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Report on the Agrarian Question (By Comrade Varga)

The Agrarian question was thoroughly discussed at the Second Congress of the Communist International. We adopted theses which even now form the basis of our work. The program of action proposed by the Agrarian Commission is not a deviation from these theses, but complementary to them. These additions are made necessary by the historical changes which have taken place in the last two years.

At the Second Congress we were all convinced that the revolution would rapidly spread Westward. It was the period of the victorious advance of the Russian army in Poland, of the spread of the Communist movement in all Europe; and under the impression of an imminent revolution, the theses formulated by the Second Congress were prepared especially for an immediate conquest of power. Today, we see that the time for the conquest of power in the European countries is not so near as we thought, and we are confronted with the necessity of recruiting the masses into our ranks and enlarging the armies of the Communist Party.

This idea is the basis of the United Front and of the present program of agrarian action. To secure the success of our movement, to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must gain the active help of the large masses of the peasant population and neutralise another section of it. We must realise that we were not the only ones who have learned from the Russian revolution,—the bourgeoisie has also learned much. The Russian dictatorship has shown the bourgeoisie the magnitude of the danger which menaces it. It no longer believes that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a passing phase, and it guards against this. There is no longer any possibility of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by a small revolutionary group.

If our goal, then, is to win over a certain section of the peasantry and to neutralise another, the first thing we have to do is to determine the methods of our work. This method can be none other than to participate in the struggles of that section of the peasantry. The winning over of these groups cannot be accomplished by the mere drawing up of a program. In general, these groups distrust the Communist Party. It is not sufficient to draw up a good program to approach them; it is absolutely necessary to convince them of our interest in their welfare and to erase their distrust of the Communist Party by participating in their daily struggles. For that purpose it is necessary primarily to win over the agrarian proletariat, the poor peasantry, that is such peasants as do not possess sufficient land to provide them with a living, but are partly dependent on wage labour. The second group to be won over, is the poorer section of the small peasantry. To win them over, it is first necessary to remove them from the intellectual leadership of the large land owners. This is a very hard task in Europe; the European peasantry is not such a large loose mass as the Russian peasantry before the revolution. They are organised politically, economically and co-operatively, and the large land-owners have the leadership of these organisations. It

must be our work to connect up the interests of the poor peasantry with ours and remove them from the influence of the large landowners. This task is exceedingly difficult. These difficulties arise primarily from the nature of the European Communist Parties.

Most of these parties lack sufficient strength to carry out such a campaign. Many parties are not even strong enough to influence the industrial proletariat. They have not sufficient men to carry on the propaganda among the peasant population, and a result we have the situation that the Communist Party is altogether cut off from the peasantry.

I will give you an example. I asked the following questions of the comrades representing the Roumanian Delegation in the Agrarian Commission:

What were the political consequences of the division of land among the Roumanian peasants?

He had to answer that he did not know. I do not wish thereby to cast any reproach upon the Roumanian Party. We know under what difficult conditions it has had to work during recent times. I only wish to point out that in many countries the Communist Party is not sufficiently strong to carry on any intensive propaganda in the agrarian districts. The solution of this difficulty is not that we should give up all agitation in the agrarian districts, but rather that we train leaders, agitators, Party workers from among the peasant population, from the agrarian proletariat, and then put them in charge of this work.

This work of participating in the daily struggles of the various sections of the agrarian workers also presents great objective difficulties. The greatest of these is the vagueness of the population. One sees clearly that this man is an industrial worker, this one an artisan, this one a manufacturer, and the passage from one class to another is rare and difficult. In this period of the disruption of capitalism, it often happens that an industrial worker will conduct a small speculative business as an adjunct to his ordinary work, that he manufactures certain things at home, but in general, the division is clear and sharp.

This is quite different among the agrarian population. The change from an absolute landless and propertyless agrarian proletariat to a poor peasant, then to a small peasant, then to a middle peasant and to a rich peasant is frequent. There is a constant passage from one class into the other. Neither is this class position a constant one. For instance, by a change of methods of land cultivation, the small peasant may become an employer, on the other hand outside circumstances may force him for a time to become a wage worker. So we see that the division of classes is neither constant nor clear.

I would like also to point out the quantitative difference which exists between industry and agriculture in respect to the size of the middle class. In the cities, we can practically ignore the oscillating mass of the petty bourgeois, the petty shopkeepers, the petty manufacturers etc. In certain countries, on the other hand, the agrarian proletariat is very small, and the

small and middle peasantry constitutes the great majority of the population. This forces us to give this rural middle class greater attention than we do to the urban middle class.

I would like to say a few words on the economic cause of this vague division of classes in agriculture. The cause of it is that the most important means of production of agriculture, the land, is easily divisible. It can be divided without producing a noticeable decline in production. The industrial worker could never think of dividing up a railroad, an electric station, a large wharf or a machine shop. It is quite apparent that this would be ridiculous because it would destroy production. In agriculture on the other hand, the chief means of production, the land, may be divided up without any noticeable diminution of production. Landed estates can be diminished or increased by sale or purchase and may be divided up by legacy. This easy division of the means of production is the cause of the kin division of classes among the peasantry.

Another great difficulty lies in the different conditions prevailing in the various districts in each country. While the problems of the industrial proletariat, the conditions on which it lives are very much the same in all countries, agriculture presents profound differences. We may distinguish three main types. First, the colonial country with an oppressed native peasantry. I am referring to Egypt and India where the situation is as follows: The peasant is oppressed by the foreign exploiters who maintain the closest connection with the feudal landowners of that territory, with the great princes, the allies of British imperialism. In those districts the struggle against imperialism is at the same time, the struggle of the oppressed peasant against his own feudal lord; and the struggle for national liberation is also a struggle for the liberation of the peasantry from their old social bondage.

A second type is formed by the countries where considerable relics of feudalism still exist, where the bourgeois revolution has not yet accomplished its work. These relics of feudalism still exist in Germany, and they increase as we go eastward to Poland, to the Balkans, to Rumania, to Asia Minor.

The third type is found in purely capitalist countries as in America, where agriculture is a branch of capitalist production, and in the British colonies like Canada and Australia and in England itself. There the relation is the same as in industry: exploiters and exploited. Yugoslavia shows exceptionally well the confusion of conditions prevailing in agriculture; in the newly acquired sections of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the peasants live practically in a state of serfdom in relation to their old Turkish feudal lords; Serbia itself, is a purely democratic land of peasants; and in the newly acquired sections of Hungary, i. e. South Hungary and Croatia, we find a fully developed capitalist agriculture, large land holdings with modern equipment, so that in this small country we have three different political and social types existing side by side. This makes our propaganda in the country especially difficult, because our slogans must be quite different in old Serbia from those in Bosnia, or capitalistically developed Croatia and South Hungary.

The second great difference arises in the land problem. There are countries where the demand of the peasantry for land is the chief point of interest, while in others the land problem plays absolutely no role. For instance, in Poland and in certain sections of Germany and Italy the most important question is that of land, while in America or Canada this problem does not exist because there is plenty of land. The same applies to France where the population increases slowly; one million and a half peasants fell in the war, so that there is no acute shortage of land at the present time. In Bulgaria, where there is a shortage of land the absence of large land holdings makes a demand for land absolutely purposeless. As you see, here also the conditions are exceedingly varied. The chief characteristic of the poorer peasantry is the vagueness and the instability of their class position. This fact determines also their political role: They oscillate from one side to the other; this is a direct result of the instability of their economic basis. At one moment they feel nearer to the proletariat, in times of prosperity they feel nearer to the large peasantry. They are a varying element that must be energetically dealt with, with tactics varying with the conditions of the moment.

In this connection, I must point to the changes which have taken place in the class situation and in the political views of the peasant population as a result of the war. Briefly it is as follows. During the war, the division of the national income was in favour of agriculture and as a result, those layers of the peasantry which formerly stood nearer to the proletariat now feel a community of interests with the large peasantry. What

I wish to say is that a dividing line has been pressed lower down the social scale, that the mass which we could win over for the world revolution has become somewhat reduced as a result of the war. On the other hand, the war has sharpened the division between those elements accessible to our propaganda and those not accessible. The peasantry grew rich during the war because the price of food stuffs increased much more than that of any other product. This brought wealth to those classes of the peasantry who could bring goods to the market. But those who had to live partly as wage workers, became poor during the war and the contrast increased somewhat, though naturally not as rapidly and sharply as in industry.

I wish to add that the situation has grown even worse during the last one or two years. I only need to recall the great agrarian crisis in America and in Argentina as a result of which the prices of industrial products rose, and the peasant no longer had the advantage of being able to sell his food products dear and buy his manufactured goods cheap. This new aggravation in the condition of the peasantry manifests itself in the growing indebtedness of the peasantry in the various countries.

Comrades, this instability of the position of the bourgeois agrarian classes makes it a matter of course that wherever there exists a real agrarian proletariat, this proletariat must become the main factor of the revolutionary movement. The landless agrarian proletariat must become our trusted and reliable comrades in all the phases of the class struggle conducted by our Party. This, comrades, has been distinctly stated in our program.

How can we approach the agrarian proletariat? I do not believe that a long speech is necessary on this matter. We can achieve this by supporting their immediate demands as wage workers and proletarians, by supporting them in their fight for the increase of their wages for the betterment of their working conditions, for the extension of social reforms, etc. Furthermore, we should unite them for this fight, lead them, associate them with the fights of the industrial proletariat in order to prove to the agricultural working class that the Communist Party is the real Party of the proletariat. I do not believe that I need say any more. This is all contained in the program.

I now pass to our work among the semi-peasant classes, and I would like to point to the dangers which we are likely to meet in this work. The danger comes from both left and right. The danger from the right is that in those countries where there is a numerous semi-peasant and small peasant population, our propaganda may become a purely peasant propaganda with no difference in principle between the agitation of the Communist Party and that of a radical peasant party. I would like to point out two facts in this connection. First, in France, where the method of agitation of comrade Renaud Jean presents a certain danger in this direction; the interests of the real agricultural proletariat are likely to be neglected for the sake of the semi- and small peasants. The same danger lurks in the report of the American Delegation, where the demand is made for a minimum price for agricultural products, so-called staples, to be fixed by the government which is in direct opposition not only to the interests of the peasant population, but also to those of the industrial proletariat as consumers. These are the dangers from the right.

On the other hand, I also see certain dangers from the left. Certain comrades seem to entertain an actual fear of the peasantry, a sectarian insistence on the idea that only the true proletariat, industrial and agricultural can be the active fighters for the revolution, for which the poor and small peasant classes have no interest. I believe this to be a big mistake, for there is a great number of countries where the proletarian revolution is impossible without the active support of these classes. I might say that with the exception of England there is no single European country where the dictatorship of the proletariat can maintain itself if the bourgeoisie, the rich peasantry, the middle and small peasant classes are opposed to it. Thus, I consider the fear of the collaboration of the peasants, the doubts about the possibility of revolutionising the wide peasant masses, as a political mistake just as great as the neglect of the interests of the rural workers. It is quite clear that only the rural proletariat will give us reliable and permanent fighting forces. But, as soon as the revolutionary movement has been initiated, the widest possible sections of the working rural population must be drawn into it. If this is not done, it will be impossible in many countries for the workers to assume power, and in other countries it will be impossible to maintain the proletarian dictatorship without their active support.

We are now concerned with the question of how to approach the various sections of the peasantry. Our program of

action deals with the dependence of the peasantry on capitalism in its various forms. The dependence on loans and usurious capital, the dependence on speculative capital which buys the produce of the small peasants at low prices in order to sell it at high prices to the town population, the dependence on industrial capital which through monopoly artificially raises the prices of manufactured goods, the dependence on transport capital, as in the case of America for example, where 50% of the net proceeds from the sale is frequently absorbed by the cost of transport. Perhaps there are comrades present here who have read the interesting novel by Norris which contains the following information: In America the railway companies change their tariffs every week or every fortnight. If a poor fellow, who worked himself up from a proletarian to a small hop grower by dint of very hard work, asks the manager how he fixes the rates, he will get the reply: "we fix it as high as the traffic will bear". Thus, they take everything beyond wages.

I am of the opinion that our chief work must consist in supporting the various demands of the peasant population in its struggle against capitalism. This also offers the solution of the difficult problem of prices. Of course, we must not say "Yes, the peasants must receive high prices for their produce," but we must make use of the question of prices in order to draw the peasantry into the struggle against capitalism. We must say: "Capitalism must be compelled to provide the peasantry with cheap means of production, cheap machinery, artificial fertiliser etc., in order to enable them to sell their produce at low prices." We must not say that we want to fix a definite price, but that the capitalists should provide the peasantry with all manufactured goods which they need for their production at low prices.

But, comrades, the chief factor of our work must be our attitude on the land question, for, land-hunger is the most active factor of all revolutionary movements in the rural districts. The question is put quite clearly; should or should not the Communist Party support the movement of the poor peasantry for the acquisition of more land within the capitalist system? Should it oppose this movement or should it declare itself in favour of it? No evasion of this question is admissible. In most countries this question is put so pointedly that the Communist Party must say either yes or no. And I say, comrades, that the Communist Party must come forward with a definite yes. The Communist Party must give active support to all the efforts of the working peasantry to obtain more land. Our tactics must consist in putting our revolutionary solution of the agrarian question against the bourgeois agrarian reforms and direct the activity of these strata of the population in our favour. The land-poor peasants such as the small and partial lease holders demand a reduction in rent. The Communist Party cannot put itself in opposition to this. It must say that it is for it, but at the same time it is obliged to tell the peasantry that this is not a solution of the problem, and that the only solution is the expropriation, the revolutionary confiscation of the land which it is now leasing. The poor peasants want to purchase land, and demand that the State should give it to them at a low price. The Communist Party cannot say that it is against this. It must say that it is for it, but that it wants to let them have the land free of charge. It must say that it is willing to fight with them now in order to let them have it cheaply, but that at the same time it will continue to struggle until they receive the land and the inventory free of charge.

Comrades, it is only in this way that we can get into close contact with these people who, I venture to say, are to-day entirely cut off from the Communist Party. It is only in this way that we shall bring them under our influence, and unite their movement of the urban proletariat. The following argument may be advanced against this policy: The bourgeois government seeing that the movement has become really revolutionary, may attempt to check it by distributing land to the leading and the most active elements of the peasantry, as has already happened in all the countries surrounding Russia, such as Finland, Latvia, and Estonia (in Poland it has been promised but not yet carried out) and in Roumania. A reporter of the English journal "The Economist" makes the following plain statement about Roumania in its issue of October 21, 1922.

"It is self-evident that it was fear and economic considerations that led to agrarian reforms in Roumania. In fact, these reforms were the price which the ruling classes paid, to protect the country against Bolshevism."

This is clear and to the point. Therefore, it might be said perhaps, that this being so there is no reason for us to support movements which at a given moment can have an anti-revolutionary effect. But, I must reiterate that this question

presents itself in such a way that the Communist Party can only answer it with yes or no. In these countries it cannot say no, it must say yes, even at the risk of a partial setback. An ideal revolutionary movement would, of course, be for the struggle of the workers and the revolutionary movement of the poor peasants to run parallel until the time when the industrial proletariat will have assumed power in the cities simultaneously with the agricultural proletariat and the poor peasants seizing the land.

In this case, the rural population would receive the land from the proletarian dictatorship, just as it happened in Russia, where, not the bourgeoisie, but the revolutionary proletariat having come into power, distributed the land: This would be an ideal development. But, we are not the only Party in the field, the bourgeoisie is also fighting, and it has the opportunity to give the land to the peasants sooner than we can, thus checking the general revolutionary movement.

Should the bourgeoisie do this, we shall have to begin anew. We must immediately take advantage of all the shortcomings of a bourgeois agrarian reform. We must be quick in pointing out that the limitations of bourgeois reform cannot give anything to the landless proletariat, for, it either sells the land or provides the money for land purchase. It cannot give land to people who have no means of production, no cattle, no seed, no machinery no stabling etc. In Yugoslavia, an attempt was made to give land to the poor ex-soldiers in the newly annexed Hungarian territory with the result that these men were compelled to lease out or sell the land which they had received.

To recapitulate: we must accept the risk of bourgeois agrarian reforms, and in the event of such reforms being introduced, our tactics must be—to take advantage of all the shortcomings of these bourgeois agrarian reforms.

The social consequences of such bourgeois reforms is as follows:

They temporarily check the revolutionary movement, creating a numerous section of big peasants who are in close union with the capitalists. On the other hand they render the antagonism between the rich and the poor peasants more acute, owing to the fact that the latter obtained the land on conditions which made them the debtors of the banks, thus reducing them very quickly to their former state of misery.

Comrades, as I said before, our chief concern in all our agitational work must be to put our program very clearly and definitely before the masses. The expropriation of land, the confiscation of all means of production connected with the land, the free transference of this land and of the whole inventory to the landless proletarians and poor peasants. In order to win over the neutral middle peasantry, we must emphasise the fact that the proletarian revolution does away with mortgages and that everyone who hitherto leased a piece of land, would get it free of charge for his own use. We must not relax in our endeavours to bring to the fore the difference between bourgeois agrarian reform and the proletarian agrarian revolution!

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the organizational measures contained in our program of action. Comrades, it is of course our task to organize the rural proletariat into trade unions, wherever this was not done already, and also to form communist nuclei in these agricultural unions, in order to bring them under our influence. I must also point out that it is in our interests to develop the agricultural unions into industrial federations, in order to organize within them all those industrial workers who are permanently employed within the agricultural system, such as locksmiths, blacksmiths, woodworkers, builders and mechanics on the large estates. Thus, these trade unions will afford us greater support.

On the other hand, it is to be desired that Communists living in the country enter the yellow, the bourgeois, the fascist, the counter-revolutionary trade unions in the country, form communist factions within them and work to destroy them by showing that these trade unions do not accomplish their purpose, that they conduct no fight against the employers. In the same way, the communists must enter the various organisations of the small peasants, agricultural and co-operative, from factions there also, and bring these organisations under the leadership of the Communist Party. It is self-evident that the Communist Party should attempt to assume the leadership in the activities of the poor peasantry. They must try to direct the struggle, to give it a more and more revolutionary purpose in order to prove to the rural population, to the proletariat, to the poor peasantry that the Communist Party represents the interests of all the workers in the country not only in their program, but also in their actions. We must always try to connect the struggle of the rural prole-

ariat, the fight of the agricultural and the poor peasant with that of the industrial proletariat by reciprocal support. This is no mere fantasy. In Germany, for instance, the poor peasants supported the strike of the metal workers in South Germany with fairly considerable gifts of food products; and there are surely cases when the industrial proletariat can help the poor peasants in their struggle. We must attempt whenever possible to unite these two movements which have been going on independently all the time, as for instance, by the creation of rural councils on the large land holdings, and of small peasants' councils wherever a strong Factory Councils movement exists, in order to create a common councils movement in agriculture and industry. Naturally, I cannot cite all possible cases, all I can do is to refer to some examples.

Report on the Youth Movement

(By Comrade Schüller)

Comrades, the Communist International has regarded the question of Communist work among the masses of the working Youth and the situation of the Youth International as important enough to be placed on the agenda of this Congress of the Communist International.

The Second World Congress of the Communist Youth International achieved a certain amount of renown among friends and enemies, which it has well merited. This Congress brought with it a radical transformation in the activity of the Communist Youth. You know, that during the war when the Social Democrats went over openly into the ranks of the reformists, the Communist Youth were the first to pick up the banner of the class struggle, the first to declare war against war and to struggle for the social revolution. You also know that the Youth were the first to renew International organisation and have become the enthusiastic supporters and defenders of the Russian revolution and the Third International. In that period a definite type of Socialist—we may just as well say Communist—Youth movement was created as the political vanguard of the proletariat. It was the time when Communist Parties either did not exist or were very weak, and then the Communist Youth assumed a leading political role in the working class movement.

The Second World Congress of the Communist Youth International opened a new era in the activity of the Youth. Communist Parties have been created, and the Communist International has become a strong International organisation. The leading political role of the Communist Youth was no longer necessary, and they had to surrender the political leadership to the Communist Parties. This first important point was decided at the Second World Congress of the Communist Youth International.

Politics was to remain the fundamental, practical basis of the activity of the youth organizations which were to remain the heart of the Communist Youth movement, but they could now devote themselves to their proper tasks, concerned directly with the Youth. The most important of these tasks are: 1. To defend the economic needs of the Youth; 2. To educate the Youth systematically in the Marxian doctrine; 3. To carry on anti-militarist propaganda among the young workers in and outside the bourgeois armies.

In general, we may say that the political activity of our Communist Youth was wise and healthy. In a great many countries, we scored a great many political successes along the line prescribed by the Communist International. It was due to the activities of the Communist Youth in France, for instance, that the left Wing grew to such importance and that the slogans of the Communist Youth international gained firmer footing among the workers of France. The Communist Youth of Italy has been able to adapt its political activities to the conditions created by the reaction of Fascism.

As another example, I must mention the communist youth movement in Norway, which during the last year has carried on its activity in complete agreement with us, because the conditions in the Norwegian Party demanded it. A few differences of opinion arose recently, but they were only over minor questions, and on the whole the recent political activity was fairly healthy.

The Y. C. Leagues have made great strides on the economic field. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the question of the economic struggle viz. of the struggle for the immediate needs of the working class youth, was a very contentious question at the Second, as well as the Third Congress

Comrades, I am coming to the end of my speech. The program of action which is now before you and has been adopted unanimously by the commission does not imply that there were no differences of opinion on the matter among the various delegations. There were such, due to the very difficulty of the problem and the confusion of rural conditions. One of the comrades, I believe it was a Polish comrade, used the very happy expression that the agrarian problem was an omnibus into which every one could climb. This is exactly what it is. It cannot be otherwise, for the very reason that there is no clear and sharp division of classes in agriculture. We must build up our program so that, while insisting upon the priority of the rural proletariat it will give the possibility to all working classes in agriculture to take part actively in the revolutionary movement of the Communist Party on the basis of this program.

of the C.I., and that it was the subject of lively discussion even after these congresses. This task was something new for the masses of the Y. C. Leagues, excepting of course Russia, Austria, and Germany. However, we are justified in saying to-day that the necessity for the economic struggle through the Y. C. Leagues, has not only been recognised by all our organizations, but that a beginning has already been made to put this recognition to a practical use. To-day the economic question and the economic struggle of the working class youth are everywhere the centre of the interest and the activity of our Y. C. Leagues. Moreover, definite steps have already been taken towards arousing the interest of the working class as a whole in this question of the struggle for the young workers' demands. If we study the Young Communist press of to-day, and compare it with the Y.C. press previous to the Second Congress, we notice that our papers reflect the daily life of the working class youth in the industries and among the artisans, the peasants and small landowners, and that they abound with news and articles concerning the exploitation of the working class youth. We also notice that owing to the conditions which I have just described, the Y.C. Leagues have brought forward demands for which they are ready to stand up by word and deed. They have also begun to be active in the trade unions, which will soon lead to a systematic agitation within these organizations. We notice that an extensive propaganda for definite and concrete demands is being initiated in almost all countries. Finally, we see that the Y.C. Leagues in Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Denmark are becoming real militant organizations fighting against the State and have already conducted and been partly successful in actions for some of the demands of the working class youth.

Comrades, I must deal now with our anti-militarist work. This work has remained the same in the various Y.C. Leagues. As before, this work was conducted with great enthusiasm, and our young comrades have their press and continue their anti-militarist campaign. This work has exacted many sacrifices and victims. It is only in Central Europe that we must admit a lessening in the interest for the anti-militarist question, and a decreased activity on this field. This is as grave a feature as the slackening of the interest in politics in general, which we must combat by the same methods.

A beginning has also been made on the field of education. However, we soon saw that we could not do as much on this field as on the economic and trade union field, because the educational work demands forces which we ought to get from the parties, but which were not forthcoming. Many improvements were also made in the work of organization. Let us take, for instance the Y.C. Leagues in France and Great Britain, which, like the parties had a federalist basis. In those countries we were successful in establishing centralised collaboration within the organization. A division of labour was introduced, and we were successful in achieving increased individual activity of the members, as well as centralization. We have also made progress on the international field. The collaboration between the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International and the Leagues is to-day as close as that between the Central Committee of a League and its districts and groups.

You know that the young workers have to experience the same hardships as the grown-ups under the capitalist offensive, such as wage reductions, long working hours, unemployment and exploitation. But these events have taken even worse forms in regard to the Youth than in regard to the adult workers; for they have to undergo some special hardships, which I am not going

to enumerate here in detail. Speaking of the economic position of the young workers, one has only to refer to the statement made by the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern nine months ago: "The economic position of the working youth under the present circumstances of the period of collapse of capitalism, must be studied in all earnestness by the working class as a whole. The working youth are confronted with the menace of physical and moral impoverishment".

This fact, stated by the Communist International 9 months ago, has not changed during the nine months that have followed, and it became even much worse.

During the same period the campaign of the reaction against our Young Communist Movement has become more acute. We witness a systematic reactionary attack in all countries directed against the Young Communist Movement. For instance, we have to register persecutions of the Young Communist Movement in France, Poland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia. In France and in Czecho-Slovakia the Young Communist organisations were dissolved by the authorities on account of their anti-militarist propaganda, while the Party carries on its activities quite legally.

The menace of militarism, in the first place hits the working youth, because they have to furnish the cannon fodder for the bourgeois States. Tens of thousands of young English workers joined the army, tens of thousands in Morocco, in Asia and Africa, in all parts of the world, were forcibly taken to the front.

We thus see that the position of the young workers has grown worse everywhere, but we must emphasise another fact of importance, namely that the young workers are used as a lever to bring down the standard of living of the adult workers. The wages of the young workers are the first to be reduced, thus paving the way for a reduction of the wages of the adult workers. Reports of this kind will be found in abundance in the young workers' journals. The young workers are made to work longer hours than the adults, in order to use this as a means of compelling the adults to work longer hours. An example may be seen in Germany. The time spent in the continuation school was hitherto counted in Germany as part of the eight-hour day. The Government did not dare to abolish the eight hour day for the adult workers. But it adopted a law which excludes the time spent on education from figuring in the working time. It further makes it permissible for the apprentices to work an extra hour in sweeping up the shop. It means nothing less than raising the working day at least to nine hours per day. Similar examples may be found in all countries. It is a means of pressing down the condition of the adult workers. Let us take a practical instance. When the young workers are made to work 10 hours in a given industry, one would not expect the adult workers would be allowed to work shorter hours, and this is what actually happens, i. e. the long hours of the young workers are followed by similar hours for the adults.

The Young Communist International was the first to take up the slogan of the fight against the capitalist offensive, and of the United Front between the Youth and the adult workers. It was a slogan adopted and carried out both in the national and international campaigns.

What do we find in the Social Democratic international of youth? We see the same comedy that was played by the 2nd International in the questions of the Youth. True to the example of the Amsterdam trade unionist bureaucracy and its parties, they give no heed to the misery of the working youth, nor to reaction and militarism. Where the young workers develop their action and fighting, we have seen the Young Social-Democratic International anxious to stifle the struggle. They do everything to dissuade the young workers from fighting. The Young Communist International proposed to the Amsterdam Young Workers International and to the Vienna Young Socialist International to meet at a world congress to join the forces of the young workers with that of the adult workers against the capitalist offensive. But the socialist Youth Internationals, who before our invitation had asserted their eagerness for a world congress of Youth, pretending that we were the only obstacle, revealed themselves in their true colours when they declined to come even to a preliminary conference to discuss the question of organising a world Congress. On the other hand, in company with the Amsterdam trade union leaders, they drew up a programme of so-called demands, that are of such a trifling character that they could not at all be taken seriously. Instead of calling the working youth to the United Front with the adult workers, they carried out their manoeuvre of amalgamation. Now we stand before the amalgamation of the 2½ Youth International and the Workers Youth International, i. e. before the final capitulation of the centralist Eunuchs of the 2nd International.

We now come to a chapter which is of particular importance, namely the movement of the young workers themselves. We have examples where the young workers have taken militant action in spite of the dictates of the social-democratic trade unions and the social-democratic youth organisations, and unfortunately also without our direct impulse. We have such an example in the English Engineers' Strike. The trade unions forbade the apprentices to strike. The apprentices, mind you in a place where there was and is no youth movement, spontaneously met and declared: "No, we won't remain at work, we will strike!"

We have another example in Germany, where there was a spontaneous strike at Hamburg of about 1,000 apprentices and young workers at the wharves fighting for a wage increase, and who maintained their strike 5 to 6 days in spite of the sabotage of the trade union leaders. Other examples of spontaneous strike movements we find at Munich, Mannheim, etc. We also learn that in a city in Austria 400 young workers went on strike because they were not consulted in concluding a wage agreement. Thus we see the growing militancy on the part of the young workers, which throws itself spontaneously into the battle of defence against the capitalist offensive.

This phenomenon should cause us to ponder. What conclusions are we to draw? The first conclusion is the one that I have pointed out, namely that the young workers to-day are anxious to take part in the struggle of the adult workers and in the struggle against the impoverishment of the young workers.

Secondly, we should draw the conclusion that the adult working class organisations do not protect the interests of the young workers, and the young workers are no longer willing to wait until their demands will finally be taken care of. When I say that the working class organisations do not protect the interests of the young workers, I speak not only of the Trade Unions and the social democratic party, but also of the party and of the Young Communist organisation. We should cherish no illusions on that score. The comrades in Germany who have taken part in these movements are well aware of the fact that the movements were in existence before the young communists came to take active part in them; that they were spontaneous movements without a direct initiative of the Communist International, and it was only later that they came under the leadership of the Communist International. These movements were not called into being by our organisations, but sprang up spontaneously. It is clear that the young workers will not wait any longer for someone to take care of their interests. This fact has its good and bad side. Its good side is that it shows that the young workers are willing to fight, that they are eager to take their place in the revolutionary struggle. But it should cause us to think, because it shows that even the Communist organisations, the communist trade unions, etc., have hitherto failed to carry on active work among the young workers, and if they continue to do so, there is bound to be an estrangement between our organisations and the young workers. On the other hand if the Communist International will take a hand in this movement of the young workers, as has been the aim of the German Communist League, then our influence among the masses of the young workers will be assured.

It is clear that a strike of young workers will be useless and fruitless if unsupported by the adult workers, if not backed by the trade unions. I must say that in these local and spontaneous movements of the young workers we recently met with the sad experiences of some adult workers actually taking part as strike breakers, because while the wages of the apprentices were ridiculously low, those of the adults were increased. The apprentices were getting 1,000 marks and the adults 4,500 marks. The proprietors of the wharves had declared that if the adult workers would not do the work of the striking youths and at the same wages as the youths, then they would also be locked out. The same has been observed in other places. What did the adult workers do in such cases? They acted as strike breakers, and not even at the higher wages, but at the miserable pittance of the young workers. This fact causes us misgivings, showing the wide cleavage between the masses of the young workers and the masses of the adult workers.

It shows how capitalism has succeeded in causing enmity between the two groups of the working class.

Therefore, the Communist International must make a clear statement on this question, and it is ready to do so. It declares that the united front of the young and the adult workers for a common struggle against capitalism and reaction is an absolute necessity, and calls upon all its parties and the entire working class to stand up for the interests and demands of the working class youth as well as for their own and to make them the subject of their daily struggle. And we know that when the Communist International sends forth such a call to all its members, to the

adult workers, when it adopts such a resolution that it is not mere lip service, but that it is actually determined to put this decision into practice and to pledge all its organisations to take cognizance of the importance of this question and put this decision and these principles into daily practice. The Communist International must not allow them to become indifferent. On the contrary, it must do its utmost to bring the young workers into its camp. The capitalist offensive and reaction must break down before the determined resistance of the entire revolutionary working class. If we know today how to represent the interest of the young workers and to bring them over to our side, we shall get access to them and will be able to actually organise their wide masses within the Communist International. There is the practical side to the entire question of the struggle in the interests of the young workers. It is the practical collaboration between the young communists and the Communist Party. Generally speaking, the practical collaboration between the Communist Party and the Young Communists have greatly improved during this year. Nevertheless, we must not relax in our mutual efforts to attain the ends which to us is both a necessary ideal and a practical demand. I will adduce one illustration in connection with this question. We had a very protracted discussion in Czecho-Slovakia with the Party officials as to whether the existence of the Young Communist League was a necessity or not. Many leading Party members adopted an attitude which practically meant that the Young Communist Leagues were not needed, that it was sufficient to have a Party, Trade Unions, and Sport organisations, could be entrusted with the training and organisation of their young members. Such an attitude is a complete misunderstanding of the tasks of the Young Communist League as an organisation which is to attract the wide masses of the working class youth and to give them a communist political training. We succeeded in converting these comrades to our point of view. But, though we have overcome this difficulty formally, it does not follow that the same view no longer exists within the Party.

We had to work hard in Great Britain before we were able to persuade the Communist Party of the necessity of bringing into being a proletarian young peoples movement, and it was only after a struggle lasting for several months that the Party Congress endorsed this idea.

It must also say a few words about the anti-militarist campaign. This is still a sore point with most of our parties. On this field we must have more mutual understanding than before, because the present situation is such that this struggle must not be left entirely to the Young Communist Leagues. It is absolutely necessary that the parties intensify the struggle. Closer cooperation is an absolute necessity.

We also make several proposals in our resolution in connection with educational work, to the effect that the Party should support the educational work of the Y. C. Leagues by supplying them with educational resources, with seats in the Party schools, etc.

In connection with this, I must say a few words about the Party press. I am able to report a considerable improvement in the party press in connection with the treatment of young peoples questions, as most of the papers are paying much more attention

Report on the Negro Question

Billings:

Comrades, the colonial question was recognised as an important question in relation to the world revolution by the Second Congress of the Communist International, but it is a general complaint among the oriental comrades, and also among some of the colonial comrades that this matter has been treated rather in the form of a step-child than as a part of the general world revolutionary problem. In the Negro question we have before us another phase of the racial and colonial question to which no attention has been paid heretofore. I mean by that that, heretofore, the Second International has not paid any particular attention to the Negro question as such. Therefore we find that in the thesis of the Second Congress there is a statement that the Second International was an International of white workers, while the Third International was an International of the workers of the world.

Both Comrade Zinoviev and Comrade Bukharin in their speeches referred to the colonial question as one of the most important questions with which we have to deal at the present time. However, now that this important problem is being discussed, I expect this Congress to take cognizance of the lessons learned and the tactics applied relative to the Colonial question. The Congress must have, at least the Third International must have,

to these questions than heretofore. Germany is no doubt the focus of the economic struggle of the young workers. And yet it happened in Germany that a newspaper editors conference arrived at the decision to stop all young peoples' supplements in the entire German Communist press. We have been told that the Berlin "Rote Fahne" is very loth to accept articles on young peoples' questions, and that it is almost impossible to get anything in that line accepted by the "Rote Fahne". The young peoples supplement cannot get any permanent foothold in that paper. Long was the struggle on this score, the political bureau said "yes", and the editors said no. It is a regrettable fact that in a country like Germany so little is being done for the Young Communist agitation in the central organ of the Party. Neither has the central organ in Czecho-Slovakia a young peoples supplement, nor was it possible to get a single article about the organisation of the youth workers into the British press. Even an article on the formation of the Y. C. League was rejected. It is even more difficult to get something about the Y.C. movement in "Humanité" than in the "Rote Fahne". Thus, there is room for improvement in that direction.

In conclusion, I must touch upon the question of the organisation of the children's groups. This movement has been firmly established in the course of this year in many countries and the Parties are beginning to take an interest in this work. This interest is very welcome, and we should insist that the Parties should not encourage the tendency of a vague general education for working class children, that they should throw overboard the bourgeois nonsense of a general rational education, and that they should insist on a purely communist education for the children. It must not happen as in France that a magazine like "Les Petits Bons Hommes", which is published by a petty-bourgeois intellectual group, is circulated within the Organisation, while this is not done for the communist magazine. The Czecho-Slovakian C. P. has also tolerated that its organisations published and circulated a colourless little paper in opposition to the communist children's magazine. The work of the Y. C. Leagues in connection with the children's groups' movement must be better supported, and the tendencies for a bourgeois education must be overcome. Comrades, it is of course impossible to deal here in detail with all the questions of practical cooperation between the Party and the Y. C. Leagues. We trust that the resolution will meet with your approval and will be put to practical application.

Three years have passed since the Communist Youth International was formed in Berlin. We met in a small smoky back-room of a suburban inn, forced to underground methods by the Noske reaction. Since that time the Communist Youth International has grown tremendously; its membership has been nearly quadrupled, it has grown in strength, definiteness of purpose, and determination. We hope that the Communist International and the Communist Youth will be able to penetrate the ranks of the working Youth, to arouse it to action, and replenish the Communist Movement with powerful fighting troops. And we hope that we will be able to prove to you at the next Congress that the Communist Youth International, assisted by the Comintern, has fought for the interests of the masses of the young workers, has drawn them into the struggles of the adult workers and won them over to Communism.

gained certain experiences in dealing with the Far Eastern people and also with the Near Eastern question, and it ought to have crystallised some knowledge out of this particular problem. It will find that, in dealing with this question certain mistakes (mistakes made inevitably) occur which must be taken into account and, when we begin with the Negro question, we must begin from the very start in the proper direction.

In considering the Negro question as such, we must also be prepared to take into consideration the psychological factors which enter into the Negro problem. Therefore, we must realise that different peoples at certain given times reaching a special stage of development must of necessity have certain different psychological reactions towards the world in general. When we attempt to carry on the work amongst these masses, to carry our agitational propaganda to them, we must perforce take into consideration these factors that we find in the particular question at issue.

Although the Negro problem as such is fundamentally an economic problem, notwithstanding, we find that this particular problem is aggravated and intensified by the friction which exists between the white and black races. It is a matter of common knowledge that prejudice as such, although born from the class prejudice that any group takes in society, notwithstanding the question of race, does play an important part. Whilst it is true

that, for instance, in the United States of America the main basis of racial antagonism lies in the fact that there is competition of labour in America between black and white, nevertheless, the Negro bears a badge of slavery on him which has its origin way back in the time of his slavery. Hence you find that this particular antagonism on the part of the white workers to the black workers assumes this particular form because of this very fact.

There are about 150,000,000 Negroes throughout the world. Approximately 25,000,000 of them reside in the New World, and the rest live in Africa. The Negroes in America and the West Indies are a source of cheap labour supply for the American capitalist, and we find that the capitalist class has always used and will always continue to use them as an instrument in order to suppress the white working class in its every-day struggle. They will be the source from which the "white guard" elements will be recruited in the event of a revolutionary uprising anywhere and everywhere.

In Africa the exploitation of the Negroes afforded opportunities for the continuation of the accumulation process of capital. The capitalist class as a class has recognised the valuable aid that the Negro masses will be to it. Therefore, for years it has made it its business to cultivate a bourgeois ideology in the mind of the Negro populace. This, of course, was done in its own interests, and not in those of the Negroes. It has carefully planned out and planted organisations amongst the Negroes to carry on agitation in favor of the bourgeoisie as against the white workers. It has what is known as the Rockefeller Foundation, it has the Urban League. The first organisation supplies grants of money to Negro schools; the second is a notorious strike-breaking institution. It has been on the job while most of the revolutionaries have been asleep. Facing this condition, it was inevitable that the Negro population would have some sort of reaction against the oppression and the suppression to which they were subjected throughout the world. Their first reaction was, of course, in the forming of religious institutions, the only forms permitted at certain times for their own enjoyment, but later we find that there has been a continuous development of organisations on the part of the Negroes, which, although purely Negro, are to a certain extent directly or indirectly opposed to capitalism. The three most important Negro organisations operating today are firstly, what is known as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organisation which is composed of a large proletarian element led by bourgeois intellectuals, an organisation that today bases its action upon the principle of seeking redress from the capitalist class by means of petitions and what practically amounts to begging that something may be done for them. Then we come to the other more interesting form of organisation which is known as the Garvey Association, an organisation that is ultra-nationalist, yet composed of a rebel rank and file element. It is an organisation which, in spite of the fact that it has drafted on its program various cheap stock schemes, is influencing the minds of the Negroes against imperialism. This organisation came into existence after the world war. Of course it did not take any definite radical form, it was saved in time by its own leader, but, notwithstanding this, the race consciousness has been planted and used to a very large extent, far into the interior of Africa, where hardly anyone could expect that an organisation could be planted there which had its origin in America. The third organisation is the African Blood Brotherhood, a radical Negro organisation which bases its program upon the abolition of capitalism. It was the one organisation which, during the time of a race riot in Tulsa Oklahoma, put up a splendid and courageous fight, and the one to which the capitalist class in America is going to turn its attention next.

We have also in Africa certain small organisations which get their direct inspiration from America, the head-quarters and centre of political thought among Negroes. These organisations are stretching out and developing as far as the Sudan. These can be utilised by Communists if the means of propaganda are carefully, deliberately and intensively used to link up these movements. We see already that there is a sort of organisation which will react against imperialism throughout the world.

There are in the United States about 450 Negro newspapers and magazines, and, while they are mostly strictly racial, nevertheless they have a great influence upon the Negro masses everywhere. There is for instance the "Chicago Defender" which issues 250,000 copies weekly which are spread out all over the world, wherever there are large groups of Negroes. Then there is the "Crisis", a monthly magazine which has a circulation of over 600,000. These papers, and especially the "Chicago Defender" and others with a smaller circulation have constantly used radical propaganda material that we sent out.

The Negroes feel the impending crisis which will break out in the south between black and white. It was in the South that

the seed was sown and the results are bound to come in some way. It will probably take the form of race rioting on a very large scale.

The Negro question, comrades, is of very great interest and of very great importance to us. For example, you find that in the United States, of the approximate number of 12 million Negroes who inhabit that country, 2 millions live in the northern industrialised part of the country, and the other 9 or 10 millions in the South. I suppose that all of you have a picture in your mind of what the South is like. When you enter there it is like Dante's Inferno. Sometimes you feel like giving up hope altogether. It is almost a country all by itself. 80% of the Negroes live on the land. They are discriminated against and disfranchised, and it is there that the class struggle is waged in its most brutal form. You find the relation between blacks and whites to be one of constant conflict and of fighting to the death. You find there lynching and race riots. You find that the lynching of a Negro is something to be enjoyed in the South as a picture show is enjoyed elsewhere. When you find that the white population in the South is so saturated with this idea of white domination over the Negro, you see that this question must engage our attention. At the present time when there are big strikes in the north United States, you find that the capitalist class and its hirelings hurry to the South in order to draw the Southern Negroes into the Northern districts as strike-breakers. They promise them higher wages and better conditions, and so induce them to enter those areas in which strikes are in progress. That is a constant danger to the white workers when on strike. Of course, the entire blame for this must not be placed upon the Negroes. The labour unions in America, and I am speaking of the bona fide trade unions, have for the last few years, insisted that, although a Negro is a skilled worker, he cannot by virtue of the fact that he is a Negro enter the trade union. It is only recently that the American Federation of Labour has made a weak attempt to try to get Negroes into the regular trade unions. But, even today, such an organisation as the Machinist's Union, still has, if I am not mistaken the assertion in its program that the qualification of membership is that every white brother shall introduce for membership other white men or something to that effect. This means that the Negroes are permanently excluded from the unions simply on account of the fact that they are black, and the capitalist class, and the reactionary Negro press uses this to the fullest extent in order to prejudice the minds of these black workers against the labour unions. When you speak to a Negro about his joining a trade union, or about the necessity of his becoming radical, the first thing he throws at you is the assertion: "Don't preach to me. Preach to the whites. They need it and I do not. I am always ready to fight alongside of them so long as they agree to take me into the trade unions, but as long as they do not, I will scab, and, by God, I have a right to scab. I want to protect my own life". That is one of their arguments and it cannot be ignored. While theoretically we may use all the beautiful phrases that we know, nevertheless these are hard concrete facts in the everyday struggle.

The Negro Commission has prepared a thesis on the Negro Question which I shall read to you presently. While going into the Negro question, we also prepared certain definite proposals which we think should be carried out by the various sections of the Communist International who have Negroes in their territories or colonies. We have prepared these proposals of course not to have them left merely on paper, but to be carried out by the various sections, and we will request the Communist International to see to it that the proposals are carried out in the letter and in the spirit in which they are written. We have prepared an outline for the work, a proposal for the immediate carrying on of the work amongst Negroes throughout the world. We have also made a proposal for the establishment of a Negro Bureau as part of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The reason we did this was because we wanted this work co-ordinated and centralised, and we thought the best place for this Bureau or section, or whatever you like to call it, is Moscow. The Negro question is to us of very great importance, and therefore we have endeavoured to consider carefully the situations as they actually exist in Africa and in America especially. We have not gone into any dreams about a program although we have made certain definite suggestions as to what should be included in a plan for a Negro organization, taking into consideration the peculiar mental reactions of the Negro at the present time. The thesis on the Negro question reads as follows:

"The basis of the process of accumulation, which existed for the development of capitalism before the war, has, as a result of the war, been completely revolutionised as regards the relationship between advanced capitalist countries exporting capital

and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples under their domination. At the same time there has developed among these peoples a movement of revolt, which is still making successful progress against the power of world capital as embodied in British imperialism, so much so that the penetration and intensive colonisation of regions inhabited by black races is becoming the last great problem on the solution of which the further development of capitalist accumulation itself depends. French capitalists clearly recognise that the power of French post-war imperialism will only be able to maintain itself through the creation of a Franco-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 keenly Britain on her part dreads the menace to her position 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 an 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 aroused the consciousness of the 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, where the movement of revolt has grown more and more intense, with a reflex effect on the whole Negro race. Consequently the Negro problem, on subjective no less than objective grounds, 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 colored Asiatic peoples in semi-capitalist countries, likewise regards the co-operation of our oppressed black fellowmen as essential in the revolution of the proletarian masses and the destruction of capitalist power. The Fourth Congress accordingly declares it to be a special duty of communists to apply the "Thesis on Colonial Questions" to the Negro problems.

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. Negro workers should everywhere be organised, and if and when Negro and white working masses coexist, a United Front should be formed at every opportunity.

3. Work among the Negroes should be carried on more particularly by Negroes.

4. Immediate steps should be taken to hold a Negro conference or congress in Moscow."

Well, comrades, in closing, I want just to make this remark, that I hope the comrades who come from the various sections of the Communist International where there are Negro workers will take cognisance of the Negro problem as it exists today, and that they will carry on, not in the form of a New Year's resolution, but, actually and directly, this work, in order to arouse the consciousness of the Negro masses, so that we may be able to link them up for the proletarian revolution.

Mc Kay:

Comrade McKay: Comrades, I feel that I would rather face a lynching stake in civilised America than try to make a speech before the most intellectual and critical audience in the world. I belong to a race of creators but my public speaking has been so bad that I have been told by my own people that I should never try to make speeches, but stick to writing and laughing. However, when I heard the Negro question was going to be brought up on the floor of the Congress, I felt that it would be an eternal shame if I did not say something on behalf of the members of my race. Especially would I be a disgrace to the American Negroes because, since I published a notorious poem in 1919, I have been pushed forward as one of the spokesmen of Negro radicalism in America to the detriment of my poetical temperament. I feel that my race is honoured by this invitation to one of its members to speak at this Fourth Congress of the Third International. My race on this occasion is honoured, not because it is different from the white race and the yellow race, but is especially a race of toilers, hewers of wood and drawers of water that belongs to the most oppressed, exploited, and suppressed section of the working class of the world. The Third International stands for the emancipation of all the workers of the world regardless of race or colour, and this stand of the Third International is not made merely on paper like the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America. It is a real thing.

The Negro race in the economic life of the world today, occupies a very peculiar position. In every country where the

Whites and Blacks must work together the capitalists have set the one against the other. It would seem at the present day that the International bourgeoisie would use the Negro race as their trump card in their fight against the world revolution. Great Britain has her Negro regiments in the colonies and she has demonstrated what she can do with her Negro soldiers by the use that she made of them during the late war. The revolution in England is very far away because of the highly organised exploitation of the subject peoples of the British Empire. In Europe we find that France has a Negro army of over 300,000, and that to carry out their policy of imperial domination in Europe the French are going to use their Negro minions.

In America we have the same situation. The Northern bourgeoisie knows how well the Negro soldiers fought for their own emancipation, although illiterate and untrained, during the Civil War. They also remember how well the Negro soldiers fought in the Spanish American war under Theodore Roosevelt. They know that in the last war over 400,000 Negroes who were mobilised gave a very good account of themselves, and that, besides fighting for the capitalists, they also put up a very good fight for themselves on returning to America when they fought the white mobs in Chicago, St. Louis and Washington.

But more than the fact that the American capitalists are using Negro soldiers in their fight against the interests of labour is the fact that the American capitalists are setting out to mobilise the entire black race of America for the purpose of fighting organized labour. The situation in America today is terrible and fraught with grave dangers. It is much uglier and more terrible than was the condition of the peasants and Jews of Russia under the Tzar. It is so ugly and terrible that very few people in America are willing to face it. The reformist bourgeoisie have been carrying on the battle against discrimination and racial prejudice in America. The Socialists and Communists have fought very shy of it because there is a great element of prejudice among the socialists and communists of America. They are not willing to face the Negro question. In associating with the comrades of America I have found demonstrations of prejudice on the various occasions when the White and Black comrades had to get together: and this is the greatest difficulty that the Communists of America have got to overcome—the fact that they first have got to emancipate themselves from the ideas they entertain towards the negroes before they can be able to reach the Negroes with any kind of radical propaganda. However, regarding the Negroes themselves, I feel that as the subject races of other nations have come to Moscow to learn how to fight against their exploiters, the Negroes will also come to Moscow. In 1918 when the Third International published its Manifesto and included that part referring to the exploited colonies, there were several groups of Negro radicals in America that sent this propaganda out among their people. When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among the Negroes, the small radical Negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the socialists stood for the emancipation of the Negroes, and that reformist America could do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American Negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation and had fought valiantly for it. I shall just read this extract that was taken from Karl Marx's writing at the time of the Civil War:

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave holders for the first time in the annals of the world, dared to inscribe "Slavery" on the banner of armed revolt, on the very spot where hardly a century ago the idea of one great democratic republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the Eighteenth century, when on that spot the counter-revolution cynically proclaimed property in man to be "the corner-stone of the new edifice"—then the working class of Europe understood at once that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labour, and that hopes of the future, even its past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic."

Karl Marx who drafted the above resolution is generally known as the father of Scientific Socialism and also of the epoch-making volume, popularly known as the Socialist bible "Capital." During the civil war he was correspondent of the New York Tribune. In company with Richard Cobden, Charles Bradlaugh the Atheist, and John Bright, he toured England making speeches and so roused up the sentiment of the workers of that country against the Confederacy that Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, who was about to recognise the South, had to desist.

As Marx fought against chattel slavery in 1861, so are present day socialists, his intellectual descendants, fighting against wage slavery.

If the Workers Party in America were really a Workers Party that included the Negroes it would, for instance, in the South, have to be illegal, and I would inform the American Comrades that there is a branch of the Workers Party in the South, in Richmond, Virginia, that is illegal,—illegal because it includes coloured members. There we have a very small group of white and coloured comrades working together, and the fact that they have laws in Virginia and most of the Southern States discriminating against whites and blacks assembling together means that the Workers Party in the South must be illegal. To get round these laws of Virginia, the comrades have to meet separately, according to colour, and about once a month they assemble behind closed doors.

This is just an indication of the work that will have to be done in the South. The work among the negroes of the South will have to be carried on by some legal propaganda organised in the North, because we find at the present time in America that the situation in the Southern States (where nine million out of ten million of the negro population live), is that even the liberal bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie among the negroes cannot get their own papers of a reformist propaganda type into the South on account of the laws that there discriminate against them.

Manifesto on the Geneva Agreement

Beron:

Comrades, the Austrian Commission appointed by the Presidium consisting of Comrades Radek, Stern and Smeral have drawn up the following manifesto:

To the Workers of All Countries:

The Austrian proletariat is at present engaged in a severe conflict against the enslaving designs of world capital and reaction, which deserves the attention of the workers of all countries. On the pretext of preparing to prop up the collapsing Austrian economy, the League of Nations — particularly England, France, Czecho-Slovakia and Italy, and also certain small states in league with the Austrian ruling class, wish to rob the Austrian proletariat of the last shreds of its liberty, and even to destroy bourgeois democracy and erect in its place an open and brutal dictatorship of native and foreign capital.

Those countries which pose as the saviours of Austria, do not intend to give her any real help. They will not lend Austria a penny. They will only allow Austria to seek out individual capitalists willing to lend Austria certain sums, and who will undertake to get their respective parliaments next year to guarantee these credits. In return for this Austria — without any certainty as to whether they will really get these credits, or even these guarantees — engages to fetter her parliament for two years, in a worse manner than even in Hungary, to lay the burden of more than four billions in new taxes upon her working class, to lease her state monopolies to private capital, to discharge great numbers of workers, to lengthen the working hours and intensify the exploitation of the workers, to dissolve the proletarian militia and organise in its place the reactionary gendarmes and police who will maintain "tranquillity and order" by brutally suppressing the masses. Austria must permit herself to be reduced to the level of a colony of the lowest degree, without a protest. A Commissioner General of the League of Nations shall rule in Austria as absolute monarch, in whose hands the government, dictatorial in its powers over the masses, will be nothing more than a passive tool.

Workers of all countries!

The fulfilment of these plans, born of the Geneva Agreement, brings the Austrian working class to utter despair. The Austrian workers could easily prevent their own bourgeoisie from carrying out these plans, but the Austrian bourgeoisie is being supported by the capitalists of other countries, especially the capitalist governments of England, France, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia. Hence, it is your obvious duty to come to the aid of the Austrian workers and bring all possible pressure to bear upon your governments to prevent them from working together with the Austrian capitalists to enslave and exploit Austria. That which your governments are now undertaking towards Austria is really nothing more than a war of conquest in which your governments have not yet considered it necessary to use armed warfare. And just as it would be your duty not to tolerate war, so it is your duty to struggle in every possible way against this war of extortion and attrition.

This is not merely in the interests of international solidarity; your own interests demand that you do all you can to oppose your government and aid the Austrian proletariat in its desperate struggle!

The fact is that it is really only in the Southern States that there is any real suppression of opinion. No suppression of opinion exists in the Northern States in the way it exists in the South. In the Northern States special laws are made for special occasions—as those against communists and socialists during the war—but in the South we find laws that have existed for 55 years, under which the negroes cannot meet to talk about their grievances. The white people who are interested in their cause cannot go and speak to them. If we send white comrades into the South they are generally ordered out by the Southern oligarchy and if they do not leave they are generally whipped, tarred and feathered; and if we send black comrades into the South they won't be able to get out again—they will be lynched and burned at the stake.

I hope that as a symbol that the negroes of the world will not be used by the international bourgeoisie in the final conflicts against the World Revolution, that as a challenge to the international bourgeoisie, who have really got an understanding on the negro question, we shall soon see a few negro soldiers in the finest, bravest, and cleanest fighting forces in the world—the Red Army and Navy of Russia—fighting not only for their own emancipation, but also for the emancipation of the working class of the whole world.

International capitalism attributes much importance to the enslavement of Austria, despite the smallness of the country, and this is not without cause. International reaction seeks to make of Austria an important base for action against the world proletariat and world revolution. In Austria the proletariat is still relatively very strong as compared with the bourgeoisie. The Austrian bourgeoisie has found itself compelled to preserve a certain amount of democratic freedom. Austria is also the only country in which the national armed forces are distinctly proletarian, and are not used against the working class. International reaction is greatly interested in the substitution of brutal capitalist dictatorship for the present false democracy. They thus wish to build up a reactionary force in Germany. If the plans matured by the Geneva Conference come to fruition, the English, French, Czecho-Slovakian and Italian working classes will soon see the increased pressure from capitalist reaction, the whole world over which will have grown stronger and more secure. In the approaching decisive struggle between world reaction and world revolution, the former will have gained an important strategic base of support, a new and dangerous stronghold whose importance will be particularly great now after the victory of Fascism in Italy. The enslavement of the Austrian workers is only the first preparatory step towards a similar and much more dangerous oppression of the German workers which will have perilous consequences for the working class of the world. International capital understands why the bourgeoisie have become so presumptuous as to plan the cancellation of this democracy. Now the social democratic leaders claim that a struggle for the defence of democracy would expose the Austrian working class to the danger of death by starvation. But, the pressure of the working class was so strong that the social democrats had at least to make a pretence of fighting. They were compelled to launch a campaign in Austria fearing the possibility of success most of all. The Second and a Half International had called upon the workers of all countries to oppose the enslavement of Austria through the Geneva Agreement. But already the Austrian social-democrats have given way and have abandoned even their sham battle. They are prepared to participate in the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement by forming a masked coalition.

Workers of all countries! We knew then, and know now, that the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy and of the Second and a half International, now breathing its last, never intended serious battle. Your task is to prevent these mock heroes from giving up the struggle, which they have been forced to undertake, before it is begun, and to transform their sham fight into a real struggle. Take these gentlemen at their word, show that you are ready to carry on the struggle, the necessity of which they have themselves emphasised, with all energy. Carry on the fight, and when these leaders try to forsake it, send out the call over their heads to the working masses to join together in a common irresistible campaign.

Workers of Austria! The workers of other lands can and must come to your help by hindering the capitalists of their countries from assisting the Austrian capitalists. It is for you, however, to carry on the decisive struggle against your bourgeoisie. You are strong enough for this, if you will only have the necessary determination. Do not let yourselves be

deterred by your social democratic leaders from carrying on this fight against your complete enslavement with all possible force. You must realise that only the Communist Party of your country can show you the right way. Struggle all together, regardless of Party distinction, against our common danger.

Workers of all countries! And especially workers of France, England and Czecho-Slovakia! Assume the duty of proletarian solidarity towards the threatened Austrian working class. Your own interests and the interests of the world revolution depend upon this. Do not allow your governments to pursue their reactionary and predatory politics unhindered. Use an your powers to checkmate the plans of the international capitalist class. Tear the mask from the faces of the capitalist hypocrites who seek to fool you with democratic phrases while

Reorganisation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

Eberlein:

Comrades, the committee appointed by the Congress to report on the re-organization of the Executive and its further activities has met. Its decisions will be submitted to you in the form of theses. With regard to these theses I wish to say a few words.

We took it to be self-evident that the organization of the Communist International must be put to the test at every World Congress, in order to make sure that the organization and the machinery of the Communist International are quite equal to the tasks entrusted to them. It was the task of the Committee to try and make the organization of the Executive suitable to the tasks entrusted to the Executive by this World Congress. On these grounds, I declare it is necessary to raise the question again and again, at every World Congress, whether the machinery and the organization of the Executive are fully equal to their tasks, or whether an extension and re-organization are called for.

It was from this standpoint that the Committee dealt with this matter. We have resolved to submit to you substantial modifications in the organization of the Executive, modifications which should indicate the way that is to lead towards the appointed goal. To be explicit, that aim consists of the desire to do away with the federalist notions still existing in the organization, to create an Executive really capable of taking the central leadership of the World Party, to remove all the mistakes and shortcomings revealed in the course of the past year and to create a really centralised World Party, in order that the decisions of the World Congress, of the Enlarged Executive and of the Executive shall be really translated into action, making it impossible for any individuals or groups to hamper the carrying out of the adopted resolutions. This was the goal by which we were guided in the proposals which we shall have to make to you.

That this is necessary, that we have to do our utmost to become a really centralised World Party, is an obvious thing to the Communist International. Past experiences gave us sufficient warning. The Second International was to us a constant warning example in this respect, it was an International that was rather a federation than a centralised body, an organization whose activity in the main consisted of regular or casual conferences at which the finest speeches were delivered and the finest resolutions adopted, but which nobody ever thought of putting into action. It was an International in which every individual section could do as it pleased, in which every one could choose his own tune. This is a thing which does not suit the Communist International, and which should teach the affiliated parties to consider the central leadership of the International as a real central leadership. We cannot help observing that in recent years a number of events have taken place which demonstrated to us that this goal has not been achieved by a long way. It was, for instance, one of the most depressing moments of this Congress when a delegate stood up to declare: If you do not decide as we wish we shall leave the Congress! This is an impossible thing for the Comintern and it should not occur again. The Comintern should make it impossible once and for all.

During the past year some sections did not carry out the decisions of the various congresses with the necessary vigour and with the necessary good-will. On looking up the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses and comparing them with the work done in the individual sections, you will find that nearly all the sections have failed to properly carry out the decisions, and what is still worse, not everywhere was the desire manifested to really put these decisions into action. This calls

in Austria they are destroying the last remnants of democracy. Face them with your determined opposition, and let them know that you are a force to be reckoned with. The international capitalist front must be met by the international front of the revolutionary proletariat! Form the International United Front of the Proletariat!

Down with the Geneva Slave Treaty!

Down with World Reaction!

Long live International Proletarian Solidarity!

Long live the United Front of the International fighting Proletariat!

Long live the victory of the World Revolution!

(Adopted unanimously.)

for a substantially strengthened discipline on the part of the sections, and for a substantially strengthened control and energetic intervention on the part of the Executive, in order that the adopted decisions of the Congresses should not remain on paper, but really be translated into deeds.

We have the further experience, that the appeals issued by the Comintern in the interest of the movement at large were not even published by some individual parties, that some parties hesitated to publish the decisions of the Executive because they were not in harmony with their own wishes, while other sections published only extracts of these decisions, and so forth. These too, are things which constitute severe breaches of the discipline which should not occur in the Comintern, which should be avoided under all circumstances.

Another evil revealed in the course of the past year consisted of the fact, that leading comrades in the various sections, when in disagreement with one or another of the decisions of the International, simply deserted the field of battle and resigned from their positions. These are intolerable occurrences in the Comintern and should under all circumstances be suppressed in the most stringent way. We need international discipline, if we really wish to be a strongly welded World Party, a militant organization of the proletariat. In this militant organization individual comrades must under all circumstances subordinate their personal wishes to the common interests of the International.

The Commission considered also the question of the Party Conferences of the Sections, which was the cause of a debate. The Comintern through its Executive passed a resolution last year to the effect, that in the future the Party Conferences of the Sections shall take place after the World Congress. Some parties opposed this resolution, demanding that in the future the Party Conference should be held before the World Congress. They asserted that only by holding the Party Conferences before the World Congress itself would it be possible to furnish a clear picture of the attitude and activity of the individual Sections. The Commission was of a different opinion, it agreed to the decision of the Executive, and in these theses it is laid down that in the future Party Conferences shall, as a rule, take place after the World Congress. Nevertheless, a sufficient amount of latitude is left to the Executive by giving it the right, in particularly important cases and under particular political circumstances, to permit this or that section to hold its Party Conference before the World Congress. But in every case it should not be done without the decision of the Executive. The Commission came to this conclusion because it was convinced that it would be intolerable in a really centralised Party that the individual sections should adopt decisions on political and other questions before the decision of the World Congress and then come to the congress with a cut and dried program of action. Firstly, because it would make it more difficult for the World Congress to arrive at an understanding on the individual questions after the various parties had already made up their minds on these questions at their conferences. Secondly, it would create difficulties for the parties in question if the World Congress, taking place after the Party Conference, should adopt other decisions than those adopted by the Party Conference, putting before the Party the alternative of either submitting to international discipline and annulling the decisions of their Party Conference, or of putting themselves in opposition to the decisions of the International on the ground of their Party decisions. As International discipline must be our chief concern, we are of the opinion that the best solution for the future would be to hold the Party Conferences of the various sections after the World Congress. Those who advocate that the Party Conferences should precede the World Congress, explained

their attitude by saying that without a Party Conference it is impossible to carry out the necessary preparatory work for the World Congress. The Commission does not consider this explanation as valid. It is certainly necessary to convene before the Congress the appropriate bodies in the various sections, for instance, the District Party Conferences, the National Central Committees and other similar bodies and organizations of the sections, in order to discuss in full detail the questions which are to be put before the World Congress. We ask you to accept our proposals that the Party Conferences should be held in the future after the World Congress.

There is another evil which has become evident at the present World Congress, namely that several sections have sent their delegates to the World Congress with an imperative mandate. The Commission rejects this kind of mandate, and requests you to lay down that imperative mandates should not be recognised as valid at future Congresses. It is intolerable and entirely against the spirit of the Communist International for some delegations to come with an imperative mandate and to refuse to listen to explanations, discussions or attempts to arrive at an agreement on the plea that the delegates are under the obligation not to vote against the instructions of their respective parties. We are therefore of the opinion that the Congress must declare in future imperative mandates as void, and annul them.

But, comrades, this strict centralist lead of the Communist International can only be instituted if, at the same time, we endeavour to make the leadership of the Communist International a body consisting of people who are really capable of taking upon themselves the enormous responsibility for the leadership of the Communist International. The Commission is therefore of the opinion that in the future the Presidium and the Executive of the International should consist of the representatives of the various parties as heretofore, but with the difference that these representatives should no longer be delegated to the seat of the Executive, as hitherto, by the various sections, but that they should be elected here by the World Congress, thus becoming, as the elected representatives on the Executive, the truly responsible workers and leaders of the Communist International. Therefore, it is necessary that the delegations should be of a different type, and that it should not be left to every Party and every section to send any representative the Party chooses, and to recall him whenever the Party wills it. If these representative are elected here, they can actually work in the Presidium and the Executive of the Communist International as responsible collaborators.

This decision was not arrived at for reasons of agitation, and because the opponents of the Communist International have continually claimed that the leadership of the Communist International is in the hands of the Russians, and that the latter is carrying on its work in the various sections and countries at the dictates of the Russians. This was by no means the reason for our proposal. On the contrary, we are convinced and say it quite frankly that it is self-evident that in the future also the Russian comrades should exercise a stronger, nay the strongest, influence, in the leadership of the Communist International, in the Presidium and in the Executive, since they have had the greatest experience in the International class struggle, have really carried out the revolution and are therefore owing to that experience better qualified than all the delegates of the other sections. Therefore they must also in future exercise a considerably greater influence than the other delegates in the Communist International. But it is necessary that the other Parties should gradually extend their co-operation in the leadership of the Communist International, and that they send their best and most capable representatives in order to guarantee a truly international composition of the Central Committee of the Communist International. We trust that this will contribute to make the various sections take a keener interest in International affairs in the Communist International. In fact it has been a great drawback in many of our actions that the best comrades in these actions have confined themselves within the boundaries of their own organization, working exclusively for the party without taking sufficient interest in International work as a whole. It is absolutely necessary that the various sections should show a keener interest in the International work, and be more ready to collaborate in it than heretofore.

Basing ourselves on this viewpoint, we propose that the composition of the leading organ of the Communist International shall be as follows:

That you elect a chairman and an Executive of 24 members, including two representatives from the Communist Youth International. The various sections have of course the right to send in nominations. But the final elections must be carried out here by the World Congress. As it may happen

(that some of these members of the Executive should have to return to their sections on important political business or be sent by the Communist International to do work in other sections, we further propose to elect ten candidates who will remain in their respective countries until they be required as deputy representatives of their countries.

The Commission also proposes that the Plenary session should elect a Presidium out of this Executive. The number of members for the Presidium has not yet been definitely decided upon, probably there should be nine to eleven members. It is the duty of the Presidium, which is at the same time a kind of political bureau, to solve the political problems of the International. It will establish an Organizational Bureau which will probably consist of seven members. It has been proposed that two members of the Presidium should form part of this organizational Bureau. This Bureau will have new tasks before it, and will deal with matters to which the Communist International and its leading organ have not paid much attention hitherto. It has become evident that the Communist International must exercise more influence on the organizational form of the various sections, that it must assist them with advice and otherwise at the establishment of their organizational Bureau. We are of the opinion that this task is a very important one, for many of the sections at present attached to the Communist International, do not as yet have the necessary organizational apparatus for becoming Communist Parties in the full sense of the word. There are still many sections, the organizational apparatus of which does not differ very much from that of the old social democratic electioneering society. This must not be allowed to go on. We do not need any electioneering societies within the Communist International, but fighting organizations. All the sections must endeavour to become such organizations. The Executive of the Communist International must concentrate next year on the organizational structure and consolidation of the various sections, and must assist them in this work by word and deed.

The Organization Bureau has also another task to fulfil which is of the greatest importance, viz: the organization of the illegal work in the various sections. Former Congresses repeatedly adopted resolutions concerning this question, but as far as we know, very little was done in this direction by the various sections. Therefore, the Organization Bureau will have to pay much attention to this work. It has become more and more necessary to concentrate on this branch of our activity, since the counter-revolution is becoming more brazen and more fierce, from month to month, fighting against Communism not only with political weapons, but also with those of terrorism, assassination and imprisonment. Events in Italy have shown the necessity of illegal work in the future. We trust that the sections will pay more attention to this very important and difficult task in the coming year. The Organization Bureau of the International must help with this work.

We further propose the establishment of a general Secretariat, as an auxiliary organ of the Presidium, with a General Secretary, who is to be elected by the Enlarged Executive, and who is to have at his disposal several assistant secretaries. The General Secretariat itself has not the right to make binding decisions. It is an auxiliary organ of the Presidium, and must not be anything else. We further propose the establishment of a department for agitation and education. This department should be under the direct control of the Presidium, and should endeavour to centralise and unify as much as possible the agitational work in the Communist International, at the same time assisting the various parties with counsel and instructions.

The same task will confront the education department which should be in close connection with the agitation department. It must endeavour to issue instructions and co-ordinate the educational work within the Communist International. I believe that the tasks of these departments are so self-evident that I need not dwell on them at any greater length.

One other Department, about which we must arrive at a definite decision, is the Eastern department. The Eastern department has to carry on its work under very peculiar conditions, owing to the fact that in the countries it has to deal with, hardly any Communist Parties are as yet in existence, and Communist agitation there is confined to a few small Communist groups. Thus, the propaganda and agitation work throughout the East must be principally the business of the other Parties, especially of those countries where firmly established Communist Parties are in existence. But, the work on this field has greatly increased during the last year, and the political significance of the East has been recognised more and more within the Communist International, so we are of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to have a special Eastern Department the head of which must be a member of the Presidium taking an active part in the entire work of the International.

We also said in our theses that the Executive and the Presidium have the power to establish more departments, should the work of the international require it, but that all these departments should be under the control of members of the Executive or of the Presidium who must issue instructions for their work, so that the responsibility should under all circumstances rest with a member of the Presidium.

We also propose an Enlarged Executive. Last year's experience has shown that the sessions of the Enlarged Executive have done very useful work. Moreover, it is desirable that in connection with important political decisions, a larger circle of responsible party workers from the various sections should meet in order to decide on important political questions. The Enlarged Executive shall meet twice a year, with an interval of 4 months between its sessions. Thus, in addition to the world Congress, two sessions of the Enlarged Executive would be held during the year.

In our opinion, the composition of the Enlarged Executive should be as follows: — 25 members of the Executive, plus three representatives each of the Parties of Germany, France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy, as well as three representatives of the Young Communist International and of the Profintern, provided the decisions arrived at by the Congress of the latter Party are not such as to cancel the present form of collaboration. To these there are to be added two representatives each from Great Britain, Poland, America, Bulgaria and Norway, and one representative each from all the other sections of the Comintern with a right to vote. In connection with the composition of the Presidium and the Executive, we took great care in the Commission that there should be a proper distribution of work among the members of the Executive, in order that the representatives sent here by the Parties, should be made to feel that they are not only representatives of their respective parties, but responsible members of the Executive. It shall not be obligatory for all the 25 elected representatives of the Executives remain permanently attached to the seat of the Executives. According to our proposal, 15 representatives must be permanently present, while the remainder may be sent by the Executive to do work in other Parties. They can also be sent as plenipotentiaries, and are also free to return to their own parties in order to work within them.

The Commission proposes still another innovation to the Congress, namely, its proposition that the Executive be given the right to send plenipotentiaries to the various sections. The experience of the last year has shown that correspondence and the despatch of delegates to Moscow are not sufficient, and that it is absolutely necessary to empower the Executive to send its plenipotentiaries to the various sections. The task of the latter will consist in either carrying out definite instructions received from the Executive, or at the instruction of the Executive, to go to the sections, in order to ascertain in how far the 21 conditions of the Comintern are being carried out. They must also exercise a strict control over the fulfilment of the other decisions of the Comintern and its Congresses. These plenipotentiaries must be selected from the best qualified representatives of the section. They must belong to the best and the most capable Communists, and their functions must be clearly defined by the Executive before they are sent out. We ask you also to endorse this proposal.

We also put before you the proposal to change the composition of the present Control Commission. The task of the Control Commission has been, if I may be allowed to say so, the settlement of points of honour of the Comintern. It had also to control the treasury and to settle disputes within the parties or among individual party members. The control commission consisted of representatives of the most heterogeneous parties. However, experience has shown that such a control commission can do no effective work. Not once throughout the year was it possible to bring together all the representatives of the Control Commission, for every one of them had so many other functions and lived so far from the Centre that useful co-operation has been impossible. Therefore, we propose that two sections should elect alternately the control commission every year, the next World Congress appointing two other parties from which this control commission is to be formed. The Executive must confirm the members of this control commission. For this year, the Executive proposes that the German and French parties should be asked for this control commission, each Party electing three representatives. We are of the opinion that in this way the commission will be enabled to do better work.

Another question contained in these theses is that pertaining to the matter of communications. Hitherto the contact between the various Parties and the Comintern has been far from satisfactory, while at the same time it has become more and more evident that almost every political question, no matter when it occurs, has an enormous influence on the other countries. It

seems to us that intensive collaboration and a firm understanding between the various parties, are among the most important tasks of the next few years. Therefore, we recommend that the bigger parties should have a mutual exchange of representatives. This, naturally, applies only to the more important and biggest parties. It is quite impossible that all the 61 parties adhering to the International, should have their representatives within all the other parties. We are not proposing a binding resolution, but the wish of this Congress should be expressed, that we are in favour of the great parties establishing such mutual relations.

We further propose that the parties shall, in the future, be obliged to send minutes of the proceedings of their central organs to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in the same manner as they send in their reports for the sections — although unfortunately in many cases this has not been done — so that one may be informed as to the current work of the various sections. These minutes must be so drawn up that persons not directly connected with the central committee of the section may also clearly understand them.

We have furthermore, a proposal to put before you which forbids the resignation of members of central executive committees of the various parties, but makes such resignation conditional on the decision of the International Executive and, even when these Central Party bodies are willing to accept such resignations, they can still only be considered as valid after the International Executive has endorsed them.

As I have previously mentioned, we have also expressed ourselves in this thesis 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 in 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 at 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 combine the economic struggle closely with 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 Reorganisation Commission wishes 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 Reorganisation 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-organization, to attach the sections more closely to the Communist International, to write 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 organized 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.

Manifesto Against the White Terror in Yugoslavia

Radovanovitch:

On behalf of the Yugoslavian 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 Yugoslavian 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, Keroshevich Jun. He was condemned to death for the crime of having been the leader of the general miners' strike in Yugoslavia in 1920.

Although outlawed, the revolutionary proletariat of Yugoslavia and our comrades succeeded in organising throughout the country a big campaign against this latest crime of the Yugoslavian 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 Yugoslavian 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 Yugoslavia, 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 Yugoslavian 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 unambiguously 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 Yugoslavia!
(Adopted unanimously.)

Report and Resolution on the Egyptian S. P.

Katayama:

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 thoroughgoing 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 movement 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 to 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 put certain conditions 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 Party 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 conditions 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.

Report and Resolution on the Negro Question

Sasha:

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:

1. 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 the 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 as 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 has roused a spirit which although 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, 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 Europe and America, but equally the organisation of the oppressed coloured peoples of the world, feels 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 semi-capitalist countries to likewise regards, the co-operation of our oppressed black fellow-men as essential to the Proletarian Revolution and the destruction

Draft of the Agrarian Program 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 IV. 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 landlords 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

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 Labor 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 Labor 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, 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 a new 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, 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 program 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 (adopted unanimously).

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.

4. 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 means 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 landlord still enjoys 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 it 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 organization, 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 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 product 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 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 earnings becomes the 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 deprived 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 the peasants part of the big estates. This applies to the countries with survivals of the mediaeval social order, of indentured labour or of a similar 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 educational campaign in the yellow, Fascist and Christian counter-revolutionary organisations, in order to disintegrate 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

Resolution on the Creation of a Political Red Cross

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 Jugos'avia, 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

Resolution of the French Commission

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 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.

a) Executive Committee:

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

The Centre.

Members:

Frossard, General Secretary of the Party and delegate on the Executive.

Louis Sellier, Temporary Secretary.

Marcel Cachin.

Jacob, Secretary of the Textile Federation.

Garchery, Municipal Councillor of Paris.

Lucis Leiciague, Stenographer.

Marrane, Mechanic; Secretary of the Federation of the Seine.

Ocardeaux, Employee in the Paris Post Office.

Laguisse, Discharged Teacher; Secretary of the Federation of the Federation of the Seine-et-Marne.

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

Substitutes:

Pierpont, Textile Worker.

Dupillot, Treasurer of the United Federation of Miners (reserved for confirmation in Paris).

Plais, Telephone Worker.

The Left.

Members:

Rosmer, Employee.

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, will the capitalist offensive be successfully resisted, and passing from the defensive to the offensive, the final victory will be won.

Communist newspapers must give full publicity to what is taking place in the prisons, so that the entire working class might know how capitalism fight 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 in the number 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 welcomes the initiative of the Russian "Union of Veteran Bolsheviks" to establish an international association of relief for the political class prisoners."

Treint, Discharged Teacher.

Vaillant-Couturier, Deputy.

Souvarine, Journalist.

Tomasi, Aviation Construction Worker.

Christen, Mechanic.

Amedee Dunois, Journalist.

Cordier, Hairdresser.

Bouchez, Mechanic.

Substitutes:

Salles, Metal Worker.

Deporter, Filer.

Renoult Faction.

Members:

Barbare, Metal Worker.

Fromont, Carriage Builder.

Dubus, Miner from Pas-de-Calais.

Werth, (Usually called Rogen Gerald, Metal worker).

Substitutes:

Lespagnol, 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 Executive Committee appointed 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 management 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 "Humanite": *Marcel 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 it.

Editorial Secretariat: one from the Centre and 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 reestablished, 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 factions. That is to say that they shall be represented by Comrades *Frossard* and *Souvarine* for at least 3 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 confidence 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 "Humanite": Centre 6; Left 5; Renoult Faction 2.

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 disputes 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 delegation of the Executive presiding.

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 Renoult 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 Renoult faction.

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

Brancon (France).

Antonio B. Canejian (Brazil).

There is one abstention.

Report and Resolution of the Spanish Commission

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 elements of 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 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 organizations, 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 our Party to combat this tendency within the party, and recommend 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.

In 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 Asieris, our Communist Party, was settled satisfactorily by a stricter application of party 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, 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

Report and Resolution of the Danish Commission

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 severe 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 Communist movement, whose power at best was limited, and which needed all its 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

painful crises in the near future. The Spanish Party will do its utmost to explain to the anarcho-syndicalists 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, who are still under the influence of anarcho-syndicalist 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 unions. In the event of trade unions or communist groups being expelled from reformist trade unions, 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. (Carried unanimously.)

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 representatives 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 a 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 does it make? It appears 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 organisations 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

Revision of the Thesis on the reorganization of the Executive

Eberlein:

You have all received translations of the "Thesis on the Re-organization 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 of 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 Executive 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:

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 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 workers. 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 who 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

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 "Enhatsparti" 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. The proposal is unanimously adopted.

"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 Organization. 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 Organization 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, against one vote.

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

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 capitalist 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 the united front and joining the common struggle, was also directed against the Communist International and brought 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 adultst 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. The Communist Parties should further promote the economic work of the young communists in the trade unions by propaganda and active support of their actions, and 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, the Communist Parties must give their utmost 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 organizations. The winning of the masses entails the duty to give these masses a communist education. The educational work of the Young Communist organizations must be carried on systematically and as an independent organization. The necessary support should be given by the Communist Parties in the shape of furnishing men and materials for the organization of schools and training courses, and also by arranging for vacancies for young communists in the Party Schools, as well as by including the young communist reviews in the publication program of the Party.

The Congress deems it necessary for the Party press to aid the struggle of the Young Communist organizations 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 mind of the children of the working class. This makes the organization and maintenance of communist children's groups a matter of paramount importance. These should be put under the organizational 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 organizations 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. (Adopted unanimously.)

The Reorganization 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 questions that permit of no 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 advisory 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.

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 organization, 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 decisions 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 at least 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. Every year the World Congress appoints 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 remains. Its function is to supply technical information, and its work is subordinated to the Executive.

"The Communist International."

The "Communist International" is the Organ of the Executive; the editing staff is chosen by, and subordinated to the Executive.

The Congress declares that all Communist Publications 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 Centralized world Party, "from the bottom upwards", by a system of democratic centralism which bases 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 disorganization 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 organizational 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 organizations 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.