

**THE
REVOLUTIONARY
CRISIS IS
MATURING**

Speech by
D. Z. MANUILSKY
at the Seventeenth Con-
gress of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

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The Revolutionary Crisis Is Maturing

Report to the Seventeenth Congress
of the Communist Party of the Soviet
Union on Behalf of the Delegation of the
C.P.S.U. in the Communist International

BY

D. Z. MANUILSKY



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I. On the Growth of the Revolutionary Crisis

COMRADES, the period which has elapsed since the Sixteenth Congress, marked as it is by the development of the world economic crisis, is characterized by the growth of fascism, by the unleashing of imperialist wars and by the strengthening of the revolutionary movement of the masses which is aiding the maturing of revolutionary crises in individual capitalist countries.

The forecast of world development given at the Sixteenth Party Congress by Comrade Stalin has been confirmed by the whole course of world events during the past three and a half years.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress in the summer of 1930 Comrade Stalin said that the stabilization of capitalism was coming to an end. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1932 placed on record the end of capitalist stabilization.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin said that the upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the masses would grow with new force. At the present time the revolutionary movement is growing in the whole capitalist world, even taking on the form of unrest in the army in certain countries.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin said that the economic crisis would grow over into a political crisis, *i.e.*, a revolutionary crisis. At the present time, in 1933, a crisis of the "upper classes" is already apparent in a number of capitalist countries, and in certain countries it is growing over into a nation-wide revolutionary crisis.

At that time Comrade Stalin said that the bourgeoisie would seek a way out in the sphere of home politics in further fascization, employing all reactionary forces for this purpose, including social-democracy. In January 1933 the bourgeoisie set up fascist dictatorship in the center of Europe, in Germany, thus giving the signal to all world reaction for the offensive against the working class. After the shameful capitulation of German social-democracy to fascism, the Second International is going full steam ahead on the way to further fascization.

Comrade Stalin said that in the sphere of foreign politics the bourgeoisie would seek a way out in imperialist wars and above all in a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. In 1931

Japanese imperialism attacked China; it is carrying on this war at the present time and is today threatening the Land of Soviets with a counter-revolutionary war.

Finally, Comrade Stalin said that the proletariat, fighting against capitalist exploitation and the war danger, would seek a way out in revolution. During the past three years there has been a further development of the Chinese revolution coupled with tremendous successes of the Chinese Soviets. In Spain there is a revolution which is growing over from a bourgeois-democratic into a proletarian revolution.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., which met a month and a half ago, noted that the world is already coming face to face with a new round of revolutions and wars.

What sort of a period of world development is this, comrades, which is characterized by the termination of capitalist stabilization and by the slipping of the capitalist world into a second round of revolutions and wars? It is a period of the maturing of nationwide crises in individual capitalist countries. It is a period of the maturing of a revolutionary crisis of the world system of capitalism.

This revolutionary crisis takes its rise from the accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism. But it presupposes a greater shattering of the capitalist system, a greater collapse of its economic and political connections, a greater sweep of the mass revolutionary movement and above all a greater organization of the forces of proletarian revolution, greater influence by the Comintern and its sections, than we actually have today.

The revolutionary crisis will inevitably mature because the mass revolutionary movements which are developing will accelerate the further shattering of the capitalist system, and this process in its turn will aid the growth of the forces of proletarian revolution and of the forces of the Comintern. It will inevitably mature because, in proportion to the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan and the strengthening of proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the correlation of class forces in the circumstances of a deepening of the general crisis of capitalism will change in a direction favorable to proletarian revolution.

Capitalism, it would seem, has passed the lowest point of the economic crisis, and since 1932 it has been marking time. However, even if it has succeeded in temporarily scrambling up to the stage of depression and even a little bit higher, nevertheless there will be neither "prosperity" nor the restoration of capitalist stabilization. And in this respect capitalism of the period of depres-

sion, and even of a stage a little bit higher, would be different from capitalism as it was when it entered upon the world economic crisis in 1929. Five years of this crisis have still further shattered the world system of capitalism and made its general crisis more profound, the more so because the economic, political and military strength of the Soviet Union has grown during these five years, because a new outpost of the world proletarian revolution has been formed on the shores of the Pacific in the shape of the Chinese Soviets and because there has been a growth of other political factors which accelerate the growth of the revolutionary crisis—the war in the Far East and the setting up of fascist dictatorship in Germany. And this must be specially emphasized for it is of great significance in determining the revolutionary perspectives of the world labor movement. The stage of depression would not, for example, give German fascism that breathing space which Italian fascism enjoyed in the period of partial capitalist stabilization.

During these five years of the world economic crisis the shattering of the capitalist system has gone so far that the objective prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis have already matured in the weakest links of the capitalist system, the colonies and dependent countries; they have almost matured in Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia), in the Balkans, in Poland, in the Baltic states; they are maturing in the strongest links of the capitalist system which occupy the commanding heights in it—in the United States, France, England.

Capitalism After Five Years of the Economic Crisis

And during the five years of this crisis, especially during the period under review, the period since the Sixteenth Party Congress, there have been both structural changes in world capitalist economy and shiftings in the correlation of the forces of the capitalist powers among themselves and in their relations with the U.S.S.R.; there has been a strengthening of the forces of proletarian revolution coupled with a rallying of the forces of bourgeois reaction in each individual state—shiftings, that is to say, which determine the conditions for the growing over of the general crisis of capitalism into a revolutionary crisis of the capitalist system.

Before the crisis the world capitalist system, albeit with great interruptions in the working of its mechanism, achieved a certain restoration of economic connections, which had been undermined

by the imperialist war of 1914-18. Now, as a result of the devastating effect of the world economic crisis and of those measures which have been taken by monopoly capital and its governments in order to extricate themselves from it (the offensive against the working class, the forced development of the war industry, Ottawa, economic autarchy, inflation, economic and currency war), world capitalist economy has been still further broken up into individual state fractions, predetermining an outburst of rabid chauvinism in capitalist countries such as occurred in the early days of the war of 1914.

Before the crisis the process of the centralization and concentration of capital was already going on, the swallowing up of smaller-scale trusts by larger-scale monopoly trusts, coupled with the ruination of small and middle-sized enterprises. As a result of the crisis these processes have taken on hitherto unprecedented dimensions, preparing on the one hand the economic conditions for the fascist centralization of state power and on the other hand creating a huge army of declassed elements from the petty proprietors of yesterday, who represent ready-made cannon fodder for fascist adventures.

Before the crisis the decline of agriculture was already going on, steadily ruining the main masses of the peasantry, putting them under the bondage of the usurers and the banks. Now, as Comrade Stalin has shown, we can observe the degradation of agriculture, coupled with the transition from machines to manual labor, from tractors to horse-power, from ruination to monstrous pauperization of the broadest strata of peasantry.

Up to the crisis as a consequence of the carrying out of rationalization measures, the position of the working class was growing worse; now there is a sharp, startling leap downwards. The new living standard of the working class in a number of capitalist countries which have been most shaken by the crisis approaches ever more closely to the colonial level. For example, according to the data of the economist Kuszinski the average wages of the German worker in 1932 in comparison with 1928 had fallen by 64 per cent and only covered half of his subsistence minimum. And since then, during the period of fascist dictatorship, the bourgeoisie has robbed the German workers of another three and a half billion marks by means of a further lowering of the wages and curtailment of social insurance. And this monstrous lowering of the living standard of the workers in capitalist countries has been combined with a process by which the cheaper and less highly

organized labor of women and children has been drawn into production; it has led to the undermining of the position of the aristocracy of labor.

Before the crisis millions of people were without work. Now tens of millions in the capitalist world are left and will remain jobless because the apparatus of production is to an increased extent not working at full capacity and as a result of crisis rationalization. At the present time the right to work in capitalist society is becoming a privilege which fascism uses to create a split in the ranks of the working class. The bourgeoisie is depriving these millions of people of relief, creating forced labor camps for them, with deliberate premeditated calculation placing them in such a position as to have cannon fodder for war; it places those who are working in the factories under conditions of a military hard labor regime.

As a result, monopoly capital, although it has apparently passed the lowest point in the decline of industry, has nevertheless by its measures and in particular by its frenzied pressure upon the workers and peasants of the "mother countries" and colonies led to a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

In the sphere of international relations the world economic crisis has likewise sharpened all imperialist antagonisms.

Before the crisis imperialist antagonisms were steadily growing from year to year. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1928 had already pointed out that the third period of the post-war development of capitalism which had commenced would inevitably lead states and classes towards clashes of tremendous force. Now imperialist antagonisms have matured to such an extent that the question of the repartition of the world has again been raised with still greater sharpness than in 1914.

Capitalism at the present time cannot permit itself the luxuries of the democratic-pacifist era as it could at the beginning of the period of capitalist stabilization. Imperialist war is on the order of the day for all capitalist governments of the world.

Evidence of this is the fact that in a number of capitalist countries the most extreme war parties have come to power—I have in mind Japan, Germany, England.

This is shown by the frenzied growth of the war industry in those capitalist countries which are preparing for war most feverishly (Japan and Germany). At the present time the world is mined on all sides with explosive material through which the

insane governments and their agents of the type of Van der Lubbe dash by underground passages with lighted torches.

A sign of the approach of war is the rupture of those treaties by which the ruling classes regulated their mutual relations on the international arena during the period of the first round of wars and revolutions. What remains of the Versailles Treaty at the present time?

To imagine that Germany will pay the reparations means to go mad, said Comrade Stalin at the Sixteenth Party Congress. Germany has indeed gone mad, having seated the fascists on its shoulders, but it has ceased to pay.

Germany was disarmed before the crisis. It is arming now; today it can put a million-strong army in the field.

At Versailles Germany was thrown a beggarly portion on which the German bourgeoisie and its agents, the Welshes, lived quietly up to the crisis; now fascist Germany, like a smuggler, is thievishly sneaking across frontiers, sowing everywhere sedition and counter-revolutionary anarchy. Germany has become the main instigator of war in Europe. The general staffs of all capitalist governments already have their fingers on the electric button which will set the monstrous machine of war in motion.

What has become of the Washington agreements by which the imperialist powers used to regulate the correlation of forces in the Pacific? The Washington Nine-Power Agreement established "the principles of the open door and of equal facilities" in China for the imperialist robbers. But now the Japanese imperialists, without waiting for leave, are extending their sphere of "facilities," acting on the principle of the bandit who by night in the streets strips the passer-by naked, snatches from him everything he can. In the beginning—in the autumn of 1931—Japan grabbed Manchuria, then the province of Jehol, then Chakhar; at the present time it is sneaking towards the frontiers of Outer Mongolia, closing the "open door" in Manchuria, Jehol and Chakhar in the face of astonished America. The Japanese generals are but little embarrassed by the other point in the Washington agreement—that about the "territorial integrity" of China. Japan has converted not only this point but the whole Washington Agreement into a scrap of wrapping paper with which the Japanese corporal wipes off the blood from his bayonet in Chapei.

The partition of China by the imperialists has begun. The struggle around China, as one of the principal elements of imperialist antagonisms, is giving rise to the great Pacific conflict

which is already bursting the bounds of the other Washington agreement—the Five-Power Pact on the correlation of naval forces.

Who headed world reaction before the crisis? Imperialist France, which acted as the main initiator of the policy of intervention against the U.S.S.R. and stood guard over the Versailles Treaty.

Who is heading world reaction at the present time? England. England is taking on herself the leading role in the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. because she knows that wars with such imperialist opponents as the U.S.A. will lead to the partition of her colonial dominions, because she knows that a new imperialist war of the capitalist powers among themselves will break that balance of power which gives England its dominating position. England wants a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of Soviets so that in this way, as its diehard politicians think, it may escape revolutions in capitalist countries and improve the affairs of English capitalism at the expense of the tremendous natural wealth of the U.S.S.R.

The English diehards are backing up Germany and Japan at the present time, surreptitiously directing their hands against the U.S.S.R. England comes forward in the capacity of a broker, trying to smooth out the contradictions between France and Germany in order to create a united front against the U.S.S.R.; she would have liked to disrupt the work of consolidating peace which has resulted from the rapprochement between the U.S.S.R. and France and the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by America. And in order to carry out this counter-revolutionary policy, the English bourgeoisie has not chosen a lord; it has found its own "Pu-Yi" among the leaders of the Second International. Every epoch gives birth to its own hero. . . .

And thus the eve of a war among the imperialists is already apparent on the international arena; especially insistent and precipitate preparations for a counter-revolutionary war against the Land of Soviets are to be observed. But the growing antagonisms have not yet burst out in a warlike collision, because the bourgeoisie for the time being is still restrained by the threat of world proletarian revolution and petrified by fear of the growing strength of the U.S.S.R.

But what does this signify, comrades—the war against the U.S.S.R. which the English bourgeoisie are preparing for in conjunction with Japan and Germany? This is a continuation on the international arena of that civil war which the bourgeoisie of

all capitalist countries is waging against the workers, albeit with different degrees of fierceness in the various countries.

Before the world economic crisis the bourgeoisie in a number of capitalist countries was already fighting the Communist movement with terrorist methods. Today the number of these countries has increased and the methods of struggle have become still more barbarous. And this fact alone is evidence of the deepening and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and of the maturing of those conditions out of which a revolutionary crisis is growing. In almost all capitalist countries a national crisis of the "upper classes" is to be noted in one form or another, a crisis which, with the exception of China and Spain, has not yet led to revolution but which has brought in its train the fascization of all bourgeois political parties including social-democracy. In some countries, such as Germany, it has led to the setting up of fascist dictatorship.

Why has this happened? This has happened because the forces of proletarian revolution have not yet matured, while the world bourgeoisie, learning its lesson from the defeat of the Russian bourgeoisie in October 1917, is striking with all its force against the proletariat at the moment when the latter cannot yet join decisive battle. The forces of the proletarian revolution have temporarily proved weaker than the forces of bourgeois reaction in certain capitalist countries. They have proved weaker because social-democracy has split the proletariat, because it has put the huge mass organizations of the working class, which underwent an especially powerful growth after the first round of revolutions and wars, at the service of capital; because one part of the proletariat which has followed social-democracy has been systematically demoralized by it with its appeals to defend bourgeois democracy, *i.e.*, bourgeois dictatorship; because social-democracy has helped the bourgeoisie to disarm the working class, as may be seen from the examples of Germany and Austria. And this split working class has been confronted by monopoly capital and large-scale landownership, which have temporarily overcome their inner contradictions by setting up fascist dictatorship and by rallying together the forces of bourgeois reaction into one shock troop in the face of the proletarian revolution which is threatening them. The split of the working class has one other disastrous consequence, namely that it has weakened to an enormous degree the strength of the proletariat's influence over the reserves of the proletarian revolution, the main masses of the peasantry, the lower

strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the employees. As a result of this a considerable part of the peasantry, of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the employees in Germany have wavered towards the side of bourgeois reaction.

During a number of years social-democracy by its corrupting propaganda against the proletarian revolution and against socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has caused these strata, albeit only temporarily, to sway towards the right. On the other hand the crisis has activated those strata which before the crisis were nothing but a voting machine of bourgeois dictatorship. Before the World War of 1914-18 the small shopkeeper served behind the counter and did not busy himself actively with high politics; his son, a university student in Berlin, fought duels and cherished the dream of one day becoming a petty official in the Prussian state apparatus; the master of a small workshop was in a hurry to clamber higher up the ladder of the capitalist hierarchy without losing time on fruitless political reasoning; the German rich peasants, the bulwark of the capitalist order, allowed the small peasants to sink into ruin. The crisis of capitalism has undermined the economic position of these strata. In 1933 they were confronted with the question of whom to follow.

Socialism is no longer an abstract ideal as it was before the war of 1914. Socialism and capitalism are two warring world systems between which it is necessary to choose. And everywhere in capitalist countries the classes are making their choice. The proletariat and the millions of toilers throughout the whole capitalist world are doing this and the other classes are doing it too. The shopkeeper does not want to be an "employee" under proletarian dictatorship, because Goebbels has promised him to insure his position forever by closing the big department stores; the rich peasant does not want to be liquidated as a class because he hopes to become a coupon clipper under capitalism; the master of the workshop does not want to enter the factory as a worker because he wants to wear the second-hand coat of Krupp or Thyssen. And the Berlin student, like the Kishinev* pogrom-monger of the times of Plehve, runs amuck in the working class houses of Wedding, because Goebbels has told him that he will eat pork every day if the worker and his children don't eat bread every day.

And the more sharp the class struggle in capitalist countries

* Kishinev: Town in Bessarabia; scene of a pogrom in 1903 instigated by the then Minister of the Interior, Plehve.—*Ed.*

grows, the more rapidly the world proletariat by its struggle against capital and especially by the tremendous successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. wins over the lower strata of the peasantry, of the urban poor, the lower categories of the employees and the best part of the intelligentsia to the side of the proletarian revolution—the greater does this savagery of the delaying classes become.

The internal discord in the camp of the bourgeoisie, accompanied as it is by the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, is already growing over in a number of capitalist countries into a nation-wide crisis, that is to say, into a crisis where the accumulated discontent of the masses does not flow through the channels of fascism but is directed against the capitalist system itself. And the incipient disintegration of bourgeois power and the elements of the nation-wide revolutionary crisis which is maturing are basic features inherent in the present passing moment, distinguishing this moment from the position occupied by capitalism before its entry upon the world economic crisis.

In 1929, at the time of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., we measured the growth of the revolutionary upsurge by the number of strikes and political demonstrations, these being the most typical symptoms of the accentuated position of capitalism. And just because revolution has gone forward and not backward since that time, today in 1934 it is not only strikes and demonstrations which constitute our criterion for determining the now white-hot class antagonisms, but also the growth of other elements of the revolutionary crisis in each individual capitalist country.

The Unevenness of the Growth of the Revolutionary Crisis

The growth of this revolutionary crisis is proceeding unevenly in the individual countries. In the strongest links of the capitalist system—the U.S.A., France and England—so-called bourgeois democracy has not yet gone completely bankrupt. Here the bourgeoisie has not been completely deprived of the possibility of corrupting the upper strata of the aristocracy of labor. Here, until there are great revolutionary upheavals, the bourgeoisie can still permit itself the luxury of playing with democracy and with the parliamentary seesaw of bourgeois parties. Here the movement appears to have an economic character but is at times taking on such tempestuous forms as recall our Russian strikes and demonstrations in the days of Czarism.

In Fance, for example, at Lille and Strassburg, it is accompanied by the building of barricades.

Let us take the U.S.A. Mass strikes of scores and hundreds of thousands of textile workers and miners during 1931-32. During the first six months of 1933 the strike movement, both in the number of strikers and in the amount of lost working time, reaches the record level of 1919. Again in 1932 there is the farmers' movement in the U.S.A., comprising eleven states and upwards of a million farmers; the enraged farmers blockade the towns, declare strikes, hold up squads of automobiles with provisions. At the same time there is the mass movement of ex-soldiers, the veterans' march to Washington and a number of unemployed marches.

But take England—a weaker link among the strongest links of the imperialist chain. England, the most conservative country in the world, where in 1933 Communists are prosecuted on the basis of a Royal Edict of 1350, has already been in a feverish state for several years on end. The general strike of 1926 had already shown that great shiftings are going on in the labor movement in England in connection with the undermining of the privileged position of the English aristocracy of labor. The events of the autumn of 1931 formed a second chapter in the development of these processes.

You will recall, comrades, the main factors in these events: in connection with the accentuation of the world economic crisis in the summer of 1931 the Labor government, feeling itself to be on the verge of state bankruptcy, lowered the salaries of all state employees by ten per cent. The masses reacted to this with a tremendous movement recalling the best days of Chartism. The workers, the unemployed, the state employees, the post-office officials, the workers in municipal institutions, the teachers, and to crown all even the English "bobbies," laying aside their rubber truncheons until more prosaic and workaday times, came out in demonstrations. The movement spread from town to town—London, Glasgow, Liverpool. On September 14 at Invergordon an event occurs the like of which England has never seen in modern history: her fleet, the pride of British imperialism, the weapon of its naval might, refuses to obey orders. What is this—an uprising? No, this is not yet an open uprising. The sailors sit around on the decks, smoke their pipes and, mocking the officers to their faces, softly whistle the national anthem but sing the Red Flag with all the force of their lungs. Hardly has the fleet risen when

the pound falls by one quarter of its value. . . . The fleet has quieted down, but the pound has remained at this level.

The English bourgeoisie coped with the discontent of the fleet for the time being. The events of 1931 did not yet create a crisis of so-called bourgeois democracy. But the movement in England took on such dimensions that the country was on the eve of a nation-wide revolutionary crisis. Since then the sweep of the movement has somewhat weakened but it did not cease in 1932 either, when it burst out in demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in London, Belfast and Birkenhead. Nor did it cease in 1933. And today it is rising afresh not only in response to a measure so hated by the English workers as the Means Test but also in response to the introduction of forced labor camps in England and to the depriving of the municipal authorities of the right to distribute unemployment benefit. But England is not Cuba or Chile. It is a dominating power in the world imperialist system. Once England gets going, this will have a decisive importance for hastening on the maturing of the revolutionary crisis of the capitalist system.

Take, furthermore, that part of the capitalist world where fascist dictatorship has already been set up or where, under the influence of the establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany, the processes of fascization are proceeding at an accelerated tempo. Here, to quote the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., "the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and by bourgeois democracy in general," and "in view of this are compelled to pass to open terrorist dictatorship." But with the transition to fascist dictatorship the crisis of bourgeois power does not disappear; it becomes more profound. German fascism by doing away with the Weimar Constitution has not done away with the crisis of bourgeois power in Germany. German fascism has acted on the principle of "Trishka," the character of Krylov's fable. In order to patch up the torn coat of bourgeois dictatorship, it has been obliged to cut off its social skirt. And here it is not only a case of one part of the bourgeoisie of non-Aryan origin and the Catholic priests in Germany going over into opposition against fascism. Bourgeois dictatorship, by kicking social-democracy in the back, like Russian Czarism when it threw aside the support of the Liberals and Cadets, is contracting its own mass basis and slipping further into the abyss.

In these countries fascism is temporarily delaying the outburst

of great mass movement by terrorist dictatorship. And nevertheless Germany is the scene of revolutionary actions the importance of which is a hundred times greater than in those countries where the movement exists under legal forms.

Fascist dictatorship in Poland is already unable to hold up the continual growth of the strike movement which is steadily advancing towards a general strike in Poland. It could not hold up the peasant movement in the Western Ukraine in 1931 nor the uprising of hundreds of thousands in the Cracow waywodeship—that is, the heart of Poland—in 1932. In such a small country as Greece the attempt of the bourgeoisie to set up the fascist dictatorship of General Plastiras on March 6 of last year was broken up in twenty-four hours when the population of Athens came out on the streets. Fascist dictatorship in Italy, which has consolidated its apparatus during the ten years of its existence, cannot prevent either the unemployed movement or the strikes of agricultural laborers or a strike in the naval station of Spezzia. All the frenzies of the Rumanian Siguranza have proved powerless to avert a Rumanian "Lena massacre" at Bucharest, accompanied by the shooting of five hundred people and the arrest of two thousand insurgent railwaymen in February of last year. Even these facts taken by themselves give a clear idea of how much combustible material is accumulating in the countries which are being fascized and in the countries of fascist dictatorship.

Further, let us take the weakest links in the capitalist system. What do we see here? Revolutions in China and Spain. But the revolution in China is a revolution in a vast country where all the antagonisms of the imperialist system are intertwined. The rupture of the chain in this link will cause the whole world system of imperialism to totter. And this rupture has commenced with the formation of Soviet China, whose forces are growing and strengthening every day. Soviet China represents the tomorrow of the colonies and dependent countries oppressed by imperialism.

Spain. On April 14, 1931, another crown slips from a monarch's head and falls into the dust-bin. The so-called Labor government in England prudently gathers up the bankrupt monarch Alphonso XIII. The military-terrorist dictatorship is overthrown at one blow by the insurgent workers and peasants, thus foreshadowing the future fate of German and Italian fascism.

India. In November 1930 at Peshawar the native riflemen turn their rifles against the English officers. Uprising in Sholapur in the same year. The town in the hands of the workers' unions for

several days. Throughout 1932—continual peasant uprisings in Burma, in the United Provinces, in Bengal. In 1933 the peasant uprisings continue.

On another continent—in the countries of Latin America. September 1931: spontaneous uprising of the navy in Chile. July 1932: formation of Soviets in Chile which last eleven days. August 1933: anti-war movement on August 1 in Cuba, developing into a general strike and revolution, and so on.

What prevents these continual movements in the colonies and dependent countries, where the objective conditions for a revolutionary crisis have matured, from turning into victorious colonial revolution? They are prevented by the weakness and youth of the Communist Parties of these countries, by the continued influence of treacherous national reformism and above all by monstrous pressure on the part of the world imperialist system which employs methods of suppression combining in themselves the tortures of the Middle Ages, the bonfires of the Inquisition with the most modern technique—bombardments from the air, the use of gases, etc. Were it not for this monstrous pressure by imperialism, all China would long ago have been Soviet, and India would have dropped out of the system of British imperialism.

But, comrades, even that armed force upon which the ruling classes rely in their efforts to retard the revolutionary movement of the masses is already beginning to waver in certain capitalist countries. The three and a half years that have elapsed since the Sixteenth Congress have been marked by unrest in the armies, in certain places taking the form of open rebellion. Cases of fraternization between soldiers and striking workers are becoming ever more frequent. So it was in France, so it was in Belgium during the miners' strike at Borinage, so it was in other places also. Let me enumerate one or two individual cases.

Japan. The attack on Shanghai in February 1932. The Japanese newspapers, losing their sense of the ridiculous, write that about six hundred Japanese soldiers and sailors before Chapei have "grown so homesick" that it was necessary to send them back to Tokyo at full speed. At the present time about two hundred and sixty soldiers and officers of the Japanese army of occupation in Manchuria are on trial, accused of holding "dangerous ideas."

Bulgaria. In 1933 death sentences are passed on fifty soldiers who participated in the Communist organization in the army. Trials continue in 1934.

Switzerland. November 1932. In peaceful Geneva, the residence of the League of Nations, the city of fashionable hotels and of the stable franc, the soldiers sent to break up demonstrations fraternize with the workers, the soldiers are hurriedly marched back to barracks and the officers there fire upon the passing demonstrations with volleys from machine-guns. Twelve killed and sixty-five wounded.

Holland. February 1933. At one of the outposts of imperialism in the colonies, in Sura Bay, there is prolonged unrest among the crew of the Dutch fleet stationed in Indonesia. On February 15, 1933, the powerful armored cruiser "De Zeven Provinciën" reproduces the epic of the "Potemkin." In face of the obvious sympathies of the crews of the other ships towards the mutinying sailors, the Dutch government carries out on its own cruiser a bloody rehearsal for a naval air war.

Comrades, let us grant that these movements have not yet led to victory. But after all without a "Potemkin" there would have been no "Aurora." By virtue of these movements the Communist Parties are growing and strengthening, the broad masses are learning the science of revolution, and they are learning it very quickly, for at the present time in capitalist countries the path that leads from the "Potemkin" of 1905 to the "Aurora" of 1917 is being covered much more quickly than was the case in Czarist Russia.

The Present Level of the World Revolutionary Movement

If we summarize the present condition of the world revolutionary movement, the following conclusions may be drawn.

Firstly, there is to be observed such a shattering of the capitalist system in its weak links that a crisis of the "upper classes" is maturing in some of these countries and in others has already matured, and this crisis is beginning to grow over into a nationwide revolutionary crisis. But there is not yet such a **shattering** of the capitalist system as a whole as would create a situation favoring the immediate rupture of the imperialist chain in its weak links. The political domination of the bourgeoisie is being undermined everywhere, but unevenly. Least of all has it been undermined, for the time being, in the U.S.A., in France, and to some extent in England; most of all in the colonies and fascist countries. The setting up of fascist dictatorship represents an intermediate stage in the further maturing of the revolutionary crisis.

Secondly, comrades, there is to be observed such a profound discontent among the masses, such an indignation on their part against capitalist bondage as is already threatening the bourgeoisie today with the overthrow of its dictatorship. This discontent is being displayed unevenly, at different times, in the most varied forms of the revolutionary movement, from small scattered demonstrations and economic strikes in Germany to guerilla warfare in the colonies, to unrest in the army and open armed uprisings. However, in the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries the state apparatus of coercion has not yet been so shattered, the mass basis of bourgeois dictatorship is not so far destroyed and the mass revolutionary movement is not so strong as to be able to break its way forcibly through the bayonets of the bourgeoisie's armed forces which are beginning to waver. As a result of this, the bourgeoisie, by terrorist methods, is driving the discontent of the masses underground, but precisely by this it is creating the conditions for outbursts of tremendous force which may at any moment hasten on the growth of the revolutionary crisis. This factor of "unexpectedness" and "suddenness" of revolutionary outbursts is an especially characteristic feature of the whole present situation.

Thirdly, there is everywhere to be observed an active participation of Communists in the front ranks of the revolutionary movement of the masses. In a number of cases the Communist Parties have given the revolutionary movements independent leadership. But there is not yet such a political and organizational growth of the Communist Parties as would assure the isolation of social-democracy in the "mother countries" and of national reformism in the colonies, representing as they do the main factor retarding the revolutionary movement of the masses. In the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries the Communists have not yet won over the majority of the working class. In a number of capitalist countries the Communists have already achieved the result that considerable sections of the peasantry are marching under the hegemony of the proletariat, for example in Bulgaria and Poland—not to mention China—but they have not yet achieved this hegemony over a considerable part of the toilers in town and country in all capitalist countries.

And all this together is evidence of the fact that the most important conditions for a revolutionary crisis of the world capitalist system are not yet present, that the forces of the proletarian revolution have not yet matured for the decisive battle in individual capitalist countries.

And it is just because these conditions for the revolutionary crisis are not present—though they are maturing every month and every day—that the bourgeoisie is hastening to let loose the fury of war, in order to find a way out of the antagonisms which are throttling it. And it is just because the forces of the proletarian revolution have not yet matured in individual capitalist countries—though they are maturing every day and every hour—that the bourgeoisie, preparing its rear for war, is unleashing the fury of fascism.

II. War, Fascism and Revolution

Japan and Germany—Factors in the Destruction of the Capitalist System

But imperialist war and fascism are not only products of the accentuation of imperialist antagonisms and of the disintegration of capitalism. They in their turn, as Comrade Stalin emphasized in his report, are still further deepening the general crisis of capitalism, still further disintegrating the capitalist system. Into this system, already a prey to disintegration, they are introducing still more elements of chaos and disorder.

The two most reactionary governments in the world—Japan and Germany—are at present acting as objective factors in the destruction of the capitalist system, accelerating by their adventurist counter-revolutionary policy the maturing of the revolutionary crisis. Japan and Germany at the present day represent a shock-troop of world bourgeois reaction. Japan has already become the gendarme of the Far East; fascist Germany wants to become the gendarme of the capitalist order in Europe. Both the ruling cliques of Japan and Germany are acting as crusaders against world Bolshevism, holding up the fascist whip and axe in opposition to the Soviet hammer and sickle. Both governments desire expansion at the expense of the U.S.S.R., both are fighting with the same methods against "dangerous ideas," both are dragging the capitalist world into adventures for which the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries will have to pay.

The whole experience of world history teaches us that the most reactionary governments most frequently pave the way for the greatest revolutions. Russian Czarism with its bloody repressions did not destroy the revolutionary labor movement but it evoked among the masses a burning hatred for the ruling classes of old Russia, the consequences of which are still being felt by the whole capitalist world. Czarism too, like German fascism, attacked the

working class and the Bolsheviks, but it was not Czarism which routed the working class and the Bolsheviks—it was the Bolsheviks at the head of the working class which routed Czarism. (*Applause.*)

Czarism, just like imperialist Japan, wanted to disrupt revolution by means of wars, but the revolutions of 1905 and 1917 disrupted the wars of Czarism. Czarism, just like Germany and Japan, wanted to be the gendarme of the capitalist order, but the proletarian revolution has converted the most reactionary and backward country in the world into a mighty sentinel of the socialist order. (*Applause.*)

The military clique in Japan wants a war against the U.S.S.R. because there is a growing threat of revolution on the part of the Japanese workers and peasants. Imperialist Japan is being torn asunder by its inner contradictions.

“At the present time, as before a thunderstorm, the whole sky is darkened by storm clouds. It is the calm before the storm,” declared General Araki in an interview after the great military maneuvers in October 1933. And the Japanese militarists want to disperse these storm clouds by the thunder of cannon on the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

The firm, unswerving policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union, reinforced as it now is by a number of non-aggression pacts, by the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the United States of North America, has hitherto disrupted the provocational policy of the Japanese militarists. But counter-revolutionary adventurism is void of political reason. An attack on the U.S.S.R. by imperialist Japan cannot be removed from the order of the day.

But what would a counter-revolutionary war by Japanese imperialism against the U.S.S.R. mean? This would not be a war between Paraguay and Bolivia, this would not be a war of two capitalist states against one another. This would be a war of the most reactionary capitalist state against the bulwark of world proletarian revolution. And it could not but lead to the setting in motion of the whole force of world proletarian revolution.

Lenin wrote of the war of 1914 that it created a revolutionary situation in Europe. But in 1914, when capitalism entered the war, it was not after five years of an economic crisis which has already inflicted more losses upon capitalism than it sustained in the world imperialist war of 1914-18. Capitalism today is approaching a new imperialist war at a moment when it is already in the throes of a general crisis which did not exist in 1914. In the individual capitalist countries and throughout the capitalist world

as a whole the elements of revolutionary crisis are already maturing today, which was not the case in 1914. Today the bourgeoisie cannot buy itself off from revolution by means of reforms as it did in Austria and Germany in 1918. Today the working class in a number of capitalist countries have already had experience of the “democratic socialism” of Hilferding and Otto Bauer. Today the masses have been taught by the bloody experience of the fascist movement to understand the meaning of revolutionary violence. Today we have the Leninist-Stalinist Communist International, which did not exist in 1914. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Today Japan’s flank is threatened by the 350,000 strong Red Army of Soviet China, which in the event of a war would lead a people of 400,000,000 against imperialist oppression. (*Applause.*)

Today there is the U.S.S.R.—the armed section of the world proletariat.

Let us assume, comrades, that the forces of proletarian revolution will be insufficient to prevent the outbreak of an imperialist war. Let us assume that in the individual capitalist countries these forces are still weaker than the forces of bourgeois reaction. But in union with the U.S.S.R. the relative strength of these forces is growing to an enormous degree on the international arena. In the event of an attack by imperialist Japan on the U.S.S.R., the forces of the Japanese revolution will represent not only the Japanese workers and peasants, not only the Japanese Communist Party, but in addition to that, the support of the whole international proletariat and above all of its armed section—the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*)

Let the bourgeoisie today try to arm the masses in capitalist countries as it armed them at the end of the imperialist World War. It will understand then what armed peoples signify for the fate of capitalism, and how armed peoples hasten the development of a revolutionary crisis. (*Applause.*)

No matter that the Japanese military clique today is fanning racial chauvinism with some success. But if since 1929 30,000 persons have been arrested in Japan for holding “dangerous ideas”; if the illegal paper *Sekki*—the central organ of the Communist Party of Japan—is appearing, not in Geneva or Paris (like *Proletarii* and *Vperyod*) but in Tokyo once every five days with a circulation of 60,000 copies a month; if, despite the bloody murdering of Communists, a considerable section of the Tokyo students consider themselves Communists; if Communist ideas are penetrating into the higher aviation academy; if the village school

teachers in a tremendous number of Japanese prefectures are acting as supporters of Communism; if the peasant movements are taking hold of whole provinces; as for example Titori—then it is perfectly clear that with such a situation in the rear they will not be able to wage war successfully; with such a situation in the rear it is possible to fight against Chiang Kai-shek but not against the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. (Voices: "Right!" Applause.)

The victory of the U.S.S.R. and of the world proletariat over the imperialism of Japan will be the victory of the Japanese workers and peasants over the Japanese monarchy, over Araki, Mitsuri and Mitsubishi, the victory of the colonial revolution in Asia, the victory of the Soviets throughout all China; it will be a decisive blow against all world reaction, throwing open the doors for proletarian revolutions in other capitalist countries.

But if the imperialist clique of Japan is digging a pitfall for capitalism at Port Arthur, then fascist Germany is undermining capitalism in the center of Europe, on the banks of the Rhine. If Japan is laying a charge of dynamite for a war against the U.S.S.R. in order to destroy the correlation of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the international arena, then fascist Germany is mining the soil for revolutionary explosions in its own house. But from this house, which reminds one of a mad-house at the present time, fuses stretch to all the ends of Europe. The German bourgeoisie, like a gambler who has lost at Monte Carlo, is now throwing on the table its last card—fascism. But on this card it is staking not only its own fate but the fate of all capitalist Europe as well. At the present time it has every right to say, paraphrasing the words of Louis XV: "After Hitler—the deluge." The German fascists wanted to rouse all Europe against the Bolsheviks, but up till now all they have achieved is that France and Poland—the hammer and anvil between which fascist Germany lies flattened—have been obliged, in view of the threatening danger of a new imperialist war, to turn towards the U.S.S.R., the genuine revolutionary sentinel of peace among the peoples.

Germany today is bankrupt, deprived by the fascists of that sympathy and support which the world proletariat used to accord the German people, plundered at Versailles. Today not one proletarian in the world will move a finger in the event of war to support fascist Germany, in the struggle against Versailles. The German fascists, by means of blood-letting, wanted to rid the German pro-

letariat of the desire for revolutionary violence, but by undermining the democratic illusions among the social-democratic workers and the prestige of bourgeois law, they are making the German proletariat an adherent of the armed uprising against bourgeois dictatorship.

The German fascists wanted to destroy Marxism, but they have only achieved a decisive turn of the social-democratic workers towards Communism. The German fascists wanted to destroy Communism, but they brought its victory nearer by kindling in millions of workers throughout the world a class hatred not only against the German bourgeoisie but against the international bourgeoisie as well. The German fascists, by the burning of the Reichstag and the Leipzig trial, wanted to isolate Communism from the masses, but in actual fact they have covered themselves with universal shame in the eyes of the whole world.

The German fascists, in order to undermine the influence of the Communist Party, wanted to pulverize the proletariat, but in actual fact they have brought about a united front not only of the German but also of the world proletariat, which has risen in defense of Dimitroff and the other Leipzig prisoners at the call of the Communist Party.

The German fascists wanted to paralyze the influence of the Communists over the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, but in actual fact, having brought these strata into political activity, they are paving the way for their transition to the side of the proletariat as a result of disillusionment in fascist demagoguery.

Could Fascist Dictatorship in Germany Have Been Averted?

But, comrades, did the Social-Democratic masses really have to go through the hell of fascism in order to come closer to proletarian revolution? Did the path of the German revolution really lie only through fascist dictatorship, and was it impossible to avert this dictatorship in Germany?

Of course it was possible, comrades. The sole condition for this was that Social-Democracy should not have hindered the setting up of the united front of the working class which it had split, that it should have employed against the fascist organizations that degree of violence which it used against revolutionary workers. This it could have done quite bloodlessly under the Mueller government in 1928. For this it would not have had to kill 20,000 fascists, as it killed 20,000 revolutionary sailors and soldiers by the hand of Noske; it would not even have had to shoot 33 men

as was done with the Berlin workers by the police president Zoergel on May 1, 1929. It would have been enough for it to arrest 33 fascist leaders together with two or three of the big capitalists who have supplied the fascists with funds, to dissolve the fascist organization and their storm troops, to confiscate their arms, to seize their funds, to close down the fascist press, to create a regime for the fascists such as they have now created for the Social-Democratic workers, not to mention the Communists. And these measures would have had the support of the German Communist Party and the millions of workers who follow it. The German Communist Party under these circumstances would have only reserved for itself the right to criticize the vacillations and inconsistencies of Social-Democracy, likewise insisting on the dissolution of the *Reichswehr*, the arming of the workers for defense against fascist bands and for extending the gains of the working class.

Social-Democracy could have blocked the way to fascism even under the Bruening government in 1930-32, for it had at its disposal five million trade union members and it had the state apparatus of Prussia in its hands. After all it was members of the Social-Democratic Party who manned the police tanks and armored cars; the Berlin police was recruited from among "democratic" elements by Grzesinski and Severing. If the Communists had had at their disposal one-tenth or one-twentieth part of these arms which were in the hands of the Prussian Social-Democratic government, there would be no fascism in Germany today. (*Applause.*)

Social-Democracy could also have spoiled the plans of the fascists under the Papen-Schleicher government, though with a greater expenditure of forces than under the Mueller government, by offering resistance after July 20 to the dissolution of the Prussian Social-Democratic government and by putting the million members of the *Reichsbanner* organization into the field. It could have prevented Hitler from coming to power by accepting on the eve of his advent to power the proposal made by the Communist Party of Germany for a united front of struggle in January, 1933; it could have overthrown the fascists after their advent to power by accepting the proposal of the Comintern of March 5, 1933, for a common struggle against fascism. In November, 1933, the Social-Democrats and the Communists together had upwards of 13,000,000 votes as against the 11,000,000 votes collected by the fascists. The influence of Hitler was already on the wane in the autumn of 1932; during three months—from July 31 to November 6, 1932—the fascists had lost over two million votes. A call for a

general strike by Social-Democracy, the German General Confederation of Trade Unions and the Communist Party would have routed fascism, just as in 1920 the general strike of the German workers put an end to the Kapp putsch.

But, comrades, Social-Democracy did not take this course and it could not take this course because it had common ground with fascism—the preservation of capitalism—because it knew that the struggle of the working class, directed against fascism in the beginning, would surge up over its head and burst forth into revolution directed against the rule of capital in general.

But what could the Communist vanguard do under such conditions? To give battle alone without the support of the Social-Democratic workers, without the participation of the five million workers organized in reformist trade unions, having against it the united front of all bourgeois fascist reaction including Social-Democracy? No, comrades, this the German Communist Party could not do if it did not want to become a victim of fascist and social-democratic provocation which was designed, as is evident from the whole Leipzig trial, to provoke the vanguard of the proletariat to premature action and physically to annihilate it. Lenin said on the eve of the October uprising of 1917 that an uprising changes into Blanquism if those who organize it have not taken into account the political situation in general and the international situation in particular; if the objective facts do not prove that the party which is organizing the uprising has on its side the sympathies of the majority of the people; if the development of events in the revolution has not led to the practical refutation of the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie; if the party of revolt has not won a majority in such organs of revolutionary struggle as the Soviets; if there is not a fully matured state of feeling in the army against the government; if the slogans of revolt do not win the widest publicity and popularity; if the advanced workers are not assured of the support of the countryside, of the support of a considerable movement among the peasants.

Were these conditions of our October Revolution of 1917 present in Germany in January-February 1933? The resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1, 1933, and the article by Comrade Heckert have provided an exhaustive answer to this question. These conditions were not present in Germany; they were only maturing there. The whole international situation was not yet favorable to such an action by the German Communists in January-February 1933.

In France and England, *i.e.*, in two decisive capitalist countries, whose guns were trained on the rising German revolution, the Blums and Jouhaux held about half of the organized workers under their influence; in England the Citrines and Hendersons had the majority of them under their influence. And they broke down the active support of the French and English workers towards the German revolution. The blame for the advent of fascism to power in Germany is borne not only by the Welles and Leiparts in Germany but also by the socialists and reformists in France, by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party in England, by the whole Second International.

The Second International—The Main Bulwark of World Reaction

Under conditions of the growing world revolutionary crisis the Second International is playing the same role as was played for centuries by the church as an instrument for deceiving the masses. What happened to social-democracy in Germany in February 1933 will happen to Blum and Henderson in an analogous situation.

The destruction of the influence of social-democracy is one of the most important conditions for accelerating the growth of the revolutionary crisis. And one of the greatest indications of such growth of the revolutionary crisis is the incipient crisis of the Second International. As the cleavage of capitalism is growing more profound, the cleavage of social-democracy is also growing.

The pre-war accentuation of imperialist antagonisms is causing the collapse of the Second International as an international organization and this is happening, in contradistinction to 1914, before the outbreak of war: neo-fascist groups are appearing, there is wrangling among the social-fascist leaders, reflecting the inner struggle in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The advanced social-democratic workers are beginning to turn towards Communism—more rapidly in some countries, such as Germany, in others more slowly.

In Germany social-democracy, the leading party of the Second International, has killed itself as a political party although it is making attempts to gather together the remnants of its cadres.

In France the Socialist Party has split into three parts.

In England the Independent Labor Party left the Labor Party in August 1932 and in April 1933 it also left the Second International; the number of members in the reformist trade unions has diminished by 400,000.

There are already two or three Social-Democratic Parties in every capitalist country.

But still more characteristic for the present condition of international social-democracy is its ideological confusion.

Its slogans of the present day are hysterical dartings hither and thither, testifying to the utter confusion in its ranks.

We are for socialism, proclaims the Second International, but without proletarian revolution.

We are for proletarian revolution, declares German social-democracy, but without proletarian dictatorship. We only favor the restoration of democracy.

We are for proletarian dictatorship but we ask the Comintern to make an exception in the case of Scandinavia, where democracy is still possible, declares Friedrich Adler. We are for organized unity but against the united front, says the Second International.

And the late minister Largo Caballero in Spain makes the following comment on this thesis: There has already ceased to be any difference between us and the Communists. Why should we merge with them if we are one and the same? (*Laughter.*)

Roosevelt's program is my program, says the Second International.

Roosevelt's program is the program of Italian fascism, answers Mussolini.

At the present time the immediate question is not one of reforms but the question of power, threatens the Second International.

We are ready to take power if the President of the Republic calls upon us, answers the French Socialist Party. (*Laughter.*)

We are for the building of socialism in one country but not unless it includes the Congo, proclaims the party of Vandervelde in Belgium. The Belgian de Man adds: We differ from the Bolsheviks in advocating an N.E.P. under capitalism. We are in favor of the N.E.P. before the seizure of power, under the reign of the Belgian king. (*Laughter.*)

And finally, the English Laborites declare: We are for socialization, but we will not encroach upon the prerogatives of the king of England. (*Laughter.*)

III. The Condition of the Sections of the Comintern

Weaknesses in the Work of the Communist Parties

Comrades, the confusion and crisis of social-democracy are not proceeding automatically like the operation of the blind forces of decaying capitalism, but in an untiring daily struggle of the Communists for winning over the majority of the working class.

The crisis of social-democracy is above all the result of many years of struggle on the part of the Comintern and its sections against the Second International. And nevertheless, if the Communist Parties have not yet downed social-democracy in the present conditions when the era of social reforms has come to an end, when bourgeois democracy in Germany has proved bankrupt, when there is an intensification of world reaction and when an imperialist war is imminent, this shows the weak work of the Communist Parties, who have not taken advantage as they should of the world economic crisis to undermine the influence of social-democracy and to consolidate their positions in the world labor movement. If the Communist Parties had not lagged behind in the winning over of the majority of the working class, the tempos of the development of the world revolutionary crisis at the present time would be different and the whole course of events in Germany and throughout the world would have been different too.

Comrade Stalin has taught the Bolsheviks fearlessly to reveal all shortcomings in order thus to raise the quality of our work to a great height. Both at our plenums of the E.C.C.I. and in all our daily work the Comintern subjects the weaknesses, errors, shortcomings, and blunders of its sections to the most merciless criticism. It is true that the Communists have been the inner driving force in all revolutionary movements, that they have been the only party which has headed the movement of the unemployed; they took upon themselves the volleys of fire at Geneva and the whole weight of the repressions which have been dealt out after the movements. But it is also true that the Communists frequently have not led these movements and the reason why they have not led them is because they have not previously carried on day to day routine work in collecting and organizing the forces of the working class for great mass movements. Great events have frequently taken the Communist Party by surprise. In a number of cases the Communist organizations have been reminiscent of the first-aid ambulance which rushes in hot haste to the spot where the proletariat needs help. When the movement is over, the ambulance has driven away, and the influence of the Communist Party, which has grown in the process of the movement, has not been consolidated in an organized way. What Comrade Stalin has said about the views of certain Communists regarding the spontaneous victory of the revolution just hits the nail on the head in the case of some comrades in our fraternal Parties. And in the sections of the Comintern there are some

Communists who are no strangers to such sins as those of the "honest chatterboxes" whom Comrade Stalin has castigated here. This sin makes its appearance with especial frequency among a number of Communists of the Latin countries, who suffer from great organizational shortsightedness.

Many Communists are ready at any minute to die heroically on the barricades, but they cannot understand the heroism of everyday tedious work. It is easier to mobilize them for an uprising than to compel them to work from day to day in a reformist or fascist trade union, where they have to carry on a prolonged siege rather than a sudden assault.

For years the Comintern has been battling with the Italian Communist Party in order to break down the resistance of the Italian comrades to work in fascist trade unions, and it has not attained a complete change in this respect even now. Only with great pressure has it been possible to get the Chinese comrades to work in the yellow Kuomintang trade unions. The young cadres of the Communist Parties prefer the most severe conditions of illegality to being in one hall together with a fascist commissar and breathing the same air as he. They find the atmosphere stifling in a fascist trade union, for there it is necessary to dissimulate with the fascists, to observe the rules of conspiracy, to resort to maneuvers in order not to let yourself be seen through at once. They have not mastered the secret of using that language of Aesop which, without diminishing its revolutionary class content, may stir and capture the imagination of the workers. Such language seems to them degrading, unworthy of that Party which not long ago during its period of legality was still speaking to tens of thousands of workers in open Bolshevik language. In countries where the Communists have their open or semi-secret organizations, they prefer to shut themselves up in them rather than to go into other organizations in order to spread the influence of the Party.

After all it is easier to work in your own organization, where everyone is like-minded; here you have your own Communist environment, here all are "our own people," here the position is clear, here there is a definite line of demarcation between the Party organization and the non-Party masses. Here no one is watching to entrap you, to hunt you down, trying to compromise you in the eyes of the workers as political opponents do in an alien organization.

In France the Communists have not penetrated into the reform-

ist trade unions. In Spain after the formation of the All-Spanish Confederation of Red Trade Unions the work of the Communist Party in the reformist and anarchist trade unions has considerably weakened.

Let us take our Young Communist International. For a number of years the Young Communist International, under the leadership of the Comintern, has trained a splendid generation of young Bolsheviks who more than once have proved their absolute devotion to the cause of Communism. But it has not penetrated deep into the masses of working youth. Nor has social-democracy got this youth behind it. The youth in capitalist countries are embraced by the million-strong sport organizations created by the bourgeoisie, by its military staffs, by its clergy. In Germany a certain section of the unemployed youth has gone into the fascist barracks. But the Y.C.L. members have not fully grasped this lesson. They have fought courageously against the fascists in Germany; in a number of countries they are developing quite good work in the army, receiving sentences of many years' hard labor for this work, but they find it as difficult to enter, let us say, a Catholic sport organization, where there are tens of thousands of working youth, as it would be for the Pope to join an atheist league in order to carry on propaganda in favor of Catholicism. (*Laughter.*) But then the members of the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. are not bound by considerations of prestige similar to those of the Vicar of Christ. The Communist and Y.C.L. organizations must be mobile; they must be everywhere where there are workers, they must be in the sport organizations, in such organizations for workers' recreation as the *Dopo Lavoro* in Italy, in the forced labor camps, but above all they must be in the factories.

During all the fifteen years of the Comintern's existence, the years of the crisis have been the hardest years of work of the Communists in the factories. The employers have taken advantage of the crisis in order to rid the factories of Communists. And despite this, during the past year the Comintern has achieved great success in work in the factories in Germany and Japan. But this cannot be said of other Communist Parties, which have not yet overcome their weaknesses in this sphere. And, comrades, we must bear in mind that there is no place like the factories for undermining the influence of social-democracy and winning the majority of the working class away from it. But even in those places where the Communists are waging a struggle in the fac-

tories for winning this majority, they are not always doing so satisfactorily. The Communists are filled with the most sincere organic hatred for social-democracy as the agency of capital within the labor movement, but it is necessary to know how to communicate this healthy revolutionary hatred to the social-democratic workers. It is necessary that the treacherous role of social-democracy, which is clear to the Communists, should be clear to the social-democratic workers also. For them this is not yet an axiom, but a theorem which has to be proved. We must not talk to them in the language of our theses nor in polished ready-made formulas; it is often necessary to explain the most elementary simple things, doubt in which would cause Homeric laughter at one of our Party meetings. The honest Communist worker is revolted at the idea of having to refute the villainous sophisms of social-democracy; he has refuted them long ago in his class consciousness, but he demands the same resolute consistency from the social-democratic workers too, who are only just beginning to waver. He knows that waverings are impermissible in the Party, that they are nothing but manifestations of opportunism, that waverers in the Party must be exposed as persons who retreat from Communism; it is difficult for him to grasp that he must know how to win over the waverers beyond the bounds of the Party, or those who are only just coming to Communism, to make them strong, reliable adherents of the proletarian dictatorship and the Communist Party, adherents who will never waver.

And in the shape of social-democracy we are faced by a cunning and insidious foe who has at his disposal a whole staff of parliamentary orators, crafty journalists, lawyers skilled in verbal duels, who are ready to prove any piece of sophistry and, with an oratorical tremor in their voice, to represent the most supreme villainy as the height of virtue. In Norway, for example, Tranmel, the leader of the so-called Labor Party, is pressing our honest Norwegian Communists hard with "Left" phrases and pseudo-oppositional maneuvers in relation to the Second International, while our Communists in Norway allow the feeling of indignation to overcome sober political judgment. In France the Communist workers only spit in the faces of the social-fascist provocateurs and vow to hang them when they insinuate that the Soviet Union is betraying the cause of democracy by prolonging the trade agreement with Germany in 1933.

Our Communists are not always up to the subtleties of the artful maneuvers of social-democracy, especially its so-called

“Left” section, and in carrying out the tactics of the united front they often fall into the trap which has been laid for them. The French comrades, for example, fell into such a trap at the beginning of 1932 when they engaged in negotiations with the Blums regarding discussions on the abstract theme of “unity” instead of realizing this unity of the working class in actual fact in a common struggle of the workers of all tendencies against the offensive of capital. The French Communists did not notice that by these negotiations they were weakening the Party’s onslaught on social-democracy, and that at the moment when German social-democracy had opened the doors wide for fascism and when the whole Second International was in a state of utter confusion. If the Geneva organization of our Swiss Party has not been able to consolidate its influence among the working masses, which has grown as a result of the Geneva shootings, it is because it did not give a timely rebuff to the line of the Right opportunist, Humbert-Droz, who was dragging the organization towards weakening of the struggle against the “Left” social-democrat Nicole. But this Right opportunism represents the main danger all the more at the present day because the “Left” groups, who have branched off from disintegrating social-democracy, are trying to hold up the revolutionizing of the social-democratic workers with “Left” reformist intermediate platforms, such as that of the English I.L.P. member Brockway. And if the present crisis of social-democracy has not taken on sharper forms today, that is because in the spring of 1933 after the bankruptcy of the German social-democracy the sections of the Comintern did not go over with sufficient energy to an offensive against the Second International, because they did not take sufficient advantage of the rejection by social-democracy of the Comintern’s proposal of March 5 in order to rouse a wave of indignation among the workers of all countries who are thirsting for unity in the revolutionary struggle against capital.

But, comrades, these weaknesses cannot eclipse those achievements which the Comintern has attained since the time of the Sixteenth Congress, during the past three and a half years, in broadening the mass basis of its sections.

The Communist Party of China

First place in these achievements belongs without doubt, after the C.P.S.U., to the Chinese Communist Party, whose fighting activity is playing a very big part in accelerating the maturing of a

revolutionary crisis. The Communist Party of China has won over not only the majority of the working class but also the majority of the toilers of the Soviet district. Its influence in the non-Soviet districts over the proletariat of industrial centers and over the peasantry is growing with every month and every week. This growth of Communist influence in China has found its expression in the numerical increase of the Chinese Communist Party which has grown by 120,000 during one year and numbers at the present time 416,000 members. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Wan Ming, the representative of the Chinese Communist Party, will speak here and tell you about these successes in greater detail. I will only mention that the circulation of the central organ of the Chinese Communist Party, which is published in the central Soviet district and reprinted in other Soviet districts and also illegally in non-Soviet China, has frequently, as Comrade Wan Ming has told us, reached the figure of half a million copies (*applause*)—a circulation which was never dreamt of by the fascist *Angriff* or the *Voelkischer Beobachter* in Germany. The Communist Party of China in the non-Soviet districts with its 60,000 members is at present the most powerful underground Party excepting the German Party, and has grown by 40,000 members during the past year. (*Applause.*) This Party is already governing a Soviet state which comprises a territory of 700,000 square kilometers—more than that of France or Germany, or of any other imperialist power with the exception of the U.S.A. It has at its disposal an armed force in the shape of the Chinese Red Army which numbers 350,000 fighters in its regular detachments (*applause*) and about 600,000 in armed guerilla detachments. (*Applause.*) This army which, according to the confession of its worst enemies, is the best army in China, consists of 30 per cent workers and has 50 per cent of Communists in its model detachments. (*Applause.*)

At the present time the young Communist Party of China is growing into one of the best sections of the Comintern for the further reason that both it and its Red Army have gone through many years of schooling of civil war, during which time they have forged both strong Party cadres and a whole galaxy of talented war leaders and military commanders. (*Applause.*) Having become hardened in civil war, the Red Army of China has already repulsed five campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek. During the last, fifth, campaign in which 87 picked divisions of Chiang Kai-shek were operating against it including landlord punitive detach-

ments and kulak bands numbering about 600,000 bayonets, it utterly routed 17 divisions, repulsed the attack of 40 divisions, took prisoner about 80,000 men and from January to April 1933 captured from the enemy 140,000 rifles, 1,390 light and heavy machine-guns, 20 radio sets, 6 aeroplanes and occupied 79 new districts.

Such an army and such a Party, comrades, is already a powerful factor in the correlation of forces in the Far East.

At present this army is repulsing the sixth campaign of Chiang Kai-shek, in which it is having to fight against superb forces of the enemy, operating according to a plan drawn up by General Seeckt and possessing the most up-to-date military technique, American aeroplanes, English tanks and armored cars, and French artillery.

But the only result of this campaign so far has been that the Red Army has occupied fifteen new districts in Szechwan, and the Chinese comrades are convinced that this campaign will end with the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek and the technical re-equipment of the Chinese Red Army at the expense of the enemy. (*Loud applause.*)

It will end with the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek because the Communist Party and the Chinese Red Army is equipped with something the enemy has not—namely, the all-conquering strength of Communism and the self-sacrificing support of the toiling masses of China. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the districts where the most stubborn fighting is taking place the Red Army is supported and cared for by the whole population—workers, coolies, peasants, commercial employees, fishermen, the poor of the street, women and children.

“At the first glance,” said Chiang Kai-shek in one of his interviews, “it might seem that there are no patrols around for a distance of a hundred *li*, but in actual fact the whole locality is bristling with them, a one-legged beggar—a perfectly harmless personage, it would seem—actually has the task of transmitting secret signals and messages. A peaceful angler sitting on the bank of a pond suddenly turns out to be an armed partisan.”

The guerilla detachments envelop the enemy from all sides, carry out diversive actions, perform reconnaissance work, disorganize the enemy's rear; those fighting against the Red troops are surrounded by a fiery ring of revolt.

“One of the difficulties about fighting the Reds,” writes an American newspaper published in Shanghai, “is that it is im-

possible to distinguish an honest peasant from a Communist. (*Laughter and applause.*) It sometimes happens that a detachment of government troops falls in with a group of peasants, and, taking them for real peasants, permits them to enter the territory occupied by the troops. Suddenly, at a given signal, the peasants are transformed into Communists and open fire on the soldiers. The government troops have more than once suffered defeats as a result of such treachery.” (*Laughter.*)

They will continue to suffer defeats in the future too, because the broadest masses of the toiling population of China are already seeing the advantages of the Soviet system by the concrete experience of the Soviet districts. The Chinese Communist Party has won over these masses by carrying the agrarian revolution to its completion, confiscating the land and stock of the landlords, gentry and kulaks for the benefit of the people, by doing away with the ulcer of the Chinese countryside, the usurer, by strictly regulating trade and handicrafts without, however, socializing them, by organizing state and public aid for the peasants who have no cattle or seed, by developing industrial and credit co-operation, by raising education and health protection to a level unprecedented in China. This is that Party and that power for which the Chinese coolie and the Chinese peasant have been waiting for thousands of years. This is not yet a proletarian dictatorship, but it is a special form of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry during the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism. It is a dictatorship carried out under the hegemony of the proletariat and with a monopoly of political leadership by the Communist Party which is carrying the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its completion and carrying out a number of measures of a socialist character during its process; and all this taken together ensures the rapid growing over of this revolution into a socialist revolution, provided the power of the Soviets is extended over industrial centers. The Chinese Bolsheviks are teaching a lesson to the European proletariat, and especially to the Spanish workers, on how to carry out the bourgeois-democratic revolution by eliminating the economic basis and political power of the counter-revolutionary classes, which, unless this is done, will eventually arrive in fascist garb, as the experience of Germany has shown.

The Communist Party of Germany

Next after the Chinese Communist Party, for having made a

step forward in winning over the majority of the working class, comes the Communist Party of Germany.

Never before has the German Communist Party approached so closely the Social-Democratic workers as at the present time. Never before during the whole post-war period of development of social-democracy have the workers devoured every Communist leaflet with such eagerness as now. Never before in Germany has there been such a profound urge towards the united front of struggle of the working class as there is today. And this has enabled the Communist Party of Germany to spoil the plans of the fascists for capturing the trade unions.

Thanks to the rebuff they have received from the working class headed by the C.P.G., the German fascists have not been able to base themselves on the reformist trade unions nor to create their own trade unions as the Italian fascists have done. The fascist factory organizations hastily created by them have either turned into oppositional centers of struggle against the employers and fascism or they are in the process of complete disintegration. The law just passed in Germany on the abolition of trade unions and factory committees, creating as it does a regime of serfdom for the German workers, is tearing the mask of social demagoguery from the face of the fascist counter-revolutionary gang. The increased influence of the C.P.G. permitted it, after the blow sustained in March, to go over as early as May to a type of scattered demonstrations which the fascists answered with a new wave of terror and public executions. In August-September, the revolutionary trade union opposition developed a series of successful strikes in the Lower Rhine, in Haagen, in Duesseldorf, Remscheid, Wuppertal, Solingen and other places. In November it headed a demonstration of German workers comprising 5,000,000 people (according to the figures given by the fascists) who either voted against fascism or refrained from voting in order to express their protest against fascist dictatorship.

The Condition of Other Communist Parties

The Communist Party of Poland has also made progress in winning over the majority of the working class. This fact has found its expression, firstly, in the numerical growth of the Party and the Y.C.L., which now number as many as 30,000 members, *i.e.*, as many as the legal Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.)—secondly, in the independent organization and independent leadership of a series of powerful strikes.

In France after a number of years of standstill and even of a certain decline in the numerical growth of the Party and the Red Confederation of Labor, the last year has been marked by a definite shifting in the direction of the further increase both of the Party, which now numbers about 40,000 Communists, and of the Red trade unions, which at the present time number about 275,000 members.

In Czechoslovakia, despite the fact that the Party has been driven underground, it numbers 55,000 members at the present time together with 90,000 members in the Red trade unions.

The heroic Workers' Party of Bulgaria has won over the majority of the working class; in 1932 it captured the municipality of Sofia, which brought in its train the cancellation of elections and a rabid wave of repressions against the Communist Party. Great successes have been gained by the Communist Party of Spain which has grown from 800 members three years ago to 30,000 at the present time, which is leading about three hundred thousand workers organized in trade unions and which received about 400,000 votes at the last elections. (*Applause.*) The Young Communist League is growing and numbers 15,000 members at the present time; its influence is growing in the Army and the influence of the Party over the peasantry is steadily increasing.

At the present time there is hardly one section of the Comintern which has not broadened its mass basis during the past three and a half years. The American Communist Party has doubled its membership, numbering at the present day upwards of 20,000 members. An especially sharp upward curve is to be seen in the numerically small Communist Parties, such as the Dutch Party, which has doubled and trebled the number of its members. These Parties are already becoming serious antagonists of the big Social-Democratic Parties; they are not now afraid of great tasks, they boldly penetrate into every mass movement, they are snatching the leadership of these movements out of the hands of the social-democrats. *The Comintern now numbers 860,000 Communists in capitalist countries.* But it is not only a question of the numerical growth of the Communist Parties; it is also a question of the growth of their influence. Such a small party as the Communist Party of Australia, which has only a thousand and a half members, is able to have its second secretary elected General Secretary of the All-Australian Federation of Miners. Three thousand five hundred Communists in Belgium impress the striking miners of

Borinage by their courageous behavior more than does the party of Vandervelde with its many thousand members.

The English Communist Party has hardly increased numerically during the last few years. But if the students of the two most aristocratic universities—Oxford and Cambridge—strike horror into the whole of the English bourgeoisie by passing a resolution that they will not defend either king or country in the event of war, that is the result of many years of anti-war agitation by our Party. If the workers of the Independent Labor Party are now knocking at the doors of the Comintern despite the sabotage of their leaders, that is above all the service of the consistent Bolshevik line pursued by the English Communists.

The Difficulties of the Revolutionary Struggle

Meanwhile this growth of the influence of the Communist Parties is going on in a situation where the overwhelming majority of the sections of the Comintern are already in an illegal position and only fifteen sections, including Soviet China, are still able, to a lesser or greater extent, to carry on open work.

In the majority of capitalist countries the Communists are working under conditions of the cruelest persecution, going far beyond the repressions of Czarism. During eight months of 1933 alone 238,000 members were arrested, 46,000 killed and 160,000 wounded and maimed.

Hundreds of thousands of Communists are imprisoned in capitalist jails, out of whom a magnificent fighting party consisting of the most devoted and well-tried fighters of the proletarian revolution could be formed in twenty-four hours in any individual country. In Germany alone about 60,000 Communist workers are incarcerated in concentration camps. The illegal Communist Party of Poland numbers 15,000 Party members who are at liberty, while the number of its active members who are in jail reaches the figure of 10,000. There has been a marked growth during recent years in the number of those killed without a trial in comparison with the number of those condemned. In China Communists are not put on trial or sent to prison; Communists who fall into the clutches of Chiang Kai-shek are beheaded on the spot. Hardly a day passes without the Comintern sustaining a new and severe loss in some capitalist country or other. In the so-called "advanced" bourgeois democracies such as the U.S.A., Communists are shot from ambush by hired bands.

In the southern states, in the "black belt," they are subjected

to lynch law. The leader of a strike in any capitalist country lives under the menace of being struck down by the bullets of fascist scoundrels. There are some Parties in which the whole *active* has been physically exterminated, as for instance in Bulgaria after the September uprising in 1923 and after the explosion in Sofia cathedral. In the colonial countries Communists are kept in cages chained to an iron post, just as the Roman patricians chained their runaway slaves.

The burning of the Reichstag by fascist provocateurs shows to what depths of villainy the expiring classes descend in the struggle against the proletariat, shows what these classes will be capable of in the moment of war, by what monstrous iniquities they will try to maintain their rule.

What is happening at the present time in the fascist prisons of Germany puts in the shade all hitherto existing forms of White terror. The fascist storm troopers and their methods are an exact replica of the brutal White Guard rascals and their drunken savagery as displayed by Denikin's intelligence service.

During the so-called "national revolution" in Germany over 2,000 Communists have been killed, tens of thousands of workers' houses have been sacked, hundreds of thousands of workers suspected of sympathy for Communism were deprived of work and relief.

And under these conditions the German Communist Party has not only kept 100,000 of its members, but is growing still further. (*Applause.*)

Every Communist of such an illegal Party represents pure proletarian gold. In the scales of history he weighs more than tens of thousands of those who voted until recently for social-democracy. All honor and glory to the German Communist Party and its Central Committee and to its leader, Comrade Thaelmann, who have fostered such cadres! (*Prolonged applause, all rise.*) The Communist International, comrades, already has many tens of thousands of such Communists in the capitalist world. And these tens of thousands of Communist rank and file members, who will rally millions around them in the process of the revolutionary battles, are more feared by the world bourgeoisie than the millions of members which social-democracy now has. The conduct of Georgi Dimitroff has won the admiration of the world. (*The delegates rise and applaud. Cries of "bravo!"*)

The conduct of Georgi Dimitroff is that conduct worthy of a Communist which in other and more obscure circumstances has

been displayed by thousands of Communist rank and file members in all capitalist countries, conduct which Lenin and Stalin have taught the Bolshevik Party and which other sections of the Communist International have learned from it. (*Applause.*) Is not the Hamburg worker Luetgens who died under the fascist axe with the cry: "Long live the world proletarian revolution!" a man of the same Bolshevik stamina as Dimitroff?

The Bolshevik Stamina of the Communist Parties

The importance of the path traveled by the Comintern consists in the fact that the voice of Liebknecht is not a solitary voice, as it was in 1914. Thousands of Liebknechts in capitalist countries are now holding high the banner of world proletarian revolution today and will hold it yet more strongly tomorrow in the event of a new imperialist war. (*Applause.*) And here, comrades, it is not a case of the testing of individual people. Whole Parties have already stood this historical test. Is not the conduct and the work of the Communist Party of Germany under the conditions of fascist terror—is not this the truest test of the Bolshevik stamina of the Communist Party of Germany? The Party, three members of whose Central Committee have been killed, every leading worker of which is virtually a "condemned man," more than 10,000 of whose members were arrested in one week in November last year, has not discontinued its work for a single minute. Since the time when fascist dictatorship was established it has distributed about two million printed publications, its illegal central organ, the *Rote Fahne*, although appearing irregularly, is read by a far larger circle of people than at the time when the *Rote Fahne* was published legally. (*Applause.*)

Tens of thousands of nameless heroes—German Bolsheviks who risk their lives every minute—are printing and distributing leaflets, carrying on agitation in the factories which the Party has now made the chief arena of its activity. People are dying for a free Communist world with the same courage with which the Bolsheviks died on the fronts of the Civil War. In Thuringia an inconspicuous worker-member of the Party, having barricaded himself in his room, throws open the windows and transmits a speech from the Moscow radio before the assembled crowd, until the fascist beasts break down the barricade and murder him on the spot. Under conditions of most severe illegality the initiative of the lower Party organizations is being broadly developed, quickly and independently reacting to every event in the country;

new Party cadres are growing, a fact which has permitted the Party on four occasions after great losses to replace the arrested comrades by new ones. Is it not a proof of the Bolshevik stamina of the Party that out of 60,000 Communists imprisoned in concentration camps in Germany, out of all the 150,000 prisoners, the fascist police were unable to find even one "witness" for the Leipzig trial and were compelled to operate with pseudo-witnesses hired from the criminal world? (*Applause.*)

Such a Party cannot but win the confidence of the workers, such a Party will gather millions around it. And of those five millions who, according to the fascist statistics, voiced their protest against the fascist government in November of last year, the overwhelming majority are without doubt Communists, for only Communists could be unafraid of receiving a fascist bullet in return for their vote or refusal to vote.

Has not another Communist Party which is playing an important part—the Communist Party of Japan—already stood this Bolshevik test? During the past nine months alone, according to the extremely incomplete figures which find their way into the bourgeois press, about 8,000 Communists and Y.C.L. members were arrested in Japan. And none the less dozens of new Communist forces are rising up in Japan to replace each arrested Communist. The Japanese Communist Party is training up a steel Bolshevik generation. Here is one example for you: a young girl, member of the Y.C.L., who was subjected to tortures for six weeks, not only did not give information but, to the astonishment of the fascist hangmen, did not utter a groan, did not pronounce a single word. Only the Communist Party of Japan is conducting a courageous struggle in the country against the war in China under conditions of chauvinist frenzy, at a time when Japanese social-democracy is proclaiming that socialism is being built in Manchuria. It is giving to all sections of the Comintern a model of mass Bolshevik work, reproducing down to the smallest details the methods of work employed by our Party when it was illegal—the same urge towards the factories, the same ability to get hold of the most everyday needs of the workers, in order to put before them the main questions of the class struggle, the same clear, precise and simple style of proclamations and articles, the classic masters of which were the Russian Bolsheviks. During recent times the active work of Communists has been intensified to an extraordinary degree in the war factories. During several years, despite huge losses, the central organ of the Party, *Sekki* (*The Red*

Flag) has not ceased to appear. The Communist Party publishes a paper for the soldiers, *The Soldier's Friend*, a paper for the sailors at Kobe, a peasant paper, all filled with correspondence from the factories, from the barracks and the Japanese countryside. A whole system of splendidly organized factory newspapers completes this picture of the work of the Japanese Communist Party. It is difficult, comrades, to read without deep emotion these papers in which every word breathes a spirit of proletarian indignation against exploitation and of Leninist-Stalinist struggle against imperialism and war.

One of these factory newspapers which is published at the Mitsubishi plant writes as follows:

"Those whom they call Manchurian bandits are our brothers, Chinese workers and peasants who are fighting against the intervention of Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism is making an onslaught on the Soviets which have already been formed in China and plotting an attack on the Soviet Union—our proletarian fatherland. . . . But an attack on the country of the Soviet workers and peasants means an attack on ourselves, the Japanese workers and peasants." (*Loud applause.*)

There are tens and thousands of such letters and articles. And this is the genuine voice of worker and peasant Japan, to which the toilers of our Soviet country stretch out the hand of brotherhood and proletarian solidarity. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, has the well-organized and well-conducted transition to an illegal position of the majority of our sections during the last few years not been a Bolshevik test of the stamina of the sections of the Comintern?

The Fight on Two Fronts

But if the sections of the Comintern have stood this historic test, then it is just because they have learned from our great teachers, Lenin and Stalin, and from the model Party, the C.P.S.U., to observe Bolshevik irreconcilability towards every kind of opportunist vacillation and deviation. When a group of rank and file comrades in Germany meets in the woods some dozen times in order to satisfy themselves that no political mistakes or deviations have crept into a number of the newspaper which they are publishing, such an action means something. People fear a deviation more than they fear death. In the struggle against the Right deviation, as the main danger, and against the "Left" devia-

tion, the Comintern has grown, strengthened and become bolshevized during the fifteen years of its existence and during the ten years since Lenin's death.

Brockway of the I.L.P. reproaches the Comintern for the fact that the Communist Parties of capitalist countries have fought together with the C.P.S.U. against deviations in our Party. But the questions which have been decided by this struggle were questions upon which the fate of the whole world labor movement depended. In this struggle against deviations on two fronts the Comintern has achieved a rock-like unity and solidarity of its ranks which no power can shake. (*Loud applause.*) Not one section of the Comintern wavered after the advent of the fascists to power in Germany. Remmele and Neumann in Germany were unable to piece together a defeatist group in the ranks of the C.P.G. Gutmann in Czechoslovakia was politically liquidated in twenty-four hours; he did not carry a single man with him after his expulsion from the Party. And this iron unity constitutes the great strength of the Comintern in the face of war, in the face of fascism, in the face of the Second International, which is already falling to pieces even before the outbreak of war.

Only think, comrades, how the Comintern would look at the present time if we had permitted in its ranks freedom of factional groupings and that "freedom of opinion" which was demanded at one time or another by Frossard, Trotsky, Hoeglund and others. The "Left" reformist leader of the English I.L.P., Brockway, in his correspondence with the Comintern, also proposed that we form a new International and include in it the various outcast groupings with whose help the bourgeoisie is trying to pulverize the forces of the working class. The path taken by these groupings leads into the camp of the bourgeoisie, and we do not need a new International, for we are not going to exchange Leninism for Brockwayism. (*Applause.*)

The way to the unity of the working class does not lie through the creation of new intermediate internationals, but through the political liquidation of social-democracy as the party which betrays the working class, and through the strengthening and consolidation of the Communist International. In this alone lies the salvation of the working class from fascism and imperialist wars. And the Seventh Congress of the Comintern which is being convened this year must become a Congress of the gathering together of the revolutionary forces of the working class for the struggle against fascism, imperialist wars and capitalism.

Millions of the social-democratic workers, viewing with bitterness and anguish the bankruptcy of their mass organizations, are asking themselves ever more frequently the agonizing question—where is the way out?

And the Seventeenth Party Congress, the Congress of the leading section of the Comintern, to whose voice the whole world is listening, gives its answer to this question. Yes, comrades, we know this way out, the way out of the threatening catastrophe. This way out was shown to the toilers of our country seventeen years ago by Lenin, who ranks beside Marx and Engels as a supreme genius of human history. This way out is October, it is the victory of the workers and peasants over the forces of the old world. We know the method, tested already by the experience of a great people, by which to put an end to wars and fascism and to capitalism which breeds them. This method is Soviet power, the slogan of which is now, in accordance with the decision of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., becoming the central slogan of the whole mass work of the Communist Parties. We know the way which leads to victory. It is the united front of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Parties in the individual capitalist countries, it is the united front of the world working class under the leadership of the Comintern, the front which, in union with the U.S.S.R. and Soviet China, constitutes an invincible force.

Taking this path, we conquered in October because Lenin had forged a Bolshevik Party with which the world Party of Leninism—the Communist International created by him—is now aligning itself. He not only armed this Party with the theory of revolutionary Marxism; he enriched and developed this theory for the new epoch of proletarian revolutions and wars. We conquered because he fostered those Bolshevik cadres the concentrated embodiment of whose best qualities may be expressed in the one word—Stalin. (*Prolonged applause. All rise.*)

We not only conquered but we have maintained and consolidated this victory because the genius of Lenin guided the toilers of our country through the most difficult moments of our revolution, through the war against the expiring classes whose resistance grows more frenzied as they perish, through the war of international intervention. But we have not only maintained and consolidated our victory, we have extended it, strengthening the pro-

letarian dictatorship in every way and victoriously building the socialist society under the masterful leadership of Lenin's successor, Stalin.

Under the Leninist leadership of Stalin, the U.S.S.R. today, after ten years without Lenin, not only represents the armed section of the proletariat but is armed moreover with the most modern technique. Under the leadership of Stalin, the U.S.S.R. today is not only the state organization of part of the world proletariat but also a state organization which by its vast might is shifting the levers of history and hastening on the downfall of capitalism. Under the leadership of Stalin, the socialist economy of the advanced detachment of the world proletariat has been built up in the U.S.S.R. Through the iron, inflexible will of Stalin and the Party led by him a population of one hundred and seventy millions, who yesterday belonged to different classes and strata, is now building a classless socialist society, fighting for the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world.

Now, when the bourgeoisie is driving the world towards imperialist wars, when it is attacking the disarmed working class of capitalist countries, we can see with especial clarity what the theory of the building of socialism in one country represents for the world revolutionary movement. This was and is the theory of the most profound proletarian solidarity, of the supreme internationalism of the C.P.S.U. And the proletariat, armed with this theory, is tirelessly paving the way for the victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the whole world.

Lenin led the toilers in Russia to October. Stalin, following Lenin's path, is leading them to victory throughout the whole world. (*Applause.*) His appraisal and forecasts have determined that path which the Comintern has traveled during the last ten years without Lenin. He illuminated this path with the unsurpassed dialectics of Marxist-Leninist theory. His Bolshevik adherence to principle—as hard as granite—and his revolutionary tactics—as pliant as high-grade steel—teach the Communists of all countries to fight and to conquer. He taught them in the class battles to look vigilantly forward, to outline the direction of attack far ahead, patiently to accumulate forces and at the decisive moment to inflict upon the class enemy a crushing lightning-like blow.

That is why the toilers of all countries regard our Stalin with such love. That is why the Communists in capitalist countries boldly look death in the face, knowing that the cause of Lenin is

in true hands, that the cause of Lenin is invincible. That is why Dimitroff held so high the banner of the Comintern at the Leipzig trial. This Leninist-Stalinist breed of men has grown up during the fifteen years of the Comintern's history. It is they who will head the battles of the international working class, it is they who will lead them under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to final victory. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

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