

sis as being in favour of the prohibition of binding mandates.

Finally, I wish to mention that we advise the International Executive to have two representatives of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. Thus we shall have an exchange, by which the representatives of the Young Communist International will have advisory votes in the Presidium and the Executive, and full votes in the Enlarged Executive, and the Executive of the Communist International will have its representatives of the Executive of the Young Communist International in order to secure harmonious co-operation.

A representative of the International Communist Women's Secretariat shall be elected here. The International Communist Women's Secretariat shall remain in its previous location.

It is hard to say just at present as to what extent our relationship with the Profintern shall extend, as the Profintern Congress has not yet dealt with these proposals and we can only deal seriously with this matter when their resolutions come before us. However, it appears to us to be very important that, as it becomes more apparent that we must relate the economic struggle closely to the political struggle, there should be close contact between the Communist International, and the Red International of Labour Unions in the future.

With regard to the holding of the World Congress, we propose to hold the World Congress again next year. Whether it will be possible, within the next few years, to increase the interval between Congresses must be taken up next year. WE believe it may be possible to hold such large and unwieldy Congresses, such as this, less often, perhaps every two years in the future.

The number of participants in the Congress shall be fixed, as previously, according to the numerical strength and political situation of each party. So far, these are the proposals which the Re-organisation Commission wish to lay before you.

Another question came up on the Commission as to whether it might not be advisable to revise the statutes of the Communist International. This proposal was unanimously recognised as justified,

but we do not believe it possible to undertake a thorough revision of the statutes so soon after the conclusion of the Congress. We therefore propose that the Executive assume the task of the preparatory work for the revision and extensions of the statutes, and that they transmit their proposals to the various sections of the International, so that the next World Congress may be in a position to adopt them. Until then, of course, the present statutes are recognised as the only binding rules for the conduct of our affairs.

Comrades, we trust that, if you accept the proposals of the Re-organisation Commission, the organisation of the Communist International will, during the coming year, make a considerable advance and that it will be possible, through this re-organisation, to attach the sections more closely to the Communist International, to unite more closely the sections to each other, and to render their leadership firmer and more capable, so that we may have in the near future a better organised and more active guidance for the Communist International. That such a guidance is necessary no one will doubt, and the tasks of the Communist International in the near future are so gigantic that we must unite our best comrades here in the Executive in order adequately to undertake them. (Loud Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MARKLEVSKY: I will now inform you of the agenda for to-morrow. As the re-organisation of the Executive is of the greatest importance, we shall continue the debate upon the Report of the Re-organisation Commission to-morrow.

I have the following announcements to make for to-day:

At 5 o'clock there will be a meeting of the Information Commission; at 6 o'clock there will be a meeting of the Small Italian Commission, in which will participate all members of the Italian Communist Party fraction; to-morrow morning at 10.30, the American Commission will meet; to-night at 12 o'clock there will be a meeting of the Negro Commission in room 2. of the Lux Hotel.

The session is now closed.

The Session closed 4.25 P. m.

# BULLETIN

## OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Moscow.

December 7th, 1922.

№ 27.

### Twenty-Seventh Session.

November 30th, 1922.

Chairmen: Comrades Markhlevsky, Kolaroff.

#### Contents:

Discussion on the Re-organisation of the Executive (conclusion). Adoption of Manifesto against the White Terror in Jugo-Slavia. Report and Resolution on the Egyptian S. P. Appointment of Commission on the Korean question. Report on the Negro question. Adoption of Resolution on the Negro question. Report of the Editing Commission on the Agrarian question. Draft of the Agrarian Programme. Adoption of Resolution for the creation of a Political Red Cross. Poale Zion question.

Speakers: Bordiga, Grün, Katayama, Eberlein, Radovanovitch, Sascha, Varga, Kon.

The Chairman, Comrade Markhlevsky declared the Session open at 12.40 p. m., and called upon Comrade Bordiga to address the Congress.

BORDIGA: I put my name down on the list of speakers on Comrade Eberleins report on the re-organisation of the Executive Committee of the International. At the Commission on this question, I stated that not only the Executive Committee, but the entire International needed re-organisation. Important questions are involved which amount to a thorough revision of the statutes of the International concerning the relations between the sections and the centre and the organisational work of the International in general.

I raised the question of the necessity of revising the statutes of the International, but Comrade Eberlein has just said that this revision has been postponed until the next Congress.

I find the organisation proposals very satisfactory throughout. They are satisfactory inasmuch as they eliminate the last remnants of the Federalist method of organisation prevailing in the old International.

If at this stage of the Congress one could allow a little more time for discussion,

it would be useful to consider whether the mere re-organisation of the apparatus is an effective enough measure to bring about a real centralisation of our revolutionary work.

I have already made certain statements in connection with the Executive Committee's report. I will not repeat myself, but I must reiterate that we must centralise the apparatus if we are to arrive at a real centralisation of all the spontaneous forces of the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the various countries in order to eliminate the crisis of the party discipline with which we have been afflicted. This centralisation is also necessary in order to co-ordinate the methods of struggle, and to differentiate very definitely between program and tactics. All the groupings and all the comrades who adhere to the International must be made to understand the exact meaning of complete submission to party discipline to which they agree on entering our ranks.

As to the International Congresses, I agree with the abolition of binding mandates, and with the proposal of convening the national party conferences after the International Congresses. I fully recognise that these measures are in com-



plete agreement with the principles of centralisation, but I am, nevertheless, of the opinion that, in order to achieve complete centralisation, it is not sufficient to abolish binding mandates and make the national congresses precede the international ones. Something more must be said on the work and the organisation of our congresses.

We have now come to the last Sessions of the Congress, and we recognise that the work of the latter was not altogether satisfactory.

Many important questions were discussed. Our deliberations are coming to an end, and yet we cannot say that very much has been achieved.

We must consider the question of the resignations. I agree that resignations must be prevented. But it would be as well to adopt the method which our experience in Italy has proved very successful. Our method is to immediately accept all resignations with the provision that the resigned member cannot be reinstated for a year or two. I am of the opinion that the resignations would not be as plentiful under such a system.

There is one question with which I must absolutely deal notwithstanding the advanced stage of the Congress, and that is the proposal to hold the World Congress every other year. If the next Congress is to have as overwhelming a program as the present one, it would be perhaps as well not to renew too soon such an effort which entails such an expenditure of energy, money, etc. However, I will deal now with the special question of the interval which is to separate the present congress from the Fifth.

We are to postpone until that congress questions of paramount importance, such as the adoption of a new plan, or rather of the first program of the Communist International. We have just postponed the revision of the statutes, pertaining to the matter of organic connection between the International and its sections.

We discussed at great length the question of tactics in connection with the report of the Executive, but the various speakers who followed each other on this platform did not consider the problem of the tactics of the International. They confined themselves to replying to some of the statements of the Executive Com-

mittee on the work or the position of this or that national section, while not much light was shed on such very important questions as, for instance, that of the workers' government. The text was handed over to a commission which has not yet arrived at any conclusions on this matter. Thus, this question has not been elucidated, and time will not permit to do so during this Congress. I do not intend to re-open a great discussion on the question of tactics, but I think it is absurd to even contemplate the idea of postponing the V Congress for two years. On behalf of the majority of the Italian delegation I move that, in view of the fact that important arguments were postponed until the next Congress, the V Congress of the International should be held during the summer or autumn of 1923.

**CHAIRMAN MARKHLEVSKY:** Comrade Kolaroff has the floor for a point of explanation.

**KOLAROFF:** Comrade Bordiga acted upon a misunderstanding when speaking in opposition to the assumption that the Commission had proposed to convene the next Congress not next year but the year after. The Commission decided in the same sense as was desired by Comrade Bordiga. It is true that in the future the World Congresses are to be held once in every two years. But the next World Congress will certainly take place next year.

**BORDIGA:** I am greatly pleased to obtain this explanation. The misunderstanding was due to the too rigid French translation of Comrade Eberlein's speech.

**GRÜN (Austria):** Comrades, the Third Congress of the Comintern adopted a number of resolutions in regard to the organisational activity of the Comintern and of the affiliated sections which, as Comrade Lenin clearly pointed out in his report, were for the major part, allowed to remain on paper. To some extent it is explicable, conceivable and pardonable. When the Third Congress adopted these organisational principles, it was thought possible, and with good reason, to achieve the consolidation of the Communist International before the meeting of the Fourth Congress. There was the immediate prospects of creating the Czechoslovakian Party, and a certain arrangement with the other Parties ap-

peared to be quite imminent. It was expected that the Fourth Congress would form a single Party out of the Norwegian Section which represents a conglomeration of trade unions, that the Fourth Congress would create the future big Italian Party and consolidate the French Party. If we now find that the major part of the organisational resolutions of the Third Congress have not hitherto been carried out, it may partly be explained by the reason that the anticipated consolidation of the sections has not yet taken place. It may partly be explained also by international reasons, mainly that the international machinery has not yet been started on the road of passing from the first period of the activity to the period of agitation and demonstration to the period, of organisation, which is beginning just now, and which has partly been started. There may be different views as to the probable immediate results of the amalgamation of the Two and Two and a Half Internationals. One thing is certain that the Comintern will make timely and proper use of the situation. Nevertheless, in so far as organisational methods are concerned, the recruiting work of the Comintern on the outside will have to be restricted for some time yet, and this interval, which may be quite a short one, can and should be utilised for the perfect reorganisation of the Comintern from top to bottom. In this respect the organisational Commission has submitted proposals to the Congress which are directed to the achievement of this aim.

Comrade Zinoviev, in an article published at the beginning of the Congress, indicated the final goal of the reorganisation of the Executive. The Executive should be transformed from its present federative form into a strictly organised Central Committee of one great International Communist Party. The proposal made by the German delegation in the Organisational Commission for the immediate creation of this Central Committee. But this is quite impossible for the present. We have not got yet the consolidated International Party that could have a strictly centralised committee composed without consulting the different Parties.

The proposals worked out by the Organisation Committee, which are submitted to the Congress, represent the transition from the present system, under which the Executive is made up entirely of representatives of the Sections, to the final goal of the uniform Central Committee which should be composed, not according to the wishes of the Sections, but in accordance with the wishes of the International Congresses, which shall appoint certain comrades who would be detached from their Sections for a prolonged period, and whose sole task would be to form the Central Committee of the United International Communist Party. It is hoped that this goal will be achieved by the time of the Fifth or Sixth Congress, and the proposals made to-day — let there be no doubt about this — are merely a step towards that goal.

The proposals submitted by the Commission to-day, being only in the nature of transitional measures, will still show certain regard to the Sections that have the right of submitting proposals before the Congress. Nevertheless the increased number of Executive members, provided in these proposals, should give an opportunity of representation to the various large or moderate-sized Parties to have the various tendencies represented upon the Executive. However, there seems to be a certain inconsistency in this respect in the proposals made by the Small Commission, chosen by the larger Organisation Commission, which reported directly to the Congress. To be precise, it is proposed that 10 substitutes should be elected for the 25 members. The practical result will be that these ten substitutes will have to be taken out of the larger Parties, for the reason that only the larger Parties will be able to spare these comrades from the proper activities of the Sections. The inconsistency becomes obvious, if we take into consideration that for the present the Executive will have to be chosen with due regard to the proposals made by the Sections, and therefore the smaller Parties should be assured their share of representation upon the Executive, even if in the course of the year there should be a change in the person of the representative chosen by the Congress. This imperfection could be obviated by a small correction. The



rights of the Congress should in a number of cases, be transferred to the Enlarged Executive, whose functions will steadily increase in the coming years, when the World Congresses will be held only once in two years. There is no doubt that the Enlarged Executive will under these circumstances become a sort of International Conference, a miniature World Congress, and I believe that the Enlarged Executive will be able, in certain cases, to so complete the composition of the Executive, that the individual Parties will be able to change their representatives whenever necessary. Naturally the Parties will use extreme prudence in taking such a course, because there is danger that they might lose their deciding vote if they should subsequently be denied the consent of the Executive.

The Austrian delegation, therefore, made a proposal which would help the smaller and the moderate-sized Parties, whose numbers and importance are steadily growing, to have their due representation on the Executive.

Hitherto I have spoken on behalf of the Austrian delegation. Now I have a few personal remarks to make on the ground of my own experiences before and after the war, and particularly on the ground of the experiences which I gained by my activity on the Executive.

I think that the method of the construction of the Central Committee of the Comintern should be followed also in composing the Central Committees of the Sections, as was properly recommended by the Organisation Commission. The central organ in the Sections should have their corresponding prototype in the Central Committee of the Executive. This should result in a more cohesive organisation of the entire Party from top to bottom.

The proposals provide for two bureaux, namely an organisation bureau, and the Presidium that is to fulfil the task of a political bureau. It makes no difference whether it be called a Presidium or a political bureau, but it must be distinctly understood that these bureaux are subsections of the Executive. This was not pointed out quite clearly on the project. There is also lack of clearness with regard to the departments, because it is not stated whether they are to be subor-

ordinated to the bureau or to be independent. It should be clearly stated that the Executive is sub-divided into the bureaux and the bureaux in their turn into departments.

It is further provided that a general secretary be appointed to the Presidium. But the General Secretary ought to be the Secretary of the Executive. The Presidium (the Political Bureau) must needs have its own responsible Secretary just as much as it needs the Organisational Bureau.

The secretaries who share the responsibility for the various departments must be brought into close organisational relationship with the other secretaries. I believe that, after the proposals are carried, we shall see that the organisation of the future Executive Committee of the Communist International will actually be a pattern for the organisation of the Central Committees of the various Parties. In my opinion we have already two parties which can serve as a model of the planned organisation of the Central Committee. These are the German Communist Party and the Austrian Communist Party in which this method of organisation has already been carried out. Through the adoption of this method on an international scale we may realise this plan in all sections of the International.

I would like to close with a comparison. The Communist International until now has been predominantly occupied with problems of agitation. It was mainly concerned with the destruction of the illusory preconceptions of the working class and the unmasking of the other Internationals. Quite rightly, this was the first task to be undertaken.

We are now confronted by the work of organising the broad masses. We have now arrived at a certain stage in our work where we hardly know from what point to continue. At any rate we are under the necessity of building up an organisation. Until now we had a tool, a heavy hammer, which often smote our enemies with dire results, but it was a tool which was not always in the most skilled hands. It is necessary to take precaution that such eventualities be not repeated. But we are now undertaking new work which is of a far more delicate

nature. For this the heavy hammer is of no use. It has even been found hard to use within the limits of our own International, as may have been seen within many cases where the C. I. Executive was obliged to intervene in the affairs of sections affiliated to the International. What we now need is a fine tool or even more a machine for the execution of precise and delicate work. We must progress from handcraft to machine production, from the hand hammer to the steam hammer, and then on to an electric hammer which will descend with even greater velocity and weight upon our enemies, but will also be capable of performing the most intricate and delicate labour of a political or organisational character within the Communist International. The proposals of the Commission are for us a groundwork which halfway meets our needs and which, with a certain amount of diligence and application, may be converted into that which the future demands. I am fully convinced that this Congress will facilitate the transformation of this instrument into one which will be capable of fulfilling all those intricate functions which are now necessary for the work of the Communist International.

KATAYAMA — Japan. Comrades, We agree with the proposal made by Comrade Eberlein. I want to impress upon the comrades here the necessity for the unification for the work of the Comintern and for the economy of its forces. So far the Comintern has been concerned with the more important nationalistic questions. Of course, when revolution comes in Germany the Comintern will spend much time on this question. There is no doubt about that. But comrades, the significance of the Comintern has to be international. So far we have spent too much time on national questions, and on propaganda against the Second and the Second and a Half Internationals. We want the centralisation of the work of the Comintern. Many communist parties of the West do not look beyond their national borders. For instance, I can give you one case. The Mexican Communist Party is quite young, and while I was in Mexico I wanted to bring about closer connections with the American Communist Party. We wrote many letters to that party, and

sent many articles to them, but there was no answer to the letters, and the articles were never printed. Most of us thought that it was a personal matter. But when I left Mexico, a member of the Executive Committee of the Mexican Communist Party asked that they should work in co-operation with the American Party, but there was no answer. That means, the American Communist Party never looked beyond its national border. That is not the idea nor the principle of the Comintern. Now that is why we support this organisation of the Comintern.

Now I want to give my experience here in Moscow during the last ten months. When you elect 25 Executive members at this Congress and ten substitutes I want you to elect men who are acknowledged to be strong communists, men who can be executive members of the Comintern, not only for their own countries but also for all other countries. Strong communists are a necessity, but at the same time they must be men of large vision and wide horizon.

In the past the Presidium has done great work, important work, good work, but we want to see the Executive treated as part of the Presidium. We have had here Executive members from different countries, sometimes doing nothing at all and not even knowing what is going on in the Comintern, or what the Presidium has been doing. Of course, some important things have to be kept secret even from the Executive members of the Comintern. They may be right, but you elect trusted men to the Presidium, so that they may contribute something towards the Comintern work. Even if they cannot do that, then they ought to be educated by the Presidium and by the Comintern as a whole. That is my idea, that is my experience. When you elect an Executive you ought to elect men that can be trusted by the Presidium.

Now as to the Far Eastern Question. As Comrade Eberlein told you we should be recognised as an important section of the Comintern and in the coming few years the Far East will be the centre of capitalism and imperialism. In the East we have very small weak communist parties. They must be helped in order to help the communist movement of the world. We ought especially to be recog-



nised as part of the direct control of the Comintern, because part of the Far East to-day is part of Soviet Russia, and there Soviet Russia and the Russian Revolution meet with the capitalism and imperialism of the world, so that every contact with them and every aggressive act on their part will menace the Russian revolution and Soviet government. Therefore, we want a strong and well organised direction towards the Far East in order to help the revolutionary workers and the Communist parties there.

EBERLEIN (Germany): Comrades, I gather from the discussion that no proposals for the alteration of our thesis have been made. We may therefore conclude that you are in agreement on the whole with our proposals.

Comrade Bordiga is doubtless quite right when he says that our most important tasks are political and that the political training of the International and its sections should be our principal work. It is evident that good organisation in itself cannot compensate for errors and omissions on the political field, and neglect, or diversion of political work to wrong lines. But my task was not to concern myself with the political tasks of the Congress, but with problems of organisation. All the other matters on the agenda were chiefly concerned with the political tasks of the International.

A word with regard to the proposals that were made during the debate. I believe that Comrade Bordiga misunderstood me when he said that he thought we would hold Congresses every two years from now on. No, our resolution was to have a Congress next year, but to consider, in the meantime, whether it would be suitable later on to have longer intervals between Congresses. This depends a good deal on the experiences of the Enlarged Executive during the next year. The few sessions which were held in the past year have done valuable work in this direction, so that we believe that in the future also the Enlarged Sessions of the Executive will perform a considerable amount of the work which would otherwise have to be done by the World Congress. This would be the case especially if the meeting of the Enlarged Executive took place more often and at regular intervals. As great and important

political questions cannot always be long postponed for discussion and decision, we believe that the Enlarged Executive Sessions will form a sort of substitute for the World Congress, and that will work excellently.

If I have understood Comrade Bordiga rightly, he said, with regard to the question of resignation, that in his opinion resignations should be accepted by the Executive and that the resigning members should be suspended from the Party for a certain time — one or two years. In other words, they should be punished for their resignation.

Comrades, we are not in agreement with this point of view. For one reason, we have not a superfluity of political ability in the International, so that we can suspend members in this way. Besides, on the grounds of discipline, our comrades must learn to subordinate themselves to the will of the whole even if on one or two questions their individual opinions conflict with accepted ones.

In all cases which have so far occurred it has been shown that comrades have been able to function quite well if they show enough discipline and enough obedience to the will of the majority. Naturally, there could be certain cases in which resignations are necessary and in which resignations must be accepted. Resignations are not generally forbidden in our resolution; we only state that the agreement of the International Executive must be obtained. We believe that this will provide the possibility of ascertaining the nature of the grounds for this action on the part of those comrades wishing to resign as to whether the reasons are political or personal, for instance.

Therefore I shall not propose in the Commission that Comrade Bordiga's proposal be accepted.

Comrade Grün stated that the number of substitutes is too small in comparison with the number of members on the Executive.

We must not have a new member at every meeting who, after attending a few meetings, fails to attend any more.

Such members are not helpful. On the contrary, they are a hindrance to any systematic and co-ordinated work in the Executive and in the Presidium. If com-

rades come here from other countries or are summoned for special negotiations, they must carry out as quickly as possible the tasks with which they were entrusted, and must return without much delay to their party and their work and not remain at the seat of the Executive for an unnecessary length of time.

The other question, brought forward by Comrade Grün, is evidently based on a misunderstanding. He said that the Executive or the Presidium would not have sufficient control over the various bureaux which are to be established. This is contrary to facts. I want to emphasise that, in addition to the Executive, we also have the Presidium which is composed of only a small number of comrades and constitutes the real Political Bureau.

All the sections are subordinate to this Political Bureau, and are responsible to it. We even went much further, and have laid down that all the most important sections must be under the responsible management of members of the Presidium. Thus, the organisation, agitation and propaganda bureaux and the Eastern Department will be under the direct control of the Presidium, and the other Departments, such as the statistical etc. will be put under the control and guidance of the Organisation Bureau. I believe that this arrangement meets the requirements of Comrade Grün.

We shall, of course, examine once more in the Commission the few proposals which were made here during the discussion, and we ask you to carefully examine once more the theses, which will be put before you to-day or to-morrow, and to endorse subsequently the proposals of the Organisation Commission.

CHAIR MARKHLEVSKY: I call upon Comrade Radovanovitch to put a proposal before you.

RADOVANOVITCH: (Jugo-Slavia). On behalf of the Jugo-Slavian delegation I propose that the following manifesto should be issued:

To the workers of the world!  
Working men and women! Comrades! The reactionary government of the young Jugo-Slavian capitalist state has committed many crimes against the Jugo-Slavian Communist proletariat during the two years' reign of white terror. The white court magistrates have already

passed many death sentences. One of their victims is to be executed shortly.

This latest victim is our comrade, Keroshovich Jun. He was condemned to death for the crime of having been the leader of the general miners' strike in Jugo-Slavia in 1920.

Although outlawed, the revolutionary proletariat of Jugo-Slavia and our comrades succeeded in organising throughout the country a big campaign against this latest crime of the Jugo-Slavian government. They have also addressed an appeal to the members of the Second, Two and a Half, Amsterdam Internationals in which they invite them to establish against the white terror a united front of the entire Jugo-Slavian working class. The reply was in the negative.

The IV Congress of the Communist International expresses herewith its complete solidarity with the communist proletariat of Jugo-Slavia, which is carrying on a struggle against the reactionary forces. It calls upon the revolutionary proletariat of all countries to join their protest to those of the Jugo-Slavian proletariat, and declare its complete solidarity with the latter in its struggle against the execution of Comrade Keroshevitch.

With the leaders, if possible, without the leaders, if necessary the working class of the whole world must protest unanimously and energetically against this latest crime of the Jugo-Slavian bourgeoisie and its social-democratic allies.

Down with the white terror!

Long live the Communist proletariat of Jugo-Slavia! (Loud applause).

CHAIR MARKHLEVSKY: We will now take the vote on this proposal. Those in favour, please raise your hand. The proposal is carried unanimously. I call on Comrade Katayama to submit his proposal to the Congress.

KATAYAMA — Japan. Comrades, the Egyptian Commission has met several times. It has heard the report of the Socialist Party of Egypt and discussed the question in a very thorough-going manner. We recognise that Egypt occupies an important position. On the one hand it is the dividing point between the East and the West, and on the other hand it is a connecting link between the West and



the East. Egypt holds the key to the East and the Far East. Therefore the Egyptian Communist movement is important.

For forty years the Egyptian people have been exploited by English and French imperialists. The late war brought about a change of attitude on the part of the Egyptian people. They revolted against English imperialism. The Egyptian petty bourgeoisie and the Egyptian capitalists are satisfied with the nominal independence of Egypt, but the communists and the revolutionary workers are not satisfied with nominal independence. They want a real independence and on this point the Comintern should support them. We, the Egyptian Commission, agreed that the Communist movements in Egypt should be helped and encouraged. A strong communist movement should be built up in Egypt in order to hold the key to the East and the Far East. In the case of revolt in India, Egypt by reason of the geographical position it occupies, would hold the key to the Indian revolution and could assist it by blockading the Suez Canal. Therefore, we want to help the Egyptian Communist movement, and we want recognise the Egyptian Socialist Party. The Egyptian Communist Party is young, it is inexperienced in many ways, although the Egyptian comrades are working for the Comintern on Comintern lines. But we want to take certain conditions as to their admission to the Comintern and so we agreed to present to you the following resolution:

Resolution of the Egyptian Commission in the Matter of the Socialist Part of Egypt.

November 26, 1922.

After several sessions, the Commission has reached the following conclusion:

1. — The report of the S. P. E. delegate, made available to the Commission, is satisfactory evidence that the S. P. E. represents a substantial revolutionary movement in conformity with the Communist International.

2. — The Commission considers, however, that the affiliation of the S. P. E. must be postponed until:

a) The Party has expelled certain undesirable elements.

b) The Party has convoked a Congress at which an attempt shall be made to unite with the S. P. E. any communist element in Egypt that may at present exist outside the S. P. E. and will accept the 21 demands of the C. I.

c) The Party has changed its name to «The Communist Party of Egypt».

3. — The S. P. E. is therefore instructed to summon a congress for the above purposes at an early date, and not later than January 15, 1923.

I have to announce that the Italian sub-committee and the communist fraction will meet at 2 o'clock, and that at 2.30 p.m. the Italian sub-committee will have its session with the maximalist comrades.

It was found necessary to form a commission on the Korean question. The Presidium proposes to appoint the following members for this commission:

Felix Kon, Katayama, Chen-Tu-Shin, Manner, Pruchniak, Kuusinen, Voitinsky, Zetkin.

If there is no objection to this proposal, I will take it that you agree that such a commission should be appointed, and also that you are in favour of the proposed comrades becoming members of this commission.

There are no objections.

I call upon comrade Sascha to report on the decisions of the committee on the Negro question.

SASCHA — America. Comrades, the thesis on the Negro question which was returned for clarification and amplification I shall now read to you and trust that it will be unanimously adopted by the Congress:

During and after the war there developed among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples a movement of revolt, which is still making successful progress against the power of world capital. The penetration and intensive colonisation of regions inhabited by black races is becoming the last great problem on the solution of which further development of capitalism itself depends. French capitalism clearly recognises that the power of French post-war imperialism will be able to maintain itself only through the creation of a French-African Empire, linked up by a Trans-Sahara Railway. America's financial magnates (who are

exploiting 12,000,000 negroes at home) are now entering upon a peaceful penetration of Africa. How Britain for her part dreads the menace to her position in Africa is shown by the extreme measures taken to crush the Rand Strike. Just as in the Pacific the danger of another world war has become acute owing to the competition of imperialist powers there, so Africa looms ominously as the object of their rival ambitions. Moreover, the war, the Russian revolution, and the great movements of revolt against imperialism on the part of the Asiatic and Mussulman nationalities have roused the consciousness of millions of the Negro race whom capitalism has oppressed and degraded beyond all others for hundreds of years, not only in Africa, but perhaps even more in America.

2. The history of the Negro in America fits him for an important rôle in the liberation struggle of the entire African race. Three hundred years ago the American Negro was torn from his native African soil, brought in slave ships under the most cruel and indescribable conditions and sold into slavery. For two hundred and fifty years he toiled a chattel slave under the lash of the American overseer. His labour cleared the forest, built the roads, raised the cotton, laid the railroad tracks and supported the Southern aristocracy. His reward was poverty, illiteracy, degradation and misery. The Negro was no docile slave; his history is rich in rebellion, insurrection, underground methods of securing liberty, but his struggles were barbarously crushed. He was tortured into submission and the bourgeois press and religion justified his slavery. When chattel slavery became an obstacle to the full and free developments of America on the basis of capitalism; when chattel slavery clashed with wage-slavery, chattel-slavery had to go. The Civil War, which was not a war to free the Negro but a war to maintain the industrial capitalist supremacy of the North, left the Negro the choice of peonage in the South or wage-slavery in the North. The sinews, blood, and tears of the «freed» Negro helped to build American capitalism, and when, having become a world power, America was inevitably dragged into the world war,

the American Negro was declared the equal of the white man to kill, and to be killed for «democracy». Four hundred thousand coloured workers were drafted into the American army and segregated into «Jim Crow» regiments. Fresh from the terrible sacrifices of war the returned Negro soldier was met with race persecutions, lynchings, murders, disfranchisement, discrimination and segregation. He fought back, but for asserting his manhood he paid dearly. Persecution of the Negro became more widespread and intense than before the war, until he had «learned to keep his place». The post-war industrialisation of the Negro in the North and the spirit of revolt engendered by post-war persecutions and brutalities a spirit caused which tough suppressed flames into action when a Tulsa or other inhuman outrage cries aloud for protest and places the American Negro, especially of the North, in the vanguard of the African struggle against oppression.

3. It is with intense pride that the Communist International sees the exploited Negro workers resist the attacks of the exploiter, for the enemy of his race and the enemy of the white workers, is one and the same — Capitalism and Imperialism. The international struggle of the Negro race is a struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism. It is on the basis of this struggle that the World Negro movement must be organised: In America, as the centre of Negro culture and the crystallisation of Negro protest; in Africa, the reservoir of human labour for the further development of Capitalism; in Central America, (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Nicaragua and other «independent» Republics) where American Imperialism dominates in Porto Rico, Haiti, Santo Domingo and other islands washed by the waters of the Caribbean, where the brutal treatment of our black fellow-men by the American occupation has aroused the protest of the conscious Negro and the revolutionary white workers everywhere; in South Africa and the Congo, where the growing industrialisation of the Negro population has resulted in various forms of uprisings; in East Africa, where the recent penetration of world capital is stirring the native populations into an active opposition to imperialism.



4) It is the task of the Communist International to point out to the Negro people that they are not the only people suffering from oppression of Capitalism and Imperialism; that the workers and peasants of Europe and Asia and of the America are also the victims of Imperialism; that the struggle against Imperialism is not the struggle of any one people but of all the peoples of the world; that in India and China, in Persia and Turkey, in Egypt and Morocco, the oppressed coloured colonial peoples are struggling heroically against their imperialist exploiters that these peoples are rising against the same evils that the Negroes are rising against — racial oppression and discrimination, and intensified industrial exploitation; that these peoples strive for — political, industrial and social liberation and equality.

The Communist International, which represents the revolutionary workers and peasants of the whole world in the struggle to break the power of Imperialism; the Communist International, which is not simply the organisation of the enslaved white workers of Europa and America, but equally the organisation of the oppressed coloured peoples of the world, feels it its duty to encourage and support the international organisation of the Negro people in their struggle against the common enemy.

5) The Negro problem has become a vital question of the world revolution; and the Third International, which has already recognised what valuable aid can be rendered to the Proletarian Revolution by coloured Asiatic peoples in semicapitalist countries to likewise regards, the co operation of our oppressed black fellow-men as essential to the Proletarian Revolution and the destruction of capitalist power. The Fourth Congress accordingly declares it to be a special duty of Communists to apply the «Theses on Colonial Questions» to the Negro problem.

6) 1. The Fourth Congress recognises the necessity of supporting every form of Negro movement which tends to undermine or weaken Capitalism or Imperialism or to impede its further penetration.

2. The Communist International will fight for race equality of the Negro with the white people, for equal Wages and political and social rights.

3. The Communist International will use every instrument within its control to compel the trade unions to admit Negro workers to membership or, where the nominal right to join exists, to agitate for a special campaign to draw them into the unions; failing in this, it will organise the Negroes into unions of their own and specially apply the United Front tactic, to compel admission.

4. The Communist International will take immediate steps to hold a general Negro Conference or Congress in Moscow.

Now, comrades, I want merely to add a word on the Negro question. On the clause dealing with the Negro workers and the trade unions. In the American Federation of Labour Negroes are nominally admitted to membership in most of the unions. But there is absolutely no effort made except in extremely few cases to draw the Negroes into the trade unions. In the United States we have party instruments whereby we can bring pressure to bear upon the American Federation of Labour to admit the Negro workers. We must enter into a definite campaign to accomplish this thing. Just as our units are working to crystallise the left wing sentiment in the trade unions, so too we can work definitely, clearly, planfully, for the inclusion of the Negroes. If we make such a campaign in the countries concerned, comrades, and if after such a campaign we find that we have failed, then it will be our duty to organise the Negroes into separate unions, and to bring together the white and coloured workers who are willing to form a united front and carry on anew a campaign to compel inclusion, chiefly in the industrial field where the black and the white workers toil side by side, where they strike and suffer together through the industrial oppression of capitalism. can we hope to create that unity, that understanding, that binding tie that will finally bring them through a common organisation into the struggle. The Congress, of course, I believe, has made a wonderful move in the right direction by moving to hold a general Negro Conference or Congress in Moscow, but our chief work lies in getting the industrial Negroes into the unions where they can fight equally with the white workers for their equal emancipation.

Comrades, I want to beg those of you who have white and coloured workers in your respective countries, to work out a programme on the basis of what the Communist International will lay down for you in the way of instructions that will enable you to «Carry on» more particularly in the trade unions. I ask you not to allow this thesis to become a dead letter, but to bring it into effect, to carry it into life, and to make the Negro worker a vital part of the Communist International.

CHAIRMAN MARKHLESKY: You have received a translation which was read to you, and we will now take the vote on this resolution concerning the Negro question.

Those in favour of the resolution, please raise your hand.

Anyone against it?

As this is not the case, I declare the resolution carried unanimously.

We are coming now to the next item on the agenda. Comrade Varga will report on the findings of the newly elected Agrarian Commission, which has introduced several amendments to the proposed resolution.

VARGA (Hungary) Comrades, as you know, a new editing commission was appointed following the debate on the agrarian question, in order to amend the draft. The work of this commission received its inspiration from a letter of Comrade Lenin. In this letter, with which most of the comrades are acquainted (it was distributed in 4 languages), Comrade Lenin pointed out that we should avoid any real or seeming disparity between the resolution of the second Congress on the agrarian question and the present agrarian programme of action, for such a disparity would provide our enemies with the opportunity to reproach us with changing our opinions every other year. Therefore, the editorial commission has compared very carefully the thesis of the Second Congress with this programme of action, and has amended the parts which might give rise to misunderstanding. These amendments have already been distributed in the German and the French languages. I will deal quite briefly with them.

The most important amendment is the

introduction of a sub-title, which is as follows:

«Instruction for the application of the agrarian theses of the Second Congress».

By this sub-title we wish to indicate that this agrarian programme of action is directly connected with the theses of the Second Congress, being neither a departure from nor an annulment of the latter. A sentence was added to paragraph 1. At the end of the definition as to what is meant by the term poor peasant, the following words were added.

«Or who are exploited in some other way by the big landowners and the capitalists».

By this, we meant those categories which are not working directly for wages, but who are exploited either in repayment of debt or through tenancy, partial or complete, under very harsh conditions, thus coming under the head of the rural semi-proletariat in spite of a seemingly independent economic existence.

An amendment was also introduced in paragraph 5 section 2, dealing with the movement in the colonial countries, because there are two kinds of such countries. One of these is represented by Turkey, for example, where at present the peasants are fighting together with the feudal lords against foreign imperialism. The other type, which we had originally in mind, is exemplified by India, where the feudal landowners are fighting together with the imperialists against the peasants.

In Turkey the struggle of the peasants against the feudal lords will begin when the national liberation struggle against France and Great Britain will be over.

In India, the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle against the feudal landowners. We have divided this part into two, in order to emphasise the difference.

In paragraph 9, in which we say that the C.P. supports the strikes of the agricultural labourers, we have added the following sentence:

«Contrary to the social-democrats, who are attacking the struggling agricultural proletariat from the back».

Such was the case in many countries, especially in Germany where the social democracy officially opposed the strikes



of the agricultural labourers, because agriculture was «a vital necessity». We wanted therefore to emphasise the difference between the attitude of the Communist Party and that of the social-democratic party in this connection.

In paragraph 7, only one sentence was added, which was by mistake omitted when the resolution was being typed. This sentence is as follows:

«Against the exploitation by loan and usurers's capital imposing upon the poor peasant conditions of servitude in connection with the repayment of this debt».

In paragraph 9, where it says that bourgeois agrarian reforms cannot offer anything to the purely proletarian elements, the following sentence was added:

«And semi-proletarian elements». For the certain semi-proletarians who have not sufficient means of production get inevitably into servitude under the bourgeois conditions of land tenure, getting into debt to the banks, and are unable to better their conditions.

Wishing to emphasise the identity between this programme of action and the theses of the Second Congress, we inserted a quotation from these Theses in the paragraph which read: «in the sense of the Theses of the Second Congress.» I do not think it necessary to read this quotation as the delegates are supplied with the text.

In conclusion, we struck out «and secondary» in the last paragraph, in which we said that the agrarian parties, the big peasants and big landowners are endeavouring magnify the seeming or negligible contrasts between the agricultural labourers, the small peasantry and the petty landholders. We acted upon the idea that the conflict of interests between these categories is indeed of a very significant nature, which we could consider with good conscience as non-existent. In order not to provide our opponents with the opportunity to point out that the Communist Party recognises in its own programme the existence of conflicting interests, be they only secondary, between the real agricultural proletariat and the petty peasantry, we deemed it advisable to strike out these two words.

I believe, comrades, that by this means the apprehension of Comrade Lenin as to the programme of action being interpreted

as contrary to the Theses of the Second Congress, has been completely removed.

As to the actual differences between the Theses of the Second Congress and this programme of action, it consists in pointing out the necessity of linking up with the actual needs of the agricultural proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, as well as with all the toilers of the land. As I already pointed out in my first letter, this difference has been necessitated by the present historic situation in which we must study the everyday interests of the wide working masses in the rural districts, just as we had to do it in the interests of the united front of the industrial workers. This difference is unavoidable, but it is not an essential difference, but only one which is conditioned by the fact that the new historic situation requires new tactics and methods in our contact with the wide masses in the rural districts.

I believe, comrades, that after these editorial amendments, the Congress will confidently adopt this plan of action, and the various parties, provided they put enough energy into their work, will be able to achieve considerable results on this basis.

(Applause.)

Chairman MARHLEVSKY: We will now proceed with the vote on the proposed programme of action in connection with the agrarian question. If there is no opposition, the vote should be taken on the resolution, together with the amendments which Comrade Varga has put before us.

As there are no objections, the vote will now be taken. I declare the resolution and the amendments carried.

According to this resolution, the final draft of the agrarian programme is as follows:—

### Draft of the Agrarian Programme of the Communist International.

Instruction on the application of the thesis of the Second Congress on the Agrarian Question.

The basis of our attitude to the agricultural working masses was already laid down in the agrarian thesis of the Second Congress. The agrarian question has

gained in importance during the present phase of the capitalist offensive. The Fourth Congress calls upon all the Parties to do their utmost to win over the rural working masses, in accordance with the following instructions:—

1. The mass of the rural proletarians and the poor peasants, who do not possess enough land and must work part of the time for wages, or are exploited in any other way by the big landowners or capitalists, can be freed from their present servitude and from want which are inevitable under capitalism only by a proletarian revolution. This revolution will confiscate the land of the big landowners and all the means of production without compensation, putting them at the disposal of the workers, who will establish the Soviet State of proletarians and working peasants in lieu of the government of big landowners and capitalists, thus paving the way to Communism.

2. In the struggle against the government of the big landowners and the capitalists, the poor peasants and small holders are the natural allies of the agricultural and industrial proletariat. By joining in the struggle of the proletariat in the cities and in the rural districts, they will contribute to a great extent to the overthrow of the bourgeois State. While the urban proletariat seizes political power and confiscates the means of production of the bourgeoisie, the rural proletariat and the poor peasantry take possession of the land, drive away the big landowners and put an end to the domination of the agrarians and bourgeoisie in the country.

3. In order to win over the poor peasants (petty farmers, small tenants and a part of the small peasantry) for the revolution, in addition to the agricultural labourers, and in order to insure the benevolent neutrality of the middle peasantry, they must be freed from the influence and the leadership of the big peasantry allied to the big landowners. They must be made to realise that their interests are identical, not with those of the big peasants, but with those of the proletariat, and that, therefore, only the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the communist party, can be their leader in their struggle. In order to accelerate the alienation of the poor peasants from the

leadership of the big landlords and the big peasants, it is not sufficient to draw up a program or carry on propaganda. The Communist Party, must, through continued action in the interests of these peasants, prove that it is actually the party of all the workers and of all the oppressed.

Therefore, the Communist Party must be at the head of every struggle of the agricultural masses against the ruling classes. Linking up with the every-day demands of these workers under the capitalist system, the Communist Party brings together the scattered forces of the rural working class, stimulates its will to fight, supports the struggle by bringing into it the forces of the industrial proletariat and indicates new ways and methods leading to the revolution. The common struggle with industrial workers, and the fact that the latter, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are fighting for the interests of the rural workers and poor peasants, will convince the latter that 1) only the communist party mean honestly by them, while all the other, agrarian as well as social democratic parties (in spite of their high-sounding phrases) are intent only on deceiving them, while serving in reality the big landlords and capitalists, and 2) that a radical betterment of the conditions of the workers and poor peasants is impossible within the capitalist system.

5. Our practical militant demands must be adapted to the various forms of dependence and oppression of the workers, the poor and the middle peasants by big landlords and capitalists, as well as to the interests of the various separate groups.

In the colonial countries, with an oppressed native peasant population, the national liberation struggle is conducted either by the entire population, as for instance in Turkey (in such a case the struggle of the oppressed peasantry against the big landlords will inevitably begin after the victorious solution of the liberation struggle) or the feudal landlords are allied with the imperialist robbers, as for instance in India, where the social struggle of the oppressed peasants coincides with the national liberation struggle.

Territories with strong survivals of feudalism, where the bourgeois



revolution has not fully accomplished its task and where the big landlords still enjoy feudal rights and privileges, these rights and privileges must be brushed aside in the course of the struggle for the land which in this case is of paramount importance.

6. In all countries with a real agricultural proletariat, this part of the population is destined to be the most important factor of the rural revolutionary movement. Contrary to the social democrats, who attack the rural proletariat from the back, the Communist Party supports, organises and furthers all the struggles of the agricultural proletariat for the betterment of its economic, social and political conditions. In order to accelerate the revolutionising of the rural proletariat, and in order to train it for the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, which alone can definitely free them from exploitation, the C.P. supports the rural proletariat in its struggle for a higher real wage and a betterment of the labour, housing and cultural conditions of the entire working class, freedom of assembly, of organisation, of trade union movement, of strikes, of the press etc.—for at least the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the industrial working class,—an average yearly 8 hour day, insurance against accidents and old age, prohibition of child labour, professional education, social legislation, at least to the same extent as it exists now for the city proletariat.

7. The Communist Party carries on its struggle for the liberation of the peasants from their servitude through the social revolution.

It struggles against all forms of capitalist exploitation of the poor and middle peasantry and especially against the exploitation by means of the loan and usurers capital which makes the poor peasants the slaves of their creditors, also against the exploitation by commercial and speculation capital which buys up the surplus agricultural products of the poor peasants at low prices, selling it at high prices to the town proletariat.

The C.P. works for the elimination of this parasitic speculation capital, and for

an alliance between the co-operatives of small peasants and the co-operatives of the urban consumers co-operatives of the urban proletariat. It struggles against the exploitation by industrial capital, which uses its monopoly rights for artificially raising the prices of manufactured goods. It strives for the supply of means of production (artificial fertilisers, machinery etc.) to the poor peasantry at low prices. The factory councils are to help in this work by controlling prices.

It also strives against the exploitation of the peasants through the private monopoly of the transportation system, as particularly in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and finally, against the exploitation by the capitalist state, which puts the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the poor peasantry in the interests of the big landowners. We demand that the poor peasantry be freed of all taxation.

8. But the greatest exploitation of the landless peasantry in the non colonial countries is caused by the private ownership of the land by the big landowners. In order to be able to exist, and to make full use of their labour, power, the poor peasants are compelled to work for the big landowners at starvation wages, or to purchase or lease the lands at such high costs that a considerable part of the wages becomes a booty of the landowners. Lack of land compels the poor peasants to put up with medieval servitude in modern form. Therefore the C.P. strives for the expropriation of the land including agricultural implements, and the distribution of same among those who work on the land. Until the proletarian revolution has achieved this, the C.P. will support the poor peasants in the struggle for the following immediate demands;

a) The betterment of the conditions of the small tenants by decreasing the share of the owner.

b) Lower rent for small farms, unconditional compensation for the improvements made by the holder at the expiration of the lease etc. The agricultural labourers' union, under the leadership of the C.P., will support the small tenants in the struggle, by refusing to work on

the fields of the landowner who has derived the small tenant of his land owing to lease disputes, etc.

c) The distribution of land, cattle and means of production among all the poor peasants on terms which insure their existence, the plots of land to be large enough to emancipate the peasants from the overlordship of the big landowners. At the distribution of land, special attention must be paid to the interests of the agricultural labourers.

9. The ruling classes are endeavouring to rob the movement in the rural districts of its revolutionary character by introducing bourgeois agrarian reforms, and allotting land to the influential peasantry. They have succeeded in bringing about a temporary lull in the revolutionary movement. But every bourgeois agrarian reform is hampered by the capitalist system. Under capitalism land can only be given at a price to those who are already in possession of means enabling them to carry on their agricultural work. Bourgeois agrarian reforms can give absolutely nothing to the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. The hard conditions imposed on those who receive land under a bourgeois plan of land distribution, cannot lead to a betterment of their conditions, but only to further servitude under the system of mortgages. These form the basis for the further extension of the revolutionary movement, accentuating the contrasts between the rich and the poor peasants and agricultural labourers who do not get any land, and whom the partition of the big estates only deprives of their former means of earning a livelihood.

10. The complete emancipation of all the rural workers can be brought about only by a proletarian revolution which confiscates without compensation the land and implements of the big landowners, while leaving intact the land of the working peasants, freeing it of rent, mortgages, taxes, etc., and all other feudal liabilities.

The workers are to decide themselves about the method and manner in which the confiscated land shall be worked. In connection with this question, the theses of the Second Congress set forth the following:

"The Communist International is of the opinion that the big agricultural estates in the advanced capitalist countries should be to a great extent maintained and that they should be carried on on the model of the Soviet agricultural farms in Russia.

Support should also be given to collective farming (co-operatives, communes, etc.).

The maintenance of the big farms is in the interest of the revolutionary rural population, of the landless agricultural labourer and of the semi-proletarian small holders who earn their living partly as hired labourers on these farms. Moreover, the nationalisation of the big agricultural estates insures to a certain extent the independence of the food supply of the urban population from the peasantry.

On the other hand, it might be necessary under certain circumstances to hand over to the peasants part of the big estates. This applies to the countries with survivals of the mediaeval social order, of indented labour or of a motayer system, which lead to various forms of exploitation.

In countries and territories where big agricultural estates do not play an important part, but which have a large number of small land hungry peasant proprietors, the distribution of the big landowners' land will be the best means for winning the peasantry for the revolution, while to maintain the big farms out of consideration of food supply of the cities is of no great importance in countries like these.

In any case, wherever a partitioning of the big estates takes place, the interests of the rural proletariat should be of prime consideration.

From the organisational viewpoint, all communists engaged in agriculture and in the industrial concerns connected with it, must join the organisations of the agricultural labourers in order to rally and lead the revolutionary elements within them, with the purpose of turning these organisations into effective weapons for the revolutionary struggle. Wherever trade unions do not exist, the communists must endeavour to bring them into being. They must carry on an energetic educat-



ional campaign in the yellow, Fascist and Christian counter-revolutionary organisations, in order to distintegrate them. Estate workers councils must be formed in all the big agricultural estates for the defence of working class interests, for control over production and for the prevention of the extension of these estates. They must call upon the industrial proletariat to support the struggles of the agricultural labourers, and, on the other hand they must endeavour to bring the latter into the industrial councils' movement.

In view of the enormous importance of the poor peasants for the revolutionary movement, communists must make it their business to join the organisations of the small peasants (agricultural, consumers' and credit co-operatives) in order to revolutionise them and to do away with the apparent conflict of interests between the hired labourers and the poor peasants, which are being exaggerated and put to the fore by the big landowners. The communists must also concentrate on effecting a close co-operation between the movement and actions of the rural organisations and those of the urban proletariat.

Only by uniting all the revolutionary forces of city and village, the capitalist offensive will be successfully resisted, and passing from the defensive to the offensive, the final victory will be won. (Cheers).

CHAIRMAN MARKHLEVSKY: Comrade Felix Kon has the floor.

FELIX KON: Esteemed comrades! At the opening of this Congress we adopted an appeal to all our class brothers imprisoned in the capitalist jails. Since that time only one month has passed, and during this month we got tidings of fresh imprisonments in nearly all the countries. In America, in Poland, in Jugo-Slavia, in Japan, everywhere our comrades, and the leaders of the workers engaged in the fight against capitalism, were thrown into prison. It is high time now for us to establish a political Red Cross in all countries. The Union of Veteran Russian Bolsheviks has proposed to us to establish at this Congress a political Red Cross which is to be extended to all countries through the affiliated Communist Parties.

Comrades, at the present moment we ought to help our imprisoned comrades

not only materially, but also morally. The Communist newspapers must give full publicity to what is taking place in the prisons, so that the entire working class might know how capitalism fights against the working class. On behalf of the Union of Veteran Bolsheviks, I submit the following resolution, urging the Congress to adopt it:

«Under the capitalist offensive, in all the capitalist countries, there is a steady increase of the numbers of communist and non-party workers thrown into prison for taking part in the struggle against capitalism.

The Fourth Congress instructs all the Communist Parties to establish an organisation to render material and moral aid to the imprisoned victims of capitalism, and welcome the initiative of the Russian «Union of Veteran Bolsheviks» to establish an international association of relief for the political class prisoners». (Applause)

Chairman KOLAROFF: The resolution as read by Comrade Kon is now put to the vote. Anyone against the resolution? No. Carried unanimously.

Comrade MARKHLEVSKY now has the floor to report in connection with some matter pertaining to the Poale Zion.

MARKHLEVSKY: Comrades, the Presidium has received a letter from several comrades who hitherto belonged to the Poale Zion Party. These comrades tell us that the differences of opinion in their Party have led to acute strife, and that they have decided to join the Communist Party. I ought to tell you that the Executive has had many negotiations with the Poale Zion Party, which lately began to call itself the Communist Union, in order to bring about the affiliation of the Communist World Union of Jewish Workers, as they now call themselves, to the Communist International. All these efforts were set to nought in consequence of the nationalist tendencies which exist in this organisation.

Now these comrades tell us that a conference has taken place which resulted in a split. The comrades who quit the Poale Zion and wish to join the Communist Party, apply to the International to facilitate their entry into the Communist Parties. It is mainly a question of those comrades who are active among the Jewish speaking proletariat in Russia, Poland

and perhaps in a few East-European countries.

We propose that the matter of the Poale Zion be referred to the Executive.

Chairman KOLAROV: Anyone against the proposition to hand the matter over to the Executive? No one. Carried.

MARKHLEVSKY: Comrades, we now come to the end of our agenda for to-day. The next session will open to-morrow at 11 a. m.

#### A g e n d a :

The French Question, and the reports of the Commissions that are through with their work.

The following meetings will take place to-night:

At 5.30 p. m., meeting of the American Commission.

At 6 p. m., meeting of the Presidium.

At 7.30 p. m., meeting of the Small French Commission.

At 8.30 p. m., meeting of the Large French Commission.

At 8 p. m., meeting of the Norwegian Commission without the Norwegian delegates.

At 9 p. m., meeting of the Norwegian Commission with the attendance of the Norwegian delegates.

The Session is now adjourned.  
(Session closed at 3.8 p. m.)

