no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

Negro America has only recently heard the voices of fas-

cism in the filibuster of Southern Senators against the Anti-Lynching Bill, their shameless slanders of the Negro people, their subversive, traitorous attacks on democracy.

Said Senator Ellender, of Louisiana:

"I'd vote today to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment [guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote]. I don't want to see any Negro senators sitting in this Senate. I don't want to see any Negro governor."

Said Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi:

". . . Wherever we find the Negro, he is minus the creative faculty, and if partially civilized by an imposed culture, he drifts back into savagery and reverts back to his original type."

The more the fight for democracy develops in the South, the more clearly do the spokesmen of Bourbon interests recognize their kinship with Hitlerism. Thus the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier*, voicing Southern reaction, makes the revealing editorial statement in its issue of January 10, 1938:

"In the South, Democracy (the Democratic Party) and democracy are opposites. *Southern 'white supremacy' with virtual exclusion of Negroes from political affairs is the denial of democracy, in truth is more akin to fascism. The News and Courier believes in the expediency . . . and the righteousness of this denial. We surely have not democracy in the South. . . . The News and Courier hates the thought of it.*" (Our emphasis.)

It is these Bourbons whom President Franklin D. Roosevelt bluntly denounced in his speech of March 23, 1938, at Gainesville, Georgia, as "those who believe in their hearts that the feudal system is still the best system." Linking up the representatives of the Southern ruling class with fascism, he declared:

"When you come right down to it, there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system."

These fascist ideas are not confined to the South. The filibuster and the vote against cloture in the Senate revealed clearly the direct hook-up between the representatives of the

Southern mill-owners and landlords, and the fascist-minded men of Wall Street, who are, after all, the real owners of the South, of its natural resources, of its plantations and industries. The lion's share of the profits accruing from the super-exploitation of the Negro and the pauperized poor whites of the South flows into the coffers of the financial overlords of Wall Street. The policies toward Negroes being enforced in the South are the policies of finance capital—of "America's Sixty Families."

Is it not obvious that the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Legion, and other extra-legal bodies are the shock troops of budding American fascism; that their rampages against labor, the foreign-born, and Negroes are but dress rehearsals for a future violent onslaught on American democracy and the whole American people, now being planned by the economic royalists of Wall Street?

The fate of the Negro people, of oppressed and subject peoples everywhere, is inextricably bound up with the world struggle against fascism.

Fascism develops out of imperialism. It is the open terrorist rule of the big moneyed interests, the unbridled dictatorship of the forces of entrenched greed. In America the victory of fascism would mean the unrestrained rule of those interests aptly described by Secretary of the Interior Ickes as those "who, possessing wealth and economic power and social prestige, were willing to sacrifice the liberties of America in order that they might cling a little longer to their power."

#### FASCISM BEATS THE DRUMS OF WAR

Fascist tendencies appear when the bankruptcy of capitalism becomes evident, when the policies of imperialist circles placing unbearable burdens on the shoulders of the toilers are met with definite and organized mass resistance; when this resistance of an awakened population, disillusioned and un-

willing to suffer in the midst of plenty, has developed to the point where profits are menaced and the whole profit system endangered. At this point, the ruling cliques seek to discard whatever elements of democracy there may exist and substitute their open dictatorship of terror over the masses—fascism. Such are the irrefutable lessons of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

But fascism, unable to solve the difficulties of capitalism at home, turns to military adventure and war abroad.

The horrors of Ethiopia, Spain, China—totalitarian wars against civilian populations, the indiscriminate bombing of non-combatants—these are but a foretaste of what fascism plans to unleash upon the world. These are but outpost skirmishes for the bloody shambles into which the international bandits of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo would plunge humanity.

Fascism means war. This is no idle supposition, but a positive reality. Listen to the statements of its leading representatives:

*Hitler*: "Pacifism is the deadly sin, for it means the surrender of the race. Had the German race been united in time, it would have been master of the globe. . . . The healthiest organisms have grown out of the bloodiest wars. . . . Eternal peace will lead humanity to the tomb. . . . The ultimate decision belongs to naked force, and the best defensive weapon is to attack." (*Mein Kampf*.)

*Mussolini*: "Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. . . . War alone brings up to the highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have courage to make it." (*The Political and Social Doctrines of Fascism*.)

*General Araki*: "Our imperial spirit (kodo), which is the embodiment of the union between the true soul of the Japanese state and the great ideal of the Japanese people, is by its nature a thing which must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents. All obstacles interfering with this must be destroyed with strong determination, not stopping at the application of real force." ("Problems Facing Japan," in *Kaikosha*, July, 1932, quoted in the *New York Japan Chronicle*, March 22, 1933.)

These are the ideas back of the fascist plans for another World War. The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo pact is a war pact of the leading fascist nations.

*The central issue for all progressive people in face of the menace of a new world war that is being prepared by the fascist powers is human progress against reaction--democracy versus fascism. Shall civilization, centuries of human endeavor, be sacrificed to perpetuate the reign of the privileged few? Shall humanity be thrust back into barbarism in order that the forces of entrenched greed and monopoly might continue their plunder of the people?*

The fascist war drive can be checked. But this can be done only if the democratic and peace-loving forces in all countries rally behind an effective program to protect peace and democracy.

## VII. Democracy and the Colonial Peoples

THE argument of Japan as unifier and champion of the darker races, rooted as it is in false race theories, holds up an entirely incorrect picture of a united white world solidly aligned in opposition to the aspirations of colored humanity for liberation.

The utter absurdity of this argument is by now apparent. Carried to its logical conclusion, it would mean that the Negro, in his fight for equality and freedom, stands alone; that opposed to his fourteen million in the United States stand a hundred million white Americans; that a united white Europe and America stand opposed to the hopes of the African and Asiatic peoples. What a hopeless picture! Obviously, no pro-



gram for liberation of oppressed and subject nations could be based upon such a patently false premise.

Where shall the Negro and other oppressed peoples look for allies? Who are the natural friends of the subject and colonial peoples in their fight for national emancipation?

This is a central question for the Negro people, for colored humanity. Obviously, our allies must be sought among the forces of peace and democracy in all countries, among the opponents of imperialism and its offspring, fascism.

Today the fight against imperialism is being joined by new forces. Active support for the liberation movements of colonial and subject peoples is no longer confined to the Communist Parties and the most advanced sections of the labor movement in the imperialist countries. The recognition of the menace of fascism by ever-growing numbers within the imperialist countries has brought about a regrouping of forces, bringing the majority of the populations of these countries into the movement against fascism and consequently against imperialism. The anti-imperialist sentiments which stamp the popular movement against fascism in the democratic countries result from the fact that those who sincerely fight against fascism inevitably confront sooner or later the power behind the fascist drive—reactionary finance capital. The struggle of the colonial peoples becomes an integral part of the front of democracy against the fascist warmakers. This truth has been strikingly demonstrated in the war of the Ethiopian people for their independence, against the offensive of Italian fascism.

The invasion of Ethiopia by Mussolini saw alike the sympathies of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa, the international working class, the progressive movement in the democratic countries, the underground movement within the fascist countries, the smaller nations, and, above all, the Soviet Union, openly on the side of the Ethiopian people in their struggle for independence. On the other hand, the sympathies of the

fascist nations and the pro-fascist elements in the democratic countries were no less openly on the side of Mussolini.

#### TORIES AND FASCISM

In Great Britain, the link between the growing labor and progressive movement and the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies has been abundantly shown in numerous demonstrations and acts of solidarity with the Chinese, Indian, and African peoples. Here the mass indignation at the proposed treacherous sell-out of the Tory Baldwin government to Mussolini, at the expense of Ethiopia, almost caused a governmental crisis, which was staved off only by the ousting of the then Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare.

The present Tory Chamberlain government has made concession after concession to the fascist aggressors. This government, representing the most reactionary imperialist circles of Great Britain, continually sought to reach a corrupt agreement with Mussolini at the expense of Ethiopia, and has up to the present time worked in close alliance with Hitler in every move of the Nazi drive.

Just as they aid Mussolini in Ethiopia, so the British Tories seek to help the Japanese fascist-militarists out of the difficulties they are encountering from the heroic resistance of a united China. At this very moment they are assisting Japan with loans and credits and exerting pressure upon China to accept the robber "peace" terms laid down by Tokyo. The Chamberlain government feels that a defeat of Japan in China would strengthen the democratic forces throughout the world, encourage the national liberation movements in the Asiatic colonies, weaken the hold of imperialism on Africa, and raise the possibility of a democratic Japan, thus taking out of the hands of the imperialists their main stalking-horse in the Far East against the U.S.S.R.

But opposition to Chamberlain's pro-fascist policy is grow-

ing among the British people, as ever larger masses are coming to realize that the Tory program menaces not only the colonial and weaker people but the democratic liberties and interests of the British people itself.

Recently this opposition has assumed tremendous proportions as shown in the wave of indignation which swept the nation at the time of the negotiation of the Anglo-Italian agreement. This took the form of militant large-scale demonstrations in London and throughout the country in which Chamberlain's attempt to aid Italian fascism at the expense of the Ethiopian and Spanish peoples was bitterly denounced. It was also manifested in the defeat of the Tory government in a number of important by-elections.

The line of unity of the labor movement and the building of the common front of all liberty-loving people for peace and the defense of democracy has won the support of millions in Great Britain. At the head of this movement and its foremost spokesman is the valiant Communist Party of Great Britain.

#### THE FRENCH PEOPLE'S FRONT AND THE COLONIES

In France, the Popular Front, led by a solid militant labor movement and uniting through the progressive parties and organizations the majority of the French people, is waging a successful struggle against the financial oligarchy represented by the two hundred families who control the economic life of the country. This latter group, working hand in hand with the British Tories, seeks to preserve its rule of plunder and profit by wiping out democracy and imposing a regime of fascism upon the people. This is the group which, during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, stood for an alliance with Mussolini, backing up the infamous Laval-Hoare-Il Duce agreement, whereby Ethiopia was to be divided into "spheres of influence" between Italy, France, and England. This group also worked in cooperation with Hitler against the Franco-

Soviet pact for mutual defense, aimed to buttress European democracy against fascism.

But the Popular Front, a coalition of all democratic parties, all peace-loving and progressive forces, initiated by the powerful Communist Party of France to defeat fascism and to maintain peace, enabled the French people to hurl back the first assaults of French fascism in its attempt to seize power in 1934. It was this force that has saved France for democracy, steadily improving the living standards and strengthening the organization of the masses.

From the beginning, the outstanding leaders and organizers of the Popular Front movement in France clearly understood the necessity of forging a strong link between the democratic people of France and the peoples of the French colonies struggling for national emancipation against French imperialism. In fact such an alliance between democratic France and the colonial peoples was from the outset regarded as a central point in the whole program of defense of democracy, against the common fascist enemy within France itself and without.

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the great French Communist Party, which more than any other force contributed to the organization of the People's Front and the formulation of its program, clearly stated the attitude of French democracy toward the colonial peoples:

"Hitler may think he insults us by speaking of our people as contaminated and bastardized by the Black Race. We are proud to be sons of the great French Revolution, which freed the slaves in the colonies and made the Martinique Negro a French citizen, the equal of the peasant of Burgundy and of the Parisian artisan." (Report of Maurice Thorez to the Ninth Congress of the French Communist Party.\*)

Has the People's Front benefited the colonial peoples? In

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\* Maurice Thorez, *France of the People's Front*, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

answer to this question, we have but to quote the facts, as given by outstanding leaders of the liberation movement in France's North African colonies.

Du Kaddour Bel Kaim, Arab Secretary of the Communist Party of Algeria, speaking at the same Ninth Congress, said:

“. . . Before the People's Front government, our people did not enjoy any political or trade union freedom. Before the People's Front government, we did not have the democratic right to organize the Algerian-Arabian workers for better wages, which would enable them to improve their miserable conditions. The agricultural workers were making four francs per day. The dockworkers were making hardly 18 to 20 francs per day. Previous to the victory of the People's Front, we were not allowed to organize ourselves in trade unions, nor in the Communist Party. . . . Since the victory of May, 1936, we have the right to organize, the right to belong to the Communist Party. The Moslem Congress, which made history in our country, was marked by the presence of 6,000 delegates. . . . Social legislation, increased wages, the 40-hour week, paid vacations, have already been obtained.”

Quoting from an Arab paper, he continued:

“All these gains that we have made are due in great part to the action of the popular masses of France. They are the ones who gave us the government of the People's Front, and it is through them that we have obtained all this.”

The representative of the Tunisian Communist Party declared, at the same Congress:

“At last Tunisia has begun to breathe. The People's Front has been first of all an era of freedom; it brought about the repatriation of the comrades who were exiled in Romada, and the freedom of our political prisoners. The trade unions which up till 1935 numbered 3,000 members, now with the advent of the People's Front have a membership of 50,000 of whom 35,000 are native Arabs. . . . Wages have been increased to a great degree. Collective contracts have been a guarantee against the arbitrary rule of the employers that existed previously. Increased wages have heightened the dignity of the Tunisian workers and this increased dignity has made a great impression upon the workers themselves. The People's Front has cemented a great hope in

the hearts of the Tunisian people, a great love toward the democratic republic of France."

An idea of how the People's Front of France has benefited the colonial peoples, in spite of the desperate resistance from reactionary circles in France and their colonial henchmen, is contained in the following Associated Press dispatch of March 6, 1938:

"The French Mayors of eleven Algerian towns resigned today in protest against approval by the Chamber of Deputies electoral committee in Paris of a bill which would give the right to vote to thousands of Algerian natives."

It is the People's Front majority in the French Chamber of Deputies which, in line with its whole policy of fighting fascism and defending democracy, is pushing through such reforms as this, and thus extending democracy to the peoples of the French colonies.

Let us not forget that not only has French imperialism not been overthrown, but on the contrary it is still strong, and is desperately opposing the fulfillment of the People's Front program. Finance capital, enemy of both the French masses and the colonial people, still dominates the economic life of the country, and continues, through its tools in the governmental apparatus, to dictate to a large measure the colonial policy of France, and influences its domestic policy. At this very moment the reactionary imperialist circles in France, in conspiracy with Hitler and the British Tories, have succeeded in ousting temporarily the People's Front as the party of government, substituting for it the government of Daladier, which, even more than the vacillating Blum government, has in foreign affairs become a tail to the British Tory kite.

But the People's Front is not defeated. Supported by the wide masses of Communist and Socialist workers, by the trade unions, and the majority of the French people generally, it

still lives and grows, and will yet prove the undoing of the traitorous pro-fascist elements of French moneyed interests.

This democratic front, despite its weaknesses and shortcomings, was the one force that in 1934 stopped fascism and saved democracy in France. The profound implication of this accomplishment for the colonial peoples of France becomes clear, when the issue is faced! What would a fascist-dominated France mean to the peoples of Morocco, Algiers, Senegal, Indo-China, etc.? Clearly, it would mean regimes of the type installed in Ethiopia, Korea, and Manchuria by Italy and Japan.

Maurice Thorez, leader of the Communist Party, in his report before the recent Congress of the Party in France, vividly outlined the shortcomings and tasks of the People's Front government, and demanded the "establishment of the rights of colonial peoples in North Africa, Indo-China, etc." He re-stated the Communist position on the right of self-determination, the right of independence of colonial peoples, and pledged his Party to work to "create the conditions of a free and friendly union between the French and colonial peoples."

The Indian National Congress too has been especially active in support of Ethiopia. Great mass meetings were held in defense of Ethiopia in 1935-36, greetings were sent to Spain, an Indian medical corps has been sent to China, etc. The Chinese Soviets, now amalgamated with the Chinese National Government for defense against Japan, sent greetings to Ethiopia and Spain in 1936. Ethiopians, Chinese, and Japanese anti-fascists have fought in the International Brigades in Spain for democracy and the independence of peoples. Ahmed-din-Josef\* of heroic memory, an Ethiopian machine-gunner, died fighting in the Garibaldi Battalion, the battalion of Italian anti-fascist

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\* *Negro Worker*, June, 1937, p. 2.

fighters in Spain. Our own American Negroes, Oliver Law, Milton Herndon, Douglas Roach, and others, have given their lives in the same cause.

The partial success of the Nazis and the fascists in Spain led to a renewed attack of the Japanese on China in 1937. Italy signed the "Anti-Comintern" agreement with Germany and Japan on November 6, 1937. Italy withdrew her air mission assisting the Kuomintang government in December. At the same time Japan recognized Franco. On December 11 Italy finally resigned from the League of Nations, following the example of Japan in 1931, and of Germany in 1933.

Nazi Germany has shown her intimacy with both the white plunderers of Ethiopia and the colored plunderers of China by recognition of Ethiopia (1936) and of Manchukuo (1938), by continuing her joint war with Italy against Spain, and by withdrawing her military mission aiding the Chinese government (1938), etc. The Nazis have shown their attitude toward Negroes by the *sterilization* of thousands of Negroes who have lived in the Rhineland ever since the occupation by French colonial troops. The snubbing of the great Negro athlete Jesse Owens by Hitler at the Olympics in 1936 should be contrasted with the warm reception given to Paul Robeson,\* the great Negro singer, and other Negroes, in the Soviet Union.

#### REPUBLICAN SPAIN AND THE MOORISH PEOPLE

The present People's Front government of Loyalist Spain, expressing the united will of the population in the fight against fascism, recognizes as a part of its whole fight for the preservation of democracy and against fascism the right of nations within its jurisdiction to autonomy, to a free national existence.

This policy was carried out in the case of the Catalonians and the Basques, who of their own accord decided to unite

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\* Paul Robeson is a sponsor of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.



with the rest of Loyalist Spain in the fight against the common foe, fascism. The Loyalist government, following the same line, recognized the right of the Moroccan people to self-government, and pledged fulfillment of this as soon as Franco's fascists are driven out of Spain and Morocco.

It may be asked, why has not the Spanish government already granted independence to Morocco? The answer is clear.

Spanish Morocco is at present in the hands of the fascists—Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco. Through their bribed tools, the reactionary Moroccan chiefs, they are using the manpower of Morocco as mercenaries in a war against democracy.

Obviously a declaration of independence for the Moroccan people on the part of the Loyalist government now, with Franco's fascists in power there, would be tantamount to ceding Morocco to the fascists. It would be desertion of the liberation struggle of the Moroccan people to the tender mercies of Mussolini and Franco. He who does not see that the fight for democracy in Spain must inevitably by its very nature be an ally to the Moroccan people, is either blind or is working in the interests of fascism.

## VIII. The Negro's Stake in Democracy

**A**MIDST the confusion and complications of today, which are piled up on the international scale as well as on the home front, the Negro people are faced with the vital problem of making a clear-cut decision and following it through. The gains of seventy years' struggle since the Civil War hang in the balance. Today as never before it is necessary that we soberly appraise our position, realistically approach the prob-

lems facing us and map our fight for ultimate emancipation.

Our history in this country from the earliest slave revolts up to the present day has been one of continuous striving for the ideals of democracy, for the attainment of those "inalienable" human rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. The Civil War marked a decisive step forward in the attainment of this goal. The period of Reconstruction which followed witnessed the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution, granting citizen rights to the Negro freedman. This period, with the emancipated slaves supported by their allies, North and South, stepping forth to take their place in government, marked the highest point yet achieved by the Negro people in the fight for freedom. But the job was not complete. The new freedom was short-lived. The end of Reconstruction saw democracy betrayed, the cause of Negro freedom abandoned through a treacherous deal between the big moneyed interests of the North, controlling the Republican Party, and the former slaveholders.

The Hayes-Tilden "gentlemen's agreement," in which the Republican Party granted the former slave owners a free hand to "rule their states in their own way," blasted the hopes of the Negroes for land and for real democracy. The plantation, a relic of chattel slavery, was restored on a new basis from which sprang a system of sharecropping, debt bondage, and peonage, buttressed by disfranchisement, the denial of civil rights, and lynch terror. When reaction thus swept the South, it blotted out also the gains of the poor whites which had been won in alliance with the Negro freedmen.

At the root of the Negro problem lies the unsolved land question in the South. Land peonage, the very foundation of Negro oppression in the South, spreads its dismal shadow over the Negro people wherever they are, reflecting itself in all forms of discrimination throughout the country. The Ne-

gro people today, seventy-five years after the bloody sacrifices of the Civil War and Reconstruction, are still fighting for full democratic rights, *i.e.*, land, equality, and freedom.

However, today this fight takes place in a new setting. The industrialists and financiers of the North, who betrayed democracy in 1877, have become the imperialist monopolists of Wall Street, with their best friends and allies among the descendants of the former slave-holding oligarchy. This coalition between the dominant imperialists of Wall Street and the Ku Kluxers of the South, this modern edition of the unspeakable "gentlemen's agreement," constitutes the fascist threat in this country today, not only to the Negro people, but to all democratic America.

Against this threat, the forces of progress and freedom are gathering and uniting. Today, as in 1861, embattled democracy rises to strike down the new hooded menace and to assert once again the fundamental rights of humanity. The Negro and white masses, separated in 1877 by the dastardly sell-out of democracy by the Republican Party, are again joining forces against the common enemy.

But this new alliance of democracy is being resumed on a new and more lasting basis. Today it is being resumed under the leadership of the working class on the solid foundation of unity of Negro and white labor. The fight for Negro liberation, a component part of the struggle for democracy, is now proceeding under the sign of the leadership of the organized labor movement, and its Communist vanguard.

The Negro people in their centuries-old fight for freedom have at last found true allies. Allies whose own interests are indissolubly bound up with the fight for freedom of the Negro people, and who are motivated by the understanding of that great truth enunciated by Karl Marx, "Labor in the white skin cannot be free where labor in the black skin is branded."

In the two years since the 1936 elections, the camp of

democracy has been broadened and strengthened. In spite of temporary reverses and setbacks, the progressive forces have steadily advanced their positions. Organized labor has broken through the reactionary stronghold of the "open shop," and established a powerful and militant industrial union movement. The American people, in spite of the savage offensive of the economic royalists, have forced through significant social reforms. The progressive movement has penetrated into that hotbed of reactionary conspiracy, "the solid South," stimulating the growth of the democratic forces, Negro and white, and winning for itself strong positions against Bourbon reaction.

Today these progressive forces rallying around the fight for jobs, security, democracy and peace have everywhere proclaimed upon their banner the recognition of the rights of the Negro people.

It has been the alliance of the Negro people with the progressive sections of the white population which in the last few years has constituted the greatest force in the country for the advancement of the cause of Negro liberation. Directly as a result of this growing unity between the Negro and white we have seen Angelo Herndon freed from the Georgia chain gang, and four of the Scottsboro boys wrested from death and prison on the wave of a tremendous mass movement which spread throughout the world.

A definite part of the Scottsboro victory was the defeat of Southern Bourbon reaction on the constitutional issue of the right of Negroes to serve on juries. Recently this unity was expressed in the powerful support given by labor and the progressive people, South as well as North, to the movement for the enactment of Federal Anti-lynching legislation. Most important, however, has been the advances made on the economic field. The advent of the C.I.O. and the great advance of militant industrial trade unionism has doubtlessly been a

prime factor in breaking down Jim-Crow bars and practices in the trade unions, resulting in the participation en masse of Negro industrial workers, on the basis of equality, in the trade union movement of the country. Thus today, Negro membership in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions has reached the unprecedented number of 500,000.

Most significant of all is the fact that the labor and progressive movements are breaking through the "solid South," there uniting Negro and white. A powerful movement for the extension of the franchise to the Negro people and poor whites is spreading with Right-to-Vote clubs springing up throughout the South.

This alliance of Negroes and whites based on an identity of interests in the struggle for common rights against the common enemy has been the main instrument for the achievement of these great victories. It is this alliance that has brought the Negro question forward in a manner unprecedented since the Civil War and Reconstruction and has made the cause of Negro liberation an important factor in the political life of the entire country.

Clearly the interest of the Negro people lies in the continuation and strengthening of this alliance. It is for this reason that we must emphatically reject all ideas which tend to weaken this unity, all ideas which contend that the fight for Negro rights, *i.e.*, for our full participation in American democracy, is something separate and apart from the fight of the whole American people for the preservation and extension of democratic freedom. This is why the fiction of fascist Japan as the champion of the darker races against a presumably solid white world, based as it is on the false conception of race against race, is so dangerous to the interests of our people. The supporters of this theory would direct our justified hatred of the white ruling class oppressors into channels of hatred of all whites; that is, they would separate us from our true allies and

thus weaken our fight. Such doctrines can only play into the hands of our bitterest enemies. Not race against race as advocated by Hitler and the Southern Bourbons, but the fighting alliance of the Negro, of all colonial and subject peoples, with the forces of democracy the world over, against the predatory forces, against fascism—such is our road to freedom.

American Negroes will understand that the Japanese propaganda among us to the effect that Japan is the protector of the colored peoples is just as unscrupulous. We must root out the ignorance which the oppression of the American ruling class has foisted upon us and which enables Japanese agents even to claim that the Japanese government supports the Scottsboro boys. The Scottsboro boys are our boys, the Scottsboro case is our case, and the victories that we have won so far we have won hand in hand with the white workers, against the friends of the colored parasites who rule Japan.

The Negro and all colored humanity in their fight for freedom should seek inspiration not in fascist Japan but in that great country which has abolished racial persecution, national hatreds and oppression over one-sixth of the earth and established a fraternity of free peoples. The tremendous cultural advances made by the liberated multi-colored nationalities in the U.S.S.R. shatters the chauvinist theory of the "inherent inferiority" of the darker peoples.

Of a population of 175,000,000 people in the Soviet Union, more than one-fourth are dark-skinned peoples. These peoples are today sharing in the general prosperity and cultural advance that has been achieved under socialism.

Not only by words but by deeds, the Soviet Union has proved itself the real torch-bearer of the national emancipatory movements of the oppressed peoples all over the world. The Soviet Union has consistently opposed the colonial subjugation of weaker peoples, and imperialist fascist aggression. Was it not Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign

Affairs, whose voice was loudest in the League of Nations, championing Ethiopia and exposing the treachery of the reactionary groups in Britain, France and America in their capitulation to Mussolini, their shameless betrayal of the heroic Ethiopian people?

The example of the Soviet Union in its abolition of race hatred, its successful solution of the question of national minorities through full equality and fraternity of peoples, points clearly the path which the Negro people and other oppressed peoples must follow in a successful struggle for their liberation. The main lesson of the Soviet Union for our people is the necessity of united action with other victims of capitalism against the common enemy. In this country, it means the unity of Negro and white toilers and all progressive forces in the democratic front against the fascist-minded bankers of Wall Street, for jobs, security, democracy, and peace.

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