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Manifesto of the VI. World Congress of the Communist International.

To the Workers of the World!

To All Workers and Peasants!

To All Oppressed Colonial Peoples!

To the Soldiers and Sailors of the Capitalist Armies and Navies!

Comrades, Fellow workers!

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the representative of the revolutionary workers all over the world, of all nations peoples and races, appeals to you from Moscow, the red capital of the new world, to prepare yourselves for a struggle against the ever more insolent forces of capitalism.

The master of the world, capital, which exploits the labour power of the workers in the most brutal fashion, which sucks out their strength, which turns the proletariat into a unit of capitalist technique, which wears out its proletarian slaves in the process of production, which places the most wonderful discoveries of science in the service of the golden calf, which introduces ever more complicated and splendid machines, which introduces to an ever increasing extent the conveyor and flings millions of workers on to the streets,

which gives them stones instead of bread, capital is now marching into the struggle against the rights and freedom of the working class. It is pressing the standard of living of the workers down ever lower, raising the bloody sword of the white terror and preparing for a new world war under the cloak of lying and bombastic phrases of world peace.

Imperialism has once again placed the question of war upon the agenda. From day to day the competition between the great powers and their finance-capitalist cliques is sharpening. Their attacks upon the colonies are becoming ever more brutal, their attempts to encircle the tremendous body of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ever more determined.

The United States of America, at whose gateway the great statue of liberty rears its head to the sky, is laying its hands more firmly on new countries and continents, including also

lands belonging to its chief rival Great Britain. American capitalism, firmly seated upon the treasuries bursting with gold recently minted from the blood and horror of the late imperialist war, is attempting to undermine the Republic of Mexico, is sending punitive expeditions to Nicaragua and stations its warships in Chinese harbours. American capitalism has fettered a number of European and South American countries with the gold chains of credit, and does not hesitate to call these countries sharply to heel like dogs when they show any sign of resisting its sacred will.

Along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean and in the boundless territories of China, American capitalism collides with the predatory, insolent, cunning and deceitful imperialism of Japan, whose troops have occupied a considerable part of China. Japanese imperialism is carrying on a war of extermination against all the forces of the Chinese people which are not prepared to subordinate themselves to its barbaric regime of terror. Millions of Chinese workers, peasants and handworkers are bowed down under the iron yoke of Japanese imperialism, which is brutally crushing the Chinese people and preparing for a terrible duel with its American rival and at the same time purchasing itself a breathing space with provocative excesses against the Soviet Union.

These excesses form a link in the chain of the general hostility of the imperialist States to the State of the proletarian dictatorship, which is alive and developing, carrying out constructive work everywhere regardless of the venomous howls of rage and the threatening rattle of sabres in the camp of the enemies who would like to intimidate the land of the socialist dictatorship of the workers and force it to its knees.

Despite all the contradictions and antagonisms which exist between the capitalist powers, and despite their deep and growing mutual hatred, they are preparing, with Great Britain at their head, a war against the Soviet Union. They are systematically preparing for war. They are preparing for war with all the means at their disposal. Every hour is filled with war preparations. The attempts of a number of powers, from the powerful United States to pitiful Austria, the mutilated invalid in the ranks of the European nations, to blockade the Soviet Union financially, the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain, the conclusion of diplomatic and military alliances against the Soviet Union, the constant provocative threats of the Republic of Marshal Pilsudski, this insolent militarist who has placed the so-called representation of the people into the category of prostitution and who rattles with the sabre to the same degree as he licks the boots of the generals and ministers of Great Britain and France, the almost open work of the General Staffs of the Entente in the Baltic States and in Roumania, and finally the insolent provocations of Japanese imperialism — all these things must act as a warning to all honest workers, for all proletarians and for all the oppressed all over the world who see in the Soviet Union their Fatherland wrung from the hands of the capitalists and rich landowners by the hot blood of the sons of the working class.

The "civilised" robbers, the bloodhounds of the General Staffs, the swindlers of secret diplomacy, the Bank magnates and the Trust kings who are carrying on a criminal war in China, bombarding Chinese towns, occupying Chinese territory, robbing the Chinese people of the means of its existence and destroying its most active sons, preparing attacks upon each other, organising their forces for a common action against the Soviet Union, arming themselves to the teeth, on land, on the sea and in the air, who are using science to prepare the most barbarous, destructive and inhuman war which will stifle the workers with poison gas and slaughter them in great agony with artificially injected sicknesses, who conduct "monkey trials" against the teachings of Darwin, the most prominent contributor to science in the nineteenth century, who issue laws against "dangerous ideas", who murdered Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair, such a horrible atrocity that millions held their breath in anxiety only to groan for vengeance and curse the murderers, these civilised robbers, with their scholastic and non-scholastic latkeys, are raising a howl about the barbarism of the Bolsheviks and about their own "love of peace".

The history of humanity has never known anything so hypocritical and sanctimonious, so lying and disgusting as the present ideology of modern "pacifist" imperialism, whose foreign political tasks consist in the most criminal, most barbarous, most counter-revolutionary, most destructive form of warfare ever known. The more furious the armament race becomes, the more energetic become the official and unofficial agents of imperialism in their howls of "peace" and in the production of "peace pacts" and in the organisation of conferences and discussions, in the elaboration of projects and proposals for "peace".

The "League of Nations", the product of Versailles, the most shameless robber treaty of the last decade, cloaks the warlike work of its members by working out projects for disarmament. The Soviet Union has exposed this game: the great friends of peace refused to disarm when their bluff was called. The diplomatic comedy turned into a vulgar farce. The mask of peace fell to the ground and the brutal features of imperialism were revealed to the whole world.

The "League of Nations" is first of all a counter-revolutionary organisation, but it is also directed against America. In consequence, Dollar imperialism has put its own "pact" upon the agenda through the mouth of its agents. The hegemony of American capitalism, which possesses the most modern machinery, the greatest gold resources and the best military technique, must secure its juridical recognition. War is "outlawed". Japan is not carrying on war against China, but only "protecting its interests". The U. S. A. is not conducting war against Nicaragua, but only "maintaining order". All the capitalist countries are not arming for war, but only to maintain "civilisation".

The business managers of imperialist policy who are attempting to conceal their imperialist desires and warlike intentions with a cloud of pacifist pacts and by the narcotic poison of pacifist phrases, are at the same time doing everything possible to cast the workers into chains and to break the backbone of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and to weaken the Hinterland of the Soviet Republics. The signs of the times are terror and corruption, a ruthless exploitation of the workers, the corruption of their leaders, a united front against the mass-organisations of the workers when they threaten to become dangerous, the policy of disruption in the ranks of the workers, the increasing attacks of the police upon the Communist Parties, etc. A wave of repression in Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan meets with a terrible wave of terror in Italy and in the Balkans and with mass executions in China. The bloody axe of bourgeois "civilisation" is at work unceasingly. The imperialist murderers survey their victims without moving an eyelid, although they feel inwardly that thousands of fighters crying for vengeance will arise in their stead.

In this period, when the whole air smells of powder and lead, when the antagonisms of capitalism are strained to their utmost, when the class-struggle of the proletariat is intensified, when the million masses of the colonial slaves are rising, when ever new columns of the toilers are mobilising to defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the movement for freedom, in this period the treacherous role of the Second International, the social democracy and its Amsterdam department, the I. F. T. U., advances once again into the foreground.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary to-day for the workers to realise their class independence and to realise that their interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists and the capitalist States. A proletarian counter-attack is the only possible answer to the insolent attacks of capitalism, to the inhuman exploitation of labour power, to the unemployment, to the policy of dissolving the working class organisations and to the fascist terror. And in this period the high priests of the Social Democratic Parties, who have shamelessly betrayed all the old traditions of the class struggle and who tread the elementary pride of the proletariat into the dust, in this period they preach the collaboration of the classes, "industrial peace" and "economic democracy". Peace and democracy under the iron-shod heel of trust capitalism! "Industrial peace" in economy and coalition with the bourgeoisie in

politics, that is the treacherous sum of social democratic wisdom.

From the standpoint of the class interests of the proletariat it is more than ever necessary at the present time to expose every warlike action of the bourgeoisie, to draw the attention of the masses to the danger of war and to sound the alarm. And in this period the social democratic politicians are building armoured cruisers, acting as the initiators of brutal military laws, grovel before militarism, actively "improve" the capitalist armies, praise the imperialist League of Nations, slander the U. S. S. R., praise the deceptive and deceitful document of the hangmen of Sacco and Vanzetti and are full of foul pacifist slime. Whilst they themselves are whitewashing as well as they can the military reparations of the imperialists, they at the same time accuse the Soviet Union of imperialism. The social democrats, the heroes of 1914, are already grovelling before the imperialist General Staffs. Already their hands are outstretched to receive the reward for their work on the day when they join the ranks of the bourgeoisie in a war against the soldiers of the proletarian revolution.

From the standpoint of the class-interests of the proletariat the unity of the industrial proletariat with the working masses in the colonies is more necessary than ever before. In this question however the social democrats are on the side of the exploiters, on the side of the imperialists, on the side of the imperialist robber States and their agents. The French socialists supported their government when the French troops razed the villages of the Rif and laid Syrian towns in ruins with heavy artillery fire. The government of MacDonald appeared openly as the oppressor of India and Egypt. Members of the Labour Party now in India are fulfilling the direct instructions of the British bourgeoisie. All social democratic parties are supporting their own governments in the Chinese question and only allow themselves a polite and respectful criticism when the pressure of the masses forces their hands. The Brussels Congress of the Second International, which failed to support the Kuomintang in the period of its revolutionary struggles, openly sided with the Kuomintang after it had become the bloodhound of imperialism and the hangman of the Chinese working class. In the colonial question the Brussels congress made decisions which were practically copied from the documents of the League of Nations.

The social democracy has thus become the chief force which makes for separating the workers in the industrial countries from the toiling masses in the colonies.

Finally, from the standpoint of the interests of the proletariat as a class, the unity of the working class is more than ever necessary. The struggle against the powerfully organised enemy, against the gigantic trusts, against the state power of capitalism, which protects the interests of the finance-capitalist oligarchy, the maximum of unity in the ranks of the workers is necessary. But just at this present moment the social democratic agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie is at work to carry out its instructions and disrupt the ranks of the workers! The leaders of the social democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions, the heralds of unity with the bourgeoisie and its trusts, the apostles of industrial peace and political coalition with the representatives of the banks and the stock exchange, are doing everything possible to expel the communists and all revolutionary proletarians from the mass organisations of the working class. They are splitting the trade unions, they are splitting the sport organisations, they are smashing up the ranks of the proletarian free-thinkers. The more they fight for unity with the bourgeoisie, the more brutal becomes their struggle against the unity of the working class.

The Communist International appeals to all workers and to all toilers to close their ranks still more firmly, to fight for the unity of the whole working class, to fight for the unity of the workers with the peasants and to fight for the alliance of the workers with the oppressed colonial peoples in the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the class enemy.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International adopted an international programme which is binding equally for all sections. For the first time since the existence of the revolutionary working class movement, the working class will have a document in its hand whose passages are law for

the millions of organised workers in all countries and amongst all races and nations of the globe. This document is not one of peaceful grovelling before the bourgeoisie; it is not a document making for dishonourable peace with the bourgeoisie. It is not a declaration of pharasaical degenerate and treacherous unity with the bourgeoisie, a unity which means nothing but the desertion of the ranks of the proletariat for the camp of the enemy, desertion, treachery and renegacy. This programme is the guiding star of millions of exploited and oppressed toilers in the struggle against the oppressors, in the struggle of the proletarian masses, in the struggle of the white, black and yellow toilers in the tropics, in the farthest corners of the earth, in the plantations, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, in the woods and in the desert, in the large towns and in the country, everywhere where the class-struggle is being carried on. It is the programme of the unity of the working class and of a life and death fight with the bourgeoisie. It is the programme of the inevitable world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist International appeals to all toilers to rally closely around the banner of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the working class. With the exertion of all its energy the capitalist world has again reared itself up upon the backs of the workers exploited by the gigantic slave machine of capitalism. Under the crack of slave whips capitalism has emerged from the ruins of the first imperialist world war. But capitalism is beginning to suffocate under the weight of its own contradictions. Its historical fate drives it once again with tremendous elemental force into the vortex of tremendous catastrophes, the deadly breath of which will scorch the whole world. The imperialist cliques, which are afraid of their own historical fate, but are nevertheless its instruments, the capitalist cliques who cannot decide to let loose the dogs of war, but who are nevertheless doing everything possible to break the chains and let loose the carnage, the imperialist cliques who are trying to deceive everyone with murmurs of peace and pacifism, but whose fingers are at the same time feeling for the trigger, are driving the world steadily to the brink of a new and terrible catastrophe.

The Communist International appeals to all toilers to arise in their own defence. Now at once, day for day, the ranks of the fighters must be set up, the masses of the toilers must be mobilised, loyal messengers of the working class sent into the armies and the fleets of capitalism to prepare the soldiers and sailors to turn their guns in the hour when imperialism calls upon them to slaughter each other, against the imperialists themselves, the best target during the imperialist war.

The imperialist beast with its dull eyes can only see the historical past and is unable to penetrate the curtain which hides the future. It is consoling itself with the comparative state of peace which prevails in Europe, which from time to time is given an injection of life-giving gold elixir from the transatlantic vampire, the United States. But the sober glance of the proletariat, which has felt all the glories of capitalist rationalisation and all the burdens of "industrial peace" upon its own skin, can see clearly the gigantic accumulation of capitalist contradictions and the steady and rapid intensification of the class struggle everywhere. The General Strike in Great Britain, the insurrection in Vienna, the strikes in Germany, the electoral results in France and Germany, the reaction of the German workers to the new treachery of the social democrats in the armoured cruiser question, the violent resistance put up by the Chinese workers and peasants, the growing thunder of the revolutionary volcano in India, which is already sending up preliminary smoke signals, the steadily growing dissatisfaction in South America, the growth of self-confidence amongst the Negroes and thousands of other signs do they not show that the mole of history is burrowing?

The Communist International appeals to all toilers, and in particular to the industrial workers, to take up the struggle for every inch of ground that has been won, to fight against the offensive of capitalism, to fight against the ruthless exploitation of capitalism, to fight against the enslavement of the proletariat, to fight against the policy of the imperialists and against imperialist war. The Communist International appeals to all workers and to all oppressed peoples devotedly to

defend the Chinese revolution, whose heroes and martyrs have fallen under the axe of the executioner. The Communist International appeals to all honest proletarians to form a wall of iron around the Soviet Union against which imperialism is raising the sword of war. The Communist International appeals for increased watchfulness and for a direct fight against the pacifist lies and pacifist deception. The Communist International appeals for a complete break with the bourgeoisie and for the unity of the ranks of the workers in a ruthless struggle against the class enemies of the proletariat.

Against the Social democratic unity with the bourgeoisie — for the class unity of the proletarians!

Against social imperialism — for the heroic support of our brothers in the colonies!

Against the pacifist lies — for the devoted fight against imperialist war!

Against reformism and fascism — for the proletarian revolution!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Moscow, 1st September 1928.

Sixth World Congress of the Communist International,