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The Third International

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THE
THIRD
INTERNATIONAL

THOMAS F. CONNERY, S.J.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

JULY, 1940
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VITA AUCTORIS

Thomas Francis Connery was born in Chicago, Illinois, August 22, 1912. He attended Blessed Sacrament Parochial School and Quigley Preparatory Seminary. He spent three years at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois. He received his A.B. degree from St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in June, 1933. He entered Milford Novitiate of the Society of Jesus in 1933 and was there enrolled in Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio. He was transferred to West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana, and was there enrolled in Loyola University Graduate School. He taught at University of Detroit High School, Detroit, Michigan, during the school year of 1937-1938 and at John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, during the school years of 1938-1939 and 1939-1940. He resumed his studies at West Baden College during the summer of 1940.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the author's thesis is to give the reader some idea of the influence of Moscow over the rest of the world, as that influence has been exercised by the Third International. The author does not intend to exhaust the influence of the Third International; neither does he intend to show all the ways in which it has been manifested.

He takes the first step towards accomplishing his purpose by explaining the aims and organization of the Third International. Then he indicates how the Constitution obligates all its members to do as they are told and how the Constitution allows the possibility of a particular group to dominate the World Congress, the supreme authority of the Third International. The author's next step is to point out how utterly the Third International has depended on the government of the U.S.S.R. Then he shows how dependence on the government of the U.S.S.R. means dependence on the Russian Communist Party which has been running the government, and he is forced to conclude the Russian Communist Party actually has dominated the World Congresses of the Third International. Therefore, Moscow, according to the Constitution, or in theory, has had power over all the Sections of the Third International. Has Moscow had the power in fact? The author reasons as follows: Certainly in the History of the Third International policies have changed, and instructions and orders have been
sent out accordingly. Were those orders carried out? Either they were carried out, or an attempt was made to carry them out. Otherwise, the sixty-five Sections that make up the Third International today would have been expelled just as other whole Sections have been expelled in the past. Therefore, the author believes that the power of Moscow on these Sections has been real.

With the power of Moscow, of the Russian Communist Party established, the author lists instructions sent out to all the Sections as well as those that were despatched to individual Sections. He does so because the variety and detail of these orders portray the depth and breadth of Moscow's influence. To show how the power of the Russian Communist Party has compelled the other Sections to bow down, he also mentions reports made to Moscow by various Sections. Finally, he brings out how the dependence of some Sections on the Russian Section has been due to financial assistance.
Chapter II

AIMS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

In 1919 Lenin constructed a machine equal in power but more versatile and more universal than the Soviet state. It was called the Third International, Communist International, or Komintern. It was called the Third International because a First and Second had preceded it. The first began in 1864 and expired in 1872. The second started in 1889 and disbanded at the outbreak of the World War. The present one was formed in 1919. It was called the Communist International because it was a Communist organization. Finally, it was called the Komintern or Comintern because it is a handy term coined from the combination of COM-munist and INTERN-ational.

Stalin calls the Communist International "the union of the toilers of the whole world". According to the Constitution of the Komintern "the Communist International - the International Workers' Association - is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party". Father Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., describes it as "a union or confederation of all local and national Communist parties under the hegemony of the Russian Communist Party, with head offices in the city of Moscow and pledged to the cause of universal, violent, proletarian revolution".

According to Mr. Walter Steele, editor of the "National Republic", there are eighty "Internationals" which are only the Third International
under new names. Some of these are: International Union of Revolutionary Theatres, International Workers' Order, World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture, and Friends of the Soviet Union. However, there is one international organization that is not just another name for the Third International, and that is the Social-Democratic International. The Sections of the former "submit to only one discipline" and guard "proletarian unity in all countries"; while each Section of the latter "submits to the discipline of 'its own' national bourgeoisie and its 'father land', ..... splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie....."

As Lenin saw it, "the very purpose of the Communists in the world, adherents of the Third International in all countries, is to change all along the line, in all spheres of life, the old socialist, trade unionist, syndicalist parliamentary work into new Communist work." The Program of the Komintern only uses other words: "The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism". When the aim has been achieved, there will be soviet democracy, which "is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters".

But before the end can be attained, "the Communist Party must take over and control the entire 'spiritual life'"; it must cause "a mass change of human nature"; and it must effect a great economic revolution,
the starting point of which "is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists..."; finally, it must destroy the capitalistic state:

The conquest of power by the proletariat consists in the actual annihilation of the existing capitalistic state machine - the army, the police, the bureaucracy, the courts, parliament, and so forth - putting in their place new organs of proletarian power, intended in the first place to serve as tools to suppress the exploiters.

Only those are allowed to strive to attain the end of the Komintern, who are willing to abide by "The Twenty-One Conditions of Admission to the Communist International" as well as the "Constitution of the Communist International". The Twenty-One Conditions were framed by O. Piatnitsky under the influence of Lenin, and they were adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. Their purpose, according to Bela Kun, was to make it easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a moderate Socialist to enter the ranks of the Komintern. The first condition demands that adherents of the Komintern "systematically and mercilessly denounce...reformists of every shade". The second condition reads:

"Every organization desiring to belong to the Communist International must systematically and steadily remove from all responsible posts in the Labor movement, in the Party organization, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary factions, cooperative societies, municipalities, etc., all reformists and followers of the 'Center', and have them replaced by Communists even at the cost of replacing at the beginning, 'experienced' leaders by rank-and-file working-men."

According to the seventh condition there must be "a complete and absolute
rupture with reformism and the policy of the 'Center'; it even goes so far as to mention Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, and Modigliani as undesirables. The fifteenth condition orders the Parties which have retained their old Social-Democratic programs "to overhaul these programs and draw up a new Communist program...in accordance with resolutions of the Communist International". Finally, the twentieth condition puts an end to all fear of democratic invasion:

"The parties that would now like to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their former tactics, must, before joining, take steps to ensure that their Central Committees and all most important central bodies of the respective parties, shall be composed, to the extent of at least two-thirds, of such comrades as even prior to the Second Congress of the Communist International have openly and definitely declared for joining the Third International...."

Bela Kun claims that the Twenty-One Conditions were also designed to introduce, on an international scale, the centralized discipline which was so characteristic of the Russian Communist Party. With regard to daily propaganda and agitation the first condition demands that they "must bear a truly Communist character and correspond to the program and all the decisions of the Third International". It orders the periodical and non-periodical press to "be wholly subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party, irrespective as to whether the Party as a whole, at the given moment, is legal or illegal." The need for democratic centralism is enunciated in the twelfth condition:

"...At the present time of acute civil war,
the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organized in the most centralized manner, if it has iron discipline, bordering on military discipline, and if the Party center is a powerful, authoritative organ with wide powers, possessing the general trust of the party membership."

The fifteenth condition necessitates the program of every party being ratified by a Congress of the Komintern or by the Executive Committee of the same. The force of a decision of either a Congress of the Komintern or its Executive Committee is made clear in the sixteenth condition; each decision is "binding on all parties affiliated..." The Eighteenth condition orders all the leading Party organs of the press in all countries to "publish all the chief documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International"; while the twenty-first demands the expulsion of members "who reject the conditions of theses of the Communist International."

Since 1928 when the Constitution of the Komintern was adopted, observance of the Twenty-One Conditions is no longer enough; members must now live according to the Constitution as well. The Constitution of the Komintern is divided into five parts:

I. Name and Objects.
II. The World Congress of the Communist International.
III. The Executive Committee of the Communist International and Its Subsidiary Bodies.
IV. The International Control Commission.
V. The Relationship between the Sections of the Communist International and the E.C.C.I.

In part I, paragraph 2, the Constitution states that "there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and constituting
its Section" in any given country. Paragraph 4 defines the basis 
unit of 
the Communist Party organization as "the nucleus in the place of employment
(factory, work-shop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the
Party members employed in the given enterprise." In paragraph 5 are found
the fundamental principles of democratic centralism upon which the Kom-
intern and its Sections are built. The first principle calls for "election
of all the leading committees...(by general meetings of Party members, con-
ferences, congresses and international congresses);" the second principle
demands "periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constit-
uents;" and the third orders the "decisions of the higher Party organs to
be obligatory for the lower organs,...and prompt execution of the deci-
sions." The "higher Party organs" are interpreted in the same paragraph as
being a Congress of the Komintern, a Congress of the respective Sections,
and any leading committee of the Komintern or of its various Sections. In
paragraph 6 Communist fractions are defined as groups of men which are
"formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carry-
ing out its policy" in all non-Party workers' and Peasants' mass organiza-
tions, in their leading committees, on municipal elective bodies, and in
parliament. If these non-Party organizations happen to be international,
the organizational structure of the Communist fractions and their work are
determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Kom-
intern; if national, they are determined by directions from the Central
Committees of the respective Sections of the Komintern.
Part II of the Constitution deals with the World Congress of the Komintern. The World Congress is "the supreme body of the Communist International;" it is made up "of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International." Why supreme? "Power to alter the Program and Constitution of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International." It shall be convened once every two years or more often, if the Parties which, at the preceding World Congress, "had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes", so demand. Besides its supreme power of altering the Program and Constitution, the World Congress determines the number of "decisive votes to be allocated to each Section...in accordance with the membership of the respective Party and the political importance of the respective country", decides where the headquarters of the Executive Committee shall be, and "elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.), and the International Control Commission (I.C.C.I.)."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International according to Part III of the Constitution is the "leading body" of the Komintern in the period between Congresses, "which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity". Paragraph 12 states: "The E.C.C.I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages." Paragraph 12 gives the Sections the "right to appeal against decisions of the E.C.C.I. to the World Congress;" on the other hand, the decisions of the E.C.C.I. "must be carried out pending the action of the World Congress." The E.C.C.I. can
"expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members," must endorse the programs of the various Sections, and can accept affiliation to the Comintern of "organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice". With regard to expulsion or to the approval of a program the Section, the group, or the person concerned has the right to appeal to a World Congress of the Komintern. The E.C.C.I. has other rights which it has in common with the Presidium. What is the Presidium? It is a permanent body elected by the E.C.C.I., responsible to the E.C.C.I., and "carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter."

This Presidium and the E.C.C.I. have the right to establish permanent bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern, and other Bureaus of the E.C.C.I.). The purpose of these Bureaus is to establish "closer contact" with the various Sections. After the Sections that come under the authority of the permanent bureaus have been informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus, they must carry out the instructions of the bureaus unless they wish to "appeal against the instructions" to the E.C.C.I. or its Presidium.

The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium also have the right to send representatives and instructors to the various Sections. The representatives "have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent." They have the duty "to supervise the carrying out of the decisions" of the World Congresses and of the E.C.C.I. Though they may speak publicly in opposition to the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent, they must
carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee. The instructors have their powers and duties determined by the E.C.C.I.

The Presidium also has special rights and duties of its own. It elects the Political Secretariat, "which is empowered to make decisions, and which also draws up proposals for the meetings of the E.C.C.I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body." It appoints the "editorial committees of the periodical and other publications" of the Komintern. It "sets up a Department for Work among Women Toilers, permanent Committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections..."

Part IV of the Constitution treats of the International Control Commission. According to paragraph 28 the I.C.C. "investigates matters affecting the unity of the Sections...and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members..." Such investigation requires the examination of complaints "against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences" as well as of other "such analogous measures..." The I.C.C. also audits the accounts of the Komintern. It may not "intervene in the political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties."

With a discussion between the relationship of the Sections of the Comintern and the E.C.C.I. the Constitution comes to a close. Sections "must send to the E.C.C.I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work". Sections, particularly those in imperialist countries and
their colonies and in countries adjacent to each other, "must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other;" they "must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E.C.C.I." and they "must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions". Two or more Sections politically connected with each other "may, with the consent of the E.C.C.I., form federations...under the guidance and control of the E.C.C.I." Elected members of the Central leading bodies "may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the E.C.C.I." Finally, the Constitution singles out the International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) and recognizes it as a Section of the Comintern.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1928 only one modification has been made and that in 1935; it is due to "leaderships faithful to our principles" who are now able "to decide the most complex political and tactical questions of their countries independently." Therefore, the functions of the E.C.C.I. have been changed so that it can "devote the greater part of its activities to working out the fundamental, political and tactical positions of the international labor movement."

Neither the Twenty-One Conditions nor the Constitution present a very clear idea of the organization of the various Sections; a better idea of it may be had from the following:

At the head of the party (or Section) is the central committee elected at the party convention. In the districts are district committees elected at the district conventions. Each district is
divided into sections, and each section comprises a number of units as the shop and street nuclei.

Shop councils or nuclei are groups into which Communists unite according to the shop in which they work; street nuclei are groups formed according to neighborhood. These groups are never to have more than thirty members; as the Program says, they are the basic units of the Communist Party organization.

The CPUSA, Section of the Comintern, furnishes a concrete example of such organization. According to the latest reports it is divided into 35 Communist districts; these are subdivided into 300 sections which are made up of almost 2,000 street units and over 500 shop units. The Central Committee of the United States Section has 60 members, and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, "permanent Seat of the Government of the Party", has from seven to nine members. Both the district committees and the section committees mentioned above have Executive Committees and Bureaus of their own.

Since the headquarters of the Third International are in Moscow, the question arises as to the relationship between the Soviet Government and the Comintern. If the Russian Communist Party rules the Soviet Government and the Third International and Stalin rules the Russian Communist Party, then the Soviet Government and the Komintern are identified in the person of one man, Stalin.

According to Mr. W. H. Chamberlin, an unbiased scholar and journal-
ist, who resided in Moscow for 12 years, there is only one political party allowed in Russia, the Communist Party. If so, the Communist Party must run the Soviet Government. That the Communist Party does run it is substantiated by Father Walsh and Mr. Walter Duranty. Father Walsh refers to the Soviet Government as an agent of the Russian Communist Party; and Mr. Duranty, as authentic an exponent of Soviet opinion as exists, writes:

Indeed, it may be said that all commissars "rank" according to their party standing and not, as in the West, by the importance of the posts they hold. To put it bluntly, the party is the "whole works" and the government is the method or mechanism through and by which the party will is expressed and executed.

But how does Stalin run the Russian Communist Party? There is an All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Yes, but its chief function is "to listen to eloquence and ratify programmes, domestic and foreign, submitted to it by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party through the intermediary of the Central Executive Committee." What is the Political Bureau of Politburo?

Party "cells" in factories, offices and villages, were represented in regional committees, which sent deputies to an All-Union Party Congress, which in turn elected a Central Committee, with its "supreme political bureau" of nine members. This "political bureau" proposed the major policies of Communist Russia, and after securing their endorsement by the Party Congress it utilized the party machinery to ensure their adoption and enforcement by the government.

This Politburo obeys "one autocratic dictator". To it belongs all political, legal, administrative, and even judicial power in the country. The "autocratic dictator" is the Secretary General of the Communist Party, and the Secretary-General is Stalin.
How are the dictator, the Politburo, the Russian Communist Party related to the Comintern? The answer to that question is found in the Constitution of the Comintern. Though the World Congress of the Comintern is supreme, "the number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section" is determined by "the membership of the respective Party and the political importance of the respective country." Without a doubt the Russian Communist Party has the largest membership; and the "political importance" of Russia is very great, as can be judged by settling the question of the Third International's dependence on the Soviet Government.

According to an appeal of 430 French papers to Parliament it depends "exclusively on the Government of the U.S.S.R." It depends on the U.S.S.R. not only for such external reasons as finance, the necessity of a country where agitators can find refuge, and the fact that Russia is the seat of its central organ, but also the very existence of the proletarian state is of supreme importance for the world revolution. It was created only with Russia's support and under her official sanction; and it continues to exist only because the Soviet State "houses and assists" it in various ways. She assigns members of the Third International to her embassies and legations in foreign countries. She allows the Soviet broadcasting station to be used to stir up revolution. During the summer of 1930 Father Walsh reports that the Soviet broadcasting station tried to start a revolution in Germany by appealing to the German workers in the German tongue; and in December of the same year the same type of speech was broadcast in English to British workers. In Spain Golden says that explanations
of Soviet policy were broadcast in excellent Spanish over a period of two
month. The Soviet Government promotes revolution through movies also;
as early as 1927 it was erecting its own Hollywood for the purpose of making
films for export. Russia draws close to the Third International in using
its Popular Front policy as a "tool" and in promoting it. According to
Wilhelm Pieck in his report at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935
"the working class is drawing the conclusion that the struggle against cap-
talism can be carried on only by a united front and in closest contact with
the Soviet Union;" and this truth has been learned from experience, "... from the experience of the German defeat, from the experience of the armed
struggles in Austria and Spain and from the experience of the general strike
and united front in France." Finally, the Comintern depends on the U.S.-S.R. because, according to the Communist Catechism on which the teaching of
all the educational establishments of the U.S.S.R. is based, "the U.S.S.R. is the true fighting force of the proletariat world", and because it is "the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the
proletariat of all countries to seize power."

There is not only dependence between the Soviet Government and the
Komintern; there is also inter-dependence. The following statements of fact
prove the Soviet Government's dependence on the Third International: 1. The
Soviet hopes "to impose its doctrines on the rest of the world through the
Third International; 2. According to Father Joseph H. Ledit, S.J., editor
of "The World Problem", the Comintern "has worked particularly for the ma-
tional policy of the Bolshevist leaders;" 3. The Comintern "must be
employed to buttress the foreign policy of the Soviet Union;" 4. Speaking
for the members of the Comintern at the Seventh World Congress M. Ercoli
said: "We not only defend the Soviet Union in general, but we defend con-
cretely its whole policy and each of its actions;" 5. According to the
program:

In the event of the imperialist states
declaring war upon and attacking the U.S.S.R.,
the international proletariat must retaliate
by organizing bold and determined mass action
and struggling for the overthrow of the impe-
rialist governments with the slogan of:
Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Alliance
with the U.S.S.R.

Another way of proving a close connection between the Soviet
Government and the Komintern is offered by William H. Chamberlin. He
writes:

That the Russian revolution is an integral
part of a world revolution...is a cardinal tenet
of Communist doctrine; and this belief logically
imposes on the victorious Communist party in Rus-
sia the obligation to give all practical aid to
Communist parties in other countries.

No wonder, then, that the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr
Ramsay Mac Donald, said that the Komintern is "organically connected with
the Soviet Government" and that the Foreign Secretary of the same country,
Mr. Henderson, affirmed the "complete identity" of the two; no wonder that
the decisions of the Politburo under its "autocratic dictator", Stalin, are
mandatory not only on the Russian Communist Party but also on the Third
International.
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Chapter III

HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The First International, founded by Marx, existed from 1864 to 1872. The reason for its short life was the defeat of the "heroic Paris workers" - the Paris Commune. According to the Program it is important because it laid the "ideological foundation" for the international proletarian struggle for socialism; while in the eyes of Lenin its greatness lay in the fact that it laid the foundation "of the international organization of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary onslaught upon capital".

The Second International existed from 1883 to 1914, until the war. During this period capitalism developed most peacefully since there were no great revolutions; the labor movement grew strong and mature in a number of countries. But during those peaceful times the leaders of the workers in the Second International lost their capacity for revolutionary struggle so that when the War began, they passed over to the side of their governments. However, the Program recognizes some good done by the Second International, and that was: In the best period of its existence it "prepared the ground for the expansion of the labor movement among the masses."

During the years before the War there was one group of men who were not afraid to fight, the Bolsheviks in Russia. With Lenin as their leader, they started "from small underground circles", leading the broad masses in the Russian revolution of 1905, and finally won over the majority
of the working class in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Bolsheviks were a radical group in the Second International; the domestic struggle they carried on as members of the Second International was continued after the war when they became members of the Third International and the old Second International was revived. They presented Lenin with the opportunity of creating the Comintern and of introducing into it a new Socialist or Communist element peculiar to Lenin and foreign to Marx, the element of immediate and violent revolution.

To Lenin, then, belongs the "credit for preparing and creating the Communist International" and, in its early years, for "expanding and consolidating" it. On January 24, 1919, Lenin and Trotsky announced the First Congress of the Komintern; and in February the Premier of the Soviet Government addressed an invitation to "selected radicals in foreign countries" to assemble in Moscow for the purpose of creating it. Before the formal founding of the Komintern on March 2, 1919, Lenin had 8 Communist Parties and organizations headed by the Russian Communist Party, as a nucleus with which to work. His nucleus did not grow much larger at the First Congress. As he himself said: "We have not succeeded in gathering together all representatives." In fact there was only a handful of foreign delegates present, due to unconvincing credentials, to passport and other difficulties. However, the few delegates who were granted full participation in the Congress did represent 19 Parties and groups; and those who had only consultative votes represented 15 others.
At the first Congress the Komintern perfected its organization and elected its officers. Evidently Lenin was the heart of the whole Congress:

Lenin's characterization of the epoch of imperialism as an epoch of monopoly and moribund capitalism, its last and highest phase, Lenin's outline of the perspective of the imminence of the proletarian revolution and of the main task of the epoch as the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the sharp formulation of the question about the complete rupture of the second International and the creation of a new International, constitute in the main the platform... adopted by the First Congress.

Then on the basis of Lenin's theses and also the reports of the delegates from the different countries the Congress declared that the chief task of the Communist Parties in all countries where Soviet power did not yet exist, consisted in the following:

1. The explanation to the wide masses of the working class of the historical significance and of the political and historical inevitability of the new proletarian democracy, which must be put in the place of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentarism.

2. The spreading and organisation of Soviets among the workers in all sections of industry and among the soldiers of army and fleet, and also among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

3. The formation inside the Soviets of a firm Communist majority.

Today the Agitprop Bureau of the E.C.C.I. sums up the activities of the First Congress in these words:

The historical service of the First Congress lies in that it laid the basis for a single world party of the revolutionary proletariat, and that
it formulated its basic task as the struggle for the dictatorship.

Thus began 20 years of "uneven but constant development of the world proletarian revolution."

By May the E.C.C.I. issued a manifesto to the toilers of the whole world denouncing the Versailles peace "as a predatory peace". In October the British Socialist Party signed up with the Komintern to be followed in April of the next year by the Swiss Socialists. July found the Bolsheviks in exceptionally high spirits in spite of the fact that the Soviet Governments in Hungary and Bavaria had collapsed. World conditions were so disturbed that a great number of the laboring class were in sympathy with the Komintern; and at the Second World Congress, from July 19 to August 7, 1920, there were over 200 delegates representing 39 countries and 5 continents.

At the Second Congress a detailed scheme of organization for all nascent Communist parties was worked out. Splendid advice was given: "No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic."

And the advice was taken:

The decisions of the Second Congress generalize the experience of the agrarian policy of the Bolsheviks, the policy of alliance between the working class and the peasantry, which was based on the calculation of the class struggle in the rural districts and tested in three revolutions in Russia, and the lessons of the mistakes of the Hungarian, Polish, and Latvian Communist Parties in the revolutionary battles....

Lenin's hand was all-powerful in the Congress as can be seen from the two
most important resolutions which it adopted; he is responsible not only for their general construction but even for their phrasing. The deal with the Twenty-One Conditions of admission and the theses on national and colonial questions. The Agitprop Bureau of the E.C.C.I. characterizes the Second Congress as follows:

The outstanding role played by the Second World Congress of the Communist International... which was a powerful demonstration of the splendid success of the October Revolution and of world Bolshevism was that in a struggle at two fronts, it solved the most important problems of Communist strategy, tactics, and organization.

By means of the Twenty-one Conditions it fought a battle against "Right" and "Left" Fronts. The "Rightists" or "Centrists" stood for the more peacefull measures of the Second International; some of them, Littman, Cisner, Frosard, and others came to the Congress to negotiate with the Comintern. They were met by Lenin's insistence upon the absolute non-admission of "Centrists". Still other "Centrists" who were not present were singled out by name as debarred from admission; they were: Hilferding and Kautsky in Central Europe, Turati and Modigliani in Italy, MacDonald in England, Hillquit in America, and Longuet in France. The "Leftists" represented semi-anarchist ideas which expressed themselves in the "demand to boycott bourgeois parliaments and other organs of bourgeois democracy, and to withdraw from the reformist trade unions". Some of them were: Bordiga, Vankoo, and others; they, too, were excluded from the Comintern. The reasons for the importance of the other Lenin resolution mentioned above are understood from the following:
The decisions of the Second Congress on the national-colonial question illuminate the path of the oppressed peoples in their revolutionary struggles for their national and social liberation, and point out the leading role of the proletariat in this struggle.

These decisions, pointing out the path of the unity of the national liberation struggle of hundreds of oppressed peoples by imperialism with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of foremost capitalist countries, attract to the side of the proletarian revolution many....in the capacity of allies of the proletariat.

This resolution referred particularly to countries in Asia and, to a lesser extent, to those in Africa.

After the Second Congress the promulgation of the Twenty-One Conditions drove a deep wedge into the Socialist Parties which were considering affiliation with the Komintern. A majority of the German and French Socialists accepted them, but only a minority in England, Italy, and Switzerland were ready to comply.

In line with the resolution on national and colonial questions was "The First Congress of Peoples of the East", called by the Komintern in the first week of September, 1930. Almost two thousand Easterners were there to listen to Zinoviev, Radek, and Bela Kun. Nothing came of it though, because Zinoviev's speech against religion aroused the ire of the Mohammedans and because most of the people there were neither workers nor intellectuals, the type to which Communist doctrine seemed to have most appeal. Nineteen-hundred-and-twenty-one found the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions send-
ning defiant warnings concerning propaganda dividing labor, to be answered by Zinoviev's proposal of public debates.

In June when the Third World Congress of the Komintern met, its leaders were in low spirits. Long-expected revolutions in European countries had not taken place. The post-War wave of violent extremism had come and gone. Even Lenin's old idea of the impossibility of the existence of one Soviet Republic in the midst of capitalistic countries and the necessity, therefore, of the immediate creation of new Soviet states had been changing, for now he was fostering the continued existence of Russia by introducing the New Economic Policy instead of emphasizing world revolution. Thus there arose the necessity of at least a gradual nominal separation between the U.S.S.R. and the Comintern, for if the U.S.S.R. wished to exist, it could not carry on revolutions in neighboring countries as the Comintern professed- but even the Comintern at its Third Congress fell somewhat into line when, after declaring that "the first period of the post-war revolutionary movement...is ended", it decided the fate of the world revolution "for the present":

The trend of opinion that seriously desired world revolution, that is to say, German, English and western European revolutions in the first place - has been expelled from the Russian International.

But past revolutions still were held in high esteem as the renegade, Levy, and his friends discovered when the Third Congress of the Komintern, headed by Lenin, "resolutely repelled" them for trying to "slander the heroic March uprising", and emphasized the task of fighting for the masses on
the basis of the lessons of that rebellion."

In general, though, the Third Congress indicated that Communists must resign themselves to a period of slow preparatory work, of effort to win the support of the masses by "supporting prosaic everyday demands." The Congress had a "main" slogan, the slogan, "To the Masses"; its most important "historical significance" was that:

This slogan was a program of struggle for all the sections of the Comintern for an entire historical period, a program of preparation for the second round of revolutions and wars.

A few months after the Third Congress the Komintern appealed to the workers of Europe to block arm shipments to Poland, Rumania, Esthonia, Latvia, and Finland, charging that war was being prepared by Poland and Rumania against Russia. In November of the same year the Comintern's activities among trade unions were brought to light when labor groups in Italy, France, and Germany repudiated its tactics. During the same month the Socialist Party of Ireland applied for admission. In 1922 united front tactics suddenly made their appearance. In March a Moscow meeting recommended a conference of all Socialist Internationals to discuss the formation of a united front. A few weeks later the Second and Third Internationals held a meeting to promote a proletarian united front; a desire to continue its efforts along this line was manifested by the Comintern when, in July, it appealed to the united workers to take the offensive. Though November found the Komintern considering tactics to combat fascism in Central Europe, fascism was not the reason why the united front tactics were adopted, as the
Fourth World Congress made clear.

The Fourth Congress was held from November 5, 1922, to December 5, 1922. It was responsible for working out the tactics of the united front, tactics which had been previously adopted "in principle" in the December thesis of 1921 and in the decisions of the First and Second Plenums of the E.C.C.I. in 1922. (A Plenum is a full meeting of any of the higher bodies.)

According to the Fourth Congress the chief object of the united front tactics is "the establishment of the unity of all workers in their struggle against capitalism, the unity of their militant actions". But the united front tactics themselves are the "tactics of irreconcilable struggle against the main obstacle" in the struggle against capitalism. That "obstacle" is social democracy. Therefore, the Communists reserve to themselves "the unlimited right to expose the social-democrats even at the time of joint action"; and they carry out these tactics "primarily in the form of a united front from below." (A "united front from below" is a united front of the rank and file in various countries, not of the leaders of the working class movement.) Having worked out the tactics the Congress had to fight against "the underestimation of these tactics on the part of most Communist Parties" as well as the "'Right' and 'Left' distortions of these tactics." Distortions sometimes expressed themselves in the united front tactics being given an opportunist interpretation such as this: They are "the task of bringing closer together and uniting the Communist Parties with the social-democrats (Germany, Czechoslovakia, France)."
Finally, in one of the decisions of the Fourth Congress there was a note of disappointment, of bitterness:

Objective conditions for a victorious revolution were at hand. What was lacking was only the subjective factor. There was no determined, conscious revolutionary workers' Party prepared for the fight. In other words, there was no genuine Communist Party.

And this truth had to be faced with its budget not less than $100,000.

Nineteen-hundred-and-twenty-three was a year of battles which served as a "particularly valuable experience for all sections" of the Komintern; the Fourth Congress seemed to have roused the Communist Parties from their lethargy. According to the Sixth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. they waged a struggle against the "Rightists":

.....the Communist Party of Germany liquidated the capitulatory Brandler group. The Communist Party of Poland removed from the leadership and liquidated the Koszewa-Barsky group, which was akin to the Brandlerites, and expelled from its ranks the treacherous nationalist (Wasilow-Turjansky) group. The Communist Party of France liquidated several Right-wing groups (Souverine and others). The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia expelled from its ranks the treacherous Bukorik group and removed the conciliators from the leadership. The Communist Party of China purged itself of the Right opportunist and liquidationist Chen-Du-Su faction.

Certainly Virtinsky who had been dispatched by the Comintern to establish a Chinese Communist Party did a good job since the C.P. of China had only become a branch of the Komintern in the early part of 1923. In the same year there were some struggles with the "Leftists". The C.P. of Italy
fought the "anarchosyndicalist" Bordiga group, and the C.P. of Germany liquidated and later expelled from its ranks the "ultra-Left and unprincipled" Ruth Fischer-Hassel group.

When the Fifth World Congress met in June, 1924, it approved of these activities on the part of its affiliates. It was the first Congress to be held without the leadership of Lenin. His loss helped to "strengthen the responsibility" of all sections; it united them "more closely" to the C.P. of the Soviet Union; it moved them to equip themselves with the "mighty weapon" of Leninism; and it induced them to strive for "monolithic unity" of the Party ranks. While Lenin's absence wrought all these effects, Zinoviev's presence sent the delegates home with the conviction that a new wave of international revolution was over the world. The U.S.S.R. hoped Zinoviev would be right, for once international revolution took place, Soviet Russia's existence was assured. But by the end of 1926 the U.S.S.R. again ceased to rely on the Comintern's policy and began to stand on her own feet; the Five-Year Plan was her prop.

By the time the Sixth Congress took place the Comintern was an institution; and therefore, it was fitting for it to have a "Home Office" and three universities. Members of the "Home Office", who resided in Moscow, enjoyed privileges and immunities which placed them "practically on a par with officials of the Soviet Government"; a special hotel, a well-appointed hospital, special boxes in the theatres, the use of state automobiles, ex-
clusive health resorts were theirs; and this according to Mr. William O.
White who spent two years and a half at Moscow studying at the Institute of
Soviet Law. The three universities according to Mr. White, had an enroll-
ment of 450 students; the students in one of them, the Lenin School, were
paid thirty-five dollars a month; and they were given free board, free
lodging, medical attention, and travel expenses.

The Sixth World Congress was held in 1928 from July 18 to Septem-
ber 1. The decisions of the Congress were dominated by Bukharin who was
acting as the mouthpiece of Stalin. Of course the greatest work of the
Congress was the drawing up of a Program and the framing of a Constitution;
the principles of which are "a law" for millions of organized workers.
According to the agitprop Bureau of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Stalin took a
"leading part" in working out the Program and Constitution. But his in-
fluence on the Program should not be surprising since there is "not a single
important decision of the Communist International, not a single forecast
that is not permeated with Stalin's farsightedness...." Two of the re-
solutions that were passed, developed Lenin's theses on the national and
colonial problems; their development was based on the experience of the
Chinese revolution and the events in India. The Sixth Congress emphatically
condemned Trotskyism and pointed out the fact that "the main deviation in
the Communist Parties" at that time was "to the right of the correct pol-
itical line". In its analysis of world conditions it characterized the
approaching third period as a period which "will inevitably lead, through
the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious.... In 1929, ten years after the foundation of the Komintern, forty-three sections in as many lands and over 4,000,000 members waited for the prediction of the Congress to come true.

Between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses the F.C.C.I. held five Plenums. At each of these Plenums the Executive Committee "analyzed" the various phases of the capitalistic crisis in the different countries, showed how the "various forms of fascism were born out of the development of the crisis", and characterized "all the progress... of fascism with scientific precision". Nearly all the Plenums made nasty remarks about the Social-Democrats. With regard to decisions peculiar to each Plenum, the Ninth Plenum urged "working within the trade unions"; the Twelfth pointed out "how dangerous it could be to wait for an automatic and rapid collapse of fascism after it seized power"; and the Thirteenth defined fascism as "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital".

For members of the Comintern the years of 1930-33 were years of the rapid weakening of capitalism, of the crisis of the Second International, of the reinforcements of the positions of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Hitler's coming to power was a "test" for the Communist Party of Germany and also for all other Sections. The C.P. of Germany passed its "test" by using it as a "starting point for further consolidation of the whole Party around
the Central Committee and the Communist International.

In 1934 the Comintern looked back on fifteen years of existence; it confessed that the Communist Parties lagged behind the revolutionary upsurge to a certain extent, but it boasted that they achieved "the consolidation of their ranks on the basis of the general line of the C.I. as a result of the smashing of the 'Right' and 'Left' opportunists. Who were the victims of their "smashing"?

...the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists..., the Right-wing Bukharin-Tomsky-Rykov group and the Right-'Left' Sirtsov bloc in the CPSU, Serra in Italy, the Barbe group in France, the Li Lihsian "Leftist" group, and the counter-revolutionary Lo-Chuan-Lung group in China, the group of Remmele-Neumann conciliators in Germany and Gutmann in Czechoslovakia.

The Comintern also claimed "colossal successes" for the Communist Parties in what Lenin called "the most difficult and most important matter", that of creating genuine Bolshevik Parties. Therefore, members of the C.I. felt that their great strength in the face of war and fascism lay in the "iron unity" they had won.

That strength was increased at the Seventh World Congress, which was held in 1935, from July 25 to August 20. 400 delegates representing fifty countries attended it. Of course the most important work of the Congress was the change in tactics, the introduction of united front tactics. A change in tactics did not mean a change in "the general line" of the Comintern; it only meant that the C.I. was following Lenin's instructions of
fifteen years before the "searching out forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution". Therefore, when the Congress resolved to adopt the united front tactics, it did so, thinking it might prove to be "one of the most important transitional forms". According to Dimitrov, the Bulgarian President of the Comintern, the "United Front" aims "to unite small proprietors, peasants, functionaries, and even bourgeois"; and "it capitalizes all grievances". Why? To disguise the same revolutionary philosophy which has enslaved Russia. These united front tactics were especially applied after 1933; they were officially adopted by the Seventh Congress because of "the experience of the struggle for the united front in France, the lessons of the armed struggles in China, Austria, and Spain in the midst of the process of the revolutionization of the working class". Another reason for their official adoption arose from the sad results of their former tactics in Germany where they derided Social Democrats as semi-bourgeois and scoffed at the middle-class Left as Social Fascists. So at the Seventh Congress Dimitrov told the delegates that "only the initial steps" had been taken in the use of these new tactics, and then he described how the Communists would use them:

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of other parties, but while using our own methods in combating fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

In the opinion of foreign observers and newspapermen, this speech of Dimitrov's was regarded as the most important statement of policy since
Joseph Stalin's declaration that Socialism can be built in a single country. That a change! After it the Comintern and its Sections were figuratively shaking hands with the Second International.
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Chapter IV

RELATION OF HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMINTERN WITH ALL ITS SECTIONS TAKEN AS A WHOLE

According to the Constitution of the Communist International the headquarters of the Comintern in Moscow should have close contact, should have a great influence on all its Sections. One of the best means it has of contacting and influencing is through instructions or orders; but these suppose knowledge of all the Sections. That the people at the Comintern headquarters have an intimate knowledge of all Sections no one will deny - for instance, in 1935 they anticipated difficulties arising from the fact that the organizational growth of all Sections had not kept pace with their political growth; they also feared trouble because only 22 of the 67 Sections and only 11 in Europe were able to work legally or semi-legally; the rest, 15 of them in Europe, were obliged to work under conditions of strict illegality and under a gruesome terror. Already such knowledge supposes contact with all Sections; in turn it makes for greater contact through instructions. These orders and instructions not only contact but they also influence because they must be followed; if they were not carried out, the members of the Comintern would be very few because:

Those who say we do not take orders from Moscow are against the proletarian state. It proves they are allied to the bourgeoisie...and are the enemy of the proletariat class.

Under such conditions they could not continue as members.
What methods does the Comintern use to have these orders reach all Sections? First of all, World Congresses; secondly, the "representative and "instructors" which it sends out. Also in those countries in which the Soviet Government has diplomatic relations, members of the Communist International are assigned to the embassies and legations, and so they share the diplomatic immunity provided by international law. Thus, information and orders of any kind can be transmitted to any part of a Section or to the whole Section. Even the Ambassador is unable to open the mail of these representatives of the Komintern because it is earmarked in the diplomatic pouch. Another way in which orders are sent was demonstrated in the hall reserved to England at the Catholic World Press Exhibit in Rome. Orders are sent from the Comintern in Moscow to the district committees, from there to one of the six local committees, and from there to the...principal agents. Their duty is to inform four "Cells", whether factory or street cells. Thereby, in a uniformed and disciplined manner, the masses are influenced by the formed few.

The first instructions came from Dimitrov, who enumerated the criteria to be used by all Sections in the selection and training of leading comrades:

First, absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the party, tested in the face of the enemy, in battle, in prison, in court.

Second the closest possible contact with the masses....
Third, ability independently to find one's bearing and not be afraid of assuming responsibility in taking decisions....

Fourth, discipline and Bolshevik hardening in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from Bolshevik line.

The "theses, Statutes, and Conditions of Admission to the III International" instructed Communist Party members who may have been elected to any department of the governmental apparatus, whether local or national, as follows:

A communist delegate, by decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine lawful work with unlawful work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the Party.

Each Communist member must remember that he is not a 'Legislator' who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator for the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or unlawful.

From the same source came instructions on "anti-parliamentarism." The proletariat must form a state organization as a "fighting organization, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes". It may not try to win over the bourgeois parliament; the task of the proletariat consists "in blowing up..., in destroying...all the parliamentary institutions..., whether they be republican or constitutional-monarchical." The Communist Party can recommend a use of parliament only
that use is "revolutionary" — that is, the user desires to blow up the parliament from within.

One of the most fruitful sources of instructions and orders is the Program of the Comintern, which was formulated in 1928. Perhaps the most repeated order in the Program is the order to use violence in establishing Communist Dictatorship; eleven times or only five pages the order is given in words associated with violence.

With regard to the economic revolution the Program gives very detailed instructions, covering five pages, as to how to deal with industry, transportation, and communication services, with agriculture, with trade and credit, with conditions of life, labor, etc., with housing, with national and colonial questions, and with the means of ideological influence. Members of the Comintern must aim to confiscate industry (mines and electric power stations), transportation, and communication services (telegraphs, telephones, and wireless) if these are private undertakings; they must aim to transfer them to the Soviets if these are public property. In the agricultural field members must have as their purpose the confiscation and nationalization "of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery and other lands)"; they must struggle for the transference of State property "including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc." to the Soviets; they must fight for "comprehensive state insurance for developing the productive forces of agriculture, the development of rural elec-
they must strive for the nationalization of private banks, the "centralization of banking", the "nationalization of wholesale trade and large retail trading enterprises", the "monopoly of foreign trade"; they must encourage "consumers' co-operatives". Regarding conditions of life, labor, etc. Communists must stand for a reduction of the working day to "seven hours", for the "prohibition of child labor", for "social insurance in all forms", for "comprehensive measures of hygiene", for the "systematic cultural struggle against the ideology and traditions of female bondage". To take care of housing, Communists must aim to settle "bourgeois residential districts" with workers, to place palaces and large private and public buildings at the "disposal of labor organizations", and to carry out an "extensive program of housing construction". To answer National and colonial questions the members must fight for "complete equality" for all nations and races. Finally, to use the means of ideological influence correctly the Communists must promote the "nationalization of printing plants", the "monopoly of newspaper and book-publishing", the "nationalization of big cinema enterprises, theatres, etc."

The Program also contains instructions to be followed out for the accomplishment of the cultural revolution. The proletarian must train members of the working class as "experts in the sphere of production"
(engineers, technicians, organizers, etc.), as well as in the sphere of military affairs, science, art, etc." It must raise "the general cultural level" of the proletarian masses. It must prevent "all church interference in state-organized educational affairs" and must suppress "the counter-revolutionary activity" of the ecclesiastical organizations.

In the instructions as to how revolution is to be carried out in various countries the Program divides revolutions into three main types and then fits the revolution to the country in which it is expected to take place. In countries of highly developed capitalism (United States, Germany, Great Britain, etc.), the "fundamental political demand" of the Program upon the Communists is to bring about "direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat". The particular demands placed upon the proletariat are:

Expropriation of the whole of large-scale industry; organization of a large number of state Soviet farms and, in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land to be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market conditions to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular.

In the countries with a "medium development of capitalism" (Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan countries, etc.), the "agrarian revolution plays a most important part, and in some cases a decisive role". Therefore, Communists must effect socialist construction, which will be relatively slow, by placing a "considerable portion of the confiscated land" at the disposal of the peasantry, by allowing a considerable scope of market relations to prevail, by organizing the peasantry along "cooperative lines", and by
"uniting them in cooperative production". Colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.), and dependent countries (Argentina, Brazil, etc.) demand another type of revolution, a revolution that will be accomplished by fighting "against feudalism and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, by developing systematically the "peasant agrarian revolution", and by struggling "against foreign imperialism and for national independence".

Many of the instructions and orders contained in the Program refer to the time of revolution. When a revolution is not at hand, what must members do? They must advance partial slogans; they must not advance transitional slogans. Partial slogans are slogans "that correspond to the every-day needs of the toilers"; they must be linked up with the "fundamental tasks" of the Comintern. Transitional slogans are slogans "that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example, workers' control of industry, etc.)".

The same year in which the Program was published the Comintern sent out instructions to its members regarding another world war that was supposed to take place. To avert the war the following tactics were to be employed:

First, the proletariat of each capitalist country must struggle against its own government. Second, the proletariat of the whole world must defend the Soviet Union against the imperialism of its enemies. Third, the proletariat must promote the revolutionary movement in the colonies subjected to the Great Powers.
To carry out the first of these orders the Comintern ordered the proletariat to "establish immediately a secret organization of workers' 'cells', especially in those industries which manufacture army munitions"; then at the outbreak of the war this organization should lead in a class war "of the proletariat against the middle class within each state".

In one of his books Father Walsh sums up the relations established between Moscow and its Sections by the end of 1928:

The...Congress held in Moscow in September, 1928, revealed the world-wide ramifications thus far achieved and the complete coordination of the revolutionary elements throughout the world under a unified command. The official stenographic report of that Congress lies before me as I write - 1,766 printed pages, quarto size, in double columns. It recounts activities that range from Buenos Aires to Tokio, from Java, South Africa, and Afghanistan to New York, Chicago, and Detroit. But all are directed, sponsored, and controlled from the city of Moscow by a Central Executive Committee.

Between 1928 and 1934 the praesidium and secretariat of the Comintern continued in active correspondence with each affiliated party, reprimanding them in succession for their failure to gather strength and frequently issuing directives on both policy and tactics. A study of the proceedings of the E.C.C.I. during these years indicated that Moscow continued to direct not merely lawful but also definitely illegal agitational activities. Continual efforts were made "to subvert the soldiers and sailors; political strikes were fomented;...trade union and socialist
leaders were...vilified and denounced as 'social fascists'". In March, 1933, the Comintern published an official manifesto instructing all Communist parties to arrange a joint program of action with the Socialists and other labor organizations, and to form committees for joint action with workers and other parties in combined field work. During the same period the E.C.C.I. ordered all Sections to fight against the "social-democratic and Trotskyist slanders to the effect that the Chinese revolution has been liquidated".

In 1935 the Comintern laid down the conditions to be fulfilled by members of a united revolutionary party: The first was "complete independence of the bourgeoisie" as well as a complete "severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie"; second, the necessity of "unity of action"; third, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat "in the form of Soviets" after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie; fourth, the rejection of the "support of one's own bourgeoisie in imperialist war"; and fifth, the construction of the party on the basis of "democratic centralism".

Regarding the united front program the Comintern gave the members instructions on how to form the "widest" united front: 1, "joint struggle...to shift the burdens of the effects of the crisis...to the shoulders of the rich"; 2, "joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive"; 3, "joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war..."

It also designated Japan, Germany, and Poland, as immediate objectives of
the coming united front campaign. Not only did it tell its members to "soft-pedal" attacks upon religion, but it also ordered them to form "fronts" with Catholics, Protestants, and those Jews who believed in religion.

With regard to trade unions and the united front the following instructions were sent out:

...The task of the Red trade unions and the R.I.L.U. is to do all in their power to hasten the hour of joint struggle of all trade unions against the offensive of capital and fascism, to establish a united trade union movement, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International.

In October of the same year the Executive Committee instructed Communists to influence world transport workers to tie up shipments of goods to Italy; in January, two years later, Communists received orders to aid the Spanish Government against Fascism.

The New York "Times Index" does not record many instructions sent out from Moscow, but it does contain statistics that imply the execution of orders. These statistics show Communist activities going on in 22 countries during the last half of 1935, and in 36 countries during the first half of 1936, and in 23 countries during the first half of 1937. In part these activities reflect the policies, especially those concerning the united front for political action and for youth communist movements, promulgated at the Seventh Communist International Congress in July and August, 1935.

Criticisms of the E.C.C.I. are not instructions of the E.C.C.I.;
but sometimes they, too, imply instructions of the E.C.C.I., especially criticisms such as these: Concerning the question of Communists working in the fascist mass organizations the C.I. was reproached not with giving timely instructions on this subject, because it did, but with failing to work out the instructions "more concretely"; and the E.C.C.I. was criticised by Browder because it dealt with the youth question too briefly in its report.

One of the best ways the Comintern has of making its mind known and of promulgating its orders to all Sections is through a monthly publication of the E.C.C.I., "The Communist International". This magazine keeps the other Communist papers in line by reprimanding them when necessary — for instance, in its issue for June 11, 1938, it rebuked almost all the prominent Communist papers in the world for "their indocility in following the 'line' of action". This criticism seems to back up a statement made in "Civiltà Cattolica":

There is only one propaganda center for the whole world, only one central national organ with regional organs, and of these only one directs in each region, in order to obtain singleness of purpose and unity of action under the guidance of the one Central Council at Moscow.

Many of the Comintern's orders have been sent out, not to all Sections, but to a good number of them. In all capitalist countries Communists were told to fight against military expenditures, war budgets, militarization measures, emergency decrees, restriction of the rights of
the rights of workers employed in war industry plants, subsidized war industry, and trade in all transporting of arms; to the Communists in colonial and semi-colonial countries eight special tasks were assigned in 1928, these to be augmented in 1935 by one more, "the anti-imperialist united front", while the Communists in Latin America were told both in 1927 and 1928 to organize all their Sections into one united organization.

Influence comes not only from orders but also from organization. As early as 1928 the Komintern inaugurated an Oriental secretariat from the countries of Asia; the following year it was divided into the Near East Bureau and the Far East Bureau. The success of their work can be judged from the documents seized after the arrest of the notorious Noulens pair in 1931, papers which revealed widespread and closely organized propagandist activities of the C.I. through the Far East, "especially in the subsidization and indoctrination of the Red armies in South China and Outer Mongolia".

Finally, the Young Communist International, the International of the Teaching Workers, the Workers' International Relief, and the Red International of Trade Unions, all of which have definite connections with the E.C.C.I., do their bit towards spreading the influence of the Comintern, as can be seen very readily from a consideration of the purposes of a few of them: The Workers' International Relief distributes throughout the world, Communist propaganda including film propaganda, together with relief for workers on strike or engaged in insurrection; while the International of
Teaching Workers strives to gain sympathizers among organizations of Teachers and Professionals in order to ensure its influence on the masses.
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Chapter V

THE RELATION OF THE COMINTERN WITH EACH OF ITS SECTIONS

The variety and detail of the instructions sent out to all Sections of the Comintern or to a good number of them, the divers Internationals which are subordinated to the Comintern all show the strong influence of the Comintern headquarters in Moscow upon all of its Sections. But a study of the relations between Moscow and each Section would reveal more numerous contacts and much greater influence of Comintern headquarters. This chapter will be such a study; it will deal with the Sections or countries in alphabetical order.

Africa

As early as 1924 orders were sent to the Communists in Africa to renew Communist propaganda. They were followed by instructions for a complete plan of campaign: the Communists were to start with "stimulation of national discontent," which would be followed by riots and revolts that would lead finally to the setting up of a "nationalist government;" then they were to replace this government with a "true government" of the people. The Communists were also instructed to foster Islamism as a weapon against "colonial imperialism;" the agents of the C. I. would then appear as the "champions of freedom and of Islamic consolidation and greatness."
Arabia

Besides broadening and assuming leadership of the "anti-imperialist struggle" with the other colonial and semi-colonial countries, the Arabian countries were given an additional task by Moscow. Since the "international imperialists" had torn the Arabian countries into pieces and had set up "artificial border lines" and since all the Arabian countries are "interconnected by their geographic location and by their common language, history and revolutionary traditions", the Arabian Communists must strive to achieve the "co-ordination of the anti-imperialist struggle in all these countries", and must strive to "establish an all-Arabian people's anti-imperialist front".

Argentina

In 1935 the Communists there were told to "overcome the sectarian attitude" and to fight against "UriBurnism"; they were told they should not wait to establish a "united proletarian front" before establishing a "united people's front"; and they were rebuked for not having taken advantage of the favorable conditions created by the anti-imperialist movement. In 1936 the Comintern constituted the Argentine its headquarters for all of South America. In the same year the following concerning propaganda was revealed after a police investigation:

From Moscow, too, come detailed instructions of the manner of publication; whether reports are to be printed as they stand, or whether a certain amount of adaptation is permitted. There are, also, exact instructions on the number of pages to be printed in a certain review; and reprimands,
when an article which had been recommended has not appeared.

If the directors of propaganda are unable or unwilling to follow the line prescribed for them, they are summoned to Moscow where they receive further instruction.

Nineteen-hundred-and-thirty-seven found the Communist papers in Argentina following the explicit orders of the C.I. by parading "Democratic" formulas and by denying as much as possible the "communistic character and aims of their activity." Funds for propaganda are provided for the most part by Moscow; travelers bring the money, or else it is sent, through Paris, to those not known as Communists. Not satisfied with instructions sent to them Argentine Communists have sent a number of their members to Moscow to be instructed in the new methods advocated at the VII World Congress.

Australia

Two members of the Australian Communist Party belong to the F.C. C.I., Messrs. J. B. Miles and L. L. Sharkey. One of them, Mr. Sharkey, in his "appeal to Catholics" failed either to follow or to understand the "Muscovite orders to adapt propaganda to local conditions". An example of his failure was his attempt to interest the Catholics of Australia in the state of the Mexican and Spanish Catholics who were persecuted "several centuries ago". However, such a mistake does not hinder much the effect of a "never ceasing flood of Soviet publications, which are distributed gratis" as soon as they come from Moscow.
Austria

The Austrian C.P. is probably the most illegal of the illegal Communist Parties; it is connected with Moscow through Johann Koplenig, an Austrian Communist, who is a member of the Plenumium of the Communist International. In the summer of 1936 Moscow gave orders to this Section to "insinuate themselves into all the legally constituted organizations, patriotic and cultural, of the working classes". Headquarters also obliged the Austrian Communists to attack with the utmost violence all those who have made a "United Front" possible for the Socialist Party.

Balkan Countries

As early as 1925 the London "Times" accused the Comintern of activities against the Balkan States, which aimed at a Danubian Soviet. The C.I. seemed to concentrate on Bulgaria, for, in April, a bombing in Sofia was blamed on it and during the following month documents were discovered showing its plans for an armed insurrection throughout the country. In 1927 the Athens "Helleniki" published the details of the continued activities of the Comintern in the Balkans, and especially in Greece. According to the Greek newspaper the revolutionary organization of the C.I., so far as it affected the Balkans, was run from Vienna.

Belgium

In September, 1936, the "International Peace Campaign" met at Brussels in a "World Congress". The Congress was inspired by the Comintern;
it was a "Trojan Horse" through which the C.I. sought to penetrate and to dominate Peace Movements". At a reunion of Communists held the following year at Horsh, Comrade Victor, Representative of the Western Bureau of the International at Paris, was present; he violently criticized the Communists, especially when speaking of the "militants who abandoned the coal mines and factories during the strikes of 1936". During the same year the Belgian organ, "La Legion Nationale", published a plan drawn up by the Comintern.

Three of the eight directions addressed to the Belgian Communists were:

Disorganization of western countries in the following order: Spain, France, Belgium. Secret committees and factory committees to be set up to direct strikes that will put the economic set-up of each country into the hands of the Comintern.

To paralyze the interior economic and the external commercial life and so bring about a rise in prices, while the U.S.S.R. follows a policy of price lowering and super-production in order to effect a formidable Soviet dumping on the world market.

The Communists' own organ, "La Voix du Peuple", has received directions from Moscow in matters of publication, which it has translated into practice very well.

Brazil

At the VII World Congress the Brazilian Communist Party, together with its leader, Comrade Louis Carlos Prestes, was congratulated for supporting the National Liberation Alliance (Alianza Nacional Libertadora), an organization representing a revolutionary anti-imperialist bloc of classes. The Congress also approved of the Alliance's and Prestes' three major
demands for the creation of a broad anti-imperialist united front. On the other hand, it told the Brazilian Communists not to underestimate the peasants' struggle but to support it; it told them to include in the united front "all possible, even though temporary, allies and fellow travelers (among them parliamentary opposition parties and governors of the various states of Brazil who are dissatisfied with the Vargas government), in order to weaken and isolate the Vargas government". Then the Congress looked into the future and told the Brazilian Communists what to do if the National Liberation Alliance won power: They will strive for a "program of national and social reforms in the interests of the people".

Canada

In 1929, under orders from Moscow, the Canadian Communist Party founded a Red union organization, the "Workers Unity League", in order to fight the neutral professional unions and the Christian unions. When the Komintern decreed that the "Communists must gain a foot-hold within the neutral unions" in 1935, the 40,000 members of the "Workers Unity League" entered the neutral unions in a body. That same year the Canadians recognized their dependence on Moscow by making a report to the VII World Congress. The people in Moscow seemed to be responsible also for the "famous medical mission" that left Montreal to go to help the Spanish Government. Finally, the Communist press in Canada that includes forty regular newspapers and magazines works "directly under the publicational setup of the Third International".
China

An agent of the Comintern, Gregor Voytinsky, was sent to China in 1919 to organize a Communist system and movement. Since then Chief Waschinsky of the Far Eastern department of the C.I. and others have directed the Chinese Communists' organization movement. In January, 1923, the N.C.C.I. decreed that the Chinese Communist Party, which had been organized in 1921, should work within the Kuomintang, a large national revolutionary party. During May and June of 1925 funds were sent to aid Chinese strikers in Shanghai. March of the following year saw the N.C.C.I. advising the Communists to exploit the existing situation (split in the Kuomintang) for a more intense action among peasants and workmen. In December Moscow ordered the Chinese to "fight with all their strength against the Right wing of the Kuomintang, against the vacillating Centre"; they were also told to come into "even closer contact with the Left", while leaving to it "the direction of affairs". These orders were followed by still more precise instructions sent to the Indian Communist, M. Roy, who was then acting as Soviet Commissary to the Southern armies; they dealt chiefly with the formation of a "revolutionary militia".

At the VI World Congress in 1928 China occupied a large part of the discussion, especially during the forty-fifth session. Bukharin in his long report, Kuusinen, Strakhoff all dealt with it; Strakhoff severely criticised the mistakes which the Comintern had made; a number of speakers, Chinese and others, continued the discussion which was begun by the great
leaders of the C.I. In 1929, 1930 and 1931 the Komintern sent long letters
to the Chinese Communists, correcting their mistakes and congratulating them
on their successes.

Mr. Chen Shao-yu made a report on the Chinese Communist Party at
the VII World Congress in 1935. On the basis of his and other reports the
C.I. observed that the C.P. of China had not succeeded as yet in carrying
out the united front anti-imperialist tactics "consistently and without
mistakes"; it cited examples. The Chinese were told to try to set up a
task is to organize armed resistance to Japan and to save the fatherland"; a
political program upon which this government should be founded was formed.
A neat summary of all these connections between Moscow and the Chinese Sec-
tion is contained in one of the reports at the VII Congress:

The ideological, political and organizational
growth of the Communist Party of China is explain-
ed by the fact that it is being led by the Leninist
Communist International, by the fact that it can
utilize the experience and assistance of all Sec-
tions of the Communist International and, primarily,
the richest experience of the leading Section of the
Communist International the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union.

Since the VII Congress Moscow has ordered the Red Army to moderate
"its socialist zeal in the territories where it was master"; it has also
instructed the Communists to unite again with the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-
shek. At present the Chinese who hold important posts in the headquarters
of the Comintern at Moscow are Chen Shao-yu, Li Li-sa, Tsai Hai-sen, Mao Tse-
tung, Chang Kuo-shou, and Chou En-lai. Among these the second and third generally reside in Moscow.

Columbia

Columbian Communists have been told to strive for political and syndical unity by means of the united front. After the drive for political unity had been considerably slowed up and after that for syndical unity had achieved a certain amount of success, the following instructions were sent to the Columbian Section:

We must not forget that the Colombian masses have not yet arrived at the necessary level of revolutionary consciousness, and consequently they let themselves be influenced by their bourgeois leaders. The Communist Party, therefore, must understand that its immediate task is to unmask bourgeois politicians, discredit them before the masses, and make them lose their political ascendancy.

The Popular Front is experiencing a check because Colombian comrades acted too openly....

Our revolutionary congratulations to Colombian comrades for having taken in hand the management of the Colombian trades union movement. It is evident that our Colombian comrades must not give away the fact that the trades union leaders are identical with the leaders of the Communist Party...

At the present time it is necessary to foment distrust of the bourgeois regime among the masses. No opportunity must be lost of starting strikes...

Costa Rica

Costa Rica seems to be influenced by Moscow, as can be judged from a lengthy speech delivered by Manuel Mora, Communist leader, published in
the "Diario de Costa Rica" of November, 1938. In the speech are found the "same themes, the same expressions, the same 'fraternal appeals'" as those of the Comintern leaders. Further evidence of the Costa Rica Communists' connection with Moscow is found in the following admonition to them:

"...if they wish to break with the Communist International, they must...deny Marxism, reject the religious persecution in Russia, Mexico and Red Spain. Next they should uphold the emancipation movements organised in various countries against anti-Democratic Marxist dictatorship."

Czechoslovakia

Comrades Syrovi, Slansky, Gottwald, and Kohler were Czechoslovakian representatives to the Comintern. Gottwald made a report on conditions in Czechoslovakia at the VII World Congress, which was eighteen pages long. At the same Congress Czechoslovakian Communists were congratulated for having "led big mass movements" and for having "gained in political and organizational strength"; they were also told to wage a "struggle against national oppression in the German, Ukrainian and Slovak regions" as well as to organize "fights on behalf of partial demands."

France

In trying to conclude a pact with the Socialist Party the Communist Party of France received advice from a letter of the Communist International dated March 5, 1933:

"During this common action, the two parties will reciprocally abstain from attacks and criticisms of the organs and the militants loyally..."
participating in the action. However, each Party outside the joint action, retains its independence to develop its own propaganda without insulting or outraging the other Party, and to insure its own recruiting of members.

At the VII World Congress Marcel Cachin, Maurice Thorez, and Andre Marty made very detailed reports regarding the People's Front in France. They were congratulated in turn, because the "successful application of united front tactics has become a very important political factor in France", important enough to plan on France's disorganization after Spain's. During the following years, 1936 and 1937, the reports to Moscow of M. Berlioz, the Komintern's correspondent in France, indicate the complete submission of French Communists to headquarters.

Germany

As early as November, 1923, the C.I. had decided the time had come for the Communists to seize power in Germany; but the demonstration in Berlin which it organized, failed. The following year the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. sent orders to the effect that the C.P. of Germany must not remove from the "agenda" the "question of the uprising and the seizure of power. On the contrary this question must stand before us in all its correctness and urgency". In 1925 the leaders in Moscow were aroused by the story of the British offer to aid in the suppression of German Communists. By the time of the VII World Congress the C.P. of Germany was an illegal party, but it was still "mobilizing the proletarian masses against fascism and against preparations for a new war"; and it was still "fighting
for the satisfaction of the day-to-day demands of the workers".

Great Britain

The Secretary of the British Communist Party is Mr. Harry Pollitt; he is a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern. The principal Director of the anti-British Soviet propaganda is Mr. O. V. Kusin, who works from Moscow and directs his attack on England and on the British Commonwealth, especially South Africa. In 1930 the C.I. had under its control sixteen active organizations in England. The writers of the English current publications at that time included two members of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, a member of the Profintern (the Trade Union Department of the Comintern), and an English member of the Colonial Department of the Comintern.

1928 found the British Home Secretary, Jomson-Hicks reporting in the House of Commons that the British C.P. was subsidized by Moscow headquarters. The same source gave the communist "Daily Worker" 34,000 pounds from 1930 to 1936. About the same time the English Home Office report showed that of the money disbursed by the C.P. of Great Britain, at least 10,300 pounds were derived from payment of five-pound Bank of England notes, made by a bank in Moscow.

Close connections were revealed in 1933 at the Twelfth Plenum of the C.C.C.I. when S. Gusev and Harry Pollitt made very detailed reports on the conditions of the British Communist Party. Even before the united
front policy became official at the VII World Congress, a united front meet-
ing had been convened in London, at which delegates from over thirty or-
ganizations were present. Of course the Communists took an active part, and they followed the instructions given by Moscow in November of 1934. At the VII World Congress they were congratulated for strengthening their positions "both in the trade union movement and among the whole working class; however, they were reminded that they still had a small organization. In the past few years an organization called the "Left Book Club" has existed; one of its purposes is "to uphold the 'popular Front' tactics of the Kom-
intern".

Holland

Comintern agents were sent to Amsterdam to foment strikes in the channel ports during 1926. In 1935 the P.U.P. (Rassemblement Universel Pour La Paix) was formed by Lord Robert Cecil; it has a Holland branch that is seeking with the rest of the organization "to change the League of Nations into a World Front, which, under the guidance of Moscow, may present the world with the 'peace of revolution'".

India

In 1929 Earl Browder was sent by the Komintern to India for six months. He then returned to Moscow. On the basis of his report the Thirteenth Plenum of the Comintern prepared a program for India, which appeared in a propaganda pamphlet, "Orgwald", published in 1933 by Earl Browder. At the VII World Congress the Comintern rejoiced at the creation
of the C.P. of India and enlarged upon the program:

......it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organizations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

Since the Congress there has been a "left" group in the National Congress Party of India, which takes its political opinions from the Comintern.

Indo-China

In Indo-China there have been continual disturbances from 1934 to 1932, due, according to Dr. Ennis, to the powerful revolutionary force controlled from Moscow. Proof of close contact between Comintern headquarters and Indo-China Communists was given by certain conversations with Indo-Chinese comrades, published in 1933.

If no members of the Central Committee happen to be abroad, while the Central Committee in the country is completely destroyed, then the Comintern is entitled, according to its Constitution, to send Indo-Chinese or other Communists to the country with power to form a provisional Central Committee composed of members of the given Communist Party, and this Central Committee will in the first place have to re-establish the Party organizations from top to bottom.

Ireland

Before the Communist Party of Ireland had ever been formed, a man by the name of Troy made a report on conditions there. He told the
members of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. that he expected the Irish Communist Party to be made up of "Revolutionary Workers' Groups"; he told then that these groups were already using Comintern tactics. Shortly afterwards a branch of the Communist International was founded in Dublin. For those who did not care to be known as Communists the Comintern provided a special organization known as the "Anti-Fascist and Anti-War League". By 1935 the Comintern was directing Communist operating centres in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork.

Italy

The Italian Communist Party, a rather insignificant party, has made connections with Moscow through Comrade Furini, Italian delegate to the Comintern.

Japan

According to a report at the VII World Congress the Communist Party of Japan, while working under an "extraordinarily severe terror", had given "substantial support" to China. It was told to "resolutely eradicate the remnants of sectarianism" and to "use....all legal opportunities of fighting for the day-to-day interests of the working class". At the Congress Japan was singled out as one of the countries against which "special efforts were to be directed".

Mexico

Comrade Marenco, representative of the Mexican Communist Party to
the Comintern, has been a link between Mexico and Moscow. As a result, when the Radicals took full control over Mexico, Calles, Morelos, and the Third International guided them. Early in 1935 Russian agents of the C.I. were charged with having aided Mexican officials in anti-religious activities. In the same year the Comintern officials congratulated the Mexican Communist Party for having achieved certain successes "in the struggle for trade union unity and in the peasants' struggle". But it was reproved for having done "almost nothing in the struggle for the united anti-imperialist front". It was told to reject "the definitely incorrect stand that the nationalist-reformist government of Cardenas is supposedly carrying out the fascization of the country"; and it received orders to struggle for the "crystallization of a national-revolutionary ring within the P.M.R. (Partido Nacional Revolucionarios)", which was to be accomplished by "open and frank offers.....to the P.M.R., in respect to joint action against imperialism, against the danger of a Calles coup, and against clerical reaction". Since the VII Congress Communist in Mexico has been developing along the orthodox lines of the C.I. The Mexican Communists are directed by a program which they brought back with them from Moscow in October, 1935.

Poland

In a report made to the Comintern at the VII World Congress Polish Communists were congratulated for having "put an end to the strong factional struggle", for having "more than trebled its membership, and for having taken the "lead of big mass movements". They were told to "defend the last remnants of the democratic rights and liberties of the toiling people".
According to Miss C. M. Godden the interference of Moscow in Spain has been "constant, cumulative, and ever more effective" since 1920; and Sir Francis Lindley, British Ambassador to Portugal, said in August, 1936, "Moscow agents have for years been preparing heavy civil war in Spain." The Spanish Communist Party, formerly the "Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores", decided to join the Comintern in 1919. Two years later, due to the Catholic opposition in Spain, the Comintern had to recall its agents to find out the best way of dealing with this. The officials told the workers from Spain to "provoke a division inside the National Confederation of Workers; they chose Angel Pestano to put the scheme into effect. The plan was hindered somewhat by the coming to power of General Primo de Rivera. Many of the Communists had to leave the country, but as soon as the dictatorship was over, they reappeared and began to work more feverishly than ever. By 1932 they had received from the Comintern a "manual of action" for Spain:

The growth of the elements of a revolutionary crisis finds expression in the impetus given to the economic and political strikes of the proletariat, in the budding revolutionary movement of the peasantry, in the mass movement of the petty-bourgeoisie against the monarchy (students' demonstrations, etc), in the intensification of the national revolutionary movement in Catalonia and Biscay, in the disintegration of the army, and in the confusion which reigns in the ranks of the ruling classes and their parties.

Towards the end of the same year Comintern headquarters ordered the Spanish Communist Party to use the united front tactics. Accordingly the Spanish
Communists twice proposed the United Front to the Spanish Socialist Party in 1933. After riots in Madrid in the latter part of 1934 secret instructions were found:

At different points, especially in the suburbs of Madrid, incidents should be provoked, or, better, the burning of churches and monasteries which will compel police intervention and so occupy them. After outbreaks have been caused in different parts of the town which will keep the police busy, it will be easy to get hold of the government.

In making his report to the VII World Congress in Moscow a Spanish Socialist declared: "We are determined to wage the fight in our country for a Socialist, and then for a Communist Republic." By February, 1936, the Comintern had adopted a ten-point program for Spain. Some of these points were:

1. The fall of President Zamora.
2. Recourse to violence against officers.
3. The separation of Morocco from Spain and the setting up of an independent Moroccan Soviet State.
4. The recruitment of armed militia men as the basis of a future Red Army.

The last point explains the rapid and successful mobilization of the Spanish Communists when the revolution broke out. In April of the same year the execution of Comintern orders was assured when thirty Communists left Moscow for Spain; they were "largely young Spaniards who have spent periods varying from six to eighteen months in the U.S.S.R. undergoing training in revolutionary practise".
Regarding Moscow's financing of Spain it has been proven that all the propaganda there from 1931 was financed from Moscow. At the VII World Congress a sum of 5,000,000 pesetas was voted for the Spanish Communist Press. During the civil war millions were collected by means of the relief campaigns organized by the Comintern. "As a subsidy for the revolt" 50,000 pounds were sent to Spain in January, 1932. In October, 1934, 30,000 pounds were despatched to aid the cause of the first Spanish Soviets.

Switzerland

Mr. Humbert-Droz, a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern has certainly been an important link between the Swiss Communist Party and Moscow. Reprimands for lack of activity were sent to the Swiss Communists as early as 1930. According to M. Musy, former President of the Confederation, Swiss Communists have their spiritual, moral, and financial headquarters in Moscow. Since the Party was made illegal in Switzerland, the Western European Bureau, situated in Paris, has been "particularly instructed by Moscow to attend to the organization of illegal activities" there; these activities were to take two forms: penetration into organizations which are not condemned by law, and illegal activity itself.

United States

"To answer the clarion call of the Third International" the minority delegates of a Left Wing Conference called a convention to meet in Chicago on September 1, 1919. The "Left Wing" was that of the Socialist Party; the minority delegates were those who took part in the Left Wing
Conference of June, 1919, and found it was not radical enough for them.

Since then the connecting links between Moscow and the United States have been papers such as the "Daily Worker", which is professedly the official organ of the Comintern in the U.S. There have been men such as the one who was caught in one of the Balkan countries en route to America with instructions in his pocket to break up the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party of America, and men such as Browder, Foster, Green, and Carruthers who have represented the C.P. of America at the Communist headquarters in Moscow.

As early as 1921 instructions and criticism began to come from Moscow. At that time the American Communists were "flayed by the E.C.C.I. for wasting time. In 1928 they were told how to win the Negro in the South. They were to organize the Negro peasantry first of all; to do this "cadres" of militant, urban Negroes were to be trained. A split occurred in the American Party in 1929, when some of the leaders were called to Moscow and severely reprimanded. Stalin personally delivered definite and voluminous instructions to them "with respect to the methods of achieving the changes in our social and political forms". In 1930 the C.I. told American Communists that "the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes is one of the most important parts of the proletarian class struggle in the U.A.A." Two years later Stalin called for positive acts of aggression against American institutions. The E.C.C.I., in 1934, ordered American Communists to attack the NRA. About the same time the following detailed instructions came from Moscow to the Communists on the Pacific
Coast:


At the VII World Congress American Communists were advised to create a Workers' and Farmers' Party. The Party was to be "neither Socialist nor Communist. But it must be an anti-fascist party and must not be an anti-

Communist party." A "League against War and Fascism" was also recom-

mended. After being sharply criticised for their poor work of organizing the unemployed, American Communists were told to set up "unyielding opposition to labor camps" such as CCC Camps.

Reports have been made to Moscow at various times, among them one made by a certain Jack Pringle at the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1932 concerning conditions in the United States. Another report was made to the Comintern in June, 1934, by A. Markoff, the Director of the Workers Schools. Finally, in 1935 both Earl Browder and William Foster made very detailed reports to the Comintern headquarters, making it appear that many of the organizations in the United States, in which there was sympathy with Communism, were being skillfully directed by them toward a complete overthrow of the American economic system.

With regard to money matters the American Communist Party has of these late years been able to support itself. However, back in 1924 Moscow
sent money through William Foster for work among labor unions, and in 1927
1,000,000 rubles to aid striking miners were supposed to have been sent.
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Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The growth of the Third International has been most remarkable. In 1919 it was a babe in arms mothered by one country, Russia; in 1939, just twenty years later, it is a giant of a man reaching into and swaying as it pleases enthusiastic groups of men in sixty-five countries. How many other organizations have grown in like manner?

The instructions mentioned in the thesis bring out the Third International's influence on the small details of all phases of life. When the reader realises how few in number are the instructions printed in the thesis, compared to the number actually issued, he will know the strength of the Comintern's influence a thousand times better than he does now. Just let him think of the havoc wrought in Hungary, Spain, Mexico, and Germany either because of the Comintern's influence or because of fear of it.

These instructions also represent a good cross-section of Comintern morality, a morality which doubles its power and makes it, in the eyes of its enemies, an even more treacherous organization with which to deal. Let the reader then, and the world, too, look upon the Third International as a body whose strength is to be respected and whose cunning is to be feared.
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The thesis, "The Third International", written by Thomas F. Connery, S.J., has been accepted by the Graduate School with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below, with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Father Metzger                     November 11, 1939
Father Shiels                       July 31, 1939