

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol 6 No. 83

1<sup>st</sup> December 1926

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## VII. Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

### First Session.

Moscow, November 22, 1926.

Tonight the first session of the VII. Enlarged Executive opened in the big Andreev Hall in the Kremlin. Long before the beginning of the session the Hall has filled. There were delegates from practically all countries. The space reserved for guests was filled to the last seat. At 7 o'clock the session was opened by a short address by Comrade Bukharin, whose appearance was greeted with stormy applause.

#### Comrade BUKHARIN:

Party comrades! In the name of the Executive I greet the VII. Plenum of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

Our first word is to the fighters who stand in the heat of the struggle, in the front trenches — to the **British miners.** (Applause.)

Deserted by the highest authorities of the bureaucracy, deserted in part by their own leadership, the courageous miners nevertheless carry on the struggle. In spite of everything! To them our first word.

We address ourselves to the great **Chinese people**, which stands in a gigantic revolutionary liberation struggle. We promise, in the name of the entire Communist International, in the name of the whole working class of the world, that we will support this world historical struggle with all means, with all forces, and at any price. (Applause.)

From this rostrum we greet the **proletarians and peasants of Indonesia** (Applause), the broad working masses of this Dutch colony who are likewise engaged in a bloody struggle against capital. Our full support to the Indonesian people!

Our second word, in opening our session, is addressed to our heroes who are being tortured in the prisons of the capitalist countries, to our revolutionists in **Italy**, in **Poland**, in **Hungary**, in **Yugoslavia**, in **Bulgaria**, in all countries in which our Parties are carrying on their courageous struggle for the cause of the Communist International. (Applause.)

Comrades, our third word is dedicated to our dead, to those whom we have lost during this year. I begin with **Comrade Djerzhinsky** (all arise from their seats), one of our Party's best, one of our finest soldiers and, at the same time, leaders of our proletarian revolution.

I recall **Comrade Serrati**, who gave his whole life to the proletariat of the world, especially to the proletariat of Italy. I recall here **Comrade Tkatchenko**, a young comrade, one of the champions of the Roumanian Communist Party, who has been murdered by the Roumanian bourgeoisie. I recall here the many unknown nameless heroes of our great movement which marches on even while losing very many heroes on the way. To their memories, all, the gratitude of the revolutionary proletariat.

This session of the VII. Plenum of the Enlarged Executive gathers at a time when our Parties have undergone great historical tests.

The **Italian Party**, despite the bloody regime of Mussolini, despite the bloody work of the hangman, has accomplished very much. It has penetrated the depths of the working and peasant classes and has consolidated itself. It has overcome various deviations in its ranks and once more marches forward as one of our best Parties, despite the atrocities of Mussolini.

Our **British Party**, which only recently was a practically insignificant factor in the political life of Great Britain, the Party upon which the so-called public opinion of that country looked almost with contempt, has become a first class factor among the political powers in British life. At the last conference of the miners' bureaucrats it was declared that the Communist Party had played a very big role in the gigantic battle of the miners. This "argumentation" against our Party is its highest praise.

In this year the **Party of the Soviet Union** has accomplished very much. It marches on the road to socialism. The so-called crisis, about which so much was shouted, was very easily overcome. Our Party stands solid like one man, on the road that leads to socialism.

The **German Party** has consolidated itself.

The Parties of **Czechoslovakia**, **France** and various other countries are on the road towards consolidation, towards inner solidification and the winning of the masses.

Under these conditions the chief tasks of our Enlarged Executive are: the **further Bolshevisation**, the further inner consolidation and solidification of our Parties, and their further **Leninist training**. This is the first thing. Secondly, the tasks of **winning the masses** under the new conditions, partly under new forms, at a time when we already have considerable successes behind us; and, then, the great tasks of the direct struggle which

now confronts several Parties of the Communist International, the great problems and tasks of the Chinese revolution, the gigantic problems that now confront our Party in Britain and presage rather considerable difficulties, the big questions of the building up of socialism in Russia, the big questions of the approaching struggles in Central Europe — all these matters are upon the Agenda of our VII. Enlarged Executive. Despite all prophecies, despite all the crying over the so-called crisis in the Comintern, the C. I. marches onward on the road to revolution. The Comintern is now the only power that really leads the proletarian masses on this road.

In the name of the Executive, I greet this session of the C. I. and hope that our work will be successful. We shall leave this session even more firm, more consolidated, as real Leninists, as the real vanguard of the proletarian revolution!

I declare this session of the VII. Enlarged Executive open. (Great applause.)

The floor was given to Comrade Tan-Ping-Tchan, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (greeted with great applause, those present arise and sing the "International").

#### Comrade TAN-PINGTCHAN (C.P. of China):

In the name of the Chinese proletariat and of the entire toiling masses of China, the Communist Party of China extends to the VII Enlarged Executive its heartiest revolutionary greetings. The Communist International — the general headquarters of the world proletariat and the general staff of the world revolution is able, on the policy laid down by Comrade Lenin, not only to lead the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution of the working class in the capitalist countries, but also the national-revolutionary struggles for emancipation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which constitute a large section of the world revolution.

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the only proletarian State, has celebrated only the IX anniversary of its victory, to be sure, and has begun its work of construction only five years ago, but it has already laid the foundations of socialism — stone upon stone, pillar upon pillar — despite all external and internal difficulties — through the whole working class under the leadership of the Leninist Party of the Soviet Union. It is already so powerful, so unshakeable, so unconquerable, that world capitalism sees in it its deadly enemy. The strengthening, the consolidation of the Soviet Union has divided the world into two diametrically opposite camps: the camp of the proletariat and the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The sharpening of antagonism during the present period, in Western Europe between England and France, England and Germany, France and Italy, and the anti-American tendency of the European capitalists; the sharpening of antagonisms in the East between America and Japan, between Japan and England, England and America, which makes its appearance particularly undisguised in the Chinese events; the rise of the proletarian movement of the oppressed peoples, particularly in China and Indonesia — all this has completely confirmed the correctness of the Comintern's analysis regarding the relative stabilisation of capitalism.

In order to be able to further maintain its declining privileges imperialism is forced to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses, in the metropolis as well as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in a still more brutal, bestial, barbaric manner, which however, signifies objectively only the hastening of the process of the world revolution and the bringing on of its own death.

The national-revolutionary movement in China, whose fundamental class force is represented by the working, peasant and petty bourgeois masses, is now experiencing the time when revolution and reaction are engaged in direct armed struggle for life or death. This proves as clear as daylight how correct is the Leninist, and only the Leninist, view concerning the national movement in the colonial countries. The victory of the present Chinese revolutionary movement will not only arouse and stir up all oppressed peoples, particularly the Asiatic peoples, it will not fail of effect also upon the proletariat in the imperialist countries—as an impetus to the proletarian revolution. Capitalism

is approaching its inevitable doomsday of destruction, while the Communist International is directing the former's grave diggers.

**Long live the Communist International!**

**Long live Leninism!**

**Long live the unity of the proletarians and oppressed peoples of all countries!**

Hereupon the representative of the Kuomintang Party, Schau-Li-Tse, mounts the rostrum and is greeted with stormy applause by the delegates. All present arise from their seats and sing the "International".

#### Comrade SCHAU-LI-TSE:

In the name of the Kuomintang Party I greet the Enlarged Executive in which representatives of all Communist Parties of the world are taking part. The history of all revolutionary struggles shows that liberation from exploitation and oppression cannot be expected from the League of Nations, nor from Amsterdam, but only from the staff of the world revolution, the Comintern. Founded by Lenin, the Comintern is the revolutionary world centre for the united fighters of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the entire world. The Kuomintang was reorganised in 1923 under the leadership of Sun-Yat-Sen and strives towards the united front with the Communist Party of China. We are now waging the struggle for the liberation of China from imperialist oppression, and we can point to our victories only because the Chinese revolution considers itself a part of the world revolution. For this reason also we expect the support of the Comintern and of all its affiliated Parties. I am convinced that only the Comintern is able to unify the struggle of the workers of the West with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the East. Against the united front of the imperialists there must be established the united front of the workers and of the oppressed peoples.

**Long live the Comintern!**

**Long live the world revolution!**

#### Comrade SEMAOEN (Indonesia),

is greeted with stormy applause. The delegates sing the "International".

#### Comrade SEMAOEN:

In his speech at the Russian Party Conference, Comrade Bukharin described the uprising that has broken out in Indonesia — the bridge between Europe and Asia — which has developed into an actual civil war. The Dutch colony of Indonesia has 50 million inhabitants. In recent years Dutch capitalism has developed so strongly there that 30% of the population was proletarianised. A few years ago, the average earnings were not more than 55 American cents per day. Now the wages have sunk to 25 cents per day, and for unskilled workers even to only 10 cents per day. Every movement of the workers and peasants is beaten down by the government by force. The leaders were arrested and received long terms of imprisonment. In case of strikes, the strikers were arrested. The government does everything to suppress by force the rising popular movement. In Indonesia there is no national bourgeoisie, because the Dutch government has taken all measures to prevent the development of a native bourgeoisie. The role of leadership in the national movement has fallen to the Communist Party. The Party had to work under very difficult circumstances. During the last year it was illegal, but nevertheless it succeeded in retaining the leadership of the movement. The peasantry pays terribly high taxes. The income of a middle peasant amounts to about 25 dollars per year, of which he must pay 25% in taxes.

The government has forbidden not only the Communist Party but also the national association (Sarekat Rajet) and the trade unions. After the great railwaymen's strike in 1924 had been smashed by force, we had, during 1925, a whole series of political

strikes and partial uprisings. Now a big uprising has broken out. The Chinese revolution has wielded a big influence on the Indonesian people and has contributed to their finally resorting to arms. Perhaps Dutch imperialism will still be able to suppress this uprising. But as Comrade Bukharin has stated, every imperialist victory awakens new antagonisms and brings with it a greater resistance on the part of the whole population. The Dutch colonial ministry has announced that it hopes to squeeze two milliard gulden net profit out of Indonesia. This intensified exploitation and this still sharper oppression on the part of Dutch imperialism will exercise a further revolutionising effect which will finally lead to the emancipation of the oppressed colonial peoples.

Long live the Communist movement!

Long live the Comintern!

(Long and continuous applause.)

**Comrade GALLACHER (England):**

Comrades, I bring you greetings from the British Communist Party. The Party, true to its international obligations, is giving all its energy to the direction of the heroic strike that is being fought with such determination by the British miners. The Party is faced with an enemy composed of the enormous forces of capitalism, their lackeys of the II International and the treacherous bureaucrats of the trade unions. The enemies of the Communist Party are the enemies of the fighting miners, and the miners know this. The miners are quite clear on the all important fact that the only leadership that exists in Britain for the workers is the Communist Party. The miners' fight is of the greatest importance to the International. We have had delegates here giving you greetings from China; it is an inspiration to us to consider the wonderful fight the Chinese are making against the combined world imperialism, but in their fight they are being assisted to the fullest possible extent by the courageous struggle of the British miners. The British miners are paralysing the international activities of the British imperialists. British capitalism would dearly like to make an attack on China and Soviet Russia. British capitalism, assisted by the lackeys of the II International and by the traitors in the General Council, thought that it had won victory at the end of the General Strike, but the miners kept in the field and are fighting on. They are fighting under terrible handicaps, they are fighting against the officials of the trade union movement, with the officials of their own unions against them. You have all heard the latest news of how the Conference decided that the districts should not vote on whether to contract district agreements or not. But we have still later information from the "Pravda": the South Wales miners have decided and have declared that whatever happens in any other district, they are determined to fight on for decent conditions.

I can remember how in 1920 when I was over here at the II Congress, on our way back we had to pass through Murmansk, and a group of the British delegates got together with some Red Army soldiers. They told us: "Yes, we are hungry, but we are determined to fight on against all our enemies until our revolution is safe."

The miners in Britain, too, in many cases, are suffering from hunger, but like the Red soldiers they say: "Yes, we are hungry, but we are determined to carry on the fight until we have won through to victory". In order to get the miners beaten all pretence of democracy has been thrown aside by British capitalism. There is no more question of democracy. There is a bland, vicious and brutal dictatorship.

In the midst of this terror and starvation the Party is working as it never worked before. In every mining district you go through you can find that the miners will gather in masses and all they are willing to listen to is the Communist Party representatives and the Communist Party message. In all the mining districts, the Party clearly has the leadership of the working class.

In this connection, in connection with the food shortage and the hunger, I want to say that the significant thing in the fight is that the miners of Britain have been receiving practically no

assistance from the countries where the reformists are in control. They have been receiving assistance mostly from the Russian workers. They have received support, they have received encouragement, they have received help, and this has been one of the greatest possible factors in cementing the spirit of international solidarity between the British miners and the Russian people.

**The miners' fight is the fight of the whole International.** The miners' fight is a fight against the greatest reactionary force of European imperialism, it is a fight against British imperialism, and not British imperialism only. The British miners, led by the British Communist Party, are fighting for the principles of the whole International.

Comrades, let us all stand to our feet and give three hearty cheers for the British miners.

(Three hearty cheers, applause, ovation.)

Chairman:

**Comrade THALMAN:**

The next speaker is Comrade Bukharin, representing the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (Great applause, the delegates rise and sing the "International".)

**Comrade BUKHARIN:**

Comrades, I am authorised by and in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to greet the VII. Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee (applause). Comrades! In spite of various difficulties in our country this year, we are continuing onward along the road to our final goal, and we are absolutely certain that we, in our country, will be victorious; we will smash our bourgeoisie in the economic field — under circumstances, in an environment entirely different than hitherto. Comrades! Our faith in this victory is not a faith of frivolous optimists — it is a faith of the strong, a faith of a proletariat that has already smashed its bourgeoisie on the political arena, that has established its dictatorship, and that has beaten off all interventionist attempts. This is a faith of the strong, comrades, and this faith is strongest in our country, strongest in the ranks of our iron Party, because we fight, live, die and conquer, not for ourselves, but for the cause of the International proletariat.

Comrades! In the name of our Party I here declare that we are ready to do everything in our power for the victory of the world revolution. Our Party is a Section of the Communist International! Our government — the mighty foundation of the liberation movement of the whole world, beginning with the movement of the experienced Western, skilled proletariat and extending to the oppressed peoples of Asia. We saw today representatives from China and Indonesia, and we have heard that the great masses of the people are marching under the Soviet Star, under the banner of Communism.

Comrades! Our proletariat is ready to do everything to strengthen the world revolution, to assist in the process of the world revolution. Has not our Party proved ready to do everything necessary in defence of the cause of the world revolution? During the civil war, and later in 1923, our Party staked everything, and now, with the British strike and the great Chinese revolution taking place, our Party is again to the forefront. We declare, here and now, that if history confronts us with still greater problems we will apply all our strength towards the world revolution until its victorious end.

Comrades! We, born of the international revolutionary movement have stood, we still stand and we shall always stand guard for the world revolution. We have been, we are and we shall remain an international Party of the Comintern. In the name of our Party I greet our joint General Staff — the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live our real aim — the proletarian world revolution!  
(Great applause.)

## ELECTION OF THE PRESIDIUM.

On the election of the Presidium, Comrade Geschke takes the floor.

### Comrade GESCHKE:

Comrades, before coming to the announcement of proposals for the election of the Presidium, I feel myself in duty bound to utter just one word: **Long live the only vanguard of the Communist International, long live the C. P. S. U.! Long live the Old Bolsheviks!** (Applause!)

The Executive nominates the following comrades for the Presidium: Bukharin, Stalin and Manuilsky for the C. P. S. U., Tan-Ping-Schan, Clara Zetkin, Katayama, Roy, Kuusinen, Bernhard (France), Maggi (Italy), Jilek (Czechoslovakia), Bogutski (Poland), Birch, Bittelmann (U. S. A.), Furubotn, Lominadse (Y. C. I.), Thälmann, Remmele (Germany), Gallacher (Great Britain), Kolarov, Semaoen and Boschkovitch.

They were elected **unanimously**. (Applause.)

The following comrades were elected unanimously as secretaries of the Enlarged Executive:

Humbert-Droz, Murphy, Geschke, Cremet, Smeral, Piatnitski, Petrov, Kornblum, Pepper and Dimitrov.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. proposes the following Agenda.

1. The World Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Comintern. Reporters: Bukharin and Kuusinen.
2. Questions of the C. P. S. U. Reporter: Com. Stalin.
3. Lessons of the British Strike. Reporter: Com. Murphy.
4. The Chinese Question. Reporter: Com. Tang-Ping-Schan.
5. Work of the Communists in the Trade Unions.

(Treatment of this question in Commission is contemplated.)

Reporter in the Commission: Com. Lozovsky and one representative each of the Czech and French Delegations.

6. Work of the Communists in the Peasant Movement.

(Treatment of this question in Commission is contemplated.)

Reporters in the Commission: A representative of the Peasants' Council, and one representative each from the Italian, German and Chinese delegations.

7. Questions concerning the various Sections.

The agenda is adopted **unanimously**.

### Comrade GESCHKE (on Order of Business and Rules):

The Executive proposes the following Order of Business and Rules for the Enlarged Executive:

"The plenary sessions of the Enlarged Executive will take place from 10 to 4 every day. The reports will be allotted one hour for their report, and a half-hour for their concluding remarks. The co-reporters will have the same time for speaking. On points of procedure the speakers may have three minutes. They will have the floor only once for this purpose. Each delegate may get the floor twice on each question, the first time 15 minutes and the second time 5 minutes. Requests for the floor and proposals must be handed in to the Presidium in writing — matters will be put to a roll-call vote at the request of 3 delegations representing a total of 10 voting delegates.

This proposal is adopted **unanimously**.

Comrade Geschke proposes the following composition of the Commissions:

#### Political Commission:

Chairman: Bukharin;  
Vice-Chairman: Thälmann;  
Secretary: Kuusinen.

Members: Dengel, Neumann (C. P. Germany), Semard, Doriot (C. P. France), Haken (C. P. Cz.), Maggi (C. P. Italy), Smith (C. P. G. B.), Pepper (U. S. A.), Tan-Ping-Schan (China), Lominadse, Schatzkin (Y. C. I.), Stalin (C. P. S. U.), Pruchniak (C. P. Poland), Codovilla (South America), Kolaroff (C. P. Bulgaria), Boschkovitch (C. P. Yugoslavia), Sillen (C. P. Sweden), Bela Kun (C. P. Hungary), Manuilski (Ukraine), Hilt (C. P. of Norway), Katayama (Japan), Technical Secretary: Sonntag.

#### Trade Union Commission:

Chairman: Ercoli;  
Secretary: Zapototzki.

Members: Bukharin, Piatnitsky, Duncan, Treint, Murphy, Stern, Geschke, Lozovsky, Nin, Tomsy, Cremet, Droz, Meyer (C. P. Germany), Bernhard (C. P. France), Hais (C. P. Cz.), Cavall (C. P. Italy), Bell (C. P. G. Br.), Bittelmann, Birch (W. P. A.), Tsai (China), Young (Y. C. I.), Andreyev (C. P. S. U.), Wizotski (C. P. F.), Codovilla (South America), Dimitrov (C. P. Bulgaria), Nosovic (C. P. Yugoslavia), Baltazar (Roumania), Malmross (C. P. Sweden), Bela Szanto (C. P. Hungary), Browder, Delobelle, Melnichansky, Sturm (International Woman's Secretariat), Solminen (Finland), De Visser (Holland), Monmousseau, Omuira (Japan), Evenson (Norway), Jacquemotte (Belgium), Technical Secretary: Smoliansky.

#### British Commission:

Chairman: Semard,  
Secretary: Duncan.

Roy, Pepper, Bukharin, Tomsy, Candidate: Lozovsky (C. P. S. U.), Thälmann, Neumann (C. P. Germany), Smeral (C. P. Cz.), Bernhard (C. P. France), Maggi (C. P. Italy), Browder (W. P. A.), Lenski (C. P. P.), Kilboom (C. P. Sweden), Schüler (Y. C. I.), Tan-Ping-Schan (C. P. of China), Technical Secretary: Rathbone.

#### Chinese Commission:

Chairmen: Gallacher and Tan-Ping-Shan,  
Secretaries: Roy and Petrov.

Members: Bubnov, Miljutin (C. P. S. U.), Eberlein, Remmele (C. P. G.), Jilek (C. P. Cz.), Doriot (C. P. France), Ercoli (C. P. I.), Duncan (W. P. A.), Young (C. P. G. B.), Turjanski (C. P. P.), Spongberg (C. P. Sweden), Bai (China), Shatskin (Y. C. I.), Semaoen (Indonesia), Ferdi (Turkey), Codovilla, Meschtscherjakoff, Heller, Katayama (Japan), Tjuchun (Korea), Roy (India), Technical Secretaries: Wagner and Porowoj.

#### Agrarian Commission:

Chairman: Dengel,  
Secretary: Maximovitch.

Members: Parette (C. P. F.), Onesti (C. P. I.), Badulesku (Roumania), Dubov (Bulgaria), Dobrowolni (C. P. Cz.), Codovilla (South America), Williamson (W. P. A.), Tan-Ping-Shan (China), Semaoen (Indonesia), Roy (India), Molotov, Kanel, Ossinski (C. P. S. U.), Meschtscherjakoff, Dombal, Dubrovsky, Varga, Manner, Martynov, Kornblum, Heller, Boschkovitch (C. P. Yugoslavia), Wasilkin (C. P. P.), Longo (Y. C. I.), Jurgensen (Scandinavia), Omuira (Japan), Tjochun (Korea), Tsachkava (Georgia), Bichari (Hungary), Skripnik (Ukraine).

These proposals were adopted **unanimously**.

All voting delegates, and delegates with Consultative votes, as well as members of the Enlarged Executive, can take part in all commission meetings.

Comrade Semard: Takes the floor to read an

#### ADDRESS TO THE FIGHTING BRITISH MINERS:

The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the Communist International, on opening its Session, sends its hearty fraternal greetings to the brave British miners and their families. It is almost seven months since the heroic struggle of the miners began. Seven long months

the miners have conducted a struggle, not only against the mine owners, but also against the entire British bourgeoisie, the treacherous leaders of the Labour Party, the General Council and the vacillations of many of their own leaders. At the present time the strike of the miners has arrived at a very critical pass, when the cowardly trade union bureaucrats are trying to block the way of the decisions of the masses of miners.

The Communist International assures the miners that the sympathies of the international revolutionary labour movement are with them, that the Comintern and all its sections have done, and will, in the future, do all in their power to help the miners in their struggle against the powerful British bourgeoisie and its agents from among the workers' ranks.

**Long live the brave miners of Great Britain!**

**Down with the lieutenants of capital in the workers' organisations!**

**Down with the government of the mine owners!**

**Long live a real workers' government in Britain!**

The address was adopted unanimously.

Comrade MURPHY: reads the following:

**CALL TO THE FIGHTING CHINESE MASSES AND TO THEIR SYMPATHISERS.**

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the overthrow of the Chinese Monarchy, which was the symbol of stagnation and political reaction, was celebrated recently.

Fifteen years ago the great Chinese revolution, under the leadership of the late Sun-Yat-Sen, overthrew the feudal monarchy and thus raised the question of a new and free China. Since then revolutionary China has experienced many sanguinary battles and great trials. But in spite of the intervention of world wide imperialist reaction, in spite of all the intrigues and machinations of the counter-revolutionary militarists, the Chinese revolution has actually achieved great success and has directed the worker and peasant masses of China into the national liberation movement. Facts like last year's general strike in Shanghai, or the sixteen months' Hong Kong strike which only came to an end the other day, show clearly that the Chinese proletariat is beginning to play a leading part in the national-revolutionary struggle which rallies to its banners, side by side with the working class and the peasant masses, the petty and middle bourgeoisie and the working intellectuals.

A heavy blow was dealt to world imperialism in China during the last months. The gigantic successes of the Canton armies have already spread the power of the Kuomintang national government over half of China. The revolutionary government, which came into being in Canton, is now making its influence felt throughout the greater part of China and is becoming a powerful factor in the Chinese Revolution. This opens a new stage in the development of the national-revolutionary movement throughout the East and in all the colonies. The successes of the Chinese revolution have the sympathy of the oppressed colonial peoples of Indonesia, India, and other countries groaning under the iron heel of the imperialist yoke.

The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. sends hearty greetings to the struggling Chinese people, to the revolutionary Canton government and to the national-revolutionary and national armies which are fighting for the liberation and revolutionary unification of China.

**Long live unified China, freed from the imperialist yoke!**

**Long live the united national-revolutionary front!**

**Long live the Chinese Communist Party!**

**Long live the Kuomintang.**

Adopted unanimously.

Comrade JILLEK: Thereupon reads a manifesto against Italian Fascism:

**MANIFESTO TO THE WORKERS — AGAINST ITALIAN FASCISM!**

Recently a new bloody wave of Fascism has surged over the Italian proletariat. It took as its excuse the assault on Mussolini. This assault was probably nothing more than a new example of the original provocatory activity which Fascism itself carries on. Reaction rages against the workers, against the peasants, against all who do not slavishly submit to the dictatorship of the industrial big bourgeoisie, of the banks and of the big landowners, whose instrument is the Fascist government.

Dozens of workers have been killed, thousands have been thrown into jail, persecuted, wounded, martyred. The homes of working-class fighters and of all members of the "opposition" against Fascism have been destroyed and burned.

Not satisfied with destroying every possibility of existence of class trade unions, Fascism violates the law; it dissolves all non-Fascist organisations and imposes the heaviest punishment on those who attempt to reorganise them. Membership in any but the Fascist party, membership in a trade union organisation or in any kind of organisation which represents the interests of the workers against economic exploitation and political oppression, is declared a crime and is made punishable by law, under which are possible terms of imprisonment up to ten years. In order to fight against the advance guard of the proletariat, against the Communist Party, laws providing for deportation and death are enacted. To execute these laws extra-ordinary commissions consisting of Fascists have been formed. Hundreds of workers, whose only crime has been that they have struggled for the liberation of their class, have already been condemned by these commissions. At the same time the entire opposition press has been suppressed.

The strengthening of reaction has been accompanied by a deterioration in the living conditions of the workers and peasants; this deterioration is making itself felt more and more. The eight hour day has been abolished by law. At present workers in Italian factories work as much as ten and twelve hours a day. Wages are below a living minimum. The workers, the peasants, the entire mass of the working population is subjected to an increasing intensification of exploitation. The purpose of this exploitation is to have them bear the costs of stabilisation, which is carried on in the interests of the small minority of big industrialists, bankers and landowners.

But even under this steadily increasing pressure the proletariat has begun to reorganise its forces for the resumption of the struggle against its class enemies. Under the influence and the leadership of the proletariat the will has arisen among the great mass of the population to resist the barbarous oppression of Fascism. This fact has had the following result: Fascism feels the growth of the forces which seek to destroy it; it feels shaken within by a number of contradictions which break out in its own ranks, leading to the provocations, murders and terror whereby Fascism attempts to maintain its power.

At the same time it represents an ever growing danger for the workers of all countries, whom it threatens by its imperialistic policy, by its efforts to provoke a war, as a way out of its growing economic crisis, its contradictions and the inner crisis of its domination.

**Workers!**

What is now going on in Italy shows how the attempt to stabilise capitalist domination through the systematic application of force against the proletariat and peasants is doomed to failure. While on the surface it may appear as if the Fascist method of terror will retard the economic crisis, in reality this crisis becomes more profound. Fascism hinders for a certain time the forward march of the masses, but at the same time it creates the prerequisites and causes of more and more serious conflicts which will break out with the greatest force. The results of Fascism in Italy must therefore always stand out clearly before the eyes of the workers, the peasants, the great masses of people of all countries in which the bourgeoisie continually threatens to resort to "Italian methods".

### Comrades!

The proletariat of Italy does not submit passively to the situation which oppressive, provocative, murderous Fascism has created. Under the leadership of its heroic advance guard — the Communist Party — it is about to gather its forces once more, to reorganise them. Preparations are being made for new resistance, for new battles. The Communist Party, which has been strengthened and steeled, through the struggles and persecutions of the past, will not bow before the new wave which has surged over it. After the murder of Matteotti the workers and peasants of Italy were shamefully betrayed by the Social Democracy and the parties of bourgeois democracy, which have manoeuvred to prevent the breakdown of Fascism. These workers and peasants are now gathering in ever greater numbers around their vanguard, which leads them into the struggle for the defence of their economic interests, for their wages and their living conditions, for the reconstruction of their destroyed organisations, and the recovery of suppressed liberties; into the struggle which must end with the overthrow of the Fascist government and with the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

The international proletariat must support the Italian proletariat with its solidarity. The workers of all countries must hasten with all means to the aid of the Italian workers in their resistance and their struggle for emancipation, which they are conducting in the interests of the workers of the whole world.

Organise demonstrations against the Fascist terror; arm yourselves in order to be able to smash with weapons every attempt at the establishment of a Fascist regime in your own

Fight against the danger of war, which Fascism represents; fight against imperialism, which is preparing a new world conflict;

Fight against Italian Fascism, the "carrier" of the regime of oppression, provocation, terror and murder;

Fight for the active solidarity of the proletarians of all countries in the struggle against the bourgeois terror.

#### Executive Committee of the Communist International.

This manifesto was adopted unanimously.

Comrade THALMANN thereupon takes the floor to read a greeting to the C.P.S.U. in the name of the Enlarged Executive.

### GREETING TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

Meeting immediately after the Ninth Anniversary of the October Revolution, on the threshold of the tenth year of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I. sends its warmest greetings to all members, nuclei and committees of the C.P.S.U. and to their firm and sure Leninist leader, the Central Committee.

The mere fact that the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. already exists for the tenth year is a tremendous force for the further development of the world revolution. The workers of the U.S.S.R. have shown what the working class can carry out when thinking and acting in the direction of historical necessity, under firm leadership, with closely united ranks, concentrating its entire will, its entire power on one great aim, when it is capable of struggling and bringing sacrifices for this aim. This proof was brought by the working class of the U.S.S.R. during the years of brutal persecution under the domination of Tsarism, during the struggle for the seizure of power, during the years of civil war and economic destruction. It is showing this proof now too, before the eyes of the proletariat of the entire world — now when it is building up the destroyed economy, now when it has succeeded in placing the new socialist organised industry on the firm path of the colossal expansion of industrial production, now when the construction of Socialism is beginning.

During the years of the civil war the Russian workers, by their heroism and their self-sacrificing struggle, filled the proletariat of the entire world with revolutionary enthusiasm and determined power of action. The same effect is being produced today by the heroism of the systematic work with which

the workers of the U.S.S.R. are overcoming all the difficulties of economic expansion, with which they are enlarging the industry of the proletarian State and constructing Socialism. This is of great importance from the point of view of the social world revolution.

The world wide front of the social war for the emancipation of the working class from the chains of capitalism is being extended. The decisive battles are now being fought by the workers in the capitalist West and by the masses of the national-revolutionary army in the East. The great area of the U.S.S.R., emancipated from capitalist domination, has become the supporting point of these battles. The workers of the U.S.S.R. have shown what decisive importance the Soviet hinterland has for the further victorious development of the struggle on the front. Every step which the U.S.S.R. makes in the direction of expanding industrial production, in the field of building up Socialism, is a direct aid to the struggle of the proletariat in the countries which are still dominated by capitalism.

Recently, a large number of workers' delegations have convinced themselves of how the working class in the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat is working for the successful realisation of Socialism. The heroism of labour of the workers of the U.S.S.R. is no less than their struggle. The workers' delegations have seen how rapidly the U.S.S.R. has recovered from economic destruction. They have seen how in the present period of construction the Socialist elements of Soviet economy are growing more rapidly than the private economic elements — a proof of the victorious advance of Socialism, of the successful course of the work of Socialist construction. They were able to see with their own eyes how the workers of the U.S.S.R. are absolutely alien to all nationalist one-sidedness, that they are only a part of the revolutionary world army. They have seen how in the U.S.S.R. the relief for the striking British coal miners was organised spontaneously, through the initiative of the masses, from below. They have seen what interest and what suspense every phase of the development of the revolutionary events in China evoked among the workers of the U.S.S.R. Everything which the workers' delegations report about the creative, socialist-building work of the proletarian masses of the U.S.S.R. is received with enthusiasm even by the non-Communist workers in capitalist countries. It increases the fighting spirit, the revolutionary energy and the determination of the army of millions on the present fighting front of the socialist revolution.

The task which the working class of the U.S.S.R. fulfils in the great strategic plan of the Socialist world revolution is no smaller and no lighter than the task it fulfilled during the period of the barricade battles and the civil war. From the view point of the world revolution it is a great good fortune that at the head of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. there stands a Party which was founded by Lenin, trained by Lenin, filled with Lenin's spirit, which leads the working class through all difficulties, through all dangers, through all the complexities of the various stages of revolutionary development, firmly, without vacillation, conscious of its aim, always pressing forward, always approaching nearer to the ultimate triumph of Socialism. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive declares that the C.P.S.U. has mightily and rapidly overcome all the difficulties which confronted it in recent times. The authority of the C.P.S.U. has recently made great advances among the workers of the U.S.S.R. But this authority has also grown throughout the entire C.I. United and strong, the C.P. enters upon the tenth year of the revolution, after it has successfully beaten back the attacks upon Leninism, overcome the difficulties of expansion, deepened the alliance between the proletariat and the working and middle peasants and thus strengthened the proletarian dictatorship. Just as after the reverberations of the last discussion all the members of the C.P.S.U. closed their ranks around the Central Committee, so today all the Sections of the C.I. form an iron ring of mutual loyalty, devotion and revolutionary solidarity around the C.P.S.U. At the moment when the international bourgeoisie, with the aid of its Menshevik agents of all sorts and shades, is attempting to form an anti-Soviet united front, the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in the name of the hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers of all countries, greets the proletariat of the Soviet Union and its leader, the Leninist Communist Party. The workers of all countries know that the Soviet Union is the chief support of the world revolution and that every blow against the Soviet Union is at the

same time a blow against the world revolution; that every step forward which the working class of the U. S. S. R. makes, brings nearer the revolutionary victory of the world proletariat.

**Long live the C. P. S. U. and its Central Committee!**

**Long live the construction of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.!**

**Long live the social world revolution!**

This greeting was adopted unanimously.

Comrade DUNCAN (America) thereupon took the floor to present a

### MANIFESTO ON SACCO AND VANZETTI.

The VII Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International calls with most extreme urgency upon the workers of the entire world to act to prevent the impending judicial murder of our working class brothers, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Workers of the world! it is impossible to play any longer with illusions in regard to the so-called constitutional guarantees supposed to protect the rights of these persecuted fellow workers. Sacco and Vanzetti stand in imminent danger of death. Appeal to the United States Supreme Court will not save them. The Supreme Court of the United States is an even more flagrant instrument of capitalist dictatorship than the courts of justice in other bourgeois countries.

With nothing left to them but the formal right of appeal to the United States Supreme Court, we have every reason to say that Sacco and Vanzetti are already on their way to death.

For six years the capitalist state government of Massachusetts has hesitated to carry out its cold-blooded vengeance upon these workers, because of the protests of the working class. During that period, while Sacco and Vanzetti lay in prison, every device of legal sham was used to create the illusion that "impartial" courts were considering the case on the basis of the determination of the facts. But all of the facts that have been brought to light have served only to prove conclusively the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti and the dastardly guilt of the police machine in the "frame-up" against these labour agitators.

Yet in the face of the knowledge of the entire world that these two workers did not have any connection with the crime charged against them, and that the only reason for their conviction is that they are the hated class enemies of the bourgeoisie — the American capitalist class "democracy" will proceed to their judicial murder.

The working class of the world cannot let Sacco and Vanzetti die! The united voice of the whole working class of all countries is necessary to save them.

It is still possible for the working class of the world to save Sacco and Vanzetti.

In the United States of America the entire working class must be mobilized as one man. In all other countries where the dollar democracy of Wall Street, parading itself as a most "civilised" and "enlightened" nation, maintains embassies and consulates charged with the duty of reporting the condition of public opinion with regard to American affairs, it is possible for many thousands and even millions of workers, though having no direct contact with the Wall Street Government, to make their voices heard by the would-be murderers of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Workers of the world! The slaughter of our heroic fellow workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, would be a blow to the entire working class of the world. It must not be permitted!

The Communist International calls upon all workers of all countries to join together for world-wide demonstrations to save our working class brothers Sacco and Vanzetti.

This Manifesto was adopted unanimously.

Comrade ZINOVIEV addressed the following communication to the session:

Moscow, November 21, 1926.

To the

VII Enlarged Executive of the E. C. C. I.

In consequence of decisions adopted by the directing bodies of the largest Sections of the C. I., I ask to be relieved from the duties of Chairman of the E. C. C. I. as well as, at this time, from all work whatever in the Comintern.

With Communist Greetings,

(ZINOVIEV.)

The following resolution was thereupon adopted unanimously by the delegates:

"In view of the decisions adopted by the most important Sections of the Comintern: the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Germany, France, America, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, etc., and also by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., and upon receipt of the request of Comrade ZINOVIEV dated November 21, 1926, the Plenum of the VII Enlarged Executive decides to relieve Comrade ZINOVIEV from his post as chairman of the E. C. C. I. and from his work in the Comintern.

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Comrade BELOV, in the name of the Military Conference of the Moscow Garrison, greets the Plenum:

Comrade BELOV:

Comrades, The Party Conference of the Moscow Garrison has sent a delegation to greet the Enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Allow us in the name of the Moscow Garrison Party Conference, to send through you, to the Communists of the whole world, our hearty fraternal greetings (applause). The military Party organisation keenly and attentively observes and listens to all that is being done in the Communist movement on a world scale. The Moscow Garrison Party Conference is a part of the Army organisation, and all those matters which concern our All-Union Communist Party as a whole, affect us in exactly the same manner. A report was made to the Garrison Party Conference on the inner Party situation and on the result of the XV, Party Conference; we decided unanimously to abide by the decisions of the XV. Party Conference. There was not a single one in our ranks who vacillated. In striving for unity our organisation is united. In summarising our military and political education, we were convinced once more that with each day our fighting power from a military point of view strengthens, and mainly due to the leadership of the Communist Party, the leadership of its trusted representative — the Peoples' Commissar of War and Navy, Comrade Voroshilov, our army is strong in the understanding of the task of defending the Soviet Government and the problems of conquering the World October. The strength of our Workers' and Peasants' Red Army lies in its international Leninist education (applause).

Our Garrison Party Conference is convinced that this Session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern will still further strengthen the unity of the Communist movement the world over. In the unity of the Communist movement — is the strength of the Communist International. We want to express our wishes for the successful fulfilment of all the problems which confront the Session. We feel sure that the day is not far when, under the leadership of the Communist International, the toiling masses of the whole world will rise in the final battle with capitalism all over the globe, and then the Workers and Peasants' Red Army will stand at its fighting post. (Applause.)

Long live the world proletariat!

Long live the Communist International! (Applause.)

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Comrade KOLAROV (thereupon responded to the greeting as follows):

Comrades! Permit me in the name of the Enlarged Executive to reply to the greeting of the representatives of the Communists in the Moscow garrison. Comrades of the Red Army, representatives of the garrison, we have listened with tremendous joy to the brave declaration, to the firm declaration, which you have made before our session. You told us that you firmly accepted the policy of the C. P. S. U. as set forth by the XV. Party Conference. You told us that you are disciples of Lenin, that together with the Communist Party you wish to carry into effect the teachings of Lenin. We knew that without your assurances, we did not need your words in order to be convinced of it. Before us are your deeds, the deeds of the heroic Red Army, the deeds of the armed proletariat of the Soviet Republics. (Applause.)

Comrades of the Red Army! You are, and it is your glory to be, the defenders of the U. S. S. R., of this common Fatherland of the world proletariat, of all oppressed and enslaved. Standing guard against the numerous enemies of the Soviet Union, you are defending not only the cause of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, but, at the same time you are safeguarding the cause of all the oppressed and enslaved of the whole world. Comrades of the Red Army! You know your job very well, you know that you have to work, and it is not for us to point out to you your duties. But permit us to point our duties out to you.

We, representatives of the Communist Parties of all countries, are assembled here at this Enlarged Executive at an extremely important moment, for the discussion of the general questions which concern the entire Communist International and the world revolutionary movement; we, here at our Session,

declare to you, that our common Fatherland, the U. S. S. R., is surrounded by numerous enemies, that against it the capitalist and imperialist world are forging chains, that they are concentrating all their strength in order to attack this fortress of the world revolution, in order to destroy in embryo the nascent world revolution. This situation places on us, the international proletariat, very serious responsibilities. The duty of the world proletariat at this moment is to push back, to parry all blows against the U. S. S. R. Its duty is to stamp out all the treacherous politics and the treasonable cause of the international Mensheviks, who in union with the international bourgeoisie, are unceasingly plotting conspiracies against the Soviet Union. Our duty consists, at the present moment, in trying to win away the working class of the whole world more and more from the influence of the capitalists, the imperialists and Mensheviks; to enlighten the workers more and more on the significance of the Soviet Union, the significance of the October Revolution; to prepare the working class more and more to follow your example.

Comrades! Workers, revolutionary peasantry, enslaved peoples of all countries! The delegates who are gathered here for the solution of the questions of the international revolution, solemnly declare to you that they are waiting for the moment when they will be able to strike their co-ordinated and deadly blow to world capitalism and imperialism, and to extend the Soviet Union, now already embracing a sixth part of the globe, to include the whole world.

**Long live the Red Army, the vanguard of the world revolution! (Applause.)**

**Long live the C. P. S. U. the steel party of Lenin, the leader of the Communist International. (Applause.)**

**Long live the Communist International! (Applause.)**

**Long live the world revolution! (Applause.)**