

**GEORGI DIMITROV**

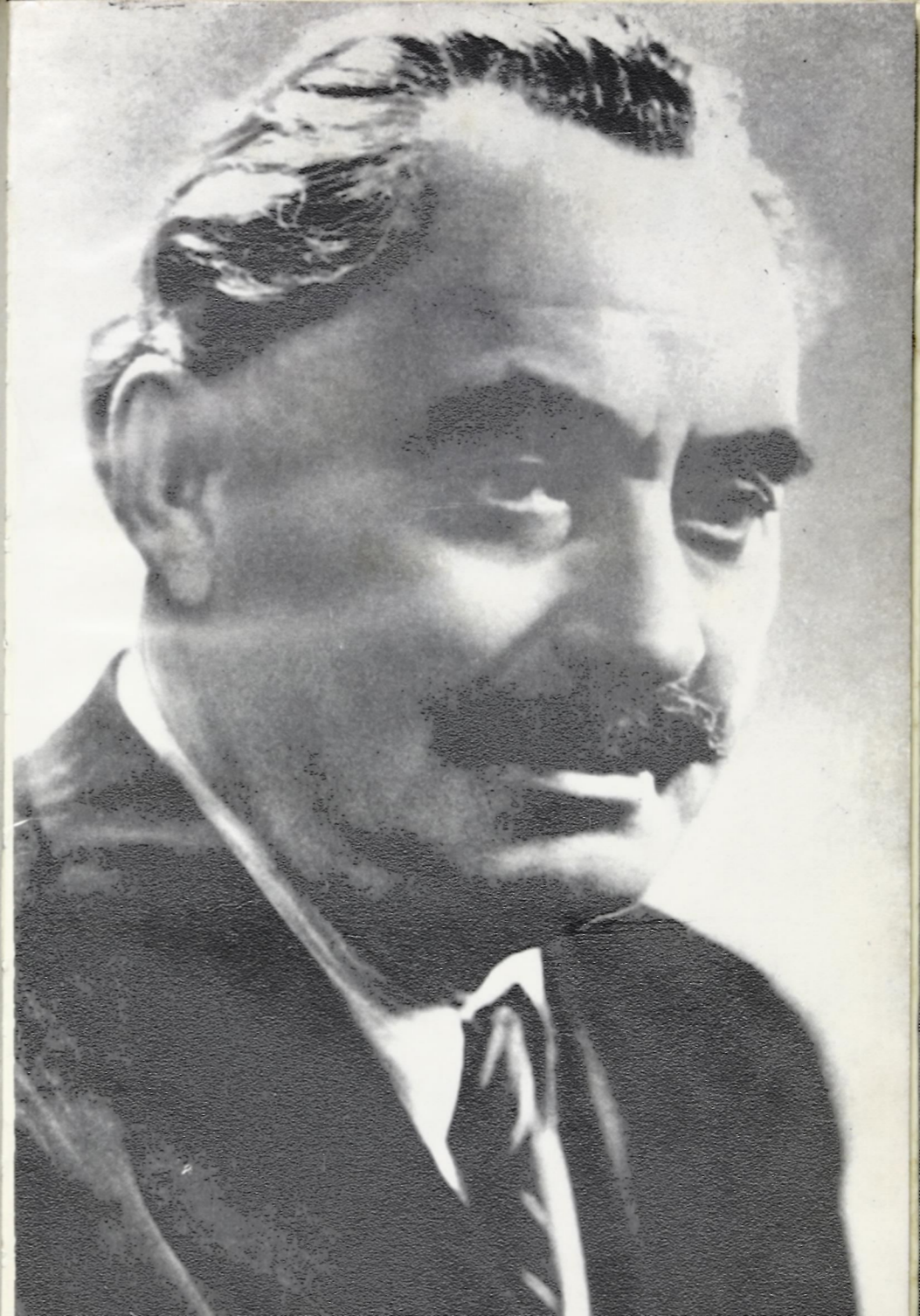
**UNDER  
THE  
BANNER  
OF  
LENINISM**

SOFIA PRESS



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**GEORGI DIMITROV**

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THE BANNER  
OF  
LENINISM**

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1970

*It is under the great and invincible banner of Leninism and only under this banner that the working people can completely free themselves from capitalist slavery and from aggressive, imperialist wars.*

**GEORGI DIMITROV**



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## FOREWORD

For three decades Georgi Dimitrov, a talented disciple and follower of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, was one of the standard-bearers of his victorious revolutionary teaching, which changed and continues to change the destinies of the nations and the course of history.

Georgi Dimitrov understood the transforming power of Lenin's ideas and became their untiring champion.

He boldly defended Leninism from overt and covert enemies, from all distortions.

Having dedicated his life, his mind and his energy to the revolution, he passionately championed Lenin's ideas, Lenin's strategy and tactics, Lenin's policy. He consistently pointed out the power and the role of the Soviet Union as a living incarnation of the great humanitarian and transforming ideas of Marx and Lenin. He considered it as the foremost and fundamental factor on the world arena, a genuine defender of the vital interests of the peoples, a reliable champion of world peace.

Georgi Dimitrov constructively applied the ideas of the great leader, with political wisdom and revolutionary courage and in conformity with the new historical conditions.

The Popular Front, the necessity, importance and role of which he supported with irrefutable arguments, and people's democracy, whose problems he elaborated theoretically and applied in practice, are indications of the Leninist revolutionary power embodied in Dimitrov.

The present collection which contains articles and statements, excerpts from reports and speeches by Georgi Dimitrov, bears testimony to this.

We must say that this collection is far from complete. Lenin's ideas imbued Dimitrov's entire work as a publicist during the last three decades of his life.

We offer to our readers only the articles and statements which



most directly, immediately and clearly define the attitude of Georgi Dimitrov, the disciple and follower, towards Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the teacher and leader, the creator and brilliant revolutionary.

If we must describe the nature of the present collection in a single word, we must say that it is a message. . .

This collection is a message of the selfless revolutionary Georgi Dimitrov to the communists, to all working people, urging them to study, courageously to defend, to develop and to apply in life Lenin's ever-living ideas.



## \*LENIN'S POWERFUL CALL

The name of the most authoritative leader of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, Lenin, has become world famous. Today it is pronounced with fear and trepidation by the supporters of the old and shaken bourgeois system in all countries, and with admiration and even religious awe by the proletariat and all enslaved mankind. Side by side with Marx and Engels, the great founders of scientific socialism and authors of the Communist Manifesto, Lenin immortalized himself in the history of the workers' emancipatory movement by the titanic accomplishments of the Russian Socialist Revolution, the practical application of the principles of the Communist Manifesto and the establishment of the proletarian Soviet State. His name has become the symbol of the international workers' revolution which, after having triumphed in Russia, swept over Hungary, shook Germany and is steadily spreading in order to engulf the whole capitalist world.

It is for this very reason that everything written and said by Lenin today assumes tremendous significance for the fighting proletariat in all countries.

Engrossed day and night in the task of building up the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, of crushing the counter-revolution from within and without, and clearing the road of the workers' revolution in other countries, Lenin

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\* The titles marked with an asterisk are taken from the text of the article or report



has still found time to address two letters — one to the *American workers*, of August 20, 1918, and the other to the *European and American workers*, of January 21, 1919.

We borrow Lenin's first letter from the Social Democratic paper *Workers' Education* in America, where it was printed after undergoing certain excisions by the American censorship. As can be seen, the deleted passages deal with the situation in America and the present-day revolutionary tasks of the American proletariat.

The second letter is a verbatim translation from the Russian original.

In his first letter, Lenin brilliantly champions the cause of the Russian Socialist Revolution, of the Soviet Republic and its peaceful policy, as well as of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his second letter, noting the substantial successes of the revolutionary proletariat in various countries in its struggle for political power, he proclaims the actual foundation of the Communist International, outlining with his customary clarity and sharpness the ways and means of the universal workers' revolution.

We, Bulgarian Communists (Left-Wing Socialists) are gratified to note that we are in complete agreement with Lenin, that the principles and tactics of the Communist International are also our principles and tactics.

Lenin's views on bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism are those most firmly upheld by our Party, which has never been the victim of any parliamentary illusions and has always kept aloof from the fallacies and prejudices of bourgeois democracy. Rejecting bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, the Bulgarian Communist Party is preparing the proletariat and the working people's masses for a revolution aimed at the conquest of political power. It makes use of electoral campaigns and the parliamentary tribune along with its other means solely for this preparation, until the moment about which Lenin is speaking in his second letter sets in in our country, when it will forsake its parliamentary position and go over to an all-round offensive in order to overthrow



the capitalist state and to replace it by a Soviet proletarian state, by the workers' dictatorship.

The three main trends among the proletariat in all countries, which Lenin has so well described in his second letter, exist also in Bulgaria. The two trends, the social-patriotic and the moderate one ('Kautsky's followers') are represented by the Right-Wing Socialists' party, which with its extreme social-patriots (Sakuzov, Djidrov, Pastouhov, Sakarov, Assen Tsankov, etc.) and its moderates, the Kautskians (Romanov, Rashenov, etc.), is entirely in the camp of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The representative of the revolutionary trend is the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-Wing Socialists), which by its nature, its programme and communist slogans, its activity and mass revolutionary struggle is the *only Communist Party* in our country and rightly represents the Bulgarian section of the Communist International.

This being the actual situation, everyone realizes not only how senseless, but also how harmful and treacherous it is to set up various 'communist groups', 'organizations' and 'small parties' outside the Bulgarian Communist Party. These are today ardently desired by some men of unbridled ambition, various supermen, incorrigible individualists, and even parasites of the workers' revolution.

All workers, all working people, all militant and revolutionary elements in our country, who actually adhere to the principles and tactics of the Communist International, and who are — for one reason or another — still outside the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade unions, outside the workers' revolutionary movement, are today bound to heed Lenin's powerful call, to become deeply imbued with his ideas as expounded in these two letters, and to rally without hesitation to the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade unions under the banner of communism.

The 'right' and 'left' counter-revolutionaries are today rapidly organizing and mustering their forces — the latter rallied around the 'leftist' Government of Teodorov-Pas-



touhov-Stamboliiski, and the former around the Democratic and Liberal bourgeois Parties with their 'military leagues', pseudo-Macedonian and jingoist gangs.

Against the counter-revolutionists who are thus getting organized, we must set up the mighty revolutionary bloc of the Bulgarian proletariat and the remaining working masses, through the Bulgarian Communist Party and its workers' trade union organizations.

History is posing point-blank the question: either with the counter-revolution — for the preservation of capitalism or with the workers' revolution—for the abolition of capitalism and through a workers' dictatorship, for the establishment of socialism and the complete triumph of communism. *There is no middle road!*

Everyone ought to find his proper place! Everyone must do his duty!

No splitting of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat! No setting up of separatist groups and organizations! No banking on communism and the communist revolution.

All workers and working people who are ready for a decisive struggle must be in full revolutionary unity through their Communist Party and their trade unions!

This is the supreme demand of the present historic moment.

This is actually the great practical meaning of the two open letters of the great leader of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic and the world workers' revolution, which we most ardently recommend to the Bulgarian workers and all working people in town and countryside.

Sofia, May 1919

Preface to the pamphlet *Lenin to the Workers in Europe and America, 1919*, published by the Party Socialist Bookshop and Printing House



## \*NEW LIGHT ON THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES. . .

This pamphlet contains. . . new letters by Lenin, the leader of the Russian Soviet Republic. . .

Lenin's letter to the Italian, French and German communists was originally published by the American communist newspaper *The Soviet*. It was reprinted from there in a prominent place in the German communist organ *Spartakus*, from which we have taken it.

Lenin's second letter, originally printed in an abridged form in the European press was later on reprinted *in extenso* in the communist newspapers in Austria and Germany, as well as in the French socialist newspaper *L'Humanité*. . .

. . . These letters are of exceptional interest to us, Bulgarian communists.

Apart from the extremely valuable review of the level of the communist movement in the different countries, as well as of the situation in Soviet Russia, made in these letters by the authoritative founder of the Third Communist International, the readers will find in Lenin's letters new light thrown on the tactics of the communist parties, on their legal and underground struggle, more specifically on the problem of parliamentarism and of the participation of communists in bourgeois parliaments.

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\* Concluding remarks to the pamphlet *Lenin to the Workers in Europe and America*

The ideas enunciated by Lenin fully confirm the correctness of the tactics, adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party (Left-Wing Socialists), as well as its stand on parliamentarism and its participation in the bourgeois parliament, which it adopted at its Congress in May 1919. Subsequently, the Italian, French, German and Austrian communists adopted a similar stand and now it is proclaimed as a stand of the Communist International itself, as this can be seen from the special circular letter of the Executive Committee of the International on the question of parliamentarism.

We are confident that the authoritative light thrown by Lenin in his letters will help dissipate the last doubts, remaining here and there with regard to the correctness of the tactics of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and that they will utterly disarm the handful of romantic-minded revolutionaries, who are attempting to propagate all sorts of anarchistic stupidities and deceptions among the workers, hiding behind Lenin's prestige and unscrupulously abusing his authority.

We wish therefore the widest possible distribution of this brochure amidst the militant working masses.

Sofia, January 1920



## MY FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH LENIN

I first met Vladimir Ilyich Lenin at the end of February 1921, in Moscow, where I had gone in accordance with a decision of the Party's Central Committee. I had put up at the hostel of the Comintern (the former Luxe Hotel), in which the representatives of the communist parties visiting Moscow were usually accommodated. On the very next day after my arrival, Lenin's secretary rang up to inform me that Vladimir Ilyich wished to see me in his office in the Kremlin that same night. At that time Lenin usually invited most of the representatives of the different communist parties to pay him a visit in order to meet them personally and to get direct information about their parties and countries.

Exactly at the appointed time I went, together with a Russian comrade, to Vladimir Ilyich's waiting-room, gripped by a very understandable extraordinary emotion and boundless joy.

Only a few minutes passed, when Lenin opened the door of his office and invited me to walk in, cordially shaking hands with me and, naturally, measuring me from head to foot with his sharp and searching look in the way he used to do this. When I conveyed to him the warm greetings of our Party and of the working people in our country, Lenin squeezed my hand with a typical kind smile on his face and told me: 'I know, your people are a good and courageous people.' Then we got involved in a talk which was very important for our Party and which lasted for over an hour. It is only now that I am

able to reconstruct the essential part of this talk — not trusting memory which, as is known, is not always a reliable source, but on the basis of short notes which I had taken at the time and which were recently found in part of my personal papers which I considered irretrievably lost.

Vladimir Ilyich overwhelmed me with numerous questions about the political situation in our country, the role of the monarchy and the bourgeois parties, the foreign influences in our country, the amount and role of foreign capital, Bulgaria's mutual relations with the neighbouring Balkan countries, Wrangel's army which was on Bulgarian territory. He showed particularly great interest in our Party, the Agrarian Union, the moods amidst the working class and the peasant masses and the attitude towards the Soviet Socialist Republic.

Within my abilities I did my best to answer all his questions promising additional information from our Party on some more difficult issues. Throughout our talk Lenin listened carefully and took notes now and then.

In conclusion, Vladimir Ilyich said approximately the following:

... You should focus your attention on strengthening the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class and you must most seriously begin organizing the working class itself, the more so because it is still comparatively weak from a quantitative and qualitative point of view (you have practically no hereditary workers yet). Parallel with this, you should build the alliance of the workers and peasants (mainly the poor and middle peasants). You should expand the influence of communism in the army (chiefly among the mass of soldiers).

The training of experienced and dedicated communist cadres is particularly important. The education of experienced, devoted and influential Party leaders is a long and difficult job. It took us fifteen years (from 1903 till 1917) to train a group of Party leaders in our country. Fifteen whole years of struggle against menshevism. Fifteen years of savage persecutions on the part of tsarism, 15 whole years, including the years of the powerful revo-



lution of 1905. And in spite of all this we had unfortunate cases when even many good comrades 'lost their head'. And if you and the West-European comrades in general imagine that you are insured against similar cases, you must know that this is a childishness which must be combated pitilessly. Yes, that's so. The training of party leaders and cadres is a very difficult job. Success in this effort is possible only as a result of continuous work, struggle and a correct communist selection on the part of our parties. At present this is the most important, I would even say the decisive thing for your communist party, too. Therefore, beware of superficial outbursts of enthusiasm, act soberly and prepare untiringly to secure the victory of the revolution in your country as well.'

While I thanked him most cordially for the very valuable and wise advice, Vladimir Ilyich saw me as far as the waiting-room, took my hand in both his hands and told me before I left: 'I wish your Party and you, personally, the best of luck. We do not doubt that your Party and the Bulgarian people are true friends of our Soviet Socialist Republic. We have very big difficulties at this moment and that is why we are now discussing the introduction of a food tax, but we are profoundly convinced that our Party and the Soviet regime will manage successfully to cope with all these difficulties.'

*Rabotnichesko Delo,*  
*November 3, 1966*

## THE BULGARIAN WORKERS AND LENIN

One of our associates had a talk with Comrade Dimitrov, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Secretary General of the Balkan Federation of Trade Unions. Comrade Dimitrov dwelt in detail on the influence of Lenin's teaching in Bulgaria and more particularly on the significance of his ideas for the Bulgarian Trade Union movement.

'The revolutionary workers' movement in Bulgaria,' Comrade Dimitrov said, 'is closely linked with Lenin and his teaching. As early as the beginning of the world war, Lenin won the sympathies of the Bulgarian workers with his relentless struggle against imperialism and the social-patriotic champions of war to a victorious end. The Bulgarian workers paid the greatest attention to Lenin's basic idea that the revolutionary parties should put an end to the imperialist war through civil war and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

'After the victory of the October Revolution, the brilliant personification of which is precisely Comrade Lenin, he became the recognized teacher and leader of the Bulgarian workers and peasants and his name became for them a banner of the revolutionary struggle. The working people accepted everything that Lenin said and wrote as a great revelation of the Revolution. His classical works 'State and Revolution', 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism', 'Communism's Infantile Disorder' and others were translated into Bulgarian and



not only were they spread in thousands upon thousands of copies in small Bulgaria, but they also became a real vademecum for all class-conscious Bulgarian workers.

'During the September 1923 Uprising the fighting masses of working people were inspired precisely by Lenin's idea about the creation of a worker-peasant alliance and the establishment of a worker-peasant rule. The uprising ended in defeat, but the workers and peasants in Bulgaria, following Lenin's behests, do not lose heart and do not fall into despair, but are getting ready to bring their liberation movement to the final victory. Both during the uprising and after it, Lenin's ideas remain the lodestar of all working people in Bulgaria. It is precisely thanks to the strict observation of Lenin's behests that the Bulgarian Communist Party succeeded in recovering very rapidly after the defeat, in eradicating the liquidationist moods which appeared here and there and in remaining a truly militant section of the Communist International, founded by Lenin.

'Likewise, the trade union movement in Bulgaria, steeled in the struggle against opportunism, was and remains profoundly imbued with Lenin's fundamental ideas about the indivisibility of the economic and political struggle of the proletariat, about the subordination of all group and professional interests to the common interests of the working class and about the revolutionary aims of the class tasks of the trade union movement.

'In spite of the brutal persecution to which the trade unions were subjected after the defeat in September 1923, they are now on the way to their recovery. True, the ranks of the leading cadres of trade unionists have considerably thinned. Some of them were killed, others are in prison, still others were compelled to emigrate. Yet, the Bulgarian workers who have passed a good Leninist schooling, are promoting young forces from their midst, who carry with honour the red banner of the revolutionary working class movement. The trade unions are steadily coming into the open, abandoning the underground status into which reaction had forced them. Workers' trade union newspapers are again being published. The *Ra-*

*botnichesk*o *Edinstvo* has replaced *Trud*, which was banned. The transport workers, banking and trade employees, teachers, waiters, etc., have begun to publish their own newspapers.

The Right-wing Socialists who participate in the government's counter-revolutionary bloc hoped to avail themselves of the defeat of the uprising in order to reanimate their reformist trade unions. However, the latter proved still-born. The treacherous role played by the Right-wing Socialists during the worker-peasant uprising destroyed forever even their small influence among the working masses and no reactionary forces will be able to bring the proletarian organizations closer to them.

The latest upsurge in the strike movement and the readiness of the workers to offer resistance to the capitalists who have taken up the offensive, prove that the militant spirit of the Bulgarian workers is not dead. The resolute battle is still ahead of them and the example of the Russian bolsheviks who, under Lenin's leadership won the final victory over their own bourgeoisie, inspires, as in the past, the workers and peasants in Bulgaria.

*Trud, Moscow,*  
*February 1, 1924*

## LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN THE BALKANS

From its very inception the workers' movement in the Balkan states, particularly in Bulgaria, Serbia and Rumania, was under the influence of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The first organizers and leaders of the working class in these countries were direct pupils of the Russian Marxists. The best cadres of the workers' intelligentsia were educated under the influence of Russian Marxist literature, on the one hand, and the heroic struggle of the Russian revolutionaries against tsarism, bourgeoisie and opportunism, on the other.

But it is, above all, to Lenin and his pupils that the workers' movement in the Balkan states owes its clear-cut, pronounced revolutionary character. The struggle of the Balkan proletariat during the last few years is directly bound up with the name and great work of Lenin.

As early as the beginning of the imperialist war Lenin captured the hearts of the militant Balkan workers by his uncompromising fight against imperialism and its social-patriotic abettors. His bold and prophetic appeal to save toiling mankind by means of a proletarian dictatorship found a profound echo among the broad working masses of the Balkan states.

When in May 1917 Lenin raised the historical slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' the Balkan proletariat saw in him its leader, as well.

After the October Revolution, of which Lenin himself was the brilliant personification, his name became a



banner of the liberation struggle of the Balkan workers and peasants.

His classic books: 'State and Revolution' and 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism' became a vademecum of the militant workers in the Balkans.

Lenin's great idea of an alliance between the workers and peasants, which was completely embodied in the Russian Revolution and secured the victory of the first revolution of the workers and peasant in the world, was and continues to be a happy revelation for the Balkan working masses. It lit like a beacon the road to be followed by the proletariat of the Balkan countries in order to achieve victory in its struggle for emancipation.

When in September 1923 the Bulgarian working people staged an armed uprising against the ruling bourgeois and fascist reaction and fought for the establishment of a government of workers and peasants, they were inspired precisely by this idea. The uprising failed owing to the enemy's superiority in armed forces, but the alliance between the workers and the peasants was consolidated for ever, sealed with the blood of thousands of fighters who perished, and is now a pledge of the near and final victory of the Bulgarian working people.

Nowhere else is the national question so confused and entangled as in the Balkans, where different nationalities have become so mixed and intermingled within the confines of a territory that they represent a veritable mosaic. The national question is a basic question of Balkan policy. The bourgeois classes and dynasties in the Balkan countries, as well as in the imperialist great powers, have always exploited and continue to exploit the existing national conflicts for their aggressive ends, fomenting hate in one nationality against another and setting them one against the other.

Lenin gave a crystal clear and correct solution to the national question, which found its expression in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Lenin's idea of the self-determination of peoples, including the right of secession and the setting up of the larger nationalities as separate states, shed a bright light upon the entangled national

question in the Balkans, as well. The working people in the Balkans clearly saw that this question can fully be settled and that its solution is possible not on the basis of dividing the Balkans among them, as practiced by the Balkan bourgeoisie and dynasties, but only by the free joining of all nationalities inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula in a federal union, securing them complete freedom and the right of self-determination.

Thanks also to the teaching of Lenin, the militant workers of the Balkan states now realize more clearly the necessity of unity in their political and economic struggle. Thanks to this teaching, the trade union movement in the Balkans has not become a tool of the various bourgeois parties, but has a revolutionary class character, in which all group, individual and temporary interests are subordinated to the general interests, tasks and aims of the working class.

If opportunism plays so insignificant a role in the workers' movement of the Balkan states and exerts so weak an influence upon the working masses as nowhere else except in Russia, this is explained by the fact that it follows the road indicated by our great teacher and leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Today, when every worker and peasant in the Balkan states mourns the loss of Lenin, Lenin's ideas are spreading across the whole Balkan Peninsula. These ideas are a lode-star in the dark night of the bourgeois and fascist reaction, which now rules and rages everywhere, and portend an early victory of the Balkan Union of Republics of workers and peasants.

## WITHOUT LENIN — WITH LENINISM

Three years without the brilliant inspirer, organizer and strategist of the victorious October Revolution; three years without the universally recognized and irreplaceable leader of the international revolutionary proletariat; three years without the great, beloved and unforgettable teacher of the proletariat, the toiling peasants and the peoples oppressed by imperialism!

The road travelled by Lenin's Party and by the whole Communist International during this three-year period without Lenin's direct leadership — a difficult period full of colossal hardships and dangers — has been not only highly instructive but, at the same time, it has provided us with an irrefutable proof of the power of Leninism, that great heritage left us by the great leader.

Three years ago, on the day of Lenin's death, when millions of workers, toiling peasants and nationally oppressed masses in all parts of the world were plunged into inexpressible sorrow, the capitalist world, all enemies of the Soviet Union, of communism and of the international proletarian revolution, were perfidiously exultant. Being familiar with Lenin's exceptional role in the Bolshevik Party, in the victory of the October Revolution, in the consolidation of the Soviet system in socialist construction and in the founding and development of the Communist International, they expected that his death would inevitably mark 'the beginning of the end' — the disintegration of the Bolshevik Party and of the proletarian dictatorship led by it, the breaking up of the Communist



International and the removal of the danger which the world proletarian revolution represented for capitalism.

However, contrary to these wicked expectations of the enemies, the death of the leader of genius still more closely tightened the ranks of Lenin's Party and of the Comintern. It was precisely Lenin's absence that increased hundredfold the feeling of responsibility among the Party membership and the whole proletariat with regard to the destinies of the Party and of the October Revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the international proletarian movement. Left without the direct guidance of their leader, they displayed an inimitable activity, selflessness and endeavour and continued to march ever more persistently along the path, blazed by Lenin, in order to fulfil his behest: to preserve the Leninist unity and iron discipline of the Party, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to preserve the worker-peasant alliance, untiringly to build socialism and unswervingly to march towards the final victory of the revolution on a world scale. Their deep and boundless sorrow for the departed leader and teacher gave rise to a powerful upsurge, to a firm confidence that with the aid of Leninism and under the leadership of the united and monolithic Party of Lenin, all the difficulties and dangers will be overcome, socialism will be built and final victory over the bourgeoisie will be won.

The new big difficulties which arose along the road of socialist construction and the temporary slackening of the progress of the international proletarian revolution again gave rise to hesitations and doubts among those elements within the Party, including even the old Bolshevik Guard, who on other occasions, too, in particularly difficult and complex situations, had shown hesitation and lack of confidence in the forces of the proletariat. In their factionalist spite they thought that they could avail themselves of Lenin's absence in order to divert the Party from its Leninist path. The so-called opposition bloc even took the liberty of attempting to stage an incredibly impudent coup against the unity of Lenin's Party and of the Comintern — an attempt, unprecedented in the

history of bolshevism. What was more, after it was defeated in its own Party, this bloc tried to oppose the Comintern to its vanguard — the All-Union Communist Party.

Once again after Lenin's death, the enemies of the proletarian revolution — from the rabid Russian white-guards and die-hard imperialists to the double-faced social patriots — indulged in indescribable joy. One more step, they thought, and Lenin's Party, uniting many-millions of people in its ranks, would be split into two hostile parties, the elements of civil war in Soviet Russia would break loose and proletarian dictatorship would be shaken in its very foundations, the 'many-headed red hydra' would be crushed and the lodestar of the world proletariat and of the eastern nations oppressed by imperialism would become extinct.

Yet this time once again — without Lenin, but with Leninism — the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International triumphed over the danger. The joy of the enemies was short-lived. It gave way to lunatic madness and hatred of the Soviet Union.

The opposition broke its head against the iron Leninist cohesion of the All-Union Communist Party and of the Communist International. The presumptuous leaders of the opposition bloc received such a deafening lesson from the Party rank and file membership and from the whole Comintern that they will not forget it for a long time. This time again Leninism came out with flying colours. Enlightened and inspired by it, the multi-million Party of Lenin and, together with it, the whole Communist International, are marching forward in still greater cohesion and confidence and leading the broad masses along the road of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and of the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

Today, on the third anniversary of Lenin's death, international capitalism strenuously pursues its onslaught. Its rage against the Soviet Union grows the more rabid, the more it becomes aware of the fact that the unity of Lenin's Party is unbreakable, that no serious hopes can be pinned on the disintegrating activity of the various

oppositionists, and that the Party is fully capable — relying on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasants in the Soviet Union and enjoying the political support of world proletariat — to overcome all its internal difficulties and to bring socialist construction in its country to a successful conclusion. The rage of world capitalism grows with every passing day as it becomes increasingly convinced that the building of socialism in the Soviet Union is one of the most powerful factors for the ultimate triumph over the bourgeoisie on a world scale. Fascist coups d'état follow one after the other. After Italy — Bulgaria. After Poland — Lithuania. A similar coup is now being prepared in Latvia and in the other Baltic states. Rumania is being intensely fascisized. International capitalism, headed by British imperialism, is doing all it can to tighten the belt around the Soviet Union. The danger of a military attack on the Soviet Union becomes increasingly imminent. New tests and trials for the country of proletarian dictatorship and for the international proletariat are in the making.

In this setup it is hard, difficult, painful without Lenin. It is difficult for the All-Union Communist Party, it is difficult for the whole Communist International which are deprived of their leader and strategist of genius — the enemies know this. In spite of their disappointments so far, they would still like to stake on this fact. But precisely for this reason we must all the more carefully guard, like the apple of our eyes, the unity, the Leninist unity of the Communist International and of the All-Union Communist Party, its vanguard detachment. We must the more pitilessly crush all attempts to undermine this unity, we must nip in the bud all anti-Leninist deviations. We must all the more confidently march forward, always well armed with Leninism.

Deprived, unfortunately, of Lenin, but fortunately armed with his powerful weapon, Leninism, the All-Union Communist Party and the Communist International will be able adequately to cope with the new difficulties and with the imminent danger of war.



By the will of fate the ship of the proletarian revolution will have to pass between many a Scylla and Charybdis (straits and sunken rocks) in the class war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie without Lenin's brilliant leadership.

And she will pass them successfully, in order to bring working mankind to the salutary shore, thanks to Leninism — that true and tested compass left us by Lenin.

*Sovietskoe Slovo,*  
*February 14, 1927*

## \* FIRMLY ALONG THE PATH INDICATED BY LENIN

Every day, in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the cellars of the Gestapo (German secret police), in the torture chambers of Poland, in the cells of the Bulgarian and Finnish secret police, in the *Glavnyacha* in Belgrade, in the Rumanian *Siguranza* and on the Italian islands, the best sons of the working class, revolutionary peasants, fighters for the splendid future of mankind, are being subjected to revolting tortures and indignities, before which pale the most abominable acts of the tsarist *Okhranka*. The blackguardly German fascist beat husbands to a bloody pulp in the presence of their wives, and send the ashes of murdered sons by parcel post to their mothers. Sterilization has been made a method of political warfare. In the torture chambers, imprisoned anti-fascists are given injections of poison, their arms are broken, their eyes gouged out; they are strung up and have water pumped into them; the fascist *swastika* is carved in their living flesh.

I have before me a statistical summary drawn up by the International Red Aid regarding the number of killed, wounded, arrested, maimed and tortured to death in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals — Communists, Social Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations — have been murdered, 317,800 arrested, 218,600 injured and subjected to torture. In Austria, since the battles of February

last year, the 'Christian' fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and injured 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, comrades, is far from complete.

Words fail me in describing the indignation which seizes us at the thought of the torments which the working people are now undergoing in a number of fascist countries. The facts and figures we quote do not reflect *one hundredth part of the true picture* of the exploitation and tortures inflicted by the White terror and forming part of the daily life of the working class in many capitalist countries. Volumes cannot give a just picture of the countless brutalities inflicted by fascism on the working people.

With feelings of profound emotion and hatred for the fascist butchers, we dip the banners of the Communist International before the unforgettable memory of Jonn Scheer, Fiete Schulze and Luetgens in Germany, Koloman Wallisch and Muenichreiter in Austria, Sallai and Fuerst in Hungary, Kofardjiev, Lyutibrodski and Voykov in Bulgaria — before the memory of thousands and thousands of Communists, Social Democrats and non-party workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who have laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

From this platform we greet the leader of the German proletariat and the honorary chairman of our Congress — Comrade Thaelmann. We greet Comrades Rakosi, Gramsci, Antikainen. We greet Tom Mooney, who has been languishing in prison for eighteen years, and the thousands of other prisoners of capitalism and fascism, and we say to them: 'Brothers in the fight, brothers in arms, you are not forgotten. We are with you. We shall give every hour of our lives, every drop of our blood, for your liberation, and for the liberation of all working people from the shameful regime of fascism.'

Comrades, it was Lenin who warned us that the bourgeoisie may succeed in overwhelming the working people by savage terror, in checking the growing forces of revolution for brief periods of time, but that, nevertheless, this would not save it from its doom.

Life will assert itself, Lenin wrote. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them; therefore we can and must combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.\*

Ay, if we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything.

From *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International for Unity in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism* — Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935

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\* V. I. Lenin: *Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Collected Works, Vol. 24, p. 235. Bulgarian edition, Vol. 31, pp. 89-90



## FOR A UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT

We have taken a bold, resolute course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the fight for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a government on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of an *anti-fascist Popular Front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interests of the proletariat (Applause). And in that case we shall advocate for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking here of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course, that in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis of a government bloc of the Communist Party with a certain party (or its left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October Revolution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, included representatives of the Left 'Essers' Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Soviet Government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet government after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible for-

mation of a united front government on the eve of and before the victory of the Soviet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could there be any question of such a government?

It is primarily a *government of struggle against fascism and reaction*. It must be a government arising as the result of the united front movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the working class, but, on the contrary, taking resolute measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front movement, the Communist Party of a given country will advocate the formation of such a government on the basis of a well-defined anti-fascist platform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a government? In the most general terms, one can reply to this question as follows: under conditions of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer able to cope with the powerful rise of the mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, without which it will scarcely be possible in practice to form a united front government. Only the existence of certain *special prerequisites* can put on the agenda the question of forming such a government as a politically essential task. It seems to me that the following prerequisites deserve the greatest attention in this connexion:

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be sufficiently *disorganized and paralyzed*, so that the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction and fascism.

Second, the widest masses of working people, particularly the mass trade unions, must be in a state of vehement revolt *against fascism and reaction*, though *not ready* to rise in insurrection so as to *fight under Communist Party leadership for the establishment of a Soviet government*.

Third, the differentiation and radicalization in the ranks of Social Democracy and other parties participating in the united front must already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of them demand *ruthless*

*measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, fight together with the Communists against fascism and openly oppose the reactionary section of their own party which is hostile to communism.*

When and in what countries a situation will actually arise in which these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But as such a possibility *is not to be ruled out in any of the capitalist countries*, we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves, but also orientate the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our estimate of the situation and immediate prospects, as well as with the actual growth of the united front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries was such that it was not necessary for the Communist International to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, comrades, that at our Fourth Congress in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers' or a workers' and peasants' government* was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost comparable to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International around this question, and in particular the political *errors* which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviations to the Right or 'Left' from the Bolshevik line* on this question. Therefore I shall briefly point out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

*The first series of mistakes* arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly bound up with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this, *the Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party.

in any, so to speak, 'normal' situation. *The ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, recognized only a workers' government formed by an armed insurrection after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong. In order, therefore, to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now *lay great stress on the exact consideration* of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

*The second* series of errors arose from the fact that the question of a workers' government was not bound up with the development of a militant mass united *front movement of the proletariat*. Thus *the Right opportunists* were able to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming blocs with Social Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary combinations. *The ultra-Lefts*, on the contrary, shrieked: 'No coalitions with counter-revolutionary social democracy!', considering all social democrats as essentially counter-revolutionary.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for a 'workers' government' that would be nothing more nor less than an enlarged Social Democratic government. We even prefer not to use the term 'workers' governments,' and *speak of a united front government*, which in political character is something absolutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social Democratic governments which usually call themselves 'workers' (or labour) governments.' While the Social Democratic government is an instrument of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interests of the preservation of the capitalist order, *a united front government* is an instrument of the collaboration of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat with other anti-fascist parties, in the interests of the entire working population, a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously there is a *radical difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we stress the need to see *the dif-*



*ference between the two different camps of Social Democracy.* As I have already pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social Democracy, but alongside with it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left Social Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are becoming revolutionary. In practice the decisive difference between them consists in their attitude towards the united front of the working class. The reactionary Social Democrats are *against* the united front; they slander the united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it undermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left Social Democrats are *for the united front*; they defend, develop and strengthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front movement is a militant movement against fascism and reaction, it will be a constant driving force, impelling the united front government to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerful this mass movement, the greater the force with which it can back the government in combating the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement will be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-party class organs of the united front in the factories, among the unemployed, in the workers' districts among the small people of town and country,* the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration of the policy of the united front government.

*The third* series of mistaken views which came to light during our former debates touched precisely on the practical policy of the 'workers' government'. The right opportunists considered that a 'workers' government' ought to keep 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy,' and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this framework. *The ultra-Lefts*, on the other hand, in practice refused to make any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 *Saxony and Thuringia* presented a clear picture of a Right opportunist 'workers' government' in action. The entry of the Communists into the Workers' Government of Saxony jointly with the Left Social Democrats (Zeigner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary,

the revolutionary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But in taking part in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily *for the purpose of arming the proletariat*. This they did not do. They did not even requisition a single apartment of the rich, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great that many of them with their wives and children were still without a roof over their heads. They also did *nothing* to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved in general like *ordinary* parliamentary ministers 'within the framework of bourgeois democracy.' As you know, this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The result was such bankruptcy that to this day we have to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries *should not behave* when in office.

Comrades, we demand an entirely different policy from a united front government. We demand that it should carry out *definite and fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on 'searching out forms of *transition or approach* to the proletarian revolution.' It may be that in a number of countries *the united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important transitional forms. 'Left' doctrinaires have always avoided this precept of Lenin's. Like the narrow-minded propagandists that they were, they spoke only of 'aims', without ever worrying about 'forms of transition'. The Right opportunists, on the other hand, have tried to establish a *special democratic intermediate stage* lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary passage from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious 'intermediate stage' they have also called 'transitional form,' and even quoted Lenin's words. But this piece of swindling was not dif-

ficult to expose: for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to *the proletarian revolution*, that is, to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attach such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he had in mind *the fundamental law of all great revolutions*, the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the working people to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a 'Leftist' character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to put forth the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are by no means always ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help *the millions* to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, and what Party is worthy of their confidence — these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special 'forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution' are necessary. Otherwise the great mass of the peoples who are under the influence of petty bourgeois democratic illusions and traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, may procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution — and then come under the axe of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming an anti-fascist united front government in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place *in the first line of fire*. But we state frankly

to the masses: *Final salvation* this government cannot bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally remove the danger of fascist counterrevolution. Consequently *it is necessary to prepare for the socialist revolution*. Soviet power and only Soviet power can bring salvation.

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we see that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. This makes a firm decision by our Congress on the question of a united front government a matter of great urgency and importance.

If our parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government and of waging the struggle for the formation and maintenance in power of such a government, *for the revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be *the best political justification* of our policy in favour of the formation of united front governments.

From *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International for Unity in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism* — Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935



## ON THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our Parties is that *they react inadequately and too slowly to the demagogy of fascism*, and to this day continue to neglect the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a brand of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, would be able to gain any mass influence. This was a serious mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of wide masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

Under no circumstances must we underrate fascism's power of ideological infection. On the contrary, we for our part must develop an extensive ideological struggle based on clear, popular arguments and a correct, well thought out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany with only one aim — to falsify the history of the German people and give it a

fascist complexion. The new-baked National Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the past two thousand years, by virtue of some historical law, a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread, leading to the appearance on the historical scene of a national 'saviour', a 'Messiah' of the *German* people, a certain 'Corporal' of *Austrian* extraction. In these books the greatest figures of the German people of the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini does his utmost to make capital for himself out of the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national liberation movement of the seventies and its heroes beloved by the people, Vassil Levski, Stefan Karadja and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses on the past of their people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist spirit, who do nothing *to link up the present struggle with the people's revolutionary traditions and past* — voluntarily hand over to the fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, so that they may dupe the masses.

No, comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society — the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one sixth of the world has

already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited, toiling strata, that is, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, in principle*, of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But *we are not supporters of national nihilism*, and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But anyone who thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad masses of working people is far from being a genuine Bolshevik, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin on the national question.

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem of national sentiments in his article 'On the National Pride of the Great Russians' written in 1914. He wrote:

Are we class-conscious Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise its labouring masses (i. e., nine-tenths of its population) to the level of intelligent democrats and socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great Russians; that this midst brought forth Radishchev, the Decembrists, the intellectuals revolutionaries of the 'seventies; that in 1905 the Great Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses. . .

We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class, that it, *too*, has proved capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaf-

folds, torture chambers, severe famines and abject servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate our slavish past. . . and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity.\*

This is what Lenin wrote on national pride.

I think, comrades, that when at the Reichstag Fire Trial the fascists tried to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarous people, I was not wrong in taking up the defence of the national honour of the working masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist usurpers, the real barbarians and savages, nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class.

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, 'acclimatize itself' in each country in order to strike deep roots in its native land. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labour movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that *the international interests of the proletariat* can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its selfish policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But *we must not confine ourselves to this*. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the prole-

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\* V. I. L e n i n, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 81 (Bulgarian edition Vol. 21, pp. 94-95)

tariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are not in contradiction to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify *the salvation of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the *very fact* of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism, from barbarous fascism, which is laying violent hands on it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture and raise it to its highest flowering as a truly national culture — *national in form and socialist in content* — which is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes.

Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures *the support* that is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in the closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The *sole* road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'



Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they do not *at the same time show* in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke. And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the working masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging* a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their 'own' bourgeoisie, for the right of complete self-determination for the nations kept in bondage by it. If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the working people of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the jingo demagogy of the fascists.

That is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist national policy is of such paramount importance. It is *unquestionably an essential* preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism — this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses.

From *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International for Unity in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism* — Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935

## \*WE OUGHT NEVER TO FORGET THE WORDS OF LENIN

*The unity, revolutionary solidarity and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties* constitute a most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the whole working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and consequently also against *any penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, *a successful struggle was waged in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions.* Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful, and frequently entirely lacking, was the fight against *sectarianism*. Sectarianism no longer manifested itself in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy.

In our day this is often no longer an 'infantile disorder,' as Lenin wrote, but a *deeply rooted vice*, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front: sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness*, its divorce from the real life of the masses, satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotype schemes; sectarianism which professes to know all and considers it superfluous to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labour movement; in short, sectarianism, to which, as they say, mountains are mere stepping stones. Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party does not come of itself. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but *to earn and win the confidence of the working masses* by everyday mass work and a correct policy. This will be possible only if in our political work we Communists seriously take into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the actual situation, not on the basis of our wishes but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the broad masses to come over to the Communist position. We ought never to forget the words of Lenin, who warns us as strongly as possible:

... This is the whole point — we must not regard that which is obsolete for us as obsolete for the class, as obsolete for the masses.\*

\* V. I. L e n i n. 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 201 (Bulgarian edition, Vol. 31, p. 44)

Is it not a fact, comrades, that in our ranks there are still quite a few such doctrinaire elements, who at all times and places sense nothing but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades the whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian 'sticking to principle' is nothing but political helplessness in face of the difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism finds expression *particularly* in overestimating the revolutionization of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, and in attempting to leap over difficult stages and the complicated tasks of the movement. In practice, methods of leading the masses have frequently been replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group. The strength of the traditional tie-up between the masses and their organizations and leaders was underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these connections, immediately the attitude taken toward them was just as harsh as that adopted toward their reactionary leaders. Tactics and slogans have tended to become stereotype for all countries, the special features of the actual situation in each individual country being left out of account. The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst of the masses themselves to win their confidence has been ignored, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations have been neglected. The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced by bare appeals and abstract propaganda.

In no less a degree have sectarian views hindered the correct selection of people, the training and developing of *cadres connected* with the masses, *enjoying* the confidence of the masses, *cadres whose revolutionary mettle has been tried and tested* in class battles, *cadres capable of combining the practical experience of mass work with a Bolshevik's staunchness of principle.*

Thus sectarianism has to a considerable extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult to carry out a real mass policy, prevented our taking

advantage of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary movement, and hindered the winning over of the broad masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While fighting most resolutely to overcome and exterminate the last remnants of self-satisfied sectarianism, we must increase in every way our vigilance toward *Right opportunism* and the struggle against it and against every one of its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the danger of Right opportunism will increase in proportion as the broad united front develops. Already there are tendencies to reduce the role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the united front and to effect a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the tactics of the united front are a method of clearly convincing the Social Democratic workers of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and that they are *not a reconciliation with Social Democratic ideology and practice*. A successful struggle to establish the united front imperatively demands constant struggle in our ranks against tendencies to *depreciate the role of the Party*, against *legalist illusions*, against reliance on *spontaneity* and *automatism*, both in liquidating fascism and in implementing the united front against *the slightest vacillation at the moment of decisive action*.

From *The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International for Unity in the Struggle of the Working Class Against Fascism*—Report before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, August 2, 1935



## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM MUST BE CONCRETE

No general characterization of fascism, however correct in itself, can relieve us of the need to study and take into account the special features of the development of fascism and the various forms of fascist dictatorship in the individual countries and at its various stages. It is necessary in each country to investigate, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific national features of fascism and to map out accordingly effective methods and forms of struggle against fascism.

Lenin persistently warned us against such 'stereotyped methods, such mechanical levelling and identification of tactical rules, of rules of struggle.' This warning is particularly to the point when it is a question of fighting an enemy who so subtly and Jesuitically exploits the national sentiments and prejudices of the masses and the anti-capitalist inclinations in the interests of big capital. *Such an enemy must be known to perfection, from every angle.* We must, without any delay whatever, react to his various manoeuvres, discover his hidden moves, be prepared to repel him in any arena and at any moment. We must not hesitate *even to learn* from the enemy if that will help us more quickly and more effectively *to wring his neck.*

It would be a gross mistake to lay down any sort of universal scheme of the development of fascism, valid for all countries and all peoples. Such a scheme would not

help but would hamper us in carrying on a real struggle. Apart from everything else, it would result in indiscriminately thrusting into the camp of fascism those sections of the population which, if properly approached, could at a certain stage of development be brought into the struggle against fascism or could at least be neutralized.

From *Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism* — Concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern.  
August 13, 1935

## ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

It was already pointed out during the discussion that while mobilizing the masses to repel the onslaught of fascism against the rights of the working people, the Polish Party at the same time 'had its misgivings about formulating positive democratic demands lest this would create democratic illusions among the masses.' The Polish Party is, of course, not the only one in which such fear of formulating positive democratic demands exists in one form or another.

Where does this fear stem from, comrades? It comes from an incorrect, non-dialectical conception of our attitude towards bourgeois democracy. We Communists are unswerving upholders of Soviet democracy, the great example of which is the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, where the introduction of equal suffrage and the direct and secret ballot has been proclaimed by resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets, at the very time when the last vestiges of bourgeois democracy are being wiped out in the capitalist countries. This Soviet democracy presupposes the victory of the proletarian revolution, the conversion of private ownership of the means of production into public ownership, the adoption of the road to socialism by the overwhelming majority of the people. This democracy does not represent a final form; it develops and will continue to develop, depending on the further achievements of socialist construction, in the creation of a

classless society and in the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of the people.

But today the millions of working people living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of deciding their attitude to *those forms* in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries. We are not Anarchists, and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country: whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed, or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open, fascist form. While being upholders of Soviet democracy, *we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*

How great were the sacrifices of the British working class before it secured the right to strike, a legal status for its trade unions, the right of assembly and freedom of the press, extension of the franchise, and other rights. How many tens of thousands of workers gave their lives in the revolutionary battles fought in France in the nineteenth century to obtain the elementary rights and the lawful opportunity of organizing their forces for the struggle against the exploiters. The proletariat of all countries has shed much of its blood to win bourgeois-democratic liberties and will naturally fight with all its strength to retain them.

Our attitude to bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all those political parties which, under the slogan of the defence of bourgeois democracy, opposed the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all counter-revolutionary forces mobilized to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish the most

barbarous regime of exploitation and suppression of the working masses. Now the working masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a *definite* choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism.

Besides, we have now a situation which differs from that which existed, for example, in the epoch of capitalist stabilization. At that time fascist danger was not as acute as it is today. At that time it was bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy that the revolutionary workers were facing in a number of countries and it was against bourgeois democracy that they were concentrating their fire. In Germany, they fought against the Weimar Republic, not because it was a republic, but because it was a *bourgeois* republic that was engaged in crushing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, especially in 1918-20 and in 1923.

But could the Communists retain the same position also when the fascist movement began to raise its head, when, for instance, in 1932 the fascists in Germany were organizing and arming hundreds of thousands of storm troopers against the working class? Of course not. It was the mistake of the Communists in a number of countries, particularly in Germany, that they failed to take account of the changes that had taken place, but continued to repeat the slogans and maintain the tactical positions that had been correct a few years before, especially when the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship was an immediate issue, and when the entire German counter-revolution was rallying under the banner of the Weimar Republic, as it did in 1918-20.

... And the circumstance that even today we can still notice in our ranks a fear of launching positive democratic slogans indicates how little our comrades have mastered the Marxist-Leninist method of approaching such important problems of our tactics. Some say that the struggle for democratic rights may divert the workers from the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. It may not be amiss to recall what Lenin said on this question:

It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.\*

These words should be firmly fixed in the memories of all our comrades, bearing in mind that in history great revolutions have grown out of small movements for the defence of the elementary rights of the working class. But in order to be able to link up the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle of the working class for socialism, it is necessary first and foremost to discard any cut-and-dried approach to the question of defence or bourgeois democracy.

From *Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism* —  
Concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, August 13, 1935

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\* V. I. L e n i n, *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination*, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 88 (Bulgarian edition, Vol. 22, p. 145)



\* IT IS NECESSARY TO LEARN AND TO FIGHT,  
TO FIGHT AND TO LEARN

Comrades, as you know, cadres receive their best training in the *process of struggle*, in surmounting difficulties and withstanding tests, and also *from favourable and unfavourable* examples of conduct. We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations, in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of faint-heartedness, lack of firmness and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them *what* should be emulated and *what* rejected. We must study the conduct of our comrades and militant workers during class conflicts, under police interrogation, in the jails and concentration camps, in court, etc. The good examples should be brought to light and held up as models to be followed, and all that is rotten, non-Bolshevik and philistine should be cast aside. Since the Reichstag Fire Trial we have had quite a few comrades whose statements before bourgeois and fascist courts show that numerous cadres are growing up with an excellent understanding of *what* really constitutes Bolshevik conduct in court.

But how many even of you, delegates to the Congress, know the details of the trial of the railway men in Rumania; know about the trial of Fiete Schulze, who was subsequently beheaded by the fascists in Germany, the trial of our valiant Japanese comrade Itsikawa, the trial of

the Bulgarian revolutionary soldiers, and many other trials at which admirable examples of proletarian heroism were displayed?

Such worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularized, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faint-heartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rottenness and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the workers' movement.

Comrades, our Party leaders often complain that there are no *people*, that they are short of people for agitational and propaganda work, for the newspapers, the trade unions for work among the youth, among women. Not enough, not enough — that is the cry. We simply haven't got the people. To this we could reply in the old yet eternally new words of Lenin:

*There are no people — yet there are enormous numbers of people.* There are enormous numbers of people, because the working class and ever more diverse strata of society, year after year, throw up from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest. . . . At the same time we have no people, because we have. . . . no talented organizers capable of organizing extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would give employment to all forces, even the most inconsiderable.\*

These words of Lenin must be thoroughly grasped by our Parties and applied by them as a guide in their everyday work. There are plenty of people. They need only to be discovered in our own organizations, during strikes and demonstrations, in various mass organizations of the workers, in united front bodies. They must be helped to grow in the course of their work and struggle, they must be put in a situation where they can really be useful to the workers' cause.

Comrades, we Communists are people of action. Ours is the problem of practical struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war,

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\* V. I. L e n i n. *What Is to Be Done, Collected Works, Vol. 4 p. 459* (Bulgarian edition 1951, Vol. 5. p. 490)

the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It is precisely this *practical* task that obliges Communist cadres to equip themselves with *revolutionary theory*, for theory gives those engaged in practical work the power of orientation, clarity of vision, assurance in work, belief in the triumph of our cause.

But real revolutionary theory is irreconcilably hostile to all emasculated theorizing, all barren play with abstract definitions. 'Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action;' Lenin used to say. It is *such a theory* that our cadres need, and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air or water.

Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, cut-and-dried schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must burn them out with a red-hot iron, both by *practical, active* struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses, and by *untiring effort* to master the mighty, fertile, all-powerful teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin.

In this connection I consider it particularly necessary to draw your attention to the work of our *Party schools*. It is not pedants, moralizers or adepts at quoting that our schools must train. No. It is practical front-rank fighters in the cause of the working class that should graduate from there, people who are front-rank fighters not only because of their boldness and readiness for self-sacrifice, but also because they see further than rank-and-file workers and know better than they the path that leads to the emancipation of the working people. All sections of the Communist International must without any dilly-dallying seriously take up the question of the proper organization of Party schools, in order to turn them into *smithies* where these fighting cadres are forged.

The principal task of our Party schools, it seems to me, is to teach the Party and Young Communist League members there how to apply the Marxist-Leninist method to the concrete situation in particular countries, to definite conditions, not the struggle against an enemy 'in general,' but against a particular, definite enemy. This makes necessary a study of not merely the letter of Leninism, but its living revolutionary spirit.

There are two ways of training cadres in our Party schools:

First method: teaching people abstract theory, trying to give them the greatest possible dose of dry learning, coaching them how to write theses and resolutions in a literary style, and only incidentally touching upon the problems of the particular country, of the particular labour movement, its history and traditions, and the experience of the Communist Party in question.

Second method: theoretical training in which mastering the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is based on practical study by the student of the key problems of the struggle of the proletariat in his own country. On returning to his practical work, the student will then be able to find his bearings by himself, and *become an independent practical organizer and leader capable of leading the masses in battle against the class enemy.*

Not all graduates of our Party schools prove to be suitable. There are many phrases, abstractions, a good deal of book knowledge and show of learning. But we need real, truly Bolshevik organizers and leaders of the masses. And we need them badly this very day. It does not matter if such students cannot write good theses (though we need that very much, too), but they must know how to organize and lead, undaunted by difficulties, capable of surmounting them.

Revolutionary theory is the generalized, *summarized experience* of the revolutionary movement. Communists must carefully utilize in their countries not only the experience of the past but also the experience of the present struggle of other detachments of the international workers' movement. However, correct utilization of experience does not by any means denote *mechanical transposition* of ready-made forms and methods of struggle from one set of conditions to another, from one country to another, as so often happens in our Parties. Bare imitation, simple copying of methods and forms of work, even of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in countries where capitalism is still supreme, may with the best of intentions result in harm rather than good, as has so often actually been the case.

It is precisely from the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks that we must learn to apply effectually, to the specific conditions of life in each country, *the single international line*; in the struggle against capitalism we must learn pitilessly to cast aside, pillory and hold up to general ridicule all *phrase-mongering, use of hackneyed formulas, pedantry and dogmatism*.

It is necessary to learn, comrades, to learn always, at every step, in the course of the struggle, at liberty and in jail. To learn and to fight, to fight and to learn. We must be able to combine the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin with *firmness* in our work and struggle, with a *principled irreconcilability* towards the class enemy and the renegates from the bolshevik line, with *fearlessness in front of the difficulties, and with revolutionary realism*.

From *Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism* — Concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, August 13, 1935

## \*BE FEARLESS AND INDEPENDENT AND TAKE THE INITIATIVE!

We expect that on the basis of the experience you already have, and also basing yourselves upon the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, you will succeed in finding the correct roads for the solution of the most important tasks of your movement, a task connected with uniting the forces of the entire non-fascist youth, and of those of working class youth in the first place, the task of achieving unity with socialist youth.

But you will be unable to do this if the Young Communist Leagues try, as in the past, to organize their ranks as Communist Youth *Parties*, if, as they did before, they confine themselves to a sectarian life, isolated from the masses.

The whole of the anti-fascist youth is interested in uniting and organizing their forces. That is why, comrades, you must find such ways, such forms and methods of work as will ensure the creation of a *new type* of mass youth organizations in the capitalist countries to which the vital interests of the working youth will not be alien: the creation of organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for *all* the interests of youth, and educate it in the spirit of the class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

This demands of the Congress the most serious *check-up* and *re-appraisal* of the work of the Young Communist Leagues so that they might be reconstructed *in actual fact*, and that all that hinders the development of mass work

and the creation of a united front and the unity of youth might be fearlessly removed.

We expect that the Communist Youth International will construct its entire activity in such a way as to rally and unite all the professional, cultural, educational and sports organizations of working youth, all the revolutionary and anti-fascist youth organizations for the struggle against fascism and war, for the rights of the young generation.

We note with great joy that our young comrades in France and the United States of America have actively joined the successfully developing mass movement of the united front of youth, and have already achieved very promising successes in this field. All the sections of the Communist Youth International should learn from this experience of the French and American comrades (Applause).

In many countries the communist and the socialist youth are already drawing ever closer to each other, a striking example of which is the presence at the present Congress of the Communist Youth International of representatives not only of the communist but of the socialist youth of Spain as well (Applause.)

And thus, comrades, advance fearlessly along the road of unity with socialist youth, and create together with it common and united organizations. Advance fearlessly along the road of unity with all the forces of anti-fascist youth.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International will with all its forces encourage and support your initiative and activity in the struggle for unity, in the struggle for the vital interests of working youth.

The millions of young men and women for whom capitalist society has created impossible conditions of existence, who are either outside any kind of organization or in such organizations as are guided by the class enemy, are your brothers and sisters, whom you can and *must* draw to the side of socialism by persistent work.

Do not wait for unity to set in between the Communist



and the Social Democratic Parties and the other organizations of the working class.

*Be fearless and independent and take the initiative!*

You are a Congress of the most active, the most self-sacrificing part of the present young generation. You cannot stand aside from the movement in favour of unity, which is growing ever stronger in the ranks of the working class. You must not wait like the Socialist Youth International for permission 'from above' in order to support the movement for a united front and the merging of working youth in one organization.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare that the youth who are united in the ranks of the Communist Youth International have and will have full opportunities of *independently* developing their own revolutionary movements and solving the problems of this movement.

The communists in the ranks of the youth organizations should know how to work in such a way as to influence the decisions of the organization by convincing members, and not by commanding them on behalf of the Party.

I shall recall the words of the great Lenin, on which the relations of the Communist International to youth and its organization are founded:

'It frequently occurs that representatives of the generation of the elderly and the old *do not know* how to behave as they should towards youth, who are of necessity forced to approach socialism in *another* way, not along *the same* road, *not in the same form*, *not under the same conditions* as their fathers. That is why, among other things, we are bound unconditionally to stand for the *organizational independence* of the youth union, and *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence. but also because of the very essence of the work, because without full independence youth *will be unable* either to produce good socialists from among themselves or to get ready to lead socialism *forward*.\*

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\* V. I. L e n i n, *Communist Youth International*, Collected Works, Vol. 19, p. 295, (Bulgarian edition, 1953, Vol. 23, p. 171)

Comrades, *we must learn, we must learn by fighting!*  
Link all your daily practical activity with a thorough study of the primary sources of Marxism-Leninism, because without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

*Be firm and fearless, exemplary fighters against fascism, against capitalism.*

*Hold aloft the banner of the liberation of mankind from capitalist bondage, the banner of the Communist International!*

Rally the young generation of working people the world over around that banner! This banner of the greatest victories is already unfurled over one sixth of the globe, and it will triumph all over the world.

From *Let Us Unite All the Forces of the Anti-Fascist Youth* —  
Speech delivered at the opening of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Youth International, September 25, 1935

## \*UNITY MUST BE WON

The united front of the working class itself in the big capitalist countries, the joint action of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, as well as of the trade unions of various political trends, are assuming exceptionally great importance in the establishment and broadening of a popular front for fighting fascism and war and on an international scale — the joint action of the Communist, Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals. All obstacles blocking the path to such joint action should be cleared away as soon as possible. To achieve this, the Communist Parties, as well as all those who stand for proletarian unity and a popular front in the ranks of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals should put in a tremendous amount of strenuous day-to-day work.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International took into consideration the fact that it was not at all easy to overcome the split in the working class. All that the class enemies and their agents and lackeys have done in the course of many decades for the purpose of splitting the forces of the working people cannot be undone by a mere wave of the hand and by wishful thinking. Our whole experience after the Congress showed still more clearly that the path to united action of the working class on a national and international scale *was no straight, smooth, asphalt road*. It is quite a difficult zig-zag road, which is often thorny and steep. The overt and covert enemies of unity persist in putting up various obstacles and barriers. Every step has to be won with great efforts, with stubborn work and

struggle. Those that have been misled must be enlightened and convinced with great patience. The doubters and waverers must be constantly heartened. The saboteurs and double dealers must be ruthlessly unmasked. It is necessary to wage a stubborn struggle against a number of sly sophists, clever politicians and skilful demagogues who try by all means to suggest to the simple and politically inexperienced worker that *two and two makes three instead of four*, that the united front of the working class does not increase its strength, but allegedly leads only to promoting fascist aggression. At the same time, we must not yield to the provocative manoeuvres of the opponents of unity, but constantly lend a fraternal helping hand for a joint struggle to all organizations of the working people—even when they are headed by known opponents of this unity. Every Communist, every conscientious worker should not forget for a minute that all opponents of the unity of the international proletariat, the Citrines or whatever other names they might have, would be exceedingly pleased if, as a result of their sabotage and provocation, the Communists were to give up the struggle for unity and abandon their persistent pursuit of the popular front policy. This would only facilitate the disruptive role of these leaders and would temporarily save them from the stern judgement issued by the court of the proletariat and history. We should know how to wage a relentless ideological fight against reformism and the other anti-Marxist trends in the ranks of the workers' movement and, at the same time, constantly fight to build up a united popular front, assiduously avoiding the frustration of joint action in our daily struggle against fascism and war.

Twenty-two years ago, on the eve of the imperialist world war, the great *Lenin*, while mobilizing the forces of the working class for the approaching struggle for socialism, stressed the immense importance of unity in the ranks of the proletariat in these words:

'Unity is indeed necessary for the workers. And it is most necessary to realize that but for the workers themselves, *no one* will "give" them unity, *no one* is in a position to help them achieve

their unity. Unity cannot be "promised" — this would be an empty boast, self-deception; unity cannot be "created" by "agreement" between small intellectual groups — this is the most lamentable, naive and ignorant delusion.

'*Unity must be won*, and only the workers themselves, the class-conscious workers are in a position to obtain it — through persistent and stubborn efforts.

'There is nothing easier than to write the word "unity" in big letters, to promise it, to "proclaim" yourself as its champion. But only the vanguard workers, all class-conscious workers, can actually propel unity by their own efforts and organization.

'... This is no easy task. It requires the efforts, perseverance and rallying of all class-conscious workers. But without such efforts, it is useless even to speak about working class unity.'\*

These remarkable words of *Lenin* are in the present period a particularly valuable instruction for the working class in all capitalist countries.

From the article *The Popular Front Against Fascism ad War*  
November, 1936

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\* V. I. L e n i n, *On Unity*, Collected Works, Vol. 20, pp. 328-329

## THE WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

During the years following the First World War, the communists proceeding from Lenin's teaching, untiringly explained to the working people that by the force of its nature capitalism was breeding wars, that the contradictions among the imperialist countries had not been eliminated by the Treaty of Versailles and the other imperialist peace treaties and that, on the contrary, after a certain period of time these contradictions would again break out with a new and greater force.

Lenin taught us that wars were an inevitable companion of imperialism. The conquest of foreign lands, the conquest and plunder of the colonies, the conquest of markets are the cause of wars between the capitalist states. . .

The Second Imperialist War, which started with an attack on the peoples of Abyssinia, Spain and China, has already turned into a war between the biggest capitalist states. The war has been transferred to the heart of Europe, threatening to turn into a world-wide carnage.

By its character and nature the present war is an *imperialist, unjust war* for both belligerent parties, in spite of the deceptive slogans behind which the ruling classes in the warring capitalist countries are trying to conceal their real aims from the masses. As Lenin taught us, the character of the war 'does not depend on the person of the attacker and on the country in which "the enemy"

is, but on *the class* which is waging the war, on the policy of which a given war is the continuation.'

Today, as in 1914, the war is being waged by the imperialist bourgeoisie. This war is a direct continuation of the struggle among the capitalist states for a new redistribution of the world, for *world domination*. . .

History is now setting to the working class in the capitalist countries tasks of tremendous importance. It is the working class that has to lead millions of people out of the abyss of the war and to save its countries and nations from ruin, devastation and extermination. Only the working class, heading the basic masses of the peasantry and of the working people in the towns is in a position to put up a resolute resistance to the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to put an end to their bloody crimes and forever to destroy the causes breeding imperialist wars.

These tasks which now face the working class are fully feasible. At present, the forces of the international proletariat have increased immensely in comparison with the time of the first imperialist war. Its vanguard detachment, the working class of the USSR, has created the unconquerable fortress of socialism. The existence of the Soviet Union increases the might of the working class in all the capitalist countries and reinforces its confidence in its own forces.

In contrast to the first imperialist war, the confidence of the working masses in the bourgeoisie, in capitalism, was considerably undermined already at the beginning of the present war and will continue to be undermined. The social-democratic leaders will not be able to deceive the masses for a long time, as they were able to do during the First Imperialist War. Their treacherous policy, their anti-communist, anti-Soviet approach arouse ever greater indignation within the ranks of the social-democratic parties themselves. As the war goes on, the indignation of the masses and the upsurge of a broad anti-war movement will gain momentum. The most rabid persecutions on the part of the bourgeoisie are not in a position to check or stifle the struggle of the working people against the imperialist war.

At the present moment the historic role of the communist vanguard of the working class is to organize this struggle and to take its leadership. If the communists want successfully to perform this role, they must show in practice that they correctly understand the nature of the war and to shatter to smithereens the myth about its anti-fascist character — a myth so persistently spread by the social-democratic leaders. *Explanation, explanation and, once again explanation of the real situation to the masses — this is, above all, the major condition for mobilizing the masses in the struggle against the imperialist war and capitalist reaction.*

The unfolding of a really far-flung movement against the imperialist war and against reaction can be successful only if the communists act and fight among the masses themselves, if they vigilantly watch their moods, sympathetically heed their voice, sympathize with their needs and sufferings. The communists must not run far ahead of them. They must raise slogans which correspond to the specific situation, which are understandable and accessible to the masses; they must always head the movement of the masses and lead them to the solution of the new problems which are coming to a head.

The present extremely serious situation makes it necessary for the communists not to wriggle in the face of any repressions and persecutions, but resolutely and courageously to fight against war, against the bourgeoisie in their own country, to act the way Lenin taught them. . . The communist parties must rapidly reorganize themselves in accordance with the war conditions, they must purge the rotten, defeatist elements from their ranks, they must introduce an iron, bolshevik discipline. They must concentrate their fire against opportunism which consists in the sliding down to a defensive position, in the maintenance of the myth about the alleged anti-fascist character of the war, in a retreat in front of the repressions on the part of the bourgeoisie. And the sooner the communist parties achieve all this, the better they will be able to perform their independent leading role in the working



class movement and the more successfully they will be able to accomplish the tasks facing them at present.

All communist parties, all working class organizations and leaders are put to a severe test during the war. Individual weak elements and those who lack faith will fall out at the sharp turns. The elements which are alien to the working class, the careerists, the renegades, the accidental adherents to the communist parties will be thrown overboard. The communist parties as a whole will undoubtedly pass the test. They will steel themselves still further in the coming battles. New hundreds of thousands of fighters for the cause of the working class will join the ranks of the communist army.

The communist parties and the working class in the capitalist countries will draw inspiration from the heroic example of the Russian bolsheviks, of Lenin's Party, which as early as 1914-1918 showed to the proletariat a sure way out of the war and thereafter ensured the triumph of socialism in one sixth of the world. Holding high aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, strengthening the bonds of fraternal solidarity among the working class of all countries, the communists will thus help all working people to perform their historic mission.

*The imperialists of the belligerent countries have started the war for a redistribution of the world, for world domination, dooming millions of people to extermination. The working class is called upon to put an end to this war in its own way, in its own interest, in the interest of all working people, thus creating the necessary prerequisites for the elimination of the fundamental causes breeding imperialist wars.*

Excerpts from the article *The War and the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries*.

*Komunisticheski International*  
No. 8-9, August-September, 1939

## \* A TASK OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE

In the dawn of the emergence of bolshevism Lenin expounded his famous thesis about the importance of the organization of the working class. 'The proletariat,' he taught us, 'has no other weapon except organization in its struggle for power.' This organization of the proletariat is, above all, incarnated in its Party. The Party is its vanguard detachment, its headquarters, without which it is impossible to gather together the forces of the proletariat, to create its powerful class organizations, to ensure the alliance of the working class with the working people in towns and villages in order to achieve victory. For this reason, *the forging of truly revolutionary parties, parties of a new type, is the major, fundamental task, a task of paramount importance for the working class in the capitalist countries.*

What is needed for the formation of such parties? An unswerving struggle for the bolshevization of the communist parties is needed. . . .

Excerpt from the article *Stalin and the International Proletariat*, December 2, 1939  
*Prauda*, No 351, 1939

## \*THE WAR. . .

The war has already brought tremendous privation, misery and sufferings to the working people in the capitalist countries. Military expenditures by the belligerent countries have reached an incredible size. The military expenditures of the neutral capitalist countries are also increasing at a rabid pace. According to most modest estimates, the war, including the preparations for it, already costs 100,000 million dollars to the major capitalist countries, whilst military expenditures for the whole World War amounted to 180,000 million dollars. According to the bourgeois economists' own estimates, each day the war costs France 1,000 million francs, Britain £ 7.5 million, Germany — from 100 to 130 million marks. Even according to official Japanese sources, the war in China already costs Japan 16,500 million yens, whereas according to the same sources the entire Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05 cost Japan 1,500 million yens.

The bourgeoisie transfers upon the shoulders of the working people these monstrous military expenditures. It sharply increases taxation, introduces new indirect taxation on consumer goods. It rabidly reduces working wages and extends the working day. The 8-hour working day in the capitalist countries, wrested by the proletariat as a result of the stormy upsurge of the working class movement in 1919-20, has now been replaced by a 10 to 12 and even 14-hour day. In Japan, the capitalist plunderers compel industrial workers to work 16 hours a day. The 40-hour week, which was the most important acquisition of the Popular Front in France, has been

replaced by a 60- to 70-hour week. Everywhere the bourgeoisie has put an end even to the insignificant dole distributed to the unemployed. The bourgeoisie has shelved social legislation, won as a result of decades of struggles of the working class. The capitalists, the administration and the military authorities exercise absolute arbitrary control over the enterprises. The bourgeoisie sends the workers to labour camps, subjecting them to savage exploitation without remuneration. It places hundreds of thousands of young men and girls under the economic slavery of the landlords and kulaks, condemning them to an existence without rights and in utter misery.

The lot of the peasants is not easier. Profiteers, bankers and landlords avail themselves of the war to suck out the last juices of the peasants like spiders. Having enrolled the entire adult male population in the army, the bourgeoisie in the belligerent countries is devastating the countryside and transferring the whole burden of farm labour upon the shoulders of the aged, of women and children. As a result, the areas under crops are reduced, there is a shortage of food and the working people are threatened by hunger. The military authorities rob the peasants of their draught animals, farm machinery and food, condemning the farms to complete ruin. The bourgeoisie also uses other means to rob the masses. It makes huge deductions from the wages of the working people for military purposes and in every possible way curtails the already meagre consumption of the working people.

And all this is happening at a time when the profits of the capitalist sharks have assumed scandalous dimensions. The bourgeoisie turns into gold the sweat and blood of the working people, who are fainting under the weight of exploitation in the rear and dying on the front, and this gold flows into its pockets as war profits. The De Celdes, Schneiders, Vickers, Krupps and other bandits get ever richer at the expense of the people's sufferings.

In the heat of the First Imperialist World War, Lenin wrote in 1915: 'The war is a "horrible" thing? Yes, it is. But it is a horribly profitable thing.'

The rulers of the capitalist states who as a rule are big

share-holders in the military enterprises, avail themselves of their official standing to conceal the size of their profits; but even the scanty information published in the press gives us an idea of the way the magnates of financial capital are robbing the people cynically and shamelessly.

Thus, according to official data in 1939 the 'Cammell Laird & Co.' ship-building yards in Britain increased their profits four times in comparison with 1936 — from £ 150,000 to £ 610,000. In 1937 British Aluminium received profits to the amount of £773,432, and in 1939 — £1,075,796.

In France, the profits of the Nickel shareholders' society increased *threefold* — from 53.6 million francs in 1937-38, to 153.9 million francs in 1938-39. The stocks of Schneider-Creusot are quoted *four times* higher than their nominal value. The stocks of the Suez Canal Company, one of the bosses of which is General Weygand, who combines his post in the Managing Board of the company with his post of Army Commander in Syria, are quoted at 18,420 francs as against their nominal value of 250 francs.

The 'neutral' bourgeoisie in the United States piles up similar exorbitant profits from the war. According to the report of the big American National City Bank, in 1938, 900 big enterprises received a net profit of 647 million dollars, while in 1939 their profit rose to 1,281 million dollars, i. e. it increased *twice* within a single year. The Lockheed Air Company had a total of 100,000 dollars in profits in 1936, whereas in 1939 it pocketed 3.1 million dollars.

Quite a few similar facts can be adduced.

The trusts in the other capitalist countries are not lagging far behind their brethren in their rapacious greed for wealth.

Those are the people who need the war and who pocket monstrous profits from it!

From the article *May Day and the Struggle Against the Imperialist War*, May 1, 1940.  
*Pravda*, No. 121, May 1, 1940

## **\*LENIN DREW ALL THE NECESSARY LESSONS FROM THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE. . .**

Seventy years ago, on March 18, 1871, France and Europe were shaken by the militant slogan of the revolutionary masses in Paris: 'Long live the Commune!'

For over two months the Paris proletarians fought with unreserved heroism and self-sacrifice against the numerous home and foreign enemies for the sacred cause of the Paris Commune. With their blood the Paris Communards wrote down one of the most glorious and remarkable pages in the history of the working class's liberating struggle.

The Paris Commune was the first serious attempt of the working class to win political power for itself, to form its own government and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of a new type of state, a proletarian state, a forerunner of the Soviets.

The Paris Commune expressed the interests and most cherished aspirations of the international proletariat and became the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Paris Commune was the flesh and blood of the masses, the result of their creative initiative and of their revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Paris Commune was a tremendous outburst of indignation against the treachery of the French bourgeoisie in the war of 1870-1871, against the plot of the bourgeoisie to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy. It was a direct result of the attempts of the reactionary bourgeois and big landowners to disarm the Paris workers, to crush

the French people and make them bear the brunt of the reckless war, lost by Louis Bonaparte, and to pay heavy military contributions.

The talented continuator of the work of Marx and Engels, the greatest thinker and revolutionary of our time — Lenin, not only attached great importance to the Paris Commune, but also brilliantly availed himself of its experience. Vitally interested in the whole revolutionary movement of the exploited and oppressed in all countries he made a profound study of that movement. Lenin always endeavoured and was always able to draw the necessary lessons from the revolutionary movement, so as the better to arm the Russian and international proletariat ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In 1908 Lenin wrote:

'The Commune taught the European proletariat concretely to set the tasks of the socialist revolution.'\*

In April 1911 Lenin emphasized:

'As a front-rank fighter for the social revolution, the Commune won sympathies wherever the proletariat suffered and fought. The picture of its life and death, the aspect of the workers' government which took and held in its hands the capital of the world for more than two months, the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after the defeat — all this raised the spirits of millions of workers, awoke their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism.'\*\*

While still in Zurich, on March 24, 1917, Lenin wrote:

'Marching along the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871 and of the Russian Revolution in 1905, the proletariat has to organize and arm *all* poor, exploited parts of the population, so that they *themselves* shall immediately take into their own hands the state power and shall *themselves* form the institutions of that power.'\*\*\*

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\* V. I. L e n i n, Works, Vol. 13, 1951, p. 491, Bulgarian edition

\*\* V. I. L e n i n, Works, Vol. 17, 1953, pp. 132-133, Bulgarian edition.

\*\*\* V. I. L e n i n, Works, Vol. 23, 1953, p. 353, Bulgarian edition

In the middle of April 1917, Lenin pointed out:

'The real essence of the Commune is not where the bourgeoisie usually looks for it, but in the setting up of a peculiar type of state. Such a state in Russia has *already* come into being, it is the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies.'\*

A prerequisite for the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution was its dress rehearsal — the revolution of 1905. A decisive condition for this victory, however, was the fact that the proletariat was led by the militant and consistently revolutionary party of the Bolsheviks, *the main thing* which was lacking in the Paris Commune. In critically studying and availing himself of all the lessons to be drawn from the history of the proletarian struggle in all countries and from the experience of the Paris Commune and the Soviets in 1905, in the first place, Lenin prepared the Russian proletariat for the October Revolution. Under the leadership of Lenin's glorious party, in an exceedingly brief period of history, by means of its tireless fight against its enemies and its greatest creative enthusiasm, the triumphant proletariat succeeded in overcoming the tremendous difficulties, in doing away with the exploiter classes, in building up socialist society and embarking on the road to a transition toward communism, a higher stage of this society.

The problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the proletarian state was raised and elucidated by Marx and Engels in most general lines. In this field Lenin had to develop and further to enrich Marxism both from the theoretical and from the practical and constructive point of view. . .

What the brightest and most far-seeing minds of mankind were thinking about, which inspired the fighters of the Paris Commune, what hundreds of millions of working people are thinking and dreaming of — a society

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\* V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 24, 1953, p. 35, Bulgarian edition



without exploitation and oppression of man by man, without oppression of one nation by another nation — has been achieved in the great country of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

From the article *On the Occasion of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Paris Commune*

*Kommunisticheskii International*, Magazine No 3, March, 1941

## \*WITH LENIN'S IDEAS

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Failing to understand the role of the peasants as allies of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, our Party stood on Plekhanovist and not on Leninist positions regarding the peasant problem. It enlisted peasants under its banner only insofar as they moved over to the positions of the proletariat. As is well known, Lenin supplemented and further developed the Marxist doctrine about the relations of the proletariat towards the peasantry. He formulated and developed the idea of a militant alliance between workers and peasants in the struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie, with the working class winning over as allies the peasants in their capacity of small commodity producers before they are ready to assimilate socialism. Lenin showed the possibility of using the latent revolutionary potentialities of the peasant masses in the bourgeois-democratic as well as the socialist revolution.

At its 1919 Congress our Party renamed itself Communist Party. In contrast to the parties in many other countries, our Party as a whole joined the Communist International. What is more, it participated in its creation, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the immortal Lenin. It adopted a new programme; the proletarian revolution, no longer a long-range aim, became an immediate task, for which the objective conditions had already matured and the solution of which depended on the subjective factor of the revolution, i. e. mainly on the readiness and ability of our Party to organize and lead the revolution. At its 1921 Congress it adopted the

Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a basic factor of the proletarian revolution. In its resolution on the peasant problem the Party proclaimed the alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class an indispensable prerequisite for the victory of the revolution. The adoption of these programme points, which it popularized through translations of Lenin's basic works, was accompanied by the active participation of the Party in the work of the Comintern.

The Party also adopted in principle the methods of illegal struggle and their combination with the widest use of all legal possibilities for struggle and revolutionary propaganda, such as the parliament and the municipal and county councils.

The Party proceeded to set up a military organization of its own, engaged in considerable propagandist and organizational activity among the soldiers and started to arm the masses. It headed the stormy struggles of the working people in the wake of the disastrous war, the big drives for amnesty, against the high cost of living, against the turning of Bulgaria into an anti-Soviet bridge-head, and for recognition of the USSR.

At the same time the Party launched a mass struggle for transforming the municipalities from a tool for oppression, spoliation and exploitation, into organs serving the interest of the working people. Many important town municipalities and several village communes passed into the hands of the Communist Party. Thus, in 1920 we had 22 towns and 65 village Communist municipalities. Their economic and cultural policy in favour of the working class and the other toilers naturally met with the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie and of the central authorities. In the history of our country these long and very bitter struggles for the formation and consolidation of those then-called Communes will forever remain memorable.

Unless the proletariat, led by the Party, seized all power, these Communes were bound to be ephemeral; they were eventually suppressed by the bourgeoisie one by one.

However the struggle of the working people under the leadership of our Party to capture the municipalities, contributed much to the unification of the masses in the struggle against the exploiters and enhanced considerably the prestige of the Party.

Our Party connected the struggle of the working people for their immediate needs with the preparation of the decisive battles for the victory of the revolution. When important interests of the working people were at stake or their political rights and liberties in serious jeopardy, the Party did not hesitate to resort also to the organization of a general political strike, as was the case in 1919-20 with the transport strike, and to major mass actions, going as far as to collaborate with the Agrarian Government in 1922 against rising reaction and fascism. Thus the Party rallied new masses from town and village.

From the *Political Report of the Central Committee to the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)*, December 19, 1948

## UNDER THE GREAT AND INVINCIBLE BANNER OF LENINISM

January 21, 1949 marks the 25th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder of the glorious and heroic Bolshevik Party, great proletarian strategist, genius of the revolution, founder of the first Soviet socialist state, immortal teacher of the working people all over the world.

Lenin's unforgettable bright memory will be commemorated with profound respect and with boundless gratitude by the nations in the country of victorious socialism and, together with them, by the peoples in all parts of the world, fighting for their liberation from the imperialist yoke. Lenin's name is sacred and beloved to working people in all countries. The commemoration of Lenin's great memory on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death takes place today in a period of grandiose transformations of importance to the history of the world.

In the Soviet state, which was founded by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and which made gigantic strides forward during the past quarter of a century, socialism has been built and the Soviet peoples, guided by Lenin's Party, are successfully carrying out the transition to communism.

Thanks to the Soviet Union and its victorious army which shattered the monstrous German fascist machine and defeated Hitler's hordes, the peoples in South-Eastern Europe have been able to overthrow the capitalists and landlords, to wrest their countries from the system of imperialism, to create their people's republics

and, with the co-operation of the powerful Soviet Union, to set out along the path of socialist construction, availing themselves of the rich experience of their Soviet brothers.

The colonial and dependent peoples are fighting heroically and ever more successfully for their national liberation, inspired by the achievements of the Soviet Union and guided by Lenin's invincible teaching.

Leninism, which is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, in the epoch of socialism which has triumphed over one sixth of the globe, now serves as a guide to action, as a compass for orientation in the complex situation of the class struggle, not only of the communist parties but also of all genuine fighters for people's democracy, for a lasting peace and for socialism.

This all-conquering teaching, the correctness and power of which have been so brilliantly borne out by life, is spreading over more broadly and is increasingly mastered by the working class, the toiling peasant masses and the progressive intelligentsia, both in the people's democratic countries in particular, and in all the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, although in the latter the imperialists and their social-democratic and other agents are putting in incredible efforts to hinder the penetration of the great salutary ideas of Leninism among the masses.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin left us a huge scientific literary heritage. His works are an inexhaustible treasure-house of scientific ideological, political and tactical weapons, a source of the greatest wisdom and perspicacity. Lenin's works are of exclusively topical significance for the communist and workers' parties, for the international working class movement, for the successful struggle for a lasting peace, people's democracy and socialism, and for the liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples still suffering under the boot of imperialism. The importance of Lenin's heritage for science, philosophy, culture and the arts is also invaluable. Such works as *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backwards*, *The*

*Two Tactics, The Renegade Kautsky, State and Revolution, Left-Wing Communism — an Infantile Disorder, Materialism and Empiriocriticism* are of direct theoretical and practical importance, because they are excellent, profoundly scientific, polemically sharp works of Lenin's against the overt and covert enemies of Marxism and the proletarian revolution. A thorough study of these works of Lenin provides every communist, revolutionary and honest progressive public worker with the most necessary Marxist-Leninist ideological and political ammunition.

There can be no doubt that the best commemoration of Lenin's memory is the study of Leninism, of Marxist-Leninist science, the mastering of this powerful science — not as a dogma, but as a guide to action, its unswerving and correct utilization in the struggle against capitalism and imperialist aggression, in the struggle for a lasting peace and for people's democracy, in the struggle and work for laying the economic and cultural foundations of socialism in the people's democracies.

The world proletariat, all working people, all progressive mankind are fortunate that after Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's untimely demise his work continues to live. Mankind is fortunate that the democratic and anti-imperialist camp is headed by the powerful Soviet Union with its Leninist Bolshevik Party, steeled in the most difficult battles.

It is under the great and invincible banner of Leninism and only under this banner that working mankind will be able completely to free itself from capitalist slavery and aggressive imperialist wars.

Eternal glory and boundless gratitude to the immortal man of genius, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

*Rabotnichesko Delo No 15,*  
*January 21, 1949*

## NOTES

*Joan of Arc* (1412-1431) — French national heroine, a peasant girl who took the lead in the One Hundred Years' War of the French people against the English conquerors. Betrayed by the feudal lords, she was captured and burned at the stake by the English catholic church.

*Antikainen Toivo* (1898-1941) — hero of the Karelo-Finnish people, one of the founders of the Communist Party of Finland in 1918. In 1934 he was arrested by the Finnish police. His behaviour in court was courageous and he unmasked the fascist character of the trial.

*Bobrinsky, Alexey Alexandrovich* (1852-1927) — leader of the nobility of St Petersburg province, senator, close to the tsar's court. After the Great October Revolution he joined the monarchic 'Council of the State Unity of Russia'; he emigrated in 1919.

*Bonaparte, Louis* (1808-1873) — Emperor of France.

*Wallisch, Koloman* — one of the leaders of the anti-fascist uprising of the Austrian proletariat in February 1934. Betrayed by an agent provocateur, he was tried and sentenced to death by a Court Martial. He behaved courageously in court.

*Washington, George* (1732-1799) — prominent American statesman, Commander-in-Chief of the American army in the War of Independence in North America (1775-1783). Under his chairmanship the Philadelphia Congress worked out a new Constitution (1787) which legalized the class domination of the bourgeoisie and the planters. In 1788 and 1792 he was elected President of the United States.

*Garibaldi, Giuseppe* (1807-1882), leader of the Italian revolutionary democracy, fighter for Italy's liberation from foreign yoke.

*Djidrov, Peter* — one of the leaders of the Rightwing Social-democratic Party in Bulgaria. In 1918 he was Minister of Justice in Malinov's cabinet. During the Second World War he was an active collaborationist of fascist propaganda in Bulgaria.

*Itsikawa, Syoitsi* (March 20, 1892 — February 15, 1945) —



militant of the Japanese working class movement. After the founding of the Japanese Communist Party, he joined it. He opposed the Japanese intervention in the Soviet Far Eastern regions. In 1923 he was thrown into prison for communist propaganda. In 1924 he began publishing a magazine which propagated Marxism. He represented the Japanese Communist Party at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, at which he was elected member of its Executive Committee. He was arrested and in the court he defended the programme and tactics of the Japanese Communist Party (1931). The Seventh Congress of the Comintern elected him in his absence as member of the E. C. He was murdered in the prison by the Japanese military.

*Karadja, Stefan* (Stefan Todorov) (1840-68) — Bulgarian national revolutionary and leader of armed rebel detachments. Seriously wounded in a battle with Turkish troops, he was taken prisoner and, half-dead, was hanged in Roussé.

*Kofardjiev, Nikola Georgiev* (1904-31) — functionary of the Bulgarian revolutionary working class movement, of the Bulgarian Young Communist League, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Youth Union. At the end of 1930 he became a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He died in an exchange of fire with the police in Sofia.

*Levski, Vassil* (Vassil Ivanov Kounchev), the Deacon (1837-73) — Bulgarian national revolutionary and revolutionary democrat, one of the leaders and ideologists of the Bulgarian national revolutionary movement during the period of Ottoman bondage. Founder of the Internal Secret Revolutionary Organization and of a new revolutionary tactics. Together with the whole Internal Organization he sided with Lyuben Karavelov who started a struggle against the liberal bourgeois elements in the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee for the ideological revolutionary purity of the Bulgarian national revolutionary movement.

*Lincoln, Abraham* (1809-65) — American progressive statesman, President from 1861 until 1865. He fought for the abolition of slavery and proclaimed the emancipation of the Negro people. He was mortally wounded by an agent of the slave-owners.

*Luetgens, August* — German proletarian revolutionary. He gave an excellent example of firmness and heroism in court and under the gallows.

*Lyutibrodski, Yordan Todorov* (1911-35) — functionary of the

revolutionary and working class movement in Bulgaria. **Secretary** of the District Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Vratsa and collaborator of the Central Committee. **Arrested** in September 1933, sentenced to death and hanged in Varna prison in 1935.

*Mooney, Tom* (1886 — March 4, 1942) — participant in the American working class movement. Arrested on a framed-up charge for throwing a bomb against a militaristic demonstration in San Francisco and sentenced to death, although he was innocent. Under the pressure of the protest movement, his death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In 1939 a new protest wave compelled the US authorities to release him.

*Pastouhov, Krustyo* — one of the leaders of the Rightwing Social-democratic Party, he became an enemy of communism and of the Soviet Union. In 1919, as Minister of the Interior, he issued orders to the police to fire at the demonstration of the homeless, three of whom were killed.

*Purishkevich, Vladimir Mitrofanovich* (1870-1920) — big Russian landlord, monarchist and reactionary.

*Radishchev, Alexander Nikolaevich* (1749-1802) — great Russian revolutionary, fighter against tsarism and serfdom. Prominent writer, philosopher-materialist and enlightener, founder of Russian revolutionary literature.

*Rashenov, Yordan* — functionary of the Bulgarian Social-democratic Party, one of the moderates, or 'Kautskians' in it.

*Sakarov, Dr. Nikola* — Bulgarian economist and public figure, one of the leaders of the progressist movement within the Bulgarian Social-democratic Party (Leftwing Socialists). In 1923 he opposed in Parliament the September Uprising and was expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party, which he had joined in 1920 together with a number of 'anarcho-liberals' and 'progressists'.

*Sakuzov, Yanko* — Bulgarian public figure and political leader, one of the leaders of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Union and editor of its organ *Drugar*. As member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party he endeavoured to detach the party from the working class and to orientate it towards co-operation with the 'producers' strata'. After the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (1903) he became leader of the opportunist Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party.

*Stamboliiski, Alexander* (1879-1923) — outstanding Bulgarian political figure. He opposed the 'professional' ideology of the Agrarians to the class struggle of the workers and to communist ideology, and the Agrarian International to the Communist International. In 1919 Stamboliiski headed an Agrarian Government which carried out a number of measures affecting the interests of big capital. He was savagely murdered after the fascist coup d'état on June 9, 1923.

*Thaelmann, Ernst* (1886-1944) — prominent leader of the German and international working class movement, leader of the working people in Germany, President of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. He led the struggle for the transformation of the Party into a mass party of a new type, for overcoming the split in the working class movement, for a militant alliance between communists and social-democratic workers against reaction and fascism. Thaelmann's name is a symbol of the struggle of the German working class for the national and social liberation of the German nation, for working class unity, for friendship with the Soviet Union, for peace and co-operation among nations. After the nazis seized power, Thaelmann was arrested, thrown in the Moabit prison and in 1944 he was brutally murdered in the Buchenwald concentration camp.

*Teodorov, Teodor* — prominent leader of the Narodniashka Party. Prime Minister from November 28, 1918 until October 6, 1919.

*Fuerst, Sandor* — functionary of the revolutionary workers' movement in Hungary. One of the leaders of the trade union opposition. In 1931 he was elected member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. In 1932 he was arrested and hanged as a result of an unlawful sentence passed by a Special Court.

*Tsankov, Assen* — active functionary of the Rightwing Social-democratic Party, enemy of communism and of Soviet rule.

*Sallai, Imre* — functionary of the Hungarian workers' revolutionary movement. In 1931 he became member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party. In 1932 he was arrested in Hungary and hanged together with Fuerst.

*Schulze Fiete* — proletarian revolutionary in Germany. He set an excellent example of firmness and heroism.