APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

PARTIES, GROUPS AND TRENDS INVITED TO THE FIRST COMINTERN CONGRESS

1. The Spartakusbund (Communist Party of Germany)
2. The Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia
3. The Communist Party of German-Austria
4. The Communist Party of Hungary
5. The Communist Party of Poland
6. The Communist Party of Finland
7. The Communist Party of Estonia
8. The Communist Party of Latvia
9. The Communist Party of Lithuania
10. The Communist Party of White Russia
11. The Communist Party of the Ukraine
12. The revolutionary elements in the Czech Social-Democratic Party
13. The "narrow" Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (Tesniaki)
14. The Rumanian Social-Democratic Party
15. The left wing of the Serbian Social-Democratic Party
16. The left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden
17. The Norwegian Social-Democratic Party
18. The "Klassensampen" group in Denmark
19. The Communist Party of Holland
20. The revolutionary elements in the Belgian Labout Party
21 and 22. The groups and organizations within the French socialist syndicalist movement which by and large support Loriot
23. The left social-democrats of Switzerland
24. The Italian Socialist Party
25. The left elements in the Spanish Socialist Party
26. The left elements in the Portuguese Socialist Party
27. The left elements in the British Socialist Party (in particular the group represented by Maclean)
28. The Socialist Labour Party (England)
29. The I.W.W. (England)
30. The I.W. of Great Britain
31. The revolutionary elements among the Shop Stewards (Great Britain)
32. The revolutionary elements in the Irish workers' organisations
33. The Socialist Workers' Party of America
34. The left elements in the American Socialist Party (in particular the group represented by Debs and the League for Socialist Propaganda)
35. The I.W.W. (America)
36. The I.W.W. (Australia)
37. The Workers' International Industrial Union (America)
38. Socialist groups in Tokyo and Yokohama (represented by comrade Katayama)
39. The Socialist Youth International (represented by comrade Manzenberg)

APPENDIX II

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
APPROVED BY THE SECOND COMINTERN CONGRESS

(Adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, July 17th to August 7th, 1920)

The First Inaugural Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for the admission of separate parties to the Third International. At the time the First congress was convened there were only Communist trends and groups in the majority of countries.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International has met under different conditions. There are now in most countries not only Communist trends and tendencies, but Communist Parties and organizations.

The Communist International is now more and more often receiving applications from parties and groups which, but a short time ago, belonged to the Second International and now desire to join the Third International, but which have not really become Communist organizations. The Second International has completely collapsed: The intermediary parties and groups of the "Center", realizing that the Second International is utterly hopeless, are trying to lean upon the Communist International, which is growing ever stronger; at the same time, however, they hope to preserve such "autonomy" as would enable them to pursue their former opportunist or "Centrist" policy. The Communist International is, to a certain degree, becoming the fashion.

The desire of some of the leading groups of the "center" to joint the Third International is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Communist International has gained the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers of the whole world, and that it is becoming a greater and greater force every day.

Under certain circumstances, the Communist International may be threatened with the danger of dilution by wavering, vacillating groups that have not yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

Moreover, in some of the large parties (Italy, Sweden, Norway, Yugoslavia and others) the majority of whose members adopt the Communist point of view, there still remains a
considerable reformist and social-pacifist wing, which is only waiting for the opportune moment to lift its head to begin an active sabotage of the proletarian revolution, and thus help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The alliance between the Hungarian Communists and the so-called "Left" social-democrats cost the Hungarian proletariat dear;

Hence, the Second World Congress of the Communist International considers it necessary to lay down the most precise conditions for the admission of new parties, and also to point out to those parties which have already been accepted as members of the Communist International, the obligations that rest upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International resolves that the conditions for membership in the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The daily propaganda and agitation must bear a truly Communist character and correspond to the program and all the decisions of the Third International. All the organs of the press that are in the hands of the Party must be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula; it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from the facts of everyday life systematically recorded by our press day after day.

The periodical and non-periodical press and all Party publishing organizations must 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. That publishing organizations, abusing their autonomy, should pursue a policy that does not completely correspond to the policy of the Party, cannot be tolerated.

En the columns of the newspapers, at public meetings, in the trade unions, in the cooperative societies--wherever the adherents of the Third International gain access, they must systematically and mercilessly denounce not only the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants, the reformists of every shade.

2. Every organization desiring to belong to the Communist International must steadily and systematically remove from all responsible posts in the Labour movement in the Party
organization, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, 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.

3. The class struggle in almost all the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois law. The must everywhere create a parallel illegal apparatus which at the decisive moment could assist the Party in performing its duty to the revolution. In all countries where, in consequence of martial law or exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on all their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4. The obligation to spread Communist ideas includes the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army. Wherever such propaganda is forbidden by exceptional laws, it must be carried on illegally. The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the Third International.

5. It is necessary to carry on systematic and steady agitation in the rural districts. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without the backing of at least part of the agricultural labourers and the poorest peasants, and without having neutralized, by its policy, a part of the rest of the rural population. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on in the main, by revolutionary Communist workers of both city and country only, who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half-reformists is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that desires to belong to the Third International must expose, not only open social patriotism, but also the falsity and hypocrisy of social-pacifism; it must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no disarmament, no "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. The Parties desiring to belong to the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and
absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "Center", and they must carry on propaganda in favour of this rupture among the broadest circles of the party membership. Otherwise a consistent Communist policy is impossible.

The Communist International unconditionally and peremptorily demands that this split be brought about with the least delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists, as Turatti, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillwquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Modigliani, and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble, to a considerable degree, the late Second International.

8. On the question of the colonies and oppressed nationalities an especially distinct and clear line must be taken by the parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies or oppresses other nations. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International must ruthlessly denounce the methods of "their own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not in words, but in deeds, every independence movement in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workers of the -ir own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the toiling populations of the colonies and oppressed nationalities and carry on systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the trade unions, in workers' and industrial councils, in the cooperative societies, and in other mass organizations. Within these organizations it is necessary to create Communist groups, which by means of practical and stubborn work must win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These cells should constantly denounce the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillations of the "Center", at every step. These Communist groups should be completely subordinate to the Party as a whole.

10. Every party that belongs to the Communist International must carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of yellow trade unions. It must persistently propagate among the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must give all the support in its power to the incipient international alliance of the Red trade unions affiliated to the Communist International.
11. The parties desiring to belong to the Third International must overhaul the membership of their parliamentary fractions, eliminate all unreliable elements from them, to control these fractions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the Party, and demand from every Communist member of parliament that he devote his entire activities to the interest of really revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. Parties belonging to the Communist International must be built up on [the principle of democratic centralism. 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.]

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communists' activity is legal shall make periodical cleanings (re-registration) of the members of the Party organizations, so as to systematically cleanse the party from the petty-bourgeois elements who inevitably attach themselves to it.

14. Every party that desires to belong to the Communist International must give every possible support to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops, which are sent to crush the workers' republics, etc.

15. The parties which up to the present have retained their old Social-Democratic programs must in the shortest possible time overhaul these programs and draw up a new Communist program in conformity with the special conditions of their respective countries and in accordance with resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule, the program of every party that belongs to the Communist International must be ratified by the next Congress of the Communist International or by the Executive Committee. In the even of the Executive Committee of the Communist International failing to ratify the program of a particular party, that party has the right to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the Congress of the Communist International, as well as the decisions of its Executive
Committee, are binding on all parties affiliated to the Communist International. The Communist International, operating in the midst of most acute civil war, must have a far more centralized form of organization than that of the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, of course, in all their activities, take into consideration the diversity of the conditions under which the various parties have to work and fight and should issue universally binding decisions only on questions on which the passing of such decisions is possible.

17. In connection with all this, all parties desiring to join the Communist International must change their names. Every party that desires to join the Communist International must beat the name: Communist Party of such-and-such country )Section of the Third Communist International). This question as to name is not merely a formal one, but a political one of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow, Social-Democratic parties. Every rank-and-file worker must clearly understand the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social-Democratic" or "Scoialist" parties which betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading Party organs of the press in all countries must publish all the chief documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties belonging to the Communist International, or having made an application to join it, must, in the shortest possible period, but not later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, call special Party congresses, for the purpose of discussing these obligations. In this connection, the Central Committees must take measures to enable all the local organizations to become acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20. 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. Exceptions may be made with approval of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist
International also has the right to make exceptions of the representatives of the "Center" mentioned in point 7.

21. Members of the Party who reject the conditions and theses of the Communist International, on principle, must be expelled from the party.

This applies also to the delegates to the special party Congresses.
The historic role of the Communist International, which was founded in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the great majority of old, pre-war working-class parties, consisted in upholding the principles of Marxism from vulgarization and distortion by the opportunist elements in the working-class movement, in helping to promote the consolidation in a number of countries of the vanguard of the foremost workers in real working-class parties, and in helping them to mobilize the workers for the defence of their economic and political interests and for support of the Soviet Union as the chief bulwark against Fascism.

The Communist International from the first exposed the real meaning of the 'Anti-Comintern Pact', as a weapon for the preparation of war by the Hitlerites. Long before the war, it ceaselessly and tirelessly exposed the vicious, subversive work carried on in other countries by the Hitlerites who masked it by their screams about the so-called interference of the Communist International in the internal affairs of these states.

But long before the war it became more and more clear that, with the increasing complications in the internal and international relations of the various countries, any sort of international centre would encounter insuperable obstacles in solving the problems facing the movement in each separate country. The deep differences of the historic paths of development of various countries, the differences in their character and even contradictions in their social orders, the differences in the level and tempo of their economic and political development, the differences, finally, in the degree of consciousness and organization of the workers, conditioned the different problems facing the working class of the various countries.

The whole development of events in the last quarter of a century, and the experience accumulated by the Communist International, convincingly showed that the organizational form of uniting the workers chosen by the first congress of the Communist International answered the conditions of the first stage of the revival of the working-class movement but has been outgrown by the growth of this movement and by the
complications of its problems in separate countries, and has even become a drag on the further strengthening of the national working-class parties.

The world war that the Hitlerites have let loose has still further sharpened the differences in the situation of the separate countries, and has placed a deep dividing line between those countries which fell under the Hitlerite tyranny and those freedom-loving peoples who have united in a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In the countries of the Hitlerite bloc the fundamental task of the working class, the toilers and all honest people consists in giving all help for the defeat of this bloc, by sabotage of the Hitlerite military machine from within, and by helping to overthrow the governments who are guilty of the war. In the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the sacred duty of the widest masses of the people, and in the first place of the foremost workers, consists in aiding by every means the military efforts of the governments of these countries aimed at the speediest defeat of the Hitlerite bloc and the assurance of the friendship of nations based on their equality.

At the same time the fact must not be lost sight of that separate countries which are members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition have their own particular problems. For example, in countries occupied by the Hitlerites which have lost their state independence, the basic task of the foremost workers and of the wide masses of the people consists in promoting armed struggle, developing into a national war of liberation against Hitlerite Germany.

At the same time, the war of liberation of the freedom-loving peoples against the Hitlerite tyranny, which has brought into movement the masses of the people, unifying them without difference of party of religion in the ranks of a powerful anti-Hitlerite coalition, has demonstrated with still greater clearness that the general national upsurge and mobilization of the people for the speediest victory over the enemy can be best of all and most fruitfully carried out by the vanguard of the working-class movement of each separate country, working within the framework of its own country.

Already the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, meeting in 1935, taking into account the changes that had taken place both in the international situation and in the working-class movement that demand great flexibility and independence of its sections in deciding the problems confronting
them, emphasized the necessity for the Executive Committee of
the Communist International, in deciding all questions of the
working-class movement arising from the concrete conditions
and peculiarities of each country, to make a rule of avoiding
interference in the internal organizational affairs of the
Communist Parties.

These same considerations guided the Communist
International in considering the resolution of the Communist
Party of the USA of November 1940, on its withdrawal from the
ranks of the Communist International.

Guided by the judgement of the founders of Marxism-
Leninism, Communists have never been supporters of the
conservation of organizational forms that have outlived
themselves. They have always subordinated forms of
organization of the working-class movement and the methods of
working of such organizations to the fundamental political
interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to the
peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and to the
problems immediately resulting from this situation. They
remember the example of the great Marx, who united the foremost
workers in the ranks of the Working Men's International
Association, and, when the First International had fulfilled its
historical task, laying the foundations for the development of the
working-class parties in the countries of Europe and America,
and, as a result of the matured situation creating national
working-class parties, dissolved the First International inasmuch
as this form of organization already no longer corresponded to the
demands confronting it.

In consideration of the above, and taking into account the
growth and political maturity of the Communist parties and their
leading cadres in the separate countries, and also having in view
the fact that during the present war some sections have raised
the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as
the directing centre of the international working-class
movement.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the
Communist International, in the circumstances of the world war
not being able to convene a congress of the Communist
International, puts forward the following proposal for
ratification by the sections of the Communist International.

The Communist International, as the directing centre of the
international working-class movement, is to be dissolved, thus
freeing the sections of the Communist International from their
obligations arising from the statutes and resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls on all supporters of the Communist International to concentrate their energies on wholehearted support of and active participation in the war of liberation of the peoples and states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition for the speediest defeat of the deadly enemy of the working class and toilers--German Fascism and its associates and vassals.


The following representatives of Communist Parties also append their signatures to the present resolutions: Bianco (Italy), Dolores Ibarruri (Spain), Lehtinen (Finland), Ana Pauker (Romania), Matyas Rakosi (Hungary).
APPENDIX IV

STALIN'S REPLY TO REUTER'S CHIEF MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT (28 MAY 1943)

Question: British comment on the decision to dissolve the Comintern has been very favourable. What is the Soviet view of this matter and of its bearing on future international relations?

Answer: The dissolution of the Communist International is proper and timely because it facilitates the organizations of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy-Hitlerism. The dissolution of the Communist International is proper because:

(a) It exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that 'Moscow' allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to 'Bolshevize' them. From now on an end is put to this lie.

(b) It exposes the calumny of the adversaries of Communism within the labour movement to the effect that Communist parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interests of their people but on orders from outside. From now on an end is also put to this calumny.

(c) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting the progressive forces of their respective countries, regardless of party or religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation—for unfolding the struggle against Fascism.

(d) It facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against the menace of world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way for the future organization of a companionship of nations based upon their equality.

I think that all these circumstances taken together will result in a further strengthening of the United Front of the allies and other united nations in their fight for victory over Hitlerite tyranny. I feel that the dissolution of the Communist International is perfectly timely—because it is exactly now, when the Fascist beast is exerting its last strength, that it is necessary to organize the common onslaught of freedom-loving countries to finish off this beast and to deliver the people from Fascist oppression.
APPENDIX V

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF ECCI ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (9 JUNE 1943)

At its last meeting on 8 June 1943, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International considered the decisions received from its sections in connection with its proposals of 15 May 1943 on the dissolution of the Communist International, and decided the following:

1. That the proposal on the dissolution of the Communist International has been approved by: the Communist Parties of Australia, Austria, the Argentine, Belgium, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Hungary, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Canada; the United Socialist Party of Catalonia; the Communist Parties of China and Colombia; the Revolutionary Communist Union of Cuba; the Communist Party of Mexico; the Workers' Party of Poland; the Communist Parties of Romania, Syria, the Soviet Union, Uruguay, Finland, France, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Switzerland, Sweden, Yugoslavia, the Union of South Africa; and the Communist International of Youth (which is incorporated in the Communist International with the full rights of a section).

2. That not one of the existing sections of the Communist International sent in any objection to the proposal of the Presidium of the EC.

In view of all this the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares:

1. That the proposal for the dissolution of the Communist International has been unanimously approved by all sections able to send in their decisions, including all the most important sections.

2. It considers that, as from 10 June 1943, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Presidium and Secretariat of the Executive Committee, as well as the International Control Commission have been dissolved.

3. It entrusts to a committee composed of Dimitrov (as Chairman), Manuilsky, Ercoli and Pieck to carry out the winding up of the affairs of the organs, apparatus and property of the Communist International.

(Signed) on behalf of the Presidium of the ECCU: Dimitrov.