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Chairman: Comrade Carr.

Contents:

Discussion of the Oriental Question. Resolution on the Executions in South Africa.

Speakers: Webb, Liu-Yeu-Chin, Hosni-el-orabi, Earsman, Saforov, Nik-bin, Radek, Humbert-droz, Bunting

Comrade Carr in the Chair.

Comrade Carr: Comrades, the Session is now open: On the order of business for the day is the discussion of the Oriental question.

A protest has been handed in as follows:

"The Delegations of the following countries herewith utter their protest against the fact that the presidium and the Congress have not done justice to the Oriental and Colonial questions by reducing the time of speakers and discussions at the last moment".

It is signed by Japan, England, Turkey, Angora, Poland, Belgium, Australia, India, Java, Egypt, Persia, Tunis, Mexico and one other.

Two requests to be placed on the speakers' list have been handed in officially from the Oriental Commission, Comrade Earsman of Australia and Comrade Safaroff. The Presidium proposed that both these comrades be added to the list of speakers adopted yesterday to speak for 15 minutes each. Is anyone opposed to that? Carried.

Before I give the floor to the first speaker I want to make a short remark on the necessity of holding all the speakers strictly within the time limit. Here is the calendar as drawn up by the Presidium. The only question on the

Calendar from now on to which more than one day has been assigned is this Oriental Question. Two days have been assigned to this question. From today we shall have to dispose of one question every day, from to-day to the 3rd December. To-day the Oriental Question, tomorrow the Negro and Agrarian Questions. On Saturday the Women's Report, the Cooperative and the Youth. On Sunday, a day of rest for the sub-commissions to meet. On Monday, the Education and Information Questions. On Tuesday the Treaty of Versailles. On Wednesday the French Question, on Thursday the Italian, on Friday the Czecho-Slovakian and American, on Saturday the Jugo-Slavian, Norwegian and Spanish questions. On Sunday, a week from next Sunday, the organisation of the Executive Committee, the elections, resolutions and unfinished questions, etc. In order to get through them, this calendar must be adhered to. The comrades of the Orient will see that there has been no discrimination against them but that they have been given as much time as any others. From now on, no more time can be wasted. As far as the chair is concerned, the time of each speaker will be 15 minutes and no more, unless the time is extended by a motion from the floor.

Comrades who would not dream, if they went to dinner somewhere and there were six people at the table and six small pieces of meat, who would not dream of taking two pieces to themselves and leaving others without, these same comrades will come to the floor with a time limit of 15 minutes and they will try to get three quarters of an hour or an hour which is just as impolite and indecent as to try to get the whole meal for yourself. The total time is limited. In order to get through we have to limit the time of the speakers, and each speaker has to arrange his talk to bring out his most important points within the time limit or stand the consequences.

Webb (England). Comrades, at the risk of incurring criticism again from Comrade Radek because of my reference to the 21 points on this important question—the oriental question—it is my intention to call attention to the 21 points, of No. 8 of the 21 points as presented by the Second Congress of the Communist International. When Comrade Lenin made his speech at this Congress he warned those parties who are affiliated to the Communist International against coming to the Congress, or sending delegates to the Congress and voting for the different principles, fundamental principles as embodied in the thesis and the statutes of the Communist International without fully understanding the implications of the principles they are to endorse. When the 21 points were endorsed at the Second Congress the thesis on the national and colonial question was also endorsed by the Second Congress. Since that time there has been tremendous development in the international working class movement. But it can be said without fear of contradiction either from Radek or any other comrade of the Third International that the Communist Parties of the world have not understood the implication of the national and colonial questions as accepted by the Second Congress of the Communist International.

No. 8 of the 21 points reads as follows, and I take liberty of reading it out so that it can be placed on the bulletins of this Congress to remind the delegates that the 21 points are in existence:

"In the colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities, there is ne-

cessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every Party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies and cultivate among the workmen of its own country a true fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own arm against every kind of oppression of the colonial populations".

Such was the decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International. Since those days we have had the development of the revolutionary national movements in Egypt, in Persia, in Mesopotamia, in India and in Turkey. Yet it is safe to say that even the most mature Communist Parties, not these small parties or these revolutionary groups which are in the process of becoming Communist Parties, but the most developed Communist Parties affiliated with the Third International have not fulfilled these obligations to the revolutionary nationalist movement in the ways enumerated.

In the preliminary draft on the national and colonial question our Comrade Lenin prior to the Second Congress of the Communist International pointed out the importance on the one hand of the grouping of the advanced revolutionary movements in the advanced countries, in the capitalist countries, and on the other hand, the grouping towards Soviet Russia the forces of the revolutionary nationalism. In this preliminary draft Comrade Lenin refers to the following: "That one cannot stop at the simple recognition by proclamation of the necessity for a union with these revolutionary nationalist movements and with the colonies. One must not stop at a mere proclamation, but must work out a policy, and the policy will be determined by the stage of the development of the Communist groups of those countries and the development of those bourgeois

democratic liberation movements in those countries as well.

It is true that a criticism has been levelled at the Party which I vervevent with regard to its attitude to the national and colonial question. It is within the framework of the British Empire that you have the liberation, movements of Ireland, Egypt, and of other parts of Africa apart from Egypt, and India as well as the colonies making up the British Empire. But our sins of omission can in the main be attributed to the fact that our Party is only a very small Party and a very young Party which has been faced with numerous internal difficulties which it was necessary to overcome before we could pay the necessary attention to the national problem.

Comrade Trotsky, in the book he wrote prior to the Russian Revolution, criticised the strongest section of the Second International, the German Social Democratic Party, and pointed out that the Social Democracy had developed into socialist imperialism.

I will stress the note this morning that we must do everything to prevent those elements coming into the Communist International which would endeavor to make the Communist International an international for Communist Imperialism equivalent of the Socialist Imperialism which characterised the social democracy.

In the "Fortnightly Review", a periodical which has good standing so far as the capitalist and English speaking world is concerned, there was a very significant article in a recent number. And here you get a clear indication of how the capitalist class, of how the bourgeoisie, recognised the importance of those revolutionary movements and the efforts that they are making to transform these movements into anti-soviet forces against the attempts of the Communist International to make these forces auxiliary forces of the Communist International. Referring in an article entitled "Kemal, the Man and the Movement", in reference to the revolutionary nationalist movement in Turkey, the Review says: "There can be no doubt that while the Kemalists are sincerely pursuing nationalist aims, the Bolsheviks are taking advantage of

Turkish national aspirations in order that Western civilization might be attacked at its weakest point, and that amid fresh commotions revolutionary activity might be renewed in an exhausted Europe". After dealing with the relations between the Soviet Government and Angora, the "Fortnightly" states, "there is an English relationship no less significant" and it goes on to quote from the statement issued by the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain in which there is a demand for the unconditional return of Constantinople and Adrianople to the Turkish Peoples. Then the "Fortnightly" states, "Well might the American Bankers' Association declare that Britain by standing firm at Chanak with 30 Lancashire Fusiliers, opposing at one point, 1,000 Kemalist horsemen till reinforcements could be rushed, had during two weeks saved European civilisation". It concludes by saying that England and the Allies may hand over Constantinople to the Turkish nationalist Kemal Pasha, but before doing so they must prove to the world that Kemal Pasha is no longer a pawn in the hands of Soviet Russia. A statement of that description from an authoritative capitalist periodical like the "Fortnightly Review" proves that the bourgeoisie are awake to the dangers of the transformation of a revolutionary nationalist movement into a revolutionary proletarian movement directed against the bourgeoisie. Therefore, these points in the Thesis spoken to by Comrade Roy in reference to the need for keeping the proletarian elements in these countries themselves, but also by those Communist Parties that belong to these countries that are oppressing the countries in which these movements are operating at the present time.

I am surprised that there is such a sparse number of delegates present to hear the continuance of the discussion on an important question like this. I say, in spite of what the chairman of the Presidium has said this morning, that if the conference had to go on for several more days in December it would be better than rushing through such an important question as the oriental question.

In conclusion I just want to say that the most decisive blow that has been

struck against the Versailles Treaty, and on the Versailles question you will have the important members of the Third International all present on the platform here, the most decisive blow that has been struck at the Treaty has been struck by the revolutionary movement of Turkey that is breaking down the Sevres Treaty. Therefore the question is of great importance, and that is what I have to say to this Fourth Congress.

Comrade Lin-Yen-Chin. Comrades, owing to the limit of of time I have at my disposal, I can only give you a general idea of the present situation in China, though I have a great deal to say.

First, I must speak of the political situation at present in China. From May to June of this year we have witnessed the downfall of two governments in China. The downfall of two governments has a tremendous significance for the revolutionary movement of the country.

First was the downfall of the Southern Government, that is the revolutionary government headed by Sun Yet Sen. This government was overthrown by a subordinate military member of the government, a member of the nationalist party. The downfall came owing to the differences of opinion between the leader, Sun Yet Sen, and this subordinate member concerning the plan of military expedition against the North. What does this signify? This signifies the complete failure of the military plan of revolution. The Kuomintang Party, the nationalist revolutionary party in China, entertained for years a scheme of making military revolution. That means that by military conquest of the provinces they could realise a democracy in China. They did not carry on mass propaganda in the country. They did not organise the masses. They only strove to utilise military forces to achieve their aim. Before they had conquered Kwantung in 1920 they established a government, and they wanted to exhaust all the resources of the Kwantung province to raise an expedition against the Northern Government which is the government of the feudal militarists and the agent of world imperialism.

At first this plan seemed to be practicable because all the members of the party

seemed to quite agree with it, but after they got Kwantung province under control—after they had conquered Kwantung—the military governor, that member of this party, soon gave up this northern expedition plan and tended to be more and more conservative, tended to be more and more inclined to keep only to one province under his control and did not mind at all the situation outside that province. There are in the party many such members as this general. Before they got power into their hands they were quite revolutionary but afterward they became quite conservative, so the general who overthrew the southern government is merely an example of the many elements in this party. The majority of the party are potential reactionaries. When they get power in other provinces they will oppose the plan of the military conquest just as this military governor. This shows that the military conquest plan proves an utter failure and it indicates a new direction of the revolutionary movements. That means that a revolution, if it wants to be successful, must organise the masses, carry on propaganda amongst the masses, and not merely by military conquest alone, for this method is out of date in China.

Civil war was waged during April and May in the North between two factions of the feudal militarists. One faction of the militarists was pro-Japanese, the other pro-American. This ended in the victory of the pro-American group—the militarist group headed by Wu-pe-fu; and this also has tremendous significance for the Chinese revolutionary movement.

The Chinese Northern government was dominated for about five years by the Japanese militarist Imperialism. The imperialism maintained its influence by lending money to the Northern Government to strengthen it in the civil war. The Japanese Government bribed officials in this government to secure official interests in the Chinese mines, the right of construction of railways in Shanantse etc. It secured all these rights by bribery. Hence the Chinese population maintained a hostile attitude towards Japanese Imperialism and the pro-Japanese agents in the Northern government. Owing to

their deep hatred of the Japanese Imperialism in China they tended to be more and more in favour of giving support to the American Imperialism; owing to the fact also that the Northern Government is more reactionary and this government is headed by Chan-so-Lin, the people are more and more sympathetic to the militarist group—the Wu-pe-fu group, the more progressive one which advocates the reduction of the army and the abolition of the tuchunate, i. e. the ferdal division of the provinces, and who have the support of the Americans. The late conquest of power by Wu-pe-fu and the American imperialism in China will show that Wu-pe-fu cannot solve the Chinese political problem and will show that Wu-pe-fu is nearly the same as Chan-so-Lin. He cannot realise the plan of reduction of the army and the abolition of tuchunate, though it is a democratic program. It will drive the masses to disappointment with the militarist group, and this also will throw the masses against the American Imperialism. This will mean a turn of the population more and more to radicalism. They will become conscious of the fact that the democracy can only be achieved by themselves, and that they can not rely upon one or other of the militarist groups to achieve it for them. They will realise that the sweet and fragrant promises of Wu-pe-fu while he has not got power mean nothing in practice. The tendency of the petty bourgeois pacifism is to sympathise with Wu-pe-fu because he says he will get some material improvement for them will be more and more decreased and finally dissipated by such political changes.

Take for instance Wu-pe-fu. He maintained that he does not want to borrow money from the foreign powers. He maintained this before, and he got the sympathy of the people. But after he got power he used a pro-American group of intellectuals to organise a cabinet, and this group began to organise the raising of loans from the Americans. This and such things as this will disappoint the masses. Thus the situation turns more and more favourably to the revolutionary movement of China.

Second, I must mention the labour movement. This movement in China this year progressed very rapidly. At the

beginning of this year we witnessed the Honkong Seamen's strike which lasted more than fifty days, which was first limited to economic demands and soon became a nationalist factor against British Imperialism. This strike was at first only limited to the seamen but it became a general strike against British Imperialism in the Hongkong colony, involving a spread to the North. There was the Peking-Mukden railway strike, and the trouble then spread to the centre of China. There was a strike in the iron and steel works in Hongkong, of the textile and tobacco industries in Shanghai, and another in the mines. All these strikes succeeded each other very rapidly. The spread of revolt against the capitalist class has almost awakened in the labouring masses. This shows that the mass movement in China is not a dream of the socialists, but that it has already come into effect, and it also shows that the Communist party can be successful in agitating among the masses. It shows that the Communist Party in China will progress favourably, unlike in the previous years when it was merely a study circle, a sect. This year we can witness our Communist Party developing within the masses.

Now about the recent political activities of the Communist Party in China: our party bearing in mind that the united anti-Imperialist front must be established to expel Imperialism from China has adopted this attitude—that is, that we must establish a united front between ourselves and the nationalist revolutionary party—the Kuomintang party. The form of this united front is that we enter into this party in our individual names and capacities. In doing this we have two things in view. First, the national revolutionary party has many organised workers. We enter to agitate the workers and get them on to our side.

Then we have got to struggle against Imperialism only by combining our forces—the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We mean to contest with this party in organising and making propaganda among the masses. If we do not enter we will be merely aloof, advocating a communism that would seem a high and mighty principle which the masses would not

follow. On the other hand they would follow this petty bourgeoisie party and they would be utilised by this party for the latter's needs. When we join in it, we will be able to show the masses that we also advocate revolutionary democracy but that revolutionary democracy is merely a means of achieving our more far reaching ends. We also become thus able to point out that by advocating the far distant goal, we do not neglect the immediate and intermediate demands of the masses. We can win the masses behind us and split the Kuomintang Party.

Hosni el-Arabi speaking in Arabic said. I am commissioned to say that in Egypt we look forward to a day not far distant when the Red Flag will wave above the Pyramids to hail the Red Flag on the Kremlin.

That is the message which I have to give you from the workers and fellaheen of Egypt. Now I will say a few words on my own account.

The Egyptian worker suffers under the capitulations; he suffers under the yoke of British imperialism, foreign companies, and his own bourgeoisie. The very fertility of the soil, Egypt's geographical position, placing her on the path of British imperialist expansion towards the further East, the laying of the Palestinian railway which connected Africa through Egypt with Asia Minor, the future prospect of railway connection between Cairo and the Cape—all these things fostering the imperialistic ambitions of the exploiters—only lead to more suffering on the part of the Egyptian workers.

Egypt is now ripe for the advent of socialist ideas. One proof which I can give you is the growth of the Egyptian Socialist Party. The Party was legally established in August of this year, and during the few months of its existence has attracted 1000 members to its ranks. In view of the ripeness of Egypt for the reception of socialist ideas we are anxious that no obstacle shall be placed in the way of a steady inflow of communist propaganda and a development along communist lines. We feel that if Egypt is left out of the brotherhood of the Communist International and her present eagerness allowed to run to waste, her

backwardness may interfere with the development of the revolution in the East and may greatly retard the advent of the revolution in the West.

The marvellous uprising of 1919 and 1920 shook the power of British imperialism and taught the Egyptian capitalists a salutary lesson. Alarmed by these events, the British Government, in collaboration with the Egyptian capitalists, grandiloquently granted the complete independence of Egypt. But the people were not deceived by these hollow promises. What did they amount to? First, the protection of communication lines this was conceded because Great Britain wished to safeguard her passage to India. Secondly, a co-government of the Sudan; this was to provide England with another source of raw cotton to feed the Manchester cotton mills. Thirdly, the protection of the minority populations. Fourthly, abolition of the capitulations. The last two claims were advanced in order to give Great Britain a legal right to interfere in Egyptian affairs.

The Egyptian capitalists now form a Liberal Party whose object was to protect the new constitution, and to ratify the treaty between Egypt and Great Britain. In order to do this they had to draw up a program and to select candidates to represent this opinion in a parliament—the elections to which are likely to take place in January next.

The Egyptian Socialist Party rejoiced when, at last, its enemy thus came into the open. An Arabic proverb says: beauty appears in greater radiance when contrasted with ugliness.

The struggle between ourselves and the Liberal Party promises to be very active. But we do not fear the encounter, because we feel that the strength and influence of the Egyptian Socialist Party is increasing from day to day. We are able to take our place in the economic and political fields. We have let no shameful act of the government pass without denouncing it in the press. We go among the workers, propagating the ideas of socialism and the class war by word of mouth and through the issue of leaflets and pamphlets. Nor did we miss the opportunity afforded by the International May Day celebrations.

of governmental prohibition, and in spite of our Party being at that time illegal, and the country under martial law, we rallied the proletarian forces and held imposing demonstrations in three towns.

We intend to utilise the coming elections to the first Egyptian Parliament. In the weeks that must still elapse before the events, we are going to prepare the soil in the hope of seeing some of the comrades elected to represent the workers in the new body. Is we are successful in winning one or two seats it will give and added prestige to communism in the East and will consolidate the basis of our Party in Egypt.

With regard to our industrial problems, Egypt is mainly an agricultural country and is faced by a very acute agrarian problem. The Party is at present studying the question and hopes in the near future to elaborate an agrarian program.

The workers in industry are fairly well organised in one hundred trade unions. Since the Party became a legal one, it has organised the workers in two trade unions, and has captured for the Red International of Trade Unions three extant unions. These workers amount to no more than 2,700—but we hope before next congress to be able to add as many noughts to this figure as comrade Lenin told us were cut off from the new rouble notes! In these five trade unions we have a well organised communist nuclei though we have individual party members in other trade unions, we have a great deal of work before us in order to nucleise them as well.

Now let me turn to another matter. The Comintern selected a sub-committee to examine the Egyptian question. At the last session of this committee not all the members were present. Those who assisted at the last meeting passed a resolution imputing to the Egyptian Party certain faults. This seems to me a certificate of good conduct, for he who remains inactive never has a chance of making a mistake. But though the Egyptian Party may have slipped into error on account of its activities in the past, I feel sure that it is only too eager to remedy such failings in the future. There were only three members of the sub-committee present at the meeting when

the resolution was passed, and one of them was opposed to it! I feel sure that in the course of the next year the Comintern will come to understand the Egyptian Socialist Party better than it has done it in the past and that the resolution will call for complete revision when the Fifth Congress is held.

Long live the Third International!

Earsman (Australia). There are two points in the thesis which has been drawn up and submitted to the Congress, on which I wish to speak.

The first is the developing and the establishing of the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries, particularly those suppressed by imperialism in the Near East and the Far East.

The second point the one we are particularly interested in is the problem arising from the conflict which is developing in the Pacific. When we examine that position we find that there are many difficulties and misunderstandings between the workers of the different countries particularly between the countries in the Southern Pacific and the countries in the Northern Pacific—that is the white and colored workers. The most outstanding difficulty that we have to overcome is the prejudice arising amongst the white workers from the fear of cheap colored labour, and we find that in the countries most concerned, Australia, America and in Canada they have laws prohibiting the immigration of colored labour into those countries, the workers believing that the importation of this labor is to be used against them for the breaking down of the conditions and the standards of living which have been set up in those countries. It is not sufficient for us here simply to say that those workers in those countries are reactionary, that they do not understand the economic factors governing the situation and that they do not understand their own particular mission. It is for us, the vanguard of the working class to place clearly before them how those particular situations have to be met. So far that has only been done in a small way. It has not been done from the international standpoint.

At the present time we find large numbers, thousands in fact, of colored workers being brought from India and

China to the sugar fields in the Southern Pacific countries, under the most damnable conditions,—under the contract and indenture system. Particularly are they brought to the Fiji Islands and other islands surrounding Australia. So far the capitalists have not been successful in introducing that system in Australia or New Zealand. But today they are very busy on this aspect of the subject, and their attempt to introduce it into Australia is such that it has made the task of the Communist parties in these countries one of very great difficulty, because it has rallied the workers around such laws as the White Australian policy. The Communist Party in its turn has attempted to deal with the problem and has so far been successful in persuading the trade union leaders at the Trade Union Congress, which met this year at Melbourne, to realise the full significance of these laws and the factor that was operating particularly detrimental to the interests of the working class, insofar as it was defending the interests of the workers of Australia at the cost of the workers of Japan and China and other countries in the Southern Pacific; that is a problem we have got to face, and it is a problem, I believe, we will be able to successfully solve granted we have the support of the Communist International and that the full significance of this serious problem is realised now and for the next year.

Those of you who have given any attention to the Pacific must realise the danger of another world war in the Pacific. And if you realise that you will come to this conclusion: that the capitalist slogan that would be sent out in the event of a war would be more successful than the slogans which will be sent out by the working class against such a blood conflict, that the capitalist's raising of the standard of fear of "Yellow Peril" in Australia at the present time with the "fear of a Yellow invasion," would be sufficient to gather behind it numbers unequalled in the past. Because of that it is our particular mission at the present time and in the next few months to have these slogans broken down, to get the workers to fully realise them and understand what they mean.

In the Thesis is made a proposition which we believe will be most successful

in combating the work of the capitalists in those countries, and the Trade Union Congress in Melbourne this year passed a resolution deciding that the best method of bringing about a solid understanding between the workers of the North and South Pacific would be by calling a Pan-Pacific Congress. Such a Congress would bring the workers of Japan, China, Malay, India, America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand together, and then they would be able to thrash out the problems that they are faced with and arrive at understandings which would be the means of getting the workers to realize how reactionary their past ambitions had been as far as coloured labour is concerned. They would be able to realize that they have no fear of Japanese invasions, no fear that the Japanese workers, Indian workers, and other coloured workers desire to come to America and Australia with the specific idea of bringing down the standard of living conditions which has been built up. They would realize that the workers of the northern Pacific are organised, and when they realize the danger of capitalism, the first steps towards the consolidation of the ranks of the working class of the Pacific will have been made.

In making that proposal in the Theses we hope and trust that every assistance will be given to the workers in these countries so that the congress can successfully pass pious resolutions and embody them in a thesis, saying such a congress will be held; but we believe, it is our duty to say that such a congress will be held and that a definite programme will be mapped out there and worked out in a practical fashion.

We also realize that the problem is one that the trade unions can grapple with in Australia. It must be successful once they understand it. Because of the strong trade union organisation in Australia, where eighty per cent of the workers are organised, we would very easily be able within the trade unions to compel any coloured workers who entered the country to come into our unions. In January of this year the last vestige of that colour prejudice being embodied in at least the constitutions of the revolutionary trade unions will have passed. The way will then be clear for the trade unions

which control the key industries. They will be able to take into their ranks all the colored workers that may come into Australia or who may be in Australia at the present time. In the past, it is true, they have refused to permit them to join these organisations; and, when we appreciate the historical significance of the situation, we will see that they cannot be blamed for such an attitude. But today there is no justification for such barriers being raised in the trade unions, and the Communist party has been successful in its attempt to break them down.

But to be able to consolidate that situation, to be able to bring it down to practical politics, to bring it into the notice of the workers in the everyday struggle, we must have this conference brought about at the earliest possible time, and we must have the assistance of the Communist International. We must have the assistance of the Executive. It must give much more assistance on the colonial problems than in the past year. It must realise that the colonial problem today is as important as any problem they have in Europe. And, with that recognition, we of Australia feel sure we will be able to accomplish successfully the mission we have set out on and that we propose in this Thesis.

Safarov: In spite of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Communist Parties in the Imperialist countries have done remarkably little to tackle the national and colonial questions. It has been only within recent time that the Communist Party of Great Britain has given some attention to the revolutionary movements in India and Egypt.

The French Party, in spite of the large revolutionary movement in the French colonies, possesses only a group organised for the study of the colonial question instead of a regularly organised centre to direct this very important branch of its activity. Furthermore, chauvinistic ideas, foreign and hostile to proletarian internationalism, found room under the flag of communism. The branch of Sidi-Bel-Ades has given ample proof of this. Protesting against the appeal of the Comintern to the French Colonies, these comrades—one can hardly call these petty-bourgeois comrades—these gentlemen said:

"The colonial problem is characterised by an absolute lack of uniformity. There are colonial peoples who are now capable of governing themselves, and there are others who are not; and if it is the duty of the communists to help to free the first, it is their even greater duty not to abandon the others to their miserable fate. If an independent Egypt is necessary, an independent government of cannibals is far from desirable."

This is the point of view of so-called comrades. These people are thoroughly convinced that the Comintern and its Executive want to deliver the good people of Sidi-Bel-Ades into the hands of the cannibals. These people seem to be certain that the Communist International and its Executive would have the good folks of Sidi-Bel-Ades eaten up alive by cannibals.

We are not so barbarous, nor so blood-thirsty. The good people of Sidi-Bel-Ades and the Algerian Federation may rest in peace. We do not contemplate anthropophagi; we are only calling their attention to the national and colonial problem.

We must declare once add for all that the conceptions of the Second International have no place in the Communist International in presence of such theses as those of Algiers, and the explanations of certain comrades from various countries on this question. We must realise that the views expressed in this thesis of Algiers and the commentaries given by some comrades on this question are those of a Hildebrand or a Noske. This is why we protest against the passivity which the majority of the Fourth Congress has manifested in this connection. (Applause).

The fate of the proletarian revolution and the overthrow of world imperialism in the advanced countries is vitally connected with the fate of the colonial revolution in the backward countries. Capitalism renews its forces by a more intensive exploitation of the colonies. Finding itself in a difficult position, capitalism intensifies its exploitation of China, India, etc.

Let us consider the conflicts which have developed in international politics. The programme of the conservative Minister, Bonar Law, provides for the recuperation of the English imperialism at the

expense of its colonies. The interests of America, England and Japan, clash round China and the Pacific Ocean. This same conflict appears in Asia Minor, and in North and South Persia among France, England and America. The black troops play an important part in the plans of Messrs. Millerand, Poincaré, and Co. in France. Better than certain communists, they understand the colonial problem; they know that all the "cannibals" of these backward countries if they are not revolting against imperialism, may be used by the imperialists against the proletarian revolution. This simple situation should be easily understood.

We are still reading in our newspapers—with a few exceptions—such nice declarations on the colonial question, as for example, "We must free the oppressed peoples. We must come to their aid"... etc. This is not what we must say now.

The colonial movement in such backward countries as India and China has developed rapidly since the Second Congress. Native capitalism has progressed rapidly during the war years because it was free of the tutelage of foreign imperialism. In certain countries, as in India, it has even doubled its industrial productions. The development of native capitalism in those countries is the basis for the development of the revolutionary national movement.

Foreign imperialism in the colonies plays the same rôle today as feudalism did in the 18th and 19th century. The national revolution in the colonies is a bourgeois democratic revolution. We know that the international situation is revolutionary. We know that we are facing a period of development of the class struggle. We know that the day of the final victory of the proletarian revolution is near. This is why this bourgeois democratic revolution in the backward countries is a great support for our own proletarian movement. This is why we must not neglect this movement. This is why the Communist Parties must do their utmost to help this movement and organise the best elements of these countries.

The various countries of the Orient, China, India, are rather backward. Agrarian feudalism and military bureaucracy are the chief supports of foreign imperialism. The chiefs of the Nomad tribes

in Persia, for instance, assisted the English in their policy of conquest.

In China, the military governors are achieving the unity of the country.

Our first duty is to unite all the national revolutionary movements in the colonies into a united anti-imperialist front. In these backward countries the elements furthering the petty bourgeois development have not yet sufficiently separated themselves from the feudal elements, and these feudal elements are partisans of foreign imperialism. The struggle against the agrarian feudal regime is necessary. In Persia this struggle is taking place conjointly with the struggle against imperialism.

At the time of the Second Congress we had no Communist Parties in these countries. The first sign of the working class movement in China manifested itself in 1920 in the boycott of foreign goods; in India the same movement began to develop in 1919. We could quote many more examples of this sort, pointing to the fact that the development of native capitalism during the war and the post-war crisis have enhanced the working class movement in those countries. The Communist Parties of these colonial countries are still very weak, embracing a few hundreds, sometimes only a few tens of members. But we know the history of the working class movement. In 1885 the Bolshevik Party was a small group of 5 members; 40 years later it conquered the State power. History moves fast of our days. The same rapidity of development is assured in these small Communist Parties.

The working class which grew up in these countries during the war is still bound to handicraft and to the petty peasantry. We have two million organised workes in the Trade Unions in India led chiefly by bourgeois lawyers. It was only in 1922 that the first revolutionary group appeared on the horizon in India. A socialist newspaper appeared in Bombay edited by Comrade Dangay, who is now attempting to create a working class party in India, and we believe that the creation of such an independent Party in India is near.

Though the working class movement develops differently in different countries, we can nevertheless generalise all

these phenomena. We can say that the working class in the colonial countries is developing rapidly into an independent political force which will be a great stride forward towards the final victory of the proletarian revolution.

I have before me the report of the chief of police of Peking, showing how much the Chinese policemen are afraid of Lenin. This police official writes:

"The experience of Lenin is a living example which shows that the realisation of perverse ideas is a thousand times more dangerous than floods and wild animals." (Laughter).

We see that even the Chinese policemen are scared by the progress of Bolshevik ideas.

The problem of a Soviet revolution is not of immediate moment in these countries, where our first duty is to fight for the liberation of the working class and to organise it on the political and economic fields. The working class must take part in the common struggle against foreign imperialism. The working class movement must not be a miniature reproduction of the nationalist movement.

The Second Congress of the Comintern declared that we must support the independent working class movement in the most backward countries in all its forms. We have followed this policy. The small Communist Parties have already become a political force. They are capable of organising the revolutionary nationalist movement and of pushing it forward. This first stage of the nationalist movement is still hampered by archaic prejudices. The masses, oppressed for hundreds of years, believes that they can achieve victory by passive resistance. We must condemn these methods which are absolutely useless for the achievement of our ends.

What we must do is to direct the attentions of all our national sections to the colonial problem. Till now we have had in the International only groups for the study of the colonial problem. This is not enough. We must organise the working class of these backward countries because the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples is of vital importance for the victory of the proletarian world revolution. (Applause).

Okhran. Comrades, the Third Inter-

national has recognised the liberation movement of the Colonial Peoples as being of capital importance to the world revolution. It is quite inexplicable therefore why the Communist Parties of the West have not till now devoted to the Eastern and Colonial questions as much attention as they should.

As startling proof of this we greatly regret to say that the British Communist Party has not as yet inserted in its Programme of Action the special plank concerning the work of Communist Parties in the Colonies.

The Fourth Congress has unfortunately followed the example of the Third in the discussion of the Eastern problems. We therefore fully associate ourselves with the protests of our comrades. We believe that the anti-Imperialistic united front is a most satisfactory form for rallying the most progressive parties for the struggle against Imperialism on the basis of the minimum demands of the working masses.

Just as the proletarian United Front against the offensive of capital—having as its end the policies of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals,—is based upon the immediate interests of the workers—such as the eight-hour day, wages, right of coalition etc, so the anti-imperialist United Front has as its object the winning over of the masses by unmasking the master class in its foreign policies and its pact with imperialists.

In order that the masses may be led to understand the significance of the anti-Imperialistic United Front, the situation must be visualised and made concrete by inserting the practical demands of the masses, such as agrarian reform, administrative and taxation reforms, parliamentary reform etc.

Taking into consideration the fact that the 2nd and 2½ Internationals, recently repulsed by the proletariat, now see themselves obliged to take a stand against Imperialism in the West and the East, the anti-Imperialistic front must be proposed to the opportunist European parties on the basis of the independence of the Oriental and Colonial countries.

It should then be proposed to the British Labour Party that it exert pressure upon its government in order to 1) compel the Lausanne Conference to formulate peace terms in conformity with the

National Pact; 2) immediate evacuation of Constantinople and all of Thrace; 3) the settlement of the question of the Straits in conformity with the Russo-Turkish Treaty and with the participation of all States bordering on the Black Sea; 4) to publish articles on this question in working class periodicals; 5) the evacuation of Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and the recognition of the nationalist independence of all colonies and semi-colonies.

In the interest of the National and the Labour movement of the East and the liberation of the toiling nations under the yoke of alien capitalist government, and in the interest of organising the united militant front, we propose to the delegates of the Eastern countries, and to the French and English delegates, to convene a Congress without delay and to invite to that Congress all the revolutionary organisations which are engaged in the fight against Imperialism.

The recent victories won by the Turkish people against world imperialism have had an enthusiastic echo in the most distant countries of Asia and Africa, and even in Cochin China, a non-Mohamedan country, where the people's demonstrations of rejoicing were specially mentioned in the bourgeois press.

On these grounds, we affirm that a conference of all oppressed peoples, called by the Communist Party of Turkey would be of first importance in the revolutionary world.

The Communist Parties of those countries which possess colonies and semi-colonies, and particularly those of France and Great Britain, should support every revolutionary movement for independence and should aid by every possible means the Communist Parties of those countries and should endeavour to assure their legalisation. We specially insist upon this point because until now, the Communist Parties of the ruling countries neglected their duty towards the nationalist movements and towards the colonial Communist Parties.

We demand that the Fourth Congress pledge all its sections to live up to the 5th clause of the 21 points, and that they be also obliged to send regularly to the Eastern Communist Parties all material and literature which would tend

to unmask the policies of the imperialists. We ask also that they send us pamphlets, periodicals, leaflets, proclamations etc. especially prepared for the purpose of disorganising and revolutionising the various armies of occupation.

The Communists of the colonies and of the Eastern countries would take upon themselves the task of distributing these publications.

In the Eastern countries where the degree of development of productive forces is not yet offering the working class a possibility of immediately realising its final aims in the form of the proletarian dictatorship — (although the industrial development of Turkey has been considerable and the class consciousness of the proletariat has greatly developed, especially during the last few years) the most important problem for the young Communist Parties in these countries consists primarily in consolidating the party and purifying it of all opportunist and individualistic elements in enlightening and organising the proletariat on the economic and political fields, and in centralising the working class movement by a systematic and continual activity within the unions.

The ultimate victory of these communist parties is conditioned by their influence over the semi-proletarian masses and peasants.

It is for this reason that during the transitional period, the Communist Parties of these countries should make use of rallying cries which will attract to them the broad working masses and will weaken the position of the dominant class in the eyes of the people.

The following are the essential tasks of the young Communist Parties of the Eastern countries:

1) To support the movement for national emancipation by all means, and unite all forces in an anti-imperialist United Front. To exert the most careful vigilance so that the movement for national freedom be not sabotaged by the ruling class.

2) To demand democratic reforms in the broad working masses. These tactics will bring to the Party the sympathy of all labouring classes, and will transform the Communist Party into a mass party of the people.

But, if all its activity consisted only in supporting the movement for national independence, and in making demands for certain reforms, it would cease to be a Communist Party. Therefore one of its principal tasks is to enlighten and organise the working class, to form consolidated and trusted cadres so that, at the right moment, the Communist Party shall be capable—in spite of the nationalist leaders and the social traitors—of leading the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses to final victory. (Applause).

Nik-bin (Persia).—Comrades, before dealing with the situation in Persia, I consider it my duty to say that hitherto very little attention was paid to the East, to the colonial countries. The resolution of the II Congress of the Communist International, which stated quite clearly that the colonial countries can be freed and that Communist Parties in those countries can be established only with the assistance of the Communist Parties in the big imperialist countries which own these colonies, remained a dead letter. Not only did we not get any moral support from the communist parties of the western imperialist countries, but these parties showed hardly any interest in the Eastern question in general. The best proof for this is to-day's session of the IV Congress. The Eastern question is no doubt an essential question in connection with the overthrow of the capitalist order. In order to destroy the capitalist system, one must destroy all the arteries from which capitalism draws its vital strength. We must undermine the capitalist forces in the colonies. Persia is at present in the transition phase from the patriarchal order to capitalism. In Persia there is dual power, triple power, etc. The Communist Parties there have not only to struggle against their own feudal lords, but also against the imperialists, especially with the British who have allied themselves with the Persian feudal lords and who are impeding Persia's transition to the capitalist order. The world economic crisis was also reflected in Persia in the sense that the Persian market was to a certain extent neglected by the capitalists, which led to the development of the native home industries, and with it to the awakening of the working class.

For this and various other reasons, the Communist Party came into being in Persia. At present, this organisation has 100,000 members throughout Persia. There are also trade unions with a membership of 15,000 throughout Persia, Teheran, the capital, claiming 12,000 of it. The Persian Communist Party has the following policy. From a strictly Party point of view, it would be wrong to organise in Persia a wide Communist Party. The organisation there has a strong nucleus, mostly consisting of workers. On the other hand, there are in Persia organisations on the model of trade unions and also trade unions which are entirely under the influence of the Communist Party. The Party directs the policy and has a great influence on trade union activities.

A large number of trade unions are being established, and the Party can hardly cope with them all. The best proof of the strength of the Communist Party in Persia, is the fact that a number of strikes took place under its leadership, the majority of which (about 10) ended in victory for the workers.

I must also mention the influence of the Party press. We have two organs in Teheran, which are the most popular papers in Persia. They are not only more popular, but have also a larger circulation than all other papers. The Party is aiming at the establishment of an anti-imperialist front against the foreign oppressors. In this connection it proposes to form a democratic block, into which will enter the representatives of all the national and democratic groups. The Persian Communist Party has proved to be stronger even than the bourgeois parties. The bourgeois parties, as represented by the so-called social-democrats who have a democratic program, are themselves seeking to form a bloc with us. It is safe to say that in the very near future the Persian Communist Party will be very successful. All the prerequisites for it are there, as Persia has industrial districts with a big proletariat. There are more than 40,000 Persian workers in the Northern and Southern ports of Persia where there are many dockers, and also in the Southern districts of Persia where the British oil fields are. It should be mentioned that for the first time in Persian history, May Day was

kept this year. Not only were demonstrations held on that day, but a strike was also organised in connection with that festival. All this is a proof that there is a full-fledged Communist Party in Persia, ready to take part in the struggle for the triumph of Communism.

Radek: Comrades, our way of dealing with the movement in the East, since the Second Congress, should now be subjected to the test. You will recollect how at the Second Congress of the Comintern we discussed the Theses on the great revolutionary importance of the movement in the East and on the necessity for the Comintern to support that movement. Our attitude at that time caused a clamour not only in the world of capitalism, realising very well its reasons for fearing our decisions, but also in the parties of the Two and Two-and-a-Half Internationals. It is sufficient to recall in this connection the story told by Crispian and Hilferding at Halle that we attached more importance to the Mullahs of Khiva than to the industrial proletariat, or to such a party as the Independent German Social Democratic Party.

Comrades, history has shown that we were right and that these gentlemen were wrong, when they spoke of the Mullahs of Khiva with Western European contempt. You will remember how these gentlemen scorned us after the Eastern Congress of Baku, accusing us of an alliance with the Turks. But what are the practical lessons of history? The Peace of Versailles still exists in spite of all the protests of Hilferding et alia, who are now prepared to enter the German bourgeois government and to act as the flunkies of the Entente. These gentlemen have proved to be mere pawns in the game of history, who can do nothing but whine about their troubles.

On the other hand, the revolutionary movement of the masses in Turkey to which we had pledged and given our support, has resulted in the tearing up of the Sévres Treaty. While the entire Two and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are helpless against capitalism, the struggle in Turkey has upset the equilibrium of the whole of Western Europe. This is the answer to the question whether the movements in the East are of revolution-

nary importance in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism or are they merely the political game of Soviet Russia and the Communist International.

Now that the importance of the question has become overwhelmingly obvious even to the blind, these gentlemen have started a new song, and it is the gentleman who had once occupied the chair at the Second Congress, our ex-Comrade Paul Levi, who plays the tune to this song. Now it is no longer that the Eastern Nations and the Eastern Revolution are of no importance; it is a brand new story, namely: Behold, the victory of Kemal Pasha is a victory for Poincaré. It means that by aiding Kemal Pasha Soviet Russia has also aided Poincaré. And Paul Levi exclaims: See what we have come to. This outburst of Levi more than all his articles on international German politics, shows the depth of his personal degradation, and at the same time demonstrates the utter rottenness of the international Social Democracy. These gentlemen fail to realise that in the development of human history there are many different forces at work, and that international imperialism seeks to divert and exploit the revolutionary struggle of the Eastern peoples. The miserable mercenaries of the 2 and 2½ Internationals cannot understand that since the capitalist powers are trying to make the oriental nations an instrument of capitalism, it is the bounden duty of the working class to do everything possible to help the Eastern Peoples and to unite them with the European and World proletariat in the struggle against world capitalism. Herr Levi and his friends were exactly two weeks too soon in claiming the Turkish victory a victory for France. The Lausanne Conference will show the United Front of world capitalism against the awakening East. France wants to play in the East the part that was played by Germany before the war. France wants to see a comparatively extended Turkey in opposition to England, but not in order to make her independent, but rather to turn her into an object of French expansion. Having helped Turkey to beat Greece, France will now leave her protégé in the lurch. In the question of capitulation and of the financial control of Turkey the French politicians will

work in harmony with the British imperialists. It will then be demonstrated that the revolutionary forces of the Communist International and of Soviet Russia acted properly in lending their aid to the movement in the East, as an essentially revolutionary movement.

Now, I come to another point which has been given prominence in the report of the Turkish delegation and of our Turkish comrades. Our theses stated that the exploited East must and will fight against international capitalism, and that for this reason we ought to assist it. Now, we find at the head of the oriental nations neither Communists nor even bourgeois revolutionaries, but for the most part representatives of the decayed feudal cliques belonging to the military and bureaucratic classes. This fact brings our aid to the Eastern peoples into contradiction with the question of our attitude towards the ruling elements. The question was brought to a head by the persecution of Communists in Turkey, and by the military suppression of Chinese Strikers by Wu-Pei-Fu troops. As Communists, we may clearly and frankly state our attitude upon such matters, without resorting to diplomacy. In promising our aid to the awakening East we did not for a moment lose sight of the class struggles that will yet have to be fought out in the East. In the Communist Manifesto of 1847, Karl Marx said to the German workers: Support your bourgeoisie in as much as its policy may further the revolution. Similarly he urged the Polish revolutionary elements to support those members of the landowning nobility who took a revolutionary attitude on the peasant question. He knew that the bourgeoisie would remain the bourgeoisie, that the Polish nobility would not change its nature. He knew that the young Labour movement would have to fight against these hostile classes. But he also saw that the historic moment required that the bourgeois revolutionary movement be supported in the very interest of the class struggle.

Comrades, the persecution of Communists in Turkey is part of the class struggle which is only beginning to develop in Turkey. There is bound to be a struggle not only between the working class and the young bourgeoisie, but also within the camp of the ruling clique. It is

no secret that the Minister of the Interior Rauf Bey and Refar Pasha are primarily responsible for the Communist prosecutions, and that they were the ones who favoured compromise with the Entente and opposed the dethronement of the Sultan. It is no secret that the deposition of the Sultan has become a bone of contention in Turkey, and the question arises whether the revolutionary elements will capitulate to the ruling classes or not. If they do, the rule of Kemal Pasha will be played out, and a new policy will be launched of selling the Turkish people piecemeal to the highest bidder. But if the revolutionaries succeed in maintaining their ground, they will be bound to make the attempt of organising the masses to resist the outrages of the reactionary Pashas and the corrupt bureaucracy. We cannot foretell which side will win, but we do not regret for a moment our advice to the Turkish Communists to support the national liberation movement in Turkey. The entire future of the Turkish people is at stake; it is a question of either freedom or bondage under the yoke of world capitalism. If the Pashas should sell the Turkish people and put the yoke of capitulations, of financial control, etc., around the neck of the Turkish peasantry, the peasants will see that the Communists and the young working class have fought for their interests, and they will rally to the Communist Party. And even at this moment of persecution we tell the Turkish Communists: "Let not the present moment obscure your outlook on the near future!" The defence of the independence of Turkey, which is of paramount International revolutionary importance, has not yet been achieved. You should defend yourself against your persecutors, you should deal blow for blow, but you should also realise that the fight for freedom is not yet over, that you have a long road before you which you will have to follow together with the other revolutionary elements of Turkey for some time to come.

Let us now turn to the situation in China. Comrades, recall to your minds the march of events. When Wu-Pei-Fu defeated Chang-So-Lin he gained possession of the Yang-Tse arsenal but he failed to gain possession of the railways in the North, which were in the hands

of Japanese hirelings. What did he do? He asked the Young Communist Party of China for support and it gave him commissaries who kept the railways clear for his troops during the revolutionary fight. Everyone who fights against Japanese imperialism in China fights for the revolutionary development of the country. This was understood by the Communists, and they kept the working class alive to the realisation of the importance of the fight for independence. Later on the workers presented their demands to Wu-Pei-Fu, and partly won them. Our comrades in Northern China have won their influence over the working masses by fulfilling the historic mission which was as yet bound up with the mission of the revolutionary bourgeois forces. When the 2 and 2½ Internationals continually chide us with our undue confidence in the Enver-Pashas and Wu-Pei-Fus, our answer is: "Gentlemen of the 2 and 2½ Internationals, as there is a petit-bourgeoisie of which you are a part, it will be vacillating between capital and labour, and you who call yourselves socialists and have already a thousand times betrayed the working class, and yet after every betrayal we still come to you and try to win you for the United Front which you oppose. It is the irony of history that you are being whipped to advance whether you like it or not, although you have betrayed us in the past, you will have to come along with us once more and serve our cause.

Just recall to your minds the events in Germany. Was not the German Social Democracy carried to power by the militarists, compelled to fight hand in hand with the Communist workers during the Kapp Putsch? Naturally, it betrayed the workers once again, but the fight compelled them to work jointly with us and to serve the workers cause. There is no gainsaying that a Kapp Government would have been worse than the present one. There is even greater room for treason and wavering in the East where the government is headed not only by petty bourgeoisie, but also by a decaying feudal caste. It will make a thousand attempts to sell itself to this or that faction of international capitalism. It will make a thousand attempts to betray the revolutionary interests of the country,

but history will compel them to take up the fight again, because any lasting compromise with imperialism is out of the question. Petty selfishness may drive the Pashas to compromise, but when on the following day they will attempt to skin the Anatolian peasantry to pay for that compromise, they will discover it was not in vain that the Turkish peasants have been at war for 12 years. The peasant is now different from what he was before the war. A social-revolutionist journal, which cannot be accused of undue friendliness to Soviet Russia, published a report from Constantinople describing the impression produced by the Kemalistic victories among other things:

"Tens and hundreds of thousands of people crowded the streets, shouting the double cry: Long live Kemal Pasha! -- Long live Soviet Russia!"

The masters knew that the French aided in the victory, but there was no cheering for France, because France aided Turkey for diplomatic reasons and for the same reasons would act also against Turkey. But Soviet Russia, in spite of centuries of fighting between Czarism and Turkey, has repudiated the imperialist policy of Czarism and is sincerely desirous of establishing fraternal relations with Turkey. This consciousness has become engraved upon the minds of the Turkish people, and this will lead on the road to victory.

We therefore say not only from the standpoint of Soviet Russia, but also of the Communist International: You need have no anxiety. We do not stake on the ephemeral policy of this or that clique, but on the great historical stream which is bound to bring together the toiling masses of Western Europe with the awakening peoples of the East in the fight against world capitalism.

Comrades, I will now say a few words about the reports we heard here about the conditions of our parties and their activities in the East.

I will start with my usual warnings. Comrades, do not indulge in too rosy expectations, do not over estimate your strength. When our Chinese comrades told us here: "We have struck deep roots in China," I must tell him:

"Esteemed comrade, it is a good thing to feel confident of one's strength when one starts to work." Nevertheless things have to be seen as they are. Our Chinese party has developed in two parts of China in relative independence from one another. The comrades working at Canton and Shanghai have failed to associate themselves with the working masses. For a whole year we have been arguing with them, because many of them said: How can a good communist waste his time on such trivial things as strikes. Many of our comrades out there locked themselves up in their studies and studied Marx and Lenin as they had once studied Confucius. This is how things stood only a few months ago. How could it happen that the cause of the revolution, after the set-back suffered through the defeat of Sun-Yat-Sen, and should suddenly become a mighty force? Then again, how could you become a great power in the North, where the Party is altogether weak and is able to count only on the railway workers' support? Comrade Thalheimer has quoted a remark by Lenin, which says: Boast after the victory, not before! This is a very good saying and it deserves to be studied and understood no less than the sayings of the ancient Chinese sages.

In the first instance it is the duty of the Chinese comrades to take into consideration all the possibilities of the Chinese movement. You must understand, comrades, that neither the question of Socialism, nor of the Soviet Republic are now on the order of the day. Unfortunately, even the historic questions of national unity and of the united national republic are not yet in the order of the day in China. The present state of China reminds of the 18th century in Europe, and especially in Germany where capitalist development was too weak to allow the establishment of a united national centre. What does it mean—When you say: the Fuchuns—the military government, when you exclaim: Sun-Yat-sen here and Wu-Pei-Fu there? It means that capitalist development is grouped around a large number of centres. How can this be otherwise in a country with over 300,000,000 people and no railways? Outside of our ultimate aim, for which you must stand up with all

the fervour of your communist faith, the immediate task is the uniting of the forces, which are beginning to come to the fore within the working class, for two special aims:

1) to organise the young working class, and

2) to regulate its relations with the revolutionary bourgeois elements, in order to organise the struggle against European and Asiatic Imperialism.

We are only beginning to understand these tasks. Therefore, comrades, we must recognise the necessity of adopting a practical program of action, by means of which we would gain in strength. The Communist International orders the Western communist Parties to go into the masses, and the first thing we must tell you is: Get out of the Confucian study room of communism, and go to the masses! Not only to the proletarian masses and coolies, but also to the peasant masses which are in a state of ferment caused by present day events.

Now as to Japan and India. In both these countries the grouping of the forces is very similar. In Japan, as well as in India, there is already a strong working class. In both countries there is a great social crisis, and struggles for power between the various sections of the bourgeoisie and of the nobility, and nevertheless, we have not yet a communist movement in these countries. This is a fact. You have only to study the manifestoes which Comrade Katayama published recently in the "Communist International" about the situation in Japan. They are very interesting, for you will find in these manifestoes which were legally published by various groups of workers, a whole rainbow of shades, from Tolstoyanism through syndicalism and communism to the simplest social reform. And I must admit that in this concert of voices, the voice of communism is still the weakest.

Why? Hitherto we did not know how to take advantage of the mood of the workers (who were going through similar experiences as the British Chartists) in order to prepare them for the tasks with which they are now faced. These tasks consist in the organisation of the working class as a power which could intervene in the class struggle in Japan, in order to establish, first of all, a democracy.

I am of the opinion that the development in Japan will not be a mere repetition of the development of Great Britain.

A hundred years have passed, and it is self-evident that the tempo of the development in Japan will be more rapid. History is being concentrated, and even in this bourgeois revolution, now brewing in Japan, will probably have soviets established not as organs of power, but as organs which will unite the working class. But now we must establish trade unions, and a Communist Party, and adopt a program clearly defining the immediate tasks of the working class. The immediate task before us is—to lead the working class into the struggle as an organised body.

In India we have already an ideological centre, I must say that comrade Roy has succeeded in achieving a big piece of work during the last year in the Marxist interpretation of Indian conditions given in his admirable book, and also in his organ. In no other Eastern communist party has this kind of work been done. It certainly deserves to be supported by the Communist International. However, it must be admitted that as yet we have not done much in connection with the great trade union movement in India and the large number of strikes which convulsed the country. We have not yet understood to make use of the rights which our British overlords are compelled to concede to us. The reception accorded there to comrade Roy shows that there are some legal opportunities there. But we have even taken the first steps as a practical workers' party. And all this means that: "It is a long long way to Tipperary".

When the comrades here are complaining that not much interest is shown in their work, I am compelled to say: it is only by deeds that interest can be aroused! When one hears for the 20th time at the Congress that Persia for example has many workers one begins to wonder whether such information should not be learned from a geography manual rather than at a congress.

Comrades, I trust that we will succeed at this congress to put the work which our Eastern section has done with your assistance, on a practical basis, and that we will then be able at the next Con-

gress to put before you practical organisational achievements. When this will have been achieved, the International will not only recognise the great importance of the Eastern question, but will also have the conviction that you are doing the work which is commensurate with the enormous significance of this question.

Comrades, the world situation today is different from what it was at the II Congress. At the II Congress, although it was not directly stated, but all the Eastern delegates felt that revolutionary events were brewing in the East. The present world situation, the fact that we are in a period when the revolution is gathering its forces, has exerted its influence on the situation in the Eastern countries, and if we want to play our part in the coming revolutionary struggles, we must pledge the comrades of the Eastern countries for a great organisational and political work. The East will naturally not lag behind with its revolutions until our comrades in all the countries have grasped that revolution does not mean the reading and digesting of the theses of the Communist Party but that revolutionary work is practical work within the masses. However, when great events are developing in the East, such as those in Turkey at present, while we are weak and unorganised they pass by us and we cannot exercise any revolutionary influence on them. Therefore the watchword of this Congress in the Eastern question must be: On to the toiling masses of the East, in order to educate them and to create strong points d'appui for the Communist International in the East such as would be of practical use in the struggle before us and assist us in influencing the masses. One more thing: In this work, after we have rallied the workers around us, you must go to the peasants and to the artisans, and you must become not only the nucleus of the future workers party, but also of the future peoples party (Loud applause).

Chairman Carr: Before proceeding with the translation and adjournment, there are several announcements to make.

In the first place the Presidium proposes to appoint a commission for the examination of the theses and resolutions on the Eastern question previous to their being

brought before the Congress: this commission to consist of the following comrades:

1. Roy—India.
3. Radek—Russia.
3. Safarov—Russia.
4. Ravenstein—Holland.
5. Webb—Great Britain.
6. Salich—Turkey.
7. Katayama—Japan.
8. Malaka—Java.
9. Chan-du-Sha—China.
10. Isakov—Bulgaria.
11. Cachin—France.

There is also a proposal to include in the commission one Persian and one Yugo-Slavian representative.

We must therefore put the question to the vote. I shall first take the vote on the proposal of the Presidium. Those who are for it please raise hands. The proposal is accepted. This settles the matter.

Comrade Humbert-Droz will make another announcement.

Humbert-Droz: The following commissions will meet to-day:

At 5.30 p.m. the Commission on the Versailles Peace Treaty.

At 6 p.m. the Norwegian Commission.

At 7 p.m. the Enlarged Italian Commission with the S.P.I.

At 9.30 p.m. the Yugo-Slavian commission.

At 9 p.m. the-Slovakian commission.

During the Plenum tomorrow, the commission of the organisation of the Executive will meet at 1 p.m. on the ground floor.

Today at 5.30 p.m. a session will take place here at which Comrade Kamenieva will report on the Workers' Famine Relief. Comrades interested in these questions, are invited to attend this meeting.

Now, I will call on Comrade Bunting of South Africa to read a resolution on the situation in South Africa. The resolution will be submitted in four languages.

Comrade Carr: After the translation the Congress will adjourn till tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock prompt. Delegates are requested to be here at 11 o'clock.

Comrade Bunting, from South Africa,

has the floor for a resolution on the South African situation.

Comrade Bunting: Comrades, the resolution is as follows:

The Fourth Congress of the Comintern has just received the news that the South African Government of General Smuts has shot down four workers because, during the miners' strike, they defended themselves against the armed forces of the government—flunkey's at the service of a Diamond Mine capitalist.

The Congress wishes to express its condemnation of the South African government which, in the person of General Smuts, posed in Europe as liberal, pacifist; in reality it does not stop at any murder to keep in check the working class movement.

The Fourth Congress sends brotherly greetings to the South African workers and is convinced that they will not give up their fight, but on the contrary, that they will renew their efforts and draw the black workers into the struggle against South African capital, and thereby ensure the workers' victory. The South African workers may reckon on the help of the Comintern in this fight; the Comintern sees in them one of its vanguards.

May I add a word or two.

A Delegate: Long live the South African martyrs.

Comrade Bunting: I am afraid that some of them are dead already, and it is therefore too late to cry Long may they live. But, by cabling out this message we may possibly save a few more lives, and we may do another thing. We may help to burn into the brain and into the souls of those that are left such a hatred that they will never again compromise with the bloodstained government of General Smuts but will relentlessly carry on the fight against capitalism.

This is perhaps the first time that the Comintern has had a chance to intervene in South African politics without incurring the risk of getting itself disliked. At this stage, when disturbances are taking place and protests are being made against the actions of the government,

the Comintern has the opportunity of gaining the respect and esteem of the South African workers.

I hope that this resolution will be cabled out to South Africa with this in view.

Comrade Carr: The Presidium proposes to adopt this resolution without discussion... The resolution is carried unanimously.

Resolution On The Executions in South Africa.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International has received the news that the South African Government of General Smuts has executed four workers for having defended themselves during the mine workers' strike against the violence of the government of Lackeys in the service of gold and diamond mining capital.

The Congress denounces the South African Government which in the person of General Smuts when in Europe professed a liberal, pacifist character, while in reality it does not hesitate to murder in order to suppress the working class movement.

The Fourth Congress sends fraternal greetings to the South African workers. It is convinced that not only they will not give up their fight, but that on the contrary they will learn how to draw the native workers too into the struggle against South African Capitalism and thereby ensure common and final victory. In this struggle the South African workers may rely upon the help of the Communist International, which looks upon them as one of its outposts.

The session closed at 4,10 P. M.

Comrade Sullivan in his speech at the Plenum on November 12th (see Bulletin № 7, English edition, page 3), made a strongly worded attack against the organ of the Workers Party—"The Worker"—quoting a passage of an article in that paper, and took upon himself to present the article in question to the American Commission. After reading the article, the Commission declares that the passage in question, taken in conjunction with the

context, has quite an opposite meaning to that attached to it by Comrade Sullivan. The Commission furthermore most emphatically condemns the manner in which an organ which has rendered the greatest services in the spreading of Communist ideas in America—has been treated by Comrade Sullivan.

The American commission.

BULLETIN

OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 21.

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Twenty First Session.

November 24th.

Chairman: Comrade Kolaroff.

Contents:

"Report on the Agrarian Question". By Comrade Varga.

Speakers: Varga, Renaud Jean, Teodorvitch, Joss, Rieux, Pauker.

Kolaroff: I declare the session open. The order of the day is Agrarian question. Comrade Varga has the floor.

Varga: Hungary—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 change from these theses, but are 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 destroy their distrust of