

A New Discussion on the Historical Contributions of the First International, the Second International and the Third International

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Abstract: In the world socialist-communist movement, the activities of international organizations constitute its important content. Among many international organizations such as the League of Communists, the First International, the Second International, the Third International, the Communist International, the Socialist Workers' International, the Fourth International, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform), the Socialist International, etc., had a huge and far-reaching influence. Most of the trade unions, social democratic parties (or socialist parties), and communist parties in major countries in the contemporary world were established and carried out their activities under the guidance and help of these three socialist-communist international organizations. The origins of many major contemporary theoretical and practical issues can almost be traced back to directly or indirectly traceable to these international organizations of the working class. Today in the 21st century, it is an important realistic issue to make a new era review of the historical contributions of the First International, the Second International, and the Third International in order to generate new enlightenment and thinking.

International organizations played a critical part in world Socialist and Communist movements. Among various organizations such as Communist League, Socialist Workers International, the Fourth International, and Communist Information Bureau, the First, Second and Third Internationals had an enormous impact on worldwide movements. Labor unions of major countries, socialist democratic socialist parties and Communist Parties had been set up under the assistance of the First, Second and Third Internationals. The theoretical breakthrough in ideas and foundations can also be traced back to these international organizations. In the 21st century, studies on the historical contribution of the First, Second and Third Internationals have reality-oriented meaning and practical value under new historical circumstances.

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In the entire 170 years of the world socialist communist movement to date, there have been many international organizations, such as the Communist League (1847-1852), the First International (1864-1876), the Second International (1889-1914), the Third International, or the Communist International (1919-1943), the Socialist Workers' International (1923-1940), the Fourth International (1938-), the Communication Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties (1947-1956), the Socialist International (Democratic socialism, 1951-)... Among these international organizations, the First, Second and Third Internationals have had a great and far-reaching impact.

Most of the trade unions, social democratic (or socialist) parties and communist parties in the major countries of the contemporary world were established and carry out their activities under the guidance and with the help of these three international organizations, and the origins of many of the major theoretical and practical issues of our time can be traced, directly or indirectly, to these international organizations. As Marx once observed: " "Man's reflections on the forms of social life and consequently also his scientific analysis of those forms, take a course directly opposite to that of

their actual historical development Man begins post festum (begins from the aftermath) with the results of the process of development ready to hand before him..” Marx wrote: “The Anatomy of Man Is a Key to the Anatomy of the Ape.” Engels also wrote: "The point where this history begins must also be the starting point of the train of thought, and its further progress will be simply the reflection, in abstract and theoretically consistent form, of the historical course. Though the reflection is corrected, it is corrected in accordance with laws provided by the actual historical course, since each factor can be examined at the stage of development where it reaches its full maturity, its classical form”. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/dialectics/marx-engels/review-political-economy.htm>

To date, it has been more than 140 years since the dissolution of the First International, more than 100 years since the bankruptcy of the Second International and more than 70 years since the dissolution of the Third International. But all history is contemporary history. The contemporary ecology of the world socialist-communist movement can be seen through the historical raking of the world socialist-communist movement. Therefore, today, in the twenty-first century, it is an important and realistic issue to summarize the lessons of history with an understanding that reflects the "laws of the historical process itself", to make a new contemporary assessment of the historical contributions of the First, Second and Third Internationals to the world socialist-communist movement, and to give rise to new reflections and inspirations. We call it "learning from history".

Chapter I. Historical contribution of the First International to the world socialist communist movement

World socialism and capitalism are closely related, and the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie are closely related, they even coexist. Therefore, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and their mutual relations, constitute the basic proposition in the evolution of capitalist society. In the vision of Marx and Engels, the communist cause should be international or worldwide. This is because the economic situation of the proletariat throughout the world is international, the class enemies they face are international, and the conditions of their liberation are international.

Marx and Engels once noted: " Although not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle". Communist Manifesto [2]43 However, "the communist revolution will not be a revolution in one country alone, but a revolution that will take place simultaneously in all civilized countries, at least in England, the United States, France, and Germany". Communist Manifesto [3]687 Marx and Engels also paid close attention to the interactive features of the Chinese and Russian revolutions with the European and even world revolutions. They argued that the Chinese revolution "would be followed by political revolutions on the European continent" and that the Russian revolution would "be the beginning of social revolutions all over the world." <https://www.marxists.org/archive/rosdolsky/1965/workers.htm>

In its essence, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie will be a world revolution and will have a world venue for its activities. [3] 687 In his later years, Engels emphasized: "Neither the French, nor the Germans, nor the English, alone can win the glory of destroying capitalism. "The liberation of the proletariat can only be an international endeavor." [4]655,656

The organizational embodiment of the above ideas of Marx and Engels is the emergence of many international organizations, such as the Communist League and the First International, in the history of the world socialist communist movement. Marx and Engels also pointed out that "the organization of proletarians into classes, and thus into political parties, is constantly undermined by workers' rivalry. But this organization always arises anew, and is stronger, firmer, and more potent, time after time." [5]281 Thus, "Proletarians of the world, unite!" was the call and the vision of both Marx and Engels. The League of Communists, founded in June 1847 with the participation of Marx and Engels, was not only the world's first Communist Party, but also the world's first international organization of a communist nature. Its birth marked the emergence of the international communist movement. "The aims of the League of Communists were: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of proletarian rule, the destruction of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonisms and the establishment of a new society free of classes and private ownership." [6]200 Lenin wrote that the League of Communists was "a small but truly proletarian party". [7] 384 With regard to the democratic-socialist parties, the League took care to unite them against the conservative and radical

bourgeoisie, while at the same time adopting a critical attitude towards their ideals and fantasies. In February 1848, the Communist Manifesto, the programmatic document written by Marx and Engels for the Communist League, was published, marking the birth of Marxism. The Communist Manifesto not only eloquently elaborates the basic theory of scientific socialism, but also puts forward a series of important ideas and principles for proletarian political parties. During the period of the League of Communists, Marx and Engels not only took part in the European revolutions of 1848-1849, but also founded the Neue Rheinische Zeitung newspaper to guide the revolutionary movement.

After the failure of the revolutions, they founded the Neue Rheinische Zeitung-Politische Wirtschaftsrechtsblatt (New Rheinische Zeitung-Politische Wirtschaftsrechtsblatt) in London. They theoretically summarized the lessons learned from the revolutions and wrote important works such as The Class Struggle in France in the Period of 1848-1850, The Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions in Germany. Louis Bonaparte's Eighteenth Brumaire ", and put forward such important doctrines as the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of the proletarian allies. Although the League of Communists was dissolved in November 1852, its theories and practices were an important guide and reference for the subsequent development of the international socialist-communist movement. As late as 1887, Engels insisted: "'Communists,' - that was the name we adopted then and would never want to give up now." [6]395 The communist parties born in the 20th century were took the Communist League as model. Therefore, June 2, 1847, **should be a day to be commemorated together by contemporary Communists.**

The First International arose in the context of the renewed upsurge of the workers' and democratic movements in Europe in the late 1850s and early 1860s. After the revolutions of 1848, European capitalism developed rapidly in an atmosphere of relative peaceful way, the capitalist world market was formed, and the links between the capitalist countries became more and more international in character. At the same time, the oppression of working people all over the world had increased, and the resistance of the proletariat and the oppressed people was intensifying. The practice of the struggle against oppression and exploitation has made the proletariat of all countries realize that they have common interests and common enemies, and that the scattered struggles of the past have often led to

defeats, and that the proletariat must unite on an international scale and use the international unity of the proletariat to counter the international unity of the bourgeoisie. This sense of internationalism contributed to the emergence of the International Workers' Association.

Taking the solidarity with the Polish people's uprising of 1863-1864 as an opportunity, representatives of the workers of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Ireland and other countries assembled at St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864, and founded the International Workingmen's Association (IWA), or the International Association for short, as the proletariat's first international organization of a mass character. During its existence from 1864 to 1876, it never called itself or never was called the "First International". It was not until the establishment of the Second International that it became known as the "First International".

The main historical contributions of the First International to the world socialist communist movement are in the following areas:

1. The First International brought together and united the organized ranks of the workers of Europe and America under the banner of the common goal of "the protection, development and complete emancipation of the working class", thus realizing for the first time the workers' unity on an international scale, and thus giving the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie a truly international character. [8] 610. During the period of its activity, the First International not only attracted to its side a large part of the workers and advanced revolutionary intellectuals of Europe, the United States and some Latin American countries, but also spread the ideas of the International to other continents - Oceania (Australia), Asia (India) and Africa (Algeria).

2. The First International, adhering to the organic unity of firmness of principle and flexibility of tactics, correctly handled the relationship between Marxist scientific socialism and other kinds of non-scientific socialism trends, spread and developed scientific socialism, and overcame erroneous ideas and schools of thought such as Proudhonism and Bakuninism. During its existence, the First International was characterized by both the Marxist school of scientific socialism and various other

non-scientific schools of socialism. Therefore, in parallel with the struggle against the class enemy, First International also carried out an internal struggle against erroneous ideas and schools of thought, mainly against Proudhonism in the first period and against Bakuninism in the later period. In addition, First International also provided critique and support towards Lassalleian and Blanquist factions. First International held high the banner of "Proletarians of the world, unite!" It has formed alliances with various socialist schools of thought, rather than rejecting them, and through debates and various practical activities. First International has raised the awareness of the working masses, distinguished between right and wrong, and urged them to give up their erroneous views and accept scientific socialism. At the time of the founding of the First International, scientific socialism was only one of the countless socialist currents or schools of thought. By the time of the dissolution of the First International, scientific socialism had taken root and grown up in the workers' movement and had prepared the ground for the coming of the era when scientific socialism became dominant (the 1890s), laying down a solid ideological and theoretical foundation for the launching of the communist movement on an international scale.

3. The First International, while uniting the working class of all countries in the main struggles and activities against international capitalism, especially in support of the Paris Commune revolution of 1871, actively supported the national liberation movements, regarded the liberation struggle for national independence as part of the overall struggle for workers' emancipation, realized the organic integration of the workers' movement and the national liberation struggle, and gained the trust of the workers of all countries and all peoples from different nations.

4. The First International has established the principles of equal consultation and independence in its activities. As an international organization of the workers' masses, it was able to deal correctly with the right to independence and autonomy of the proletariat in each country. First International always insisted that it was a center of liaison and cooperation rather than a center of leadership and command. [8]610 Marx always referred to the First International as an "association," a "union," a "network of united groups." In April 1878, after the dissolution of the First International, Engels wrote: **"The International Workingmen's Association is nothing else but a union of workers of**

all countries united for the economic emancipation of their class”. [9]728 Therefore, the First International, on the one hand, called upon the proletariats of all countries to unite and advance towards a common goal, and, on the other hand, respected the independence and autonomy of the proletariats of all countries, thus creating a good precedent for the handling of the mutual relations of all countries in the international workers' movement.

5. The Declaration of Establishment and the Common Regulations of the First International, as well as the additions to and development of the programmatic and organizational principles of the International by successive congresses and meetings of delegates, have enabled the international workers' movement to have a program based on scientific socialism and a proletarian-democratic Party constitution based on collective leadership and the subordination of minorities to the majority. Thus, first International facilitated the integration between scientific socialism and the practice of the workers' movement. The First International endeavored to adhere to its principles without imposing them on others, thus further facilitating the transformation of the workers' movement from a spontaneous struggle to a conscious one and promoting the integration of scientific socialism with the practice of the workers' movement. At the same time, it has also trained up a group of proletarian revolutionaries, thereby laying the foundation for the establishment of independent political parties within the scope of the national state by the proletariat of various countries.

After the failure of the revolution of the Paris Commune, the bourgeois governments of various countries carried out frantic persecution against the First International. And within the International, Bakunin's separatist activities also greatly weakened the strength of the First International. At that time, the organizational form of the First International could no longer meet the needs of the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement. Thus, "the international activity of the working class in all countries is in no way dependent on the existence of the 'International Workers' Association'..... can no longer continue in its first historical form after the failure of the Paris Commune." [10]26

On July 15, 1876, the last convention of the International Workingmen's Association was held in Philadelphia, attended by ten members of the General Council and fourteen delegates from the North American Federation. No one was sent from Europe, but the German social democrats empowered Walster, a recent immigrant to the United States, to represent their party. From Zurich and Geneva mandates were sent to Greulich and Becker, but these arrived too late. The secretary of the General Council presented a report, which conveyed a gloomy picture of the position of the International.

Philadelphia declaration said: We have abandoned the organisation of the International for reasons arising from the present political situation of Europe. But as a compensation for it we see the principles of the organisation recognised and defended by the progressive working men of the entire civilised world. Let us give our fellow-workers in Europe a little time to strengthen their national affairs, and they will surely soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the working men of other parts of the world. Before and after that, the workers' movement entered a new phase with the establishment of the Social Democratic Party in Germany in 1869 and other proletarian parties in other countries. Marx and Engels considered that, in the new historical situation, the organizational form of the International had become obsolete, that its continued existence would become a shackle on the workers' movement, and that it was necessary to let the International, as a form of organization, recede into the background and make the transition to a new form of organization. Writing to Sorge under date September 27, 1873, Marx wrote:

“According to my reading of the European situation, it will be a very good thing that the formal organisation of the International shall, for the time being, be allowed to retire into the background – though it may be just as well that we should keep our hands upon the nucleus in New York, lest idiots like Perret or adventurers like Cluseret might get hold of it and compromise the affair. The course of events and the inevitable development and interlacement of things will spontaneously ensure the uprising of the International in an improved form. For the nonce, however, it will suffice that we avoid allowing ourselves to get quite out of touch with the really efficient workers in the movement in various lands”.

As a result, the First International was dissolved in 1876. Lenin spoke highly of the activities of the First International, noting that "the First International (1864-1872) laid the foundations of the international organization of workers and prepared them for a revolutionary attack on capital." [11] 790 The First International also "laid the foundations for the international proletarian struggle for socialism." [11]791 Therefore, "the First International will not be forgotten, it is eternal in the history of the struggle of the workers for their own emancipation." [12] 218

Today, more than 140 years after the dissolution of the First International, it can be considered as the bridge (path) and engine (power) between the dissolution of the Communist League in 1852, the first communist party in the world, and the founding of the Second International in 1889.

Chapter 2 Historical Contribution of the Second International to the World Socialist Communist Movement

The Second International was an international federation of national social democratic parties and socialist workers' groups that existed from 1889-1914. It has direct origins in the Berne International, the Vienna International, the Socialist Workers' International, and the Socialist International, which followed in quick succession. The Second International, an international federated coalition of national social democratic parties and socialist workers' groups, existed and operated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries during the period of transition from free market capitalism to monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism, and the relatively peaceful development of capitalism after the failure of the Paris Commune revolution. After the dissolution of the First International, the slogan "Proletarians of the world, unite!" remained in the hearts and minds of workers in all countries, and the proletariats of all countries continued to be in contact with each other from time to time and to act in concert and coordination with each other. A number of workers' activists have repeatedly put forward initiatives to re-establish international workers' organizations. In fact, as early as September 1874, when the First International had practically ceased to function but still existed in form, Engels had predicted and set higher requirements for the new International of the future.

Engels said: **"I am convinced that the next international - after the influence of Marx's writings for many years - will be a purely communist international, and that it will set up and establish our principles in a straightforward manner. "** [6] 620-621 After the 1870s, with the vigorous development of the workers' movement in Europe and the United States and with the establishment of socialist political parties, it became an objective historical requirement to strengthen the ties and solidarity between the proletariats of various countries and to coordinate their actions against the common enemy. However, at the time of the founding of the Second International in 1889, the world socialist-communist movement was already on a large scale, and the socialist parties of each country were required to independently and autonomously formulate their own lines and strategies according to their own national conditions. The socialist parties, social democratic parties, and labor parties formed during this period were not communist parties like the League of Communists, but socialist parties. ②

The delegates to the founding congresses of the Second International also included many figures and groups who were inclined to anarchism or reformism, or were dissolute Marxists with a conciliatory attitude towards all non-Marxist factions. Therefore, the Second International, adapting itself to the historical conditions and the needs of the revolutionary tasks of the time, adopted a looser form of organization, on the basis of which it carried out a great deal of work and made significant achievements in organizing and amassing revolutionary forces and promoting the development of the workers' movement. This loose character of the Second International was determined by the actual situation of international capitalism and by the actual situation the world socialist-communist movement at that time.

After the defeat of the Paris Commune revolution, the peaceful development of international capitalism gave the international proletariat a "peaceful" environment for struggle. At a time when the bourgeois revolution in the West was basically over and the conditions for bourgeois revolution in the East were not yet ripe, the bourgeoisie mainly mediated between domestic and foreign conflicts. After the defeat of the Paris Commune revolution and especially after the dissolution of the First International, the international workers' movement was developing in a horizontal direction, and the

task of the proletarian parties was mainly to educate and train the working class and to carry out the legal and legitimate struggle within and outside the parliament, rather than to directly carry out armed uprisings and civil wars. At the same time, the laws of many countries prohibited the revival of organizations such as the International Workers' Association. The establishment of international organizations in a loose form therefore became a realistic and viable option.

The historical contribution of the Second International to the world

socialist communist movement is mainly in the following areas:

1. The Second International attempted to establish a loose form of international organization adapted to the level of development and requirements of the international workers' movement at that time.

Engels and a number of leading leaders of socialist parties argued that the Second International, as an international federation of socialist parties and workers' groups in various countries, should have as its main activity the strengthening of international ties and international unity of action, rather than the unification of national organizations under a centralized organ. Therefore, after the establishment of the Second International, it did not have a formal organizational name for a long time, and only after 1900 did it use the name of "International Socialist Congress". Second International did not have a central permanent organ for a long time. Even the permanent body known as the International Bureau of the Socialist Party, which was set up in 1900, was only a simple duty station with "little authority". Its "function was not much more than a letter box", and its main task was "to collect documents and to centralize or disseminate information". And this organ still had no organisational binding force upon the national parties. [13] 147

For a long time it did not have its own Party programme and Party statutes, and it was not until 1907 that the Second International adopted the Statutes of the International Congresses and International Bureaus, which laid down the principles of international activities. For a long time it did not have its own central journal or newspaper, and it was only after 1900 that it adopted the Belgian

newspaper People's Daily as its organ. It did not have a centralized system of organization, and the basic form of its activities was to exchange experience and exchange information through the congresses of socialist political parties and workers' organizations of various countries, which were held once every few years, in order to discuss political, economic and organizational questions of common interest as well as international questions and strategies/tactics of struggle. And these meetings formulated resolutions to guide the workers' movement in various countries. One of the substantive issues linked to the characteristics of the organizational form of the Second International is the question of the independence and autonomy of national socialist parties. The parties of the Second International practised free association and voluntary association on the basis of independence and autonomy, and this has been prevalent throughout the Second International. This was the main form of organization and activity of the Second International. At the same time these characteristics also constituted the traditions of the Second International.

2. The main thread running through the activities of the Second International in its early stages was the struggle of the Marxists against the anarchists and centred on two main questions: The question of whether the proletariat and its parties should engage in a political struggle in order to come to power; and the question of attitudes towards capitalism, particularly towards militarism and war. In this process, the Second International did a great deal of work in spreading and developing Marxist scientific socialism, published numerous party newspapers and magazines, and produced a group of theorists such as Plekhanov, Kautsky, Bernstein, Lafargue and Rosa Luxembourg, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany also founded a Central Party School.

3. The Second International has accumulated experience in leading the working class in the struggle against the capitalist system, fought for the defence of the vital interests and democratic rights of the working people. As well as led the working class in the struggles against militarism, imperialism and the threat of war, especially in the parliamentary struggle. Between 1904-1909, in 17 countries, including France, Austria and the United States, the Social Democrats received more than 8 million votes in parliamentary elections. [14]598 In 1912, 110 members of the German Social Democratic

Party were elected to the Parliament Reichstag, became the largest caucus in the Reichstag, receiving 4.25 million votes, or % 20 of all votes.[15] 302

4. In the pre-Second International period, on the basis of the widespread establishment of socialist political parties and workers' organizations in various countries and the wide dissemination of Marxism, the international socialist and workers' movements reached unprecedented sizes and made generally recognized brilliant achievements. The Second International promoted the growth and development of socialist parties in various countries. At the time of the First International, there was only one socialist party, the Social Democratic Labor Party of Germany (SDPG), founded in 1869, with more than 10,000 members. When the Second International was established in 1889, there were only 15 socialist workers' parties in the world.

By 1914, the Second International was an international federation of 30 socialist parties on four continents, Europe, the United States, Asia and China, with a total of more than 3 million members. At the same time, the Second International included strong trade union, women's and youth organizations. Therefore, this period is also regarded as a golden age in the history of the development of international organizations of the world workers' movement.

5. The Second International created two eternal holidays for the world socialist-communist movement and widely disseminated an eternal battle cry, namely, International Workers' Day on 1 May and International Women's Day on 8 March, as well as the revolutionary song of Internationale, a collaboration between Eugene Pottier and Degeyter. The song was written by: Eugène Pottier – Paris, June 1871 and its music by Pierre Degeyter – 1888, This revolutionary song of the First and Second International, was written by a transport worker after the Paris Commune was crushed by the French government. The song was later used as the first USSR Soviet Union National Anthem and Anthem of the (Third) Communist International, until 1944 when the latter was dissolved.

In 1866, the Geneva Conference of the First International introduced the slogan of the eight-hour day.

On May 1, 1886, a large-scale strike and demonstration was held in the U.S., centered on Chicago, in which about 350,000 people participated, demanding better labor conditions and the implementation of the eight-hour workday. To commemorate this workers' movement, on July 14, 1889, at the founding meeting of the Second International, a congress of socialists convened by Marxists from various countries, the delegates unanimously agreed to designate May 1 as a common holiday of the international proletariat: May 1 International Labor Day. On March 8, 1857, women garment and

textile workers in New York, U.S.A., marched in protest against inhumane working conditions, as well as demanded 12-hour workday and low wages. On March 8, 1903, women workers in Chicago, United States, held a general strike and demonstration against bourgeois oppression, exploitation and discrimination and for freedom and equality. On March 8, 1908, 1,500 women demonstrated in New York demanding shorter working hours, better pay for labor, the right to vote, and demanded ban on child labor. In May of the same year, the Socialist Party of America decided to adopt the last Sunday in February as Women's Day in the country.

In 1910, at the Second International Socialist Women's Congress, held in Copenhagen, Denmark, the German socialist revolutionary Clara Zetkin suggested that a day should be set aside as International Women's Day to commemorate the American garment workers' strike. The recommendation was accepted by the General Assembly, but no specific date was set. In 1917, Russian women called for a strike on March 8 (February 23 in the Russian calendar) to protest poor working conditions and food shortages and demanded "bread and peace". The United Nations began celebrating International Women's Day on March 8, 1975, the International Women's Year, under the full name of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace. After the failure of the Paris Commune revolution in May 1871, Eugène Pottier, a French revolutionary, worker poet, and one of the main leaders of the Paris Commune, wrote a poem in June called the Internationale, which has been described as "the song of the proletariat all over the world", and which was initially sung to the tune of the Marseillaise.[16] 302 [16] 302

In June 1888, the French worker-composer Pierre Degeyter set the Internationale to music. The Internationale was translated into Spanish in 1890, into Norwegian in 1899, and into German, English and Italian in 1901. In 1906, 1, 2 and 6 of the six verses of the Internationale were translated into Russian. In 1923, Qu Qiubai translated it from Russian into Chinese.

In 1913, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Eugène Baudier, Lenin wrote: **"The international has been translated into various European languages, and not only European languages. A conscious worker, no matter what country he comes to, no matter where**

fate throws him, no matter how much he may feel that he is a foreigner, that he does not speak the language, that he has no relatives, that he is far away from his country, - he can find for himself comrades and friends by the familiar strains of the Internationale." [16] 302

Although the Internationale was written at a time when the Second International had not yet been established, its spiritual practice and widespread singing were strongly promoted by the Second International and the national parties. The International Labor Day on May 1, the International Women's Day on March 8, and the Internationale are the precious spiritual legacies bequeathed by the Second International to the world socialist-communist movement and the working people of the world.

The Second International lasted 25 years (1889-1914) from its birth to its bankruptcy under the influence of reformist ideas. In terms of its dominant theoretical views and political tendencies, it can be roughly divided into two periods. The first period refers to the seven years from 1889 to 1896, when, under the guidance and influence of Engels, the Second International, was successful in solving the major practical problems raised by the international workers' movement. And in this period Second International adhered to and developed the basic principles of Marxism, and made praiseworthy historical achievements. It was also due to the broader development of the international workers' movement that the level of revolutionary temper was temporarily lowered, and even in the pre-Second International period there was always the influence of reformist ideas and a potential crisis possibility.

With the death of Engels (1895) and especially the outbreak of the First World War, the reformist ideology grew, spread and even proliferated, developing from an undercurrent to an overt current, and ultimately led to the ideological and political bankruptcy of the Second International, and the division and splitting up of the social democratic parties in various countries. After the outbreak of the First World War, the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the Socialist and Social Democrat Party of the Second International openly sided with the bourgeois government of their own countries and degenerated into social chauvinists, which can be defined as the "ideological and political

bankruptcy" of the Second International. According to Lenin, it is "the bankruptcy of socialism, i.e., bankruptcy of opportunism and reformism." [17] p. 29

At the same time, in keeping with the two opposing imperialist blocs, the Socialist Party of the Second International also split into two opposing blocs. But, Organizationally, no member party declared its disassociation from the Second International throughout the war. Although the structures of the Second International were paralysed, their dissolution was not proclaimed, the national socialist parties were not dissolved, and the links between the national socialist parties and the Second International were not completely broken. Although the Second International was divided into three major factional groups, left, center and right, none of them declared itself as an independent international center. In this regard, the loose organizational form adapted to the situation at the time was not the main cause of the Second International's bankruptcy. The bankruptcy of the Second International has deep historical, ideological and class roots. The bankruptcy of the Second International is the result of the long-term corrosion of reformism, legalism and nationalism in the context of the "peaceful" development of capitalism, as well as of the influence of the change of tactics of domination by the bourgeoisie. Loose organizational principles and forms of organization have only provided objective conditions and foundations and prerequisites for the proliferation of opportunism.

The main mistakes of the Second International lie in the dogmatic tendency in its understanding and propaganda of Marxism. It has failed to find effective ways to stop the war and failed to correctly solve the relationship between internationalism and national interests, which led to the fall of most party leaders into the quagmire of social chauvinism after the outbreak of the First World War. It failed to give scientific replies to the new questions raised by the times in its criticism of Bernstein's revisionism. It one sidedly adhered to the strategy of legitimate struggle and failed to change the tactics of struggle in a timely manner with the changes in the situation. In criticizing Bernstein's revisionism, the Second International failed to give scientific answers to the new questions raised by the times. The organization was too decentralized and failed to act resolutely and accordingly in the light of changing circumstances, and other reasons.

For a long time, the historical assessment of the Second International has been the most complex and varied question, and there are many problems that are difficult to explain. Lenin's assessment of the Second International also went through a process of transformation. Prior to the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, Lenin was more objective in his assessment of the Second International's achievements and faults, and his criticism of the Second International's failures generally centered on ideological and political aspects and the tactics/strategies of struggle. Lenin had pointed out that "the Second International (1889-1914) was the international organization of the proletarian movement" and "the epoch that prepared the ground for the widespread mass development of this movement in many countries". 11]790 [11]791

However, around the time of the founding of the Comintern in March 1919, Lenin took the Bolshevik Party's "unconditional centralization and extremely strict discipline" and "extremely strict and truly iron discipline" as a yardstick and transplanted them into his criticism of the Second International.

Lenin argued that **"the bankruptcy of the Second International was intrinsically linked to its loose form of organization"**. [18] p. 134-135

Stalin, on the other hand, argued: **"Between the two Marx-Engels and Lenin lay the whole era of the Second International's opportunist domination". In fact, the basic work of the Second International was carried out along opportunist lines", and during the period of peaceful capitalist development. The parties of the Second International are fattened up and were unwilling to think seriously of revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the revolutionary education of the masses."** [19] page 71, 72 Lenin's and Stalin's assertions have made a profound and enormous impact on future generations. Historically, the Second International can be neither totally affirmed nor totally rejected. Today, more than 100 years after the bankruptcy of the Second International, the Second International can be considered as the bridge (path) and the engine (power) between the dissolution of the First International in 1876 and the establishment of the Third International in 1919.

Chapter 3. Historical contribution of the Third International to the world socialist communist movement

The Third International, also known as the Communist International, existed from 1919-1943. It is an unprecedented world communist organization, of which the national communist parties were a branch of it. The birth of the Comintern was the result of the development of the times and the division and fragmentation of the world socialist communist movement and the social democratic parties of various countries. The later establishment of the Communication Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Fourth International were all directly related to the Comintern. In August 1914, with the first shots fired on the battlefields of the imperialist world war, the right wing of the Second International, or the social chauvinists, betrayed the working class and supported the war policy of imperialism. The center wing, represented by Kautsky, advocated "pacifism" and insisted on an anti-war policy, but opposed the use of the imperialist war to carry out the revolution. At this time, Lenin argued that the leftists of the social-democratic parties of the various countries had to abandon the title "social-democrat", which had been tarnished and destroyed by opportunism, "throw off their dirty shirts and put on clean clothes", "and restore the original Marxist title of Communist". [20] page. 66 [17] page 97 At the Seventh Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) in March 1918, the name of the party was officially changed to the Communist Party of Russia. Before and after that, the left in a number of countries, following the example of the Bolshevik Party, also broke with the right and center of the Social Democratic Party and established communist parties or communist groups.

In January 1919, eight communist parties and groups, mainly the Russian Communist Party, jointly issued the "Letter of Invitation to the First Congress of the Communist International", which wrote: **"Marx and Engels have long held that the name 'Social-Democratic Party' is theoretically untenable. Since the Social-Democratic 'International' is shamefully bankrupt, we must draw a line in the sand with the name Social-Democratic Party."** [21]10

In March 1919, the Communist International was proclaimed in Moscow. This International was called the "Red International" by the Communists of the time. The Comintern claimed to be the full

and perfect embodiment of the ideas of Marx and Engels on the international union of the proletariat and the common struggle, which were put forward as early as the 1840s. The Comintern claimed to be the true successor of the Communist League and the First International; and also called itself as the promoter of the fine traditions of the Second International. However, the Comintern was not a simple imitation of organizations such as the League of Communists and the First International. In a more direct sense, the Comintern was both theoretical a summary of the lessons learned from the Second International's bankruptcy and an overkill in its system and form of organization. According to Lenin, **the looseness of the Second International's organizational structure was one of its major shortcomings, and the new International "should be organized more centrally than the Second International"**. [22] 274 The Third International has accepted the results of the work of the Second International, purged it of its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois filth, and has begun to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat." [11] page 791

At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin first used the concept of the "international communist movement". [18] page 169 By November 1922, when the Comintern held Lenin's last congress, the parties from "Big Four" countries, 66 political parties and organizations from 58 countries were represented at this congress. The Comintern and the Communists of all countries generally argued that "Communism", "Scientific Socialism" and "Marxism-Leninism" have been completely distinguished from "Democratic Socialism" or "Social Democracy", both in terms of their names and concepts as well as in terms of their contents. In the minds of the main leaders of the Comintern and the leaders of the communist parties of some countries, the social-democrats were evaluated as "the main social pillar of the bourgeoisie", "a very valuable political instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie", "the main enemy of the proletariat" and so on. [23] page 178-179

In February 1919, 102 delegates from 26 national social-democratic parties met in Berne for the first international conference after the war. The Swedish Social Democrat **Karl Hjalmar Branting** closed the conference with the words "The International Resurrection". [24] 103 The resumed Second International was known as the "Berne International" and was called by the Communists of the time as the "Yellow International". In February 1921, representatives of 20 centrist social-democratic parties

met in Vienna to establish the International Workers' Federation. This organization was known as the "Vienna International" or the "2.5 International" and was also called the "Grey International" by the Communists of the time.

Each of the three Internationals had its own mass base in the workers' movement at the time. In April 1922, under the impetus of the Comintern, these three Internationals held their first and only joint meeting of delegates in Berlin to discuss the question of common action by the working class. Although the meeting broke the deadlock of the past, in which the three organizations had been at loggerheads, the attempt to establish a united front among the three organizations failed because of the depth of the grievances among the three and due to the lack of sincerity to act jointly. At the same time, the center and right wings of the national social democratic parties moved from hostility to rapprochement. In August 1922, MacDonald declared that the conditions were ripe for the realization of a union of the Second International and the Second Half-International, and advocated excluding the Communist International. In May 1923, the center and the right jointly convened the International Social Democratic Congress in Hamburg, Germany, and established the Socialist Workers' International. Thus, the ranks of the Social Democratic Parties were basically unified.

From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the left, center and right factions within the social democratic parties in various countries continued to divide and reorganize/rejoin, and eventually formed two international guiding centers of the world workers' movement that were in conflict with each other. They were namely, the Comintern and the Socialist Workers' International, as well as two major political factions, namely, the Communist Parties and the Social Democratic Parties.

(a) Communist parties have abandoned the terms "social democracy" and "democratic socialism" and have used the concept of "international communist movement" to express their socialist movement. The social democrats, however, increasingly used the concept of "social democratic movement" to summarize their socialist movement.

The main historical contributions of the Comintern to the international communist movement are in the following areas:

1. The Comintern Has been a far-reaching "world communist" organization in the history of the international communist movement.

From its founding in March 1919 to its dissolution in June 1943, the Comintern has enriched the meaning of the international communist movement while giving a great impetus to the world socialist communist movement. The concept and the term of "international communist movement" was widely used and disseminated through the Comintern after it was first proposed.

2. The Comintern guided, assisted and promoted the creation and development of communist parties in various countries.

The Comintern has always regarded the establishment of Bolshevik-style communist parties in every country as the most important task in advancing the world revolution. At the time of the founding of the Comintern, there were only 13 political parties officially named as "Communist Party". By the time the Comintern was dissolved, there were 68 Communist Parties in the world. The Communist Party of China and the Comintern likewise had a direct relationship of origin. The Comintern opened a new chapter in the communist movement in various countries.

3. The Comintern has been effective in spreading Marxism-Leninism.

The First Congress of the Comintern declared the International to be the successor and executor of the communist cause as proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto. The Comintern sought to provide Marxist answers to a series of major questions concerning war, peace, democracy, fascism and anti-fascism, national liberation movements, the path of socialist revolution and party building, and to guide national parties in the formulation of their corresponding programs, lines, guidelines and policies. The Comintern helped the Communist Parties of various countries to establish and uphold the status of Marxism-Leninism as the guiding ideology through various means.

4. The Comintern has guided and supported the workers' movements in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, contributed to the awakening of the masses of the people in these countries, and pushed for the unity and solidarity of these two forces.

5. The Comintern and the Communist Parties of various countries were the first to expose the reactionary and harmful nature of fascism and to call upon the masses of the people to rise up to fight against fascism.

The Comintern actively promoted the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front and an anti-fascist people's front. In the practice of the international communist movement, Lenin inherited and developed the ideas of Marx and Engels on world revolution. Lenin's "Theory of World Revolution" was an important theoretical basis for the founding of the Comintern, which gave birth to the Comintern and gave birth to the first communist parties in the world, and advanced the actual movement of world and national revolutions. In the course of the history of the international communist movement, the Comintern and national communist parties and groups have constantly pondered over the following questions:

(1) the relationship between the Comintern's "theory of world revolution" and the Comintern as a unified organization of the "world communist party".

(2) the relationship between the theory of world revolution and the practice of world revolution.

(3) The question of the relationship between leading and helping the Communist Parties of the world to launch and advance the world revolution and guiding the people of all countries, through the Communist Parties of all countries, to jointly support and defend the Russian revolution and the results of the socialist construction of the USSR which was under the siege of the capitalist powers.

(4) The question of the relationship between the Comintern, as a united and centralized "world Communist Party," and the Communist Parties of the world's other countries.

As well the question of the relationship between the communist parties of the world with each other. And especially the question of the special status of the CPSU (Bolsheviks) and the interests of the Soviet Union becoming increasingly prominent in the Comintern. CPSU (Bolsheviks) as a model party and even as, a prominent leading party increasingly becoming dominant in the organization. And as well as the question of a large extent "Sovietization" of the Comintern.

(5) The Communist International and the question of relations between national communist parties and social democratic parties;

(6) The question of the guiding role of the Comintern in the Chinese Communist Party based on the theory of the national-colonial question.

(7) The question of the influence of the Comintern on the underestimation of the specificity of the Chinese revolution, which is also embodied in the tortuous evolution of the relationship between the Comintern and the CPC and the Chinese revolution, and in the handling of such major propositions as the Chineseization of Marxism and independence, and so on. Throughout the history of the existence of the Comintern, it is impossible to ignore the paradox that the "theory of world revolution", which was the theoretical basis for the establishment of the Comintern, has underestimated the long-term nature of the world revolution process. The Comintern was the organizational vehicle of the centralized and unified "Communist Party of the World", but in the communist movement there is an underestimation of the complexity of the relations between the Comintern and national communist parties, between national communist parties and between communist parties and between communist parties and social-democratic parties.

As a typical case, the Comintern and the Communist Party of China have established close relations, but there had been an underestimation of the specificity of the Chinese revolution. In other words, the merits and demerits of the Comintern are intertwined or co-exist, which can be described as: The great achievements have been recorded in its history; the demerits are also deep and sufficient to learn from. [25] The Comintern was dissolved in June 1943, in the midst of the Second World War. The dissolution of the Comintern caused an enormous outcry and "great attention" internationally,

including in China.[26] Communists in various countries saw the dissolution of the Comintern as both "the end of a historical period and at the same time the beginning of a new one". [27] p. 151 The bourgeois politicians of the anti-fascist allies argued that the dissolution of the Comintern would contribute to victory in the Second World War "and contribute to the full cooperation required for the smooth progress of the post-war work." [28] [28] But the Fascists argued that the dissolution of the Comintern was a tactical move, a hoax. The Chinese Kuomintang argued that the dissolution of the Comintern showed that Marxism was not suitable for China's national conditions and that the CPC should also be dissolved, thus launching a propaganda war of rampant political and ideological attacks on the CPC. The Communist Party of China argued that the dissolution of the Comintern was not intended to weaken the Communist Parties of various countries, but to strengthen them and to make them more nationalized and better adapted to the needs of the anti-fascist war. An important resolution at that time said:

The Chinese Communists will continue to apply and utilize Marxism-Leninism flexibly in accordance with their own national conditions in order to serve the cause of resistance and revolution of the Chinese nation [29] p. 49-50 In fact, the dissolution of the Comintern did not have excessive and lasting adverse effects on the practice of the international communist movement. On the contrary, it enabled some of the more mature communist parties to deal with problems more independently and autonomously in the light of their own national conditions.

The Third International, which has been disbanded for more than 70 years, can be regarded as the bridge (path) and engine (power) between the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the bankruptcy of the Second International, and the emergence of the socialist-communist movement in the contemporary world after the end of the Second World War in 1945, which was a bridge between the past and the present. However, after the dissolution of the Comintern, there was in fact no longer a unified international organization within the international communist movement.

Chapter 4. Reality of the Three Internationals for the Development of the Socialist Communist Movement in Today's Contemporary World

Historically, the succession of the First, Second and Third Internationals can be expressed as follows:

The First International was the bridge and engine between the dissolution of the League of Communists, the world's first Communist Party, in 1852, and the establishment of the Second International in 1889. The Second International was the bridge and engine between the dissolution of the First International in 1876, and the establishment of the Third International in 1919. The Third International was the bridge and engine between the First and Second Internationals, and the establishment of the Third International in 1919.

The Communist League was an international communist party. The First International was a party-based international mass organization of workers. The Second International was an international federation of national socialist parties of the working class. And the Third International was a unified/centralized world communist organization of which the national communist parties were a branch. These different forms of organization of the international unions of the working class and their motives, which emerged at different times, are well worth studying and summarizing even today. Marx and Engels put forward both the ideas of "historical determinism" and "historical synergy". Engels once borrowed the principle of the law of parallelograms and the concept of synergy in mechanics to compare and describe the interrelationships of various factors and their roles in the process of social and historical acts and movement, and to reveal the inherent dynamic mechanism in the historical development of human society. See

https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1890/letters/90_09_21.htm Letter from **Engels to J.**

Bloch

Engels regarded the development of history as the result of the final fusion of countless interlocking forces and wills into a total synergy, thus Engels not only explained that the development of history is

an objective historical process that is not subject to the individual will of man, but also fully affirming the active role of the individual will in the synergy of history. In fact, the world socialist-communist movement is basically constrained by three major socio-historical conditions, namely, the contradictory movement of basic social contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, the state of development of socialism itself, and international political relations. These three basic factors have, at different times and in different ways and with different forces, jointly constrained the development of the world socialist-communist movement.

Since they are not constants but variables, the dynamics of the world socialist-communist movement, which is a function of them, is constantly changing and exhibits different characteristics at different times. The glue that brings these three factors together is the interests of the proletariat and the people at large and the political drive of the communist parties. Specifically examining and analyzing the movement and development trend of the three factors is the basis and key for studying and judging a) the historical process, b) basic situation and c) future trend of the world socialist-communist movement.

The First International, the Second International and the Third International are now history, which gives us enough time and space to review them. Today, we must focus on the following three important issues from the perspective of combining theory and practice; from the perspective of history and reality and the future, and the world and China, which are also the practical insights we have gained from the historical development and contributions of the three international organizations.

First, we should correctly understand and deal with the relationship between the proletariat, the proletarian political parties and the liberation of the proletariat, and we should build the proletarian political parties into a strategic organization for the realization of the liberation of the proletariat and mankind.

This involves three main questions: Firstly, is it necessary for the proletariat to establish its own political party in its historical quest for emancipation? Secondly, are proletarian parties strategic or tactical organizations? Thirdly, can there be more than one party within the proletariat? Marx and

Engels wrote, **"Historical activity is the activity of the masses, and as it deepens, it is bound to be the expansion of the ranks of the masses."** [3] p. 287 Lenin called this argument **"one of the most profound and important principles of the philosophical theory of history."** [30] p. 463 In different times, the concept "activities of masses" attain different class contents and historical contents. In The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote:

"Our age, the bourgeois age, has one characteristic: this age simplifies class antagonisms. Society as a whole is increasingly divided into two hostile camps, into two classes in direct opposition to each other: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat." [5]p. 273 Marx also pointed out that the proletariat is the only thoroughly revolutionary class in modern society, and that "the historic mission of this class is the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the final elimination of classes." [8]108 Marx and Engels openly declared that their theory was fundamentally a quest for the emancipation of the proletariat, and thus for the emancipation of man, i.e., the full, all-sided and free development of man.

The existence of a proletarian or communist party guided by Marxism and its international alliance is the main sign that distinguishes the international socialist-communist movement from all other social movements. According to Engels, **"If the proletariat is to be strong enough to triumph at the decisive juncture, it is necessary (and Marx and I have maintained this position since 1847) to form a special party, a party which is different from and which is opposed to all the other parties, a conscious class party."** [4] p. 578 However, Marx and Engels also twice dissolved proletarian party organizations and international workers' movement organizations that they had personally founded and guided, the Communist League in 1852 and the First International in 1876. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote: **"The organization of the proletarians into classes, and thus into parties, is constantly undermined by the rivalry of the workers. But this organization always arises anew, and is stronger, firmer, and more potent, time after time."** [5]281

Lenin further argued that the world revolution of the 20th century was no longer a "single action" but "a number of rapid alternations of more violent outbursts and more subdued calms". Lenin added: **the proletarian party is no longer an intermittent form that appears or disappears with the highs and lows of the class struggle and revolution, but a strategic organization that exists on a permanent basis.** [31] p. 453 Therefore, after the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, the communist parties in various countries did not cease their activities or Parties disband themselves with it, and some of them became ruling parties or even parties in power for a long period of time, with renewed vitality and vigor. The problem lies in the fact that some communist parties have not realized the extreme importance of the existence of the Communist Party as a strategic organization and have continued to take tactic initiatives around the party building issue, which has ultimately led to the dissolution of the Communist Party or the changing of Communist Party's flag or name, such as the Communist Parties of the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Political parties are political organizations of the class, and during the period of the Three Internationals, there were several political parties among the ranks of the European proletariat. This should be a phenomenon in line with the law of development of political party, and due to this law at different times, a number of political parties have made different interpretations and choices on the interests of the same class, and different interpretations and choices on the path which can lead to emancipation of the proletariat, or they have even made completely different interpretations and choices.

Marx and Engels had pointed out in the Communist Manifesto: " **The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties. The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement**". Lenin also argued that "the party is the advanced force of the class, the leader and organizer of the

class" and that it must not "confuse the party, as the advanced force of the working class, with the class as a whole". 21]337 [21]p. 104

This is an important guide to recognizing and evaluating the status and historical role of the social democratic parties, as well as contemporary social democratic parties that are active in the political life of various countries today. From the perspective of the world workers' movement, the Social Democratic Party is a right-wing force when compared with the Communist Parties. And if we look from the perspective of world party politics, Social Democratic Party is a left-wing force in comparison with the bourgeois parties. Within the Social Democratic Party, there is also a division between the left, the center and the right, as well as between the Eastern, the Western, the Southern and the Northern Social Democratic Party. The Social Democrats are not comrades of the Communists, but neither should they be enemies, and on many issues, especially in international issues, they can be friends and partners of the Communists to a certain extent and to a certain degree. The same applies to other political parties in the world workers' movement.

Secondly, the relationship between scientific socialism and non-scientific socialist schools (for example ecological socialism, academic socialism, national socialism, libertarian anarcho-socialism, Trotsky socialism, etc) should be correctly recognized and dealt with, and scientific socialism should be used to lead non-scientific socialism. **This involves three main issues: first, the essence, scientificity and historical role of scientific socialism; second, the exploratory nature and limitations of non-scientific socialism thought trends or schools; and third, how to use scientific socialism to lead non-scientific socialism.**

Scientific socialism, in the broad sense, refers to the entire system of Marxist thought. Scientific socialism in the narrow sense, is one of the three main components of Marxism, the science which studies the nature, conditions and general aims of the proletarian liberation movement, we also call it as scientific communism. The latter is what is generally referred to as scientific socialism. Scientific socialism is a complete theoretical system whose basic contents and fundamental features are:

The elimination of private ownership and the introduction of public ownership.

The vigorous development of the productive forces and the creation of extremely rich social material wealth.

The introduction of a planned economy, the elimination of commodity production and the elimination of monetary exchange.

The introduction of the principle of distribution on the basis of labor contribution.

The elimination of classes and class distinctions and the gradual extinction of the state into an association of free men.

In fact, it was not until after the death of Marx in 1883 that the term "Marxism" began to be used in a positive and complimentary sense by advanced workers and advanced intellectuals such as Kautsky and Plekhanov, and gradually became widely spread and popularized. In the 1860s and 1870s, the Russian anarchist Bakunin attacked Marx by using the term "Marxism" in a pejorative, negative sense. And in France, there were also self-appointed "Marxists" who used the term "Marxism" in a positive sense, but these people often misunderstood and even misinterpreted Marxism. In response to this situation, Marx used to say, "I only know that I myself am not a Marxist." [6]695 Marx and Engels simply called their scientific theories "New Worldview", "Practical Materialism", "Communism", "Scientific Socialism". . By the time the term "Marxism" came into vogue in the 1880s, Engels had only used the term "Marx's doctrine of history and economics".

Only after 1885 did Engels occasionally use the term "Marxism". The term "Marxism-Leninism", which we now commonly use, is a combination of the two doctrines, Marxism and Leninism, with a hyphen added. In 1924, the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern called on the national branches to propagate "Marxism and Leninism", and the Chinese translation simplified the combination of these two doctrines to "Marxism-Leninism". It is generally accepted that scientific socialism is relative to utopian socialism. (Translator in connection and in contradiction with.)

In 1876-1878, Engels wrote "Anti-Dühring", a "great" work of Marxist theory, which comprehensively expounded the basic principles of Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. In order to further expand the influence of scientific socialism, especially to educate and influence the masses of workers in other countries with scientific socialism, in 1880, Engels took the three chapters of the Anti-Dühring Theory, which described the process of the emergence of scientific socialism and its basic principles, and Engels rewrote these parts into an independent popular work entitled Socialism from Utopia to Science. In this work, Engels states: **"Both of these great discoveries: The materialist conception of history and the unraveling of the secret of capitalist production through surplus value exploitation. For these discoveries we owe to Marx. Thanks to these discoveries by Marx, socialism became science."** [32] p. 740 This work was called by Marx "the introduction to scientific socialism". [32]689 When translated into other languages, the work was also known as Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism, and as "The Development of Scientific Socialism". In view of the place of scientific socialism in Marxism, Lenin wrote: **"The doctrine of scientific socialism, that is, Marxism."** [33] p. 251 Deng Xiaoping also pointed out, "Another term for Marxism is communism." [34]137

In fact, neither socialism nor communism was created by Marx and Engels. Before the birth of Marxism, utopian socialism had a history of evolution of more than 300 years in Western Europe. The word "socialism" is derived from the Old Latin socialist, meaning "companion", "sociable". The word "communism" is also derived from the Old Latin word communism, meaning public, communal. The modern English and French word "communism" did not become widespread among books and workers until the 1820s and 1830s. We surely know that there was a process of change in Marx and Engels' knowledge and understanding of socialism and communism. In the 1840s and 1850s, they emphasized communism and opposed socialism, arguing that socialism could not be a science because at that time socialism was a bourgeois, petty-bourgeois reformist movement. In the 1860s and 1880s, as the majority of workers identified themselves with socialism, they used socialism and communism synonymously, and even called themselves "scientific socialists". By the 1890s, Engels had begun to realize that communism was a much longer-term vision than socialism.

In short, Marxism, with its new scientific worldview and theories of scientific socialism and communism, has profoundly elucidated the laws of development of world history, has gained insights into the real contradictions of the capitalist world at that time, and has foreseen the prospects for the future development of the world from capitalism to socialism and communism. The founding of Marxism is not only the greatest revolution in the history of human thought and the most important innovation in philosophy, humanities and social sciences, but also the theoretical foundation and guiding principle of the international communist movement. It can be seen that non-scientific socialism, as opposed to scientific socialism, refers mainly to utopian socialism, but not only to utopian socialism but there are other schools. Engels had divided socialists into three categories: **the champions of feudal and patriarchal society, i.e., the reactionary socialists, who hypocritically sympathize with the sufferings of the proletarians. The bourgeois socialists, who seek both to preserve the present society and to eliminate its ills. And the democratic socialists, who regard the measures of transition as the elimination of the ills of the present capitalist society.** [5] p. 244-245

In February 1848, Marx and Engels criticized the various socialist doctrines and schools of thought of the time in The Communist Manifesto. These were three main types of these doctrines and schools:

- a) Reactionary socialism, including feudal, petty-bourgeois socialism, German or "true" socialism.
- b) Conservative or bourgeois socialism.
- c) Critical utopian socialism and communism.

This analysis drew demarcation line between scientific socialism and other socialisms.

The publication of the Communist Manifesto marked the founding of Marxism. Later, Engels pointed out that there were three kinds of socialism in the middle of the 19th century: bourgeois socialism, petty-bourgeois socialism, and revolutionary socialism. [5] 460-462 In his later years,

Engels also noted that socialism of all stripes had re-emerged in England. Socialism conscious and unconscious, socialism in prosaic and poetic, socialism of the working class and the socialism of the middle class. This middle class "socialism" is led by "social quacks who, by all manner of tinkering, professed to redress, without any threat to capital and profit, without any threat to all sorts of social grievances" , "the most horrible of all horrible things". [6] 431

Today the world is undergoing wide-ranging, profound and complex changes, and all kinds of values and social thought trends are extremely active. The People's Forum journal published an article in early 2015 listing the top ten Chinese and foreign social trends of 2014, including neoliberalism, nationalism, the new left, populism, universal values theory, ecologism, historical nihilism, extremism, neo-Confucianism, and constitutional thinking. [35] Today, these currents of thought are still present, either explicitly or implicitly, either strongly or weakly. This shows that the situation of the deterioration of the socio-political ecological environment of our ideology is extremely serious.

Therefore, we must enhance the sense of worry and always do "not forget danger in peace, not forget death in existence, and not forget chaos in governance". In the foreseeable future, the changes in the social structure of China will not come to an end. And our task of adjusting the pattern of interests in our country will not come to an end. And the diversity, plurality and variability of social trends will persist for a long time. And the exchange, fusion and confrontation of social thought trends will continue for a long time. Historical experience has shown that the use of scientific socialism to lead non-scientific socialism is an inevitable choice.

Historically, non-scientific socialism also had its foundations and conditions for its emergence and existence, most likely in the developed countries of Western Europe, where the capitalist mode of production was in its infancy and in the early stages of development. Also historically, non-scientific socialism also has its foundations and conditions for its emergence and existence and in the post-development countries, which embarked on the path of socialism a century later. (Translator, Russia and China and others.)

While the former situation is now history, the latter situation in the post-development countries (TR. lately developing) deserves particular attention and study. They are all a reflection of the process of human social development and an attempt to seek a more ideal form of society than capitalism. Therefore, non-scientific socialism should not be rejected in its entirety, but should be treated differently. Although non-scientific socialism is not scientific and cannot fundamentally solve the problems in the historical process of social development, it is worth recognizing that non-scientific socialism can raise certain questions and can raise certain critique. Therefore, to a certain extent, non-scientific socialism can be both the object of scientific socialism's struggle and alliance, and can serve as the ally of.

There were precedents in the history of the world socialist movement, for example, in the period of the First and Second International, when scientific socialism was not dominant at the very beginning, Marx and Engels never gave up their work on non-scientific socialism and on other trends of the world workers' movement, including criticizing and struggling, educating and guiding, and striving for and uniting them. In this way, the inertia and simplistic attitude of "either/or" and "true or false" should be overcome when dealing with the relations between scientific socialism and non-scientific socialism.

The theoretical foundation of the CPC's guiding ideology is Marxism, and its goal is communism or scientific socialism. Therefore, we must draw a clear line between the principles of scientific socialism and non-scientific socialism on the basis of an examination of all kinds of non-scientific socialism. After the 18th Party Congress, in a symposium Xi Jinping pointed out that the theoretical system of Marxism and knowledge system is profound. Theoretical system of Marxism involves nature, human society, human thinking in various fields, Marxism involves history, economy, politics, culture, society, ecology, science and technology, military, party building and other aspects. Without making great efforts, it is difficult to grasp the true meanings. Xi Jinping also pointed out that "socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism and not any other kind "ism", and that the guiding principles of scientific socialism cannot be abandoned, because if they are lost, it would not be socialism".

What kind of ideology a country practises depends crucially on whether it can solve the historic problems facing the country. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the dialectical unity of the theoretical logic of scientific socialism and the historical logic of China's social development. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the scientific socialism rooted in the Chinese soil, reflecting the will of the Chinese people, and adapting to the requirements of the development and progress of China. And Socialism with Chinese characteristics adapts to the requirements the times, and it is the path to building a moderately affluent society in an all-round way, accelerating the advancement of socialist modernization, and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. China is a large country and must not make subversive mistakes on fundamental issues, which are irreversible and irreparable once they occur.

In 1926, Guo Moruo published the article "Marx Entering the Temple of Literature", which discussed the similarities and differences between Marxism and traditional Chinese culture, especially differences with Confucianism. ③ Dialectically analyzed, socialism with Chinese characteristics has a two related meanings: Socialism must have Chinese characteristics. China must uphold the essence of socialism in the process of human historical development. To this end, it is necessary to resolve three fundamental contradictions, namely:

a) The contradiction between Chinese socialism and the capitalist world environment in which it is situated, b) The contradiction between the specificity of Chinese socialism and the universality of world socialism, and c) The contradiction between the reality, process and stage of the development of Chinese socialism and the far-reaching ideal of communism.

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is gradually formed and developed in the breakthrough and correct handling of and resolving of the above mentioned three contradictions.[36] And Socialism with Chinese characteristics has five major characteristics, namely, the characteristics of the times, the characteristics of the nation, the characteristics of the theory, the characteristics of practice and the characteristics of the people. [37] In this way, the historical origin and practical foundation of socialism with Chinese characteristics, as well as its goal, can be clearly grasped.

Thirdly, we should correctly understand and deal with a) the relationship between communist parties, b) between communist parties and other types of proletarian political parties, and c) even between communist parties and non-proletarian political parties. And we should set up a mechanism for regular or occasional bilateral or multilateral contacts and coordination, and move from the "point" of each country to the "line" of the multiple countries, and then to the whole "arena" of the globe, so as to constructively turn the long road of the quest for the liberation of the proletariat and humankind into an open and smooth path. By this approach and in a constructive manner, the long road in pursuit of the emancipation of the proletariat and humankind will be turned into a smooth and open road. This involves three main issues: the question of relations between communist parties, the question of relations between communist parties and other types of proletarian parties, and the question of relations between communist parties and non-proletarian parties. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote: "Proletarians of the world, unite!" Lenin proposed and endorsed the slogan of the Comintern: "Proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!" ④ In the 1960s, the Chinese Communists proposed: we should unite with the "proletarians of the world, with the oppressed people and with the oppressed nations!" [38]

The Critical Questions of the Current Era

The question is, today in the contemporary world socialist-communist movement, does the proletariat need an international coalition, and is an international coalition or alliance possible? The present era is the era of party politics. There are about 5,000 political parties in the world, and about 20 or 30 countries that do not allow political parties or party politics. Whether in power or in opposition, political parties play a certain role or even a pivotal role in the political life of all societies. What are the principles and forms of contact, interaction and cooperation between the Communist Party and various types of political parties? Why did the CPC not advocate the establishment of international organizations in the form of "alliances" for a long time? How should the internationalism of the world socialist-communist movement be manifested and realized in today's world? The main reason for this is that while it is easy to set guidelines and principles, it is difficult to find forms and ways of doing so,

and even more difficult to assess their positive and negative effects. In the world socialist communist movement, international solidarity is necessary and important, but it can take and it should take many forms. As to what form it should take, it is a question of taking stock of the situation and making the best use of it. Lenin pointed out that in solving the tasks of the revolution in their own countries, communists in all countries "must identify, clarify, find, figure out and grasp the characteristics and features of their nations" and correctly apply the basic principles of Marxism to the specific conditions of their own country. [22] 256-257

Lenin also criticized the problem of the Russian communist party playing the role of the commander party in the first years of the Comintern and warned against the development of this negative tendency. The Comintern has overemphasized international alliance and unity to the detriment of the independence and autonomy of the Communist parties of each country. It has overemphasized general laws to the detriment of the national conditions of each country and the actual situation of the proletarian movement. After the dissolution of the Comintern, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communication Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties (Cominform), which existed during the period 1947-1956, continued to inherit the erroneous practices of the Comintern to a large extent, which left behind a number of lessons in dealing with the problems in inter-party relations. After the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the total number of communist parties in the capitalist world today is about 130, with a total membership of about 10 million. On the basis of summarizing/theorizing the lessons learned from the world socialist communist movement, including the Comintern, the CPC has, in practice, gradually formed the four principles in inter-party relations. They are "independence and autonomy, equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs", and the CPC is constantly adjusting the specific subjects covered by these 4 principles. ⑤ On March 23, 2013, Xi Jinping re-emphasized in a speech at the Moscow Institute of International Relations: **"Only the wearer of the shoes knows if they fit or not. Only the people can best tell if the development path they have chosen for their country suits or not."** Xi Jinping also pointed out that only in this way can the road be travelled correctly and steadily, and Xi Jinping added: **At no time may one be upheld at the expense of the other.**

Otherwise, the left foot will be wearing the right foot's shoe. And with the wrong foot in the wrong place, the shoe will hit the wrong place by mistake”.

Whether giving assistance and help to other countries and to the proletariat of other countries and to the people are both moral or material responsibility (or a combination of both) to think carefully. Such aid should be decided on the basis of practical considerations and according to one's means and capacity.

Class interests are intertwined with the interests of the nation-state

Today, class interests are intertwined with the interests of the nation-state, and there is both consistency and distinction between these two interests. It is therefore necessary to reconcile and balance the relationship between these two interests, that is, it is therefore necessary to reconcile and balance between internationalism from the aspect of proletarian class and patriotism from the aspect of the nation-State.

The Chinese Communists are soberly aware that to do a good job in China is in itself China's greatest contribution to the world socialist-communist movement and that it is the greatest internationalism. In its contacts and exchanges with other political parties of different types, including Western social democratic parties, the CPC has put forward the policy of "transcending ideological differences and seeking mutual understanding and cooperation", the essence of which lies in the fact that differences exist objectively but cannot hinder cooperation, and that cooperation is an objective necessity but cooperation cannot eliminate differences. In the overall and general context of the interests of the proletariat, an informal alliance between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party on the broad left ground (zemin) is a desirable and feasible realistic option.

On March 29, 2014, Xi Jinping pointed out at a meeting with German Social Democratic Party Chairman Sigmar Gabriel that the CPC attaches great importance to developing relations with the SPD on the basis of equality and mutual respect and enhance mutual understanding. We can surpass ideological differences and seek mutual understanding and cooperation." These words fully embody the Marxist attitude of seeking truth from facts.

The 21st century should be a new century of innovation, polymorphism and even we can have a hundred different socialist models. [40] In the light of the lessons learned from the First, Second and

Third Internationals and the reality of the socialist-communist movement in today's world, the most realistic question that needs to be answered is whether the socialist-communist movement has a universal character. Is there a need for a world organization, an international association or a world center? What kind of world organization should be established, or what kind of international alliance should be realized? In the final analysis, the question of the unity of the international and national character of the proletarian liberation struggle has to be answered. Our answer is to place socialism "on the basis of reality." [32] 358

Compared with the 20th century, the contemporary world socialist-communist movement has become increasingly diversified in terms of the sources of ideas and the forms of socialism, including democratic socialism, national socialism, ecological socialism, feminist socialism, etc., in addition to scientific socialism. At the same time, the forms of socialist practice are increasingly characterized by national or regional characteristics. However, from the point of view of the general trend of historical development, socialists all over the world should go beyond the scope of the nation-State and look at the socialist movement and theory from a historical, philosophical and global perspective in order to advance the great historical process of the gradual step by step emancipation of the proletariat and all of mankind. And we should take into account the real interests of each country. [41] [41]

At the same time, in the current world the long-standing socialist development strategy of the past, which emphasized "alliance and unity", which emphasized "general law" and "international association" and which was characterized by "one road, one model, one centre and one stage", is rejected. Cooperation, solidarity and coordination may be better compared to alliance and unity (Translator). For this reason, the proletariat and its political parties of all countries, especially the ruling parties, have established regular or irregular bilateral or multilateral contact and coordination mechanisms, Proletariat and its political parties are adapting themselves to the situation, they are advancing in response to the times, innovating in response to the situation, drawing on each other's experience, and moving from the "point" of each country to the "line" of multiple countries and further to the whole "arena " of the world. This is happening in a constructive manner, turning the long road of the quest for the liberation of the proletariat and humanity into a thoroughfare and a straight path.

In this way **"from national points to multinational threads to global surfaces, Proletariat and its political parties will constructively turn the long road of the liberation of the proletariat and humankind into a smooth and open one. This is a realistic and wise choice"**. ① In 1892, Engels evaluates the historic International Workingmen's Association as the "First International". See Gao Fang, *A Different History of the International Communist Movement*, Beijing: China Books Press, 2002, p. 512. ②

Between 1869 and 1904, socialist parties were established in 29 countries around the world, but none of them adopted the name "Communist Party". Compared with the 1840s, the social democratic parties of this period were obviously different. The social democratic parties of this period generally put forward positive ideas of transforming capitalism and realizing socialism in their programs and paid attention to socialist propaganda and education for the workers. The social democratic parties of this period actively organized trade unions and carried out parliamentary struggles and other kinds of legal struggles in the practice of the movement, thus promoted the gradual organizational freedom of the working class from the control of the bourgeoisie and taking the road of independent development. The working class gradually escaped from the control of the bourgeoisie in terms of organization and took the road of independent development. However, these social democratic parties were still very immature ideologically and politically. their programmes lacked a clear Marxist revolutionary goal, and their programs were full of reformist phrases. Most of them were still influenced to varying degrees by various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. They were not sufficiently tightly organized and lacked centralized leadership, and their mass bases were relatively weak.

Engels noted that during the period 1871-1875, **"Everywhere I called myself not a social democrat, but as a communist". Because at that time the Proudhonists in France and the Lassalleans in Germany called themselves Social-Democrats. I called myself not a social democrat, but a communist because at that time in various countries those who did not at all put on their banners the slogan of the transfer of all the means of production to social ownership and they all called themselves Social-Democrats For Marx and myself, it was therefore absolutely**

impossible to use such a loose term to characterise our special point of view”.

<https://www.marxist.com/the-state-and-revolution/4.-supplementary-explanations-by-engels.htm>

However, near to the end of the 1880s, with the development of the social-democratic parties in various countries, as well as their theoretical changes in practice and due to their great achievements in the struggle against capitalism, "social democracy" and "social democrat" have actually become conventional concepts used by the proletariat and Marxists. Page 489-490 In 1894, Engels again discussed his views on the usage of concept of "Social Democracy", saying: **"Today the situation is different, the term Social Democracy may be passable, but it is still inaccurate for a party whose economic program is not just generally socialist, but directly communist. And I think it is still inaccurate for a party whose ultimate political aim is the elimination of the entire state and thus democracy too, the term is still inaccurate. The names of *real* political parties, however, are never wholly appropriate; the party develops while the name stays."** Marx-Engels, *Collected Works* 27/417 [22/418]

At the same time, Engels also elaborated his views on "communism". In his view, under those circumstances of the period, it was still not appropriate to use the term "communism" to refer to the movement at that time. He wrote: "The term 'communism' is not, in my opinion, suitable for general use at the present time, and it is better to leave it until a more precise expression is necessary. Even then it would need to be annotated, since it has not actually been used for 30 years." See Guo Moruo, *The Complete Works of Guo Moruo, Literature*, vol. 10, Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1985, pp. 161-168. ④

Lenin said: **"The world has been divided into oppressed nations and oppressor nations. Oppressed nations make up at least 70% of the world's population. The Peace of Versailles added another 100 or 150 million to the population of the oppressed nations."**

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/dec/06.htm>

In September 1982, the report to the Twelfth Party Congress of the CPC formally proposed: **"The Party adheres to the development of its relations with the communist parties and other working-**

class parties of all countries in strict conformity with Marxism and in strict conformity with the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs”. With the gradual deepening of the reform and opening-up process, the scope of the Party's contacts with political parties in other countries was further expanded. In October 1987, the report to the 13th CPC Congress no longer referred to "on the basis of Marxism" as a prerequisite for the development of party relations, and at the same time expanded the scope of application of the Four Principles. This report specifically said: **"To develop relations with foreign communist parties and other political parties in strict conformity with the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs”.**

In October 1992, the report of the 14th Congress of the CPC put forward the following: **The CPC values its relations with the political parties of other countries.... We shall continue to develop friendly relations with such parties in accordance with the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. And we will increase mutual understanding and co-operation in the spirit of seeking common ground while putting aside differences”.** With this change, in its foreign contacts, the CPC no longer made distinction between "foreign communist parties and other political parties" instead it included communist parties in the general term of "political parties of all countries".

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