

favorable for our French Communist Party. The national block is breaking down; there is absolute impossibility of exacting the reparations. The left bloc finds itself in a difficult situation, and I believe that our party holds in its hands the future of France, which means the future of humanity at large. We feel confident that, inspired by such grand and glorious prospects, the centre will do its duty to the last, and by the time the next Congress will meet, we will have a unified, homogeneous revolutionary party, faithful to its duty until the complete triumph of the revolution of the French proletariat. (Prolonged cheers).

Kolaroff.—The meeting will be closed after the translation of Comrade Trotsky's speech. The next session will take place tomorrow at eleven; the question on the agenda remains the same.

I have a few announcements to make before closing the session:

At six o'clock, meeting of the Presidium;

At seven o'clock meeting of the small Italian Commission with the maximalist faction.

All the Commissions which have not yet terminated their work are requested to meet tonight to bring their task to an end. Their secretaries must call them together. Monday December 4th, at six o'clock, will take place in the Great Theatre the opening of the International Congress of the Youth.

The Moscow Soviet invites the Delegates to a banquet tomorrow, Saturday, in the Great Theatre. The invitation cards will be distributed in the dining room.

The session closed 4 p. m.

BULLETIN

OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 29.

Moscow.

December 8th, 1922.

Twenty-Ninth Session.

December 2nd, 1922.—1 p.m.

Chairman: Comrade Kolaroff.

Contents: Declarations by French Delegation on Report of French Commission. Declaration by Brazilian Delegation. Concluding remarks by Comrade Trotsky. Adoption of Political and Organisational Resolution on the French Party. Report of Spanish Commission. Adoption of Resolution on the Spanish Communist Party. Report of Danish Commission. Adoption of Resolution on Danish Communist Party. Revision of the Thesis on the Reorganisation of the Executive. Adoption of revised Thesis on Reorganisation of the Executive. Report of Communist Youth Commission. Adoption of Resolution on Young Communist International Expression of Sympathy with the Imprisoned Comrades in France.

Speakers: Cachin, Renoult, Souvarine, Jean. Cabellan, Trotsky, Humbert-Droz, Kuusinen, Eberlein, Schueller.

Kolaroff Chairman: I declare the session open. The French Delegation has the floor to state its position on the Report of Comrade Trotsky and the propositions of the commission.

Marcel Cachin: I only wish to read the declaration of our faction on the report and the ensuing comments:

To make an end of the crisis which ruled within it the whole French Party appealed to the Fourth Congress and has left the decision in its hands. It has agreed to submit to its decisions. We submit ourselves to the discipline of the Congress.

We wish to renew before you the declarations which we have made in the French Commission.

The report excessively criticises a majority of the Party. They are too one-sided because they do not affect the Left. There is no statement on the resignations which followed the Congress at Paris or the attack against the members of the Majority; on the contrary, the representatives of the Centre are accused of being the main authors of the crisis.

We cannot accept this accusation.

Moreover, the speakers interpretation of

a phrase of Frossard's at the Paris Congress as forced and abusive. The truth is that, like all of us he has met with many difficulties in carrying out the decision of the International, which difficulty we have been able to overcome. With the best will in the world, we and Frossard have nevertheless had to take these difficulties into account.

Today the problems placed before us by the Comintern are being solved as is expected of us. The organisation of the Party is being centralised, we have split with the Right, we will carry out the United Front.

Tomorrow the problems of the relations between Party and Trade Unions will also be solved in accordance with the terms formulated at this Fourth Congress and the Profintern. Frossard's role in St. Etienne has been very important to bring about this very happy result.

We shall carry out strictly and in the spirit of the International the resolutions on Free Masonry and the other institutions mentioned in the report.

In this way, the directives of the Comintern are and will be observed more

faithfully. If mistakes have been made in the past, they have been shared by the whole Party for every faction was represented in the leading bodies.

What has brought most damage to French Communism is the internal strife of factions. Recently, this struggle assumed such a violent form that the relations between comrades became strained. We are not responsible for this violence. And it will not be sufficient merely to sign a few resolutions together in order to re-establish peace. We must put a stop at once to all the personal conflicts that are going on.

The rivalry between the factions must be abolished. If the International does not see to this we will continue to waste our strength in sordid quarrels instead of serving the interests of the proletariat and the revolution.

We have submitted several propositions to the Commission on the question of our internal organisation. They seem to us essential to the progress of the Party. We are sorry that they have not all been accepted.

We will return to the Party and inform it of the decisions of the Fourth Congress. It has declared in advance that it would submit to it.

It will do so, and we with it."

The Delegation of the Centre.

Daniel Renoult. This is a declaration which I must read to you in the name of our faction:

"The undersigned accept fully the work accomplished by the Fourth Congress on the question on the general activity of the International as well as the special problems of the French movement.

It promises to accept the decisions of the World Congress on the various questions.

The criticisms of certain slogans for the application of the United Front were inspired by their sincere desire to prevent all dangers of false interpretation, confusionist and opportunist. The work of this congress has contributed much to dissipate the misunderstandings which had arisen and the errors which might have been committed. This work has proved that the purpose of these tactics is to organise and set into motion the masses of the proletariat which we must tear from the influence of the social democrats,

who are imbued with the spirit of Parliamentarism. The undersigned renew their previous declarations and declare their readiness to collaborate with every faction of their Party and the International to put into practice the policy of the United Front.

Furthermore, the undersigned greet with pleasure the adhesion of the C.G.T.U. to the R.I.L.U. as a promise of a new era of collaboration between the French Communist Party and the Trade Unions, they affirm their will to apply the decisions of the Congress on the Trade Union question. They believe it to be the constant duty of the Communists who remain within the Trade Unions, to conform entirely to the directives of the International, under the control of the Central Committee of the Party.

They will help in the application of all decisions and will combat all those who oppose them.

They take part in the International's condemnation of the presence of communists in associations created by the bourgeoisie to distract the working class from the class struggle, such as Freemasonry, the League for the Rights of Man, etc. They are convinced that a resolution adopted on this point by the fourth Congress will introduce into the Party a true revolutionary and proletarian leadership by expelling from the organisation every suspicious element.

They readily acknowledge that the various factions in the Party, including their own, have been guilty of greater or lesser breaches of discipline during the crisis which shook the Party so profoundly. Our common goodwill should prevent a repetition of this.

The undersigned who had intended to enter the opposition for what they believed was the good of Communism rejects all solidarity with those who may have attacked the International, directly or indirectly.

Once again they assure the International of their profound devotion.

Moscow, 29th November, 1922.

Signed, Duret.

R. Lespagnol.

Level.

Daniel Renoult.

G. Werth.

Boris Souvarine. Declaration: The Left Wing approves and votes for the resolution proposed by the Commission.

They find therein the justification of their past activity and their attitude. They are proud to have the approbation of the International in their policy and their most important actions.

The Left Wing will persevere in its action and we know how to profit by the friendly criticisms of the International on certain secondary phases of their activity. They will always accept with pleasure the criticisms advice and suggestions coming from qualified organs and militants of the International; they regard this as collaboration and support. They will always faithfully keep their promises, as they are always done. They will always execute the decisions of the Communist International which they place above all else.

Béron, Marthe Bigot, Lauridan, Rieu, Rosmer, Souvarine, David, Laporte, Péju, Péri.

Renaud Jean. Comrades, I believe that certain practical decisions of the Commission are dangerous for the French Communist Party and therefore for the International.

However much it may be justified by the present circumstances, the nomination of the members of the Central Committee by the Fourth Congress constitutes a serious precedent and may create new difficulties because it is openly contrary to the expressed will of the Congress of 1921.

The double management restored for "Humanité" will provoke new conflicts of power, will prevent the localisation of responsibility and paralyse the development of the Newspaper.

The immediate reinstatement of the communists who had resigned, if it is not accompanied by a reduction of staff carried out without any spirit of faction, in the absence of seniority, capacity and professional zeal, will impose a heavy financial burden upon the newspaper and weaken the class consciousness of the newspaper and the confidence of the workers and militants in the Party.

The measures taken in regard to membership of the Party who belong at the same time to the Freemasons, or the League of the Rights of Man, by their unexpected character, (the Party does not know the

Decisions of the 2nd Congress and the existence of the 22nd condition) may appear as a violation of the contract between the Party and the International and cause a new fall of membership.

Nevertheless, whatever my moral opposition to this decision which I fought in the Commission, I agree to do all in my power, in a spirit of discipline, to assure its application.

Renaud Jean.

Kolaroff: I must submit to you a proposition by the Presidium not to open a debate on comrade Trotzky's report on the French question. The question has been discussed at great length in the Commission, where all the principal delegations of the Congress were represented. They all had an opportunity to express their views and to clear up the question.

Here, at the Congress, comrade Trotzky has given a forceful elucidation of all the sides of this problem, and it seems to us that nothing can be contributed by the other delegations in the way of throwing more light upon this problem.

For this reason I propose that we accept the proposition to open no debate on the question. Does anyone wish to speak to the order of the day?

Cabellan (Brazil): Taking into consideration that the French question has not been sufficiently debated at the Congress: taking into consideration that the Congress has been informed in a one-sided and coloured manner that some delegates holding different views from the Executive did not have a chance to express their attitude on this question; the delegates from Brazil protest against this procedure and are going to vote against the resolutions submitted to the Congress.

Kolaroff: The proposition of the comrade from Brazil is a little premature, since nothing has yet been decided upon; it can only taken as a motion to open the debate and as an objection to the proposition made by the Presidium.

I will put the proposition of the Presidium to the vote. All those in favour of the proposition of the Presidium, please say, "aye."

Carried unanimously with one opposing vote.

Comrade Trotzky has the floor.

Trotsky: I would merely wish to say a few words upon three essential points:

1) I feel obliged to correct a misstatement of fact due to a certain misunderstanding of an expression in the declaration of our comrade Renaud-Jean, relating to the appointment of members of the Managing Committee by the World Congress.

If the formula—which I think illehozen—is to be thus extended, it would contradict with our accepted decisions. It is not our business to designate in congress the personell of the Managing Committee of the French Party. We made an attempt, on the initiative of the Paris Conference itself, and of all the groups of the Party to work out a proposition to be submitted to the National Council of the French Party.

This proposition was drawn up by the delegations of the factions of the French Party, in complete accord with the Commission appointed by the Congress and the factions of the French Party. The three different lists were drawn up by the factions. After a few secondary corrections, a common list was finally agreed upon. This list I repeat, the proposition on the basis of which the three factions, through their authorised representatives, have taken upon themselves to secure the consent of the National Council of the French Party.

The large and small Commissions, created by you to examine the French question, have unanimously adopted this list; of course, not as an altogether ideal one, for there can always be objections. But as the only possible way for the French Party out of the impassé created by the Paris Congress.

The Commission is of the opinion—in full accord with the French delegation—that if a certain part of our French Section will start a new opposition to this solution, which is the only salutary one for the French Party, it will be an act of sabotage against the expressed will of all the factions, i. e. against the the entire Party. On behalf of the Commission which aided the French delegation in working out this list, I express the hope that it will be approved by the Congress, and that it will be accepted and finally endorsed by the National Council of the French Party.

It is the only way of eliminating the personal squabbles among the factions the composition of the Managing Committee.

It is not a precedent, nor is it the application of the principle of proportional representation in the work of our National Sections or of our International Congresses.

It is merely a question of finding a way out of the difficulty in which our French Party finds itself. We feel sure that no one in the French Party will be opposed to the proposition, which is at once wholesome and necessary, which was worked out by the French delegation represented by all its factions.

2) The second point has to do with a declaration made by the Centre. I was reproached with having failed to mention the errors and mistakes of the left, notably the question of the resignations.

It is true that I did not mention this in my report.

I did and I do consider this question as settled by the declaration made by the Left Wing before the Large Commission. At the first or second meeting of the Commission we declared, in the course of the debate, that resignations in a revolutionary Communist Party, or the threats to resign, are altogether contrary to revolutionary discipline, whatever the circumstances may be.

This was the conviction of the entire Commission. The Left made a declaration on this subject, in which they explained the situation which prompted them to do that. Among other things they said:

The sub-Committee appointed to study the French question is of the opinion that the resignations and the comments in the «Bulletin Communiste International» constitute a wrong Policy. The Left has always shown by its actions that it takes the discipline of the Communist International quite seriously, and it is superfluous to tell the Left Wing to conform exactly to the decisions of the Fourth World Congress. If on the particular point of the resignations and of the «Bulletin» it does accept the view of the sub-committee, it still maintains that its decision

taken in connection with all the facts that had prompted it, retains its true significance.»

Comrades, your Organisational Commission will present to you a general proposition which should once and for all eliminate the possibility of resignation on the ground of any opposition, whether against the Managing Committee or against the International, whether personal or group resignations.

The third point relates to a suggestion made by the Centre in its declaration on the system of factions.

It cannot be gainsaid that the factional system is a great evil and a destructive element in the Party. In my report I tried to explain that this system is a sad consequence of a sad situation. We proposed measures in the lines of general policy as well as of organisation. All the factions, i. e. the entire French Party, undertakes through its authorised representatives to carry out these measures, framed in accord with the French delegation, with but a few reservations. This justifies the expectation that this time we will have a practical, systematic, consistent and rigorous, if necessary application of the decisions of the Fourth Congress.

It will be the National Council of the French Party, which is to convene in a few weeks from now, that will give the finishing touches to the decisions on the question of organisation.

We hope that upon confirmation of this resolution by the National Council of the French Party, the situation in this party will be radically changed, and that by this very fact all factionalism will disappear before the very eyes of the faction.

With regard to the International which we hope is going to be represented at the National Council through a delegation from the Executive, it will insist with all vigour—I say this after having consulted the Presidium—that from the moment that the resolution is put into action, all factionalism and strife must cease in the French Party; and we hope that it will cease for ever, and that the Party will become homogeneous and united in its ideas as well as in its actions. (Prolonged Cheers).

Chairman Kolaroff: We will now

take the vote on the proposition of the Commission. There is a political resolution and a resolution on organisation. The political resolution has been distributed to all the delegations, and there is no need to read it. I put it to the vote.

The political resolution was adopted unanimously, except for one vote, namely that of the Chairman.

Comrade Humbert-Droz will now read the resolution on organisation.

Humbert-Droz: The Commission on the French Party proposes the following resolutions concerning the internal organisation of the Party. The Congress is requested to ratify them.

Resolution of the French Commission.

(a)—Executive Committee—As an exception, under the circumstances of the acute crisis provoked by the Paris Congress, the Executive Committee shall be constituted on a proportional basis, taking, as a basis the voting of the Congress for members of Central bodies.

The proportions of the different factions will be as follows:

Centre: 10 members and 3 substitutes.

Left: 9 members and 2 substitutes.

Renoult Faction: 4 members and 1 substitute.

Renaud-Jean Minority: 1 member.

Communist Youth: 2 representatives with an advisory vote.

The political bureau will be formed on the same basis, the various tendencies being represented as follows: Centre, 3; Left, 3; Renoult Faction, 1.

The members of the Executive Committee, as well as those of the Political Bureau and other important central bodies, will be nominated by the French members of the various factions now in Moscow, in order to avoid all personal disagreements which might tend to aggravate the crisis. The list of candidates is to be submitted by the Delegation to the Fourth World Congress, and the delegation will undertake to defend it before the Party. The Fourth Congress makes this declaration in the conviction that this method is the only possible one for solving the Party crisis.

The list of the new Executive elected by the various factions now follows:

Members:

Frossard,

Louis Sellier,
Marseil Cachin,
Jacob,
Garchery,
Lucis Leiciague,
Marrane,

Ocurdeaux,
Laguesse,

Paquereaux,

Substitutes:

Peirpont,
Dupillot,

Plais,

Members:

Rosmer,
Treint
Vaillart-Couturier,
Souvarine,
Tomasi,
Christen,
Amedee Dunois,
Cordier,
Bouchez,

Substitutes:

Salles,
Departer,

Members:

Barbatet,
Fromont,
Dubus,
Werth,

Substitutes:

Lespagnol.

THE CENTRE.

General Secretary of the Party and delegate on the Executive.
Temporary Secretary.

Secretary of the Textile Federation.
Municipal Councillor of Paris.
Stenographer.

Mechanic; Secretary of the Federation of the Seine.

Employee in the Paris Post Office.
Discharged Teacher; Secretary of the Federation of the Seine-et-Marne.

Turner; Secretary of the Federation of Seine-et-Oise.

Textile Worker.

Treasurer of the United Federation of Miners (re-served for confirmation in Paris).

Telephone Worker.

THE LEFT.

Employee,
Discharged Teacher.
Deputy.
Journalist.
Aviation Construction Worker.
Mechanic.
Journalist.
Hairdresser.
Mechanic.

Metal Worker.
Filer.

RENOULT FACTION.

Metal Worker.
Carriage Builder.
Miner from Pas-de-Calais.
(Usually called Rogen Gerald. Metal worker).

Employee.

A National Conference with the power of the Party Congress, shall ratify this list not later than the last fortnight in January.

Until that time the provisional Execu-

tive Committee nominated by the Party Congress will remain in power.

(b)—The Press:—The Congress confirms the rule for the press which has already been decided; 1) the manage-

ment of the papers shall be turned over to the Political Bureau; 2) there shall be a daily unsigned editorial giving the readers the opinion of the party; 3) prohibition of Party journalists contributing to the bourgeois press.

Editor of "l'Humanité": Marsel Cachin.
General Secretary: Amedee Dunois.

Both of these have equal powers; and any disagreement between them must be brought before the Political Bureau and settled by them.

Editorial Secretariat: one from the Centre and one from the Left.

The editorship of the «Bulletin Communiste» will be given to a comrade of the Left.

The resigned editors will reassume their positions.

In order to prepare for the National Conference, the Party page will be re-established, in which each tendency will have the right to express its point of view.

(c) General Secretariat: This position will be occupied on a party basis by one comrade from the Centre and one from the Left; all disagreements to be settled by the Political Bureau.

Member: Frossard. Substitutes: Louis Sellier and Treint.

(d) Delegates of the Executive: This Congress considers it absolutely necessary, in order to establish normal and cordial relations between the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the French Party, that the two most important tendencies be represented in Moscow by those comrades best qualified and authorised by their respective faactions. That is to say that they shall be represented by Comrades Frossard and Souvarine for at least three months, until the end of the crisis within the French Party.

The fact that the French Party will be represented at Moscow by Frossard and Souvarine, will give complete certainty that every suggestion of the International Executive, arrived at in agreement with these two comrades will receive the support of the whole party.

(e) Appointment of Party Officials:—With regard to the appointment of Party officials, editors, etc., the Party will set up a special commission composed of comrades possessing the complete con-

fidence of the Party, in order to regulate this question from two points of view: (1) The elimination of all possibility of one comrade filling two or more paid posts, which provokes legitimate indignation among the members of the Party (2) Those comrades whose work is absolutely necessary for the Party, shall be given appointments which will permit them to give their whole time, to the service of the Party.

(f) Committees:—(1) Administrative Committee of «l'Humanité» 6. Centre, 5. Left, 2. Renault Faction.

The French Commission states that proportional representation is used here also purely as an exceptional measure for the important committees.

(2) Trade Union Secretariat: There shall be a Secretary from the Centre and one from the Left; all misunderstanding to be settled by the Political Bureau.

(g) Cases in Litigation: Those cases which came out of the decisions taken in Moscow, and their application, will have to be regulated by a special committee composed of one representative of the Centre, one representative of the Left, and the delegate of the Executive as President.

(h) Positions forbidden to former Masons: By this we understand those posts where the holders have the power of representing more or less independently, on their own responsibility, the ideas of the party before the working masses, by voice or by pen.

If there is any uncertainty with regard to the allocation of these posts, between the two factions, it must be submitted to the Committee above mentioned.

In case of technical difficulties for the reinstatement of those editors who have resigned, the Committee above described will settle these difficulties.

All resolutions that do not concern the Constitution of the Executive Committee are immediately applicable.

Besides those provisions mentioned in the resolutions, the Renault Faction has asked to have a substitute at the Executive with comrade Frossard and Souvarine, during a period of three months.

The Commission has unanimously granted this request of the Renault faction.

Kolaroff: I will now put these organisation proposals to the vote, as a whole.

The motion is adopted,—with two votes against, namely:

Brancon (France).

Antonio B. Caneian (Brazil).

There is one abstention.

The French comrades have just informed us that Victor Meric has been sentenced to six months imprisonment for anti-militarist propaganda.

I believe that I am expressing the sentiments of all the delegations in expressing for comrade Meric the congratulations of this Congress on the courageous conduct which has cost him these blows from counter-revolutionary bourgeois French justice. (applause)

We now pass to another item on our agenda: The Spanish question. Reporter: Comrade Humbert-Droz.

Humbert-Droz: The Spanish Commission was appointed at the request of the Spanish delegation, not for the purpose of investigating into an interior conflict, but for the purpose of discussing and settling together with the International certain tactical points and certain important political questions connected with the activity of our Party in Spain.

One of the most important questions now before our Party, is the attitude to the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

A characteristic feature of the class movement in Spain is the decline of the anarcho-syndicalist movement which towards the end of the war had attracted considerable numbers of workers. The tactics employed by the anarcho-syndicalist leaders at present (purely anarchist tactics) of individualist and terrorist action have been the cause of governmental and bourgeois repressions and led to the disintegration of the organisations.

We are witnessing a breaking away of the working masses from the anarcho-syndicalist organisations, and the leaders of this movement are turning towards a kind of neo-reformism.

Thus, the moment is propitious for propaganda and Party activity in this sphere. A tendency has come to the surface in the Spanish Communist Party which demands that the latter should relinquish its communist intransigence on certain points, in order to meet the anarcho-syndicalists half-way, especially by concessions on the parliamentary field, thus winning them over to our side.

The Commission was of the opinion that, while one of the essential tasks of our Party consists in attracting the elements which come from the anarcho-syndicalist movement and from the masses who had been deceived by the tactics of the Spanish anarchist leaders, our Party must not try to achieve this end by a deviation from our principles. On the contrary, it would be better if our Party won over these elements less rapidly, but really converted them to communism.

If our Party were to admit for any time certain notions about the non-political character of the working class movement, or if it were to abstain from parliamentary action, it would certainly sow the seeds of new crises in the near future.

The Commission was unanimous in recommending to our Party not to make concessions to the bankrupt anarcho-syndicalist ideology, but to work in the anarcho-syndicalist organisations on the lines of pure communism. The Commission advised our Party to set forth in its propaganda that the parliamentarism of the Communist Party is not that of the old social-democratic parties, supporting this contention by the theses of the Second World Congress.

The second problem before the commission was the attitude of our Party to the Spanish trade union movement.

You are aware that the Spanish trade union movement has two great central organisations: the reformist General Confederation and anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation.

In addition to these two central organisations, there are a few autonomous trade unions.

There is a tendency in the Party to abandon the reformist trade unions owing to the attitude of the Amsterdam leaders who are not any better in Spain than they are in the other countries. The Commission was unanimous in recommending to our Party to combat this tendency within the party, and recommend to our comrades not to leave the ranks of the General Confederation, but to remain in it in order to form nuclei and to make it amenable to the communist ideal.

If trade unions are expelled from the General Confederation, as has happened recently in the case of the trade unions that had participated with the Communist

Party in the united front action, we advise our Party not to make its members resign from the General Confederation for the sake of solidarity, but to instruct all its members to remain in the General Confederation and to fight within this organisation for the readmission of the expelled comrades. Should this struggle for the re-admission of the expelled not have any result, we advise our comrades to direct these expelled trade unions to join the National Confederation, and by no means to establish a third central organisation in addition to the two already existing.

The Commission also deemed it necessary to deal with the attitude of our Party towards the united front tactics.

On February last our Spanish Party voted together with the French and the Italian Party against the tactics of the united front. But already towards May or in the beginning of June on the occasion of the great strikes of the Asturias, our Communist Party applied united front tactics with great discrimination, and not simply because it was ordered to do so by the International. We want to emphasise this fact.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that the interior crisis which for a time had undermined the existence of our Party, was settled satisfactorily by a stricter application of party discipline.

The Commission wishes to put before you the following resolution, which it has adopted unanimously:

The Spanish resolution.

1. The Spanish Communist Party, which, together with France and Italy had voted against the tactics of the united front at the Session of the Enlarged Executive in February, soon recognised its error, and on the occasion of the great Asturian strike in May, declared itself for the United Front tactics, as a result of conviction and not of mere formal Party discipline. This showed the Spanish Working Class that the Party was ready to fight for its every day demands, and was capable of leading the workers in this struggle.

In persevering in this attitude and in taking advantage of all the opportunities for action by drawing the working class organisations and the entire proletariat

into action by co-ordinating their revolutionary effort, the Spanish Communist Party will gain the confidence of the masses and will fulfil its historic mission.

2. The Fourth World Congress expresses its pleasure at the satisfactory solution of the crisis which had convulsed the Party at the beginning of the year, and which ended in the reinforcement of discipline within the Party ranks. The Congress calls upon the Party to persevere in this attitude, and calls especially upon the Young Communists to do their utmost in strengthening Party discipline within their ranks.

3. A characteristic feature of the present Spanish Working class movement is the decline of the anarcho-syndicalist ideology and movement. This movement, which a few years ago had succeeded in drawing in large masses of workers has failed to fulfil the expectations and the revolutionary will of the latter by making use not of Marxist and Communist tactics of mass action and of centralised struggle, but of anarchist tactics of individual actions and of federalism and terrorism, which is tantamount to scattering the proletarian forces.

To-day, the deceived working masses are leaving the organisations, and their leaders are rapidly moving towards reformism.

One of the chief tasks of the Communist Party is to win and educate the deceived working masses, and to attract to denounce, the neo-reformism of the syndicalist leaders, and to attract the anarcho-syndicalist elements that have recognised the error of their doctrines.

But in its efforts to win the confidence of the anarcho-syndicalist elements, the Communist Party must take care not to make concessions in principle or tactics to the ideology condemned by the experience of the Spanish proletariat itself. It must combat and condemn within its ranks the tendency to concessions intended to enlist more rapidly the sympathies of the syndicalists, and thus direct the Party towards a policy of concessions. It is preferable to take longer time with the assimilation of the syndicalist elements, making them convinced communists, than to win them over rapidly by sacrificing party principle, which would lead to more painful crises in the near future. The

Spanish Party will do its utmost to explain to the anarcho-sindicalists the revolutionary tactics of parliamentarism, as defined by the second World Congress. For the Communist Party, electoral action is a means of propaganda and of working class struggle, and not a refuge for aspiring reformist and petty bourgeois politicians.

Consistent application of united front tactics will win the confidence of the masses, which are still under the influence of anarcho-sindicalist ideology, and will show them that the Communist Party, is a political organisation for the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat.

4. Our Party must pay more attention to the Spanish trade union movement. It must initiate an energetic and systematic propaganda in all the trade union organisations for the unification of the trade union movement in Spain.

In order to achieve success in this direction, it must have the support of a network of communist nuclei in all the trade unions adhering to the National Confederation and to the General Confederation, as well as in all the autonomous trade unions. Therefore, it must oppose and combat every idea or tendency advocating resignations from the reformist trade union. In the event of trade unions or communist groups being expelled from reformist trade union, the communists must take care not to satisfy the wish of the Amsterdam secessionists, by coming out of the unions as a matter of solidarity. On the contrary, they must express their solidarity for the expelled comrades by remaining within the General Confederation and by carrying on an energetic agitation for the reinstatement of the expelled comrades or unions. If, in spite of their efforts, trade unions and groups fail to be reinstated, the Communist Party must encourage them to join the National Workers Confederation. (C.N.T.) The communist members of the C.N.T. must establish their nuclei within this organisation which must be attached to the trade union Commission of the Party. They will no doubt collaborate harmoniously with the trade unionists adhering to the Red Trade Union International without being members of our Party. But they must preserve their own organisation

intact, and without relinquishing their communist viewpoint they must have fraternal discussion with the trade unionists on all controversial matters.

In order to ensure the success of the struggle for trade union unity, the Communist Party must establish a mixed Committee for the unity of the Spanish trade union movement, which will be the centre of propaganda and at the same time a rallying point for the trade unions of both confederations and of the autonomous trade unions adhering to the principle of unity. The Party must endeavour to explain to the Spanish working masses that the ambitions and the local interests of the reformist and anarcho-reformist leaders are the only obstacles to trade union unity which is a vital necessity if the working class is to be freed from the capitalist yoke (Applause).

Kolaroff: I will put the resolution of the Spanish Commission to the vote. Carried unanimously.

The next item of the agenda, is the Danish question, and I call on Comrade Kuusinen to address you.

Kuusinen. We have at present two Communist Parties in Denmark, and both have appealed to this Congress. On the ground of these appeals the Presidium has drawn up a resolution on which I would like to make a short report.

The Danish Communist movement originates from two sources: the opposition wing of the Social-Democratic Youth Movement and the Revolutionary Wing of the Syndicalists. It was most fortunate for the Communist movement in Denmark that it was able to enlist the greater number of the Syndicalists on its side; it must however be said that the leading Danish comrades, who came from the Youth Movement, were not capable of fulfilling the tasks which confronted them. These comrades formed the small original Communist Party, and under this leadership the revolutionary wing of the Syndicalists was attached to the party in the form of a Federation.

About a year ago the Communist International Executive ordered the Party to combine this new organisation of two semi-autonomous wings into one united party. We were almost certain that there would really be a genuine unity in Denmark when we suddenly discovered that a

never split had just taken place; and that during the period when the greatest battle of the class struggle which Denmark has so far seen the general strike of last February—the Communists, whose power was limited, and which needed all power for the struggle with the employers, was split asunder through internal disagreement. The Executive could not regard this passively. It demanded of both sides immediate union. It then founded a Scandinavian Unity Committee, composed of members of the Swedish and Norwegian parties, besides comrades from the two Danish factions, under the chairmanship of the Finnish comrade Manner. Against the votes of the original small group of leaders of the Danish Communist Party, this Committee demanded that unity be accomplished, and drew up a proposition to which the Danish organisations should consent. This meant a general vote on unity. The result of this was that nearly all the members of the so-called New Party voted for the proposal of the Scandinavian Commission. As for the so-called "Old" party both parties were at this time of equal size, I believe the majority in it voted against the proposal, but there was an important minority in favour of it.

Then, last August, representative of both sides came here to Moscow. The Executive of the Communist International stood by its demand for unity. It demanded the formation of the United Party and gave special directions to both of the parties towards this end. The representatives of both sides, then here in Moscow, declared that they would fulfil these directions. In spite of this, this proposal of the Executive was not fully carried out, but was at first only partially accomplished. The new party loyally obeyed the directions of the Executive. A portion of the old party also joined them. A Unity Congress took place, according to the orders of the Communist International Executive: so there is now a United Communist Party in Denmark. But the part of the old party was opposed to this unity, and remained outside of the recently unified party. This section now appeals to the Fourth Congress. What proposal do they make? They appear before us with the rather remarkable proposal that, for the time being, the Congress shall not

recognise either of these parties. Now, the Presidium is of the opinion that Denmark is far too small a country to possess two communist parties, and that we must recognise the United Party which has loyally carried out the recommendations of the International.

However, this Congress should now issue a call to all those organisations which still stand outside the ranks of the Danish United Communist Party, instructing them to join the United Party within the next three months. There should be no humiliating conditions attached to this. We do not ask that the members of those sections which have not yet joined the United Party must join as individuals only. They should be permitted to join in as a body. But there is one condition which we must impose: that they will loyally carry out the directions of the Party and of the Communist International. Unless this condition is fulfilled, no real unity can be brought about.

We trust that most of the organisation which remain outside the Party will unite with their communist comrades of the United Party.

The new United Party has already done much to justify its existence through its recent activities. We must, of course, expect much more from the Party in the future. The Danish Party is very small, but its tasks are great. So far, the Party has not become a mass party. It must still travel a long way before it establishes living contact with the broad masses. We must not forget that Social Democracy is very strongly organised in Denmark, perhaps stronger, comparatively, than in any other country. The Social Democratic Party controls the Labour Unions. It may be said that it represents the organised workers of Denmark. In many important branches of industry, 95% of the workers are organised in unions. There are of course, opposition tendencies and movements in the Trade Union Movement; but our communist comrades have not yet understood how to make use of this situation, and have not yet established connection with the opposition element.

This is one of the main tasks for the Danish Party in the near future.

The resolution is quite short, and contains two points. I shall now read it to you:

1). This Congress declares that the present Communist Party of Denmark, which was formed under the directions of the Executive of the Communist International, by a union of the Communist «Enhats-parti» and a part of the so-called old Party, one which has loyally carried out all decisions of the Communist International, is recognised as the only section of the Communist International in Denmark. The party's chief publication «Arbejderbladet», and other recognised organs of the Party, shall be issued as Communist Party publications.

2). The Congress demands that all Communist organisations at present outside of the United Party shall join the United Party.

Such organisations and members of the so-called old party, who, within the next three months decide in favour of this United Communist Party and declare themselves as prepared loyally to execute all directions of this party and its central organs, and of the Communist International, shall be received into the United Party without further conditions.

Kolaroff: I will now put to a vote the Kusinen proposal offered on the Communist Party of Denmark.

The proposal is unanimously adopted.

We shall now pass to the organisation of the work of the Executive. Comrade Eberlein has the floor in order to explain the changes which have been made in the original text.

Eberlein (Germany): You have all received translations of the „Thesis on the Re-organisation of the Executive and its future activities”. The Commission requests that you accept this thesis. No alterations to this thesis have been dealt with. The small Commission offers only two proposals which I shall now put before you. The first is the motion of the Austrian Delegation, which reads as follows:

„The substitution for a member of the Executive who is elected from the floor of the Congress, by another member of the same section of the Communist International can only take place in exceptional

cases and with the agreement of the Enlarged Executive”.

The Small Commission is of the opinion that this motion should be rejected. In our thesis we have laid special emphasis on the fact that delegates are not elected as representatives of their respective parties in the Executive, but work purely as members of the Central Directive Organ of the Communist International. On these grounds it is not possible that any section should have the right to recall a comrade even if with the agreement of the Executive. The comrades should stay here and work within the Executive for the interests of the whole International. The possibility of any alteration in the make-up of the Executive can only exist where candidates are nominated. And as 10 candidates are in question, the possibility hardly exists, even in the most extraordinarily pressing cases, for any change. Therefore the Small Commission asks you to vote this motion down.

The other motion is as follows:

“This Congress declares that all Communist publications are obliged, as hitherto, immediately to print all documents from the Executive (appeals, letters, resolutions, etc.) when the Executive so demands.”

The Small Commission asks you to accept this proposal and to order it to be inserted in the Thesis on Organisation. The correctness of this motion is self-evident. But as during the last year it was shown on several occasions that certain sections of the International either declined to print appeals, letters and resolutions of the Executive, or only did so after long haggling with the Executive, therefore we would like to express it plainly in the Organisation Thesis that all communist organisations are, as previously, in duty bound to publish immediately all the above mentioned documents from the Executive when the latter so orders. I therefore ask you to adopt this proposal.

Kolaroff.—Before proceeding to take the vote on the proposition made by the Commission, we will first vote on the proposition made by the Austrian Delegation.

On the vote being taken the proposition was rejected.

The second proposition having been adopted by the Commission, I will take a vote on all the resolutions including this proposition.

Carried, one vote against.

The next point on the agenda is the question of the Communist Youth. I will call on comrade Schueller to report.

Schueller—The Commission appointed by the Presidium having examined the resolution on the Young Communist International and introduced a few amendments, proposes the following.

Resolution on the Young Communist International.

1. In accordance with the decisions of the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Second World Congress of the Y. C. I. resolved to make the Communist organisations politically subordinate to the Communist Parties. The Young Communists, instead of being a self-contained political organisation, shall become a broad mass organisation for the young workers representing the interests of the young workers in all respects, within the limits of the activities of the working class and under the political guidance of the Communist Parties. Nevertheless the Young Communist organisations shall remain political organisations, and the participation in the political struggles shall continue to be the basis of their activity. The struggle for the daily economic demands of the young workers and against bourgeois militarism would furnish the most important immediate means to arouse and to win the large masses of young worker. It is desirable to transform the organisational methods of activity in conformity with the new tasks. It is particularly desirable to introduce a systematised plan of Communist educational activity within the organisation, and educational work on a mass scale for the young workers that are outside the organisation.

The carrying out of the decisions of the Second World Congress can be achieved only by long and strenuous work. There were great obstacles in the way, which made it difficult for most of the organisations to carry out their task. Some organisations had to curtail their activities owing to the economic crisis (impoverishment, unemployment), also owing to the reactionary offensive which

has forced many organisations into illegality. In consequence of the temporary subsidence of the revolutionary wave, and the weakening of the revolutionary mood of the workers at large, the young workers movement experienced a corresponding decrease of interest in politics. At the same time the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats increased their efforts to influence and organise the young workers. The Y. C. I. since its Second World Congress has carried out its subordination to the Communist Parties everywhere, although on the whole, the mutual relations between the Party and the Youth have not yet been fully brought into accord with the decisions of the International Congresses. The particularly necessary aid to the activity of the Youth organisation on the part of the Party is frequently quite inadequate. The Y. C. I. thanks to its efforts during the last fifteen months, has succeeded in carrying out the important practical steps for the transformation of the organisation in the spirit of the decisions of the Second World Congress, thus laying the foundation for transforming it into a mass organisation. By its propaganda for economic and political militant demands, the Y. C. I. in many countries gained the adherence of the young workers, and a number of campaigns and concrete militant actions were undertaken and carried out.

The Y. C. I., either from the point of view of numbers or of organic contact with the masses and permanent influence over them, cannot yet be said to have completely become a mass organisation. Thus the organisation has still many tasks ahead.

2. The capitalist offensive has hit the working youth with greatest severity. Low wages, long hours, unemployment and exploitation hit the young workers much harder than the adults and are accompanied by greater misery and oppression. At the same time the young workers are exploited as a weapon against the adults to cut down wages, to take the place of strikers and to increase the unemployment among the adult workers. This policy, calculated to do great harm to the working class as a whole, is supported and promoted by the treacherous attitude

of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which gives no heed to the young workers or sacrifices them entirely, while doing everything possible to keep the young workers away from the struggles of the adults. Quite frequently they are even denied admission to the unions. The rise of bourgeois militarism causes the further intensification of the sufferings of the young workers and peasants who are recruited into the capitalist armies as the cannon fodder for the future materialist wars. The European reaction makes the youth its particular prey, and in some places the young workers are not allowed to form their Young Communist organisations even though the Communist Parties are tolerated.

The two social democratic Youth Internationals hitherto have been inactive in the face of the misery of the young workers, and attempted to prevent the masses of the young workers from joining in the common struggle of the working class. For this purpose they formed a bloc which in addition to preventing the suffering masses of young workers from forming united front and joining the common struggle, was also directed against the Communist International and sought about the amalgamation of the social-democratic Youth International.

The communist International declares the absolute necessity for a united front between the young workers and the adults! And calls upon the communist Parties and upon all the workers of the world to support the demands of the young workers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive against bourgeois militarism and reaction.

The Communist International welcomes and fully supports the fight that is waged by the Y.C.I. for the vital demands, for the united front of the young workers, on behalf of the united front between the young and the adult workers. The capitalist attacks which threaten to inflict the deepest misery on the young workers, and to make them the helpless victims of militarism and reaction, should meet with the iron resistance of the entire working class.

3. The young communist movement should receive the careful understanding

and active support of the Communist Parties in carrying out the tasks incumbent upon them of educating and winning the masses.

By close cooperation between the Party and the Youth and by the constant attraction of the Young Communist organisations to the political activities of the Party, the political interest and the political forces of the young movement will be sustained. Only in this way will the Communist Parties carry out the decisions of the Communist International and lay the foundation for a healthy young communist movement. The Communist Parties must give organisational aid to the Young Communist organisations. Young comrades should be appointed to take part in the young communist movement, and special propaganda should be organised for the young workers in places where Party organisations exist. Since the principal task of the Young Communist organisations is to direct their activity to the masses of the young workers, the Communist Parties should render particular aid in forming and carrying on the organs of the Comintern (nuclei and factions) in the trade unions and in the factories. Mutual representation should be carried out in all the organs of the Party and the youth organisation (nuclei, local groups, district committees, central committees, congresses, factions, etc.).

The Young Communist organisations must establish their roots in the masses of the young workers by increasing their economic propaganda and by constant attention to the questions affecting the lives of the young workers, and by championing their every-day interests. The Communist Parties must therefore give the utmost support to the economic activity of the young communists in the nuclei and factions of the factories, schools and trade unions, and carry out the closest co-operation between the members of the Young Communist International and the Communist Parties in the trade unions. The communists in the trade unions should insist on equal rights for the young workers and apprentices, on making their membership contributions moderate and on having their interests properly represented in the trade union struggle, on securing participation in signing wage agreements, etc.

Communist Parties should further promote the economic work of the young communists in the trade unions by providing active support of their actions, by supporting their daily demands in the general trade union struggle.

In view of the increased menace of imperialist war and the growth of reaction, Communist Parties must give their most support to the anti-militarist campaign of the Young Communist organisations. The young communists should be the most ardent fighters in the defence of the working class against the reaction.

The Communist educational activity becomes of particular importance in the desire of the Young Communist organisations to become wide mass organisations. The winning of the masses entails the duty to give these masses a communist education. The educational work of the Young Communist organisations must be carried out systematically and as an independent organisation. The necessary support should be given by the Communist Parties in the shape of furnishing men and material for the organisation of schools and training courses, and also by arranging vacancies for young communists in Party schools as well as by including young communists reviews in the publication problem of the Party.

The Congress deems it necessary for Party press to aid the struggle of Young Communist organisations also by devoting regular columns and supplements to the youth, as by giving prominence to the life and struggle of the young workers in all the papers published by the Party.

The bourgeois world, whose efforts meet with stout resistance in the class consciousness of the adult workers, and in the revolutionary fervour of the young workers, seeks particularly to poison the minds of the children of the working class. It makes the organisation and maintenance of communist children's groups a matter of paramount importance. These should be put under the organisational

charge and guidance of the young workers, and the Party should aid this work by active participation in the central committee of the children's groups. The Party should give every assistance to the communist children's press which has been started by the Young Communist organisations of the various countries.

Particularly close cooperation between the young communists and the Party is necessary in those countries where the communist movement has been forced by the reaction to go underground.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International, emphasising the particular importance of the communist work in the direction of winning the masses of the young workers, extends its hearty greetings to the ardent fellow fighters of the Young Communist International in the present, and to its reserves in the future. (Cheers). Kolaroff: I will now take a vote on the resolution on the youth movement. Adopted unanimously.

Comrades, I have both a correction and a supplementary communication to make on the conviction of comrade Meric. According to the latest information to hand, he was sentenced to 13 months imprisonment, while Comrade Blanchard was sentenced 6 months imprisonment upon the same indictment.

It goes without saying that we tender our sympathy also to comrade Blanchard. (Cheers).

The agenda has now been disposed of. The next session will take place on Monday at 11 a. m.

Before closing this session, the Presidium request the delegations to confer on the composition of the new Executive Committee. The candidates need not necessarily be delegates to the Congress.

The Commissions which have not yet finished their labours are requested to meet to-morrow in order to complete their respective tasks. All the Commissions must submit their reports on Monday.

The session is adjourned.

(The session adjourned at 4 p. m.).

The Re-organisation of the Executive and its Further Activities.

The World Congress.

The World Congress will continue to take place annually. The date will be fixed by the Enlarged Executives. All the affiliated sections must send their delegates, the number of which will be determined by the Executives. The cost is borne by the Parties. The number of votes for the respective section will be determined by Congress in accordance with the membership and political importance of the respective countries. No binding mandates are permitted, and such will be declared invalid, because such mandates contradict the spirit of an international, centralised, proletarian world party.

The Executive.

The Executive is to be elected by the Congress. It shall consist of the President, 24 members and 10 substitutes. No less than fifteen members of the Executive must be permanently domiciled in Moscow.

The Enlarged Executive.

Regularly every four months meetings of an enlarged Executive shall take place. These sessions are to be composed in the following manner:

- 1) of 25 members of the Executive.
- 2) of additional 3 representatives from each of the following parties: Germany, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy, also the Young Communist International and the Profintern.
- 3) Of two representatives from England, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway.
- 4) Of 1 representative from each of the other countries that are entitled to votes.

It is the duty of the Presidium to submit to the meetings of the Enlarged Executive all the more important fundamental question that permit of delay. The first Enlarged Executive must take place immediately after the World Congress.

The Presidium.

The elected Executive, at its first meeting shall choose a Presidium, which is to include 1 representative each from the

Y.C.I. and the Profintern, with consultative votes, and is to comprise the following departments:

1) An Oriental Department, to whose activities the Executive must devote special attention during the coming year; the Director of the Oriental Department must be a member of the Presidium. In its political activity, this department is subordinate to the Presidium; its relations with the Org. bureau are regulated by the Presidium.

2) A Department of Organisation (Org. bureau), containing no less than two members of the Presidium. The Org. bureau is subordinated to the Presidium.

3) A Department of Agitation and Propaganda, under the guidance of one member of the Executive. Also this department is directly subordinated to the Presidium.

4) A Department of Statistics and Information, subordinated to the Org. bureau.

5) The Executive has the right of establishing additional departments.

Division of Work among the Members of the Executive.

An exact division of work is to be made among the members of the Executive as well as of the Presidium. For the purpose of preparing the work for the individual sections, the Presidium appoints a responsible reporter for every one of the more important countries. As a rule this reporter should be a member of the Executive, or when possible of the Presidium. Such reporters as are not members either of the Executive or of the Presidium shall work under the control of a member of the Presidium. The Presidium shall organise a General Secretariat, under the management of a General Secretary. The Executive shall appoint two assistants to the General Secretary. The Secretariat shall not have the function of an independent political organisation, but shall be only the administrative organ of the Presidium.

It is the duty of the Executive to influence all the parties to adopt a similar distribution of work, with due regard to

the circumstances and the situation in every individual country.

The Representatives.

In exceptional cases the Executive may send representatives to the individual countries, who shall be appointed from among the competent comrades of the sections. These representatives shall be furnished by the Executive with the widest powers. The functions of these representatives, the rights and duties, as well as their relations to the respective parties shall be definitely laid down in special instructions.

It is the duty of the Executive to take particular care and to see to it that the conditions and the decision of the World Congress shall be really carried out. The representatives of the Executive must give all attention to the proper carrying out of these conditions. The representatives must report on the results of their work not less than once a month.

The International Controlling Commission.

The International Controlling Commission remains in force. Its functions are the same as were formulated by the Third World Congress. The World Congress appoints every year two neighbouring sections whose central committees shall send three members each, to the Controlling Commission, whose members are to be endorsed by the Executive, for the ensuing year. The Executive entrusts this function to the German and French Sections.

The Technical Information Bureau.

The Technical Information Bureau remain. Their function is to supply technical information, and their work is subordinated to the Executive.

"The Communist International."

The "Communist International" is the Organ of the Executive: the editorial board is chosen by, and subordinated to the Executive.

The Congress declares that all Com-

munist Publication are obliged as hitherto to print all documents from the Executive (Appeals, Letters, resolutions, etc.) when the Executive so demands.

Minutes of National Parties.

It is the duty of the Central committees of all sections to furnish regularly to the Executive the minutes of all their meetings.

Exchange of representatives.

It is desirable, for the purpose of mutual information and for the coordinated work, that the more important sections of neighbouring countries, shall mutually exchange representatives. The reports of these representatives shall be simultaneously furnished to the Executive.

It is further desirable that the appointment of such representatives should take place with the consent of the Executive.

Conferences of Sections.

As a rule, prior to the World Congress of the Communist International, party conferences or enlarged national executives shall meet to make preparations for the World Congress and to elect delegates to the Congress. The Party Conferences of the Individual Sections shall take place after the World Congress.

Exceptions can be made only with the consent of the Executive.

Such procedure ensures the best protection of the interests of the individual sections and at the same time creates the possibility of taking advantage of the entire experiences of the International movement, from the bottom upwards.

At the same time this procedure affords the possibility of constructing the Communist International as a Centralised world Party, "from the bottom upwards", by a system of democratic centralism which basis its directives on the sum total of International experiences.

Resignations.

The Congress in the most decisive manner condemns all cases of resignations tendered by individual comrades of the various central Committees and by entire

Groups of such members. The Congress considers such resignations as the greatest disorganisation of the Communist movement. Every leading post in a Communist Party belongs not to the bearer of the mandate, but to the Communist International as a whole.

The Congress resolves: Elected members of Central bodies of a section can resign their mandate only with the consent of the Executive. Resignations accepted by a Party Central Committee without the consent of the Executive committee are invalid.

Illegal activity.

In accordance with the decision of the Congress, in which it is pointed out that a number of important parties in all probability will be compelled for a time to adopt illegality, it is the duty of the Presidium to give its utmost attention to the training of the respective parties for their illegal work. Immediately after the close of the Congress the Presidium shall commence negotiations with the Parties in question.

International Women's Secretariat.

The International Women's Secretariat remains. The Executive appoints a women's Secretary and, in consultation with the latter, carries out all the further organisational work.

Representation in the Young Communist Executive.

The Congress instructs the Executive to arrange for regular representation of the Comintern in the Young Comintern. The Congress considers it to be one of the most important tasks of the Executive to promote the work of the Youth movement.

Representation in the Profintern.

The Congress instructs the Executive, in conjunction with the Executive of the Profintern, to work out the form of mutual relations of the Comintern and Profintern. The Congress further points out that now more than ever is the economic struggle closely bound up with the political campaign, and consequently a special internal coordination of forces of all the revolutionary organisations of the working class must be effected.

Revision of the Statutes

The Congress confirms the Statutes as adopted by the Second Congress, and instructs the Executive, on the basis of the newly adopted resolutions, to revise and to perfect these statutes. This work must be carried out in proper time, distributed for preliminary consideration to all the parties, and finally endorsed by the Fifth World Congress.

BULLETIN

OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 30.

Moscow.

December 11 th, 1922.

Thirtieth Session.

December 4th, 1922

Chairman: Comrade Neurath.

Contents:

Report of the Italian Commission—Comrade Zinoviev. Statement by Comrade Bordiga. Statement by Comrade Serrati. Statement by Comrade Graziadei. Adoption of Resolution on the Italian Question. Report of Czecho-Slovakian Commission—Comrade Radek. Statement by Comrade Sturz. Statement by Comrade Smeral. Adoption of Resolution on Czecho-Slovakian C. P.

At 1.9 p. m. the chairman, Comrade Neurath declared the Session open, and called upon Comrade Zinoviev to report for the Italian Commission.

Zinoviev. Comrades, I have to submit to you a chapter in the history of our modern working class movement—a chapter written in the blood of the best members of the Italian working class. A chapter which illustrates the position of the whole working class, at least its weakest side. The historian of the proletarian revolution of the decade in which we now live, in describing this period, will say that this was the last decade of bourgeois rule, when the proletariat was numerically strong enough to overthrow the capitalist regime, but when this numerically strong proletariat was ideologically and politically too weak to perform its task. The tragedy of our class in recent years has been that, although we have long had the physical power of overthrowing capitalism, and the objective conditions for the victory of our class have long existed, we have had within our class such a large residue of bourgeois ideology, and the influence of the bourgeoisie within our class despite the numerical predominance of the workers has been so great that we are still incapable of gaining an immediate and com-

plete victory over the bourgeoisie. These are the lessons of 1914 and 1919, and the example of Italy has made them particularly apparent.

The years 1914 and 1919 are two dates of the greatest importance. The role of the social-democracy and of the Second International as the representatives of bourgeois influence within the working class has been illustrated by what these organisations have done in 1914 and 1919.

In 1914, the social-democracy, instead of guiding the working masses, misled them. The Social Democrats and the Second International led our class into war. They drove into the slaughter those of our class, who were opposed to war. In the period from 1919 to 1920, when the war ended and the discontent of the masses reached its highest point, when the workers of various countries after four terrible years, at last regained power of judgement and wished to enter into the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Social-Democrats shielded the bourgeoisie holding the workers back and impeding them from proceeding against their chief enemy. The social democrats said: "You can only attack the bourgeoisie over my dead body." They stood between the working masses and the bourgeoisie. They