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THE RED ROAD

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The present World War represents Bolshevism's last and greatest chance to carry the Revolution into other parts of the world. In view of the present military situation of the Soviet Union, this may sound like a paradox; but, seen from the point of view of World Bolshevism, the loss of vast parts of the Soviet Union and the death of millions of Russians is of no importance if, at the same time, it should be possible to open other large areas of the world to Bolshevism. Moscow knows to how great an extent the British Empire and the USA now depend on the Red Army, and that, out of the dissatisfaction with their own conduct of the war, out of the loud admiration for the Red Army, and out of the pressing demands for a second front, a situation is arising within these two world powers which offers greater possibilities for the penetration of Bolshevik ideas than ever before.

The rapidly progressing Bolshevization of the allies of the Soviet Union is one of the most important political phenomena of our times. In order to understand it properly, it is necessary to consider past developments and to analyze the intricate problem of the relationship between the Communist International (the Comintern) and the Soviet Union.

Europe has no quarrel with the Russian people. But she has recognized Bolshevism as her deadliest enemy, and the Comintern and the USSR are the two fists of Bolshevism.

The author of the following article spent several years in the Soviet Union up to 1936 and has made a special study of the problems of the Comintern.

IN THE PALACE OF NOBLES

UNEXPECTEDLY and unannounced, probably out of consideration for the police forces of Europe, the last World Congress of the Comintern met in Moscow on July 25, 1935, at half past seven in the evening. For almost a full month, until late in the evening of August 20, the "General Staff of the World Revolution," as it was called, sat in the classical Hall of Columns of the former Palace of Nobles. Over the platform on which the presiding committee of the Congress was enthroned, hung four huge portraits: Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. In the auditorium sat 510 delegates representing 65 national groups, called sections, of the Comintern. In front, on the presiding committee's right, were the Communists of Asia; further back, those of Western Europe; and behind them, those of

Eastern Europe. To the left of the Chairman, starting from the front: the United States, Latin America, the British Dominions, the colonies, and Germany.

Communist leaders from all over the world sat on the presiding committee of the Congress. Among them were two women, a Spaniard and a Negress. Among the representatives of the Soviet Union was Stalin. There were roars of applause when he was elected Chairman. Although he did not make a single speech and was often absent during the sessions, he dominated the Congress. There was hardly a speaker who failed to extol him as the "Leader of the World Proletariat," or as the "Leader of the World Revolution." Since Lenin's death, this was the first Congress at which one and the same man participated unequivocally as the leader of the Soviet Union as well as the leader of the Comintern. And the fact

that the famous Bulgarian revolutionary Dimitroff was later made only Secretary General of the new Executive Committee of the Comintern (EKKI) and not President (which had been the former title), was doubtless intended to indicate that only Stalin was entitled to the office of President; since, for obvious reasons, he could not assume this office, the only title that remained for Dimitroff was that of Secretary General.

The Communist Parties of the world represented at the Congress were divided into two "ruling" parties (Soviet Union and Soviet China), fifteen legal ones (Great Britain, Ireland, France, the USA, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Switzerland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Costa Rica), and five semilegal ones, with the remainder all being illegal. The total number of members of the Communist Parties including the Soviet Union was given as 3.1 million (1928: 1.7 million); of these, however, there were only 760,000 (1928: 450,000) outside of the Soviet Union.

TWOFOLD CAPITAL

The aim of Bolshevism as it has been clearly expressed in the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin is to organize a World Revolution and then to establish a World Soviet Union after the pattern of the present Soviet Union. At present, Bolshevism has at its disposal two weapons for attaining this goal: a state—the Soviet Union, and a world organization—the Comintern. The Comintern, the organization of all Communist Parties in the world, is also known by the name of the "Third International." This name serves to distinguish it from other international revolutionary organizations such as the short-lived "First International" of Karl Marx, the "Second International" of the Social-Democratic Parties, which is today practically nonexistent, and the "Fourth International" created by Trotsky.

Moscow is the capital of the Soviet Union as well as of the Comintern. But, although both of these are working

toward the same goal, i.e., World Revolution, officially they have nothing to do with one another and go out of their way to demonstrate their independence of each other. Actually, the central management of the Soviet Union as well as of the Comintern are in the same hands. For, just as the Communist Party predominates in the Soviet Union, so the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds the leading position in the Comintern. This was even officially laid down in the first statutes of the Comintern, which were accepted by its second World Congress in 1920. Paragraph 8 of these statutes reads: "The main share of the work of the EKKI is to be borne by the Party of that country in which the EKKI shall have its seat according to the decision of the World Congress." From the very beginning, this country was the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, there were still some delegates at that second Congress who had the courage to oppose the subjection of the Comintern to the will of Moscow. A Dutch delegate, for instance, said: "While it would seem that an *international* EKKI is being formed, actually an enlarged *Russian* executive committee is being created But then this should be openly said, and it should not be attempted to create the impression that we are going to have an *international* EKKI." Now for a long time no one has dared to complain and, although that Paragraph 8 has, for tactical reasons, long disappeared into oblivion, there can be even less doubt of the leading position of the Soviet Union in the Comintern today than at a time when this candid paragraph still existed.

TOO MANY SECRETS?

The reader might ask: What sense is there in studying these questions and in citing protocols and statutes when all available documents and statements are obviously designed to throw dust in the eyes of the world and to distract its attention from the decisive events? We do not share this opinion. Of course,

there is enough that is only of declamatory significance as, for instance, the oft-repeated contention that the Soviet Union has nothing to do with the Comintern. But all this can easily be eliminated if one knows how to read. And the rest is to be taken seriously.

Those who have studied Marxism-Leninism know that its leaders do not believe in intuition or instinct but make all decisions dependent on tedious "analyses," on cumbersome "theses, anti-, and syntheses" and arrive at them usually only after endless "discussions." Even Stalin, with all his brutal use of force and ceaseless "purges" within the Party, believes, like all materialists, that, by applying Marxist methods, the course of the world and its individual phases can be calculated scientifically.

This is equally true of the Comintern, whose congresses and resolutions are, so to say, the primers of all Communist functionaries. Especially their detailed tactical instructions are meant very seriously. These, as well as the speeches and resolutions made at the congresses and meetings, may have been touched up for publication; but the actual speeches can hardly have been any more frank than their printed versions. The wealth of printed material available contains more than the imagination of even the bitterest enemies of the Comintern could have concocted. Outlines and methods, strategy and tactics of the Comintern, lie clearly before anyone who takes the trouble to read attentively the published stenographic reports and resolutions.

The most important material is the stenographic reports of the World Congresses. But it is also possible to follow the development of the Comintern during the long pauses between them. The EKKI, which is responsible for managing the Comintern during the years between World Congresses, holds plenary sessions during this time, and there is copious printed material in Russian and partly in other languages available on the results of these sessions.

COUNTING ON SOVIET EUROPE (First Period)

The leading role of the Soviet Union in the Comintern and the latter's dependence on Moscow have resulted in the interests and demands of the Soviet Union having the strongest possible influence on the tactical attitude of the Comintern. Hence each of the various periods in the development of the Soviet Union (with which we dealt in the article "Bolshevism and Its Pedigree," in our issue of October 1941) also left its mark on the Comintern.

During the first period, which lasted from the founding of the Comintern in March 1919 up to March 1921, the minds of the men in the Kremlin were dominated by two ideas. First, the Communist Revolution in the most important European states seemed, in those years, to be within reach, in fact, a question of weeks. Zinovyev, at that time the President of the Comintern, wrote in the first number of the magazine *Communist International*: "At the moment of writing these lines, the 'Third International' has already three Soviet republics as its foundation stones—in Russia, Hungary, and Bavaria. But no one would be surprised if, at the moment when these lines appear in print, we have not three but six or more Soviet republics The victory of Communism in Germany is inevitable In another year we shall already begin to forget that there was a battle for Communism raging in Europe, for in a year all Europe will be Communist." Even in 1920, when the second World Congress met without the hopes of the first one having been realized, Zinovyev would only admit that he had slightly miscalculated the tempo and that "actually not one year but two or three years are necessary before all of Europe is a Soviet Europe."

Secondly, the Bolsheviks could not, gravely threatened as they were by enemies within and without, imagine that the Russian Revolution would be able to succeed alone and without the support of revolutions in other important European states. Even Lenin, who regarded

the situation more soberly than any of the others, said at that time: "It is an absolute truth that we shall perish without the German revolution." They were still entirely under the influence of the ideas of Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, according to which the Revolution was to break out *simultaneously in several advanced countries*. And Russia was not only alone but also the most backward of all the European powers.

Under the influence of these two ideas, no one in Moscow, in that first period of "Storm and Stress," as Zinovyev later called it, thought of anything else except the struggle against the capitalist world and of the imminent World Revolution. At that time, the Soviet Union and the Comintern were one and the same thing, without even the slightest inner contradiction.

STALIN VS. TROTSKY

(Second Period)

The second period (1921/28) was under the sign of the gradual stabilization within both world camps. Moscow had to discover to its surprise that the revolutionary wave had come to a standstill in Europe, indeed, that it was even rolling back again; furthermore, that the Bolshevik regime in Soviet Russia was beginning to consolidate after its victory over the Anglo-American intervention and the counterrevolution of the Whites, in spite of no help having been forthcoming through European revolutions. This realization caused the Soviet Government to establish normal relations with the outer world, beginning with the at that time sensational trade agreement with England in the spring of 1921. The Bolsheviks had to adjust themselves to the idea that things would take longer than they had imagined.

This turn of events was also evident in the policy of the Comintern. The most important task of the third World Congress, which met in the summer of 1921, was to bring the new situation in world politics into harmony with the principles of the Comintern. Trotsky pronounced what was from then on to be a leitmotiv

of the Comintern: "The *fundamental* principles of the Third International remain unshaken, but their *practical* application must be made to accord with the new conditions."

The Soviet Union, which now saw the possibility of continuing to exist even as the sole Soviet republic, was no longer dependent to the same extent as during the first period on the European revolution. At this third Congress it was stated for the first time by a German delegate that, in these circumstances, the interests of the Soviet Union might conflict with those of the proletarians of the rest of the world.

In the autumn of 1924 a conflict began which was to be decisive for the further development of the Soviet Union and consequently for its role in the Comintern: the conflict between Stalin with his slogan of "Socialism in *one* country" and Trotsky, the prophet of the "Permanent Revolution." At the fifteenth party meeting of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (winter 1927/28), the battle was decided in Stalin's favor. Trotsky, who from that time on accused Stalin of being a "Fascist," was exiled. Stalin had won, and with him the theory that it was possible to build up socialism in *one* country without first carrying out the Revolution in other countries (as Trotsky had been demanding).

"SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY"

(Third Period)

The practical consequences of this change became apparent in the third period (1928/29 to 1933). The Soviet Union entered upon the policy of the Five Year Plans, the carrying out of which swallowed up huge quantities of energy and money, which were in that way withdrawn from directly furthering the World Revolution, although, of course, the desire for a revolution in the rest of the world remained unchanged. For it goes without saying that both for Stalin's "Socialism in one country" and for Trotsky's "Permanent Revolution" the World Revolution was the final aim. It

was only in the means to reach it that they disagreed.

What makes this third period peculiar is that, on the one hand, the interests of the Soviet Union demanded the continuation of the Five Year Plan policy, which had purely domestic aims, and the consolidation of peaceful relations with the outer world (the peak of Soviet foreign trade was reached in this period), while on the other hand, as a consequence of the world economic crisis, good opportunities for revolution in the rest of the world were offered to the Comintern. The question arose: Which will gain the upper hand in this situation, the concrete interest of the Soviet Union in domestic reconstruction and pacification of a country convulsed by agricultural collectivization, or the desire of the Comintern to make use of its opportunities for revolution in Europe?

The twelfth plenary meeting of the EKKI took place in the summer of 1932. At this meeting it became amazingly apparent that the egoistic demands of the Soviet Union, whose development was beginning to follow its own laws, had won the day against those of the Comintern. The quintessence of the whole meeting was that, in spite of the revolutionary situation throughout the world, it was not yet a question of *beginning* the fight for revolution there but only of carefully *preparing* it. Indeed, the German Communist leader Thälmann even turned violently against the "Trotskyst theory," according to which the Red Army was to assist the German Communist Party, and he called this theory a "counterrevolutionary provocation." This attitude did not meet with sympathy on the part of all delegates, and Manuilsky, at that time the nominal leader of the Comintern, had even to defend himself against the accusation that it meant a renunciation of World Revolutionary ideas.

Ercoli, an Italian and one of the smartest brains of the Comintern, expressed it very clearly at the seventh World Congress, when he spoke about the contradiction existing at that time between the Soviet

Union's policy of alliance with France and Czechoslovakia and the Comintern's efforts at undermining those same two countries. He said: "The identical nature of their [i.e., the Soviet Union's and the Comintern's] goals does not on any account mean that there must, at every given moment, in all actions and all questions, be complete agreement between the tactics of the Communist Parties which are still fighting for power [i.e., in France and Czechoslovakia] and the concrete tactical measures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has already established its power in the Soviet Union." It could not have been said more clearly that Moscow was at that time not yet interested in the outbreak of European revolutions. The price paid by Moscow for its much-needed peace was the bloodless seizure of power of National-Socialism in Germany six months later, an event which could never be made up for by the Communist world movement.

"ANTI-FASCISM"

(Fourth Period)

That was the beginning of the fourth period. At first sight it seems to resemble the second. Again we can observe a stabilization of the Soviet Union and restabilization of the rest of the world through having overcome the lowest point of the world economic crisis and through the growth of a strong Germany. Hence we should expect the same picture as in the second period: the desire of the Soviet Union for undisturbed development and the decreased possibility for European revolutions in the face of the growing economic strength of the capitalist world should both add up to a comparatively passive attitude toward the problem of World Revolution. Actually the opposite was the case. The seventh Congress, which gave expression to this period, was a signal for attack, an attack which—as we shall see—assumed a different shape from hitherto but nevertheless an attack which was incomparably more violent and determined than ever since the very first years.

The decisive event which deeply influenced the entire policy of the Comintern and which brought about this change was the seizure of power by National-Socialism in Germany. For the first time in many years, Bolshevism felt itself to be on the defensive. Neither capitalism nor democracy had been bulwarks against Bolshevism, let alone weapons of attack. National-Socialism was something different. Since the summer of 1933, the sharp contrast between National-Socialist Germany and the Bolshevik Soviet Union had been growing more apparent every day. The collapse of the Communist Party in Germany, which had first only been regarded as a "loss in tempo," was gradually recognized in its full significance. The fear of "Fascism," as National-Socialism was called in Moscow in order not to use the word "Socialism," and the hate of Adolf Hitler's Germany, are the new, distinguishing marks of the fourth period. All the old catchwords gave way to the central motto of "Anti-Fascism." Thus it came about that Moscow as the capital of the Soviet Union began in its foreign policy to assemble all the anti-German powers (France, Czechoslovakia, the Little Entente, etc.), while at the same time Moscow as the capital of the Comintern mobilized all anti-Fascist energies within the various states of the world—a two-edged policy which was to have very grave consequences.

In addition to this, the policy of "Socialism in one country" was beginning to bear fruit. For the first time, the Soviet Union felt more or less secure, domestically as well as from a military point of view. It believed itself to have advanced beyond the stage at which, because of its inner weakness, it had to keep outward peace at any price. The development of its economics and its army, as well as its alliance with France and Czechoslovakia, permitted Moscow to consider the possibility of a war more calmly. It was hoped that, if war came, it would not be a war of the Soviet Union alone against Germany but a general world conflagration.

UNITED FRONT

As long as the Comintern was fighting mainly for the Communist Revolution, it was difficult to recruit possible allies under one standard. At that time, the Communist Parties in the rest of the world were frankly intolerant—"sectarian," as they contemptuously say today—and wanted only unconditionally devoted supporters. But from the moment when the main battle was directed against Fascism, the gaining of allies became much easier, since people have always agreed more readily in opposition. Moreover, developments had clearly shown what possibilities were offered National-Socialism, because, instead of limiting itself in "sectarian" fashion to certain classes of the population, it had appealed to the entire nation. This had made a deep impression on Moscow, and Dimitroff said cynically that one should not mind learning from the enemy if one could twist his neck better by such means.

So the tactics of the United Front became the chief weapon of the anti-Fascist fight. Its idea is not new, for it appeared as early as 1922. At that time, however, they were only interested in a United Front *from below*, in alliance with the individual social-democratic workers, since in an organized union *from above*, that is, with the Social-Democratic Parties themselves, who were then at the height of their power, the Communists would have always been worst off. After the collapse of the Social-Democratic Parties in Germany and Austria and the general weakening of Social-Democracy, this obstacle had disappeared, and thus the United Front from above was also demanded now.

THE TROJAN HORSE

When the Communists speak of a United Front, they mean a collaboration of the workers of a country. In this fourth period, however, this was not considered enough, and the "Anti-Fascist Popular Front" was proclaimed, in other words, a collaboration of workers with other classes such as farmers, the middle classes, intellectuals, etc.

In order to create this popular front, two methods were recommended. The first was that of the Trojan Horse. Dimitroff, the new Ulysses, expounded this method in his report at the seventh World Congress, when he said, concerning the non-Communist mass organizations:

"They can and must be our legal and semi-legal field of activity, where we contact the masses. In order fully to utilize these possibilities, the Communists must, once and for all, rid themselves of the prejudice that such activity is not fitting for a revolutionary worker or that it is unworthy of him. You will recall the old legend of the capture of Troy. Troy had protected itself against the attacking army by an insuperable wall, and the attacking army, which had had heavy losses, could not gain victory—until it succeeded, with the aid of the Trojan Horse, in penetrating into the city, into the very heart of the enemy. We revolutionary workers must not be ashamed of employing the same tactics against our Fascist enemy."

The second method was that of "partial demands." According to the belief that he who offers much, offers something to many, the individual strata or groups within each people were to be baited and won over through concessions to a part of their demands, such as democracy, religious freedom, prevention of war, etc. By these means, all forces that were anti-Fascist, no matter for what reason, were to be co-ordinated and brought under the systematic, uniform will of the Communists.

THE SLOGAN OF OPPORTUNISM

These two methods represent the most extreme opportunism of tactics imaginable. Ercoli found what can be called a classic formula for it in his speech at the last World Congress: "If it is necessary, in order to reach the people, to speak a new language, discard bare formulas, destroy old plans, change the methods of work, reshape the forms of organization—well then, we shall do so without the least hesitation."

This policy reached its climax barely one year later in the formation of the Popular Front Government in France (June 5, 1936) and in the Spanish Civil War (outbreak: July 18, 1936).

In this skillful maneuvering, Moscow finally faced the favorable constellation in which France, of all nations the one most threatened internally by the Comintern, was allied with the Soviet Union in her foreign policy and, as a result, was crippled in her power of resistance against the Comintern threat. Nevertheless, it remained an irreconcilable contradiction, in spite of all Ercoli's dialectics, that the Soviet Union was striving for a strengthening of the military power of its allies France and Czechoslovakia while the Comintern was pursuing the goal of strengthening the French and Czechoslovakian Communist Parties, which were undermining the military power of France and Czechoslovakia.

The better this shortsighted policy with its double bottom was functioning, the faster did it hurtle toward its bankruptcy. The catastrophe developed simultaneously in Spain and France.

In Spain, the formation of a Popular Front Government led to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in the summer of 1936. Constant inner friction within the camp of the Popular Front, largely a result of the claims to leadership on the part of the Communist Party and the interference of Soviet advisers in Spanish affairs, led to the outbreak of a civil war within the Popular Front and contributed to General Franco's victory in 1939.

In France, the Popular Front ruled—with interruptions—from the formation of the first Blum Cabinet on June 5, 1936, until Daladier's break with the Communists on October 4, 1938. This period, so disastrous for France, resulted in total disorganization. Strikes, social strife, the introduction of the 40-hour week, and numerous other measures, weakened France to such a degree that she was plunged into a catastrophe in 1940.

1939 TO 1942

(Fifth and Sixth Periods)

The fifth period in the development of the Comintern came when the Soviet Government, alarmed by the strengthening of the Rome-Berlin Axis as a result of Franco's victory and the weakening

of France, signed a pact with Germany on August 23, 1939. A few days later, the war broke out between Germany and the western democracies. From this moment on, it was the design of the Bolshevik leaders to keep the Soviet Union out of the war for the time being, in order to be able later on to lead the intact Red Army against a Europe weakened through fratricidal warfare and through the subversive activities of the Comintern.

This was a time of great difficulty for the Comintern. After years of Popular Front propaganda, the Communists in the democratic countries had the thankless task of explaining the sudden desertion of the Soviet Union from the democratic camp, the brutal attack upon Finland, and the procedure against Poland and the Baltic States. This strain was too much for the Popular Front. It lost face and power everywhere. The countless sympathizers deserted again. Only those who were ready unconditionally to carry out any gyrations ordered by Moscow could be kept in line.

The development of the war progressed much faster than Moscow had hoped. Instead of the European powers slowly wearing each other out in long-drawn-out struggles, the German Army and its allies quickly overran the entire European continent, being aided in this by the disintegration of its enemies through the Comintern. After the completion of the Balkan campaign, only England remained. The Soviet Union had to hurry if it did not want to see its last possible ally in Europe against Germany disappear. On June 22, 1941, Germany forestalled Moscow in its plans.

And thus began the sixth, the present period in the development of the Comintern. In many ways, it resembles the fourth period, that of the "Popular

Front," except that the emphasis of the Bolshevik activity is directed at Great Britain and the USA instead of at France and Czechoslovakia, and that the Soviet Union, as the ally of the former two powers, possesses far greater possibilities for subversive activities than ever before.

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This issue will reach our readers on the twenty-fifth anniversary of one of the strangest, bloodiest, and most fateful events in history—that of the Bolsheviks' accession to power in Russia. Shortly afterwards the Comintern was founded. Thus the two fists of Bolshevism, Soviet Russia and the Comintern, have been working for a quarter of a century, sometimes side by side and sometimes on separate roads, towards their one goal—the Bolshevization of the world.

During the last sixteen months, the armies of Europe have swept Bolshevism from its richest possessions in European Russia, and its hold over the rest has been seriously shaken. But in watching the spectacular successes of Europe against the USSR, the world, especially the so-called democratic countries including India and Chungking, should not forget that Bolshevism has one more weapon, the Comintern, which is doing its utmost to find compensation for every inch of ground lost in Europe by gains in Asia or America.

For true Bolsheviks, Russia is only a name. One day they may call the last twenty-five years "the Russian episode of Bolshevism." For them, the death of millions of Russians is not to be regretted if it means that they can shift the Red Flag from the Kremlin to Bombay or Pittsburgh, and if the Don and the Volga are replaced by the Thames, the Ganges, and the Hudson.

