

# The Sixth Red World Congress

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Two major features among others characterize the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International that met nearly two full months—July and August—in Moscow. These are:

First:—The unusual number of important questions placed on the agenda of the congress, all of them receiving careful and detailed attention, including the report on the international situation and the tasks of the Comintern by Comrade Bukharin, the program of the Communist International, the imperialist war danger, colonial question, the economic situation in the U. S. S. R. and the situation in the C. P. S. U.

Second:—Increasing representation from the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the vast American Negro population, with China, Indonesia, India and Latin America, as well as the Negro problem in the United States and Africa being continually in the center of the discussions in the congress.

## Ten Years.

The Sixth Congress assembled after the triumphant celebration of the glorious tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, and on the eve of the tenth anniversary (March, 1929) of the Comintern itself.

In pointing out that the tasks of the world Communist movement have become extremely complicated, Comrade Bukharin said, in opening the congress, that:

"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 stabilization. This created for the Communist movement new and 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 mobilization of the forces of the working class. It compelled the Communist International to seek in every-day life, on the basis of the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, the means of mobilization of the masses for a new battle, for a new, more sweeping and more destructive blow at capitalism."

## Intricate Problems.

The entire discussion of the whole congress was bent toward solving these intricate problems; the task of this congress "of proletarian revolutionaries." Thus the gathering became a "serious review of the general staffs of the various detachments of the International Communist army."

Unanimous on all the vital questions that came before it, the congress also registered unanimity for the declaration that at present the principal danger in the Comintern comes from the right tendency. This danger is kept alive by the period of stabilization, the survival of parliamentarianism, the influence of social-democracy and certain specific peculiarities in trade union activities. This danger, assuming various forms in the different parties, manifested itself in the aspiration to legality at any price, by excessive submission to bourgeois laws, in ignoring the necessity for accentuating the class struggle, in wrong policies toward the social-democracy, insufficient accentuation of the struggle against the "left" social-democracy, in the inadequate internationalization of the parties

## War Danger and Colonial Questions Among Those Taken Up at Communist Meet

as was the case in regard to the Chinese revolution, and in trade union activities where general trade union discipline is frequently considered more important than our Party discipline.

### Score Trotskyism.

The greatest danger to the Comintern came, some time ago, from the so-called ultra-lefts. These endeavored to set up an international organization. The collapse came with the complete rout of the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was declared that Trotskyism is a social-democratic tendency. The history of the Lenin Bund has shown that the core of the opposition has migrated to the social-democrats. The dialectics of the relationships between the so-called "ultra-left" and the right could be distinctly seen. After the defeat of the Trotskyist opposition, which represented a bloc of the right and ultra-left, the chief danger is undoubtedly the right wing danger.

The congress showed itself fully aware that the imperialist war danger is growing from month to month. In this connection Comrade Bukharin, in his closing remarks on the tasks of the Comintern, criticized those comrades who "keep internal contradictions in one pocket and external contradictions in another," declaring that this was a reflection of an under-estimation of the war danger. From the objective point of view it is the reflection of the right wing dangers in the Communist International. The principal danger that threatens us is the under-estimation of the war danger. It was pointed out that the various parties do not link up the war danger with other questions in such a way as to subordinate all other tasks to the task of combatting approaching war.

### Fight War Danger.

Thus the struggle against the imperialist war held the center of attention at the congress in the discussion, not only on the general report submitted by Comrade Tom Bell (Great Britain), but also on the supplementary reports of Comrades Schneller (Germany), Garlandi (Italy), Lovestone (United States), and Barbe (France).

The Eighth Plenum (May, 1927) of the Comintern, in the midst of the raid on Arcos in Great Britain, the assassination of Voikov in Poland, and the attacks on the Soviet embassies and consulates at Peking and Shanghai, had already thoroughly considered and acted on the war danger. The Sixth Congress, therefore, had behind it a year of struggle against the war danger, and the many valuable experiences resulting therefrom. The congress joined in the international demonstrations against war on the anniversary of the outbreak of the European slaughter, which ended now nearly ten years ago with the armed truce that still suspends the world on another volcano's brink.

### Note Changes.

The Theses on the Struggle Against the Imperialist War points out that the changes in the world situation since the Fifth World Congress are characterized by a tremendous intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, by the

great economic and political strengthening of the Soviet Union, by the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonial countries, above all, in China. The Theses deals with this problem under five main headings: (1) The Imminence of Imperialist War; (2) The Attitude of the Proletariat Towards War; (3) The Attitude of the Proletariat Towards the Army; (4) The Attitude of the Proletariat to the Disarmament Question and the Struggle Against Pacifism, and (5) The Defects and Tasks of the Communist Parties.

The Theses declares that a war of imperialism against the Soviet Union is an open counter-revolutionary class war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat of every country. Its chief aim is the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship; the basis for the tactics of the proletariat of capitalist countries for the struggle against his war is furnished by the Bolshevik program of struggle against imperialist war; the transformation into the civil war. In this connection considerable attention is given to the fact that the social-democracy is serving more and more brazenly as an active counter-revolutionary preparation for war against the Soviet Union. The proletariat is urged to give the greatest attention to the methods of the social-democracy with which the latter is ideologically preparing the war against the Soviet Union. Some of these methods are: (a) Dissemination of such lies and slanders as "Red Imperialism" and "Red Militarism," "Identity of Fascism and Bolshevism," etc.; (b) the malicious propaganda that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cause of war or one of the causes of war; (c) the hypocritical attitude that "We are for the support of the Soviets but against the Communists and the Comintern"; (d) propagation of defeatism towards the Soviet government under a "left" mask. The war danger during the last year has given us several examples, especially on the part of the German social-democrats. These examples are no less clearly expressed by the allies of the social-democracy, the Trotskyists, e. g., in their phrases about "Thermidorism," "kulakisation," etc.

### Reformist Betrayers.

The so-called left leaders of the social-democracy, who were characterized by the Eighth Plenum as the most dangerous enemies of Communism in the labor movement, have completely confirmed this characterization in recent months, particularly at the Brussels Congress of the Second International.

Considerable attention is given to the national-revolutionary wars of the oppressed colonies and semi-colonies which Lenin predicted in 1916, have changed from a theoretical certainty into a world historical fact in recent years. As examples of such wars are mentioned the war in Morocco against French and Spanish imperialism, uprisings in Syria, wars in Mexico and Nicaragua against American imperialism, and finally the great Chinese northern expedition in 1926-27. Since the national-revolutionary wars will play an important role in the pres-

ent epoch of the world revolution, the proletariat is called upon to devote the greatest attention to the experiences and lessons of these wars.

In outlining the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries against pacifism, it is emphasized that the most important tool of the imperialists in the disarmament farce is social-democracy which spreads among the masses the illusion that genuine disarmament and abolition of war are possible without the overthrow of imperialism.

### Colonial Question.

The Theses on the Colonial Question, presented by Comrade Kuusinen, was based on the Theses of the Second Congress written by Lenin. It was much more detailed and reviewed developments up to the present time. The Sixth Congress declares that the "Principles on the National and Colonial Question" adopted at the Second Congress still have full validity, and still serve as a guiding line for the further work of Communist Parties. Since the time of the Second Congress the actual importance of the colonies, however, has vitally increased as crisis factors in the capitalistic world system. All basic questions of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies are immediately bound up with the greatest epoch-making struggle between the capitalist and socialist systems, which are now being fought out on a world scale in the form of the struggle of world imperialism against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and within each of the various capitalist countries between the existing bourgeois class regime and the Communist movement.

The Theses reviews in detail the essence of imperialist colonial policy, the various types of colonial countries and the position of the peasantry, the question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the most important countries, and sets forth the immediate general tasks of the Communists. Most important features of the theses are its declarations on "decolonization" and its analysis of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The theses declares that all the talk of the imperialists and their lackeys about the "decolonization" policy of the imperialist powers towards their colonies, about the fostering of their "development in liberty," is nothing else than an imperialist lie. It is extremely important that the Communists, in both the imperialist and colonial countries, shall completely unmask this lie.

### Communist Program.

The phase of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which is at present involved in countries like India and China, with relatively broadly developed class differentiation, and the Union of South Africa, the Philippines, Algiers and Tunis, and in part of Morocco, where class differentiation is likewise relatively developed, is the phase of transition to the Socialist revolution. The historical meaning of this phase consists precisely in the preparation of the pre-conditions for the proletarian dictatorship of the socialist revolution.

One of the monumental achievements of the congress was the building of the program of the Communist International. This task had been specially referred to the Sixth Congress. The original draft as submitted by Comrades Bukharin and Stalin went through a long pe-