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A DISCUSSION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "COMINFORM" BY NINE EUROPEAN STATES

By LIU Nai-kuang (劉乃光)

Just at the time when Soviet-American relations reached a critical stage, Moscow suddenly made the following announcement:

"A meeting was held by the Communist Parties of the nine European states - the Soviet Union, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Hungary - during the latter part of September 1947 and problems in connection with the present situation were discussed. As a result of this meeting, an official Communist information bureau, the "Cominform" (Ch'ing Pao Chu/情報局) was organized with its headquarters at Belgrade, the capital city of Yugoslavia."

Evidently the "Third International" - Communist International or the Comintern, which was "dissolved" in 1943, is now being partly reorganized in order to give opposition to the "imperialism" of the United States.

The Chen Li Pao (真理報), a newspaper, reported that at this conference the following decision had been reached: "Because of the lack of cooperation among the Communist Parties of the various nations, it is deemed necessary to establish the Cominform. This lack of cooperation during the present state of affairs is very serious, and past experiences have clearly proved such a condition detrimental to the Communist organization. At present it is absolutely necessary that the Communist Parties of the various nations discuss their problems and plan their activities together."

At the meeting the results of the ineffectual Communist Party policy adopted in the past were fully brought to light. It is evident that there is not only a lack of cooperation among the Communist Parties of the various nations, but also, because the Communist Parties have all gone about their individual ways, protecting the interests of the capitalists in their own country, they have come into keen opposition with one another. For example, the French Communists ignored the declaration of the Soviet Government and voiced their support of the French imperialists' claims to the Ruhr, Saar, Rhine and other territories, which action gave rise to protests from the German Communists; the Italian Communists objected to the stand taken by the Yugoslavian and French Communists on the Trieste question; and the Communists in South Korea opposed the "Five-year Plan" of Korean trusteeship as proposed by Soviet Russia. Such controversies among the Communist Parties are decreasing their value as diplomatic tools of the Kremlin. Past experiences have proved this to be true. Therefore, it is imperative that the Communist Parties of various nations reconsider their policies and direct their activities in such a manner as to serve again the interests of the Kremlin.

But how and by whom were these mistakes made? If the dissolution of the Third International caused such a "lack of cooperation", and therefore, was a "mistake", then why was the Third International dissolved? In order to clarify these questions, we must review the past history of the Third International.

The Third International was established in 1919 in order to replace the Second International, which was guilty of betraying the principles of revolutionary internationalism by supporting the imperialistic war and the various capitalistic governments. The death sentence of the Second International was pronounced by Lenin who established the Third International to lead the world in a new revolution. Thus Lenin in April 1919 changed the name of the Party to that of the "Communist Party" in order to distinguish it from the Social Democratic Party which had betrayed the principles of Socialism. Article I of the Regulations of the Third International as promulgated at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920 stated that "the purpose of establishing the International Labor Union is to call on the proletariat in the various countries to unite and work for a common goal, i.e., the overthrow of capitalism and the seizure of political power, thereby hastening the establishment of an 'International Soviet Republic'." This is in complete compliance with the aims as set down in the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels - The 'Manifesto' acknowledged the fact that "laborers have no mother country" and urged the proletariat the world over to unite. The four congresses of the Comintern - 1919 to 1922 - all displayed

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to the fullest such a spirit. But after 1922, when Lenin became very ill, the bureaucrats, as represented by Stalin, gradually came into power. This was caused partly by a depression in the Soviet economy and a deterioration of the world revolutionary movement which gradually isolated the Soviet Union from the rest of the world.

In the autumn of 1924 Stalin proposed the conservative doctrine of "one nation socialism" in opposition to Lenin's "revolutionary internationalism". Since then, Stalin's foreign policy has changed from one of world revolution to that of maintaining the status quo. Between 1925 and 1927 Stalin ordered the Chinese Communists to cooperate with the capitalists and disapproved the organization of a Chinese Soviet at the time of a political coup d'etat in China. This reversal of policy resulted in the failure of the revolution in China. At the same time, Stalin also joined forces with the "yellow" labor leaders in Great Britain and organized an Anglo-Soviet Committee, which successfully put an end to the general labor strike. Following this event, Stalin changed his extreme rightist tactics to extreme leftist by inventing such foolish terms as the "Third Period" and the "Social Fascists". On the eve of Hitler's coming to power, Stalin refused to cooperate with the Social Democratic Party in organizing an anti-Fascist united front. And at the time when Hitler was attempting to usurp the power in Germany, Stalin ordered the German Communists to withdraw without a fight. Thus, the German revolution of 1933 which at first showed great promise was brought to an untimely end by the Kremlin. Immediately after the failure of the revolutions in China and Germany, Japan rose from the East and Hitler from the West. War was threatening and Moscow had to make another about-face and turn to Great Britain, France and the United States for aid. Stalin requested the imperialists to establish a "Peace Front" and a "Popular Front" and also asked permission to join the "League of Nations", an organization of the imperialists for the division of the spoils of war. All these tactics of Stalin, however, only served to further the war aims of the imperialists and assist the Fascists in their propaganda activities to neutralize the effects of the labor movements. Thus, after the "Popular Front" had put an end to the sit-down strike in France in 1936 and had helped put down the revolt in Spain, Stalin discovered that Hitler was ready for war. At once Stalin turned to Hitler and signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact. The partition of Poland followed, setting off the Second World War. But the Pact did not prevent the Soviet Union from being attacked by Germany. When the Nazi-Soviet Pact had been abandoned, Stalin once more turned to the imperialists for aid. He also summoned the working classes in the imperialistic countries to "rise and give their undying support to the war effort and to the protection of their mother country". He even went so far as to urge the people in the colonies to stop their struggle for racial equality and democratic freedom. In order to win the confidence of the so-called "democratic" imperialists and show that he had completely abandoned his plan for a world social revolution, Stalin, in May 1943, officially announced the "dissolution" of the Comintern.

The foreign policy of the master in Kremlin Square continued from bad to worse, dragging the Soviet Union nearer and nearer to disaster. At the same time, the Communist International had ceased to be the nerve-center of the world proletariat and had become merely a diplomatic tool of Stalin. The changes in the foreign policy of the Kremlin led the Communist parties in the various countries to change their policies too. Under the control of Stalin, the history of the Third International became one of endless calamities for the working classes of the world. Consequently, the Third International could no longer assist in effecting a revolution of the working classes all over the world.

Even at this stage, the Bolsheviks were not without a guardian. For the same reason the Third International was set up to replace the corrupt Second International, the Fourth International was organized to replace the deteriorating Third International and carry out faithfully the first article of the Regulations of the Third International. This "new" International was officially founded in 1938 by Trotsky, a co-worker of Lenin and one of the two great leaders in the October Revolution. Trotsky was a staunch supporter of the original principles of the Bolsheviks and was one of the first to point out the fallacies of the foreign and domestic policies as advocated by the Soviet bureaucrats. Further, he was fearless in expressing his own opinions on the matter and, during the early period when the Leftist oppositionists were in power, Trotsky issued the following warning: "The bureaucrats of the Soviet Union," he said, "are determined to convert the Third International from a means of effecting world revolution into an instrument of their foreign policy". In an article written in 1938 and entitled "New Advice", Trotsky analyzed the nature of and predicted the future of the Third International, when he wrote the following:

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"The Third International is able to continue its existence because it is supported, on the one hand, by the Kremlin and, on the other, by the same group that supports the Social Democratic Party - the imperialists. The number of Communists who have joined the ranks of the lower propertied-class by working in government organizations, labor unions, state and municipal councils, etc. has increased during the recent years. Their dependency on the imperialists in their respective countries has thus greatly been increased and has caused them to become less dependent on the Kremlin. Ten years ago we predicted that the theory of "One Nation Socialism" would inevitably result in an increased tendency towards racialism among the various nations of the Communist International. This prediction has turned out to be true. Today, we can confidently predict the beginning of a new era. The growth of racialism will continue among the member nations of the Communist International, each nation trying to carry out its own nationalistic policies independently of the other nations. Because of the facts mentioned above and because of the fear of losing her imperialistic friends, Moscow will eventually try to dissolve the Communist International."

These few statements of Trotsky not only predicted the official dissolution of the Communist International (Comintern) by Stalin, - which did occur five years after these statements were made, - but also the friction that would develop and did develop among the Communist Parties in the various countries after the "dissolution". The "dissolution" of the Communist International and the friction among the Communist Parties all originated from the same cause, i.e., the intensification of racialism among the Communist Parties in the various countries, which in turn was caused by the abandonment of the revolutionary internationalism by Stalin and his adoption of the principle of "One Nation Socialism".

The "dissolution" of the Third International was only the internment of an already "decaying corpse". The genuine ideologies of Communism and internationalism were entirely lost from the time Stalin turned Communism into an instrument for realizing his own ambitions. From then on the Third International did more harm than good for the revolution of the proletariat, having become merely an instrument of the Kremlin in its attempt to protect itself. The reason Roosevelt wanted the Third International dissolved at that time was that it was the instrument of the Kremlin. Today the United States is continuing its policy of isolating the Soviet Union from the rest of the world. To counteract this, the Soviets have organized the Cominform of the Nine European countries. Stalin wanted to revive his former "instrument" in the shape of the Cominform. Now, if the United States were to exert extreme pressure on Moscow, Stalin would make his "instrument" more "leftist", thus creating an effective counteracting influence. On no condition has Stalin any intention of reviving the revolutionary spirit of internationalism and aiding the socialistic movements in the various parts of the world. This point was confirmed by the report on the conference of the Nine European countries. In the declaration at this conference, the duties of the Communist in the various countries were confined only to the following:

"To fight for racial freedom and the sovereign integrity of one's own country and to lead the people in resisting aggression and opposing the imperialists in their program of expansion"

Article 1 of the Regulations of the Third International was mentioned neither in this declaration nor in any other declaration. Although the Third International has resumed partial operation, the capitalists and imperialists the world over have risen in fear and attacked it vehemently. All this forced Stalin quickly to deny the fact that the Cominform is the successor of the Communist International. On 14 October 1947, Stalin made the following statement to the "rebel" members of the Labor Party of the British Parliament:

"The establishment of the Cominform of the Communist Party is definitely not the revival of the Communist International, and shall in no way change Soviet Russia's desire to improve relations with the United States and Great Britain."

In order to convince the people further, Stalin was quoted as saying - according to a U. P. dispatch of 23 October 1947 - that "the duties of the Communist International were to create closer ties between the laborers of the various countries and to teach them leadership. At present, however, the world situation is entirely different. The Communist Parties of most countries have already become the powerful representatives of the people, have great responsibilities and include in their ranks many able, experienced leaders. Hence, there is no need now for setting up a new Communist International to lead these Communist Parties". This statement contains the most audacious and contradictory lies ever told. Following are the reasons:

1. Early in 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had already advocated the need for an international organization for the working class. It was only natural that,

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since the capitalist group was dominating the world, the working class in the various countries should unite and overthrow this group and replace it with a socialistic society. Thus, with such slogans as "Laborers have no mother country" and "Let the proletariat throughout the world unite", the First International was born. The Second International was set up immediately after the failure of the First International, but this also did not last long. Lenin founded the Third International because the Second International had abandoned internationalism for nationalism. After the October Revolution the proclamation in connection with the "Rights of the Working Class and Those Who Had Been Victimized by the Capitalists" clearly stated that "the aim of our new political order is to organize a socialistic society based on the principles of Socialism and to establish it rapidly throughout the world" When Stalin "simplified" the aims of the Communist International, he was merely trying to cover up his betrayal of the principles of Lenin.

2. The Cominform, which was recently organized by the Nine European Nations, has openly acknowledged that "there was a lack of cooperation among the Communist Parties in the various countries". And yet Stalin had the audacity to state that "there is no need now of setting up a new Communist International" to bring about closer ties between the Communist Parties in the various countries. What an utter contradiction!

3. At the conference of the Nine European Nations it was decided that "The Cominform shall assume the responsibility of regulating the activities of the Communist Parties in the various countries whenever it is thought necessary". This is an evidence of the existence of friction among the Communist Parties in the various countries because of the increased tendency towards racialism among the members of the Communist Parties. The Cominform was established to remedy this situation. By serving as the headquarters of all the Communist Parties, it will issue orders, and direct and control all party activities. In a published declaration, the Cominform has vehemently attacked American imperialism and called upon the Communists in the various countries to rise and fight against the invasion of the imperialists. The Cominform will also be the nerve center of the Communists in their fight against the capitalist countries of the world, led by the United States, now trying to isolate the Soviet Union.

In the past, Stalin has had complete control over the Third International, ordering the Communists in the various countries to obey him implicitly and to serve him as his obedient servants. On no account has Stalin allowed them to have any freedom. Today, while he is trying to convince the world that he never did such a thing, he is still continuing such a practice by controlling the Cominform in the following ways: (1) The Headquarters of the Cominform is in Yugoslavia, a country under the control of the Kremlin, and (2) the Cominform conference was conducted by Zhdanov and Malenkov, two prominent figures in the Soviet Communist Party who are thought most likely to succeed Stalin. The increased tendency towards non-cooperation among the Communists in the various countries only served to show all the more why Stalin urgently insisted upon the establishment of the Cominform, and did not in the least prove that Stalin had abandoned his plan of controlling the Communists.

4. If the Communist Parties in most countries have already become "powerful" and capable of independent leadership, as Stalin has boasted, then there would be a stronger reason, and a much easier way for these Communist Parties to seize the political power, overthrow the capitalists and set up a proletariat form of government in their respective countries. But this is far from being the case. Today the Kremlin is confining the activities of the Communists in the various countries to cooperation with the capitalists. The Communists' greatest hope is to participate in a united government, and they dare not propose any changes in the property-ownership system nor bring up any class issues. In other words, a "new democracy", a modified form of the ideal, is being substituted for Socialism. Such anti-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin have resulted in the dying down of all post-war revolutionary movements, and in the failure of the Communists to take advantage of favorable situations to further their ends, thus giving Fascism a chance to revive again. Further, such policies have made it possible for Soviet Russia to be destroyed by the Atomic Bomb of the United States. Therefore, in the face of such a crisis, the Soviet Union should be calling on all the working classes in the world to wake up and unite. But instead she is boasting that "the Communist Parties of most countries" are very "powerful" and do not need any "leadership". How foolish and ridiculous this really is! Further, which countries did Stalin mean by the so-called "most countries"? And is it still necessary to establish a "Communist International" in order to lead the Communist Parties in those other countries where the Communists are not so "powerful"? If it is not necessary, then the Third International need never have been established.

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We can find innumerable other instances to cite in order to show how Stalin contradicts himself. But he himself is not ashamed of it. Having once fallen into the maze of contradictions, he can find no way out. Only yesterday he gave in to Roosevelt by dissolving the Third International, but today he has again resumed its partial operation in order to oppose Truman. Yet Stalin is also denying the partial re-organization of the Communist International! Tomorrow, in another political move, he may in all probability dissolve the Comintern again. Is not this evidence enough to prove that the Third International is only a tool to be used by Stalin in his political machinations? Today, Stalin has not only broken away from the tradition set by Lenin, but has also become incapable of understanding the past teachings of Lenin. Stalin's policies during the past twenty years brought about one disaster after another, resulting finally in the invasion of Russian territory by the German Army. It was only through the heroic resistance of the Russian workers and peasants that the Soviet Union was saved. But in a twinkling, the evil and absolute power of bureaucratism has once again brought Soviet Russia to the threshold of another war - an Atomic War with the United States. Soviet Russia can now be saved from total destruction only by the victory of Socialism not only in Russia but also in the various countries throughout the world. Today, the laborers and the oppressed people in Europe and all over the world, are working and groping their way towards Socialism. In the opposite camp, the capitalists of the various nations, supported by the United States, are trying to adopt a more effective ruling system - Fascism. Unfortunately, at this crucial moment, the Kremlin has chosen the middle path and formulated an empty ideology of its own, called the "new democracy" and is thus obstructing the advance of the peasants and workers of the world along the road of Socialism. Today, Stalin has attempted to make use of an old instrument, the Communist International, by re-organizing it for traitorous purposes. We repeat here that in order to save the Soviet Union and the world from another war catastrophe, and to lead a new world revolution of the proletariat to victory, we must all gather under the banner of the new International - the Fourth International, which alone is strictly adhering to the true spirit of Lenin's Internationalism.

THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER REVOLUTION

By CH'UN YIN (羣音)

The 30th Anniversary of the Soviet October Revolution is drawing near. This Revolution resulted in the turning over of the political power of a nation to the hands of the proletariat for the first time in history. It brought about the overthrow of the system of private ownership by the capitalist class and substituted the system of "public ownership" or Socialism. The October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in history and paved the way for a brighter future for mankind. Lenin had stated that "the October Revolution is the prelude to a world revolution". By that Lenin meant that he was far from being satisfied with the establishment of Socialism in Russia by the overthrow of the Czar and the capitalists and the setting up of a Russian Government dominated by the industrial workers and peasants, and that this Revolution must also spread to all parts of the world. He would not be satisfied until Socialism had attained its goal of dominating the entire world. The "Third International" which was organized after the October Revolution had as its purpose the realization of this ideal. Under Lenin and Trotsky, the Third International propounded definite theories and principles and set up a strong foundation for future activities. In fact, this organization became the true leader of a world revolution during the first few years of its existence. If it had continued to grow, no doubt it would have been very successful. Unfortunately, after the death of the great leader, Lenin, bureaucracy, as represented by Stalin, immediately took control of the Soviet Union and the Third International (Comintern). In complete disregard for the principles of the October Revolution, Stalin expounded the reactionary theory of a "One Nation Socialism" (一國) in Russia. He not only disregarded the rights of the proletariat but also conducted a purge of the Bolshevik Party. "Class struggle" turned into "class cooperation" when Stalin further sought to cooperate with the various propertied classes and the imperialists of other countries. As a result of this cooperation, the Revolution in China in 1927, the Revolution in Germany in 1933 and, later the revolutionary movements in Spain and France ended in failure, and this failure brought about the rise of Fascism in these countries - Fascism, which was one of the principal causes of World War II.

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Prior to World War II Stalin planned to cooperate with the "democratic" imperialistic countries of Great Britain, United States and France in order to set up a "democratic bloc" against Fascism and prevent another world war. But on the eve of the outbreak of World War II Stalin signed the Soviet-Nazi Pact with the "devil of Fascism", Adolf Hitler. When the Nazis broke their promise and attacked the USSR, it was not long before Stalin had again to ask the United States and Great Britain for help. Stalin even went so far as to dissolve the Comintern so as to gain the confidence of Roosevelt. Thus, during and even after the Second World War, Communists in the various countries had to cooperate with the social democratic parties and stop all their anti-war and revolutionary activities. These are the cold facts behind Stalin's betrayal of the ideals of the October Revolution and the teachings of Lenin. Because Stalin is still acting in complete disregard of the objectives of the October Revolution, a third world war with the United States is in the making. Such a disaster is inevitable unless all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world unite and help to save the situation. If not, Socialism, the glorious product of the October Revolution and the salvation of mankind, will go down to defeat under the destructive power of the atomic bomb. The only way to save this crisis is for the people of the world to unite under the banner of the "Fourth International" and carry on the objectives of the October Revolution. Capitalism must be destroyed and replaced by world Socialism. In order to accomplish this, the people must first liberate themselves from the clutches of Stalin's bureaucracy and follow the doctrines of Karl Marx. And, not until then, will there be any reason for commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution.

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