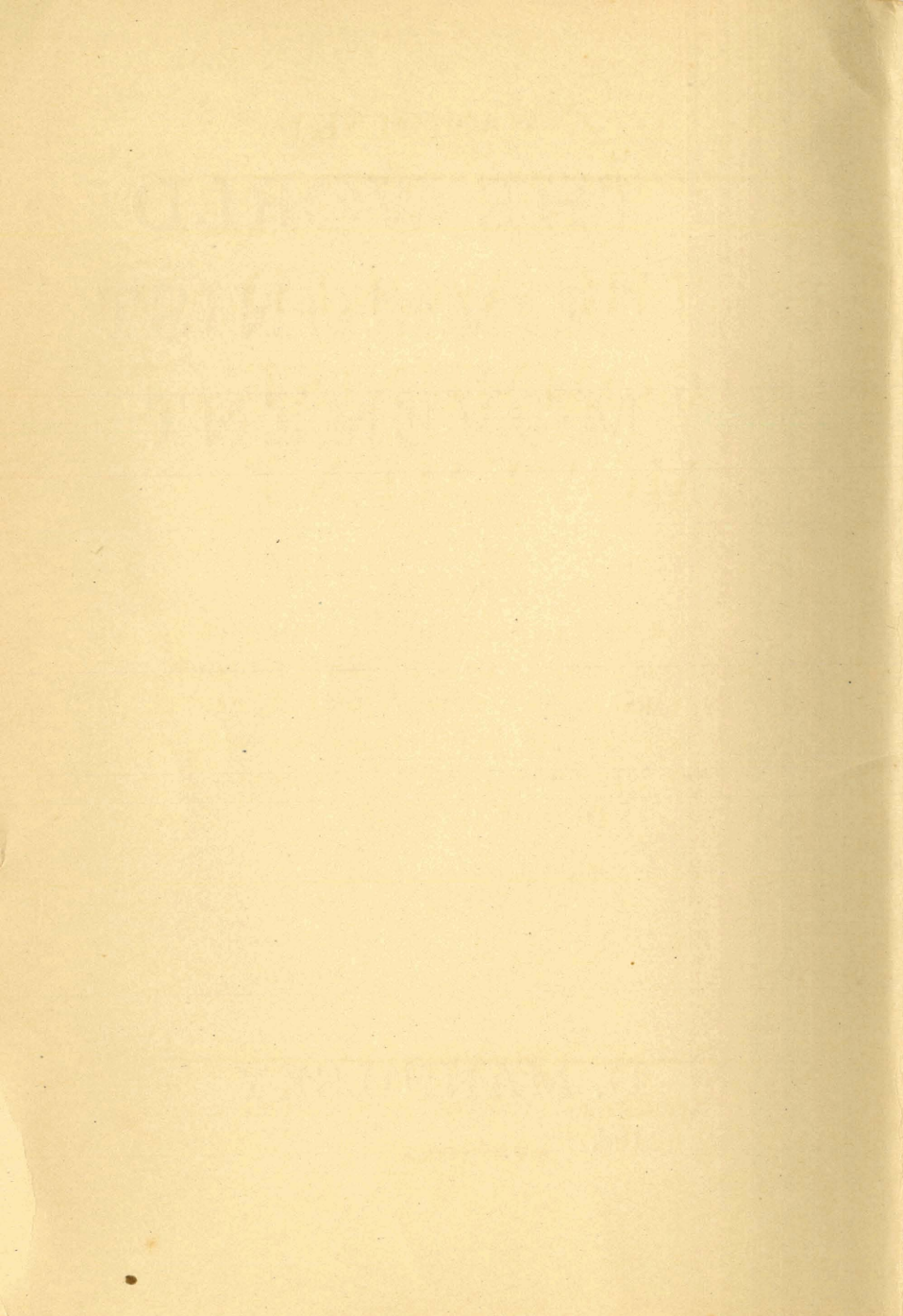


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THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

D. MANUILSKY

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D. Z. MANUILSKY

THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

REPORT

OF THE DELEGATION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
(BOLSHEVIKS) IN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
TO THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS
OF THE C.P.S.U. (B.)

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I. Changes in the International Situation

COMRADES, in the five years that separate the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) from the Seventeenth Congress, big changes have taken place in the life of classes, peoples and states, changes which testify that all the contradictions of the capitalist system have grown more acute and that the gulf between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism has grown wider.

In his historic report, which was so impatiently awaited by the Party, by the working people of our country, and by all friends and foes of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin has made a most valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state; he has given a Marxist analysis, unsurpassed for its profundity, of the international situation; he has made an exhaustive summary of the socialist development of our country; and he has outlined the immense prospects which open up before the Soviet people as a result of its socialist victories. Comrade Stalin has shown how mightily the U.S.S.R. has advanced, having solved the most difficult task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, the task of completely eliminating the exploiting classes and of bringing the millions of individual peasant farms within the socialist system. He has shown how the socialist economic system has steadily grown during these years, how the material and cultural standard of the working people

has risen, how the fraternity of the nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R. has been cemented, how socialist democracy has blossomed forth in the Soviet country, how strong the moral and political unity of the Soviet people has grown, and how mighty has become the defensive power of the Soviet country. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Stalin has shown that the wise peace policy of the U.S.S.R., combined with firmness in defending the frontiers of Soviet country and with relentlessness in crushing the Trotsky-Bukharin gang of spies and warmongers, is not only in the interest of the Soviet people, but also in the interest of the entire international working class and of the nations of all countries.

Comrade Stalin's report is a historic landmark, indicating that the U.S.S.R. has entered a new phase of development, to be marked by the completion of the construction of classless society and a gradual transition from socialism to communism. And this immense victory of the U.S.S.R., which is an event of historic significance, is intensifying the process of revolutionizing the working people in the capitalist countries, and is filling the world reactionaries with fear of the country which, despite all the machinations of the surrounding capitalist world, is carrying out the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan, that new gigantic stride towards the complete triumph of communism.

EVENTS OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

Analyzing the capitalist economic situation at the Seventeenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin said that the depression which had set in after the crisis of 1929-33 would not be an ordinary one, but a depression of a "special kind."*

* See *Socialism Victorious*, International Publishers, New York.

Describing the international situation, Comrade Stalin said that the growing acuteness of the imperialist contradictions had already created the ground for military conflicts, and that things were clearly moving towards a new imperialist war. This analysis has been completely confirmed.

The level of capitalist production, which reached its highest point, after the low point of 1932, in the middle of 1937, dropped again in 1938 to 91 per cent of the 1929 level. In the period 1929-37 production increased by only 3.5 per cent, whereas during the economic cycle of 1921-29 the increase in production was 49.5 per cent. This shows that the depression that set in after the crisis of 1929-33 really was a depression of a special kind and was followed neither by a general revival, nor by an industrial boom.

The condition of the working masses in the capitalist countries has grown markedly worse in the past five years. Capital is conducting a furious attack on the standard of living of the working people, particularly in the countries where there is a fascist dictatorship. Wages are sharply declining and the working day lengthening. In Germany, for example, despite the fact that the retail prices of staple foodstuffs have considerably risen, increases of wages have been strictly forbidden since the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. At the same time, the various compulsory deductions from wages made by the fascist authorities amount to 25-30 per cent. A ten-hour day has been established by law, and in the particularly important branches of industry, that is, in the munitions industry generally and on fortification work, the working day is fourteen hours. In the so-called "labor service camps," hundreds of thousands of young people are working for thin gruel and 50 pfennigs a day.

Since the fascist dictatorship was established in Italy the standard of living of the masses has been reduced by almost

half. There has been a marked decline in consumption of all staple food articles since the war in Ethiopia. In Japan the working day is as long as twelve to sixteen hours, and even the miserable wage rates of 1929 have been reduced on the average by over 16 per cent, in spite of the fact that the cost of living has risen during this period by 30 or 40 per cent.

During the past five years the number of unemployed has never dropped below fourteen million, and by the end of 1938 it amounted to eighteen million, not counting the vast army of millions of unemployed agricultural laborers, or the workers on part-time jobs, or the unemployed of countries like India and China where half the population of the capitalist world lives.

The agrarian crisis, which is again growing acute, especially in the U.S.A., Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia and Hungary, as well as in the colonies, is leading to a still greater cleavage in the countryside and is reducing millions of peasants to pauperism. Parallel with this we observe the growing ruin of the urban lower middle class, especially in the fascist countries, where tens of thousands of small industries and businesses have been reduced to bankruptcy. In Japan, owing to the shortage of raw material, 88,305 small undertakings were closed down in 1938 alone.

The economic crisis, the increased unevenness of development of the capitalist countries, and the growing profundity of the general crisis of capitalism, have rendered all the existing contradictions among the imperialist states acute in the extreme. The struggle for foreign markets, for spheres of influence, for colonies, for a new redivision of the world has grown more acute. This struggle has become exceptionally intense in the Mediterranean and the Pacific, in Latin America, in south and southeastern Europe, and along the world's major lines of communication.

The fascist states—Germany, Italy and Japan—have assumed the offensive in the international arena. The fascist rulers hope to improve their affairs, to put an end to the internal difficulties of the fascist regime, and to avert its bankruptcy by plundering other nations. War is necessary to the fascist rulers, because they cannot fulfil their demagogic promises to the masses, who are demanding butter, not guns, bread, and not dreadnoughts. For the fascist rulers war is a means of suppressing the discontent of the masses and holding the latter in subjection. They need wars in order to maintain their “prestige” in the eyes of their own supporters.

The fascist adventurers are in a hurry to take the offensive because they fear the growing movement of the people's front, the growing resistance of the nations to fascist aggression, the union and welding of the peoples into an international front of struggle against the fascist war-makers. The fascist rulers want to forestall the welding of the masses and to strike at them before they unite to repulse fascism. They are trying to divide the peoples, to sow discord among them, in order the more easily to defeat them one by one. They are making skilful use of the complaisance of the ruling classes of Great Britain and France, and are turning them into accomplices of their nefarious deeds, thus compromising and discrediting them still further, and endeavoring by this rascally maneuver to divert the indignation of the masses from themselves.

The fascist rulers are striving to take advantage of the fear of socialism and the working class entertained by the bourgeoisies of other capitalist countries in order to secure their support in the attack on their peoples. They resort to bribery, deception, blackmail and threats of furtherance of their aims of conquest. Before hurling their armies of occupation into foreign territories, they first send an army of

spies. They send them everywhere—to America, England, France and other countries. In France they maintain the Cagouard bands, through whom they engineer a series of explosions. They are forming gangs of diversionists in Rumania for the commission of terrorist acts; they are conducting extensive disruptive activities in Poland, in preparation for her dismemberment; they are forming secret companies of armed men in the Baltic countries, in Finland, Hungary and Slovakia, and in the Balkan countries. They stage internal “rebellions,” as was the case not only in Austria and the Sudeten region, but in Mexico, Brazil and Peru.

The agents of the fascist bloc of aggressors conduct their disruptive work on a particularly wide scale in the British and French colonies. They engineer rebellion in Palestine, form a semi-military “National Volunteer Corps” in India, set up fascist military groups in South Africa, and supply arms and money to the feudal chiefs in the Arab countries. They sow discord everywhere, so as to disintegrate and weaken their possible opponents even before the outbreak of war.

The aggressive bloc of fascist powers, which is interested more than all others in a new forcible redivision of the world, is plunging the nations into a new imperialist war. In 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia; in 1936 Germany and Italy began to intervene in Spain; in 1937 the Japanese militarists, having seized Manchuria, started a war with the aim of gaining possession of the whole of China and ousting America, England and France from that country; in March, 1938, Germany occupied Austria, and in September, 1938, she dismembered Czechoslovakia.

Would this have been possible if the capitalist governments of the other big powers had not connived at the aggression of the German and Italian fascists and of the

Japanese fascist militarists? Of course not. It was possible only because the bloc of fascist aggressors was assisted, and is being assisted, by the forces of world reaction, by the reactionary elements among the French and especially the British bourgeoisie. These elements cherish the idea of utilizing German fascism as a mailed fist of reaction against the U.S.S.R., as a gendarme against the international working class, the people's front, and the movement of the enslaved peoples for national liberation.

The plan of the British reactionary bourgeoisie is to sacrifice the small states of southeastern Europe to German fascism so as to direct Germany eastwards—against the U.S.S.R., to attempt, by means of such a counter-revolutionary war, to retard the progress of socialism and the victory of communism in the U.S.S.R.; to buy off Germany, with her imperialist claims on British colonies. At the same time the British reactionaries would like to use the U.S.S.R. to draw the fangs of German imperialism, to weaken Germany for a long time to come, and to preserve the dominant position of British imperialism in Europe.

Secondly, the British reactionaries are striving to divide up Spain and the spheres of influence in the Mediterranean with Italy *at the expense of France*, and to reach an agreement with Italy for the sake of imperialist "equilibrium" in Europe, by severing her from the bloc with Germany.

Thirdly, in the Far East, the British reactionaries cherish dreams of partitioning China. They are allowing Japan to ruin and weaken China; but at the same time they are not hindering the military and economic exhaustion of Japan, so as to come forward later as an arbiter and establish a "Munich peace" in the Far East.

Fourthly, the British reactionaries do not want the collapse of the fascist regime in Germany, Italy or Japan; they want to help save the governments of these countries from

financial bankruptcy by granting them credits, thus making the fascist states dependent in a way on British imperialism.

As long ago as 1927, in an article entitled "Notes on Contemporary Themes," Comrade Stalin said:

"British capitalism always was, is and will be the most vicious strangler of popular revolutions. Ever since the Great French Revolution of the end of the eighteenth century, down to the Chinese revolution that is now in progress, the British bourgeoisie has always stood in the front ranks of the butchers of the liberation movement of mankind. . . . But the British bourgeoisie does not like to fight with its own hands. It has always preferred to wage war through others."

But the British reactionary bourgeoisie are digging their own graves with their predatory plans. By secretly supporting Japanese aggression in China, they are paving the way for the ousting of Britain from the Far East; by their concessions to Italian fascism, they are paving the way for the loss of Britain's position in the Mediterranean; by granting loans to the fascist aggressors, they are augmenting the latter's military might and the chances of their own defeat. By strengthening German fascism, they are paving the way for the partition of their own empire. By their plans of attack on the U.S.S.R., they are paving the way for the collapse not only of fascism, but of the entire capitalist system. (*Applause.*)

The Munich agreement was the first serious attempt to put this perfidious but hopeless plan of the British reactionary bourgeoisie into practice. It was not peace that the reactionary conspirators of Munich brought mankind, but the prospects of a new imperialist world war. In Munich they put an end even to that anemic European "equilibrium" which to some extent restrained the fascist aggressors

in their plans of conquest. Under pressure of Germany and Italy, the reactionary cliques of France, tied to the apron strings of the British reactionaries, put an end with their own hands to the system of alliances which they had created after the imperialist World War of 1914-18, thereby paving the way for the transformation of France into a second-rate power.

The Munich conspirators put an end to the system of collective security and completely eliminated the League of Nations they themselves had created from the settlement of highly important questions of European and world politics. They gave a free hand to the aggressors, permitting the Italian fascists to occupy Catalonia, and the Japanese fascist militarists to seize Canton and Hainan and to create a threat to French and British possessions in the Far East.

The Munich "peacemakers" have given new impetus to the armament race of the capitalist states. The Munich deal was followed by a new jump in armaments in Germany, where since the advent of the fascist dictatorship military expenditures have already increased thirty-two times, and in Italy, where during the war in Ethiopia they increased fourfold. Compared with 1936-37, military expenditures in Japan have increased more than five and a half times, in Great Britain three times, and in France over three times.

* * *

However, the imperialist claims of the fascist vultures are encountering the resistance of certain capitalist states and of a large section of the ruling classes of those countries whose governments are capitulating to the fascist aggressors. The United States, *the biggest capitalist* power in the world, anxious to defend its interests in the Latin American countries from Germany, Italy and Japan—which are straining towards and rapidly penetrating these countries—and

its positions in the Philippines, China and the Pacific from Japan, is working for a bloc with the South American states to resist fascist expansion. The United States is thereby stimulating resistance to the aggressive plans of the fascists in other parts of the world, including Europe.

In Great Britain, fear for the integrity of the Empire, which is being menaced by German fascism, is impelling even a section of the imperialists, men like Duff Cooper, Eden and Churchill, into the camp of opposition to the present Conservative government. The rapacious claims of the German and Italian fascists are scaring a section of the French bourgeoisie and strengthening the position of those who are in favor of resisting them. Alarm is growing in Poland over the threat of her dismemberment by Germany. Opposition is increasing in Hungary to her enslavement by German fascism.

At the same time there is growing indignation among the masses of Czechoslovakia and Austria, who have been enslaved by the fascist aggressors. Alarm is growing among the nations menaced by fascist aggression in the Balkans. There is a growing movement in the colonies, the peoples of which have no wish to be used as counters in the deals between the imperialist plunderers. Elements of a national front are ripening in a number of countries threatened by fascist invasion.

* * *

Thus, the gulf between victorious socialism and decaying parasitic capitalism has grown still wider during the past five years. The U.S.S.R. is moving upwards, to the peaks of a classless society, to communism. The capitalist world is on the downward course to economic crises, reaction and wars. This means that the general crisis of the capitalist system has become more profound. And the more capital-

ism becomes entangled in its contradictions, the more desperate are the measures it resorts to in the attempt to escape from its plight. Hence the intensification of the capitalist offensive against the working people, the intensification of fascist terror, the assumption of the offensive by fascism in the international arena and the new imperialist war. Hence the growing threat of foreign military attack on the land of socialism, the realization of whose significance as a *stronghold of peace and of resistance to imperialist conquest and wars is growing immensely in the minds of millions of working people in the capitalist countries.*

II. The Struggle of the Communist Parties for the United Front and People's Front

As fascism passes to the offensive in different countries and in the international arena, the anti-fascist movement grows and widens and increasingly assumes an international character. The five-year interval between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a period of big anti-fascist battles of the working people. It was a mighty struggle of labor against capital, of the forces of progress against the dark forces of reaction. We had the struggle of the Communist Parties for united working class action, for trade union unity, and for an anti-fascist people's front. We had the formation of the People's Front in France. We had the development of the democratic movement on the American continent (in North and South America). We had the formation and extension of the national front in a number of colonial and dependent countries. *And, above all, we had the national revolutionary war of the heroic Spanish people, and the war of the great Chinese people for national liberation from the invading imperialist robbers.*

You remember how after the advent of fascism to power in Germany in 1933 the fascists raised their heads in other capitalist countries, and how they hastened to pass to the offensive in the expectation that the masses would retreat before them without a fight, as was the case in Germany. But you also remember that it was just the victory of Ger-

man fascism that, a year later, started a powerful anti-fascist movement all over the world. In February, 1934, the workers of France answered the fascist offensive by a general strike, which embraced four million people; in Austria the workers took to arms; in Spain, in October of the same year, the Asturian miners carried on a fight for two weeks. Everywhere the driving force of this mass resistance to fascism was the Communist Parties, which in the process of the struggle forged the united action of the working class, the united action of all working people.

Applying the great Leninist-Stalinist strategic plan of uniting the forces of the proletariat and of enlisting the allies of the working class, the Communist International, in Comrade Dimitroff's report at its Seventh Congress, advanced the tactics of a united working class front and anti-fascist people's front to combat the capitalist offensive, fascism, and the impending imperialist war. The speech of Comrade Dimitroff, that staunch disciple of Comrade Stalin, who held aloft the banner of communism in Leipzig, found an ardent response among the working people of the capitalist countries.

What were the immediate results of the anti-fascist movement that began in almost every capitalist country?

In France, the working people, by means of a general strike and mass demonstration, involving nearly a million persons in Paris alone, defeated the fascist putsch of February 6, 1934, secured a law dissolving the armed fascist leagues, and, in the process of the anti-fascist struggle, established a united working class front and a People's Front. The powerful strike movement in the summer of 1936, which was accompanied by the occupation of the factories, secured for the working class the forty-hour week, wage increases of as much as 30 per cent, vacations paid for by the employers, collective agreements and employers' recogni-

tion of the trade unions in the factories. Trade union unity was achieved, with the result that in the course of a few months the membership of the General Confederation of Labor increased from 900,000 to 4,000,000. The Communist Party increased its membership sevenfold; its influence over the working masses grew, which meant that the working masses grew stronger in the struggle against fascism.

In the U.S.A., the anti-fascist movement swept aside demagogues of the type of Father Coughlin. A Left wing, known as the Committee for Industrial Organization, emerged from the reactionary-led American Federation of Labor, leading the larger section of the American labor movement in the adoption of the position of the class struggle. Taking advantage of an improvement in the economic situation, the working class organized a number of big strikes, which in the majority of cases ended in victory for the workers. There were strikes of one million textile workers, four hundred thousand miners, and the workers in other branches of industry. Half a million students organized a demonstration strike against the impending war. The democratic movement grew and won an enormous victory at the presidential elections. On the wave of this movement, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. increased in size.

In Spain, the armed fighting in Asturias, followed by mass strikes and huge demonstrations, led to the fall of the Lerroux-Gil Robles government. On February 16, 1936, the People's Front won a big victory at the elections.

In Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Rumania, would-be fascist dictators, like Mosley, Mussert, Degrelle and Cordanos, suffered a headlong fall.

In Mexico, Cuba and Chile, the democratic movement was victorious. Mass trade unions were formed: about eight hundred thousand workers were united in the Mexican Confederation of Labor, four hundred thousand in the

Cuban Confederation, and two hundred thousand in the Chilean Confederation.

In China, there was a rapid development of the movement of the masses for the freedom, independence and unity of China, for the establishment of a democratic system, and for the economic, political and national regeneration of the country.

In India, a strike movement developed. The three-month strike of the jute workers in Bengal alone involved 225,000 persons. The nationwide movement against the reactionary 1935 constitution gathered strength; in the two years, 1937 and 1938, the membership of the National Congress increased from 630,000 to 4,000,000.

In the French colonies of Indo-China, Algiers, Tunis and Syria, the working masses, as a result of the victory of the People's Front in France, secured a number of democratic liberties. Here also, as in India, a nationwide front of struggle against imperialist oppression was built up.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, scared by the sweep of the anti-fascist movement, furiously resisted the development of the united working class front and the people's front. In France, by sabotaging production, exporting capital and gold, artificially forcing up prices, and speculating on the devaluation of the franc, it tried to discredit the People's Front and pave the way for the capitulation of the government which enjoyed the support of the People's Front.

In Spain, the landlords worked to bring about a famine by leaving their lands uncultivated; the bankers and capitalists engineered economic dislocation, and the generals plotted a revolt with the object of putting an end to the People's Front. In China, Japanese agents endeavored to incite the Kuomintang against the Chinese Soviets and employed every means to stir up internecine war, so as to disrupt the growing national front at all costs.

However, it was becoming ever clearer that the reactionaries were unable with their own internal forces to cope with the People's Front in France and Spain, or to disrupt the national emancipation movement of the Chinese people. World reaction came to their aid. The reactionary circles of the British bourgeoisie brought tremendous pressure to bear on the home and foreign policy of France in order to direct it into the channel they desired. In Spain, German and Italian fascism passed on to open intervention. In the Far East, the Japanese militarists launched a big war against the Chinese people.

The peoples who were victims of aggression put up armed resistance. The Spanish and Chinese peoples started their heroic struggle against the foreign invaders. This struggle is the most important event in the life of the nations since the great Socialist Revolution and its magnificent victories, and since the revolutionary movements of 1918-23 in Europe. The significance of this struggle is enormous. It is fettering the forces of the aggressors, checking the further spread of the second imperialist war, facilitating the struggle of the world proletariat against its exploiters, and assisting the anti-fascist movement in all countries.

When they engineered the mutiny of the generals in Spain, the German and Italian fascists expected an easy and rapid victory. They thought that the comic-opera march on Rome in 1922 could be duplicated in Spain. They thought it would be one of those military coups of which there have been many examples in the history of Spain, and that it would end in one night with the victory of the general who was seeking to mount the pedestal of a fascist dictator. The Spanish people has shown by its heroic struggle that the time of easy victories for fascism is passing. The intervention in Spain has cost the German and Italian fascists about a thousand million American dollars, and has

involved them in an enormous loss of war material and a considerable loss of manpower and trained army cadres.

For nearly three years the poorly-armed Spanish people, betrayed by the so-called bourgeois-democratic states, has been waging an unequal and heroic struggle for its independence, for the cause of the whole of progressive and advanced humanity. (*Applause.*) It has had to contend in this struggle against the military intervention of two big imperialist powers, fascist Italy and Germany, as well as against the veiled intervention of world reaction, which has blockaded the Spanish republic under the hypocritical guise, in Europe, of "a policy of non-intervention" and, in America, of a policy of "isolation."

The republic has had to overcome incredible difficulties in this period. The republic had no army. Under the fire of the enemy, it created a people's army which has inscribed in the history of the national-revolutionary war of the Spanish people such chapters as the battles of Madrid, Guadalajara, Jarama and the Ebro. The republic had no officers. Thousands of staunch commanders and splendid political commissars were trained in the process of the struggle; the ranks of the Spanish people have produced men like Modesto and Lister, whose names are pronounced with affection and respect by every honest anti-fascist, and with hatred by all enemies of the Spanish people. The republic had no munitions industry. It built one as it went along. Old men and boys, Spanish mothers and girls put their heart and soul into this work. The republic had no fortifications; the Spanish people took pick and spade and fortified the fronts for the republican armies.

How was it that the Spanish republic performed the miracle of holding out so long on its comparatively small peninsula, contending against blockade and the vast superiority of its adversary in armaments? This miracle was

made possible by the establishment of unity of action of the working class, by the formation of a close alliance between the working class and the peasantry, by the union of the masses of Spain in an anti-fascist people's front, and by the fact that this front was cemented by the Communist Party, which had grown into a great political force; it was made possible by the international support given the Spanish people by the working people, and, above all, the political support given them by the nations of the Soviet Union and by the father of all working people—Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy applause.*)

For nearly three years the struggle of the Spanish people has focussed the attention of the entire world. It has everywhere aroused the admiration of millions of working people and the savage fury of the world reactionaries. The example of the Spanish people has served as a clarion call to all other peoples to resist the fascist warmongers; it has helped to consolidate the forces of peace and liberty in all capitalist countries. A mass movement of solidarity embracing nearly every country of the world has rallied around republican Spain. It is the most powerful movement of solidarity of the working people since the imperialist intervention in the land of the Soviets. It has manifested itself in various forms, ranging from collections of money, mass meetings, demonstrations and the organization of committees for the defense of Spain to political strikes and the formation of volunteers units. Record demonstrations were held in the Latin American countries; far-off India held a national day of solidarity with Spain.

The movement of solidarity with the Spanish people has penetrated into the fascist countries. In Italy, anti-fascists take up secret collections, distribute thousands of leaflets, chalk anti-fascist slogans on houses at night; there are increasing cases of sabotage in munitions plants, and of

soldiers refusing to embark to fight republican Spain.

This solidarity movement has been developed everywhere into a struggle of the working people against fascism in their own countries, into an international struggle of anti-fascist forces against world reaction. Help for republican Spain has become a platform for a spontaneously formed international united working class front.

At the other end of the world the four hundred and fifty millions of a vast country, the biggest nation in the world, whom the imperialist robbers have always ground down, beaten, plundered and humiliated, have risen in defense of their country and their national independence. The war in China is the biggest war for national emancipation in a semi-colonial country history has ever known. Its importance is all the greater in that it is being waged by the Chinese people against an imperialist state which performs the role of gendarme of all the forces of world reaction in the Far East. In the course of this struggle the Chinese people have put an end to the internecine warfare which was rending the country to pieces and are forging their national unity—which is what the imperialist have always feared most of all. China's war against Japanese imperialism is becoming more and more a war of the entire nation. In spite of Japan's superiority in military equipment, the Chinese people are offering stubborn resistance to the enemy, attacking him in the rear, encircling him with a ring of guerrilla detachments, destroying the Japanese lines of communication, and exhausting and undermining the strength of the enemy by a *protracted war*.

Japan's war on China has cost her 2,500,000,000 American dollars, yet the Japanese fascist militarists have not become masters in China. The Japanese troops hold railway lines and urban centers, but a huge part of the country, with its Chinese inhabitants, remains under the control of

the national Chinese government. Chinese administration and Chinese law function in the rear of the Japanese forces of occupation; there, too, mobilization is conducted for the Chinese national army. The watchword of the national war passes from mouth to mouth: "When the father falls in battle, the son takes his place; brother takes the place of brother, and wife takes the place of husband."

The stubborn resistance of the Chinese people is having an increasing effect in revolutionizing the working masses of Japan, who are languishing under the yoke of oppression, monstrous exploitation and the intolerable burden of taxation. The difficulties encountered by the Japanese militarists are stimulating the growth of opposition sentiments among all sections of the people and accentuating the contradictions even in the camp of the ruling classes. The strike movement is gaining impetus, and the discontent of the Japanese laboring masses with the protracted war is growing. Exhausted by continuous battles, confronted with a nation that is defending its country, the Japanese soldiers are beginning to lose patience. More and more frequent are the symptoms of ferment in the army of the Japanese invaders. The heroic struggle of the Chinese people is not only demoralizing the Japanese army and the Japanese rear; it is also serving to stir up the masses of Asia and to awaken all the colonial peoples. The example set by the Chinese people in forming a national front against the Japanese has placed in the hands of the oppressed colonial peoples a mighty weapon for their national emancipation, a weapon tried and tested by the experience of a vast country, by the experience of millions.

"Of course, the heroic struggle of the Chinese people and their army against the Japanese invaders, the tremendous national revival in China, her huge resources

of manpower and territory, and, lastly, the determination of the Chinese National Government to fight the struggle for emancipation to a finish, until the invaders are completely driven out from Chinese territory, all goes to show beyond a doubt that there is no future for the Japanese imperialists in China, and never will be.”*

But the longer the intervention in Spain and the war in China dragged on, the more uneasy world reaction became. The duel between fascism and the anti-fascist forces threatened to end unfavorably for the fascist aggressors. The people began to grumble against the military adventures of the fascist governments. More frequently and loudly were voices raised among the masses, asking: “Where are they leading us?” The internal isolation of fascism and the shrinking of its social base became more and more apparent. In Germany the workers became ever more incensed at their appalling conditions, at the introduction of the fourteen-hour day, their lack of rights, and their being tied to the factories like serfs; the peasants became ever more incensed at the brazen interference of the fascist authorities in their affairs, the robbery of “Fuehrers,” big and little; the petty bourgeois were discontented because the fascist rulers were deliberately driving them into the abyss of ruin in order to secure cheap labor power; the Catholic masses were stirred into action by the ill usage to which they were subjected by fascism; opposition was growing in the ranks of the Reichswehr, which feared defeat in the war for which fascism was working; the German people grew increasingly incensed at the venality, speculation and tyranny of the corrupt fascist bureaucracy. The Gestapo met this

* *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*, p. 333, International Publishers, New York.

wave of discontent with new bestial repressions, with the block and the axe, and with Jewish pogroms, reviving the gloomy days of the Middle Ages. Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo, demanded the reinforcement of the S.S. troops in order to develop operations in "the internal theater of war."

The British reactionaries, in their endeavor to help German fascism extricate itself from its internal difficulties and strengthen its position in the fight against the anti-fascist forces, allowed it to seize Austria and obligingly opened the doors of Czechoslovakia to it. In preparation for the Munich deal they and the French reactionaries brought pressure to bear on the Czechoslovakian government, demanding that it capitulate and behave in the "Austrian manner." The Czech people and their army wanted to behave in the Spanish manner. The partial mobilization undertaken in France and Britain with the object of hoodwinking the masses was transformed into a demonstration of anti-fascist sentiments, while the mobilization in Germany revealed that indignation against the fascist rulers as the true instigators of war was widespread among the people.

The Munich deal, which sacrificed Czechoslovakia to German fascism, was a conspiracy of reaction against the international working class, against the anti-fascist movement in all countries, against peace and against the freedom of all nations. It was a conspiracy against the Spanish republic. The seizure of Catalonia by the interventionists was a direct consequence of Munich. It was hatched not only in Rome and Berlin but also in London and Paris. The whole world knew that, having succeeded in forcing Prague to capitulate, the Munich politicians would descend upon republican Spain. The Munich deal gave German and Italian fascism an entirely free hand in their intervention in Spain.

When the Italian and German forces of intervention seized Catalonia the British and French reactionaries dropped their mask. From covert intervention they passed to open intervention. At the orders of Berlin and Rome, they made haste to recognize Franco. They engineered the treacherous operation which transferred the naval base of Minorca to the Italian and German interventionists. The French reactionaries, having systematically refused to hand over Spain's gold reserve in France to the lawful republican government of Spain, subserviently tendered it to Franco, the creature of world reaction. The British bankers, with the blessing of the Conservative circles of Great Britain, expressed their readiness to grant the Spanish rebels a loan to cover the expenses of the German and Italian intervention and to save the internal regime of the Spanish fascists from collapse. More, the British and French reactionaries, with the aid to treasonable elements inside Spain, engineered a counter-revolutionary coup in Madrid and Carthagena in order to break the resistance of the Spanish people to the interventionists at the gravest stage of the struggle.

But world reaction will not bring the Spanish people to their knees. Only a madman can think that this proud and freedom-loving people will reconcile themselves to the colonial dependence to which world reaction is seeking to reduce their country; only a madman can think that they will humbly bow their backs to Franco, the traitor, adventurer and agent of foreign fascism. In spite of all the support of world reaction, neither kings nor dictators, neither Alfonsos nor Primo de Riveras have succeeded in staying on the backs of the Spanish people. How then can this monster who has destroyed Spanish cities and villages with German artillery, who has slaughtered thousands of Spanish women and children with Italian bombs, this butcher

who has drenched Spain with blood and who has been spurned and anathemized by the Spanish people, expect to stay on their backs? (*Voice from the floor: "Hear, hear!" Applause.*)

World reaction will not succeed in erasing from the memory of the Spanish people the heroic struggle of almost three years against the foreign invaders. This people has known better days. It has held arms in its hands; it has sown the land of the landlords for itself; it has organized production in the mills and factories itself; it has tasted a life of freedom. Such a people will never be subjugated. (*Loud applause.*) Its sacrifices will be repaid a hundredfold. They will remain forever in the minds of the working people an indelible memory of the infamy, not only of the fascist governments, but also of their British and French abettors, and of all the exploiting classes. They will raise a storm of hatred among the peoples against their exploiters, and will transform the revolutionary indignation of the masses into great revolutionary deeds of the peoples. The French reactionaries are mistaken if they think that their treacherous policy toward republican Spain will put an end to the working class and anti-fascist movements in France. It is true that this infamous policy has encouraged all the opponents of the people's front. The agents of the bourgeoisie who insinuated themselves into the ranks of the people's front in order to destroy it from within have come out into the open. All the capitulators who were driven by the wave of the revolutionary movement to the anti-fascist shores have now raised their heads. These enemies of the people's front have now thrown off all restraint; they are firing on Communists in Madrid, demanding the disruption of the united working class front in France, and working for the liquidation of the people's front movement in other countries. By ridding itself of this treacherous capitulating scum the

anti-fascist movement will only become stronger and more effective in the fight.

The treacherous policy of the Munich politicians is stirring into action sections which have hitherto held aloof from the political struggle; it has given the signal for a concentration of forces against world reaction on a broader basis than the people's front; it is giving an impetus to a new rise of the anti-fascist movement all over the world, and in Great Britain in the first place; it is helping to ripen in the minds of the masses the idea of storming the citadel of capitalism.

But could the conspiracy of world reaction against the Spanish republic have been foiled? Undoubtedly it could. It could have been foiled if the international proletariat had united its forces from the very beginning of the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people, if the leadership of the Second International had accepted the proposal of the Communist International to establish united action to combat the offensive of capital, fascism and imperialist war.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has proposed unity of action ten times in the past five years. What reply did we get from the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International? They replied that international united action required the preliminary formation of a united front in the various countries. When the Sections of the Comintern approached the various Social-Democratic Parties, the leaders of these parties replied that it was first necessary to reach agreement on an international scale. When the fighting in the Asturias was at its height the leaders of the Second International cynically proposed that the Communist International should wait a few months until their Executive Committee held its meeting. The Executive Committee met; the majority of its Sections voted

for international united action, but the British Laborites were against united action. And the majority submitted to the Citrines and Morrisons; they submitted to the will of the reactionary British bourgeoisie that stood behind their backs.

Yet, if the international proletariat had united its forces it could have enforced the opening of the frontiers to republican Spain, it could have prevented the blockade of republican Spain, it could have helped the Spanish people to victory, and thereby would have averted the occupation of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and prevented the very possibility of the Munich conspiracy. It could have brought about the defeat of Italian fascism in Ethiopia and compelled the bourgeois governments really to apply the sanctions proclaimed by the League of Nations. It could have aroused world public opinion against Japan, prevented her receiving raw materials and munitions, and brought the Japanese militarists to bay. But the capitulators of the Second International did not want this, for they dread the victory of the people's front more than the victory of fascism.

Is it still possible to arrest the further development of the second imperialist war and to defeat fascism? Yes, it is, although it is harder now than before.

What is needed now to defeat the fascist aggressors?

First, a resolute struggle against the capitulators, carried to the point of unmasking them completely, isolating them and routing them. The capitulators are not only collaborating with the bourgeoisie, they are collaborating with the most reactionary part of the bourgeoisie, with fascism. The capitulators are lieutenants of fascism in the labor movement, acting under the mask of "pacifism" in order to dupe the masses. In 1933 the reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic Party brought the people of Germany under the

axe of the fascist dictatorship, fooling the masses by asserting that they were saving them from civil war. The capitulators today are helping the bourgeoisie to drag the nations into imperialist wars, while claiming that they are saving the cause of peace, saving the nations from war. They are paving the way for war by the same methods they employed when they paved the way for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. On the pretext that they wish to preserve peace they exhort the peoples to retreat before the fascist aggressors. Like Otto Bauer, they surrender one position after another to fascism while threatening to "take to arms when attacked." But in the meantime they surrender Austria, the Sudeten region and Czechoslovakia to German fascism, allow it to entrench itself in the Danube basin and in the Balkans, surrender Spain to be ravaged by the interventionists, and yield to the fascist aggressors all the approach roads for aggression against other nations.

They try to demoralize the masses with the vile and treacherous slogan: "Better slavery than war." But the people know that the imperialist robbers convert their slaves into cannon fodder for their wars of plunder. Slaves do not escape war; they have to fight on the side of their enslavers, who use them to throttle the independence of other nations.

The British and French capitulators cherish the dream of diverting German fascism to the East. This is also called preservation of peace in the language of these gentlemen. But we know that the German fascists dislike impassable roads and insurmountable obstacles; they prefer to go where the going is easiest, where people capitulate to fascism.

The capitulators of the neutral countries, the Scandinavian, for instance, propose to weather the storm of war in a refuge of "neutrality" and to help their bourgeois en-

rich themselves on military contracts, as they did in 1914-18. But times are different now. Today the fascist aggressors will not leave a single neighboring state in peace until they have drawn it into the orbit of their military adventures, until they have revised its frontiers in the interests of the "Aryan race."

The capitulators try to frighten the masses by asserting that the people's front provokes the fascists to aggression. But the formation of the people's front means resisting the fascist aggressors. It is not resistance but the absence of it that whets the appetite of the fascists.

The capitulators go around insinuating to the masses: "See how much Spain has suffered. Isn't it better to surrender without a struggle like Czechoslovakia?" But if the peoples were to follow these suicidal promptings, fascism would now be master in Europe. If Spain had gone the way of Czechoslovakia, other peoples, and the French in the first place, would today be the victims of fascist aggression.

Secondly, in order to defeat the fascist aggressors *action* is needed, backed by the arguments of *material force*—the action of the states against whom fascist aggression is really directed (France, Britain and the United States). The world reactionaries are deliberately creating the legend of the might of German fascism in order to weaken the people's determination to resist.

Fascist Germany is not prepared for a big and serious war—she has not enough raw material and foodstuffs; her financial position is critical; her coasts are vulnerable to naval blockade; her army is inadequately officered; her rear is a dangerous one for fascism. The superiority of material force is undoubtedly on the side of the so-called democratic states. These states have *three* times the population of the bloc of aggressors, they produce from fifty to one hundred per cent more steel, *twice* as much electricity, *fourteen*

times as many automobiles, *fifty-five* times as much liquid fuel, *nine* times as much raw material for textiles, *four* times as much food. They can meet their own requirements in raw material completely, whereas even in peace time the bloc of aggressors has a deficit of 50-55 per cent. Their gold reserves are *forty-nine* times greater than the gold reserves of the fascist states. Their potential production of aircraft, mechanical traction for the army, and other technical equipment and munitions far exceeds the boldest calculations of the fascist bloc. The naval forces of France, Britain and the United States are *twice* as strong as the naval forces of Germany, Italy and Japan.

If the so-called democratic states pursued a firm policy of resistance to the fascist aggressors, combined with *economic pressure*, this would be a quite effective means of forcing the fascist states to retreat. This would be a real policy of peace. It would be supported by all the peoples. It would bring back to the side of France, England and the United States the small states which the Munich policy has thrown into confusion and dismay. It would be a policy of consolidating the democratic gains of the peoples that would be supported by the international working class.

But in order to bring about such a turn in the policy of the so-called democratic states, it is necessary that the working class also bring the forces of *material pressure* to bear on the bourgeois governments. The weapons of the working class are strikes, mass demonstrations, and popular movements against wars of plunder. The use of these weapons will be the more effective the sooner the working class establishes international unity of action. To combat wars of plunder there must be joint action by the proletarians of all countries.

III. The Communist Movement in the Capitalist Countries

A. SOME QUESTIONS OF COMMUNIST PARTY TACTICS

I shall now pass to the third part of my speech, which will deal with the condition of the international Communist movement. First a few remarks on some questions of Communist Party tactics.

The second imperialist war is developing in a situation which differs from that of the first imperialist war, the war of 1914-18. Unlike 1914-18, the world today is divided into two diametrically opposed systems: the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. Now there are not only imperialist states, but imperialist states which have established a fascist regime, which are trying to impose this regime on other nations by force of arms, and which are acting as instigators of wars of plunder.

"A distinguishing feature of the second imperialist war is that so far it is being waged and extended by the aggressor powers, while the other powers, the 'democratic' powers, against whom in fact the war is directed, pretend that it does not concern them, wash their hands of it, draw back, boast of their love of peace, scold the fascist aggressors, and . . . surrender their positions to the aggressors bit by bit, at the same time asserting that they are preparing to resist."*

* *Ibid.*, pp. 333-34.

The fascist states have begun to divide up Europe, they are "self-determining" the small nations by force, they are demanding a redivision of colonies.

In view of this new situation, the Communists must define their attitude to present wars, to the colonial claims of the fascist states and to the attempts of the fascist demagogues to exploit the slogan of "national self-determination."

In conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* divides wars into just wars and unjust wars.

"A. Just wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"B. Unjust wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations."*

This description provides the clue for Communists *when defining what the attitude of the working people should be towards each specific war*. This means that the working people will support the just war waged by any people against the imperialist marauders for its national independence. They will support a war that speeds the defeat of world reaction, and of its shock troops—Germany, Japan and Italy. They will support a war that hastens the victory of the world proletariat, whose interests fully and completely coincide with those of the land of victorious socialism, the fatherland of all working people.

Communists consider it their cardinal duty to mobilize the working people of all countries to assist any nation waging a just war, so as to promote its victory in every way.

The description of just and unjust wars given in the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

History of the C.P.S.U.(B.) helps the Communists to define a clear *Leninist-Stalinist* policy toward the struggle now flaring up among the imperialist robbers for supremacy over the colonial peoples.

Communists are thoroughly consistent in opposing *all* oppression and enslavement of colonial peoples by the imperialists. It is not their business to defend the existing colonial empires. All the more irreconcilable is their hostility to the colonial claims of the fascist states, which would impose an even worse slavery on the colonial peoples. Communists support the movements in the colonies for the formation of a national front of struggle against imperialist oppression, and work for the establishment of united action of the working class of the home countries and the oppressed peoples of their colonies. They demand of the imperialist governments of the so-called bourgeois-democratic states an immediate and radical improvement in the conditions of the toiling masses in the colonies and the granting of broad democratic rights and liberties to the colonies.

At the same time, Communists denounce the cynical deception practised by the fascist warmongers in trying to exploit the discontent of the colonial peoples for their own rapacious ends. While upholding the right of the colonial peoples to self-determination, including even secession, Communists follow the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in subordinating the actual realization of this right of secession to the fundamental interests of the struggle of the colonial peoples themselves for emancipation, to the interests of defeating fascism, that most vicious enemy of the working people, and to the interests of the victory of the international working class over its exploiters.

The description given in the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* also helps the Communists to adopt a *correct attitude towards fascist speculation on the slogan of "national self-*

determination." The fascist warmongers, who have crushed their own peoples and are enslaving other peoples, are trying to turn the democratic slogan of "national self-determination" into a counter-revolutionary weapon for the furtherance of their own aggressive plans. Hypocritically adopting the guise of supporters of national self-determination, they are trying to disintegrate the multi-national capitalist states which lie in the path of fascist expansion and to convert the smaller countries into a base for their offensive against other states.

Consistently combating all forms of national oppression in the capitalist countries, defending the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination, including even secession, and calling upon the oppressed nations to fight for the establishment of mutual relations on the lines indicated by the great example of the Stalinist commonwealth of nations of the U.S.S.R.—the Communists concentrate their main fire in the present specific historical situation on the fraudulent fascist "self-determination of nations," which is the most cynical attempt to deceive the oppressed peoples and an atrocious crime against the freedom and independence of nations. Communists lay prime emphasis on the struggle for the achievement of self-determination by the nations enslaved by the fascist states. They demand free self-determination for Austria, which was forcibly annexed by fascist Germany on the eve of the plebiscite, and for the Sudeten region, which Germany seized from Czechoslovakia, free self-determination for Korea, Formosa and Ethiopia, and the evacuation of Spain and China by the imperialist robbers.

B. THE CONDITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

At the time of the Seventeenth Party Congress the membership of the Communist International in the capitalist

countries numbered 860,000. Today the membership is 1,200,000. The number of Y.C.L. members and young revolutionaries affiliated to the Young Communist International has increased from 110,000 to 746,000. Altogether, this constitutes an army of nearly *two million*.

However, these figures do not give a picture of the real organized strength of the Communist Parties. There are tens of thousands of Communists working devotedly in enforced secrecy who are not covered by any statistics. The Communists of China who left the Soviet district of Kiangsi in 1935 marched a distance of 12,000 kilometers with the Red Army and performed extensive political work among the masses on the way. The nuclei they set up are alive, functioning and active, although they are not registered anywhere.

Our statistics do not include the tens of thousands of Communists who are languishing in prisons and concentration camps. Every Section of the Communist International has a following of militant workingmen who carry on activities under the guidance of the Party and whose numbers several times exceed the membership of the Party.

Besides this active following, each Communist Party has a wider circle of workers who are devoted to it, believe in it and support it. The Belgian Communist Party is not large numerically, it has only 7,000 members; but at the last municipal elections it secured 160,000 votes. The Communist Party of Holland has 10,000 members, but 137,000 people voted for it. An analysis of election results and of other indications of the influence of the Communist Parties permits us to draw the conclusion that every Party member represents a following of at least fifteen or twenty workers.

The Communists have increased their influence in the trade union movement: in a number of countries the self-sacrificing efforts of the Communists have won them the

confidence of the rank-and-file trade union members, who have promoted them to leading positions in the trade union movement.

However, the growth of the Communist Parties in the various countries during the past five years has been uneven. There has been an increase in the size and strength of those which have been waging an armed struggle against the nefarious invasion of their countries, like the Spanish and Chinese Communist Parties. There has been an increase of Communist Party membership in countries where the proletariat has been able to stand firm against reaction, and where its struggle has been supported by the peasants and small townsfolk, as, for instance, in France. There has been a growth in the membership of Communist Parties which exist more or less legally, and where the Social-Democrats are weak, as, for instance, in the United States and in many Latin American countries. The growth of the Communist Parties has been much slower in countries where the Social-Democrats are strong and where their reactionary leaders have disrupted the unity of the working class and the working people; I refer to Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. The growth of the Communist Parties has been greatly retarded in countries where the labor movement has been crushed, especially in the countries under totalitarian fascist dictatorships.

Among the Communist Parties which have grown in the period under review, one of the foremost places belongs to the heroic Communist Party of Spain, a party which has thoroughly mastered Comrade Stalin's wise counsel that real Bolsheviks should be "free of all panic, from any semblance of panic, when things begin to grow complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon." Since 1931 the Spanish Communist Party has grown from a membership of eight hundred into a mighty party of three hun-

dred thousand, a party that has been through a schooling of illegal existence, revolution, civil war, and war against foreign counter-revolutionary intervention. It is a model of a real people's party, whose deep roots among the masses of workers and peasants no fascist terror can destroy.

The Communist Party of Spain has won great prestige among all sections of the people by its correct policy, in which the center of all its care and thoughts is the achievement of the *victory of the Spanish people* over their enemies. It has won the confidence of the people by its supreme heroism. The people have seen how it has rushed into the most dangerous places at moments of greatest peril. It has been the first to enter battle and the last to quit the field. It has won the affection of the people because it has proved itself by its Bolshevik deeds. It has produced such splendid people, such staunch Stalinists as Jose Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri (*applause*), the pride of the entire international Communist movement.

Another Section of the Comintern to play an important role in the life of its country and its people is the Chinese Communist Party. It now numbers 148,000 members; it is connected not only with the workers, but with wide masses of peasants, and also enjoys considerable influence among the intelligentsia, especially the students.

The Communist Party of China is an armed section of the Chinese people. It is a party steeled and tempered in the fire of years of civil war and war for national emancipation; it has accumulated in the past the experience of the Soviet movement and of the organization of a Soviet power; it has a wealth of experience in the organization of a broad partisan movement, which is of such value in the present national war in China.

It is highly skilled in the art of demoralizing the enemy's forces, of penetrating deep into the enemy's rear and con-

ducting extensive political work in the enemy's army. The Chinese Communist Party is at present growing fastest in the districts embraced by the partisan movement, in the rear of the Japanese army.

It is a model of tenacity and flexibility in consolidating and developing the national front, which is the basic condition for victory over the Japanese imperialist invaders. A strong point of the Chinese Communist Party is its work in training and promoting new cadres. The Chinese Communist Party has fine people like Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, who successfully combine the qualities of political leaders and talented generals. (*Applause.*)

The Communist Party of France was the pioneer in the struggle for the anti-fascist people's front. In these five years its membership has grown from 40,000 to 270,000. In the same period the circulation of *l'Humanité*, its central organ, has increased from 120,000 to 350,000 copies. *L'Humanité* has the third largest circulation in France, outdistancing dozens of bourgeois newspapers like *Le Temps*, *Le Matin* and others. The circulation of the Communist Party's provincial press amounts to 470,000 copies.

The number of votes obtained by the Party at the last parliamentary elections, in 1936, reached one and a half million, or 90 per cent more than at the previous elections. In Paris and its suburbs the Communist Party won 33 seats out of 60—an absolute majority. It is the strongest party in the Paris department, especially in the big metal works. The strength of the French Communists lies in the great confidence they enjoy among the masses in the trade unions. They have won this confidence by their valiant fight for the unity and consolidation of the trade unions, and for the immediate demands of the working people. In developing the anti-fascist movement the Communist Party of France has invoked the best revolutionary traditions of its

working class and its people. It has done tremendous work in rendering effective aid to the Spanish republic.

Considerable progress has been made by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. By doing its utmost to assist in crystallizing the class movement of the proletariat it has increased its membership from 20,000 to 90,000. Its membership has grown because its work has helped to strengthen the industrial unions, which have as many as four million members, and because it has worked tirelessly and patiently among the three and a half million workers who belong to the American Federation of Labor for the restoration of trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle. The Party has won great prestige among the Negro workers and also among the best representatives of the American intelligentsia. By participating in the broad democratic movement and criticizing its irresoluteness, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has set this movement on the path of a more consistent struggle against fascism. One of the Party's serious defects is that it still lacks sufficient contact with the farmer masses and the farmers' movement.

The Communist Party of Great Britain can record a certain growth in membership—from 6,000 to 18,000; its influence in the trade unions and in the Labor Party has also grown. Although rejected by the leadership of the Labor Party, the British Communist Party's application to affiliate to the Labor Party was supported by 1,400 trade union and local Labor Party organizations. Its campaign for the formation of a people's front in Britain is meeting with even greater response. Cripps' memorandum in favor of the people's front received 250,000 signatures in the space of a few days.

Yet, despite all these achievements, the British Communist Party is one of the backward sections of the Comintern. It has not succeeded in reaching the main body of the

British working class, which bears a tremendous responsibility for the fact that the policy of the British reactionaries with regard to the blockade of the Spanish republic was not thwarted in good time by action on its part.

All the legal Parties have progressed as a result of an improvement in their work in the trade unions, their struggle for the united front and the people's front, and their activity in assisting the Spanish people. The Communist Party of Canada, for instance, has increased its membership from 8,000 to 18,000; the Communist Party of Cuba from 3,000 to 23,000; the Communist Party of Mexico from 2,000 to 30,000; the Communist Party of Sweden from 8,000 to 19,000; the Communist Party of Denmark from 3,000 to 9,000. The Communist Parties have grown in certain of the colonial countries, wherever they have succeeded in taking an active part in the movement for the anti-imperialist national front and in winning, together with the masses, at least some modicum of democratic rights and liberties. This period has witnessed the outlawing of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which had 60,000 members before it became illegal. It has been able to preserve its leading people and the main body of its membership even while existing illegally.

Severe blows have been suffered by the Communist movement in the countries under the heel of fascist dictatorship, particularly in Germany, Japan and Italy. The bourgeoisie casts tens of thousands of Communists into prisons and concentration camps, executes them with and without trial, nefariously assassinates them. It surrounds the workers with a system of spying in the houses where they live, in the factories where they work, and in the fascist organizations into which it tries to drive them. It sets the fascist riff-raff on them, accusing them of "high treason."

How do the Communists work in these countries? In the

conditions obtaining under a totalitarian fascist dictatorship it is difficult for them to build a Party organization centralized from top to bottom. They form a ramified network of groups consisting of people who have known each other for a long time and are bound by ties of mutual trust. There are hundreds of such groups. They are kept profoundly secret, are mobile and flexible. It is hard for the police to discover them. These groups are strenuously active in their houses, streets and districts. The Communists are further active in the factories. Thanks to their active efforts, the fascists have not been able to win influence in the factories either in Germany or Italy. Lastly, the Communists utilize the fascist mass organizations for their work among the laboring people.

Despite the fact that Comrade Thaelmann, the leader of the German Party, has already been languishing in a fascist jail for six years, despite the very severe handicaps of an illegal existence, the German Communist Party has succeeded in maintaining its organization. It is the only anti-fascist party conducting mass political work in Germany. (*Stormy applause.*)

But, unfortunately, the Party remained far too long under the hypnotic influence of its former mass strength, counting on the rapid and easy collapse of the fascist regime. Later, when it readjusted itself and adopted the course of prolonged and painstaking work in gathering together the proletarian forces and consolidating their organization, certain German Communists went to the other extreme. They failed to realize how rapidly the discontent of the masses with the fascist regime was rising, and were caught unawares by the growth of the anti-fascist sentiments to be observed in recent months in Germany.

The Communist Party of Japan has a tradition of struggle against the predatory plans of the Japanese fascist mili-

tarists. It fought the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists, holding demonstrations and anti-war strikes and organizing the soldiers and sailors. Since 1937, when the Japanese imperialists again invaded China, the Party has been carrying on intense anti-war work, fighting chauvinism, organizing a wide campaign of assistance for the families of mobilized men and demanding the withdrawal of the Japanese armies from China; it has become the driving force of the movement for a people's front. Despite savage terror, the Party has succeeded in maintaining contact with the masses, although the numerical growth of the Party falls far short of its mass influence.

We must note the serious weakness of the Italian Communist Party. In all the long years of the fascist dictatorship it has not been able to weld together a strong illegal organization, to carry on serious work in the fascist trade unions and other fascist mass organizations, or to wean any considerable section of the younger generation from the influence of fascism. The theory of certain Italian Communists that only defeat in war can bring about the collapse of fascism is in reality but a mask for opportunistic passivity. This to a large extent explains why the Party has been unable to give leadership to the discontent of the masses with the war of Italian fascism in Ethiopia and Spain which has found expression in a number of spontaneous mass actions.

As against the Communist Party of Italy, there are a number of Parties functioning in small countries where the fascist dictatorship was established much later than in Italy, which, thanks to their militant activity, are now in the forefront of the illegal Communist Parties. I refer to certain Parties in countries lying in the path of German fascist penetration to the Near East.

The Communist movement has suffered greatly from the

disrupting activities of the fascist secret services, which do their best to smuggle agents-provocateurs and spies into the Communist ranks. In the past ten years sixty thousand Communists have been arrested in Japan; since 1934 the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party has had to be changed four times. The fascist secret services are assisted by Trotsky and the Trotskyites. In Poland, Italy, Japan and Germany the secret services make wide use of Trotsky's vile literary effusions for the purpose of demoralizing imprisoned Communists. On the instructions of the fascist secret services Trotskyites worm their way into the organizations of the people's front and of the national emancipation movement in order to disrupt them from within.

In Japan the Trotskyites are known as the "brain trust of the secret service." They work in special schools organized by the police, teaching Japanese spies how to combat the Communist and working class movement. In China the Trotskyites act as Japanese military spies. The chief of the Japanese espionage service in Peiping wrote of them in a secret report:

"We should support the group of Trotskyites and promote their success, so that their activities in various parts of China may benefit and advantage the empire, for these Chinese are destructive to the unity of the country. They work with remarkable finesse and skill."

In Spain the Trotskyites act as spies for fascist Germany and Italy and as agents of the Fifth Column, engineering counter-revolutionary revolts in the rear of the people's army. Everywhere, the Trotskyites act as fascist agents-provocateurs in the labor movement, as spies and diversionists against the U.S.S.R. The bourgeois espionage services make

wide use of the Trotskyites and every other kind of fascist scum, sending them under the guise of political refugees to do espionage work in the U.S.S.R.

In order to disrupt the Communist movement the fascist-Trotskyite spies attempted to form artificial "factions" and "groups" in some of the Communist Parties and to stir up a factional struggle. Most contaminated by hostile elements was the Communist Party of Poland, where agents of Polish fascism managed to gain positions of leadership. These scoundrels tried to get the Party to support Pilsudski's fascist coup in May, 1926. When this failed, they feigned repentance of their "May" error, made a show of self-criticism, and deceived the Comintern just as Lovestone and the police "factionalists" of the Hungarian and Yugoslav Parties had once done. And it was the fault of the Comintern workers that they allowed themselves to be deceived by the class enemy, failed to detect his maneuvers in time, and were late in taking measures against the contamination of the Communist Parties by enemy elements.

What have the Communist Parties done to remedy the consequences of the wrecking and undermining activities of the class enemy? The Communist Parties have drawn the lessons from the trials of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite scoundrels and have made wide use of them to heighten Bolshevik vigilance in their ranks. They have investigated their leading workers and removed those whose political honesty was questionable. They have dissolved illegal organizations which were particularly contaminated and have begun to form new ones in their place. They are carrying on a systematic fight against Trotskyism as an agency of fascism.

One of the most important measures in combating the undermining activities of the enemy and the demoralizing influence of bourgeois ideology on the weaker elements

in the Parties is to raise the ideological and political level of the Communist Parties.

If the Communist Parties have overlooked the fact that the Trotskyites had degenerated into "a rabid and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers, working on the instruction of the espionage services of foreign states," this was due, among other reasons, to the theoretical deficiencies of the Communist Parties.

In the work of remedying the theoretical deficiencies of the Communist Parties, the translation into foreign languages of the classics of Marxism-Leninism—the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—and particularly the publication of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* in many languages is of the greatest significance. The Communists in the capitalist countries hailed the appearance of the *History* with enthusiasm. They realize that this book arms them with an indispensable theoretical weapon, that it will help them to comprehend the development of the revolutionary movement in their countries, its peculiarities and its prospects, in the light of the experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

In some of the Communist Parties the application of the tactics of the united working class front and the anti-fascist people's front has been marked by certain tendencies of a Right-opportunist character—a tendency to minimize the importance of the struggle against the capitulators, to idealize the role of the so-called democratic states, and to gloss over their imperialist character. The appearance of such tendencies, if only in the germ, points to the necessity of intensifying the struggle against opportunism.

While there has undoubtedly been a general improvement in the work of the Communists in the trade unions and some considerable achievements in this field, the majority of the Communist Parties have not yet been able to gain

a firm foothold in the trade unions, to form an active following of militant trade unionists and to destroy the influence of the reactionary elements in the trade union movement.

The Communist Parties have not yet learned to combat fascist demagoguery effectively; they were unable to foil the speculation of German fascism on the national question in the Saar, in Danzig and in the Sudeten region.

They have still a poor grasp of Stalin's great art of foreseeing events, of estimating the part played by the various states, classes and parties in these events, and of anticipating the maneuvers of the enemy and thwarting his plans in time.

The Communists of the capitalist countries are not sufficiently prepared for abrupt turns of events and have not yet mastered the forms of struggle dictated by the tense international situation. It must however be noted that also in the mastery of these forms of struggle the Communist Parties have accomplished a great deal. The Spanish people will never forget the help the world Communist movement rendered them by the forming of the International Brigades.

The International Brigades did not consist of Communists only, but it was on their initiative that these brigades were formed and organized. The French Communist Party assigned this work to its most capable workers, its finest organizers. It was no easy task to convey tens of thousands of men through closed frontiers, overseas and even across the Atlantic Ocean.

The bourgeoisie raided the volunteers, persecuted and prosecuted them; but these men defied all obstacles, made their way through mountain paths, by night, waist deep in snow, and in fishing smacks, at the risk of being sunk any minute. The ranks of the volunteers were joined by French proletarians—the descendants of the Paris Communards—by

Italian refugees, German anti-fascists, Canadian lumberjacks, who proved to be marvelous snipers, and Polish workers, whose battalion, the Dombrovsky Battalion, was the first to fall upon the enemy forces during the Ebro offensive, having swum the river without waiting for the pontoon bridges to be built.

The Communist Parties of fifty-three countries were represented in the International Brigades, having sent, in addition to the others who were eager to join, quite a number of Central Committee members and leading Party workers. Among them were men like Hans Beimler, a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, who had been crippled in a German concentration camp, and who fell at Palasete crying, "Rot Front!" There were men like the Hungarian Communist, old Hevesi, who led the Rakosi Battalion in an attack on one of the enemy's concrete fortifications at Huesca, captured it, but, like the battalion commissar, died a heroic death. There were rank-and-filers like John, an English truck driver, who under heavy fire brought water to the men who were tormented with thirst; when mortally wounded, he said: "If Comrade Stalin saw this he would clap me on the back and say: 'Well done, John, you're a fine comrade, John!'" (*Thunderous applause.*)

Who are these people? They are the men and women of the Stalin era, where heroism has become an inalienable characteristic of the Bolshevik Party and non-Party. They are men and women of the same Stalin breed who went into the attack at Lake Khasan with the war cry: "For the fatherland, Communism and Stalin!" (*The delegates rise to their feet and applaud. Cries of "Long live our great Stalin!" "Hurrah!" Stormy applause.*)

The formation of the International Brigades was an indication of the maturity of the world Communist move-

ment, an expression of the Bolshevik schooling of the Sections of the Comintern, a test under fire of the Communist cadres.

And now to sum up.

During the past five years the Communist movement has grown, gained strength and attained to manhood. All the legal parties have grown in numbers and have increased their influence over the masses. The lagging illegal parties have reorganized their ranks, displaying models of supreme heroism and self-sacrifice in their difficult struggle. Some of the Communist Parties have already become, and others are in the process of becoming, important political factors in the life of their countries. Closer bonds have been forming between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers and between the active members of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties. The confidence of the workers in the Communists has increased. The Communists have learned to give better expression to the needs and demands of the masses, to speak the language of their working class and their people. The ideological unity of the Communist Parties has grown stronger. In the days of Munich, which split the nations, the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democratic Parties into two camps—capitulators to fascism and advocates of resistance to fascism—the Communists were the only Party which preserved its monolithic unity, politically and organizationally.

Nevertheless, the numerical growth of the Communist Parties and the growth of their influence among the masses were not commensurate with the demands made on the Sections of the Comintern by the sharpening of the class struggle and the development of the second imperialist world war.

C. THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST WORLD REACTION

For a successful struggle against fascism and predatory wars, the working people must realize where world reaction is heading, and must outline *their own* way of foiling the insidious designs of the reactionaries.

What do the reactionaries want? They want to crush the Spanish republic and establish a system in Spain that will suit the interests of the German and Italian interventionists and the British and French bankers; then to turn their attention to France, to strike at the Communist Party through the Radicals, to frighten the petty bourgeois with fairy tales about the Communist Party being a party of war, to put an end to the People's Front, and then to throw the Radicals onto the muck heap like a sucked lemon and give the fascist scoundrels a clear thoroughfare to power.

In Great Britain the reactionaries want to establish the Tories firmly in power for many years to come as "saviors of peace," to squash the people's front movement with the help of the Labor leaders, and to demoralize and enfeeble the British working class; in the United States they want to help the Fords, Morgans and Hearsts to smash the democratic movement.

The reactionaries would like to destroy the labor movement and settle accounts with the country of socialism.

What do the working people want? They want at all costs to help the *Spanish people* to establish in their own country a system that suits them, to organize international defense of the Spanish people, and to develop such a movement all over the world as will make the reactionaries think twice before strangling the free Spanish people.

In the Far East they want to prevent the partition of China, to help the Chinese people drive the Japanese invad-

ers out of their country; to force the bourgeois governments by a mass movement to withdraw their support from the Japanese militarists and supply China with all she needs for victory over the enemy.

In France the workers want to win back to the People's Front the vacillating section of the peasantry and small townfolk, who are becoming more and more convinced that the Munich policy will end by making the French people a vassal of German fascism; they want not only to preserve the People's Front but to widen it by drawing in those sections which do not wish either themselves to follow the fatal path of capitulation to the fascist aggressors or to lead others along it.

In Great Britain the workers want to fight to a finish the struggle which has already begun for the formation of a people's front, and thus to deal a crushing blow not only to British but to world reaction; at the same time, in the course of the fight for the people's front, they want to brush aside the pro-fascist elements among the British bourgeoisie and to support those who favor resisting the fascist aggressors.

In the United States the working people want to strengthen and extend the democratic movement in order to prevent the reactionary, pro-fascist elements from getting into power.

As to the countries under fascist dictatorship—Germany, Japan and Italy—the working people of the whole world want the governments of these countries to be defeated in war; they want to help the people of these countries to enter the broad path of an open mass struggle against the fascist regime, a struggle that will lead to the overthrow of the fascist government, in which the international working class and all working people are vitally interested. They want to prevent world reaction from throwing a life belt

to the fascist governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, which are heading for the abyss of financial bankruptcy. They do not want world reaction to present the fascist governments with sources of food, raw materials, ore, oil, etc., for the development of new wars of plunder. They want to prevent easy "victories" for the fascist robbers, who attack weak nations, but stand in dread of serious resistance.

They demand the organization of resistance by the international working class, by the anti-fascist forces of the world, to fascist expansion, to the economic and political enthrallment of nations as a prelude to their military enslavement. They want to help the struggle against German fascism, the struggle of the enslaved people of Austria, of the enthralled peoples of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and of the peoples of Rumania and Jugoslavia, who are under threat of enslavement. They want to support the enslaved people of Ethiopia against Italian fascism. They are *fighting for the formation of a front of nations, a front of international resistance to the bloc of fascist aggressors.*

The working people want a united front of the international working class, so as to put an end to the capitulatory policy of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders. Such a front would lead the labor movement out of its state of dismay and disorganization onto the road of victorious battles against fascism. It would increase the confidence of millions of proletarians in their own strength, and it would infect wide sections of the working people, the peasantry and the small townsfolk with this confidence. It would increase the strength of resistance of the masses to fascist aggression in all countries, and it would rouse the peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. *The establishment of a united international working class front would be a most severe defeat for fascism.*

The working people want a united front of the working

class of the capitalist countries with the Soviet working class, with the armed Soviet people, who possess a powerful state and the material power of victorious socialism. This front would be the real guarantee of peace. World reaction would dash itself to pieces against the impregnable rock of such a front.

The working people of the capitalist countries, reduced to despair by crises, unemployment, poverty, fascist terror and imperialist wars, but stirred into movement by the immense socialist victories of the Soviet people, want to live without fascism, without capitalism. *They want socialism.* That is the reason for the fury of the moribund capitalist world. It wants to save itself by fascism. But fascism will not save capitalism from destruction, for fascism only drives the discontent of the masses deeper underground and paves the way for an explosion of enormous destructive power. Fascism will not be saved by imperialist wars, for its imperialist wars give rise to revolutions. Capitalism will not be saved by a new redivision of the world, for new redivisions of the world merely deepen the capitalist chaos.

The moribund capitalist world will not save itself by a counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union, but will only hasten its own destruction. The armed resistance of the great Soviet people will stir up the whole world of labor, all those whose right to liberty, work, a better life and an independent country has been trampled underfoot by fascism. It will rouse proletarians and working people in all corners of the globe, who will realize that the hour of retribution for their centuries of suffering is at hand. It will let loose throughout the world a mighty movement of anti-fascist forces, heartened by the tremendous power of resistance offered by the Soviet people to fascism. It will spur on to struggle peoples who have hitherto avoided coming to grips with fascism. It will turn against fascism the peoples of the

fascist states, who will have arms placed in their hands. For the fascist governments it will be a war not only against the Soviet Union, but also against their own peoples. For the Soviet people, for the working people of the world, for all advanced and progressive mankind, it will be the most just and sacred war ever waged in the history of humanity, a war which *"will most certainly loosen a number of revolutionary knots in the rear of the enemy, disintegrating and demoralizing the ranks of imperialism."* (Stalin.)

Twenty Years Along the Path of Lenin and Stalin

Comrades, the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B.) is meeting twenty years after the foundation of the Comintern.

"The historic significance of the Third, Communist, International," Lenin wrote, "lies in the fact that it has begun to give effect to Marx's great slogan summing up a century of development of socialism and the working class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept: dictatorship of the proletariat."*

The Communist International was following the path of Lenin and Stalin when it united the proletarian vanguard that had been raised from the midst of the working class of all countries by the victory of the great socialist revolution. The formation of the Communist International answered to the fundamental interests and the historic aims of the world labor movement, which had been split by the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic Parties and by their open betrayal of the interests of the proletarian revolution during the first imperialist world war.

The Communist International was following the path of Lenin and Stalin when, in 1918-23, it made every effort to guide the movement of the revolutionary masses in Central

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 248, Russian edition.

Europe to the overthrow of capitalism. It was following this path when it fought the "reforms" and bourgeois democracy with which the bourgeoisie hoped to save itself from the onslaught of the revolutionary masses and block the road to proletarian revolution.

The Comintern was following the path of Lenin and Stalin when, during the period of partial and relative stabilization of capitalism, it concentrated its fire on the Social-Democratic Parties, which by their policy were helping the bourgeois reaction to consolidate itself and assume the offensive against the working people.

The Comintern was following this path when it purged its ranks of the fellow-travelers whom the revolutionary wave of 1918-23 had washed like jetsam to the Communist shore, when it ruthlessly cauterized the opportunist infection, the hangovers of the ideology of Social-Democracy, Centrism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. It was following this path when it adopted the course of Bolshevization of its Sections, waged a struggle on two fronts, stamped out unprincipled factionalism and followed the aim of hammering out monolithic Communist Parties in battle.

It was the path of Lenin and Stalin that the Communist International was following in the world economic crisis, when, in the face of the fascist offensive and incipient imperialist wars, it called upon the masses to form a united working class front and an anti-fascist people's front against fascism and imperialist war. Thereby the Communist International answered the aspirations of millions of working people who wished to tighten their ranks and to unite for a combined effort to escape from the torments of fascist terror, from the bloody inferno of predatory wars, from the atrocities of the decaying capitalist system.

The path traversed by the Communist International in these twenty years, the path of struggle for socialist revolu-

tion, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been no easy one. It has been attended not only by victories but by tremendous difficulties and temporary defeats.

“ . . . Revolution,” said Comrade Stalin, “does not usually develop along a straight ascending line, as a continuous rise, but in zigzags, in advances and retreats, in an ebb and flow, hardening the forces of the revolution in the course of development and preparing the way for its final victory.”*

During these twenty years the world bourgeoisie has spared no efforts to wipe the Communist movement from the face of the earth. It has sent Communists to prison, tortured them, murdered them. It has driven them out of the factories, deprived them of a livelihood, organized brutal attacks on them. It has set fire to Reichstags, fabricated “Comintern” documents, concluded international police conventions. The henchmen of the bourgeoisie, the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions, have crusaded against the Communists time without number.

The rabid enemies of the working class who have become agents of the fascist espionage services have attempted to divert the Communist movement from the Bolshevik path, to disintegrate and destroy it. Comrade Stalin has helped the international Communist movement to expose and thwart the counter-revolutionary designs of the agents of the class enemy. Under his leadership the C.P.S.U. (B.) has utterly routed them, has brushed the despicable fascist insects from the victorious path of the builders of a classless,

* Joseph Stalin, “Results of the Work of the Fourteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party,” *Leninism*, Vol. I. International Publishers, New York.

socialist society, and has thereby strengthened the position of world communism.

Comrade Stalin has not only protected the great doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin from distortion by enemy elements, but has developed it further and applied it to the new conditions of the era of the general crisis of capitalism and the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. He has armed the international proletariat with this doctrine, widened its horizons, made the prospects of its struggle more definite and imbued the workers of all countries with still greater confidence in victory.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the peoples of the Soviet Union have erected a mighty socialist fortress, strengthening it by their socialist victories with every passing day; and in doing so they have ceaselessly strengthened the positions of the international proletariat and the working people of the whole world.

The hopes of the world bourgeoisie have been shattered.

They have been shattered because communism cannot be destroyed, just as the vehicle of communism, the working class, cannot be destroyed. They have been shattered because communism is the concentrated expression of the fundamental interests of the working class and of the ultimate aims of its movement, aims which correspond to the interests of all the working people. They have been shattered because the idea of communism is no longer an abstract dream of the finest minds of humanity; this idea now has its material embodiment in the Soviet Union, which shows the international working class and all working people the true road to their emancipation.

The hopes of the world bourgeoisie have been shattered because the great Stalinist work of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. has served to strengthen and consolidate the international proletarian ties of the working class of the U.S.S.R.

with the working class of the bourgeois countries. They have been shattered because the mighty land of socialism gains strength with every day and with every hour, and because the Communist Parties light their path of progress with the torch of the immortal doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. (*Stormy applause.*)

The hopes of the world bourgeoisie have been shattered, and will be shattered, because the interests of the working people of the whole world are guarded by the genius of laboring humanity, Comrade Stalin.

(*Stormy applause and cheers. All rise. Cries of "Long live the great leader of world communism, Comrade Stalin!"*)

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

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