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**TEN YEARS  
OF THE  
COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL**

**BY  
I. KOMOR**



**PRICE SIXPENCE**

The First Four Congresses  
of Comintern







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THE COMMUNIST  
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# TEN YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

## THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

**I**MMEDIATELY after the establishment of the Comintern, April 15th, 1919, Lenin wrote an article entitled "The Place of the Third International in History," in which he lays down the historical role of that organisation.

"The First International,"\* says Lenin, "laid the foundation of the proletarian international struggle for socialism. The Second International† prepared the ground for a wide extension of the movement in a number of countries. The Third International succeeded to the fruits of the work of the Second International, threw overboard its opportunist social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ballast and made a beginning with the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This is the great historic importance of the Communist International. The realisation of proletarian dictatorship is the task of a whole historic epoch, the extension of which we, Leninists, cannot determine by a definite date. The first stronghold of proletarian dictatorship—the Soviet Union, has

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\* 1864-1872.

† 1889-1914.

been in existence eleven years, and is going towards socialism. "On the Russian proletariat has devolved the great honour of being first in the field," says Lenin in his address at the opening of the April Conference of the Party in 1917, "but it must not forget that its movement and revolution constitute merely a part of the world revolutionary proletarian movement which is growing in strength from day to day."

According to this viewpoint of Lenin, the working class of the Soviet Union must consider the ten years' history of the Comintern as a phase of the great epoch of struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The Russian workers started this—the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world will bring it to a finish under the leadership of the Comintern.

The ten years of the militant history of the Comintern confirm the statement of the First Congress of the Comintern according to which "the Third International is the International of open mass action, the International of revolutionary realisation, the International of practical action." (Manifesto of the First Congress.) While at the first Constituent Congress of the Comintern only 11 Communist Parties were represented (the other delegates represented only groups, nuclei and embryonic Communist Parties), 59 Communist Parties participated in the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. This figure alone shows that the Comintern has become a world Party in the first ten years of its existence, has been transformed into a world organisation spread over all parts of the globe.

At the time of the establishment of the Comintern, the imperialist world had isolated the Soviet Republics and everything which went on within their frontiers by means of a "real conspiracy of silence." (Lenin in the article quoted above.) The bourgeoisie endeavoured to surround also the Communist International with "a conspiracy of silence." At present, no one can simply ignore the Comintern. The bourgeois slogan at the present juncture with regard to the Comintern is: *strangulation, brutal persecution*. The majority of the 59 Communist Parties represented at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern work *illegally*, and the rest of the Parties are being gradually deprived of legal possibilities of work. This persecution of the Sections of the Comintern is one of the best proofs that "the spectre of Communism" has become a real and a growing danger to the imperialist bourgeoisie. A "danger" which the bourgeoisie and its ally, social-democracy, full of intense hatred, are endeavouring to remove, but which, in spite of persecution, is growing continually and, *via* victories and defeats, is marching towards the inevitable final victory. "Let the bourgeoisie do its worst, let it kill thousands of workers, victory is ours, the victory of the world Communist revolution is guaranteed." (Lenin; speech at the opening of the First Congress of the Comintern.)

Imperialism, says the Programme of the Comintern, "binds the whole world in chains of finance capital; forces its yoke upon the proletariat and the nations and races of all countries by methods of blood, iron and starvation; sharpens to an im-

measurable degree the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat.”

The opportunist Second International of Social-Democracy has become an agency of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. However, to counter-balance it throughout the world there is “the Third, Communist International—the international organisation of the working class which embodies the real unity of the revolutionary workers of the world.” (Programme of the C.I. Introduction.) The Comintern was created under Lenin’s leadership, Lenin was the great advocate of the creation of the Third International, and its founder. Under Lenin’s banner and under the leadership of Lenin’s Party, the Comintern has established its strength in the first ten years of its existence, and has been converted into an invincible revolutionary force.

AGAINST REFORMISM AND TREACHERY—FOR THE  
RESTORATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

ON August 4th, 1914, the beginning of the world war, Rosa Luxemburg called the German social-democracy "*a stinking corpse.*" On November 1st, 1914, Lenin followed up this with: "The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International."\* On the same day was issued the manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) on the imperialist war. The manifesto of the Bolsheviks condemned the war as an imperialist slaughter caused by the ruling classes—the finance and industrial bourgeoisie and its government. "The war is the beginning of the disintegration of the capitalist system," says the manifesto. "It calls forth the growth of the forces which make for an economic and political crisis, it intensifies and accentuates the discontent of the toiling masses, it leads them to civil war. The task of the socialists does not consist in being afraid of civil war, but in getting ready for such a war and for a proletarian revolution." The manifesto divulges the treachery of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties and calls upon all consistent internationalists to explain to the masses the real character of the war, to expose the treachery of these leaders, to break off all relations with them, to carry on work among the masses under the slogan "Down with the imperialist war,

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\* "The position and tasks of the Socialist International," *Social Democrat*, No. 33.

transform it into civil war directed against your own governments. Long live proletarian revolution and socialism.”

This constituted the ideological platform of the struggle for the creation of the Third International. The task consisted in uniting, in the period of the fierce world slaughter, those forces of the international labour movement which were capable of putting into practice the slogan “Transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.” The difficulties of this struggle were very noticeable at the international conferences held during the war in Switzerland. Lenin’s views concerning the collapse of the Second International and the necessity of acting in the spirit of the decisions of the Basle Congress of the Second International in 1912 (in accordance with which the crisis created by the war must be used by the social-democrats for “the acceleration of the downfall of capitalism,” in the spirit of the Paris Commune and of the Russian revolution of 1905), did not only meet at these conferences with resistance on the part of avowed opportunists, but had even to go through an extremely difficult ideological struggle with the centrists, semi-internationalists who under the cloak of revolutionary phraseology rejected the consistent viewpoint of Lenin and his conclusions.

The first international conference held in the spirit of struggle against war was the International Women’s Conference in April, 1915. The conference was held at the initiative of the Bolsheviki and of comrade Klara Zetkin. It was attended by representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, the



Scandinavian countries and Switzerland. The majority of the conference represented the viewpoint of struggle against war, but it rejected the consistent Leninist viewpoint defended by comrades Krupskaya and Inez Armand. Speaking of the results of the Women's Conference, Lenin described the resolution of the majority as follows: "Not a sound in condemnation of the traitors, not a word about opportunism, merely a repetition of the ideas of the Basle resolution! Just as if nothing serious had happened—just a small casual mistake, so let us repeat the old decision—just a slight divergence, and not on a matter of principle, so let us plaster it up! Surely this is downright mockery with regard to the decisions of the International, and with regard to the workers." (Article "On Struggle Against Social Chauvinism"—*Social Democrat*, 1-6-1915.) However, the Women's Conference adopted the manifesto against the war.

A step forward was the International Youth Conference, which was also held in April, 1915, in Berne. The organiser and leader of this conference was Willi Münzenberg. The conference was imbued with the rebel spirit of Karl Liebknecht. The resolutions of the conference bear witness of its revolutionary spirit. However, here, too, the slogan, "Transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war" did not get any recognition. Nevertheless, this youth conference is of considerable historic importance; it passed the resolution on observance of International Youth Day as a day of anti-war struggle, it founded the organ "Youth International," to which Lenin became a contributor.

The Berne Youth Conference was an important step towards the establishment of the Communist Youth International.

"Slowly," says Lenin, "moves the development of the international socialist movement in the epoch of the very serious crisis caused by the war. It moves, nevertheless, towards a break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. The International Socialist Conference in Zimmerwald (Switzerland), September 5th, 1915, has shown this very clearly." (*Social Democrat*, No. 45-46, 11-10-1915, "The First Step.")

On the initiative of the Italian and Swiss socialists, invitations to the conference were sent to all internationalists who disagreed with the social-patriots and advocated class struggle against the war. Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought that only the most consistent and revolutionary internationalists, internationalists who were for the slogan "Transformation of imperialist war into civil war" should be invited. However, the conference was convened on the above-mentioned basis. Two tendencies soon made themselves felt at the conference. The majority was under the leadership of Ledebour (Germany) and Martov (the Russian Menshevik). This majority declared itself internationalist, condemned the tactics of the social-patriots and recognised the necessity of class struggle also during the war. It rejected, however, all Lenin's conclusions concerning the necessity of accentuating and extending the class struggle to the extent of civil war, concerning the proletarian revolution, the ruthless exposure of all treacherous leaders before the masses,

concerning the necessity of breaking with these leaders and organising a new International.

Under Lenin's leadership the "Zimmerwald Left" participated in the conference in spite of its attitude to the majority of this conference, and signed the manifesto because it meant "a step forward." At the same time the "left" began the struggle against the "half-heartedness" of the majority and its readiness to make peace with the opportunists. "The international revolutionary-Marxist section of the conference"—as Lenin calls the "Zimmerwald Left"—expressed openly at the conference its opinion of the majority. Lenin pointed out that the manifesto proclaims "the necessity of arousing the revolutionary spirit," but says nothing in a straightforward, open and definite manner about the revolutionary means of struggle." (Lenin, "The First Step.")

In the quoted article, comrade Lenin comes to the conclusion that the manifesto of the Zimmerwald Conference means a step towards ideological and practical break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. At the same time he condemns the "inconsistency and incompleteness" of the manifesto.

The draft resolution of the "left" was rejected at the conference by 19 votes against 12. But after the conference it became the basis of the further work of the "left." Soon after the Zimmerwald Conference, the "left" began to publish *Vorbote* in German and *The Communist* in the Russian language, strengthening at the same time its influence in all the countries.

The "Zimmerwald Left" is the first nucleus of the Communist International. The path from the "left" to the Comintern is the path of struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, the path of an increasingly ruthless exposure of the traitors and of an ever-growing realisation of the necessity of creating a new International.

A characteristic stage along this path is the Kienthal Conference (or the Second Zimmerwald Conference). At this conference the left is already better represented, it constitutes about one-half of the conference. Here also "two views, two tactics" are represented, as stated by Zinoviev in his article "Zimmerwald-Kienthal": "Some think that the Second International has suffered shipwreck, and that in the fire lit by the world war are being forged the premises for the Third International, an International free from opportunism and nationalism. Others again have not understood the character of the war, nor the character of the crisis through which socialism is going." ("Against the Stream.") However, the relative majority was already more on the side of the "left."

The war of 1914-1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary International, as a counterpoise to the Second Socialist-Chauvinist International, and as a weapon of resistance to bellicose imperialism (Zimmerwald-Kienthal). The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centres of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919 the Communist International was formed.

## THE NEW EPOCH

*"Under the banner of the Workers' Soviets, of the revolutionary struggle for power and proletarian dictatorship, under the banner of the Third International—workers of the world, unite!" (From the Manifesto of the Constituent Congress of the Comintern.)*

“**O**UR Party must not wait but must found the Third International immediately. . . .” wrote Lenin on April 10th, 1917, in the pamphlet “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution.” The shock to world capitalism, the accentuation of the class struggle and the direct influence of the October revolution created the revolutionary foundation for the establishment of the Communist International. A breach was made in the imperialist front; in its weakest spot, in Russia the imperialist war was transformed into civil war, and in the conflagration of the civil war the proletarian revolution was victorious. The October revolution, for the first time in human history, set up and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, brought into being a new Soviet type of State and laid the foundations for the international proletarian revolution.

The characteristic feature of the Third International consists in the fact that it is called upon “to carry out, to put into practice the behests of Marxism and to make the old ideals of socialism and of the Labour movement a reality; this most characteristic feature of the Third International immediately asserted itself by the fact that the new,

third 'International Workingmen's Association' began to coincide to a certain extent with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." (Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History," written on April 15th, 1919.) The birth of the Third International took place under the ægis of proletarian dictatorship, and rested on the first victorious proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Russia.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party strove consistently for the immediate establishment of the Communist International. On January 24th, 1919, the C.C. of the Bolshevik Party, together with a number of other Parties, issued a Manifesto, in which the necessity of convening a congress of advocates of the new International is explained.

The sympathy for the proletarian revolution in Russia and the interest in Bolshevism were rapidly growing. Under the influence of the victorious proletarian revolution, of the intense post-war capitalist crisis and of the accentuation of the class struggle in a number of capitalist countries, the revolutionary elements of all the socialist parties began to throw vacillation to the winds and to group themselves around Lenin and his Party. On the other hand, the leaders of the Second International endeavoured, at the conference in Berne, to revive that International. All this helped to clear up the position of the revolutionary elements.

The Manifesto of eight organisations invited the representatives of all Parties, groups and tendencies which, in connection with the war and the crisis in the International, had declared themselves advocates of the proletarian revolution and of the organisation

of a new International. This Manifesto met with a ready response among all the Communist elements of the Labour movement.

From March 4th to 7th, 1919, the Constituent Congress of the Communist International took place in Moscow. Apart from the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) the following organisations were represented at this Congress: the Communist Party of Germany (an outcome of the "Spartakus Bund"), the Communist Party of Austria and Hungary, the left circles of social-democracy in Sweden and Norway, the American Socialist Labour Party, the revolutionary Balkan Federation, the Communist Parties of Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia, the oppositional circles of the Socialist Party of Switzerland and other groups, including one representative of the Zimmerwald Left from France.

It was decided at the conference which preceded the Congress to reject the proposal of the representative of the German Communists concerning the postponement of the establishment of a new International, and to convert the Congress into a constituent congress of the Communist International. Having heard the reports of the representatives of the various countries, the Congress turned its attention to the elaboration of the Platform of the Communist International.

The Platform deals with the chief contradictions of imperialism which are leading to its downfall. The imperialist war, an inevitable result of capitalist development, has called forth a rebellion of the masses against the capitalist classes. The

transformation of the imperialist war into civil war in a number of countries, and the victory of the proletariat in Russia have ushered in a new epoch of Communist revolutions. Conquest of political power has become the order of the day for the proletariat of all countries. The final victory of the proletariat can be guaranteed only through the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. The aim of the proletariat in the near future is—organisation of the International Soviet Republic. The means of struggle are—all the forms of mass struggle, including the highest form, armed insurrection.

The main problem before the Congress was the consideration of the question of "bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship." In the epoch of imperialist wars and revolutions dictatorship is only possible in the form of domination by one class—dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat. Democracy has been converted by the bourgeoisie and the social traitors into an instrument of struggle against the liberation of the working class, into counter-revolutionary support for the tottering bourgeois rule. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power draws the most destitute and the widest possible sections of workers into all the forms of social and political activity. Therefore, it represents the most consistent proletarian democracy.

On the basis of the statement of the Zimmerwald Left, the First Congress of the Comintern decided to consider the Zimmerwald Association dissolved.

Having discussed the attempt to revive the Second International, the Congress considered in a special



resolution the tendencies in the Second International before and during the war, came to the conclusion that three main tendencies existed there. The first tendency is the social-chauvinist. The typical representatives of this tendency are the German social democrats who share power with the German bourgeoisie and "who have become the assassins of the leaders of the Communist International—Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The social-chauvinists are the class enemies of the proletariat."

The second tendency is the so-called centrist tendency. The resolution explains the development of this tendency of Kautskyists and German independents from outward opposition to the social-chauvinists to complete identification with them.

The third tendency is the Communist tendency. In the Second International this tendency defended the Communist-Marxist views on war, but remained in the minority. The group of left radicals (subsequently the Spartacus group in Germany), the Bolshevik Party in Russia, the Left-Wing of the Youth International in a number of countries formed the first nucleus of the new International.

The Manifesto of the First Congress indicates the main features of the development of the Labour movement and of socialism, from the creation of the First International by Marx and Engels, *via* the collapse of the Second International, and up to the moment of the establishment of the Comintern. The Communist International sets itself the task of co-ordinating the genuine revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of proletarian

dictatorship. As an immediate task, the Manifesto indicates the strengthening of existing and the organisation of new Communist Parties in all countries, a complete break with opportunism and relentless struggle against it, *rapprochement* between the proletariat of the advanced western countries and the oppressed peoples of the East, unification of the struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry, active help to the first proletarian State of the world.

The appeal of the First Congress of the Comintern fell on fertile ground.

After the First Congress began the ideological and organisational growth of the Comintern. The characteristic feature of the first period of the post-war capitalist crisis—the period of actual revolutionary crisis—was a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions. During the first period of the existence of the Comintern, between its First and Second Congresses we witnessed: the proletarian revolution in Hungary, the Soviet Government in Bavaria and the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey. “The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow, which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918-1921) ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of other countries.” (*Programme of the Comintern.*) Why could not the Comintern, in these first attempts, achieve the same results as its founder, the Bolshevik Party, in the October revolution and in the civil war in Russia? The Programme of the Communist International gives a direct answer to this question: “These defeats were

primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the social-democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet been established at all."

In spite of these defeats, the Comintern developed enormously in the first years of its existence. The news of the organisation of the new International accentuated the inner-Party struggle in the socialist parties of the West, called forth a series of splits and affiliations of the seceded Communist organisations and groups to the Comintern.

At the time of the Second Congress of the Comintern, which was opened on July 19th, 1920, in Moscow, representatives of 66 Parties and organisations of 35 countries participated in its work. At the time of the Second Congress the victories of the Red Army, the rapid success of Communism in the western Labour movement, and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the East made the Comintern very popular. This rapid growth of the popularity of the Comintern brought with it the danger of undesirable and even hostile elements penetrating into its ranks. The historic task of the Second Congress of the Comintern consisted in closing the road to the Comintern to all but genuine Communist elements, by means of the famous "21 conditions."

The representatives of the "centrists" from the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and of the left in the French Socialist Party de-

clared at the Congress that in a number of questions they agreed with the Comintern. They failed, however, to understand the revolutionary epoch, and demanded easier conditions of admission and also more freedom for the individual national sections.

Yet another "left" tendency made its appearance at the Congress. The representative of this tendency was the Communist Labour Party of Germany, and also a section of the Italian and Dutch Communists. This tendency visualised the struggle for Soviet power in the European countries solely in the form of armed insurrection. It rejected struggle for the capture of the trade union rank and file, participation in bourgeois parliaments and utilisation of other legal possibilities, being of the opinion that the new epoch which had just begun demands complete relinquishment of these "obsolete methods of struggle."

On the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the Congress directed its main attack against the right, emphasising the necessity of simultaneous struggle against "left" tendencies. In his pamphlet, Lenin emphasises that Bolshevism grew, gained in strength and steadfastness first and foremost and mainly in the struggle against opportunism. In the already mentioned pamphlet Lenin writes that "this enemy (opportunism) is still the chief enemy, on an international scale. This enemy received, and still receives, maximum attention from Bolshevism." The left tendency is considered by Lenin on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party and is described by him as follows:

“The petty-bourgeoisie brought to a state of frenzy by the horrors of capitalism, is a social phenomenon appertaining, just as anarchism, to all capitalist countries.” Lenin condemns “the instability of such revolutionism.” The rejection of compromise “on principle” by the left is mere “childishness.” In this pamphlet Lenin also explains that there are compromises and compromises. “One should be able,” writes Lenin, “to analyse the circumstances and concrete conditions of every compromise or of every variety of compromise.”

The decision of the Second World Congress on the role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power explains the attitude of the Comintern towards the left and the right tendency.

The discussion of the national question by the Second Congress of the Comintern is important from the viewpoint of principle. On the basis of Lenin's Theses the national-liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples is described in the resolution of the Second World Congress as the inevitable result of capitalist development and as the inevitable element in the growing proletarian revolution. On the basis of Lenin's Theses, the Congress pointed out that there is an indissoluble connection between the national and the peasant question. Just as in the individual countries, the union between the working class and the fundamental mass of the peasantry constitutes a premise for the victory of the proletariat and the consolidation of its dictatorship, the world victory of the

proletariat demands the unification of the struggle of the advanced toiling masses of the West with that of the oppressed nationalities of all countries.

The discussion of the question of revolutionary parliamentarism at the Second World Congress is of great importance to the entire subsequent revolutionary parliamentary work of the Comintern. The Congress exposed the opportunist parliamentarism of the parties of the Second International, and issued the direction of revolutionary utilisation of parliament and of other forms of bourgeois democracy for the purpose of strengthening Communist influence among the masses.

This revolutionary parliamentarism is essential for all Communists in countries where the Soviet power has not yet been established.

The trade union question played an important role at the Second Congress. Work in trade unions is one of the most important tasks of all the Communist Parties. For a Communist Party the conquest of power cannot be thought of without the energetic participation of the widest possible masses including the organised. Immediately after the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Red International of Labour Unions was established in Moscow. The Manifesto of the Second World Congress exposes the treacherous role of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, and invites affiliation to the Red International of Labour Unions.

The resolutions of the Second Congress are of great importance to the ten years' struggle of the Comintern and to the whole period of its development. In the years of struggle which followed the

Second Congress, these resolutions served as a guide, and their decisions in questions of principle are included in the Programme of the Communist International.

The resolutions of the Second World Congress accelerated the establishment of clarity in the ranks of the followers of the Third International. In rapid succession, Communist Parties were formed in Great Britain, America, Italy (through splits in the Socialist Parties) and Czecho-Slovakia. The split in the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany strengthened the Communist Party. The Congress of the Peoples of the East convened in the U.S.S.R. associated itself with the resolutions of the Second Congress. A beginning was made in Japan with the formation of a Communist Party. The same happened in Roumania.

The acute post-war capitalist crisis was nearing its end. With the help of the social-democracy, capitalism was emerging gradually from this crisis. "As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilisation of capitalist relations." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

However, in spite of these defeats, the Comintern was converted, in the first years of its existence, into a world Party, which, in spite of persecutions and defeats, was strengthening its ranks, and was continuing on a world scale the struggle for the capture of the masses.

THE "STABILISATION" OF CAPITALISM AND THE  
STABILISATION OF THE WORLD ORGANISATION OF  
THE COMINTERN  
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

**I**MPERIALISM is therefore moribund and decaying capitalism. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. It is the threshold of world social revolution." (*Programme of the Comintern.*) In the period of a prolonged general crisis in the capitalist system the Communist Party must fulfil its historic task—the conquest of proletarian dictatorship. However, to be able to carry out this the Communist Party must have a clear conception of the strategical premises of a victorious proletarian revolution. First of all it must set itself the strategical aim of capturing the majority of its own class, and it must achieve this aim. The fundamental slogan of the Third Congress of the Comintern (June 22nd-July 12th, 1921) was precisely emphasis of the necessity of capturing the proletarian masses for the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

This fundamental slogan was determined by the change in the world situation at the time of the Third Congress. When, with the help of social-democracy, capitalism had somewhat recovered from the acute post-war crisis, it began an offensive against the working class in the economic and political spheres. The organ of power of the capitalist class—the capitalist State—had regained its strength and had also begun an attack on the revolutionary working class. After a number of defeats (in Hungary, Italy, Germany, etc.) the working class had to go from offensive to defensive. In its



work the Second World Congress of the Comintern took into consideration this change in the international situation.

To understand the resolutions of the Third Congress it is essential to study the state of the world economy. Was the Comintern right in estimating the contemporary epoch as the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and of the rapid growth of the proletarian revolution? The answer of the Third Congress of this question is: Although capitalism has consolidated itself to a certain extent, its disintegration continues. However, this disintegration is not without interruptions and is developing, not in a direct line which leads to the precipice, but by way of a series of booms and slumps. The activity of the masses, throttled by defeats and want, is bound to revive as soon as the economic situation becomes brighter. The revival of capitalist economy does not mean that capitalism's sickness unto death has been overcome. This sickness unto death—the insuperable capitalist contradictions—continues to have effect under various conditions and in various forms.

The question of the recuperation of capitalism in the tendency to further development, raised by the Third Congress of the Comintern, was given a more and more definite formulation in the subsequent deliberations of the Comintern, on the basis of the characteristic features of the post-war development of capitalism which were becoming more and more evident. The Fifth World Congress formulated the decision on the stabilisation of capitalism and emphasised the relativity of this stabi-

lisation. The Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern formulated very carefully, on the basis of new incidents, the decision on the transitory, unstable character of the stabilisation. In any case, the corresponding consideration of the question by the Third International determined in principle the character of the entire subsequent work of the Comintern.

As important with regard to principle are the detailed decisions of the Third World Congress on questions of tactics. The Third Congress drew lessons from the defeat of the March action of 1921 in Germany, and condemned the then "left" majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which, by considering "attack" as the only suitable method of struggle, was artificially accelerating the March events. The Third Congress condemned this "offensive-theory," and proposed to the Communist Party to carry out a more careful and systematic preparation of proletarian struggles. At the same time the Third Congress condemned severely the right, who described the March insurrection as a "putsch," and confirmed the expulsion of Levy from the ranks of the Comintern.

"Having organised ourselves into a Party," said Lenin at the Third Congress of the Comintern, "we must learn to prepare revolution," Lenin attacked those who do not know what the word masses means. "To achieve victory one must have the sympathy of the masses." "An absolute majority is not always necessary. However, for victory, for the retention of power, one must have

on one's side not only the majority of the working class, but also the majority of the exploited toiling rural population.” Bolshevik experience, applied to the lessons of past struggles, brought forward at the Third World Congress the slogan: “To the masses!”

The Third Congress discussed, in the spirit of the Second Congress, the question of work in trade unions and organisational questions, developing still further the decisions of the preceding Congress on these matters.

Of great importance is the decision of the Third World Congress on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party. The Congress fully endorsed the correctness of the change in the economic policy. The tactics of the New Economic Policy, declared the Third World Congress, is of international importance, theoretically and practically. Therefore, the Congress resolved to explain the character of this policy to the toiling masses of all countries.

“When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. United front tactics also occupy an important place in the tactics of the Communist Parties throughout the whole pre-revolutionary period as a means towards achieving success in the struggle against capital, towards the class mobilisation of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.” (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

The basis for this statement in the Programme of the Comintern was elaborated on the basis of the decision of the Third Congress by the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December, 1921, in the united front theses.

These theses explain the character of the tactics laid down at the Third Congress in the slogan "To the masses!" The united front should be interpreted as unity of all workers who are prepared to strive for the greatest possible unity of all the Labour organisations, and must take into their hands the initiative for joint action. The task of the Communist International and its sections consists in exposing before the masses the social-democrats who are destroying the united front of the proletariat. However, the necessary premise for this is complete independence of the Communist Party and full freedom of criticism for Communists. The First Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in February-March, 1922, also dealt with the question of the united front. The idea of the necessity of a united proletarian front to resist the bourgeois offensive was penetrating more and more into the consciousness of the toiling masses. Under the pressure of the masses, the leaders of the Second and Two-and-a-Half (Vienna) Internationals were compelled to seek means of contact with the Comintern for the discussion of this question. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern discussed the proposal of the Two-and-a-Half International concerning the convocation of a conference of the three Internationals. The French Com-

munists declared at this Plenum that they consider possible the application of the united front tactics only in the economic sphere. The Italian “left,” headed by Bordiga, declared that the united front tactics is possible only in the trade union sphere. To counter-balance these erroneous views, the Enlarged Plenum elaborated a resolution on the basis of the above-mentioned decision of the Executive Committee. In this decision the Executive Committee emphasises that the application of the united front tactics is the duty of every Communist Party, that this tactics constitutes a powerful means of exposing the opportunism of the reformist leaders and of dissociating the toiling masses from these leaders, and also of uniting the proletarian masses under the banner of the Comintern. As a result of the discussions, the Comintern accepted the proposal of participation in the conference of the three Internationals.

The Conference of the three Internationals led to the election of a Commission in which all the three Internationals were represented. The Conference resolved to carry out a joint demonstration and brought forward, in connection with it, slogans of joint struggle for the eight-hour day, against unemployment, for proletarian unity in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, for the Russian revolution, and for the establishment of political and economic relations with Russia by all countries, as well as for the organisation of a united proletarian front in all countries. Soon after this conference the reformists convened a conference of their own at which the united front of the Second

and Two-and-a-Half Internationals against the Comintern materialised.

The lessons of these events were summed up by the Second Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in June, 1922. The Plenum placed on record that, in spite of the break up of the Unity Commission, the premises of the united front tactics still exist, and will even play a more important role than before. Therefore, the Comintern must continue to strive for the establishment of the united front.

The final lessons of the united front tactics were laid down by the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern (June 17th-July 8th, 1924). The Fifth Congress summed up the October events, 1923, in Germany and declared that in a number of sections of the Comintern, "right" as well as "left" tendencies were noticeable in the application of the united front tactics.

The right brought to nought the fundamental task of the united front tactics, forgetting that the main object of this tactics is the exposure of the treacherous leaders and the liberation of the toiling masses from their influence. They interpreted the united front slogan, first and foremost, as a call to conciliation, and even to unification, with the social-democratic upper strata. This distortion of the united front tactics on the part of the right had very serious consequences during the revolutionary crisis in Germany, October, 1923. The majority of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by Brandler, entered into an alliance with the upper stratum of the "left" social-democrats,

and was betrayed by them at the decisive moment.

On the other hand, "ultra-left" elements (Italy, Germany, France) distorted the united front tactics, sabotaging work in the proletarian mass organisations, chiefly in the trade unions, under the pretext that these organisations are under reformist leadership.

"A correct application of the united front tactics, and, generally speaking, the solution of the problem of capturing the masses, presupposes, in its turn, systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass organisations of the proletariat," says the Programme of the Comintern. The Fifth Congress of the C.I. elaborated an exact formulation of the united front tactics in this spirit. This decision rejects the united front only with the upper stratum of the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions. Application of the united front tactics *from below* (with the masses) is essential always and everywhere. The establishment of a united front from below, simultaneously with negotiations with the reformist upper stratum, is admissible only in countries where social-democracy is still very strong.

At the Fifth Congress the slogan of the Third Congress of the Comintern "To the masses" is given additional emphasis: "To the masses and again to the masses!" is the call of the Fifth World Congress.

In pursuance of the line of the Third World Congress of the Comintern, i.e., the line of struggle for the capture of the masses and for the development of the Communist Parties into real

mass Parties of the proletariat, the Fifth Congress made a number of extremely important organisational decisions.

Of paramount importance to the further development of the Comintern is the direction concerning the organisation of factory nuclei. The decisions of the Fifth World Congress concerning the organisational construction of the Communist Parties, the functions of the Party Committees and their relations with Communist fractions in trade unions and other mass organisations, and also concerning the organisation of mass work among non-Party working men and women, led to the thorough reorganisation of all the Sections of the Comintern in the organisational sphere.

All these decisions were adopted by the Fifth World Congress on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, and were confirmed by it in a special resolution on the "Bolshevisation" of the Sections of the Comintern. This decision summed up the whole experience of the Leninist Bolshevik Party, which is of international importance, and was transmitted to all Sections of the Communist International and put into practice there.

In connection with the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany (1923), the Fifth World Congress placed on record the relative stabilisation of capitalism. It emphasised, however, at the same time the temporary character of this stabilisation. A series of phenomena in Germany, France, Great Britain, etc., and also the growing discontent of the toiling masses and the accentuation of the class struggle bear witness, as confirmed by the Fifth



World Congress, of the instability of this stabilisation.

During the Fifth Congress, Fascism celebrated in several countries its victorious offensive against the defeated working class. In other countries the "democratic era" set in.

Fearing revolution, the bourgeoisie was compelled to substitute for the mailed fist policy the policy of deceit by means of seeming concessions. The Programme of the Communist International describes as follows the application of these two methods of bourgeois rule: "Adapting itself to the change in the political situation, the bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of Fascism or to the method of coalition with social-democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while social-democracy itself often plays a Fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism." Mussolini's rule in Italy and the Labour Government in Great Britain are two classical examples of these two methods of bourgeois rule.

## FOR THE SOVIET UNION

“IN view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements, and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must, on its part, facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and defend her against the attacks of the capitalist Powers by all the means in its power.” In the spirit of these words of the Programme of the Comintern, the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern (November 5th-December 5th, 1922) assumed the form of a demonstration of the Comintern for the Russian revolution. The Fourth World Congress met on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Power. The reports on the Fifth Anniversary of the Soviet Power were made by Lenin, Klara Zetkin and Bela Kun. In these reports and in the resolutions on this question, stress was laid on the importance of the October revolution and of the existence of the Soviet Power for the cause of international revolution and for the Comintern.

The Fourth World Congress took place after the Fascist *coup d'état* in Italy. In connection with the consolidation of White Terror in all countries, the Congress called upon the Communist Parties of all countries to organise material and moral support for political prisoners in bourgeois jails. Thus, the Fourth Congress laid the foundation of the I.R.A. (I.C.W.P.A.).

The Fourth Congress discussed the question of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and pointed out, in

this connection, the growing danger of new wars. This question was discussed in the Comintern at the First Enlarged Plenum of its Executive. This Plenum adopted the decision of strengthening Communist work in the armies, and especially among the youth. Soon after the Fourth Congress, at the Third Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in the middle of 1923, the Comintern took up once more the question of the growth of the war danger.

## THE GROWTH OF THE COMINTERN AND OF ITS SECTIONS

**I**N the years between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses, the Communist International extended its influence considerably. The organisations of its Sections gained in strength. The numerical development of the Communist Parties is not a criterion of their consolidation. The growing persecution of the Communist Parties hinders the growth of the organisations. The growing influence of the Communist Parties is noticeable in the role they play in the class struggles, in their influence in the trade unions and other mass organisations and also at parliamentary elections. The number of votes polled by the Communists is considerably increased in many countries.

In several countries the Communist Parties have achieved considerable success with regard to the establishment of mass organisations which are under their influence, this in accordance with the decisions of the Fifth Congress. We would like to mention, as an example of this, the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany which is well-known to workers throughout the world.

Of particular importance in the struggle of the Comintern is the Communist Youth International, the leader of the revolutionary young proletariat in all countries. From its very inception, the Communist Youth International has been leading the revolutionary struggle of the young proletariat and has been in all countries the loyal supporter of Communism, the growth of which it endeavours to promote in every possible way.

## BEFORE ANOTHER WORLD WAR

**F**OUR years passed between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses of the Comintern. During these years the attention of the militant front of the Communist International was concentrated on events of enormous historic importance to the whole world. During this period we witnessed the gigantic struggle between the British miners and the capitalists and the nine days' General Strike. A series of colonial insurrections and wars, and, first and foremost, the Chinese revolution sapped the roots of world imperialism. In 1927, we witnessed in the Vienna streets a sanguinary struggle of the workers against growing Austrian Fascism. "These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution, which shook the whole Asiatic Continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

As a result of the first imperialist World War and of the October victory of the proletariat in Russia, the whole world split into two fundamentally hostile camps: "The camp of the imperialist States and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R." Capitalism cannot solve the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world except by an attempt to destroy the Soviet Union.

There was also a further accentuation of the internal contradictions of the capitalist world economy. The struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal

and ore, for the redistribution of markets and spheres for the investment of capital, is making inevitably for a new world war.

The differences between the imperialist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are growing. "The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system." (*Programme of the Comintern.*) The awakening of the colonial masses constitutes a more and more dangerous front against the struggle of the imperialists.

"Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centres of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organisations, and their political rights, and the growth of White Terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between labour and capital, the accelerated swing to the left of the masses, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the rise of a new revolutionary tide in the centres of imperialism." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

On the basis of a careful investigation of the development of world economy and of the labour movement in the period between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern, on the basis

of the preparatory work of a series of Enlarged Plenums of the E.C.C.I. held during this period, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (July-August, 1928) carried out a big piece of work. It embraced the whole previous development of the Comintern and summed up in its resolutions the lessons of the ten years' struggle of the Comintern. By the final adoption of the Programme of the Communist International, the Sixth Congress subjected, on the basis of Marxist-Leninism, the whole history of the struggle between capital and labour to a thorough historic appreciation, and laid down the tasks as well as the circumstances and conditions of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat for the whole epoch of this struggle.

In this pamphlet we are able to lay stress only on a few characteristic features of the enormous work carried out by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The Programme of the Comintern must become the subject of careful study; it must be read, studied and fully assimilated by all workers. The Comintern dealt with the question of the Programme at three Congresses—for the first time at the Fourth Congress, then at the Fifth, and it was only on the basis of the work of many years, that the Sixth Congress was able to produce the final formulation of the Programme.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMINTERN

**T**HE basic resolution of the Sixth World Congress analyses the entire post-war development of capitalism. This post-war development is divided into three periods. The first period—from the end of the war to 1923—was the period of the most serious capitalist crisis.

Out of this crisis the first Socialist State emerged strengthened, but, on the other hand, the international proletariat suffered a series of serious defeats. In these struggles the Communist Parties, the organisers of future victories, were born. The second period, which set in approximately at the end of 1923, brought with it, on the one hand a partial stabilisation of capitalism, and, on the other hand, the rapid economic development of the Soviet Union. The third period begins where the capitalist system exceeds the pre-war level of production. This development is accompanied by a simultaneous transition of the Soviet Union to the period of reconstruction.

The third period does not by any means indicate the longevity or stability of the contemporary capitalist development. On the highest economic plane, there arise in an accentuated form the former differences which are bound to lead to new gigantic crises. Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilisation achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can only be a partial, transient and decaying stabilisation. (*Programme of the Comintern.*)



Capitalism is doing its utmost to strengthen its position. It develops its technique, it does its utmost to rationalise production with a brutal disregard for human labour power. The capitalist offensive against the working class is extending. This is accompanied by a swing to the left among the proletarian masses.

In the present conditions, the struggle against capitalism is indissolubly connected with the struggle against Social Democracy.

During the progress of the international revolution, the leading cadres of the Social Democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the militant capitalist organisations of the Fascist type on the other, acquired special significance as a powerful counter-revolutionary force actively fighting against the revolution and actively supporting the partial stabilisation of capitalism. (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

Social Democracy became a clearly expressed counter-revolutionary force. Its chief role consists at present in sabotaging the unity of the proletariat, so necessary in the struggle against imperialism. The preparation and organisation of the victory of the national revolution demands imperatively strenuous struggle against reformism.

The Sixth Congress, on the basis of an investigation of the international situation and of an analysis of the capitalist differences emphasises the enormous importance of the war question for the whole present period. Therefore, the war question, the question of methods of struggle against new imperialist wars, was the centre of the work of the

Sixth World Congress. The Sixth World Congress paid also considerable attention to the colonial question.

The task of capturing the widest possible proletarian masses is becoming more and more pressing for the whole Comintern. The struggle against the anti-Communist forces within the working class, first and foremost against Social Democracy, is one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party. The Sixth Congress considered the work of the Sections of the Comintern and drew attention to a number of serious omissions in the carrying out of the strategical and tactical tasks of the Communist Parties. More attention to the work of the trade unions, more attention to the work of strengthening the influence of the Communist Party on the peasantry. Wholehearted support for the revolutionary liberation movements in the colonies and for the movements of the oppressed peoples in general. Such are the slogans of the Sixth Congress.

## THE UNITY OF THE COMINTERN

**I**N the spirit of Lenin's teaching and on the basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the Comintern strengthened its Bolshevik skeleton through continuous struggle against "left" as well as "right" tendencies. In the period following the Fifth World Congress, the Comintern had to carry on repeatedly a stubborn struggle against various oppositional tendencies. The Sixth World Congress bears witness of the complete unity of the Comintern. This unity in its ranks was achieved through the victory over Trotskyism. From the Fifth World Congress onwards, the series of Comintern Plenums reflected the attempts of Trotskyism to revise Leninism. The Sixth Congress showed that Trotskyism has been completely exposed in the ranks of the Comintern.

With the partial stabilisation of capitalism, various Social Democratic tendencies exercise influence over some circles in the Communist Parties. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern directed its chief attack against the right tendency in the Communist Movement. We must not forget the still existing power of Social Democracy in the ranks of the working class. Millions of workers are still voting for the Social Democrats at the elections. The ideological influence of Social Democracy penetrates, and frequently to a considerable extent, also into the Communist Parties. Therefore, we must direct our chief attack against the right. However, we must at the same time bear in mind the existence of "left" tendencies.

Fifty-nine Communist Parties were represented at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, i.e., ten Sections more than at the Fifth World Congress. In the course of ten years' of continual struggle the Communist International has strengthened its organisation and has extended its ideological and organisational influence to wide sections of workers in the capitalist and colonial countries. The Comintern is maintaining everywhere its fighting position. It is the only leader in the struggle against world imperialism, the loyal guard of the First Socialist State, the leader in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the whole ten years' history of the Communist International bear witness of this. "The Sections of the Communist International know only one kind of discipline, the discipline of the international proletariat which guarantees the victory of the workers of all countries in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Programme of the Comintern.*)

"Communists carry on with the utmost bravery this struggle in all the sections of the international class front, in spite of the brutal terrorism of the bourgeoisie, being firmly convinced that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted."

## THE PROGRAMME OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

**E**IGHTY years have passed since the time when Marx and Engels on behalf of a small propagandist society, the Communist League, published the "Communist Manifesto" (1847). In the period when capitalism was only at the beginning of its victorious progress, the founders of scientific Socialism announced in the "Communist Manifesto" the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system and called the proletariat to carry out the death sentence of history. At first, however, the "Communist Manifesto" reached only the small vanguard, the group of advanced fighters which made the first attempts to create proletarian fighting organisations.

The "Communist Manifesto" could not be anything but a call for the unification of the Communists. It was the first political mass manifesto to the Communists. It examined contemporary capitalism and brilliantly predicted the trend of the proletarian class struggle. Tens of years of proletarian class struggle, after the publication of the "Communist Manifesto," made the brilliant prognostication of Marx and Engels a reality.

A few years after the appearance of the "Communist Manifesto" the Communist League was liquidated. It was only in 1864 that the "International Workingmen's Association" was founded. Once more Marx formulated the Programme for this Association, for the First Proletarian International. It was now a question of the international amalgamation of the existing proletarian organisa-

tions, which had reached different degrees of development and held different views with regard to the aims and methods of struggle. Marx wrote an address in which he explains the necessity of creating an international proletarian organisation and invites to join its ranks. At the same time Marx wrote an explanation of the statutes of the First International in which he shows clearly the aim of all Communist movements and points the way they should go. If the "Communist Manifesto" was a powerful call to rally under the banner of Communism, the "Address" drawn up by Marx—the Programme of the First International—was, to quote Franz Mehring's splendid definition, "the raising of the banner which the struggling proletarian armies of the individual countries must never lose sight of if they want to achieve the great victorious united front of the contemporary proletariat."

The Second International did not even attempt to elaborate a united programme for the international movement. True, individual Parties of the Second International adopted a programme of their own. However, these programmes are limited to a definite country, and even if they express themselves for Socialism, they avoid by all manner of means mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels criticised very severely the first programmes of the German Social Democracy which served as a model to the other Social Democratic Parties: "That which, to all intents and purposes, should have been said, is absent there"—said Engels.

The latest programmes of the Parties of the Second International are programmes of capitalist rationalisation.

The inability of the Second International to produce one international programme showed merely that the individual parties of the Second International recognised only "their own" State, their own country and did not want to undertake any international obligations.

The Third Communist International had to be in order to give to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries one revolutionary international programme of action. The character of this Programme was defined by Lenin in 1914 when he confirmed the final collapse of the Second International: "The Third International has before it the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for revolutionary pressure on the capitalist Governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, the victory of Socialism." ("Tasks of the Socialist International," 1914.)

The Programme of the Communist International is the programme of struggle for World Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The First International laid the ideological foundation for the international proletarian struggle for Socialism. The Second International, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labour movement among the masses. The Third, Communist International, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, resolutely

lopped off the latter's opportunism, social chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of Socialism and set out to realise the dictatorship of the proletariat—says the Programme of the Comintern. The brilliant prognostication of the "Communist Manifesto" and of the Programme of the First International is becoming a reality in our epoch. The construction of Socialism in one country, the international struggle against imperialism, from highly developed capitalist Great Britain down to the most backward African colony, must be carried on under a united leadership. The Programme of the Comintern is a guide to the revolutionary World army of Communism, and will be a guide to millions of proletarians and to the oppressed of all the countries of the globe until the world victory of the international proletariat has been won.









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