

13TH PLENUM

**Fascism, the Danger of
War and the Tasks
of the
Communist Parties**



**Report by
O. W. KUUSINEN**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Fascism, the Danger of War and the Tasks of the Communist Parties

Report by
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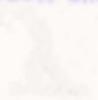
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I. The Changed Character of the Economic Crisis and the Further Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism

IN the theses which we have submitted for the approval of the Plenum the following is advanced as one of the most important theses:

“The world economic crisis is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.”

In order to prove this thesis it is necessary first of all to make an analysis of the economic situation. For four years already the “most serious and profound world economic crisis that has ever occurred” (Stalin) has been in progress.

It is characteristic that authoritative bourgeois economists are now comparing the diminution in the national income during the years of the crisis with the cost of the world imperialist war. According to E. Schultz, the economic loss caused by the World War is calculated at a figure ranging from 744,000,000,000 to 833,000,000,000 gold marks, while the diminution in the national income of the United States and Germany alone from 1929 to the end of 1932, *i.e.*, three years of the crisis represents about 600,000,000,000 marks. This fact alone is sufficient to give one an idea as to how much the present economic crisis has cost the capitalist countries.

The rate of diminution of industrial output from 1930 to 1932 has been such that it can even be compared with the rate of *growth* of industry in the U.S.S.R. Comrade L. Mendelson makes the following comparison between the dynamics of industry in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist world (per cent increase or decrease):

	1930	1931	1932
U.S.S.R.	+27.3	+22.6	+11.0
Capitalist world	-13.1	-12.9	-18.5

In the present year (1933), however, the progress of the world economic crisis, in so far as it is expressed in the general indices of production, has *partly changed in character*.

1. *The Partial Growth of Industrial Output in the Continuing Economic Crisis*

Not a single capitalist country can be said to have extricated itself from the clutches of the economic crisis. Throughout the whole capitalist world there is almost a complete absence of new capital investments and there is a further decline in world trade; owing to the absence of demand the world stocks of raw materials have not diminished; inflation has already affected fifty-two capitalist countries; the prices of manufactured goods expressed in gold continue to decline, while the prices of agricultural produce have dropped still further, which leads to the intensification of the agrarian crisis. At the same time, however, evidences of an *increased industrial output* have been observed this year. In the first half of this year the general index of production rose in a number of countries. Output did not increase in all branches of industry, however, but only in certain definite branches. Generally speaking, the changes in output are very uneven. The output of the industries producing consumers' goods continues to decline. The output of the building and engineering industries revealed slight fluctuations, while the general position has been one of stagnation. At the same time the output of metals has increased, and so also has that of the textile industry.

A very sharp increase in production affecting a number of industries took place in the United States immediately after the abandonment of the gold standard (in April). Thus, in a period of three to four months the rate at which the steel industry was working to capacity rose from 16 per cent to 59 per cent (in July). Then followed a very sharp decline in all branches of industry. In the steel industry particularly, by November the rate of capacity at which it was working had dropped to 26 per cent. There were no such sharp changes in other countries; but the changes in the volume of

output in a number of important countries (England, France, Germany and particularly Japan) were not simply rapidly passing fluctuations, they remained fairly considerable and stable increases in output in definite and important branches of industry. In these countries there was even a slight diminution of unemployment, which, however, even according to the cooked official statistics, did not correspond to the increase in production.

These facts concerning the increase in production in the midst of an economic crisis must be explained; we cannot brush aside stubborn facts, the more so that very often they prove to be cleverer than we are. They must be studied and understood; and they must serve as our starting point.

The first series of facts in this sphere shows that the *armament industries* are developing by leaps and bounds. The most characteristic features in this are the following:

1. A comparatively large increase in the output of *pig iron and steel*, while there is only a slight rise, and even a diminution in the output of the engineering and building industries.

In the *United States* the output of steel in 1933 increased by 3,800,000 tons compared with last year. The automobile, canning, building and all other industries used only one million tons of steel more than last year. What became of the other 2,000,000 tons? Part, of course, went into stock, but the other part certainly went into the armament industries.

In *France* the output of pig iron and steel rose 24 per cent, while the output of the engineering industry in the strict sense of the word increased by 8 per cent. The principal consumers of iron and steel were the army and the fortified zone on the Eastern frontiers.

In *Germany* the general index of production rose from 64.1 (February) to 74 in September, while the index of production of the engineering industry rose from 34.2 to 39.5. The output of steel increased 48 per cent. If this rate of increase is maintained the output of steel in Germany will be 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons more than in 1932. If this increase in the output of metal is calculated in terms of the armaments and fire-arms used in western

European armies, then we will get enough equipment for 1,000,000 troops. The approximate cost of equipping an army of 1,000,000 is 1,000,000,000 marks. The fascist government has allocated for orders for armaments and "public works" 1,200,000,000 marks. The coincidence is almost complete.

In *England* the output of pig iron and steel increased approximately by 30 per cent, partly due to the introduction of duties on iron and steel and to the decline in imports. The output of the engineering industry rose 4-6 per cent. In an official statement denying that they were engaged in producing armaments, the Sheffield steel manufacturers declare that their enterprises are "only" engaged 20 per cent in armament orders.

In *Japan* the output of pig iron in 1932 exceeded that of 1931 by 508,000 tons. In 1933 there was a further increase of 23 per cent. Japanese sources themselves openly state that these are orders for armaments.

We see the same thing in other countries. Clearly, it is the production of means of extermination and destruction that is developing. This is proved also by such facts as the rise in the shares of armament manufacturers (Vickers in England, Schneider Creuzot in France, Skoda in Czecho-Slovakia, Bofors in Sweden, Krupp in Germany, etc.) and by the stability and even increase in the dividends of these enterprises.

2. A similar revival is observed in certain branches of the *chemical* industry, particularly in the production of artificial silk. In England the index of production rose from 2.96 in 1932 to 3.17. In Japan the output of artificial silk rose 40 per cent, and Japan now occupies second place in world production of artificial fibre.

3. A relatively big revival in the *automobile* industry in the U.S.A., France and Germany. In Germany, output trebled and in the United States there has been an increase of 250 per cent compared with last year.

4. An enormous increase in the imports of *raw materials for munitions* in the big imperialist countries. *Japan* imported from the United States larger quantities than last year of the following items: cotton 28 per cent, oil 200 per cent, lead 16 per cent, wool from

Austria an increase of 36,000,000 yen, iron an increase of 50,000,000 yen. *France* increased her imports of lead ore by 268 per cent, zinc, 189 per cent, copper, 110 per cent, nickel, 63 per cent, aluminum, 100 per cent, sulphur, 258 per cent, oil, 354 per cent. *Germany* increased her imports of aluminum 1,049 per cent, nickel, 117 per cent, copper, 25 per cent, crude oil, 25 per cent, rubber, 23 per cent, scrap iron, 600 per cent. All these are German statistics. English statistics show that Germany increased her imports from England of steel scrap by 300 per cent, copper 2,503 per cent and aluminum 1,900 per cent over that of 1932.

This growth of the armament industries already explains to a certain extent the above-mentioned increase in the industrial output of the majority of capitalist countries.

Of course the growth of the armament industries by no means exhausts the question. But it demonstrates indisputably that the coming world war has already placed with the industry of the capitalist countries an order large enough to influence this year the course of the economic crisis in many capitalist countries—first and foremost in Japan, where the features of an eve-of-war situation are perfectly clear.

The second series of facts which influence the progress of the economic crisis were the important *measures taken by the financial oligarchy and the governments* of the important capitalist countries.

1. The depreciation of the dollar, which has sunk 38 per cent. This at first caused a rise of nominal prices in the United States and the flight from the dollar to goods. People began to buy new automobiles, textile goods, and even houses.

2. Mobilization of enormous funds for carrying out Roosevelt's Recovery Plan: the total sum of credits, subsidies and government guarantees amounts to 15,100,000,000 dollars, of which, according to official statistics, 11,700,000,000 dollars have already been assigned (for public works, for assistance to agriculture, for the settlement of house owners' debts, guarantees to insurance companies, etc.)

3. The fascist government of Germany, of course, could not mobilize such a colossal sum; for the time being they are introducing

inflation, not in an open, but in a concealed form. But according to the Konjunktur Institut, even the German government has mobilized three and a half to four billion marks. The main source of this, apparently, is the secret utilization of the funds of the Reichsbank, of the semi-government banks, the savings banks, foreign payments deposited in Germany, bonds issued on the security of future taxes, government guarantees and bills. This enabled the fascist government to develop the automobile industry, speed up the airplane industry, manufacture tanks, heavy artillery, etc. Public works consisted mainly of putting up fortifications in East Prussia, on the line of the Oder, and the building of strategic automobile roads. The demands for cloth for storm troop uniforms and for the requirements of the compulsory labor camps provided considerable orders for the textile industry.

4. In England, the position in industry began to improve with the depreciation of the pound sterling. The increase in tariffs, the Ottawa Agreement, and the substitution of the principle of greatest compensation for the most favored nations principle in trade agreements serve to influence things in the same direction. Thus, British capitalism obtained fairly considerable relief at the expense of the capitalists of other countries, and at the expense of the British colonies.

5. The Japanese yen has depreciated 60 per cent on the foreign market. The export industries have not only maintained their positions, but have grown as a consequence of the super-dumping which is being pursued now by means of inflation and by cutting down the wages of the workers and the incomes of the peasantry. Orders for armaments are covered by internal loans, inflation, the deposits of the banks and savings banks, by the export of gold, etc. This has enabled Japan to develop a large amount of "new construction": metals, chemicals, airplanes, tanks, artillery shells (65,-000,000).

In the light of these facts it is perfectly clear that the growth in production manifested this year in a number of industries contains the elements of a war and inflation boom. But the whole of this growth in production cannot be attributed to the results of the war-

inflation measures of the bourgeoisie. Besides these measures, of great importance is also the fact that the transfer of the burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the toiling classes and the colonies gave monopoly capital certain results in easing the situation of industry. We shall speak of this offensive of capital later, in connection with the question of markets and the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

2. *The Problem of Markets and the General Crisis of Capitalism*

We must not only view all the facts of the increase in production from the standpoint of the course of the economic crisis, but also estimate these facts from the point of view of the sharpening of the principal contradictions of the capitalist world, from the point of view of the revolutionary perspectives. That is the most important thing for us.

"The present economic crisis is a crisis of over-production," said Comrade Stalin at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. "That means that more goods are being produced than the market can absorb."

The thing we must not forget is that the restrictedness of the market is restricting industry. Capitalist reproduction is choking for the last of "oxygen," *i.e.*, the lack of effective demand. The expansion of the market, increase in orders, in demand, is a necessary condition for enabling the apparatus of production to work to capacity.

What is at the bottom of this crisis? *The fundamental contradiction of the capitalist mode of production*: the contradiction between highly developed social productive forces and the tight capitalist shell created by antagonistic, capitalist, property relations. It is this contradiction that caused the periodic crises of overproduction in the last century. But as long as the advanced capitalist countries were able to expand their home market and their exports of manufactured goods to new colonies and slightly developed capitalist countries, and as long as the development of monopoly capital was still relatively weak, these crises could create the premises for

their own liquidation—and they led to new industrial booms. When such countries as Germany, the United States and a number of others, began more and more to be transformed from countries importing manufactured goods, particularly machinery, into the exporters of these goods, *i.e.*, into the competitors of the older capitalist countries, when the division of the world among the great powers was completed, and the epoch of monopoly, of decaying capitalism was ushered in, then the extreme intensification of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism led to a furious struggle between the imperialists for the monopoly of foreign markets, and it led to the imperialist world war for the re-division of the colonies and of spheres of influence.

However, the imperialist war could not by its savage surgery relieve capitalism of its principal disease. On the contrary, as a consequence of that war, this disease became more acute and developed into another fundamental disease, *viz.*, the general crisis of capitalism. This meant first, that the world system was split up by the great October Revolution, the appearance of new fundamental antagonisms, *i.e.*, antagonisms between the capitalist world and the socialist world. Secondly, it meant the inevitable, sharper, intensification of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and capitalist property relations and, what is inseparably connected with this contradiction, the antagonism between the exploiting and exploited classes, and also between the various capitalist states. During the World War the output capacity of industry in capitalist countries increased in many branches, but the war failed to solve the burning question of the restriction of markets. On the contrary, even the colonial and dependent countries, particularly during the war, but also after the war, built up their own industry, which, as Comrade Stalin has pointed out, “is successfully competing in the markets with the old capitalist countries and thus intensifying the struggle for markets and making it more complicated.”

But while the World War led to the general crisis of capitalism, it at the same time gave the capitalist countries a respite of ten years in that it eased the question of markets (the economic crisis of 1921 was of a different character). The restoration of industry and

property after the war created for a number of years an extensive market for capitalist industry. This was the main economic base of the temporary stabilization of capitalism and for the capitalist rationalization of that period. Moreover, the demand based on a new military technique that arose already at that time (the mechanization and chemicalization of the armies), encouraged the development of a number of new industries and the rise of new branches of industries in a number of countries. During the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism, output in general rose to the pre-war level (on the average slightly above, but certain industries did not reach the pre-war level). But it was precisely this level of production that proved *critical* for world capitalism because of the restrictions imposed upon the market by the general crisis of capitalism.

Already in December, 1927, Comrade Stalin saw and stated that "the problem of markets is now the fundamental problem of capitalism. . . . Capitalism finds itself restricted in the limits of the present markets and spheres of influence." This was said at a time when stabilization was at its firmest, at a time when production in capitalist countries was soaring upwards.

" . . . Stabilization itself, the fact that production is increasing, that trade is increasing, that technical progress and possibilities of production are growing, while at the same time the world market, the limits of this market and the spheres of influence of separate imperialist groups remain more or less unchanged—these very facts give rise to the profoundest and acutest crisis of world capitalism which is pregnant with new wars and menaces the existence of any kind of stabilization."

This is exactly what happened—it is precisely out of this that the world economic crisis and the sharpest intensification of the general crisis of capitalism arose. It is precisely the acute problem of markets that represented, and now represents, the general link of the economic crisis and of the general crisis of capitalism.

There are fascist scribes and politicians who are advocating "autarchy," and who say: "What do we care about foreign markets; what we want is complete economic independence." This is demagogic chicanery for the purpose of hoodwinking philistines. Hitler,

Hugenberg, Rosenberg and the others are praying to the Powers to give Germany, *i.e.*, Thyssen, extra "economic territory in the East" and for a start, at least, Austria, Poland, the Baltic States, and half the U.S.S.R. thrown in. Hence, the slogan "autarchy" does not exclude, but on the contrary supplements, the furious imperialist struggle for new markets. If this slogan, apart from being a demagogic swindle, has any real content at all, it is first, that the ruling bourgeoisie in each country is striving by every possible means to drive its foreign competitors out of its "own" home market and secondly, that every imperialist government is now striving, in accordance with the strategic plans of its General Staff, to secure for itself the economic bases necessary for the conduct of war. The lesson of the blockade of the Central Powers during the war compels the imperialists to act in this way. Hence the struggle of England and France to become independent of the cotton supplies of the United States. Hence, the feverish development of the production of synthetic rubber in the United States and France. Hence the struggle of all the imperialist powers for oil, and for the sources of non-ferrous metals. The imperialists are even adapting agriculture to the purposes of war. Germany has already transformed herself into a self-contained country as far as wheat, rye, meat, sugar and potatoes are concerned. Even Old England is beginning to take up agriculture. But a capitalist industrialized country cannot be independent of foreign markets (if we leave out of account compulsory "independence" in the event of isolation during war). The export of manufactured goods is a vital condition for reproduction in every developed capitalist country.

In order to be independent of foreign markets it is necessary to have a growing home market. But this requires the abolition of the capitalist shell of the productive forces, *i.e.*, of capitalist private property, and the emancipation of the toilers from exploitation. The U.S.S.R. alone is a really independent country in this respect. The land of the dictatorship of the proletariat alone can have an unrestricted home market for producers' goods as well as for consumers' goods, and the more it develops its industries, the more firmly does it stand on its feet. It can utilize foreign markets whenever and

wherever it finds it convenient, but it is not dependent upon these markets.

There are also bourgeois theories to the effect that on the basis of "technical progress" capitalism has managed to liberate itself from crises of over-production by adapting itself to restricted markets. These theories are backed by the annual reports of certain big trusts and syndicates who try to console their shareholders by statements like the following: "We have succeeded in raising the productivity of every worker to such an extent that we need not hire any more workers than we have now." And they usually add: "And if sales only increase a little more, then we are sure of making a profit." But suppose sales do not increase, but on the contrary, decline? What then? That is the decisive question. Certain large enterprises have managed, for a time perhaps, not on the basis of technical progress, but by altogether different manipulations, to save their rate of profit, but they have lost an enormous amount of profit. And if the amount of profit continues to decline, this decline, having gone beyond a certain point, will inevitably lead to the bankruptcy of these enterprises unless the government hastens to their assistance, as it has already done in many cases before.

Of course it will be an excellent thing for the big capitalists to liberate themselves at one stroke from the internal contradictions of the capitalist system and of the necessity of hiring more than half the number of workers they now employ and yet at the same time retain their former enormous profits. But they are not destined to enjoy this good fortune.

Monopoly capital could indeed transfer an enormous share of the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of the toilers. This, in substance, is the "technical progress" which they call crisis rationalization. But it is impossible for them to transfer the costs of the crisis to the shoulders of the toilers indefinitely. When monopoly capital appropriates a larger share of the value of labor power by cutting down wages, social insurance, etc., it thereby distorts the law of value, *i.e.*, the fundamental law of the capitalist mode of production. Generally speaking, in its quest for super profits, monopoly capital distorts the movement of prices that is characteristic for capitalism under free

competition. But this does not mean that the spontaneous operation of the law of value is eliminated.

No, the elemental force of capitalist economy, including the spontaneous tendency to overcome each of its periodical crises, although it has not ceased even now to exert a definite influence in that direction, is turning more and more into the elemental force of the break up of the mechanism of capitalist economy. The distortion of the operation of the law of value brings its vengeance by intensifying the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, particularly by restricting the home market. The relative restriction of the home market is transformed into the absolute restriction, the more so, that monopoly capital not only robs the workers, but also the peasants by charging high monopoly prices for manufactured goods and paying low prices for peasant agricultural produce, and by means of rent, interest and increasing taxation. As is well known, all this has continued for many years, and is becoming intensified at the present time. This robbery becomes particularly intensified under a fascist dictatorship and the purchasing capacity of the masses of the toilers, *i.e.*, the largest body of purchasers, is diminished.

The bourgeois boasts about "technical progress," if we leave out military technical progress, are a huge joke at the present time considering that for four years an unprecedented destruction of productive forces has been going on in the capitalist countries, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility of certain improvements in technique, in certain enterprises and in certain branches of industry. The less reason therefore is there to ascribe any progressive significance to the crisis "rationalization" that is being carried out in capitalist countries. In the main, this rationalization merely means increasing the intensity of labor, increasing the degree of exploitation; and this is something altogether different from raising the productivity of labor by technical improvements in the means of production. It is precisely in recent times that the capitalists almost everywhere have intensified the sweating system to such a degree that it explains to a considerable extent why the system of short time, *i.e.*, the system of employing a large number of workers for a few days in the week, has been retained so long; because otherwise the workers could not

stand the degree to which exploitation has been brought. This has nothing at all to do with the concept of raising the productivity of labor on the basis of technical progress. This is simply the predatory destruction of human productive forces, the destruction of the vital strength of the wage slaves of capitalism. Moreover, in nearly all capitalist, "civilized" countries, *forced labor* in various forms is being employed to an increasing extent, partly for private employers, and partly on "public works," which are largely for strategical purposes. It is a substitute for unemployed relief. The rulers of the capitalist countries argue that since some "charitable effort" is necessary to preserve the lives of the workers, then let this effort proceed in the conditions that prevail on colonial plantations. That would even be very useful . . . in case of war.

But all these slave-owning methods of the twentieth century fail to relieve the bankrupt capitalist class of the growing acuteness of the problem of home markets, still less does it relieve it of the hatred of the internal enemy. At the same time the conditions of slavery that are being created for the toilers are conditions that inevitably give rise to the growth of the revolutionary indignation of the employed and unemployed workers, and of the vast masses of the toilers in general.

This growth of revolutionary indignation is proceeding in various forms at the present time. The growing unevenness of the economic crisis corresponds to the growing unevenness in the development of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement. Very often it happens that just on the eve of great outbursts a certain lull sets in in the mass movement, like the lull before the storm, during which an enormous quantity of revolutionary energy is accumulated among the masses in preparation for the impending big, class battles.

3. *Whither the War-Inflationist Economic Policy of the Financial Oligarchy Is Leading*

But the ruling bourgeoisie in each country is not only adopting measures that cause the home markets to shrink, it simultaneously resorts to measures which have for their object the *expansion* of the

home market, and of foreign markets, mainly in two ways: first, by increasing government orders and government subsidies for industries, and secondly, by squeezing out foreign competitors from the home market, as well as from certain sections of the world market.

Among the measures intended for the purpose of increasing government orders the most important, as we have seen, are the measures taken to adapt industry to and accelerate the production of armaments. But the question is, what effect have these measures on the economy of the country?

They create "demand," but this demand is of a special kind. Production increases, but not for consumers' goods, and not even for producers' goods, but only for unproductive, parasitic purposes. Even in the past, the economic significance of war parasitism was considerable. During the whole post-war period all the capitalist states strove with the aid of state subsidies to develop leading branches of the armament industry like the metallurgical and chemical industries, the production of motor engines, ship building, artificial silk, etc., irrespective of demand and of capitalist profitableness, in order to preserve and develop the productive power of the armament industries. At the present time, however, the burden of war parasitism has increased manifold in the economics of capitalist states. Formerly, in the immediate post-war period, production directly intended for war purposes represented on the average, according to Konjunktur Institut of Germany, about 5 per cent of the total output of the capitalist world; at the present time, however, the share of the production of war materials has on the average increased several-fold in certain countries, and in the leading branches of industry it has increased manifold. It must also be borne in mind that this increase in the proportion of the output of the war materials is proceeding parallel with a tremendous drop in the national income. This means a *colossal increase in the burden which war parasitism is imposing upon the economic forces of the capitalist countries.*

From the point of view of the immediate interests of certain capitalists and capitalist concerns who obtain armament orders and government subsidies, this is not at all bad; on the contrary, it is a

very advantageous position. Lenin said: "War is a terrible thing? Yes, but it is a terribly *profitable thing*"; but even pre-war demand enables the corresponding groups of capitalists to rake in huge profits. It is not surprising therefore that after fascist Germany left Geneva, Hitler received the first telegram of greetings from Krupp; it is not surprising that the Stock Exchanges of the world reacted to Germany's step by a rise in the shares of armament concerns. During the World War, the bourgeois economists, intoxicated by the war boom, advanced a special theory to the effect that war is a creative, economic factor. But at the end of the war these sycophants of capitalism in the majority of the belligerent countries were compelled to sing a different song, *viz.*, about the destructive effects of war.

The adaptation of the capitalist markets to the requirements of war formerly took place during the first months of war (in the autumn of 1914) and later, in the course of the war a war boom set in. Now, however, the train of capitalist economy is hitched on to the locomotive of war before the war, and to some extent the war boom is already in evidence—capitalism, so to speak, is *forestalling* war demand. But there is a fundamental difference which distinguishes the present pre-war boom from the state capitalism of war time. The characteristic feature of war capitalism, and of the crisis of war economy, is not over-production, but a shortage of goods, under-production. War is the only occasion when an unlimited home market is created for capitalism. In order to concentrate and to increase production to meet the important war demand to the utmost, the belligerent governments were compelled during the imperialist World War to introduce a certain amount of state regulation of production and the restriction of rising prices. The present position of monopoly capitalism is very different from war time state monopoly capitalism. Amidst a general slump in the market, the financial oligarchy, with the aid of the governments, is fighting against a *fall* in prices. The unrestricted "consumption" of means of destruction that goes on in war time has not yet been reached. This is what hinders the development of the arma-

ment industries to such proportions as would enable the whole of industry to extricate itself from the crisis. And the enormous sums which the capitalist governments are now spending on war orders and in subsidizing industry impose an intolerable burden, not only upon the masses of the toilers, but also upon economy as a whole.

The burdens of the first World War, the growth of the military-police apparatus of the state, the growth of foreign and internal debts, etc., amidst the general crisis of capitalism, and particularly in the conditions of the economic crisis, have led to the position that the State Budget consumes an increasing part of the national income. Before the war the total State Budget of Germany comprised 7 per cent of the national income; in 1929, the expenditure of the Reich, and of the various states and municipalities comprised 26 per cent, and in 1932, 33 per cent of the national income. In the United States the Federal Budget in 1913 comprised only 2 per cent of the national income; in 1932 the share increased sixfold. In England the pre-war Budget comprised 8 per cent of the national income, and in 1932, 23 per cent; in France, pre-war Budget 14 per cent, now 25 per cent; in Italy, pre-war Budget 16 per cent, now 34 per cent of the national income.

The proportion of the expenditure on armaments to the total Budget is as follows: in France, direct expenditure on armaments in 1920 represented 17 per cent of the total Budget and in 1931 it rose to 32 per cent; in Italy the proportion rose from 30 per cent in 1929 to 35 per cent in 1932; in Japan it rose from 28 per cent in 1929 to 37 per cent in 1933. These figures apply to expenditure on armaments in the strict sense of the word. If, however, we include expenditure on the police and on the National Debt, we will find that the expenditure of bourgeois states on past and future wars represents from 40 to 70 per cent of their total Budgets. Truly, a gigantic increase in parasitism.

To these figures must be added the enormous sums that bourgeois governments spend on efforts to save the big trusts and banks, and on saving their profits. We have already pointed to the fact

that in the United States the measures taken by the Roosevelt government in 1933 involve expenditure on subsidies and guarantees amounting to 15,000,000,000 dollars. In Italy, the government allocated 7,000,000,000 lire to compensate for the losses incurred by the big concerns. In Germany, for the purpose of saving the big banks alone the government spent 1,100,000,000 marks. "Provision of work" schemes in Germany will cost the "Third Empire" 3,967,000,000 marks. The Hitler government is making this expenditure on account of the Budgets of future years: thus, in 1933 expenditure has been made on account of anticipated Budget receipts for 1934 amounting to 700,000,000 marks, and on anticipated receipts from the Budget of 1938 of no less than 2,000,000,000 marks. This swindling and robbing of the Treasury is called "prefinancing."

The social-fascists, however, pretend that this robbing of the Treasury and invasion of parasitism is a sort of introduction to socialism, or a "new form of organized and state-controlled economy that may become a transition form from capitalism to socialism." (Resolution of the Paris Conference of the Second International.) Roosevelt has become the new idol of the Second International, of all the Bauers, Blums and Vanderveldes. The English reformists at their Congress in Brighton, and the English Laborites at their Conference in Hastings, proclaimed Roosevelt as the herald of socialism. Roosevelt's program was declared to be a chunk of socialism. Roosevelt himself never dreamed of socialism, or of replacing the capitalist system by a system of "organized economy." He simply, as the government representative of the big financial bourgeoisie, wanted, and now wants, to take decisive steps towards mitigating the economic crisis, towards "industrial recovery." After some slight success at the beginning, his plan has, in the main, failed; but this does not mean that he cannot continue to pursue his policy in this direction. This policy can still provide enormous profits for the financial oligarchy; but the more it produces such temporary results, the more it consumes the economic forces of the country, depreciates the currency, disturbs the state finances,

and the burden of taxes and high cost of living still further reduces the purchasing power of the masses of the toilers.

Thus, *the consequences* of this policy are such that instead of "organized capitalism" we simply get a further *disruption* of capitalist economy.

The thing that disrupts capitalist economy most is inflation, which, on the one hand, is an inevitable consequence of the disturbance of the capitalist system and on the other hand, is a very sharp weapon at which the financial oligarchy is clutching in its predatory raid upon other people's property.

What is the financial oligarchy striving to obtain in its own country by introducing partial inflation? Primarily the following:

1. The reduction of the real wages of the workers, of the real value of the salaries of civil servants and of the incomes of the peasantry.

2. The partial annulment of the debts of the capitalist enterprises.

3. The depreciation of bank deposits and savings which practically means the robbery of a considerable part of the property of the petty bourgeoisie, of the small rentiers, and small capitalists.

4. A rise in prices.

In its first stage inflation causes a flight from money to goods, raises prices, considerably reduces the losses of the big enterprises, and thus stimulates an increase in production. The effect inflation has on capitalist economy is similar to the effect a drug has on a human being, *i.e.*, at first it gives rise to speculative spurts in production, but at the same time it paralyzes the private market for capital (capital issues). Very soon it reveals a weakening and disturbance of economy (the further shrinking of the home market, the disturbance of the State Budget, and finances generally, etc.). The rise in prices, as a rule, is slower than the depreciation of money, and the greater part of the spoils of inflation obtained by the monopolists, as a rule, quickly evaporates so that in order to achieve further results the further depreciation of money is required—in the same way as the first casual successes achieved by a petty coiner

cannot guarantee him a "carefree" life unless he continues his "work." Thus, the prospects on this road are a seething and rising flood of inflation, *i.e.*, a recurrence of the situation that existed in many countries during the first wave of inflation that resulted from the imperialist war.

In the sphere of international commercial competition, inflation is a very sharp weapon in economic war, and particularly in the struggle for foreign markets. Its introduction to a large extent relieves the given country of a considerable portion of its foreign debts, encourages exports and hinders imports. In this respect, inflation may at first bring considerable advantages to the bourgeoisie of the given country, as the example of England, Japan and a number of other countries, shows. Hence the striving of certain imperialist countries, amidst the intensified struggle for markets, to excel each other in depreciating their own currency. Thus, England has depreciated her currency by 32 per cent, the United States by 40 per cent, and Japan by 63 per cent. But the very fact that the introduction of inflation in one country compels her competitor to resort to the same weapon (or resort to counter-measures of another kind) quickly "depreciates" the advantage obtained by the one and the other from inflation. As a result of inflation (and for a number of other reasons) the export of capital comes to a complete stop. As a result of inflation the world market shrinks more and more, because without imports there can be no exports, and without exports there can be no imports. Inflation cannot create new markets—like other measures taken in economic war (dumping, prohibitive tariffs, quotas, etc.) inflation merely serves as a weapon in the struggle for the redistribution of existing, and in the conditions of the crisis, shrinking world markets. But as a result of the general struggle for markets world trade at the present time (third quarter of 1933) represents only 34 per cent of the world trade of 1929.

The currency war helps to create hostile imperialist groups; already we have a sterling *bloc* headed by England, a gold *bloc*, headed by France, and no doubt a dollar *bloc* will be formed. But

the currency war is a constituent part of the general economic war among the imperialists. This war is already at its height. It led to the complete breakdown of the London Economic Conference. It is being waged in the form of English "imperial preferences," American "economic nationalism," Japanese super-dumping and adventurism, etc., etc. Every imperialist state is fighting furiously to drive out foreign rivals from its own country, and to grasp at least a small but valuable piece of the market in other countries.

The whole of the predatory economic policy pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie in the conditions of crisis has undoubtedly brought it certain results up to now in many countries at the expense of the toilers in their own countries, at the expense of the colonies, and at the expense of other countries. This is a fact. It is also possible that this policy of the big bourgeoisie will produce similar results in a number of countries in the future, particularly in the most powerful countries. This possibility cannot be denied. The armament industry can and will be whipped up by the bourgeoisie. If fascist Germany with its limited resources was able to achieve a rather important revival of the armament industries, and if France in 1933 was able, largely by increasing armaments, to achieve an increase in industrial output, then why should not the United States be able to achieve the same thing? The bourgeoisie of the United States has no less chance of achieving this than the others. Hence, we cannot simply assert that the Roosevelt Plan has failed to such an extent that the American rulers cannot do anything more to mitigate their economic crisis. No. Roosevelt has only just begun to carry out the "best parts" of his plans, to carry out his great naval program; in *this* sphere the American bourgeoisie can still perform "miracles of new construction." By continuing the policy of inflation it can with its "golden" advantage win out at the expense of other countries. Moreover, it will continue its attack on the workers' wages and on the incomes of the farmers. We must beware of wrongly simplifying the question.

Thus, we cannot assert that the economic crisis will become more intensified in all the capitalist countries in the near future.

But what we can and must emphasize is that this is the further intensification and deepening of the *general crisis of capitalism*, precisely and primarily as a result of the very measures by which the ruling bourgeoisie in the most important capitalist countries are creating for themselves a temporary mitigation of the economic crisis. This is what is important to understand. It is important to understand the interweaving of the present economic crisis with the general crisis of capitalism. The foundation of one and the other is the intensification of the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and capitalist property relations. The intensification of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism determines the acuteness of the problem of markets, which the bourgeoisie cannot solve in a peaceful manner. The measures by which the financial oligarchy are saving their profits and securing for themselves temporary relief will simply lead to the further shrinking of world markets and to the sharp intensification of class antagonisms in every capitalist country, as well as of international antagonisms. And it is precisely the intensification of these antagonisms that represents the very essence of the general crisis of capitalism.

The unprecedented robbery and ruin of the toilers by the ruling bourgeoisie is preparing the ground for and hastening the revolutionary attack of the toilers upon the rule of the bourgeoisie. The economic war of the capitalist countries merely prepares for the "military pushing of the rival into bankruptcy" (Lenin), prepares the ground for a sanguinary war of the imperialists for the monopolist possession of the most valuable markets, a war for the conquest of *colonies*, a war against the *U.S.S.R.*, a war for the redistribution of the world, for world hegemony.

4. *Main Conclusions*

What are the main conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing economic analysis? Primarily the following:

First, now that capitalist stabilization has come to an end, unevenness has been greatly accentuated in the progress of the world

economic crisis; convulsive fluctuation and even more prolonged evidences of a certain rise in output have manifested themselves in a number of branches of industry. But not a single capitalist country has as yet managed to extricate itself from the clutches of the economic crisis.

Second, the predatory measures adopted by the financial oligarchy and the capitalist governments for the purpose of transferring the burden of the economic crisis to the shoulders of the toiling classes and also the increased profits obtained at the expense of the colonies and weak countries, and of other countries generally, may continue to produce certain results for the ruling bourgeoisie in certain countries; nevertheless they cannot restore the stabilization of capitalism. On the contrary, they serve to break up still further the mechanism of capitalist economy, to sharply intensify the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, both economic and political. They support the capitalist system in the same way as the rope supports one who has been hanged. Those who fail to understand that cannot understand the present process of revolutionization of the world situation.

Third, while formerly the decay of capitalism deeply undermined its foundations, at the present time these foundations are being actually destroyed—the world money system, and the whole system of world economic ties of capitalism, is being destroyed, the mechanism of capitalist economy is becoming more and more disintegrated. The world economic crisis is closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and the sharp intensification of this general crisis has already led to the far-reaching disruption of the capitalist system throughout the whole world.

Fourth, this does not lead to the automatic collapse of capitalism, but to the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis. Even now, the world economic crisis is giving birth not only to the economic, but also to the political prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis and world war, in so far as it is intensifying both class antagonisms and international antagonisms to their utmost extreme.

The extreme tension of both internal class contradictions in the capitalist countries and of international antagonisms—this is the most characteristic feature of the present world situation. It testifies to the fact that at the present time the world is approaching very close to a new round of revolutions and wars.

A new round of revolutions and wars means a new revolutionary crisis of the world capitalist system. Formerly, we spoke of the maturing prerequisites of a revolutionary crisis in the international situation. Our present theses speak of the objective prerequisites of a world revolutionary crisis being so mature and of the main contradictions and antagonisms in the capitalist world becoming so acute and strained, that a turn may come at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The growth of the objective prerequisites of revolution does not, however, decide the whole issue—the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must be able to resolutely take advantage of this situation. This alone can guarantee a successful fulfilment of the great task that confronts the international proletariat, *viz.*, the task of transforming the impending revolutionary crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution.

II. The Menace of Imperialist War and the Proletarian Struggle Against Imperialism

1. *The War Danger at the Present Time*

The whole international situation at the present time is one of extreme tension.

The League of Nations, which has been abandoned by Japan and Germany, and which Italy is preparing to abandon, cannot serve as an arena for the achievement of an agreement between England and France, the two imperialist powers which most relied upon it; and it is ceasing to serve as a screen to hide the furious preparations for war. The system of imperialist bargaining which laid the basis of the Versailles Treaty and the Washington Agreement has utterly collapsed. The Disarmament Conference has resulted in a hitherto unprecedented race for armaments between the imperialists and as a result of the London Conference on "economic disarmament" a currency and tariff war has broken out among the imperialists along the whole front.

The struggle between the Versailles *bloc* and the anti-Versailles group led by Germany and Italy for the redrafting of the map of Central and South Europe and the Balkans, is flaring up more and more, particularly around the question of Austria. The antagonism between the United States and England has, as a result of the unconcealed struggle for markets, assumed unprecedented acuteness (the war between the dollar and the pound, the irreconcilable position of both opponents on the question of inter-allied debts, etc.). The intensification of Anglo-American conflicts is taking place at all points where the interests of these two imperialisms come into conflict, particularly on the Pacific. The race for armaments between Japan, the U.S.A. and England in the Pacific is no longer concealed in London, Washington and Tokio. Japan is building a new naval base at Port Arthur and is fortifying the islands; England is fortifying Singapore and the Australian coast, while the U.S.A. is fortifying the Pacific coast, Hawaii and Guam. England fears the strengthening of her principal rival, the U.S.A., in the

event of war between the latter and Japan, but it also fears the excessively large appetites of the Japanese militarists, the strengthening of Japanese imperialism which, by its super-dumping, is already hitting her in all markets.

The tenseness of the international situation is determined by the sharp intensification of the inherent contradictions of the capitalist world. But the intensification of these inherent contradictions directly increases the aggressiveness of the imperialists against the *land that is building socialism*, is compelling the world bourgeoisie to seek a solution of these inherent contradictions of capitalism at the expense of the U.S.S.R., "the Land of the Soviets, the citadel of the Revolution, which by its very existence is revolutionizing the working class and the colonies, preventing . . . [the bourgeoisie] . . . arranging for a new war, preventing . . . [them] . . . dividing the world anew, preventing . . . [them] . . . from being masters of our extensive internal market so necessary for capitalists, particularly today, owing to the economic crisis." (Stalin, Speech at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The Japanese monarchy, Hitlerist Germany and British imperialism are playing the most active role in organizing war against the Soviet Union. British imperialism is doing everything it can to encourage and spur on Japan towards an adventurist attack upon the U.S.S.R. in the East. At the same time it is striving to fan the antagonisms between Germany and France and between France and Italy in order to recover its position as arbiter in Europe and is organizing the forces of the international bourgeoisie for an attack upon the U.S.S.R. in the West. German fascism is combining the executioners' civil war against the proletariat and the toilers of Germany with preparations for war for the repartitioning of Europe, with feverish efforts to smooth out the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists by means of joint action for an attack upon the U.S.S.R. Hitlerist Germany and Pilsudski Poland are striving to settle the increasingly acute conflicts between them at the expense of Soviet territory. The Hitlerites are organizing a fascist *coup* in Esthonia and Latvia for the purpose of preparing for a

similar war, and they are trying to find common ground with the anti-Soviet groups among the French imperialists at the expense of the U.S.S.R.

Brandishing the Samurai sword and relying upon the magnates of the financial oligarchy, the Japanese Minister for War, Araki, solemnly declares:

“For twenty years already disorder has been continuously reigning in China; up till now no central government has been established there and, in fact, there is no government. Neither in *Central Asia* or in *Siberia* can a scrap of liberty be found. And *Mongolia*, too, seems to have been transformed into a second Central Asia. . . . Awakened imperial Japan can no longer tolerate the tyranny of the white race. . . .”

It is well known that for barbarity the Japanese monarchy concedes nothing to tsarism. It represents 3,000 millionaires who like an octopus have wound their tentacles around a great nation. It represents 40,000 landlords, who like leeches are sucking the blood of the tormented toiling peasants of Japan. It represents the slave-owning textile concerns who buy the daughters of the peasantry and pay their workers the wages of colonial coolies. It represents a repulsive, arrogant militarism, which has converted Korea, Formosa, Manchuria and part of northern China into an arena of savage torment and mockery of enslaved nations and has acquired notoriety for “unprecedented brutality combining all the latest inventions of technique with purely Asiatic torture” (Lenin).

Through the mouth of Araki is expressed the rage of the British Diehards, of the German fascists and of the whole of the reactionary bourgeoisie against the U.S.S.R. They may start a war against the U.S.S.R., but they cannot emerge from such a war without broken heads.

2. *The Role of the Social-Fascists on the Imperialist Front*

In a situation in which the imperialist pirates are furiously fanning the flames of war, the role of Social-Democracy as the agent of the bourgeoisie in the preparations for a new world imperialist

slaughter, and particularly for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, stands out in most striking relief. The Second International is preparing for another August 4, on an international scale, which will be even more disgusting than its treachery of 1914. It was not for nothing that the Vienna Social-Democratic *Arbeiterzeitung* in its controversy with the "most Christian" fascist Dollfuss mentioned the service which Social-Democracy had rendered the bourgeois state and went on to say that the war of 1914 proved that the "freer nations" fight best for the interests of "their" bourgeoisie. It was not for nothing that the "Left" Otto Bauer openly declared that he was opposed to the "defeatist denial" of the right to "defend" the Hitler fatherland. Bauer would like to crown the war of German imperialism with a halo of Jacobin phrases, as the French neo-socialists do in picturing General Weygand who participated in anti-Soviet intervention as the marshal of a revolutionary war against Germany. The English Laborites and National Laborites, behind the veil of pacifist phrases, try to attach the British workers to the British Empire by promising gradual "socialist reforms." Lansbury tries to persuade the revolutionary youth of India to abandon the struggle against the British conquerors, by promising that the Laborites will "soon come into power." The thesis of the Laborites and the National Laborites, *viz.*: "In order to strengthen international peace, peace must be strengthened within the British Empire," is a masked slogan of war, because it strives to strengthen the tottering British Empire for a war against the U.S.S.R., to strengthen it in order to extricate it from the crisis by means of a war against other countries, to strengthen it with the bones of the proletariat and colonial peoples. The Japanese social-fascists support the brigand sermons of Araki concerning the special mission of Japan in Asia, and the whole system of anti-Soviet provocation.

Cringing before the fascist cut-throats who have come into power the Social-Democratic leaders in all countries where the fascist dictatorship rules do not even trouble to conceal their readiness to defend the fatherland of the imperialist and counter-revo-

lutionary bourgeoisie. In many countries they have openly renounced their former pacifist if vapid formulas opposing imperialist war and by furious campaigns against the Soviet Union they are striving to prove to the bourgeoisie that they will be indispensable in the event of war. Vandervelde's assertion that the danger of war arises "from the dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Russia," or from "the governments of dictatorship," as the last Congress of the Amsterdam International declared, is a striking illustration of the social-fascist provocation of counter-revolutionary war against the land which is building a classless socialist society.

Striving to divert the growing antagonisms between the imperialist countries into the channel of the common aggression of capitalist states against the U.S.S.R. and international bolshevism, the Social-Democratic newspapers provocatively depict every new agreement arrived at between the U.S.S.R. and some other state as the desertion of the U.S.S.R. to the side of one imperialism against another. By this means they try to help the imperialists to form a united counter-revolutionary front against the U.S.S.R. By this they try to conceal from the toilers the fact that the U.S.S.R. is resolutely opposed to all participation in any imperialist combination.

3. The Peace Policy of the U.S.S.R. Is the Policy of Proletarian Internationalism

The specific gravity of the Soviet Union in the sphere of international relationships has increased enormously. The determined peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union on the basis of the victorious construction of socialism has brought the land of the proletarian dictatorship, particularly in recent times, a number of successes of enormous international significance.

The Soviet Union is able to pursue a consistent peace policy because the proletariat over an enormous territory has abolished all the causes that led to imperialist wars. In the Soviet Union there is no lack of markets; the Soviet Union does not have to hunt for markets. The dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, is not threatened from within and therefore does not have

to seek safety in wars. The might of the Soviet Union has rapidly grown and is continuing to grow day after day. *Such and only such a country* can pursue a firm and consistent peace policy.

But the successes of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. have revealed that our Communist press in the capitalist countries is not able to explain the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its significance to the masses of the workers in a proper and convincing manner so as to refute the anti-Soviet slander and sophistry of the social-fascists. But vagueness in Communist agitation on this important question is absolutely impermissible. Whence this vagueness? It seems to me that it arises primarily from the fact that certain comrades look at the peace policy of the Soviet Union one-sidedly, *i.e.*, wrongly; it arises from the fact that they understand and interpret this policy in the bourgeois-pacifist sense.

Very often in our press we read absolutely correct statements about "the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government," "the Soviet Union is the principal peace factor in the world," etc. All this is true, but if we see nothing else in this policy and explain no more than this to the workers, then we only create confusion.

There is no slogan that the bourgeoisie have abused more than the slogan of peace. The imperialist "peace policy" is represented by the policy of the Versailles Peace, of the Brest-Litovsk Peace; it is the policy which serves as an instrument of imperialist rule and of imperialist rivalry. Every imperialist diplomat uses the slogan of peace most zealously on the eve of war. Even Hitler makes long speeches about "peace in Europe," and Araki, the Japanese Minister for War, in his well-known pamphlet, which is certainly a sample of political hypocrisy unexampled in world literature, wrote a special chapter entitled *Japan, the Apostle of Peace*. In this chapter we read the following:

"The picture presented of Japan as a militarist or imperialist state is absolutely superficial. Only those can picture Japan as such who do not know that Japan takes to arms only in order to fight for peace."

This is not enough to enable the masses to understand the differ-

“The extent to which Japan loves peace and strives for the peace and welfare of humanity can be judged by the imperial edicts issued by every emperor which clearly state this.”

Yes, it would be very difficult to find more objective evidence of the Japanese government’s “love of peace”! But the point is that the hypocrisy of the imperialists is not sufficiently exposed to the broad masses of the people. The primary duty of the Communists is to teach the toilers to see the bloody policy of the imperialists behind the sweet songs they sing.

This is not enough to enable the masses to understand the difference between the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the pacifist phrasemongering of the bourgeoisie and its agents. The difference is *not only* that the peace policy of the C.P.S.U. is an honest policy. A definite relation of forces in the imperialist camp may compel this or that bourgeois state, which is either not strong enough or which is temporarily isolated, to try and avoid war for a time. This, of course, is not a consistent peace policy; but it would be quite wrong to explain the difference between the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the policy of any capitalist state which is striving to avoid war by the fact that the former is a consistent peace policy while the latter is an inconsistent peace policy.

The peace policy of the C.P.S.U. is an honest and consistent peace policy and primarily it is a *Bolshevik* policy. It is a *revolutionary* peace policy, imbued with the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*.

In our agitation and propaganda we must resolutely dissociate the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. from any kind of bourgeois policy. What would the masses of the revolutionary workers think if we Communists in our press began to confuse the revolutionary peace policy of the C.P.S.U. with bourgeois pacifism? Why should the Soviet Union pursue such a policy?—the workers would ask. Why should it conclude pacts of non-aggression with the capitalist government of our country which is only hypocritically playing with the peace policy and does not intend to stick to these pacts longer than the approach of the favorable moment for waging a counter-revolutionary war? Why do the Bolsheviks conclude even temporary

agreements with our reactionary government, which is secretly preparing for war against the Soviet Union and for civil war against the working class of our country?—the workers may ask.

Many workers, including those who sincerely sympathize with the Soviet Union, may be beset with such doubts. But our press does not give a proper explanation of the peace policy of the C.P.S.U.

They should explain that the peace policy of the Soviet Union can, if not avert war altogether, at all events greatly hinder the war policy of the imperialist enemies of the U.S.S.R. and may even put off the beginning of such a war, particularly if it receives real and active support for its peace policy from the proletariat of the capitalist countries. But to hinder and to put off the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union is in the immediate interests of the international revolutionary labor movement. This must be explained to the masses of the workers in every country.

But how should this be explained? In my opinion in explaining this question attention must be drawn to the following points:

First, the peace policy of the Soviet Union helps to expose the war policy of the imperialists and by that hinders their aggressiveness. This is very important. Every enemy of the U.S.S.R. needs and seeks for a "plausible" excuse to justify this criminal and very "unpopular" war in the eyes of the masses of the people of his country. However much the bourgeois governments would like to attack the U.S.S.R., not a single one of them would dare to come out openly as the aggressor, because it fears the masses of the people in its rear. That is why governments like the Polish, Rumanian and even the Finnish fascist governments dared not refuse to sign the pact of non-aggression, or the definition of aggressor, proposed by the U.S.S.R. Of course, the capitalist governments of these countries regard these pacts as mere scraps of paper; but we, the revolutionary workers, must utilize these pacts as important documents with which to expose the hypocritical game of "our own" government, and from the very first moment of the outbreak of an anti-Soviet attack, we must not only brand that government as the criminal culprit of the war, but produce documentary proof of this. It is particularly impor-

tant that the Soviet government proposed to its most aggressive enemies, to Germany, Poland and others, that they sign pacts of non-aggression and other obligations of peace, because it will be a noose for them, if only we, the revolutionary workers of every country, succeed in utilizing these documents to the widest possible extent in our mass agitation. The capitalist government that refuses to conclude a pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union still further exposes itself to the whole world as the organizer and instigator of war, as the Japanese government has already exposed itself to be. And it is very significant that the MacDonal-Baldwin government, the government of British imperialism, which displayed a very lively interest in the liberation of the English spies who were caught red-handed in the Soviet Union, has not displayed the slightest desire to undertake the obligation of non-aggression against the Soviet Union.

Secondly, we must declare that in so far as it is possible to secure the *postponement* of the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, thanks to the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., and the support which it receives from the toilers of all countries, this in many respects is to the advantage of the international revolution. Of course, the imperialists, too, are making strenuous use of this respite for their war preparations. But time is on our side, if only we do not remain passive. The inevitable intensification of the general crisis of capitalism will lead, first, to the greater intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist pirates; secondly, to the continuous growth of the revolutionary crisis in separate countries. This, in its turn, means that our Communist Parties will have still more favorable objective conditions for revolutionary work, that we in the capitalist countries will gain extra time for preparing the proletariat for the decisive struggle. Such is the third consequence of the possible postponement of war against the Soviet Union. It increases our chances of being able at least in several countries to forestall the bourgeoisie and to avert the impending war by overthrowing the bourgeoisie, by proletarian revolution. Fourthly, the movement of the allies of the world proletarian revolution, the anti-imperialist national revolutionary movements of the colonial and dependent nations, will gain extra time for the further mobilization and organ-

ization of their forces. And fifthly, the Soviet Union itself, at the same time, on the basis of its socialist construction, will become still more powerful.

The last, of course, is the most important: the rapid growth of the might of the Soviet Union up till now has been the principal, although not the only obstacle (the antagonisms between the imperialist countries are also important), that restrained the imperialists from their piratical attack upon the land of the proletarian dictatorship. They did not consider themselves sufficiently prepared for such a war. They had every ground for fearing the outcome of such a war. But what chances for a successful outcome of their anti-Soviet plans can the imperialists have now, after the brilliant fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, when the relation of forces has changed still more to the advantage of the Soviet Union? Now, every attempt to subdue the world citadel of socialism by war is more dangerous than ever for the imperialists.

The strengthening of the Soviet Union is one of the principal factors of peace throughout the whole world. But it is not only a factor of peace. Simultaneously, the rise of the Soviet Union is the principal factor in the development of the general crisis of the world capitalist system. The rise of the U.S.S.R. inspires the toilers of the whole world in their revolutionary struggles. The Soviet Union is the stronghold of the world proletariat, the firm basis of the world socialist revolution.

If we explain the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and the significance of its successes to the masses of the workers in this way, it will not be difficult for us to repel the provocative attacks of the social-fascists on the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Every worker will understand that there is not, nor can there be, any antagonism of interest between the Soviet Union and the international labor movement. The proletariat of the Soviet Union is the invincible vanguard of the workers of all countries. The cause of the working class of every country is inseparably linked up with the cause of the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

4. *The Anti-Imperialist Struggle of Revolutionary China*

A new partition of China by the Japanese, British, French and the American imperialists has already commenced. This has not only found expression in the continued Japanese annexations, but also in the seizure of part of Szechwan by the British imperialists, and their attempts with the aid of the Canton group to seize control of South China, in the organization by British and Japanese imperialism of the partisan movement in Sinkiang, in the preparations of French imperialism to annex Yunnan, and the imperialist intervention of England, Japan and the United States in Fukien.

The Chinese people are confronted with the problem of either being transformed into a firmly enslaved colony of the imperialists, or of bringing about the revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of the imperialists. The anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese toilers is developing in three main forms:

1. Armed guerilla warfare against Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar and North China. This war is being waged not only against the Japanese militarists, but also against the Chinese agents of Japanese imperialism.

2. The anti-imperialist struggle in Kuomintang China. This struggle, too, is directed, not only against the Japanese and other imperialists, but also against the Kuomintang as the agents of imperialism, and primarily against the Nanking government of national betrayal and disgrace.

3. The principal, decisive force is the Soviets and their Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

After the defeat of the old leadership of generals, the guerilla warfare passed to a new stage. The Chinese guerilla fighters are workers, peasants and soldiers; and the Communist Party of China is more and more assuming the leadership of the partisan movement. According to the reports of the Japanese, there are in Manchuria 150,000 armed partisans. Among them there are already three large Red units, three Army Corps of the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets. In the event of a sharp turn of events this army may grow and will grow into an army of millions.

The Chinese Soviets and their Red Army have already repelled five campaigns, and just now they have won an important victory in fighting against the sixth campaign.

Chiang Kai-shek gathered an army of 440,000 against the Central Soviet District. He received aeroplanes, tanks, artillery, armored cars and chemical warfare equipment from the United States and England. He was assisted by the British, Japanese and American imperialist fleets. His armies were led by German General Staff officers, headed by General Seeckt. His police force is led by the German social-fascist mercenaries including Grzesinski. And yet, in spite of all this, after a big engagement the armies of Chiang Kai-shek fled from the field of battle and retreated for five days without stopping.

While Chiang Kai-shek was concentrating his forces against the Central Soviet District, the Red Army in Szechwan routed 36 regiments of the enemy, a whole army. (*Applause.*) The Second and Fourth Red Armies united and occupied the town of Wanhsien, crossed the Yangtze, and repelled all the attacks of the Kuomintang troops. Nearly 22 counties in the province of Szechwan are under the rule of the Soviets. In the provinces of Anhwei and Hunan the Soviet districts are being restored by the efforts of the workers and peasants.

Since our last Plenum, as the achievement of but one year, the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets grew up and became strong; the regular units during the past year increased from 200,000 to 350,000 and the irregular units grew up from 400,000 to 600,000. Three new model Communist Divisions have been formed:—one Division known as the Y.C.I. Division consisting of the Young Communist Leaguers, and two Workers' Divisions.

The Soviet state in China is growing and becoming strong. It is growing strong because of the correct policy pursued by the Communist Party. The Soviet revolution in China has become a powerful factor in the world revolution.

The defense of Shanghai and the guerilla warfare in Manchuria have been important factors in causing the Japanese fascist militarists to hesitate in commencing a counter-revolutionary war against the

U.S.S.R. If the imperialists and primarily the Japanese militarists ignite a conflagration of counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. in the Far East, they stand the risk of seeing the establishment, next day, of a *Soviet Japan, a united and indivisible Soviet China, and a Soviet Korea and Formosa which have overthrown the yoke of Japanese imperialism.*

5. *The Tasks of the Communist Anti-War Struggle*

The imperialists are creeping into war at an accelerated rate. Hence, the primary task of the Communist Parties must be to expose their policy to the workers and the toilers and to show that the nations are being dragged into war unbeknown to the masses amidst the noise of diplomatic phrases and negotiations and under cover of the war "revival" of capitalist industry, on the pretext of more frequent partial mobilizations, calling up of reserves, and trial mobilizations of fascist and other reactionary military organizations.

Bolshevism resolutely rejects the position of passively waiting for war. In the present situation such a position is tantamount to desertion from the field of battle, tantamount to the abandonment of the leading role of the Communists as the vanguard of the revolutionary class. Modern war is a war which welds the front and the rear into an inseparable whole. Our Parties have achieved certain successes in linking up the immediate demands of the workers with the revolutionary struggles against war. However, the reorganization of our Party, mass and organizational work does not correspond properly to the rate at which, and the concrete conditions in which, the imperialists are creeping into war.

It would be stupid to think that the Communists can wait passively until a popular uprising matures in the course of an imperialist or counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. Mass work against war must be carried on immediately, without delay, particularly among the workers in those enterprises that will play a particularly prominent role in the conditions of war. We must learn right now to distribute our forces properly, and to concentrate our activities upon the struggle against the shipment and supply of war

materials. The campaign against the supply of war materials to Japanese imperialism has been obviously unsatisfactory.

At the same time we must utilize the experience of the fight against imperialist rehearsals of war, we must utilize the experience of the struggle during military maneuvers, during trial mobilizations of separate classes, etc., to prepare for the struggle against war in the conditions of war.

The Communist Parties must prepare the workers so as not to allow the moment of general mobilization to slip by, when the slightest delay and disorder in carrying out the mobilization plan—every hour of which has been calculated beforehand—may cause the imperialists very serious embarrassment. During the general mobilization, the Communists must be able to develop their activity at the mobilization centers at which the workers and peasants will be gathered in order to be distributed to their various units. Revolutionary work on the railways and in the docks, in the first days of mobilization, as well as throughout the whole period of the war, is one of the first and most important conditions for the general success of revolutionary work. The imperialist generals say that the fate of a war is determined by the large factories, and this once again emphasizes the fact that it is precisely these enterprises that must become the strongholds of our revolutionary struggle against war. Work in these enterprises, as well as among the troops at the front, must become the core of our work. We must without losing a single hour make every possible use of legal and semi-legal possibilities, which certain Communist Parties still enjoy, in order to reorganize our work in a militant manner.

We know that the victorious revolution is the only reliable guarantee of peace. Hence, the task of *revolutionizing the toiling masses* is the fundamental task also in our anti-war struggle. But we do not know whether and where the possibility of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie will mature before the latter drives the toilers into a new fratricidal slaughter. We in every country must do absolutely everything we possibly can in order, by the pressure of the broad masses, to restrain the ruling classes from committing this crime, to restrain them from war. Right up to the very last day

before war breaks out we must mobilize the masses of the toilers for the struggle against the war danger, for the militant support of the revolutionary peace policy of the Soviet Union. Right up to the very last moment before the outbreak of war we must tirelessly din it into the minds of the masses: "Rise, before it is too late and prevent the incendiaries of war from carrying out their criminal designs."

But if we fail to avert war, if in spite of all, the imperialists commence war, if they attack the Soviet Union, then we will call upon the masses of the toilers to fight, not under the slogans of anti-war struggle, but under the slogan of revolutionary civil war.

The peoples of the Soviet Union will then show what the land in which the proletariat rules is capable of doing in defense against the imperialist pirates. The toilers liberated from exploitation, bound by ties of blood to their socialist fatherland, will pour in millions into the ranks of the invincible Red Army. They will hurl themselves against the violators of peace with all the colossal might they accumulated during the years of heroic victorious labor. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the tried leadership of its great leader, Comrade Stalin, the socialist people will strike crushing blows against every attacker, and will smash the hostile legions to atoms.

And then the hour of our great cause will strike for us, the Communists of the capitalist countries. Let the bourgeoisie of all countries know right now that then, in Finland, in Poland, in Germany, in England, in Japan, in all capitalist countries, we will say to the workers and peasants: War on the enemies of the Socialist Soviet Union. The Red Army is our army. We have but *one* fatherland, which we will defend. We have but *one* enemy. Whoever raises his hands against the Land of the Soviets must be destroyed at the front and in the rear. The cursed rule of the exploiters must be smashed, smashed once and for all.

To every worker going to the imperialist war, to every soldier and recruit belonging to the oppressed toiling section of the people who have guns put into their hands, we will repeat the counsel of the immortal leader of the world proletariat, Lenin:

“ . . . You are given a rifle and a splendid quick-firing gun built according to the latest word of engineering technique—take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental snivelers who are afraid of war. Much has been left in the world that *must* be destroyed by fire and iron for the liberation of the working class.” (Lenin, “Collapse of the Second International,” *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 316.)

III. Fascism and Social-Fascism

The fact that fascism has been victorious in a country like Germany where the labor movement was so powerful, makes it absolutely necessary for all the sections of the Communist International to concentrate their attention more than ever on the fascist movement and on the fight against it.

1. *The Class Character of Fascism*

The first thing that is required in this connection is the ability to appreciate properly the *class character of fascism*. The question of the class character of fascism must not be confused with the question of the class composition of the fascist mass movement. As is known, the class composition of this movement is very mixed. Relying on the capitalist farmers, fascism appeals to the peasantry which is in bondage to the landlords and to big capital, is bound by debt, oppressed by taxation and suffers from the agrarian crisis. Fascism appeals to the artisan, to the handicraftsman, to the small shopkeeper and to the small rentier who suffer from monopoly, the shrinking of markets, the big banks, inflation and the burden of taxation. Fascism seeks for itself a mass basis among office employees, the minor government officials and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia who suffer from salary reductions, mass dismissals, and mass displacements in the state apparatus. But fascism also tries to penetrate the working class and finds some response among that section of the unemployed which has fallen into despair and which has been long divorced from industry, and among the more backward sections of the workers who have not yet awakened to class consciousness. Moreover, in recent times a whole declassed stratum of the petty-bourgeoisie has arisen in capitalist towns, such as ex-officers, unemployed "intellectuals," etc. (a completely new lumpen stratum). Fascism utilizes these too.

It goes without saying that the mixed composition of the fascist

movement is an important question from the point of view of our struggle against fascism, from the point of view of the prospects of the disintegration of the fascist mass movement. But the social composition of this movement does not in the least solve the problem of the class character of fascism. The decisive thing is: what class policy does it pursue? Which class does it serve?

In Germany the fascists claim to be "socialists," but their "socialism" in reality turned out to be the most predatory type of monopoly capital. The policy of fascism is the policy of the big bourgeoisie. Fascist rule, as our theses say, is the "*open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*" This is clearly seen in all countries where the fascists are in power. The *deeds* of the ruling fascists are such that even the very stones cry out about the class character of fascism in Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Austria, Jugoslavia, etc.

But it is precisely this fundamental fact that is distorted by the Social-Democrats and their hangers-on. Otto Bauer insists on depicting German fascism as "non-class" rule, or as "the dictatorship of the lumpen proletariat," which, he alleges, dominates the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as "defranchised subjects." And Trotsky and Thalheimer insist on depicting fascism as Bonapartism or petty bourgeois counter-revolution. Why do they insist on that? Because it is important for them, as for all social-fascists, to distract the attention of the workers from the fight against the ruling bourgeoisie whom they serve. It is extremely noteworthy that the same thing was repeated by Remmele when he was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany at the time of the fascist *coup*. "The whole bourgeoisie is subordinated to the lumpen proletariat," he said in the voice of Otto Bauer, and by that revealed the close political connection that exists between his Right Wing opportunism and Social-Democracy. Another warning example: the *Komunistická Review*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, approved the definition of fascism given by the "Left" Social-Democrat Cechacek, *viz.*, "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie indicates the complete isolation of the urban

bourgeoisie and big capital." This simply means the complete isolation, not only of the Social-Democrat Cechacek, but also of the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from Marxism in regard to the definition of the class character of fascism. It is high time that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia isolated this editor from the theoretical organ of the Party.

2. *Can Fascism Stabilize the Tottering Position of the Bourgeoisie?*

The second general question that is raised in the theses that we have submitted is the appraisal of the objective consequences of the policy of fascism. Unquestionably, fascism is the instrument of black reaction. It is precisely as such that it is used by the bourgeoisie to save capitalism from collapse. Whether it can save capitalism is another question entirely. It is not true to say that capitalism has managed to stabilize its position with the aid of fascism as many Social-Democrats assert. This is what the world bourgeoisie *wants to do*; this is the *aim* of its policy of fascization; but the results are altogether different. It is not true to say simply, that fascism hinders revolutionary development. We say that revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. This dual character of the objective consequences of the policy of fascism must be understood, otherwise it will not be possible to see the perspective clearly.

The reason why the social-fascists see only one side of the problem is quite clear. They can expect nothing good from the revolutionary perspective; on the contrary, they fear it ever so much more than "total" fascism. They try to scare the workers of Germany with the bogey of the "Italian perspective." But the times now are altogether different from what they were when fascism came into power in Italy. That was the period of transition from revolutionary crisis to the relative stabilization of capitalism, whereas German national-socialism came into power in the period of transition from the end of capitalist stabilization to the revolutionary crisis. "This

change in the objective situation"—we emphasize in our theses—"determines altogether different perspectives for fascism in Germany, as well as in other lands of fascist dictatorship."

Amidst the conditions of tottering capitalism, even the fascist terror of the bourgeoisie cannot for long restrain the masses of the workers from decisive action. The terror rouses anger even among the majority of those workers who up till now have followed the Social-Democrats, and if only the Communists are able to approach these workers properly it will be much less difficult than formerly to win them over to the side of revolution. Even fascist demagoguery can now have a twofold effect. It can, in spite of the fascists, help us to free the masses of the toilers from the illusions of parliamentary democracy and peaceful evolution; and the other bait that the fascists use in place of these illusions (small private property, national interest) can be exposed by showing what the ruling fascists do for the benefit of the class interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. When the big bourgeoisie tries to convert the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie into a reliable prop for themselves, they accelerate the process of differentiation among those intermediary classes even where the bulk of the masses of these exploited classes at first swing over to the side of fascism. The ruin of these classes by fascist rule quickly creates the soil for winning them over to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The growth of fascism means that "*the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and by bourgeois democracy generally; moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy generally are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists in their home politics (the fight against the proletariat) as well as in their foreign politics (war for the imperialist redistribution of the world).*" (Theses.) This does not exclude the possibility that, under certain conditions, the fascist dictatorship will be able to utilize the forms of curtailed parliamentarism, as is the case, for example, in Poland and Finland. But the more difficult the position of the bourgeoisie becomes, the more fascism strives to eliminate the parliamentary competition of many bour-

geois parties and substitute for it the political monopoly of a single party.

This cannot but serve to increase the discord and conflicts among the bourgeois parties, particularly between the fascists and social-fascists. It is wrong to imagine that there can be no real disagreements between them. Disagreements exist and new ones continuously arise on the basis of the inherent contradiction in the position of the bourgeoisie. These disagreements are not disagreements of principle, as both the one and the other stand for the bourgeois dictatorship. In spite of all their disagreements the fascists and social-fascists are, and remain, twins as Comrade Stalin remarked. Our appraisal of the revolutionary perspective is not based on their mutual quarrels; it is based on the inevitable intensification of the fundamental internal and external contradictions of capitalism, and primarily, on the firm conviction that the revolutionary forces of the proletariat will grow.

There are no disagreements between the fascists and social-fascists as far as the necessity for the further fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship is concerned. The Social-Democrats are in favor of fascization, provided the parliamentary form is preserved. "Our goal is the same, our methods are different," N. Tanner, one of the typical representatives of social-fascism, chairman of the Finnish Social-Democratic Party and of the International Co-operative Alliance, told the fascists. And this loyal servant of capitalism told the truth. What is worrying these people is that in their furious zeal the fascists may hasten the doom of capitalism.

3. The Fascization of Social-Democracy

The fascization of Social-Democracy is proceeding at an accelerated pace. This does not mean the formation of "neo-socialist" groups in the Social-Democratic Parties. For example, social-fascism as a whole praises the new, and what, in fact, are fascist forms of the economic policy of the big bourgeoisie and describes them as "rudiments of socialism." Blum and Vandervelde have described the economic policy now pursued by Hitler and Mussolini as "social-

ism without the socialist." The social-fascists rightly complain that the fascists have stolen their program; but the fascists would be equally right in complaining that the social-fascists have appropriated their ideology.

In the wake of the fascists, the social-fascists of all brands stand for a "strong government." Many of them reproach the German Severings and Zorgiebels with not having ruled with a sufficiently firm hand. At the Congress of the Socialist Party of France held in July, 1933, Montagnon demanded "a reform of the state that will make it a strong state, master of its own destiny, capable of controlling and conducting economy." Montagnon is a neo-socialist, but let us see what another social-fascist has to say in giving advice to Social-Democratic workers:

"Everybody admits that in the present conditions a 'strong government' is necessary. Compel your party to start a real struggle for a strong democratic government. . . . We would honestly help you in the struggle for such a government. Moreover, we would pledge ourselves not to undertake any revolutionary action that would go beyond the limits of democracy."

This is what Trotsky, the counter-revolutionary lackey of the bourgeoisie, writes. In principle, there is no difference between the position taken up by Trotsky and that of the neo-fascist Montagnon on the question of a strong government. And Kautsky openly declares that the reproaches hurled against the leaders of the German Social-Democracy that they did not establish a dictatorship in 1918 are unjustified, because, writes Kautsky, "such a terror would have to be directed primarily against the Communists," Hence, if a dictatorship were established, it would have to be directed against the Communists. . . .

As a matter of fact, the German Social-Democrats *did* use terror against the Communists, and they even threatened the fascists that they would "rule with a firm hand." Everyone remembers the threats uttered by Wels at the Magdeburg Social-Democratic Party Congress to use dictatorial powers against the National-Socialists and against the Communists. On June 28, 1929, Grzinski declared in Frankfurt: "The German working class will really hang on the

lamp-posts those who attempt to encroach upon the political rights of the German working class by violence and establish their rule at the expense of the people." Loebe, in the name of the "Iron Front," threatened to organize a general strike against fascism; but on May 17, he voted for Hitler.

The slogan, "a strong government," against the revolutionary workers, of course, and not against fascism, was borrowed by the whole of the Second International from Wels, from the neo-fascists and from the fascists.

But it is not only a matter of the fascization of the ideology, the theories and the slogans of the Social-Democratic Parties. Look at their deeds.

In Czechoslovakia and in Spain, the Social-Democrats took part in the governments and in the preparations for establishing a fascist dictatorship. In Denmark and in Sweden, the Social-Democrats are in power and are proceeding along the same road. In Austria, Poland, Finland and Hungary, the Social-Democratic Parties exist legally under a fascist dictatorship. In these countries they are the obedient opposition of His Majesty, Fascism. In Japan they come out openly in favor of war and of the monarchy.

In the United States, the Socialists and the American Federation of Labor are helping Roosevelt to carry out what, in fact, are fascist economic measures. In England, the Labor Party produced open allies of the diehards, *viz.*, the National-Laborites on the one hand and Moseley's fascist group on the other. The future will see the rise of numerous groups of this kind.

The Italian socialist Modigliani, and even the "Left" Nenni, declared at their Congress that they are prepared to return to Italy as a legal Opposition at Mussolini's first call. And the German Social-Democrat Breitscheid wrote a letter to Neurath stating that all he was fighting for was the rights of a legal Opposition. And Wels and Breitscheid openly declare that the task of Social-Democracy in Germany is to prevent the fascist dictatorship from being supplanted by a proletarian dictatorship.

4. *The Crisis in the Second International*

The coming into power of Hitler in Germany marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the crisis in the Second International. The defeat of Social-Democracy and the whole of Social-Democratic ideology, policy and tactics, was revealed precisely in the country where the strongest party of the Second International existed. The defeat of the German Social-Democratic Party caused great consternation in the ranks of the Second International. Attacks began to be hurled at the leadership of the German Social-Democracy; there is mutual recrimination among the social-fascist leaders and ferment in the ranks of the Social-Democratic workers. This consternation manifested itself at the Brussels Congress of the trade union bureaucrats, and at the Paris Conference of the social-fascist functionaries. And they have not quite got over it yet.

Very soon, however, the Social-Democratic leaders began to whitewash the German Social-Democrats. At the Paris Congress they defended Wels and the German Social-Democratic Party. Bauer hastened to draw up a thesis of the historical inevitability of the victory of fascism in Germany; Kautsky and Oldberg declared that "cultured" Social-Democracy had to suffer defeat at the hands of uncultured fascism.

"Left" social-fascists, such as Adler, Fenner Brockway and also the Menshevik lackey of the bourgeoisie, Trotsky, hastened to the assistance of Wels, Vandervelde and Blum. Trotsky came forward as the principal purveyor of arguments for saving social-fascism. This traitor to Communism published monstrous slanders against the Communist Party of Germany to the effect that the latter was responsible for the victory of the National-Socialists, and that it betrayed the German proletariat. And at a time when the German Communists are waging a heroic struggle, are fighting with heroic self-sacrifice against fascism, the traitor Trotsky dares to declare that the Communist Party of Germany is dead!

The attempt to whitewash German Social-Democracy is accompanied by "Left" maneuvers. The German social-fascists are shouting about a revolution against Hitler. The Austrian social-

fascists are trying to console the workers with empty phrases about a general strike. The Polish Socialist Party adopts a resolution declaring that it is necessary to overthrow the government of Pilsudski, and lies to the workers by saying that it is only the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern that is hindering them in this.

But they are not satisfied with monstrously slandering the Communist Parties and with "Left" phrases. And so, the "Left" fragments gathered together in Paris in order to revive the Two-and-a-Half International, of shameful memory. They came to an agreement on one question, *viz.*, that it is necessary to fight against Communism, against the proletarian united front. They could not agree on any other question. Trotsky, however, comes out with the proposal to attempt to achieve the same object by calling it the Fourth International. But such Internationals are very ineffective baits; the workers turn their backs upon them.

The crisis is developing in the Social-Democratic Parties. "Neo-socialist," or neo-fascist, wings are being formed. Neo-socialism is not merely a French product. It is growing in the ranks of Social-Democracy in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries.

The Socialist Party of France has already split. Renaudel, Deat and Marquet are already forming a new party and tomorrow, Frossard will follow in their footsteps. Wrangling among the social-fascist leaders is observed in nearly all countries. In the British Labor Party a "Left" wing has been formed among the leaders, which reflects, as in a distorting mirror, what is going on in the lower ranks. Of course, the "Lefts" in the Austrian Social-Democratic Party capitulated; but the Social-Democratic workers are beginning to recognize the cunning Austrian species of social-fascism.

The intensification of imperialist antagonisms is disintegrating the Second International as an international organization. The crisis in the Second International is a fact. But it would be quite wrong to believe that the Second International, and particularly the various social-fascist parties, are already dead dogs. No, they are still the main social prop of the bourgeoisie, social-fascism is still dangerous, it is still a big force in the struggle against the anti-fascist united front, against the Communist Parties and against the U.S.S.R. In Eng-

land, Norway and Switzerland, the Social-Democratic Parties, even after the world historical bankruptcy of the Second International in Germany, won election victories. This does not mitigate the crisis in the Second International, it is true. In France, for example, the Socialist Party split up into three parts after a big electoral success. But it does mean that the Communists must exert all efforts to destroy the mass influence of the Social-Democratic Parties.

“Fascism is the dangerous enemy of the proletariat. It can be defeated only in fierce revolutionary battle.” This is how our theses emphasize this point. It is not true to say that the victory of fascism is an inevitable stage preceding the proletarian revolution in all capitalist countries. But the stronger the mass influence of Social-Democracy is, the more dangerous is fascism. Hence, the successful struggle against fascism, as against war, calls for intensified work on the part of all sections of the Communist International to win the workers away from the influence of the Social-Democratic Parties.

IV. The Class Battles of the Toilers and the Important Tasks of the Communist Parties

1. *The Further Lowering of the Standard of Living of the Working Class*

The ruling bourgeoisie is everywhere furiously continuing the attack on the standard of living of the working class. Wage cuts are becoming a universal phenomenon. For example, in England, the wages of the textile workers have been reduced by 6 per cent; in Spain the wages of miners have been reduced 20-30 per cent; in the United States, a "minimum wage" has been fixed, which is actually a maximum wage; in Poland the wages of all workers have been reduced approximately by 20 per cent, etc. There is no end of such facts.

Inflation is reducing real wages, and is a form of flank attack upon the workers. In England, the cost of living has increased by 6 per cent; in Japan approximately 14-18 per cent, and in the United States also, prices are rising far above the increases in wages. We must pay more attention to this reduction of wages by means of inflation.

In a number of countries anti-working class laws have been passed. In the Republic of Spain, with the co-operation of the Social-Democrats, concentration camps for "vagrants," *i.e.*, for "dangerous" unemployed workers are being organized, and strikes without the consent of the Governor of the Province are prohibited. In Japan, the laws against "dangerous thoughts" are being made more stringent. In Germany, fascism has created penal servitude conditions for the whole of the working class. In Austria, Dollfuss has already begun to adopt the same policy; and in Czechoslovakia, "democracy" with the co-operation of the social-fascists is striving to excel the German fascists.

Social legislation is deteriorating almost everywhere. In Ger-

many the fascists have deprived more than 2,500,000 unemployed of relief. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc., unemployed relief has been reduced. The British bourgeoisie are transferring whole categories of unemployed to the Poor Law Authorities after twenty-six weeks of unemployed benefit. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is trying to substitute compulsory "public work" for unemployed relief. Forced labor is becoming more and more widespread in the capitalist world. Camps on the model of the compulsory labor camps in Germany are being organized in Poland (labor battalions), in Czechoslovakia and in Austria; and democratic United States has already introduced the same system for 250,000 young workers. In England, a Bill is now being discussed in Parliament which provides for the unemployed being sent to labor camps and making it compulsory for young workers between 16 and 18 to go to these camps. In Germany and in Austria, experience has shown that the work of the Young Communist League in these camps can produce positive results.

A monstrous system of "crisis rationalization" is being introduced in the capitalist countries. The increase in output of industry is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of workers employed (in the United States, in the best days of the Roosevelt boom, the increase in the output of industry amounted to 37 per cent, but the increase in the number of workers employed is only 9 per cent). And the increase in the number of workers employed is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the amount of wages paid (in the United States the total payroll increased 7 per cent, while the number of workers employed increased 9 per cent and the dollar depreciated 40 per cent), the Roosevelt code on the shorter working week, "distribution of labor" in Germany, the stagger system, the Crumper system—all these are different names of one and the same thing.

At the same time, the agrarian crisis is becoming more acute, and the conditions of the bulk of the peasantry are becoming worse. The anger of millions of farmers in the United States, their strikes, the big peasant movements even in such a country as France, the peasant revolts in Spain, Poland, etc., are a striking expression of the

intensification of the agrarian crisis in capitalist countries, quite apart from the colonies and semi-colonies, like China, India, the countries in South America, etc.

2. *The Development of the Class Battles of the Toilers in Various Countries*

The worsening of the conditions of the masses, the approach of war, fascization and the establishment of fascist dictatorship in a number of countries, have strained the antagonistic class forces to an enormous extent. In this situation, the "growth of a revolutionary mass movement in the various capitalist countries can still less than hitherto bear a constant or even character," as is stated in our theses. And in the conditions of fascization, and particularly under a fascist dictatorship, the forms in which the revolutionary upsurge manifests itself undergo a change—revolutionary development frequently proceeds unobserved, in less open forms. It would be quite wrong and absurd to try to measure the revolutionary movements in the lands of fascist dictatorship only by the figures of strikes, demonstrations and actions of the unemployed. This would be statistical cretinism as dangerous as parliamentary cretinism in the lands of so-called democracy.

Social-Democracy and its Trotskyist and Brandlerite offal are tirelessly howling about the catastrophe in the labor movement, about the ushering in of an epoch of fascism and reaction. Clearly, this position has nothing in common with Bolshevism. But we also brush aside the Leftist chatter about straight, unvaryingly even "automatic" revolutionary development. Are these grounds for speaking of a universal recession, of the defeat of the labor movement? Let us take the example of the United States. The strike wave is rapidly rising as the following figures show:

July	201 strikes affecting 125,000 workers
August	152 strikes affecting 141,000 workers
September	211 strikes affecting 212,000 workers

Thus, the strike wave is higher than in the corresponding period in 1921, when the strike wave reached the highest point ever attained

in the preceding history of the United States. An enormous wave of the farmers' movement has spread over twenty-two states. Farmers' strikes have taken place in six states, affecting 2,000,000 farmers.

In Germany, a new revolutionary revival is commencing. It finds expression in peculiar forms, corresponding to the conditions of the fascist regime. There we observe: 1, an increase in the number of Social-Democratic workers joining the Communist Party; 2, disintegration in the National-Socialist Factory Organization and the Shock Troops; 3, the creation of the first independent trade unions; 4, increasing ferment in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie; 5, strikes and demonstrations, although not in large numbers (particularly the demonstration of August 1 in Berlin); 6, the Bolshevik work of the C.P. of Germany, its defense by the German workers, and the enormous growth of the prestige and authority of the Party—these are very important indications of the incipient revival.

A conciliator and Right opportunist has come forward in the wake of the Social-Democrats to declare that the relation of the class forces in Germany has changed entirely in favor of the bourgeoisie. This is not true. The class struggle has become very much more acute; but its outcome still lies in the future. The conciliator is scared. In times like these there can be no place in the Party of the revolutionary workers of Germany, in Comrade Thaelmann's Party, for those whose cowardice hinders the revolutionary struggle of the workers. We propose that the Plenum approve the resolution passed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on April 1, 1933, on the situation in Germany and the political line pursued by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany, headed by Comrade Thaelmann (*applause*) before and at the time of the fascist *coup*. We propose that the Plenum take note of the Bolshevik, heroic struggle waged by the Communist Party of Germany against the fascist dictatorship. (*Applause.*)

The task of the Communist Party of Germany is to become in the shortest possible time the only mass party of the whole of the German proletariat, and, as the decisive task of the moment, to bring about a united front with the Social-Democratic workers and win over the Christian, National-Socialist and non-party workers.

The Communists must convince the German proletariat by reminding it of its own experience of Social-Democracy, that the restoration of the Social-Democratic organizations and of the Social-Democratic leadership in the trade unions will damage the interests of the working class, and would be fatal to the victory over fascism. At the same time, they must boldly draw the Social-Democratic workers and the members of the reformist trade unions into the Communist Party. While waging the struggle of everyday demands of the toilers and developing economic and political strikes, the Communist Party of Germany must resolutely raise the question of power, rally the anti-fascist forces in town and country around the proletariat, and in this way create the prerequisites for the victorious proletarian revolution, for the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Poland the mass strikes of the workers are accompanied by important revolutionary actions by the Polish rural population. In the first quarter of 1933 there were 43 per cent more strikes and three times as many working days lost through strikes than in the first quarter of 1932. The general strike in Lodz was under the leadership of the Communists. During the general strike of the miners in March, the role of the Communist Party was weak. But out of 304 strikes, the Red Trade Union Opposition led 219 (affecting 311,000 strikers), and led 47 strikes (227,000 strikers) in conjunction with the reformists. The number of political strikes, however, is much smaller than last year.

A very important factor that has manifested itself since independent Poland was established has been the peasant uprising in the Cracow region. It was the Polish rural population that rebelled; more than 100,000 peasants fought for a period extending over several weeks.

In Czechoslovakia there were fewer strikes this year than last year, and there were no large strikes. But this unevenness is apparently due to the opportunist mistakes committed by our comrades.

In France there have been more strikes this year than last year. The biggest strike was that of the Citroen Works, affecting 18,000 workers, which was conducted by the Unitary Confederation of

Labor. In Strassburg, a strike of 2,000 workers developed into a mass strike of 20,000 workers and was accompanied by barricade fighting. In France, the strike of 10,000 agricultural laborers in Languedoc, which was supported by the small peasants, is of great significance.

In Spain we have the clash of forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The number of strikes this year is smaller than last year (2,800 as compared with 3,500 in 1932), but the number of strikers affected, and the number of days lost, is considerably larger. A new phenomenon was the strike of agricultural laborers that affected scores of villages. The miners organized three general strikes. In Barcelona the builders were on strike for 90 days (30,000 workers affected). In the same city there was a strike of office employees. From December, 1932, onwards, the peasant movement passed to the seizure of the land, of stores and of cattle in hundreds and hundreds of villages. Very often the Agricultural Laborers' Union led the peasants in seizing the land. This is not a bad form of the proletarian hegemony over the peasantry. We even have certain parliamentary indexes. At the last elections the Communist Party of Spain obtained 200,000 votes.

In England, the characteristic features of the labor movement at the present time are: 1, that the number of strikes and the number of workers affected by them are on the same level as that of last year; 2, strikes frequently break out spontaneously in spite of the unions; 3, the stubborn unemployed movement; 4, growing opposition to the "national government," particularly on the question of war and unemployment, although this discontent to a large extent is intercepted by the Labor Party; 5, the ferment in the Independent Labor Party and 6, certain successes achieved by the Communist Party in applying the tactics of the united front.

In China—war, intervention and revolution. Even such a die-hard organ of imperialism as the *Times* admits that the Red Army is the best army and that the Soviet government is the best government in China. In Kuomintang China a wave of strikes is rising in the leadership of which the Communists are taking part. In a number of industrial centers the Communist Party of China has

grown considerably, although the tasks confronting the Party in its work in the industrial centers and in the trade unions are still enormous. The Party is successfully applying the tactics of the united front in the anti-imperialist movement.

In Japan there is a slight increase in the number of strikes, a large increase in the number of peasant conflicts, and a number of revolutionary demonstrations. In that country the forces of the counter-revolution are being mobilized and the forces of revolution are growing on the eve of big class battles. Fascism is growing, but so also is the Communist Party of Japan. The central organ of the Japanese Party, its soldiers' newspaper, its factory newspapers, its fight against individual renegades (you have heard about the treachery of Sano and Nabeyama), its work in the army and in the navy, and its struggle against war, are all permeated with the Bolshevik spirit. The heavy reserves of the Japanese revolution have not been brought up yet, but the Japanese rulers are becoming more and more afraid of "dangerous thoughts."

In the Balkans, revolutionary development has taken a step forward. In Greece there is an increase in strikes: the general strike of tobacco workers in Kovalo, during which the factories were occupied by the workers. The Communist Party exercised independent leadership in the strike movement. In Bulgaria, there is an increase in strikes, a growth of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary trade union opposition. The influence of the Party is penetrating the army and the Macedonian organizations.

In Rumania, there have been big actions on the part of the railwaymen in Bucharest and at other junctions simultaneously with those of the oil workers in the Prokhovo district. We have strikes, demonstrations and barricade fighting affecting over 100,000 workers.

In addition there have been individual revolutionary outbreaks: the mutiny on the cruiser *De Zeven Provinciën*, in which Dutch and Japanese sailors mutinied together and were supported by demonstrations of sympathy organized by Dutch soldiers and toilers in Indonesia. The Communist Party of Holland is conducting very

good revolutionary work against the oppressive colonial policy of the Dutch bourgeoisie, and in this it has achieved important successes.

The revolution in Cuba. The economic and political strikes developed into a general strike and the general strike developed into an armed struggle of the workers, students and urban petty bourgeoisie. At that moment the Communist Party of Cuba committed a mistake. Fearing the intervention of the U.S.A. it dropped the slogan of "Down with Machado" and called upon the workers to transform the general strike into partial battles. But the Party very soon rectified this mistake and advanced the slogan of a workers' and peasants' government in the form of Soviets. Soviets are beginning to arise, fraternization between the workers and soldiers is becoming more frequent, the peasants are being drawn into the struggle. Insurrection and strikes are going on everywhere.

There is no recession in the labor movement. The national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples is growing. But revolutionary development is uneven, and above all, it does not proceed automatically, "by itself." The Communist Parties must carry on Bolshevik work and a Bolshevik struggle in order to develop the revolutionary upsurge.

3. *The Struggle Against Fascist Ideology*

In our work in mobilizing the masses against fascism and the war danger we must now, more than ever before, pay attention to the struggle against *chauvinist ideology*. This is one of the most difficult struggles to wage, because we have to liberate the masses from the very profound and deep-rooted bourgeois prejudices by means of which the ruling big bourgeoisie have kept the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and even a section of the working class in leading strings, and has repeatedly driven them to war for capitalist interests. We must fully realize that in the struggle against chauvinism it is necessary to swim against the stream with particular persistence and courage. Evasion of this difficult task, or even mere passivity and silence on this question, indicates, in the present conditions, the most dangerous opportunism in the struggle against fascism and

war, the rejection of one of the most important and urgent tasks of the revolutionary education of the toilers.

We must untiringly explain to the masses in a popular manner that nationalism is the principal form of the *class* ideology of the *bourgeoisie*, that it is the ideology of its rule and its class oppression. As against nationalist ideology we must everywhere, openly, and boldly, put forward the ideology of the proletarian class struggle, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of proletarian internationalism.

The fascist dictatorship is always exercised in the name of the nation, and in the "national interest." It is necessary concretely to expose the class character of this dictatorship, its character as the naked, terrorist dictatorship of the rapacious financial oligarchy. Persistent educational work must be carried on in the ranks of the working class and of the toilers of town and country in opposition to the chauvinist slogans of fascism, in opposition to the campaigns waged against the U.S.S.R. in all capitalist countries (particularly in Japan, England, Germany, etc.), in opposition to the illusions spread by the fascists about imperialist conquests improving the position to "race-ism," which is the special imperialist ideology of German fascism, in opposition to anti-Semitism (particularly in Germany and Poland), in opposition to white chauvinism in the U.S.A., in opposition to bellicose militarism (Japan, Germany). And in the ranks of the oppressed nations we must put our ideology forward in opposition to national reformism and local fascism, which take advantage of national oppression in order to further their own bourgeois class aims (for example in Western Ukraine).

The Communists in oppressing countries must resolutely come before the toiling masses of their own nationality and boldly advocate the independence of the colonies, the right of the dependent and oppressed nations to self-determination, including the right to secede and form a separate state; they must advocate joint struggle of the toilers of the ruling nations and the national revolutionary movements of the nations and colonies that are oppressed by them. At the same time it is necessary in such regions as Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia and also Austria, to oppose unification with

the hangman's "Third Empire" of Hitler, which will bring, not national liberation, but fascist slavery.

The nationalist poisoning of the masses by the Social-Democratic Parties and reformist trade union bureaucrats must be popularly and persistently exposed as service to the capitalist class. To everyone who imbues the proletarians with the idea of national duty, to everyone who calls upon them to make sacrifices for the sake of national interests, we must reply: the first, the only and real duty of the proletarians in every capitalist country is to fight against their own bourgeoisie right up to its complete overthrow and abolition as a class. This is the only road to emancipation of the toilers from all exploitation and all oppression.

As is emphasized in our theses, it is particularly important at the present time to carry on work to popularize the manner in which the national problem was solved in the U.S.S.R., and the great economic, social and cultural successes that have been achieved by the peoples who were emancipated by the October Revolution.

4. *Against Social-Democracy, for a United Front with the Masses of Workers*

The appraisal of the revolutionary perspectives given in our theses on the basis of an objective analysis of the world situation makes it the duty of the Communists in all countries to intensify their struggle precisely for winning the majority of the working class. Not in regard to any country do we know whether the revolutionary situation will arise only in connection with war, or before that. But our duty is, without losing a single day, to work with all our energy for the revolutionary training of the working class for the decisive battles for power.

Irrespective of whether there is a danger of a fascist *coup* or of imperialist war, or whether in the given country a revolutionary situation exists for the seizure of power by the proletariat—under all conditions, the influence of the social-fascists upon the masses of the workers is the obstacle which must be overcome—otherwise the victorious struggle of the proletariat cannot be assured.

We say: against the Social-Democrats—for a united front with the masses of the workers. This is the most important thing at the present time. Does this mean that the Communist Parties, while pursuing a correct, Bolshevik line, cannot under any circumstances propose a united front with the leading bodies of the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions? This question was raised at the last meeting of the Presidium. Our reply is: there is no such principle in Bolshevik tactics. In the spring of this year the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. addressed the well-known *Open Letter* to all the Social-Democratic Parties. Were not these tactics absolutely correct? Undoubtedly they were. This shows that exceptional cases arise when Bolshevik tactics not only permit, but also presuppose addressing the social-fascists who have considerable influence among the masses. The determining factor is that the tactics of the united front must always be pursued in a Bolshevik manner. Opportunist mistakes, however, are not excluded even in the application of the united front from below.

Right wing mistakes of a very crude character were committed by Communists in many countries recently in applying the tactics of the united front. Here is an example from France. An anti-fascist meeting held in the town of Troyes on April 15 unanimously passed a resolution condemning propaganda which—I am quoting word for word—“is being carried on in the country in various forms against democratic institutions, against social and labor legislation, and against all that which is the attribute of a free republic created and consolidated at the price of the revolutions of 1789, 1848, 1871, against institutions which every citizen should protect and perfect and not destroy.”

At this meeting a number of our comrades spoke in the fine company of representatives of the Radical Socialist Party, and of other parties, and yet a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that it was necessary to protect the existing bourgeois institutions of France, apparently to the assumption that since there have been three revolutions in France already a fourth must be prevented.

A number of other examples of the opportunist application of the united front tactics could be quoted from France. However,

I will quote one or two examples from America. During the recent shoe workers' strike in New York, the *non-party* workers pasted a copy of the *Daily Worker* (the central organ of the Communist Party) on the wall, but the members of the Party tore the paper down because they feared that the strike would be called a "red" strike. Another example: during the automobile strike in Cleveland, our comrades called a meeting for the purpose of recruiting members for our trade union, but they called this meeting under the slogan: "Organize around President Roosevelt in order to help him fight depression."

Can such manifestations of Right opportunism be regarded as accidental? No, they are not accidental. Nor can the opportunist mistakes committed by many comrades in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Communist Party of Norway—which manifested themselves most strikingly in that they hid the face of the Party in the application of the united front tactics—be regarded as accidental.

Such mistakes can only be to the advantage of Social-Democracy. No doubt the delegates to this Plenum know of similar mistakes and will speak about them openly here. We must concentrate our fire on Right opportunism in the ranks of our Parties.

5. *Carry Out the Tasks of Revolutionary Mass Work in a Bolshevik Manner*

Without a stubborn struggle against opportunist passivity in its ranks, not a single Communist Party will achieve success in winning mass influence in the factories, in the trade unions, in the rural districts, and in the army. It must be said that in the majority of cases we still work badly in these spheres, in all capitalist countries; we have not yet sufficiently learned the methods of Bolshevik mass work.

The thorough reorganization of the mass work of the Communist Parties is necessary. We must learn from the Russian Bolsheviks how to carry on *mass agitation*, both legal and illegal. Illegal work has acquired greater significance than ever in the past few years.

We must learn to lead *mass campaigns* and battles better, and to

utilize every mass movement in order to consolidate the Communist Party and the other revolutionary organizations. We must learn to combine in a Bolshevik manner the economic struggle with the political struggle; we must learn to raise the mass struggle from less developed forms to mass political strikes, to develop such strikes right up to the *general strike*.

We can and will learn all this—that is why we are revolutionaries and Communists. I will not here deal in detail with all the tasks that are enumerated in our draft theses; no doubt other comrades, particularly members of the delegation of the C.P.S.U., Comrades Manuilsky, Piatnitsky and Knorin, will speak on these questions. I ask you to regard their speeches as parts of our collective report. The only other point I want to mention is the necessity for intensifying our activities in two important branches of revolutionary mass work.

We have not yet learned to carry on Bolshevik work among *proletarian women*. The first task of all the sections of the Comintern in this sphere is to get rid once and for all of the underestimation of this work, to get rid of the idea that this work is not part of general Party work. It is the duty of every Communist Party to convene women's delegate meetings in various forms, open or disguised, in accordance with the political situation, and to use these meetings as a means of training a body of active non-Party working women to serve as contacts with the masses, to train the active women Party members to serve as substitutes for men for Party work in war time, and to recruit as many women as possible for the Party in order to diminish the divergence in the numbers of women employed in industry and the number of women members of the Communist Party.

In the struggle against the fascist terror, the mobilization of the women should proceed around all concrete manifestations of this terror such as arrests, trials, attacks on workers, etc. In order to draw the masses of the working women and women toilers generally into the anti-fascist movement, use must be made of conferences, congresses, demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., and this movement must be consolidated by drawing women into mass Red Defence

organizations, into anti-fascist fighting units, Ambulance Corps, Red Cross organizations, etc. It is necessary also to train women to the use of arms and to give them general military training. To carry on broad anti-imperialist work among the toiling women is one of the immediate and urgent tasks. Simultaneously with anti-war propaganda, we must work to organize contacts with the masses of the soldiers through the medium of their mothers, wives and sisters, who should be organized under our leadership. Our work should be concentrated on the women employed in munition factories and in the chemical industry as well as among the wives of dockers and porters in the most important transport centers, etc.

One of the weak sectors of our Party mass activity is work among the youth. In the process of becoming fascized the bourgeoisie is changing its methods of work among the youth. It is fanning chauvinist feeling, and is introducing a compulsory system of fascizing and militarizing the rising generation. It has succeeded in the imperialist countries in establishing a wide network of young peoples' organizations of various kinds, embracing large masses of the youth. We must steer a determined course to work inside these mass bourgeois and reformist young peoples' organizations, and particularly in forced labor camps, where young workers' united front organizations, anti-fascist and anti-war organizations, and Young Communist groups, fractions and nuclei should be formed. Without this we shall be unable to transform the Young Communist League into a real mass organization, numerically much larger than the Party.

We must be able to oppose the chauvinist propaganda of the bourgeoisie with the mass propaganda of Communism, which must be carried on in such a way as to be intelligible to the young workers and explain the aims and tasks of the Communist Party. Not a single strike should occur without the special demands of the young workers being put forward and defended.

To assist and guide the Young Communist Organizations all Party organizations without exception should appoint special cadres of politically sound comrades, and the number of Party members in the Young Communist League should be increased. In every fac-

tory where there is a Party nucleus, a Young Communist League nucleus should be formed; and not only should such nuclei be formed, but constant everyday assistance and guidance must be given them by the Party.

6. *The Principal Slogan Is—For a Soviet Government*

The proletarian struggle for the way out of the general crisis of capitalism is the struggle for a Soviet government.

The fundamental contradictions of capitalism paralyze the gigantic productive forces, cause their waste and decline and doom scores and hundreds and millions of people to starvation, unemployment and misery. These contradictions are not diminishing; on the contrary they are becoming more acute, they are pushing the imperialists into war, they are giving rise to the fascization of the dictatorship of finance capital, and are dooming a growing section of humanity to the position of starving slaves.

What is the way out of the crisis? This is now a question of life and death for millions of toilers throughout the whole capitalist world. We Communists know the way out, and we must show it to the masses; we must be able to convince them that they are doomed to the ever growing burden of the yoke of capital unless they gather enough forces to be able to retaliate to the blows of capitalism by storming the fortress of the financial oligarchy.

“There is no other way out of the general crisis of capitalism,” we emphasize in our theses, “than the way that was shown by the *October Revolution*, *viz.*, the overthrow of the exploiting classes by the proletariat, the confiscation of the banks, the factories, mines, transport, houses, the stocks of goods of the capitalists, the land of the landlords, of the church and of the dynasty.”

We must explain that only by the emancipation of the direct producers, *i.e.*, the workers, from exploitation, only by raising the working class to the position of collective owner will social reproduction be relieved of the enormous unproductive expenditure of capitalism, will the development of industry be released from the limits imposed upon it by capitalist profits, will an unlimited home

market be opened both for producers' goods and consumers' goods and in this way relieve social reproduction once and for all from the inevitable crises of capitalism.

Everywhere, we must be able to unfold before the toilers who are crushed by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie a program commensurate with the special conditions prevailing in each country, that will convincingly show the immediate benefits of the Soviet system. We must be able to draw a lively contrast between the slavish conditions of life and labor of the workers in the capitalist countries and the conditions of the toilers under a Soviet system after the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists. The Soviet system will completely abolish unemployment and progressively raise the standard of living of the workers. But not only that, it will secure a constantly expanding education and promotion of representatives of the masses of the rank and file of the proletariat, men and women, for the role of organizers and leaders of the important branches of socialist construction, and will enable them to master advanced technique and science. The Soviet system offers a gigantic cultural development for the whole of the toiling population, and particularly for the young toilers. The number of persons able to read and write in tsarist Russia represented 33 per cent of the population; now, in the U.S.S.R., they represent over 90 per cent. In Germany, for every thousand fathers belonging to the aristocracy there are 222 sons who are students in universities and high schools, and for every thousand working class fathers there is only one student. In the U.S.S.R., however, 70 per cent of the students of the universities and high schools are workers, and sons and daughters of workers.

The Soviet system emancipates the rural toilers from all the remnants of feudalism and from all bondage. It secures land for the landless peasants and those having little land; it renders assistance to the rural poor and state aid to peasant co-operative societies and collective farms. Whereas in all capitalist countries the property and livestock of the poor and middle peasants is being sold by auction, while in the countryside of Poland and Rumania the peasants are unable to buy even matches and kerosene and in India three-fourths of the population are constantly underfed, or are positively

starving, the village co-operative societies in the U.S.S.R. report that the collective farmers are demanding a wider assortment of goods in the village co-operative stores, higher priced and better quality goods—better clothes, furniture, musical instruments. In the countryside in capitalist countries there is a growth of impoverishment and ruin. In the countryside of the Soviet Union there is a growth of prosperity.

Two systems—two worlds!

We must everywhere redouble our efforts to popularize the *living example of the Great Land of the Soviets*.

At the time of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was able to record new victories which marked gigantic progress in the building of classless socialist society. A number of new industrial giants of world significance entered the ranks of socialist construction such as the Ural Heavy Engineering Works, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, the Azov Steel Works, etc. The total volume of industrial output in 1933 was 11 per cent higher than in 1932. Cost of production in heavy industry was reduced 7-10 per cent. The output of automobiles increased 43 per cent; the automobile industry fulfilled its plan 102.2 per cent and in ten months of 1933 gave the land of Soviets over 40,000 automobiles. Industry and agriculture received 62,000 new Soviet tractors from the tractor industry. One after another, new Soviet blast furnaces are being put into operation.

The construction of the White Sea and Baltic Canal by ex-criminals, wreckers and counter-revolutionaries under the guidance of the O. G. P. U. is a brilliant illustration of the manner in which the dictatorship of the proletariat re-moulds the human material which capitalism has spoiled.

The collective farm system has won a last and irrevocable victory in the Soviet countryside by relying on the guidance and organizational role of the Political Departments of the machine and tractor stations and Soviet farms, on the growth of a huge body of active collective farmers unprecedented in human history, on the advantages of socialized and mechanized farming, which already has in use a huge army of no less than 150,000 tractors.

Under the leadership of the Leninist Party and by means of socialist competition and shock brigade work, tens of millions of workers are building socialism, which is becoming their mode of life, which is advancing proletarian democracy, and which is becoming part of the flesh and blood of millions as a new form of human culture.

The great gains of the October Revolution and of socialism in the U.S.S.R. were achieved only thanks to the firm guidance of the Leninist Party, which never retreated from the general line of Bolshevism, which always fought ruthlessly on two fronts against all forms of opportunism, petty bourgeois wavering and lack of faith. Under the indomitable leadership of Lenin and his great disciple, Stalin, the Leninist Party was always able to put up Bolshevik resistance to all those who attempted to undermine the proletarian enthusiasm and discipline of the revolutionary vanguard.

The slogan—a Soviet government—is the principal slogan of our mass agitation in all capitalist countries. It is the slogan of revolutionary action in those places where the question of the seizure of power is already on the order of the day. Every Communist Party must be able to translate this slogan into the language of the class struggle in their country in accordance with the objective conditions and the level of the revolutionary movement in it; and it must put it forward as the slogan of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

There is no other road to power for the toilers except the road of proletarian revolution. We must explain that all the “roads to power” recommended by the social-fascists have for their goal the preservation of the shaken rule of the bourgeoisie. We must smash and not perfect the bourgeois state, which with its military-bureaucratic apparatus, even in the most democratic republics, cannot be anything else than a machine for the class oppression and suppression of the toilers. The slogan “Through Democracy to Socialism” is the slogan of police “socialism” and of police “democracy.” There is no road back from fascism to “democracy.” There is only one road, and that is the road of struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all its forms. Hence, every section of the Communist International must, in its mass work, resolutely

raise the question of power. To gloss over this question in the present situation is opportunism more dangerous than the Leftist inability to link up the question of power with the everyday partial demands of the toiling masses.

By comparing the road of October with the shameful road taken by German Social-Democracy right up to the assumption of power by Hitler, we can, and must, convincingly and irrefutably prove to the masses that the Social-Democratic recipes for capturing power by means of bourgeois democracy are nothing more nor less than a means for paving the way for the fascist dictatorship of capital.

The Social-Democratic leaders are trying to imbue the working class with the spirit of slavish cringing before the police omnipotence of the bourgeois state. Take for example the Brussels *Le Peuple*. In its issue of October 16, 1933, it wrote "praise is given for the use of violence against the bourgeoisie which is in power and which has at its command such forces as the army, the police, the gendarmerie, the courts, etc. They want to fight guns and machine guns with sticks. This is madness, madness." And the same song is sung by Paul Faure in *Le Populaire* of December 17, 1933, when he wrote: "two hundred machine guns in the hands of the government . . . and revolution is impossible." This is the sort of argument they are constantly using at the present time. The social-fascist oracles boast of their "sober appreciation of modern military technique"; but as a matter of fact they are merely fulfilling the function of "guardians of order" in the pay of capital. We must everywhere systematically and consistently refute this police superstition which is spread by the social-fascists by pointing to the concrete experience of open revolutionary struggle. We must explain to the masses the lessons of the struggles that have been waged against measures of military-police suppression.

This experience has shown that the opportunities for troops and police to use many types of arms in towns where insurgents can hide in houses and utilize the tactical advantages of this or that block of houses are very restricted. In these conditions the insurgents are able to utilize various types of passive and active weapons against the military-technical resources of the government. It is sufficient to

recall the Hamburg rebellion, or the street fighting in Chapei, where barricades and hastily dug trenches served as serious obstacles to the movement of armored cars. Hand to hand fighting in towns, the fighting for every single house and for every single corner, calls for tremendous moral firmness on the part of the troops, and serious resistance threatens to demoralize them. The bourgeois military experts are quite aware of this difficulty in street fighting, and therefore make allowance for this in their tactics by avoiding street fighting if they find it impossible to suppress a rebellion right at its inception. If the fight becomes drawn out they prefer to withdraw their troops from the town and attack it from outside. Such is the "Z" plan for the defence of Paris and the similar plan for Berlin. In Chapei, 8,000 to 9,000 Japanese soldiers (not counting the troops who were advancing from other directions) with powerful artillery, more than 100 aeroplanes and numerous tanks and armored cars were thrown against the badly armed soldiers of the Nineteenth Army and almost unarmed workers, and in spite of that, Chapei proved to be invincible in street fighting. It had to be taken by detour tactics.

Lenin repeatedly wrote of the miracles of proletarian heroism that are called forth in the sharp conflict of classes. The social-fascist fables about the invincibility of the military-police forces of the bourgeoisie must be exposed by the lessons of revolutionary battles and the display of revolutionary heroism and proletarian organization. Above all, the example of the October Revolution in 1917 in Russia provides a wealth of material from which practical lessons may be learned.

The example of Bolshevism is the example of class revolutionary vigilance which all Communist Parties must particularly display at the present time when the world has already come right up to a new round of revolutions and wars. The principal demand of the moment is "to be on their guard at every turn of events and to exert every effort without losing a moment for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power." (Theses.)

The example of Bolshevism is the example of supreme loyalty to

the world proletarian revolution, the example of proletarian internationalism, which is inseparable from the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the Soviet system. The road of Bolshevism is the road of combining the proletarian forces of all nationalities. It is the road to the world October Revolution under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the Communist International. (*Applause.*)

Speech in Reply to Discussion

In various respects my report was supplemented by the reports of Comrades Pieck and Pollitt, and particularly by the speeches delivered here by the representatives of our leading Party, the C.P.S.U., by Comrades Manuilsky, Piatnitsky and Knorin. Moreover, during the discussion the representatives of many sections analyzed the economic and political situation in their respective countries, and thus helped to elucidate the international situation. All the comrades in their speeches confirmed the correctness of the characterization of the present international situation and of its prospects given in the Presidium's draft theses. This implies that the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. agrees with the appraisal given in the draft theses and will urge all the sections of the Communist International to explain the international position and its prospects in this spirit.

We are revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and we always start out from a correct scientific analysis of the economic and political situation and of the tendencies of its development. We repudiate all subjectivism and its arbitrariness in appraising the objective situation.

When the first objective symptoms of relative stabilization of capitalism began to be observed, the E.C.C.I. immediately took note of it and made allowances for it in its appraisal of the immediate prospects as well as in the tactics of the Communist International. And when the relative stabilization of capitalism came to an end we again took note of this objective fact and said: stabilization has come to an end. In the process of development of the general crisis of capitalism, a definite *turn* occurred, a peculiar stirring up of antagonistic forces, which was turbulent in some places and restrained in others (Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). Now, however, we

declare that "the development of the general crisis of capitalism . . . has already led to far-reaching undermining of the capitalist system throughout the world."

The assertion that capitalism has succeeded in consolidating its position, that it is on the road to overcoming its general crisis, cannot otherwise be described than as a Social-Democratic lie. On the contrary, "*the bulwarks of capitalism are already crumbling as a result of its profound insoluble contradictions.*" The whole system of international economic ties is breaking down, and so is the gold currency headed by the pound sterling and the dollar. The authority of capitalist law has been undermined in many countries. The principal social prop of the world bourgeoisie, *viz.*, the Second International, is in a state of decomposition.

But at the same time, as was pointed out in all the speeches, a partial change has taken place in the nature of the world economic crisis. Its unevenness has intensified greatly in the course of its development; an increase in production has taken place in a number of very important industries. We are now stating these facts, which testify that the ruling big bourgeoisie has achieved certain results by putting the burden of the hardships of the crisis on the shoulders of other classes and countries, by expanding its war industry and inflation measures, etc.

The methods by which the financial oligarchy, in the conditions of an economic crisis, makes up for lost profits are mainly methods of unprecedented robbery and rapacity. The financial oligarchy is appropriating to itself an increasing share of wages, of the corresponding value of labor power, an increasing share of the corresponding values and prices of the peasants' products, and even of the profits of the middle capitalists. It is recklessly robbing the Treasury; it is more and more intensifying the inhuman plunder of the colonial peoples and is employing a many-sided and artful system of robbing other capitalist countries. The extraordinary booty obtained in this way is a special category of profit; it is not the ordinary surplus value obtained as a result of "normal" capitalist exploitation. It is a special form of brigand's booty obtained by the big jackals in the period of crisis. The only unfortunate thing for them is that this cannot go

on indefinitely. As Marx pointed out long ago, robbery is not a mode of production. Moreover, it is a very risky business, because it rouses the victims of the robbers; it rouses anger and hatred among the toiling masses and pushes them into the revolutionary class struggle. It causes revolutionary ferment in the colonies. It leads to a universal economic war between the capitalist countries. It gives rise to a new imperialist world war.

Thus, the economic crisis becomes interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism rises to a new stage. What is this new stage? It is a new round of revolutions and wars. The transition of the general crisis to this *new stage* is a process, the beginning of which was noted at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.. Now we declare that the *world is already coming right up to a new round of revolutions and wars.*

The Social-Democratic Parties are doing everything they possibly can to blur this revolutionary perspective in the eyes of the working class. By that they are carrying out the orders of the bourgeois counter-revolution. The more gloomy the prospects of the toiling masses become the easier is it to frighten the masses and restrain them from the revolutionary struggle—such are the calculations of the bourgeoisie and of its agents. That is why the social-fascists one-sidedly depict the *growth of fascism* as the unhindered victorious progress and consolidation of reaction. They conceal from the masses the other side of the picture; they conceal firstly, that the growth of fascism and its assumption of power implies, as we say in our theses: “the growth of the revolutionary crisis and of anger of the broad masses against the rule of capital”; that “the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy generally.” Secondly, the social-fascists conceal the fact that in the present situation, revolutionary development is not only retarded, but is at the same time accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie. And yet, this is of decisive significance. The big bourgeoisie seeks salvation in fascism in order to save capitalism from collapse; but this it cannot succeed in doing. On the contrary, it only serves to entangle the

bourgeoisie more than ever in the acute contradictions that call forth the revolutionary crisis.

The seizure of power by the fascists in Germany was a severe blow to the German proletariat. But it was the social-fascists and not the Communists who wailed: "Catastrophe! Catastrophe!" The political function of the Social-Democrats in such a situation is to spread panic. That is why Trotsky wrote that a "catastrophe" occurred and that "in Germany there was maturing, not a proletarian revolution, but a profound fascist counter-revolution." Trotsky's song is an echo awakened by the greeting of the fascist storm troops—"Heil!" But the overwhelming majority of the toilers of Germany are thinking of something entirely different. Never before have they been imbued with such profound class hatred as they are at the present time. When Trotsky asserts that the body of German proletariat has been afflicted by disease, he is simply playing a clumsy trick. It is the "body" of German *capitalism* that is sick, mortally sick, and particularly is the body of German Social-Democracy. The majority of the German proletariat, however, is on the right road from the camp of the agents of the bourgeoisie to our revolutionary front. The "body" of the bourgeois class state is "sick," is internally decaying. Fascist gangsterism is bourgeois class terror carried to the utmost extreme; but it is *not* a symptom of the internal consolidation and reinforcement of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. It would be a mistake to depict the development of the situation in the decisive class battles as if the working class on the one side and the bourgeoisie on the other are rallying all their class forces, and when they have done that, the decisive battle will commence. No, the bourgeoisie will be unable to overcome its own state of internal disintegration.

Fascism even introduces new elements of *disruption* into the system of bourgeois dictatorship. Among these elements of disruption must also be included the friction between the fascists and the social-fascists. It is a mistake to believe that, taken as a whole, this friction is mere window-dressing. No, there are real grounds for this friction, which reflect the contradictions in the position of the bourgeoisie itself. At the same time it would be a mistake to imagine

that any question of principle is involved in this friction, as the fascists and social-fascists try to make us believe. No, both fascism and social-fascism stand, not only for the preservation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but also for the fascization of this dictatorship. The social-fascists merely advocate parliamentary and "legal" forms and methods of this fascization. In this respect they are conservative compared with the wild standard-bearers of fascist upheaval and banditism. This is not the only, but the most important disagreement between them; and on this question even a considerable stratum of the ruling bourgeoisie itself vacillated for a long time. There are contradictions also in the position taken up by the bourgeoisie in many countries on problems of foreign politics. These, too, are reflected in the controversies between the fascists and the social-fascists, and even partly between various groups of Social-Democracy, for example German, Austrian, Hungarian and Italian Social-Democracy.

The revolutionization of the broad masses of the toilers is proceeding at the present time in a multiplicity of forms even in those places where mass battles, big strikes, etc., are not taking place at present. The constant or even growth of the revolutionary mass movements in all countries is impossible in general; and it is impossible in particular, in a period such as the present. It is precisely the high tension of the decisive class forces that explains the growing unevenness and spasmodic character of the development of the revolutionary upsurge.

But uneven and spasmodic development is something altogether different from recession. Even a calm before the storm does not mean recession. The spasmodic character of the mass movement in the midst of a highly tense situation is particularly marked in Spain. Who, several weeks ago, would have expected so powerful an onrush of the revolutionary movement as we see there now, so soon after the election victory of the counter-revolution?

Yes, *a revolutionary storm is approaching.* There is no doubt whatever about that. The objective pre-requisites of a revolutionary crisis at a number of important key points have not for many years been so ripe and over-ripe as they are at the present time.

But our appraisal of the present international situation does not by any means imply the expectation of the automatic collapse of capitalism. Those who think it means this simply show that they understand nothing at all about Bolshevik strategy and tactics. Comrade Dimitrov was quite right when he said at the Leipzig trial a few days ago that there was no revolutionary situation in Germany at the time of the fascist *coup*, and that the majority of the German workers were still under the influence of the counter-revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, and that it was for that reason, *and that reason alone*, that the Communist Party of Germany did not call upon the masses to revolt. The Bolshevik Party bases its tactics on a cool appraisal of the objective factors and circumstances. But Comrade Dimitrov, by his conduct, showed that *under all circumstances*, every Communist must in practice play the decisive role of the subjective factor.

If we, as Marxists, repudiate subjectivism, it is not because we regard ourselves as the slaves of objective development. No, we regard ourselves as the active revolutionary instruments of history for accelerating the victory of the proletariat.

The principal danger that confronts the Communists at the present time, is, undoubtedly, the danger of losing the revolutionary perspectives. On the other hand, the correct appraisal of the revolutionary perspective is merely a *prerequisite* for the correct fulfilment of the tasks of the Communist Party. *Here, the active role of the Communist Party only begins*. As we know, in the old labor movement, the Left Social-Democrats, unlike the Bolsheviks, relied on the spontaneity of the mass movement; they waited passively for revolutionary outbreaks. Such a tendency represents a serious danger at the present time. Of course, it is crude opportunism. Where the masses have not yet awakened, the Communist Party must be able to arouse them, to stir them up, to mobilize them for the struggle. Where the masses in the process of radicalization are already in motion, where they are seeking leadership, the Communist vanguard must be in a position to fulfil its role as the revolutionary leader of mass struggle.

The objective premises for successful revolutionary work are

in many respects more favorable at the present time than they were before. In some countries the situation is that fairly large masses are becoming radicalized, and are seeking revolutionary leadership; but they have not yet found our Party. This should serve us as grounds for the most severe self-criticism. Hence, in appraising the present international situation as being extremely tense, we do not say that less exertion of effort will be required in the sphere of mass work in the near future. On the contrary, this situation calls for greater exertion of effort than ever.

What does the situation demand of us? It demands first of all, *the consolidation of our Communist Parties* and the successful development of *Bolshevik mass work*.

In the situation that has now arisen and that will confront us in the future, our Parties must be like iron cohorts. Almost every Communist Party is either confronted with the immediate danger of being driven underground or has already been driven underground. Even in those countries where we still have legal Parties, every Communist must already take part in *illegal work*, or regard himself as a candidate for such work. Never has illegal Bolshevik work in the factories, in the compulsory labor camps, in the army, in the navy, in fascist mass organizations, etc., been of such exceptional importance as it is at the present time. We must train our cadres to be able to properly distribute illegal work among themselves, to improve their methods of secrecy and strengthen their contacts with the masses, to strengthen iron Bolshevik discipline and intensify the struggle against provocateurs; for all these are questions which in the present situation call for constant and most careful attention.

In the practical work of our sections, Communists who are conducting underground revolutionary work have given us numerous examples of heroism. But our sections have not yet learned sufficiently how to establish contacts with the broad masses in the process of their illegal work. They are not yet sufficiently able to combine illegal work with legal work, and legal work with illegal work. Often they permit the class enemy to isolate them from the broad masses.

As many of the speakers have pointed out here, the Twelfth Plenum adopted important resolutions, on the necessity of turning towards mass work. But in the majority of cases these resolutions have remained mere paper resolutions. But we must not lose time now, comrades! Gerat battles for power are imminent in the near future. And in spite of this fact, the situation in a number of countries is that the masses of the workers who are abandoning the Social-Democrats cannot find the road that leads to us. This is an alarming symptom. It makes it incumbent upon us to adopt special measures to improve our work.

All the representatives of the Parties were able, on the basis of facts, to tell us of certain successes achieved by their respective Parties. Most of these successes are inconsiderable in themselves. They are important only as starting points for further work. We have a number of Communist Parties with fighting ability, but their present influence on the broad masses is much smaller than it could and should be. The work is not sufficiently effective to directly embrace the masses. We are fond of repeating the words of Comrade Stalin, that "there are no difficulties that the Bolsheviks cannot overcome"; but comrades, in the sphere of mass work, there are difficulties which we have not yet overcome!

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Lenin emphasized that the Communists in all capitalist countries should assimilate a piece of the Bolshevik experience of the Russian comrades. He said to the Italian comrades: "Perhaps the fascists will teach you how to carry on Bolshevik work." Even before that, in his works, he pointed out that the class enemy teaches the working class to employ proper methods of struggle. But he did not mean that we were to rest satisfied with what the class enemy teaches us, because, very often, we learn these lessons too late. In order not to be late, we must learn from the living example of the Russian Bolsheviks; we must also learn from the experience of the revolutionary movement in other countries and in our own country, and we must learn from the masses. Apparently, it is particularly difficult for the majority of our comrades to determine, in each separate case, the particular link that will enable us to estab-

lish contacts with the masses and to put them in motion. We can find this link only if we pay very close heed to the voice of the masses, as Comrade Stalin emphasized.

What are the practical measures that we must adopt? I suggest that every Communist Party in the capitalist countries should immediately *overhaul the work of all the organs and organizations of the Party*. This should be done with a view to improving our mass work, and also with a view to consolidating the Party and preparing it for illegal work. Immediately after this Plenum, in connection with the discussion of the decisions of this Plenum, we must mobilize the Party organizations for the purpose of overhauling their work, and the sections must report the results of this investigation to the E.C.C.I. before the Seventh Congress. In making this investigation all the tasks of mass work indicated in the Theses of the Twelfth Plenum and of the present Plenum should be taken into consideration.

For the majority of the sections this will mean *the complete reorganization of their work*. I want first of all to mention certain aspects of the organizational side of this investigation. Firstly, it should be an investigation of the work of *every Party functionary from top to bottom*. In the majority of cases our functionaries are overworked, and at first they will wonder how they are going to find the time to exercise political and organizational leadership of the work of all the Party organizations, and of all the Party members, among the broad masses. But time must be found for this at the expense of other work. The work must be so reorganized as to enable the comrades to spend most of their time on this very important Party work.

Secondly, in investigating the work of the *lower Party organizations*, it is important to activize all the members and to draw them into the work among the broad masses. In all Parties, legal as well as illegal, the majority of the Party members are passive at the present time. In some Parties, the functionaries are almost the only ones who are engaged in regular Party work. I was astonished to hear that even the Communist Party of Italy, which, for a certain time, served as an example to other illegal Parties as far as mass

work was concerned, now has an extraordinary number of passive members. In all capitalist countries the majority of our factory nuclei and Communist fractions are lifeless. Why is this so? Because, comrades, in practice, our attitude towards the tasks of mass work is a *formal* one; we set to work to build factory nuclei and fractions in a mechanical and schematic manner. We have not concentrated attention upon systematically guiding their work among the masses by giving them concrete advice and instructions. We have not supervised the fulfilment of decisions. We have not displayed the necessary persistence in carrying out these tasks, and have not paid serious attention to the training of leading cadres for this work. That is why we have failed to achieve successes in this work. This explains the fluctuation in membership; it explains why many members do not carry on any systematic work among the broad masses. But we know that the leading role of the Communist Parties *presupposes* in the active participation of *every* member of the Party in *everyday* revolutionary work. According to the firm instructions of Comrade Lenin, this should be the most important rule in a genuine Communist Party. In my opinion the work of the lower Party organization, nuclei and fractions, should be so reorganized as to enable every member to spend at least four-fifths of the time he or she devotes to Party work on everyday work among the non-Communist workers.

Thirdly, we must take into account the importance of our Party organizations and their members organizing the *active* non-Party workers. Everywhere we have set up various kinds of united front committees, etc. In the course of the discussion several comrades, for example, Comrade Frachon, referred to the work of these committees. In many countries the experience has been that we successfully set up these organizations, but owing to lack of guidance and control, they die out after a few months. The German Party achieved excellent results during the election campaign in organizing special groups of helpers. In my opinion the task of organizationally consolidating the political influence of our Parties demands that they should, to a larger extent than hitherto, stimulate their

members to organize everywhere similar groups of active non-Party workers, united front brigades.

This, of course, does not mean that we are not to continue our recruiting work for the Party with the utmost energy. As Comrade Piatnitsky said in his speech, it was a mistake on the part of the German comrades to refuse to accept Social-Democratic workers who desired to join our Party, and to force them to join helpers groups. Wherever the masses are, in the factories, in the trade unions, during every mass campaign, and in every strike, we must recruit non-Party, Social-Democratic, and other workers for our trade unions, for our mass organizations and for the Communist fractions in the reformist unions. But this does not contradict the organization of sympathetic Social-Democratic and non-Party workers in small groups for active work among the more or less broad masses, for agitation and mobilization, under the guidance of Communists. Every Communist, if he really wants to, can organize such "shock brigades" in his factory, in his trade union, or anywhere else.

As Comrade Piatnitsky expressed it, in times of strikes and other mass battles the Communists rush in like "a fire brigade" at the beginning of the struggle, and at the end they disappear. The organizational consolidation of our influence, which is the most important thing in every mass battle, is completely ignored. Some time ago, we recommended a form of organization such as the election of factory delegates, unemployed delegates, women's delegates, committees of action, etc. This is an excellent form of organizing active non-Party workers. But where it is difficult to arrange such elections, our comrades should simply find a number of active non-Party and other workers and organize them into a group under their guidance for mass agitation. This can be done at every mass meeting, at every demonstration, and in every strike. But, when these groups are formed, the Communists who form them must constantly work with them, discuss the work that has to be done, see that it is carried on, and go to the nucleus committee for advice as to how to develop the work properly.

Of course, all this work presupposes correct and firm Bolshevik

guidance on the part of the Party organs. Without proper leadership lasting success cannot be achieved and the danger of opportunism which very easily arises in all mass work becomes more serious. But if anybody argues that we should not take the risk of allowing our Party members to come into constant and direct touch with non-Party and Social-Democratic workers, who desire to work and fight side by side with us, because it creates the danger of these members becoming infected with opportunism as a result of this personal contact, I will say that this danger exists in all real mass work. There can be no success without taking risks. We must guide the work in order to counteract this danger.

In selecting sympathetic non-Party and Social-Democratic workers for these united front groups, only one condition is absolutely necessary, *viz.*, care must be taken to prevent traitors and provocateurs from coming into them. We must unhesitatingly recruit honest workers for these groups. But we must not forget the advice Comrade Lenin gave to the Bolsheviks in 1905:

“Then fight more boldly for new methods of training, comrades! Organize more boldly ever new fighting units, send them into battle, recruit more young workers, extend the limits of all Party organizations, from Party committees right down to factory groups, shop unions and student circles. Remember that delay in this matter will assist the enemy.”

Had there been no difficulties in carrying out our Bolshevik decisions we would have carried them out long ago. *Of course* it is a difficult task, but that is precisely why we must now overhaul the work of all our Party organizations with real Bolshevik determination. If we do that, I am sure our sections will learn to do what they now find most difficult in Bolshevism. We should be able by the time the Seventh Congress meets to show that our Parties have become sufficiently Bolshevik Parties, and reorganize our whole work in this respect.

In regard to the political *content* of our mass work I want to emphasize that we are not discussing minor questions. It is true that the minor, everyday cares of the workers, their daily vital in-

terests, are always important starting points for agitation among and the mobilization of the masses. But in the present world situation we see that it is the big fighting questions of the day that are more and more coming to the forefront. The fascist bourgeoisie itself is putting a number of fundamental questions on the order of the day, such as the question of the nation, private property, the state, the class character of dictatorship, etc. We must not tone down these questions, but boldly and in a militant manner clutch at every vital question. Among these questions there are such that are difficult to explain to the broad masses, particularly the question of combating chauvinism. In these questions we sometimes have to fight against the stream for a long time. But it is precisely our struggle against fascist ideology that will particularly help us to raise the class consciousness of the toiling masses to a high level.

The general weakness of our mass agitation most clearly revealed itself in that in all countries we have not taken sufficient advantage of the bankruptcy of Social-Democracy during the fascist *coup* in Germany in order to explain to the broad masses of the workers that the policy of the Second International inevitably paved was simultaneously an indication of the collapse of the whole policy of the Second International. How badly our Parties carried on agitation on this question! The "Left" Social-Democratic leaders even had the audacity to hurl a counter-attack against us with the aid of the insolent lie that the Communist Party of Germany was responsible for fascism coming into power in Germany. The best opportunity was created in all countries for demonstrating to the workers that the policy of the Second International inevitably paved the way for the fascist dictatorship, and that Social-Democracy impedes the struggle of the proletariat against fascism. All that was necessary in every country was simply to tell the workers what the Social-Democratic Party of Germany had done, and how the Communist Party of Germany had fought against fascism. How insufficiently this was done, for example in England, was best shown by the question which Comrade Gallacher helplessly put here, *viz.*, how can we explain to the workers that we are not "glad" that fascism came into power? The echo of the anti-Communist slander

of the Social-Democrats is so loud that it even drowns the howling crimes of the German social-fascists.

The same helplessness is observed among many Communists when the *question of power* is put forward. As was related here in the course of the discussion by Comrade Pollitt about England, by Comrade Lenski about Poland, and as we hear also about America, it often happens that the "Left" Socialists attack our Party on the question of power because our comrades, while, in the main, fighting correctly for the everyday demands of the workers raise the questions of the struggle in too restricted a manner, from the narrow, practical point of view. We must learn to link up the questions of everyday needs of the workers with the question of power. If the fascists demagogically raise the question of the whole social system, we can boldly accept this challenge. Our strength lies in the fact that we alone are able to show the masses the way out of the crisis. If the ruling fascists say to us: "You are the enemies of the state," we reply: "Yes, we are the enemy of the state of the exploiting classes." In our mass propaganda we must develop all the principles of the state enunciated by Lenin in his book *The State and Revolution*.

In Comrade Gallacher's speech there was a note of uncertainty as to how to explain to the masses the dialectical connection between the two forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, bourgeois democracy and fascist dictatorship. But is this really so difficult? We do not assert that bourgeois democracy is absolutely the same as the fascist dictatorship. But, using the German, Italian, Polish, Finnish and other example as illustrations, we must show how the fascist dictatorship grows out of bourgeois democracy. The two things are not the same. The egg is not the same as a chicken, or as a baby crocodile. But, if Social-Democracy sufficiently warms the egg, what will come out will be the fascist crocodile. Of course, it will be something entirely different from the egg. According to formal logic they are two entirely different things. But one grows out of the other; and this should be perfectly clear. Furthermore, since the fascist dictatorship grew out of bourgeois democracy, social-fascism comes forward—as Kautsky did after Hitler

seized power—and says to the masses: “The most important thing now is to abandon all thought of a ‘bloody revolution.’” This is the principal slogan that Kautsky offers the German proletariat: “Anything but a bloody revolution.”

It should not be at all difficult to expose these accomplices of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. But simultaneously, we must in every country present a *concrete program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis.*

From this angle we must explain the question of Soviet power. We must concretely show what is most important, *viz.*, what the Soviet power will give the toilers in each separate country: in Germany, in England, in France, in America, in Japan, etc. Using the experience of the U.S.S.R. as an illustration, we must show how this can be achieved. Communist agitation and propaganda must focus the attention of the workers on the difference between the capitalist system and Soviet system. The workers in the capitalist countries know that money still exists in the U.S.S.R., but that this money is not the same as what it is in capitalist countries. Wages exist; but wages under the Soviet system represent something entirely different from the price, or value, of labor power. The Soviet factory and Soviet trade are something altogether different from capitalist factories and capitalist trade. We must explain to the masses that wherever the proletariat overthrows the class rule of the exploiters and becomes the collective owner of the means of production, the whole basis of society changes in principle, and becomes the basis of socialist society. The road of the October Revolution, the road to Bolshevism—that is the way out of the present crisis of capitalism! This we must prove to the toilers of all capitalist countries by fighting for our international slogan, for the slogan of the Soviet Power.

A very important international question concerning which we must everywhere carry on agitation and mobilize the masses of the toilers is the question of the danger of an imperialist *war*, particularly a war against the U.S.S.R. Unless the weaknesses that have been displayed in our mass work on this question are immediately removed with all energy, we shall be confronted with a very serious danger. As Comrade Piatnitsky quite rightly said, our Parties

have shown that they are able, in general, to adopt a correct position in the struggle against the war policy of the capitalist states; but the danger is that the class enemy may take the masses by surprise. The U.S.S.R. is on the *qui vive*; it cannot be taken by surprise. But in the capitalist countries, where our work and our influence is still weak, it is quite possible that the bourgeoisie, which is secretly preparing for war, will take the masses by surprise, when they are not yet ready for the decisive struggle. It is not only a matter of weaning the broad masses from their under-estimation of the war danger. First of all we must *revolutionize* the masses, otherwise the proletariat will not be able to transform the military attack of the bourgeoisie into the victory of the proletarian revolution. That is why it is so important for us to carry on anti-war agitation in the revolutionary, and not in the bourgeois-pacifist spirit.

The enemies of the U.S.S.R., and many social-fascists in particular, try to make the masses believe that the U.S.S.R. is afraid of the bellicose threats of Japan. But we know, comrades, that the situation is altogether different. The U.S.S.R. is strong enough to smash any imperialist power that attacks it. But we Communists in the capitalist countries have not yet organizations strong enough to guarantee that we will transform the counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. into the victory of the world proletarian revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants now have a strong Communist Party and a strong Red Army. But we must have strong fighting organizations in all capitalist and colonial countries. Our victory will be assured everywhere only to the extent that the tasks enumerated in the theses of this Plenum will be carried out energetically and successfully. Comrade Okano, the representative of the Japanese Party, is fully convinced, and so are we, that the Japanese Communists will exert every effort to explain this to the Japanese toilers. On the day Araki and his co-adjutors proceed to carry out the greatest crime in world history, *viz.*, to start an anti-Soviet war, the Japanese proletariat will show that the bellicose ideas of General Araki were very "dangerous thoughts" for the rule of the exploiting classes in Japan.

In this war we will have allies. This we know: we regard the

national-revolutionary movements for the liberation of the colonies and the dependent nations as allies in our anti-imperialist struggle. Everywhere we are waging a ruthless struggle against oppressing imperialism. But at the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that it is still necessary, in the present preparatory period, to fight also against the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations. In Western Ukraine we saw that from the day Japanese imperialism commenced its invasion of Manchuria the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine began to dream of a European Manchukuo that only a West Ukrainian "Pu Yi" would envy. It has now been clearly revealed that the bourgeoisie of Western Ukraine, as Comrade Popov told us, wanted to sell the Ukrainian people simultaneously to German and Polish imperialism. Nevertheless, it continues to play with the slogan of the national "liberation" of the Ukraine.

In this connection, dangerous opportunist vacillations were revealed in the ranks of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine which must be ascribed to the fact that a distinct line of demarcation was not drawn between our policy and the nationalist policy of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. We are convinced that now, after the Communist Party of Poland and the Communist Party of Western Ukraine have rectified these opportunist mistakes and have secured that the leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine shall pursue a Bolshevik line, the latter will be able to convince the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine that it is necessary to resist Ukrainian counter-revolutionary nationalism and to mobilize the masses against the Polish as well as the German invaders.

On the pretext of criticizing Hitler, Trotsky condemns the effort to adapt state frontiers in Europe to ethnographical frontiers as a "reactionary utopia." But Hitler is not even dreaming of doing such a thing. He wants to pursue the German imperialist policy of expansion. Trotsky, however, is really defending a reactionary utopia in the form of a democratic "United States of Europe." By arguing that the whole evil lies in the fact that there are too many state frontiers in Europe, Trotsky exposes himself as a servant of the imperialist powers; for, in other words, he says to the oppressed

nations of Europe: "Cease fighting for state independence!" And to the workers of the imperialist countries he says: "There is no sense in fighting for the right of self-determination for the oppressed nations in Europe—it is a reactionary utopia."

We Communists say something altogether different. We call upon the 40,000,000 population of the oppressed nations of Europe, and upon all colonial peoples, to wage a revolutionary struggle for their own state frontiers, for state independence—including the right to separate from the oppressing state—and to drive foreign officials and troops out of their respective countries. We are always ready to support their struggle for national liberation. And everywhere we say to the workers in the imperialist countries: you can emancipate yourselves from social oppression only if you fight for the complete abolition of the national oppression of you own bourgeoisie. In this way we will win over the masses that have been caught up by the national-revolutionary liberation movement and transform them into active reserves of the proletarian revolution.

As Comrade Lenin said: The Soviet Union is not only the vanguard of the workers of all countries; it is also the vanguard of all the oppressed nations. Sooner or later, immediately a counter-revolutionary imperialist war breaks out against the Soviet Union we in all countries will mobilize the oppressed and exploited masses around the Soviet banner, and the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. will fight in the vanguard of the struggle for liberation of all the exploited and of all the oppressed classes and nations.

The capitalist system all over the world is marching to its doom. This explains the fury of the exploiting classes. Even in their externals the present bourgeois states more and more resemble a *predatory state*. This is apparent in many countries. But the most striking example is Germany. Present Germany with its fascist banditism presents a wild picture of the last stage of bourgeois "civilization."

The ruling representatives of the German bourgeoisie who set fire to the Reichstag for the purpose of creating a favorable atmosphere for monopolizing political power in the hands of their party,

are now trying our Comrades Dimitrov, Tanev, Popov and Torgler for a crime that they themselves have committed. Beside them sits the tool of the German National-Socialists, Van der Lubbe, while Goering, who is responsible for the whole mess, refuses to recognize him and his accomplices; he furiously accuses, threatens and abuses the Communists. But our accused Bulgarian Communists do not allow themselves to be frightened—they are heroically defending the cause of the German Communist Party, the cause of Communism. Of course, the fascist rulers of Germany do not regard the burning of the Reichstag as a crime—why, that was their brilliant “exploit,” but they dare not admit it. They regard the accused Communists as their most dangerous enemies and want to destroy them; but they dare not say openly: we want to destroy them because they are our dangerous enemies. No, the fascist bourgeoisie says: the Communists must be punished for the burning of the Reichstag—although the whole world knows that they had nothing to do with it.

This reveals the depths of the moral degradation of the fascist regime. This gang will not be able to hold out for long against the rising anger of the German working class; it will not for long be able to fool the petty bourgeois toilers. If only our steadfast Communist Party of Germany learns to develop its mass work still better we will see how quickly the mass basis of national-socialism will crumble and German fascism will be swept away, as Marx said, like a hen-coop in an earthquake.

Today, we read in the newspapers the revolutionary greetings which Comrade Dimitrov sent us through his mother. He particularly emphasized: the things I hold most dear are the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet proletariat. This also applies to us. I propose that the Plenum send Comrade Dimitrov its fervent, revolutionary greetings. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I will sum up the principal immediate tasks of our most important sections.

The task of the *Communist Party of Germany* is to mobilize the masses for the purpose of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. On the basis of the most important vital interests of the working class it must draw the masses into political strikes; this is one of the most

important premises for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship. The fulfilment of this task confronts the Communist Party of Germany with the immediate task of liquidating the mass influence of the German Social-Democrats.

The task of the *Communist Party of France* is to develop economic battles in close connection with the struggle against the dictatorship of the French bourgeoisie. Upon it is imposed the task of developing an all-sided struggle against war for which the French bourgeoisie is preparing under cover of phrases about "democracy." The Communist Party of France must take advantage of the split of the Socialist Party in order to undermine the influence of the reformists and politically and organizationally to consolidate the Communist Party and the Red trade unions.

The task of the *Communist Party of Great Britain* is to wage the struggle against the National government, and in particular, against the government's measures to worsen the conditions of the working class. It must develop itself into a real mass Party of the working class of Great Britain. Furthermore, its task is to win over the workers in the Labor Party and in the Independent Labor Party, and to establish close connections between the British working class and the proletariat in the colonies, particularly in India. The most important task of the Communist Party of Great Britain is to carry on revolutionary work in the trade unions.

The task of the *Communist Party of the United States* is also to transform itself into the mass Party of the American proletariat by winning over the main masses of the American workers in the principal industrial centers of the country. Furthermore, its task is to mobilize the masses against the demagogic legislation of Roosevelt, for real social insurance, for grants to the unemployed and also for the improvement of the material conditions of the employed workers.

The important task of the *Communist Party of China* is still further to consolidate the Soviet regions and the Red Army; to completely repel the Sixth Campaign of the Kuomintang, to extend the Soviet regions and at the same time to link up this task with that of mobilizing the masses of workers and peasants in Kuomintang China for the purpose of overthrowing the Kuomintang government as a prere-

quisite for the victorious struggle against Japanese imperialism and for the complete national liberation of the Chinese people.

The task of the *Communist Party of Japan* is to fight against war under the slogan: Withdraw from Manchuria and North China! This struggle must be linked up with the struggle against the unprecedented impoverishment of the masses of the workers and peasants in Japan. One of the most important weapons of the Communist Party of Japan in this struggle is its penetration into all the mass organizations and its work in them.

All the sections of the Communist International must set themselves the task of fighting *against opportunism*, particularly against Right opportunism, of fighting for the *revolutionary unity of the working class*, which is the most important prerequisite for the successful work of the Communists among the reserves of the proletarian revolution, *viz.*, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, for establishing the *Soviet government throughout the world*.

The most important thing is—constant, active leadership of the Communist Party in the mass struggle against fascism and war, and the linking up of legal with illegal forms of struggle. The world bourgeoisie is now in the position as described in the *Communist Manifesto*, of the “sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells.” The better the organizations of the Communist Parties carry out their Bolshevik leading role in the mass struggle, the quicker will come the day when the world bourgeoisie will no longer be able to find salvation. Victory all over the world will be on the side of Communism. And all our sections, and the Communist International as a whole, is the guarantee of that.

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