

Resolution of the Enlarged Executive on the Hamburg Amalgamation Conference

1. In August 1914 the Second International forfeited its existence by the most infamous political and moral bankruptcy. The 2½ International, by fusing with the Second, has finally and formally sealed its own treachery.

At the time when it was founded, the Second and a Half International maintained that it had nothing in common with the parties who had cooperated in the war and civil peace policies. It marched forth in all solemnity against social patriotism and reformism; it was anxious to become a crystallization point for the parties of revolutionary class struggle; it proudly proclaimed the social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet republic; it promised an energetic struggle for the socialization of the key industries, and against government coalitions of exploiters and exploited. There is only one thing which it did not want, and that was the principles and methods and of the Comintern.

The 2½ International was a half way house between the Second and Third Internationals. But its brief span of existence has proved that it is not possible to prepare for revolution and dictatorship without adopting the methods of the Comintern, and while combatting the Comintern; and that socialization without proletarian dictatorship is self-deception or swindle. Thus the 2½ International was condemned to vacillate perpetually between its hopeless socialization and capitalist reconstruction, until it was ripe for capitalist reconstruction without the accompaniment of flowery speeches on socialization, for governmental coalition with the capitalists, and for amalgamation with the Second International.

The 2½ International was the expression of the radical-minded section of the working class, who wanted revolutionary class struggle and a united fighting front with the communist workers, but were not prepared for the proletarian revolution. But as the methods which it chose for carrying on the struggle, for realizing the promised socialization, and for bringing about social improvement, became clearly more hopeless day by day, and as the organized workers in its ranks began to approach the communist workers with growing sympathy, the leaders were obliged—if they did not want to lose their hold on the workers altogether—to raise fresh hopes in the disappointed workers by showing them a new way, the way of affiliation with the great mass of workers belonging to the Second International. And so the leaders of the 2½ International, who have so often publicly declared that they were striving for the union of all three Internationals, and that they would not agree to union with the Second International alone, have now submitted unconditionally to the latter.

2. But the Second International, upon its resurrection in Hamburg, did not even venture to appear as that which it really wanted to be before the great war. It did not find the courage to renew the solemn oaths it swore at Stuttgart and Basle against war, because its leaders, having learnt something from

their collapse in the great war, could not hope to deceive the workers into believing that they still, as before August 1914, had faith in paper resolutions against war, and because they feared even a paper threat of revolution, which might be taken seriously by the workers. They were unable to take a stand against imperialism, as they could still do at the international congresses before the war, because they themselves are now ministers of the capitalist states, or are striving to become such, and because they degenerated during the war into conscious agents and lackeys of the bourgeoisie. They did not venture to propose to the workers any real fighting measures against the progressive advance of the capitalist offensive; nor did they dare to speak of socialization any longer, for they are anxious for the reconstruction of capitalism, and this is only possible at the expense of the workers, and cannot be achieved without a victorious capitalist offensive. They did not venture to announce any actual struggle against the oppressive Versailles Peace, against the reparations, against the Ruhr outrage, against the growth of armaments, against the increasing war danger, against national and colonial oppression, or against reaction and Fascism. They are enemies of the proletarian revolution, and within the international labor movement they represent the antagonistic interests of their capitalist states.

And because they feared any real fight for the interests of the proletariat, because they wished to fetter the workers to the bourgeoisie by means of democratic and socialist phrases, as they themselves are fettered, they found themselves obliged in Hamburg to reject the united front with the revolutionary vanguard of the fighting proletariat.

And since they do not want to fight against capitalism, and have no clear answer to give to any of the questions of such vital interest to the workers, the Hamburg International cannot be a guide for the working class, not even to the modest extent to which the prewar International—a revolutionary organization compared with the new body—was able to be.

The Second International was born alive, as a child of the past epoch, and it perished in the great war, at the beginning of the present epoch, whose new and greater demands were beyond its powers.

The new Second International is a still-born child. It will be buried on the day of the first international conflict, of the first violent collision between capital and labor.

This is the last rival of the Comintern in the labor movement, a rival which guarantees the Comintern's success.

3. The Hamburg International came into being through the pressure of the great masses of the workers, who sought a means of escape from their growing misery and ever increasing peril in a union of all proletarian forces, and hoped to find a protecting rampart in this union against a capitalism moving inevitably to war. But this International—headed by leaders who have served as ministers of capitalist states, or would like to so serve, and who have even signed the Treaty of Versailles—this International will soon be recognized by the workers who are still deceived by it, as a protective rampart for the bourgeoisie. Or it will fall to pieces at the first shot, like its predecessor in August 1914.

The task incumbent on the Comintern and its sections is to accelerate this inevitable process of disillusionment. But this can and must be done solely on the basis of the struggle for the united front of the proletariat, carried on nationally and internationally. This struggle for the united front must be carried on more systematically and decisively in every country, and in the most concrete and popular manner. To the united front of the social patriots with the bourgeoisie must be opposed a united front of all the exploited against the bourgeoisie; to the coalition governments of labor parties with the capitalists, the joint struggle of all labor parties for the workers' and peasants' government. And the more energetic and tenacious we make this struggle, the sooner the great majority of the working and exploited masses will recognize that Communism alone can free them from the horrors of capitalism, and lead them to a brighter future.