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Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(FULL REPORT.)

Opening Session.

Moscow, 17 July, 1928.

This evening at 8 o'clock there was opened in the richly decorated column hall of the Trade Union House the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

Nearly all the sections of the Communist International have

sent their Delegations, and long before the opening of the Session, the Hall and galleries were quite full.

At 8 o'clock in the evening Comrade Bukharin, greeted with stormy applause, appeared on the Tribune and opened the Congress with the following address.

Comrade Bukharin's Opening Speech.

Comrades after the X. Anniversary of the October Revolution in the former Tsarist Russian Empire, on the eve of the X. Anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International, this real revolutionary International Workers' Association meets now assembled in its VI. Congress of the Comintern. Many diverse conferences, gatherings, diplomatic and non-diplomatic negotiations have taken place, all kinds of false pacifist clap trap on the part of bourgeois agents playing into the noose of the instrument of the international bourgeoisie most dangerous for the human race — the League of Nations — has been heard, during these years. Our international Congress of the Communist International, in contra-distinction to all these conferences and congresses of our enemies, is a congress of proletarian revolutionaries, a serious review of the general staffs of the various detachments of the international Communist army.

Comrades, for the sixth time we have assembled in the Red capital of the proletarian country. Our first words are dedicated to the innumerable militant comrades who have given their heads and their lives to the cause of the international proletarian revolution (all rise). The European proletariat has lost tens and hundreds of its best and most loyal sons. Many of them have lost their lives in the clutches of the brutal white Polish eagle, under the blows of Marshal Pilsudski's heel. In

Italy they are falling under the knout and whip of Mussolini, a renegade of the Social Democratic movement. In Bulgaria they are being exterminated with the blessings of Bulgarian Social Democracy. But there is one country, an enormous and distant country, a country rich in its ancient culture, which is now drenched in the blood of its workers and peasants. That country is China, where great masses of people have risen against the imperialist dregs and attacked the agents of imperialism almost empty-handed. Tens of thousands of our Chinese comrades perishing under the bayonet, the strangling noose, from pins stuck under their nails, with eyes scratched out, die with the exclamation: Long live the victory of Communism! Long live the victory of the proletarian party!

From Poland to Japan, from Italy to China, from Indonesia to America, fighters in the cause of Communism perish under the executioner's axe, on the foot-stock and in electric chairs. We all honour their memory, exclaiming in unison: — Long live their memory! Long live their innumerable great names in the hearts of the proletariat! (All delegates rise, the orchestra plays the Funeral March).

In beginning our work, we send our hearty greetings to those soldiers and officers of the workers' revolution who are now filling the prisons of Italy, Poland, China, Bulgaria and many other countries. To our Chinese, Polish, Bulgarian and

glorious Italian and other comrades, we send our greetings from here. Let them know that we never forget them for a moment.

Comrades, during the years since the V. Congress our movement has grown in breadth and depth. The word Communism, the organisational principles of the Communist movement, Lenin's clear and distinct words, have for the first time penetrated vast territories, new continents, new peoples, and new sections of the working class. South America is for the first time widely entering the orbit of influence of the Communist International. The Chinese Party is being shaped into a real militant revolutionary party, fighting from beginning to end under the banner of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism.

For the first time has the tiny Communist Party of Japan, which is now beginning to become a militant unit, entered the historical arena. We are now on the eve of a growing Communist movement in India, the chief stronghold of imperialism — the Empire of the British king.

At the same time the tasks of our movement have become extremely complicated. The first onslaught, the first great revolutionary avalanche sweeping over Europe ended with the defeat of the working class in the capitalist countries. The prospects of a direct fall of capitalism, its immediate collapse, has made place for somewhat different prospects. We have received a confirmation of Lenin's idea that there is no absolute blind alley for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of several countries mostly affected by the pressure of revolution succeeded in finding a way out. Capitalism is now hurriedly building its forts, it is now hurriedly arming itself. It builds and arms itself at one and the same time. The decline of capitalism does not follow a straight road. It proceeds along zig-zag lines, through partial improvements of various parts of the capitalist system — through, what we call, partial capitalist stabilisation. This created for the Communist movement new great difficulties. It confronted the Communist International with new problems. It compelled the Communist International as a whole and its Parties individually to think and elaborate very intricate tactics of preparation and mobilisation of the forces of the working class. It compelled the Communist International to seek in every-day life, on the basis of development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation, the means of mobilisation of the masses for a new battle, for a new, more sweeping and more destructive blow at capitalism.

In our country, in the country of proletarian republics, the U. S. S. R., the task of building up socialism has proven to be not a simple matter. This great task of Socialist construction in a country surrounded by enemies, in a ruined and backward country, confronted our working class, its vanguard, our militant Communist Party, with a series of immense and most complex difficulties and tasks. If in the capitalist countries, in the very heart of the imperialist system, the growing complexity of the situation complicates the tactical tasks of the Communist Parties, the same may be said also about our country and about our Party.

Now, when several years of partial capitalist stabilisation can already be counted and when we have before us already quite a considerable period of new construction, construction on the basis of new technique in the Soviet Union, we must say that we have not yet learned sufficiently to work properly both in the capitalist countries as well as in our country, in the country which is building socialism. Not once and not twice, has the Communist International advanced in the capitalist countries the task of capturing the trade unions, of capturing the masses, but our Social Democratic enemy is still strong. We have not yet learned how to cope with this task properly. Not once and not twice have we drawn up for our country, the U. S. S. R., a general line of construction. But we feel that it was one thing to carry on construction in the past restoration period, and another matter to build new factories and plants and to apply new organisational principles. We see our class opponent on the whole excellently, but we have not yet sufficiently learned to work properly. We splendidly see the line of development of our chief enemy in the West European countries and America, Social Democracy, but we have not yet learned to work properly so as to break resolutely and more successfully the backbone of that enemy.

That is why, comrades, not one Communist Party can now manage to do with simple agitational slogans. That is why very big demands are now put up to the leaders of our Communist Parties. That is why one of the greatest, I would say one of the cardinal, tasks at the present time confronting the Communist International is the task of deepening our work, improving the cadres of our Communist Parties, improving their leadership.

Any problem which we now put on the order of the day, beginning with the programme, the colonial problem, and ending with the relatively secondary technical problems, appears to us now much more complex than it did 3 or 4 years ago. Much greater attention, much greater exertion, much more labour, is required now from us, from our collective Communist thought, in relation to any question, not only that we may obtain a general idea of what we must do, but that we may see every, even comparatively small, detail of it, point out every tactical step, and formulate properly every point in the programme.

The new era in which we now live, work and fight against our enemies, requires this from us. More attentive, more qualified, more strenuous work is the more essential and the more imperative now, considering that the growing capitalist contradictions, the growing antagonisms between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, inexorably lead towards great clashes between the States, to enormous class conflicts, upon the outcome of which depends the destiny of the human race.

Class struggles such as have not yet been known in the history of mankind, struggles which the history of the international labour movement has not witnessed are imminent. In view of these prospects, in view of the enormous international historical tasks which are now rising before us, we must conduct our Congress so that we may come out of it richer in collective international experience, that we may come out of it with a programme answering to the most vital questions facing the hundreds of millions of workers, the hundreds of millions of toiling peasants. We must come out of this Congress with an elaborated and firm tactical line for a whole series of countries, beginning with China and ending with the United States. We must so conduct our Congress that its work may serve as a foundation and supply ammunition for our Communist Parties for the entire coming period, that this ammunition may fructify all our work, and that our Parties may be able to march in their practical revolutionary struggle more vigorously, with greater loyalty, with a more sober understanding of the situation and greater tactical wisdom under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of Leninist theory, under the banner of international revolution.

Comrades, allow me to open the VI. World Congress of the Communist International with the cry: Long live the World Revolution! (Thunderous applause. The delegates rise and sing the "International".)

Election of the Presidium.

Comrade HUBERT DROZ.

The delegations of the VI. World Congress propose to elect the following comrades to the Presidium:

Bell (England), Bukharin (U. S. S. R.), Cachin (France), Carlton (U. S. A.), Chitarow (Y. C. I.), Foster (U. S. A.), Garland (Italy), Humbert-Droz (Switzerland), Jilek (Czechoslovakia), Katayama (Japan), Kilboom (Sweden), Kuusinen (Finland), Lacerda (S. America), Lenski (Poland), Losovsky (Communist Fraction of R. I. L. U.), Lovestone (U. S. A.), Manuilsky (U. S. S. R.), Molotov (U. S. S. R.), Murphy (Great Britain), Manavat (Indonesia), Piatnitzky (U. S. S. R.), Remméle (Germany), Saris (Greece), Schüller (Y. C. I.), Semard (France), Serra (Italy), Stalin (U. S. S. R.), Stonko (Balkan Parties), Strachow (China), Li Kuang (China), Thälmann (Germany), Sikander (India), Kostrzewa (Poland), Zapotocky (Czechoslovakia), Clara Zetkin (personally).

The Congress unanimously approves the proposed list and the elected comrades take their seats on the Presidium under the great applause of the delegates. Comrade Stalin is especially heartily welcomed on his appearance.

Agenda of the Congress.

Comrade REMMELE:

We propose the following agenda:

1. Report on the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. (Report of Comrade Bukharin).
Report on the activity of the E. C. Y. C. I. (Reporter Comrade Schueller).

Report on the activity of the International Control Commission. (Report of Comrade Stutschka.)

2. Methods of the struggle against the danger of Imperialist War. (Chief Reporter — Comrade Bell; further — Comrades Schneller (Germany); Garlandi (Italy); Lovestone (America); Barbé (France).

3. Draft of the programme of the Communist International. (Reporter — Comrade Bukharin.)

4. Revolutionary movement in the Colonies. (Reporters — Comrades Kuusinen and Ercoli; further comrades from China, Indonesia and India).

5. The situation in the U. S. S. R.

a) Economic situation. (Reporter — Comrade Varga.)

b) The situation in the C. P. S. U. (Reporter — Comrade Manuilsky.)

6. Elections.

The proposed agenda as well as the standing orders were unanimously approved.

Representatives of various Parties were then called upon to deliver their speeches of greeting to the Congress.

Speeches of Greeting.

Comrade LI KUANG (China):

On behalf of the Communist Party of China I extend hearty fraternal greetings to the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

The Communist International, the General Staff of the World Revolution, the leader and liberator of oppressed mankind, co-ordinates under Leninist leadership the revolutionary interests of the world proletariat and of the national revolutionary colonial peoples into a common struggle against world imperialism.

Since its foundation the Communist International has been holding high the banner of revolution in the heart of the victorious proletarian State, Moscow, it has been rallying around it the oppressed and exploited of all countries and is leading them into the struggle under its slogans. The conflagration created by the world revolution has already brought the whole of mankind into motion. All oppressed and exploited feel that we must go forward, that we are making gigantic strides towards a new epoch.

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese revolutionary movement are developing with the support of the workers of the Soviet Union and of the world proletariat under the leadership of the Communist International. In China the Communist International produced a magnificent revolutionary movement which in the last years and particularly during the high tide of revolution in 1927 dealt a death-blow to world imperialism. The Shanghai events in 1925 which were the sign for an anti-imperialist mass movement throughout the country; the heroic Canton-Hongkong-strike which during its 16 months duration converted Hongkong almost into a desert island; the Northern Expedition of the revolutionary Canton army, the three workers' insurrections in Shanghai, the capture of the British settlement in Hankow and Kuikyang, the establishment of the Left Government in Wuhan, all that combined created such a situation for imperialism and dealt it so many blows that it had to give up one position after another in China. The great Chinese revolution has suffered a serious defeat as a result of the unfavourable international situation, the military intervention of world imperialism, the abominable treachery of the national bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois upper stratum and above all, as a result of the serious opportunist mistakes of the Executive of the Chinese Communist Party. The Comintern, which tried in vain to remedy the mistakes made by the Chinese Party Executive, by all the means at its disposal, appealed directly to the rank and file of the Party, reorganised the Party Executive and brought forward resolutely the slogan of armed insurrection for the establishment of the Soviet regime and of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. This alone has enabled our Party to consolidate its ranks, win new forces, rally hundreds of thousands, nay millions of workers around its slogans and launch at the opportune moment a counter-offensive against the reaction. The Chinese revolutionary movement was and is one of the main factors in the world revolution.

At present the main tasks of the Chinese Party must be: capture of the masses, preparation and realisation of a new

revolutionary élan. The Canton Soviet insurrection, the present big anti-Japanese movement, the armed struggles of the peasant masses, the development of peasant soviets under the leadership of the C. P. — all this shows that we are marching rapidly towards a new revolutionary wave.

Comrades, the Communist Party of China is at present in an extremely difficult position. It has to work under conditions of unheard of white terror, instituted by the international reaction. In our case the leadership of the Comintern and energetic support on the part of the brother Parties is more necessary than ever. The Party expresses the hope that at this World Congress it will be possible to forge even more effective weapons for the development of the Chinese revolution. On behalf of the proletariat and all the workers of China, I say (the whole of the Chinese Delegation stands up and joins in):

Long live the victorious Chinese Revolution!

Long live the victorious international revolution!

Long live the VI. World Congress of the Communist International!

Long live the Communist International!

Comrade KATAYAMA (Japan).

Comrades, on behalf of the Japanese Communist Party and the revolutionary workers, I greet you!

Comrades, imperialism and capitalism are trying to suppress the uprisings of the colonial peoples. Certainly, during the last four years, capitalism has temporarily stabilised and is trying to oppress and keep up dying imperialism.

But, comrades, our workers and peasants of the Communist International are awakening and exerting their revolutionary power from below. Look at the English general strike and the subsequent miners' lockout.

The Chinese Revolution is giving a searchlight to the colonial peoples that they may fight against the powerful imperialism, and recently we see even in Central Europe, the Vienna workers are uprising. These uprisings show how the oppressed, exploited international workers, by means of their revolutionary forces, can fight against their exploiters.

Comrades, the workers of Korea and Formosa are preparing a struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Recently the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese workers, the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese workers made a united front, fighting against the imperialists. So, Comrades, we of the Japanese Communist Party greet you, because it is time, it is the most opportune time in which we should prepare, discuss and decide how to fight against world imperialism, which is menacing our fatherland, the Soviet Union.

Long Live the 6th Congress of the Comintern!

Long Live the Chinese Revolution!

Long Live the World Revolution!

Comrade LACERDA (South America).

Comrades. In the name of the delegations of South America I bring to you the greetings of your fighting comrades of the South American Continent.

I greet all the great Communist Parties which are here represented. The young Parties of America are greeting the old Parties of Europe which have been formed in heroic struggles against the oppressors of the workers and in particular the heroic Party of the Soviet Union, this Party which has made the great Proletarian Revolution and made the first step on the way of the workers' emancipation.

I also greet the Communist International which is here represented by its leaders. This International constitutes for all the workers of the world the only rampart which protects them against the treachery of the socialist renegades, against oppression of all kinds, and against the international imperialists.

In the presence of the countries oppressed by American and English imperialism the workers' Parties of South America place all their hopes on this Congress, which after the ideological struggles against the opportunist deviations of the opposition will inspire all the Parties with new life. In face of the dangers which threaten the U. S. S. R. on the part of the greedy imperialists, this VI. Congress will be one of the most serious stages of the International Labour Movement.

The delegates of Latin America, whose revolutionary labour movement has learnt so much in the school of the old fighters of the European Communist Parties, greet the representatives of the workers of all countries here assembled and express the desire to see the III. International victorious, the only stronghold of all the workers, of the poor peasants and of the suppressed peoples of the world.

Comrade CARILLO (Mexico):

I have to convey to you the greetings of the Mexican Party. In Moscow, in the red stronghold of the international proletariat, in the anti-imperialist capital of the world, the VI. World Congress of the Communist International will discuss the tasks with which the communist parties of all countries are confronted. These tasks are more important than ever. The imperialist powers are working feverishly in preparing a new world war, a war against the Soviet Union. The countries of Latin-America form the great hinterland of American imperialism. The arms and munitions factories of the United States will be supplied by the oil-fields of Mexico and Venezuela, by the rich mine fields of Central and South America. The pressure of imperialism upon the workers and peasants of Latin-America is becoming ever stronger. But the revolutionary proletariat of our countries is awakening. The last years have been years of struggle, years of the building of revolutionary organisations, of the formation of Communist Parties. The workers and peasants will follow the summons of the Communist International and raise the banner of Communism against imperialism. For our fight is a fight for the proletariat of all countries and for the Soviet Union.

Long live the Comintern!

Long live the world revolution!

Comrade WHITEMAN (Negro):

Comrades: I greet the VI. Congress of the Communist International in the name of the millions of Negro workers and peasants of the United States of North America. There is an intense racial problem within the confines of that country, of the millions of Negroes, not only subjected to the most intense industrial exploitation but the Negro people are subjected to racial abuses in the form of political disfranchisement and other nameless discrimination and cruelties. The Negro's struggle for freedom since the emancipation from chattel slavery has been a long a long process and has been carried on under the banner of various organisations and movements that have only resulted in his being subjected to further degradation.

Today, the Negro is orientating towards the Communist Party, the Party which conducts the struggle of the toiling

masses of America for freedom regardless of race. We endeavour to bring to the banner of the Communist International the millions of Negro workers of America. We know, we are endeavouring to spread broadcast that only the Communist International can free the Negro, can bring the new freedom to the Negro people, can emancipate them from the oppression of capitalism.

Indeed, it is the second time that I have appeared before the Communist International, and during the interval of four years we can properly say that the work in America in its endeavour to win the Negro to the standards of Communism has moved apace. We feel that the day is not far distant when the Negro will constitute a tremendous and important group within the revolutionary movement of the United States of America. (Applause.)

Comrade SIKANDER (India):

Comrades, the Indian delegation bring greetings to you from the most oppressed workers and peasants of India.

Perhaps you are aware that there is now a great crisis in India and that struggles are going on all over the country. The Indian workers and peasants had a terrible struggle after the debacle of 1920—1921, but with the inspiration of the Communist International they have come to realise and have learned better ways of fighting imperialism as well as their national bourgeoisie, and the British Labour Party, with its officials like MacDonald and the others who are nothing more nor less than capitalist henchmen.

These strikes that are now going on India are the outcome of the crisis, and the British imperialists are using them to crush the Indian workers and peasants. They are shooting and bombing them — shooting them down, not like men, but like dogs. Imperialism is treating them more than ever like this.

You will be happy to know that the Indian workers are no more ignorant of the world situation and they have come to realise the real meaning of solidarity, they are now trying to get into world co-operation with the other workers. Geographically we are cut off from the rest of the world and from the more advanced countries, especially that of Russia. Geographical barriers, however, do not permit us to have co-ordination with the rest of the workers, and we are glad to have the British Communist Party and their organisers who are helping us in our struggle against the British as well as against the national bourgeoisie.

* * *

Comrade Kotov greeted the delegates in the name of the Moscow Committee of the C. P. S. U.

As representative of the Moscow garrison Comrade Mitroff conveyed the greetings of the Red Army to the Congress.

Then there followed a number of further addresses, among others of representatives of an Aviation factory, a textile factory, Electricity works, a wagon-construction factory etc.

A workers' delegation from Uzbekistan, which greeted the Congress in the name of the workers and peasants of Uzbekistan and brought a present from the workers, received a hearty welcome.

Comrade CACHIN (France):

Comrades, the Presidium must respond briefly to the greetings addressed to it just now by the Red Army and the numerous workers' delegations of Moscow and of the Soviet Union who appeared on this platform.

We say to the representatives of the Red Army who spoke here that the message they delivered will have its repercussion through us in all the parts of the world, through the delegates present here; we also say that the voice of the working man who spoke here speaks louder, as far as we are concerned, than the voices of all the generals, marshals, diplomats and the lackeys of world imperialism! When he tells us that he is a soldier of world imperialism! When he tells us that he is a soldier not of the Russian but of the international Red Army and of the international proletariat, let us assure him that his voice will reach the hearts of all proletarians throughout the world.

When he refers to the Soviet Revolution, the mother of the proletarian world revolution, deep emotion takes possession of us all!

The working men and women of various factories who have appeared on this platform have told us about the wonderful achievements which astonish the whole world and which are the fruit of their persevering labour. This country which was on the brink of the precipice, stands upright today and is rapidly developing on socialist lines. Anyone who has been away from Moscow several years is struck by the prodigious economic development of the country. One cannot help being amazed at the enormous progress made here against great odds, against the whole capitalist and imperialist world. We have seen factories at work; we were given an opportunity of visiting several Moscow engineering works and textile factories. We can assure you, comrades, that at present your factories are worth, as far as production is concerned, all the factories of big capital. We are delighted to be able to bear witness of the wonderful constructive work done through your efforts in such a small number of years! We also know that you have ambitious plans. We know that you want to reconstruct the whole of Russia. Your efforts will be directed henceforth also towards your rural districts. We do not consider the plan which you have drawn up too ambitious by any means, it only strikes us by its grandeur, for you are tackling an enormous problem! There are many among us who never lost faith in the Russian Revolution, but to-day we are witnessing with indescribable joy the beginning of the realisation of your hopes! In the last four years you have surpassed these hopes!

We also heard on this platform, at this opening session, the representatives of the most oppressed peoples of the world, of the races which were humiliated and trodden underfoot for centuries! Yes! The rôle of the Third International is to take this oppressed world under its banner! It plays an important historical rôle when it calls upon the oppressed of the whole world to revolt and when it turns its attention to those who have suffered most at the hands of capitalism and imperialism in the past.

The representatives assembled here greet **Red Moscow**, but they also do not forget **Leningrad** which gave the signal! They greet the Russian workers and Red Army men. They greet the Communist peasants and the Third International (Prolonged applause).

Chairman Comrade REMMELE:

I call upon Comrade Thälman (Germany) to address the Congress on behalf of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat of Europe.

Comrade THÄLMANN (Germany):

Comrades! On behalf of the Comintern Sections of Europe I greet the delegates to the Sixth World Congress and the visitors present here, the Russian and international proletariat. I will speak first of all about the growing war danger against the Soviet Union. In the interval between the V. and VI. World Congress we witnessed many war preparations against the Soviet Union in the economic, political, ideological and military domain. We look upon the counter-revolutionary bloc of the imperialist Powers which has now been formed through the entry of the Social Democrats into a coalition with the German bourgeoisie as the increased preparation for a concerted attack on the Soviet Union. We realise that the military counter-revolutionary brutal regime in China is closely connected with the imperialist preparations which are being made against the Soviet Union in all capitalist countries. Some outward signs of the period intervening between the V. and the VI. World Congress have been: the Trade Union Act in Great Britain which is directed against the working class, the Boncour Military Bill in France, the recent repressive measures against the revolutionary front in China, Japan and India. The repressive measures against Communists in all countries and the very strict military measures as well as big manoeuvres in the last few months are eloquent testimony that the war danger against the Soviet Union is greater than ever before. At the Congress of the Second International in Marseilles, 1925, Social Democrats expressed them-

selves frankly for a capitalist orientation in the League of Nations when the question of war danger in the East was brought up. They made the deliberately false assertion that the Soviet Union is a contributing factor in the new war danger. We know that the Social Democrats stand in need of this shameless lie so as to divert the proletarian masses from an ever-growing revolutionary ideology and sympathy for the Soviet Union.

Not content to defend capitalism in the world war and in revolutionary situations, the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats are giving full support to capitalism in all questions and associate themselves completely with the war preparations of the capitalist bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union.

The latest example of this is the present **Coalition Government in Germany**, from Stresemann to Hermann Müller. Externally, this government is supporting the war preparations against the Soviet Union and internally it is supporting the reactionary arbitrariness of employers and of their repressive measures against the proletariat.

The C. I. has always known that all Social Democratic Governments in Europe, including those which will probably be formed in the next few months, must be opposed by us as social traitors, and that we must do everything in our power to mobilise the proletarian masses for the overthrow of these governments.

The **Second International** and its various organisations which are only concerned with national interests, are endeavouring to take up the struggle against the Soviet Union with brutal ruthlessness and to intensify the disruption of the proletariat. Therefore the struggle against the growing danger of another imperialist war against the Soviet Union and against the accentuated disruption policy of the reformists in regard to the working class of the world which is linked up with it, is the foremost task of all the sections of the Communist International. But together with the gradually increasing war danger we witness also a **growth of the Communist movement**. That is why the struggle against the Soviet Union, against Communism in all countries has become more accentuated. In the last World war we had only weak revolutionary groups, small Communist groupings. Today we see throughout the world a big and powerful international revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Communist International and great mass organisations, as the Red Front Fighters' League in Germany. Today we see that throughout the whole development the revolutionary spirit has been given an impetus owing to the recent experiences. A defence week has taken place in Russia to mobilise the masses for the defence of the only fatherland of the world proletariat, and I recommend to all the Sections of the Communist International to carry out a defence week throughout the world for the defence of the Soviet Union and for support to the struggle against Imperialism and Social Democracy. (Great applause.) Struggle against imperialist war is struggle against one's own bourgeoisie and Social Democracy.

We think that in the given historical moment the Communist International will go through a severe test in the storm and stress of the coming war, just as the Russian Party did during the world war. Under Lenin's leadership, the brutal Tsarist regime was overthrown and there came into being on a sixth of the terrestrial globe the Soviet Power, the only fatherland of the workers of the world. The counter-revolutionary Social Democrats know that the proletariat has not forgotten the horrors of the world war, and they are afraid of the one Power which is struggling against another war — the Communist International and the revolutionary force of the proletariat. The enormous antagonisms in the imperialist camp, the revolutionary movements and the national-revolutionary movements of the Eastern peoples are serious reminders of a big development which will also play a considerable rôle on the agenda of the VI. World Congress. The Sections must, in case we are not sufficiently strong to prevent the outbreak of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union, be prepared to co-ordinate all revolutionary forces at the outbreak of war, and to enter the struggle under Lenin's slogan, under the slogan issued by the Bolshevik Party in October 1917; overthrow of the bourgeoisie! establishment of Proletarian Dictatorship! (Great applause.)

Message of Greetings from the German Red Front Fighters' League.

Chairman Comrade REMMELE:

Comrade Schneller will read to you a letter of greetings from the German Red Front Fighters League.

Comrade SCHNELLER:

Berlin, 11th July 1928.

To the Delegates of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

Moscow.

Dear Comrades!

The Executive of the Red Front Fighters League in Germany conveys hearty brotherly fighting greetings to the delegates of the Communist Parties of all countries who have assembled in Moscow on the occasion of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

Just as the class-conscious workers of the whole world are looking to Moscow during the session of the Congress, the soldiers of the red class front of Germany pursue the work of the Congress with the greatest attention and greatest interest.

The VI. World Congress of the Communist International is the most vivid expression of the revolutionary will and of the growing international class front of the toilers of the whole world.

All the continents and peoples are represented in the capital of the proletarian fatherland in order to discuss the methods and the tactics of the proletarian emancipation struggle and to create the pre-conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution in all countries.

Inspired by the teachings of Lenin, the VI. World Congress of the general staff of the Communist International will mobilise the toilers of the whole world against the imperialist

attack upon the Soviet Union, but at the same time sharpen the weapons of the class-conscious workers of the whole world for the fight against reformism and fascism. The VI. World Congress is held in the sign of the advance of Communism and the growth of the revolutionary forces, but at the same time in the sign of the concentration of the imperialist powers and of the enemies of the proletarian revolution against the Soviet Union and against Communism.

Therefore, the VI. World Congress must weld all parties of the Communist International closer together in order to render them capable to cope with all the tasks and dangers which are in front of them and victoriously to conduct the struggles.

The Red Front Fighters of Germany, animated by the desire that the work of the VI. World Congress may contribute to rally the working masses of all countries round the banner of the Communist International, fraternally shake your hands by renewing the oath of the League:

To remain for ever the soldier of the Revolution.

To fight always for the Soviet Union and for the victorious world revolution!

With this pledge we send you our League and fighting greeting:

Red Front!

Red Front Fighters
League
Section: Young Red Front.

Signed for the Executive
Werner Jurr.

Red Front Fighters League
signed for the Executive
Willi Leow.

* * *

Chairman Comrade REMMELE:

We now come to the 6th point of our agenda, the appeals of the Congress:

The English, American and Japanese delegations propose an appeal on behalf of the Chinese Revolution which comrade Katayama will read to you.

Appeals of the Congress.

Comrade KATAYAMA:

I have the honour to present a manifesto to the workers and peasants of China, proposed by the British, American, and Japanese sections of the Comintern:

Manifesto on the Chinese Revolution.

To the Workers and Toilers of China.

The VI. Congress of the Comintern sends its fervent greetings to the advanced detachment of the great revolution — the proletariat of China — and to the hundreds of millions of toilers whom it leads in the determined struggle against imperialism and the feudal bourgeois reaction.

Workers and Peasants of China! The proletariat of all countries grieves together with you over your ever bitter losses and rejoices over and admires your victories. The overthrow of imperialism in China, the breaking of the imperialist front at the most important section, necessitates self-sacrifice and courage, and the toilers of China surprised the whole world by their fearlessness and loyalty to the revolutionary cause and their heroic disregard of death. Tens of thousands of workers and peasants have fallen in the struggle against imperialism which is armed to the teeth, and many of them have fallen under the axe of the abominable Kuomintang executioners. But the revolution is alive and its ranks are growing stronger. Eternal memory to the comrades fallen in battle! Glory to the fighters who have taken their place and who carry onward the Red banner of the revolution.

Workers of China! Leadership in the national revolutionary struggle against a world of bourgeois enemies, requires the highest class consciousness, an exact understanding of the driving forces of the revolution and the great obstacles which stand in its way, a proper selection of methods in every given place of struggle. The victory of the Chinese Revolution will be accomplished only by an application of the Marxian Leninist line which has been tested in the struggle. In order to unfetter the agrarian revolution, in order to lead the millions of the scattered peasantry, and not to get lost among them, in order to watch closely all vacillations of the unreliable petty-bourgeois allies and to sweep them mercilessly away when they show the slightest treacherous inclination, the workers of China had to organise as a class which has become conscious of its historical mission and build its mass Communist Party. Out of an inarticulate mass which suffered the most ruthless exploitation and abuse on the part of the imperialist slave-drivers, the young proletariat of China and its Communist Party have been metamorphosed into an international revolutionary factor of first-rate significance. The Congress declares its pride over its Chinese detachment, over the unprecedentedly rapid development and growth of the Communist Party, over the heroism with which it marches among the front ranks of the fighters, over the fearlessness with which it exposes and rectifies the errors committed in its own ranks.

There is no such an oppressed country where the call to arms of revolutionary China has not been heard. The example of Shanghai, Hankow, Heilin and Canton is not only a call to battle — it teaches how history can be attained. The experience of the revolutionary struggle in China has already become the universal possession of all toilers of the East. The Indian

proletariat is entering a new phase of the revolutionary struggle taking into account not only the lessons of the shameful capitulation of its bourgeoisie in 1922, but also the treachery of the Kuomintang in all its shapes and forms. The revolt of the Indonesian masses which was drowned in blood is marshalling its new forces and re-arming its ranks in accordance with the Chinese lesson. Everywhere, in Korea, in Egypt, and in all other countries, the masses of peasants see in the example of the Chinese revolution that the land can be snatched out of the hands of the conquerors and landlords only in close alliance with and under the leadership of the proletariat. Everywhere in the colonies and semi-colonies where the proletariat is consciously outlining the phases of the national-revolutionary struggle, it is confronted with the burning slogans written on the standards of the heroes of Canton and its final aim. The international imperialist sleuths are everywhere hunting for the revolutionary workers of China. The II. International, which has schemed to poison the national liberation struggle with foul reformism, fears more than anything else to be exposed by the Chinese revolutionaries. The workers of Shanghai, Canton and Hankow are the bearers of the victorious revolutionary struggle against imperialism throughout the oppressed East.

Dear Comrades! The international proletariat clearly understands that your struggle undermines the foundations of the capitalist order, that you are a shock detachment of the proletarian revolution. You are faced with a great task which is accompanied by constantly increasing difficulties. You are re-organising your ranks, mobilising new forces, attracting new sections in preparation for the coming attack on the positions which are still in the hands of the enemy under the constant fire of the imperialist artillery and the beastly terror of the Chinese Government. The revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist countries understands its historical obligation to make the greatest sacrifices in giving you revolutionary support in your struggle. The Communist International deems it essential to declare that hitherto the proletariat of the capitalist countries, notwithstanding the heroism of some of its individual representatives, has not succeeded in giving sufficient aid to the workers' and peasants' revolution of China. The VI. Congress sees in the organisation of the international forces of the proletariat for the support of the national-revolutionary struggle and the speeding up of the victory of the revolution in China, one of its major tasks.

The Canton insurrection has been conceived by the workers as a sample of the great heroism of the Chinese workers. Let the next uprising of the broad masses of the workers and peasants, organised on the basis of the consistent and correctly applied principles of Leninism supported by the international proletariat, be the victorious October of China.

Long live the independent and united Chinese Soviet Republic!

Long live the victorious uprising of the oppressed peoples!
Long live World Proletarian Revolution!

The Manifesto is adopted unanimously.

Comrade FOSTER (America):

Comrades: I wish to present to the Congress a resolution in support of the International two-week campaign of aid to the Chinese Revolution. This campaign is organised by the Red International of Labour Unions. The Chinese workers and peasants are carrying on their revolution in the face of the most tremendous difficulties: confronted by the bourgeoisie of China, carrying out a programme of butchering the workers and peasants of China. It is necessary that the workers of the rest of the world rally to the support of the Chinese workers and peasants in the revolution, in the great task of organising the workers of the rest of the world in support of the Chinese revolution. We have to contend with the sabotage of the II. International. These lackeys of world imperialism do all in their power to prevent a real mobilisation of the workers of the world in support of the Chinese Revolution and despite all the efforts of the Communist International and its affiliated Parties.

It must be said that the workers of the world have not yet fully realised the significance of the Chinese Revolution and given it their full support. As one great means for mo-

bilising the workers in support of the Chinese Revolution, this two-week campaign has been organised by the Red International of Labour Unions. The purposes of this campaign are first to develop immediate financial support for the Chinese proletariat and in addition to build and mobilise all the workers generally into more active support of the Chinese Revolution. This campaign begins today and will last for two weeks. It will include all the countries of the world. There has been a Central Committee set up here in Moscow, made up of representatives of the Comintern, Red International of Labour Unions, Y. C. I. Peasant International Council W. I. R., M. O. P. R., and other organisations, and sections have been set up in the respective countries to push forward this campaign. The R. I. L. U. is putting all its resources into developing this movement: issued a special number of its magazine stressing the necessity of this work and is carrying on widespread publicity. This campaign in the various countries must take the form of active collection of funds in support of the Chinese workers, of demonstrations, intense publicity work generally, and it must result in the building of these "Hands off China" committees and the development of the workers mass movement generally in support of the Chinese Revolution.

I read now the resolution that is presented to the Congress on this matter, as follows:

Support the International Two-Week Campaign of Aid to the Chinese Proletariat!

(To the Workers and Peasants of all Countries.)

The VI. Congress of the Comintern appeals to all workers and peasants and to all those who sympathise with the national and social emancipation of the Chinese proletariat to give liberal assistance to the international two-week campaign in aid of the Chinese labour movement organised by the Red International of Labour Unions during the period of July 17-31.

(Applause.)

The appeal is unanimously approved by the Congress.

Comrade HANNINGTON (England):
then reads the appeal against Fascism:

Against Fascism.

To the Communist Parties!

To the workers of the whole world!

For six years the working class of Italy have suffered the Fascist regime. Gripped in the clutches of the growing economic and social crisis, Fascism tightens its pressure ever firmer. It destroys all achievements of the millions of workers and peasants gained in the process of 50 years of economic and political struggle. In their place, the bourgeoisie has created a regime of unlimited exploitation. The class organisations have been displaced by fascist corporations into which the workers and toilers are forcefully driven, corporations which are the instrument of Fascist control over the broad masses and in which factory life, and life in the fields has everywhere acquired the nature of compulsory hard labour.

However, this entire regime of ruthless violence and persecution could not for a moment stop the resistance of the working class which is fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party. Six thousand of revolutionary workers who have been exiled into islands and thrown into prisons are witness of the uninterrupted struggle, of the unexampled self-sacrifice, of the heroic resistance shown by the vanguard of the proletariat to the Fascist regime. The Fascist bourgeoisie which feels the direct menace coming from the struggle of the Communist Party is savagely throwing itself upon its victims who fall into its hands, subjecting them to torture and abominably and cowardly murdering them behind prison walls. The cruel death of Socci, Riva and many other proletarian heroes rouses the indignation of the toilers of the world.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern expresses its admiration for, and its unconditional solidarity with the Italian proletariat and its Communist Party. The Congress fervently calls for a general and untiring mobilisation of proletarian forces for a struggle against the Mussolini regime, against which a wave of protest of the revolutionary masses of the world must be raised. The Fascist regime is feverishly preparing for war.

Two-thirds of Italian industry is working for war. Fascist Italy is an immense prison and an immense arsenal in the service of imperialism.

Comrades! The struggle against Italian Fascism is a sacred duty of the world proletariat. Mobilise your forces against the criminal schemes of Fascist and world reaction! Raise the proletarian masses in support of the victims of Italian Fascism!

Down with the regime of bloody fascist dictatorship!

Down with the extraordinary tribunal!

Down with the murderers of Italian workers and peasants!

Long live the Italian proletariat!

Long live the Communist Party of Italy!

Long live the international solidarity in the struggle against Fascism!

The appeal is adopted unanimously.

Comrade SEMARD (France)

reads the following Appeal:

To the Workers and Peasants of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

To the Red Army Men and Sailors!

Comrades!

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International sends fraternal greetings to the mighty and intrepid vanguard of the world revolution — the workers, peasants, red army men and sailors of the U. S. S. R. — on behalf of millions of the revolutionary working class together with the toiling peasants who are struggling under the Comintern banner.

For over ten years you have been defending and strengthening the proletarian regime in your country.

After the heroic battles of the first years of the proletarian revolution when you drove out and defeated the mercenary white guard gangs and armies of international capitalism which tried to throttle with its iron fist the victorious proletarian dictatorship, after much hard fighting against the counter-revolutionary forces within the country, which endeavoured to undermine and destroy the Soviet power, came years when with the same inexhaustible energy, the same enthusiasm and revolutionary faith, you began the great work of socialist construction.

Neither the wounds inflicted by the economic collapse, a czarist and bourgeois legacy to the proletariat of the U. S. S. R., nor the deadly hatred and active resistance of the whole capitalist world to the work of socialist creativeness of the proletarian revolution were able to put a stop to its victorious development.

You have reconstructed and strengthened your socialist industry, you have done wonders for the industrialisation of the country, by reorganising the whole economy and by constantly eliminating all elements of private capitalism. You have developed mass work toward the practical reorganisation of peasant farming on a collective basis.

Thus you have achieved enormous successes in the construction of socialism by your own efforts in spite of the criminal sabotage of some of your experts who were connected with the white-guard Counter-revolution, and in spite of the curse of red tape for the struggle against which you are constantly mobilising your forces.

Your achievements are to the proletariat and all the workers of the world an example and an object lesson of the enormous superiority of the order which you are creating. The workers of the world are comparing their life with the life of the workers in the U. S. S. R. and see that the difference is growing from year to year.

Over there capitalist rationalisation is steadily increasing the exploitation of the workers, it is lowering their standard of living and is at the same time putting enormous profits into the pockets of the exploiters. In the U. S. S. R., on the other hand, the development of technic is directed towards the improvement of the position of the working class.

Over there the 10 and 12 hour day exists and where the 8 hour day is still in force efforts are constantly being made to lengthen the working hours. In the U. S. S. R. the proletarian government is beginning to introduce the 7-hour day.

Over there increased persecution and oppression of national minorities and colonial peoples. In the U. S. S. R. the nationalities formerly oppressed by czarism, have now of their own free will entered the union of Socialist Soviet republics and are developing under conditions of mutual help and cooperation.

The growth of your economic power, the consolidation of the position of the proletarian dictatorship, the support which is given to your cause by the proletariat and all workers in other countries are adding fuel to the hatred and fury of the capitalist world.

Therefore international reaction is getting ready for an armed attack on the U. S. S. R.

The coalition of all imperialist and capitalist forces is forming an infernal circle around the country of proletarian dictatorship. Diplomats and generals are intriguing, they are training armed gangs and are indulging in provocative acts against the U. S. S. R. Social Democrats in all countries are endeavouring to outdo their imperialist masters in their baiting of the U. S. S. R.

Comrades! The answer of the Communist International to the growing danger of a war against the Soviet Union is a call for the mobilisation of all proletarian forces in defense of the U. S. S. R. the country of all workers, the citadel of their struggle against world capitalism. If the imperialist brigands will try to carry out their criminal designs, millions of proletarians and peasants in all the countries of the world will be found on your side in order to defend the proletarian revolution. You will have millions of allies in the imperialist rear, to defend the U. S. S. R., your comrades and brothers will come forward and will carry on with indefatigable energy and self-sacrifice a deadly struggle against capitalism.

In all big works, in the transport service, on warships, and in the armies of your capitalist enemies, thousands and thousands of proletarians and peasants will defend the red banner of the Soviet Union, the banner of the International proletariat. We will struggle for the transformation of the criminal war against the U. S. S. R. into a war against our own exploiters and for the victory of the world revolution.

Long live the proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the Red Army Men and Sailors, who are keeping watch over the citadel of the world proletarian revolution!

Long live the solidarity of workers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the world with the U. S. S. R.!

Long live the world proletarian revolution!

The Appeal is unanimously adopted.

After a few technical announcements the Congress closed at 11 p. m. The next session will take place, Wednesday, July 18, at 5 p. m.