

# **- INTERNATIONAL -**

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# **CORRESPONDENCE**

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## **The V. World Congress of the Communist International.**

### **The Opening of the Congress.**

Moscow, June 17, 1924.

The ceremonial opening of the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International took place this evening in the Grand Theatre. The enormous auditorium, which holds about 5,000 persons, was decorated with red bunting. On the tiers the greeting of the Moscow proletariat to the Congress was blazoned forth in great white letters. On the stage was a picture of our Lenin of unforgettable memory.

Long before the opening of the session, every seat in the auditorium was filled. Innumerable deputations of workers, working women, red-army men, sailors, young communists, and pioneers had come to greet the delegates to the Fifth World Congress in the capital of the proletarian state. When Zinoviev, Rykov, and Clara Zetkin appeared on the Tribune the enthusiasm was indescribable.

Comrade Kolarov was in the chair.

#### **Kolarov:**

Comrades, for the Fifth time the representatives of the revolutionary workers and peasants of all countries have gathered in the capital of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in order to discuss the problems of the revolutionary movement. During the year and a half which have elapsed since the last congress, many events of gigantic importance have taken place and much has changed both in the general international situation and in the life and development of our parties. During this period the Communist International and the proletariat led by it has been carrying on a heavy fight on all fronts. In this fight, we have suffered defeat on many fronts, have made great sacrifices, and have had heavy losses. Our first word must be for the loss of the greatest leader of the world-revolution—Comrade Lenin. (The delegates rise; the orchestra plays the funeral march.) Let us here remember our comrade Dimitri Blagoyev, one of the founders of the First Social Democratic Party in Russia and the founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party. (The delegates rise; the orchestra plays the funeral march.) We cannot commence our labours without recalling thousands of others, simple workers and peasants, who have fallen in the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades: we do not only mourn. We must remember with pleasure the great successes which the Communist International and its sections have achieved during this short period. Our party

has become stronger in every country; our world party, the Communist International, looks forward to the future in confidence and knowledge of certain final victory. I hereby declare the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International open. (Stormy applause). (The International is sung. At this juncture Comrade Trotzky appeared on the Tribune, and was greeted by a stormy ovation from all sides. A voice: "Long live the Red Army! Hurrah!")

#### **Milutin:**

in the name of all the delegations, proposed the following comrades for the Presidium of the Congress: Comrade Zinoviev, Chairman; Clara Zetkin; Comrades Stalin, Bukharin, Trotzky, (Russia); Braun, Gebhardt, (Germany); Treint, Sellier, (France); Bordiga, (Italy); Smeral, Muna, (Czecho-slovakia); Kolarov, (Balkans); Kraevsky, (Poland); Katayama (Japan)—(a voice: Long live the peoples of the East!) Roy, (India); Stewart, (Great Britain); Dunne, (America). Secretariat: Piatnitski, MacManus, Neurath, Doriot, Stirner (applause). The Presidium and the Secretariat were approved unanimously.

Comrade Zinoviev, amid stormy applause, then proceeded to make the opening speech.

#### **Zinoviev:**

At the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International we shall have to deal with the question of the programme of the Communist International. It is a difficult matter to create a programme which will satisfy all the requirements of the movement and which will correspond with our theory. We, however, have two names which completely express the programme of the Communist International: Marx and Lenin. It was under the banner of Marx that the Comintern was called into existence and under the leadership of Lenin that the Comintern fought and built up its organisations. I believe, comrades, that our Congress can have no greater honour than to recognise that it is our duty to follow that path which Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin has pointed out for the world proletariat and for the international revolution. When Marx died, Engels wrote that the proletariat had lost that centre to which French, Russians, Americans, and Germans in critical moments had turned for counsel and aid. Vladimir Ilyitch has even after his death left such a centre to which the proletariat of all countries may turn for counsel and assistance. The centre is here;

the centre is the Communist International. Our Fifth Congress will prove to the world that the greatest leader of International socialism has not worked among us in vain.

We must first of all remember the victims of our International movement. We send our warmest greetings to those who took part in the Cracow uprising, to the Polish workers and peasants, to those on whom the White Guards are now wreaking their vengeance; to the rebellious workers and peasants of Bulgaria, who are languishing in prison and in exile; we remember the thousands of German workers who, with the aid of the White social-democrats have been flung into jails; the Indian revolutionaries who have recently been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; and the Communist Party of Egypt, which after an attempt to occupy factories, was obliged to suffer defeat. Above all we remember the sacrifices made by the youth movement. Recently Comrade Engel was shot in Poland and young workers of Poland have within the last few weeks received sentences of imprisonment amounting together to five hundred years. We recall the heroic work of the young French and German workers in the Ruhr. The Communist International will support the youth movement with every means at its disposal, since there is no more promising revolutionary movement than our excellent International Youth.

Events have not developed with quite the speed we expected. But on the other hand there is no need for us to hang our heads when we look back upon the path we have traversed. After five years of existence we have a half-dozen overthrown emperor's thrones and we have conquered a sixth-part of the globe. During this period the Second International has for a second time come into power, but wherever it has come into power it has become the defender of the cause of the bourgeoisie.

Many of our parties have in this period passed through the fiery test of illegality and have become steeled and strengthened in the process.

The Second International is at present occupying itself with the Experts' Report, and Crispian has immortalised his name by the phrase that the Experts' Report means the capitulation of the bourgeoisie before Marxism. These smug fellows apparently confuse Karl Marx with the present German Prime Minister, Marx. The question of world war cannot be removed from the agenda as long as these traitors exercise influence over the masses. We shall never forget how these gentlemen behaved at the outbreak of the war. We shall not forget the 13,000,000 dead, the 10,000,000 cripples, and the 20,000,000 wounded of the world war, for which they are responsible.

It will be the task of our Congress to discuss a number of important questions. An estimate of the events in Germany will be of great significance for the fate of the Communist International and of our tactics. The "Labour Government" in Britain and our attitude towards it; the "left bloc" in France and the tasks of the French Communist Party; the lessons to be deduced from Bulgaria; the Italian policy; our Russian discussion, which has stirred a number of parties, and the balance sheet of which has now to be drawn up; the tactics of the united front and the labour movement; — all these questions await the answer of our Congress. As you are aware, as the result of several failures, attempts will be made to revise the tactics of the united front as a whole. Of course, the tactics of the united front cannot claim to be a complete teaching. It is merely a part of applied Marxism for a given period. Nevertheless, we regard it as one of the most important weapons of the Communist International.

We shall have to discuss a number of important problems of the international trade union movement and our tasks in Germany, Britain, France, Poland, Scandinavia, and in the Balkans. We shall have to judge the results of our new economic policy. Such are the tasks facing us and I believe that we are all moved by the desire to solve them in the spirit of the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

## Rykov:

greeted the Congress in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. He declared that during the period since the Fourth Congress the sections of the Communist International have become real mass-parties. Since the Fourth Congress the Soviet Union had been organised. The death of Lenin had been a severe blow for the whole of the Communist International. The period since the death of Lenin was one in which the Russian Communist Party rallied the nonparty masses around the Party, The Lenin Enrolment proves that in the Russian Communist Party the Comintern possesses its best vanguard. The accumulation of revolutionary energy within the Comintern is proceeding

with satisfactory speed. This fact gives the Soviet Union every assurance that the Russian workers and peasants can carry-on until the world revolution.

## Lozovsky:

greeted the Congress in the name of the Red International of Labour Unions and the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

There then followed a charming scene which moved the delegates deeply. Before the table of the Presidium and to the sound of drums, there filed a delegation from the Young Pioneers wearing red neckerchiefs. The speaker for the delegation, a lad of about 13 years of age, Semenkovsky, greeted the World Congress and appealed to the spirit of revolution. There then followed the greetings of a large number of delegations from Moscow factories. The workers of "The Red Proletariat" works presented the Congress with a sledgehammer as a symbol of the fight against the bourgeoisie. There then followed the greetings from a representative of 400 graduates of the Communist Sverdlov University.

## Gebhardt (Germany):

replying to the greetings in the name of the delegates, said: "We, who have been greeted with warm love and glowing enthusiasm, are possessed by one thought: we came to Moscow as to the birthplace of the world revolution. We came here not to utter empty phrases, but to draw new strength from the mother-land of the world-revolution with which to fight and to work. Lenin is no more. However great the void which the death of Lenin has left in the International proletarian movement, however great our pain may be, we must not give way to gloom, for we know that Leninism must permeate the whole world.

In the name of the Presidium Comrade Kolarov proposed that a manifesto should be sent to the Red Army, the Red Fleet, and the Red Air Fleet (enthusiastic applause. Cries of: Hurrah! Comrade Trotzky!)

## To the Red Army the Red Navy, and the Red Air Fleet. Warriors of the Red Army!

We, with you, in the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, have suffered a great loss. Our teacher, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, he who taught the toilers of the whole world that only by organized and intensive fighting can we abolish the power of capital and establish real fraternity between the emancipated nations, has died. Here, in the capital of the Union of Republics, under your powerful protection, we find great consolation in the fact that Lenin still lives in the great Soviet Union, in the growing Communist International and in the Red Army, the gallant protector of the gains of the revolution.

Dear comrades! In greeting you in the name of millions and millions of toilers we consider it our duty to remind you that the power of capitalism is not yet broken, that the robbers are forging new chains for the oppressed and dispossessed, and are preparing for new wars. All the hatred of the landlords, bankers, and capitalists, of the whole world is directed against the only worker and peasant country which they regard as the bulwark of the toilers. You must be vigilant. You must remember that the danger of fresh wars will continue as long as power in the world remains in the hands of the oppressors.

The dispossessed of all countries, the wage slaves, and the slaves of the colonies, look to you as the warriors in the only army that protects the toilers and with concentrated attention follow your work, your struggle, and your successes.

The Communist International knows that the Soviet Government, striving for peace, is continually reducing the Red Army. At the present day the territorial divisions represent a great part of the army becomes, the shorter the period of service, the greater is the vigilance demanded from the warriors in the Red Army in order to be ready at any moment to resist attack.

The Communist International, aware of your great and glorious past, boldly looks ahead with the conviction that when the hour strikes, the Red Army will fulfil its duty with honour.

Long live the Red Army, the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the dispossessed!

Long live the world revolution!

Comrade Treint conveyed the greetings of the French communists to the Moscow working class. The fight conducted by the communists in France has borne fruit. The Poincaré Ministry has been overthrown. A new tendency has appeared in France. The left bourgeoisie, supported by the social democrats, will propose a new Peace of Versailles, which will be as hard as the first, but much cleverer and more hypocritical. Comrade Treint then read a resolution against the White Terror, which was unanimously adopted.

## Against the White Terror.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International is meeting at the moment when the severest White Terror is raging in a number of countries.

Tens of thousands of workers and peasants, members of Communist parties and trade unions, are today lingering in the jails of Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, Ireland, Spain and Japan.

Hundreds of Irishmen are under arrest awaiting trial because they protested against British imperialism. Twenty-five thousand Indian revolutionaries, who fought to emancipate their country from the yoke of slavery, have been flung into the prisons of British imperialism.

Death sentences, executions without trial, and the torture of prisoners in Polish prisons, recalling the worst days of the medieval inquisition, the torments to which the hardened executioners subject their prisoners of the class struggle, every day make fresh additions to the Book of Martyrs of the proletarian struggle.

In Italy the mass murders and pogroms perpetrated by the unrestrained gangs of fascisti; the sanguinary extermination of the Communists during the earthquake in Japan; the shooting of prisoners in the Rumanian jails, "during attempts to escape"; the assassination of labour leaders in Spain; all these are episodes in the story of the vengeance the bourgeoisie is taking against the labour leaders and the revolutionary movement in all countries.

German workers, seamen, heroes of German revolts; Bulgarian rebels, peasants who fought to overthrow the fascist dictatorship by armed force; Cracow workers whom the Polish bourgeoisie are preparing to convict; the heroic proletarians of Italy; champions of Irish independence; Indian revolutionaries; — all fighters for the world commune — the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, gathered in the capital of the world revolution, through the walls of your prisons sends you its fervid greetings.

No sacrifices are too heavy for the communards of all countries to bear for the great cause of emancipating the toilers and the oppressed. Executions, torture, and White Terror cannot hold up our movement.

The hour of victory is near!

Proletarians of all countries, seize your comrades out of the hands of their enemy captors, break the power of the capitalist executioners, reconstruct the whole world into a single commune!

## Stewart (Great Britain)

read an appeal to the oppressed peoples of the Eastern countries which also was adopted unanimously by the Congress.

## Fraternal Peoples of Eastern Countries.

The death of Comrade Lenin, the heavy blow struck at the heart of the International working class, was remarkably echoed in your hearts, you, oppressed peoples of the East.

By your demonstrations of mourning and your mass meetings devoted to the memory of Lenin, and by other evidences of your profound grief, you showed that you recognise Lenin as your leader and that his name became the banner for the whole of the rising East.

Lenin's slogans are your slogans.

The revolutionary tenets of our beloved Lenin are as plain and near to the heart of every Turkish peasant, every Persian ambala, every Afghan nomad, and every Egyptian fellaheen, as they are to the dock labourers of Japan, the Chinese railwaymen, and Korean coolies and will inspire you in your historically inevitable battles for a better future.

The Communist International, together with the proletariat of all countries, with intense and untiring attention, follows the

heroic fight you are conducting for your national independence, for your emancipation from the degrading oppression of International capital.

In its striving to capture fresh markets in the East, the imperialist bourgeoisie has become accustomed to regard the Eastern states as objects for their ruthless and piratical exploitation and as a source of their colonial might.

You numerous masses, populating the enormous territories of the Near, the Middle, and the Far East, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, are their inalienable slaves, born only for the purpose of creating wealth for the ruling classes of Western Europe and America.

During the world war the capitalists of all countries were most generous in their promises of autonomy, home rule, and almost independence, to their subject colonies.

This was a cunning diplomatic manoeuvre, on the part of the exploiting bourgeoisie, at a critical moment to retain the subjection of their colonies and to secure a flow of reinforcements for their wearied armies out of the plentiful human reservoir which you provide. On the very next day after the conclusion of the sanguinary massacre, the world imperialist bourgeoisie, cynically forgetting their promises, set to work with fresh energy to crush India, to plunder China, to partition Turkey and to enslave Persia.

In answer to this challenge, you oppressed peoples of the East unanimously rose to the struggle for your national emancipation.

Know that you do not stand alone in this self-sacrificing struggle! You have on your side the unbounded sympathy of the vanguard of the proletarians of all countries. The piratical bourgeoisie which exploits you in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East, with equal ruthlessness oppresses the working class of Western Europe and Amerika.

Our paths, leading to the overthrow of capitalist penal servitude and imperialist oppression, are quite identical.

The real and final emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the East as well as of the working class of the West is possible only by establishing a close alliance and joint struggle against world capitalism.

The peasants of all countries are already rallying to the banner of the Communist International, and you, the peasants of the East, should take your place by the side of your western brothers.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern stretches out to you its hand of fraternal aid, mutual support, and joint struggle.

The Fifth Congress of the Comintern greets you, the young Communist parties of the East, working and fighting in exceptionally difficult conditions of economic backwardness, feudal survivals, and barbaric torture and executions which thin your ranks.

While unceasingly conducting their struggle against the imperialists and the native feudal lords, the Communist parties in the Eastern countries will as hitherto support every genuine national liberation movement directed towards the overthrow of the exploiting oppression of foreign capitalism and confront the international piratical bourgeoisie by a united anti-imperialist front.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International greets you, the peoples of Turkey and Afghanistan, who have thrown off the yoke of vassal dependence and repulsed all the attacks of the imperialist bandits.

At the same time the Fifth Congress of the Communist International sends its hearty greetings to the Kuomintang of China and the National Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, which are forging a great and glorious future for their peoples.

The hour of vengeance against capital is drawing near. Under the unfurled banner of the Communist International, the working class of the world, in alliance with the oppressed nations of the East, are preparing for the last decisive battle for the general storming of the fortress of capitalism, in its fight for the power of the working class and the establishment of a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Communist system in the whole world.

The Congress then confirmed the resolution of the Executive regarding the demonstrations against the war and against the social patriots, which are to be arranged by all the sections of the Communist International from July 27 to August 4. The demonstrations are in no circumstances to be arranged in common with the social democrats. The Congress thereupon sent the following.

## Fraternal Greetings to the Comrades of the Lenin Enrolment.

In the fatal hour, when the heart of our great teacher ceased to beat, the working class of the Union of Soviet Republics, which indicated new paths to the oppressed and dispossessed of the whole world, gave its best sons to the Communist Party in order, by combined efforts, to continue the great task of the emancipation of labour in accordance with the tenets of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. The Lenin enrolment is not only a demonstration of the confidence enjoyed by the Russian Communist Party, but is also a source of new strength and courage in the march along the stormy path of the struggle against the world robbers.

Dear comrades! Not only have the toilers of the Soviet Union looked with admiration upon your efforts to strengthen the Communist Party after the death of its founder and leader, but the toilers of the whole world, with bated breath, watched events in the first republic of labour during those sad days when toiling humanity lost its greatest leader. We all find consolation in the fact that Lenin lives in the great heart of the working class which brought about the October Revolution. We are profoundly convinced that your example will be followed by the proletariat in other countries which regarded and still regards Lenin, not only as the leader of the Russian Revolution, but as the leader and teacher of the oppressed of all countries. At the same time the Communist International, through its Fifth Congress, regards it as its duty to remind you that, having taken your place under the banner of Lenin, you have undertaken a great but difficult responsibility.

The Russian Communist Party has been and remains a model of steel-like discipline and indomitable energy for the Communist Parties of all countries. You have entered the ranks of this party after you lost your teacher and leader. The moment you chose to enter the ranks of the Communist Party is evidence of the fact you clearly understand the tasks which confront the working class of the Soviet Union and of the whole world. These tasks are enormous. The robbers of all countries would rather drown the whole of humanity in blood than surrender their position. We have a long intense struggle before us, full of trials, which will demand the concentrated efforts of the toilers, particularly of the vanguard of the working class, as represented by the United World Communist Party.

The Communist International is aware of the great part of the working class of the Soviet Union. The working class of this country has occupied first place in the ranks of the fighting proletariat since 1905. The greatest accomplishment of the working class of the Soviet Union is its Communist Party, which was able to carry the first labour revolution to a victorious finish, amidst incredible difficulties. You have joined the ranks of this party, and in greeting you, the Communist International is convinced that you will justify the confidence which the working class of the Soviet Union, which put you forward, has in you as the banner bearers of Leninism.

Long live the Russian Communist Party!  
Long live the Lenin Enrolment!  
Long live the Communist International!

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Thereupon the session was closed with the singing of the International.

### Second Day of Session.

Moscow, June 18, 1924.

Comrade Kolarov opened the session at six o'clock and informed the Congress that the Moscow workers had already assembled on the Red Square and that therefore the reports on the first point on the agenda "Lenin and the Comintern", should be delivered from the Lenin Mausoleum.

The delegates marched in serried ranks led by a band of the Red Army to the Red Square where already thousands of Moscow workers, delegated by the factories, with bands and innumerable red banners, had assembled in order to hear the reports on "Lenin and the Comintern". Arrived at the grave of Comrade Lenin, the delegates to the Congress filed past the bier of our dead leader. The delegates from 52 countries, from all parts of the globe, many of whom had seen him last in Zimmerwald and Kienthal, many who had seen him at the height of his work, and many who saw him now for the first time, lying embalmed on the bier, gazed at Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin. He lay in the coffin, his face pale, but almost unchanged, as though he only slept. It was a mournful and yet noble sight, the mortal shell of the man who had given the greatest to mankind.

The Presidium of the Congress then mounted the Mausoleum tribune. Comrade Kolarov called upon Kalinin to report upon

## Lenin and the Comintern.

### Kalinin:

Comrades, long before the Congress every one of you knew that the first word at the Congress would be devoted to the leader of the Russian Revolution and of the Communist International. The study of his work in all its phases is one of the most important tasks of the international proletariat. His teachings have enriched not only the Russian Bolsheviks but also the Communist Parties of the whole world, with so great experience from which we should be able, for many years to come, to derive our replies to the most complicated questions.

The three main ideas of Lenin are the alliance of the workers with the peasants, the solutions of the national question and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The idea of the alliance between the workers and the peasants occupied him from the earliest days of his activities. He put the question in such a way that every mujik could understand it.

Closely connected with the peasant question is the national question, to which Lenin also devoted the greatest attention. The population of the Soviet Union is comprised of many nationalities at various cultural levels. The national question is therefore an urgent question for the Soviet Union. Lenin on this question carried on a bitter fight against all deviations.

The treachery of many of the leaders of the western European workers severely affected the Russian proletariat, but under the influence of its leader it realised that only the Soviet state and only the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the way to Socialism.

### Severing (Germany):

The first word of the Fifth Congress must be dedicated to the memory of Lenin, the creator of the Russian Communist Party, the creator of Soviet Russia. His work has not only taken root in the masses of the workers and peasants of Russia. He is the symbol of world revolution in every country; he is especially the symbol of revolution for the German proletariat. The German Communist Party, which is painfully conscious of the fact that it has not yet destroyed its bourgeoisie and seized power, knows that it can triumph only under the banner of Lenin. The thought of Lenin has taken deep root in the German working class. In opposition to the nationalist demonstrations it is trying to create memorials to Lenin. A town in the heart of the Upper Silesian coal and industrial area, which is named after the mass murderer of the world war, Hindenburg, has now a communist majority. Our comrades have decided to change Hindenburg into Leninburg. This has enraged the bourgeoisie and they know that they have no more dangerous enemy than the Communist Party, which under the banner of Leninism, will triumph. The Third International was founded by Lenin and in spite of all difficulties, it will force its path from Russia through Europe and through the whole world.

### Roy (India),

the representative of the Indian revolutionary movement, which is now being severely repressed by the British Labour Government. On this day, when the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the world are assembled here in the heart of the world revolution in order to bring you the greetings of the exploited of all countries, we must remember that this is the first World Congress of the Communist International which is taking place without our beloved comrade Lenin. Lenin, indeed, is dead, but he has left behind him a compact army, an army of steel, which under the banner of Leninism will triumph. This is not the time to declare what the Communist International, indeed what the whole world proletariat, owes to Lenin. There is only one point I should like to deal with here. It was Lenin who created a real international. The old internationals, under the leadership of the social patriots, were only national affairs of the European and the American workers. It was Lenin who was able to rally round himself not only the proletariat of Europe and America but also the oppressed and exploited of the colonies and semi-colonies. We know that the world revolution will triumph only under the banner of Leninism. Long live Leninism! (Stormy applause.)

The session closed with this speech. Led by the Congress Presidium, the delegates, walked past the front of the workers' deputations amid the greatest enthusiasm, which increased when the crowd recognised Comrade Zinoviev and Trotzky, who received a great ovation.