

to take the necessary measures for the organisation of the women communists within the party, or to establish party organs which are indispensable for working and keeping in contact with the masses of working women.

The Fourth Congress enjoins these sections with the least possible delay to make good their failure to comply with the decisions of the last Congress. At the same time, it reminds all sections of the Communist International to concentrate their attention on work among women in view of the great importance of women's collaboration for the movement as a whole. The proletarian united front can only be realised if the woman take a rational and energetic part in it in perfect equality with men. Given a proper and close alliance between the communist parties and the working women: the latter can become under certain circumstances the pioneers of the proletarian united front and of the revolutionary mass movements.

The Communist International must unite, without any differentiation, all the forces of the proletariat and of the working masses for a class conscious revolutionary struggle for the establishment of Communism and for the overthrow of the bourgeois class regime.

Does anybody wish to speak to the resolution? No one. We will now take the vote. Carried unanimously. (Cheers).

I wish to announce the receipt of a resolution submitted by several French women comrades. It will have to be submitted to the Presidium for revision. There being no objections, this will be done.

To-night the following Commissions will meet:

At 5.30 p.m.—The American Commission.

At 5.30 p.m.—The Educational Commission.

At 7 p.m.—The Small Commission on Italy.

At 9 p.m.—The Small French Commission.

At 6 p.m.—The Presidium meets, and to-morrow at 12 the Session of the Organisation Commission.

The next session will be opened at 11 a.m. tomorrow, when we will discuss the educational question. The reporter will be Comrade Hörnle of Germany.

The Presidium at its meeting this afternoon will decide as to the further agenda.

(The session adjourned at 1.20 p.m.)

# BULLETIN

## OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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December 5th, 1922.

### Twenty Fifth Session.

November 28th, 1922.

Chairmen: Comrades Neurath, Zetkin, Markhlevski.

#### Contents:

Report on Education. Report on the Versailles Treaty. Appearance of Comrade Gennari. Telegram to the All-Indian Trade Union Congress.

Speakers: Hörnley, Krupskaya, Cachin, Gennari, Smeral, Raditch.

Session was opened at 12:33 p.m.

Chairman-Neurath: I declare the session open. Before proceeding with our business, I should like to draw your attention to the following: It has come to my notice that several comrades have borrowed books from the book exhibition without asking leave. These comrades are requested to return the books, and to observe in future the rule that no books are to be taken from the exhibition room.

The next item on the agenda is the Education Question. I call on Comrade Hornle (Germany) to present his report.

Hörnle (Germany). Comrades, the education Commission arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the question before the Congress should not be the entire scheme of the Communist education policy, but only the question of communist educational work done by the Party itself, namely, the question of the political education of the members and functionaries of the Party, and of the political education which is carried on by the members and functionaries of the Party among the masses outside the Party.

The communist policy differs from the bourgeois and reformist policy not only by its aim but also by the fact that it has a strictly scientific basis that it rests

on a careful analysis of the historic situation and on a thorough knowledge of the social forces which are at work within the capitalist system. Its methods are the methods of Marxist research and of historic materialism. Thus, the Communist International can only fulfil its task as leader of the revolutionary proletariat and as the defender of the masses of the oppressed and exploited if it puts its policies on a strictly Marxist basis. For this reason, it is essential that the communist parties should give their members and functionaries a careful theoretical training.

Another reason for the need for political educational work of the communist party is the fact, that all the communist parties are young parties, not only in that the parties have been only a few years in existence, but also in that the age, or at least the political age, of the majority of their members. The majority of the communist party members are still suffering from the after effects and survivals of the old petty bourgeois and reformist orientation and ideology. The environment of our struggle today, and especially at the present moment, sets before these young, and in some cases rapidly growing parties, new tasks of an increasingly difficult nature. The tactics



of the united front, especially, demand from the leading functionaries, but also of the rank and file member, much flexibility, ability, and quickness of reasoning combined with firmness. It is all the more necessary that the communist educational work of the parties should begin from below among the rank and file members, and should not be limited to the training of a small number of officials. Contrary to the reformist parties, the chief part of the communist party work does not rest with a small number of leaders, but with all the membership who are not only voters, frequenters of meetings, and owners of membership cards, but are people who must do responsible party work. The nature of the party work, the work in the fractions and nuclei demands that every individual member should possess a minimum of political knowledge, of Marxist training, and also a certain amount of oratorical and debating talent, how to conduct meetings, to organize etc.

The communist educational work is very different from that carried on within the reformist parties. The reformists make the workers believe that in spite of the exploitation and the poverty of the proletariat, it has the opportunity within the bourgeois system to emulate the bourgeoisie at least on the field of knowledge and art and that perfect equality and freedom exist at least in this respect under the capitalist system. Moreover, the reformist educational work appeals to the selfish instincts of the individual. It affords to the individual worker an opportunity to outstrip his fellow workers by personal zeal, by the attendance of popular scientific lectures and by special training in certain subjects, thus enabling him to better his position at the expense of his class comrades. The aim of the communist educational work is directly opposite to this. Its aim is the training of revolutionary fighters, the education of every individual for class solidarity, the development and intensification of the fighting, agitational and organizational power of the Party. Thus, while the result of reformist educational work is a greater dependence of the working class on bourgeois ideology, the aim of the communist educational work is, to free the workers from the thralldom of bourgeois ideology. It shows to the

workers the dependence of every kind of ideology on the economic and social basis, and the impossibility of spiritual freedom under economic and social servitude. The reformist educational work on the whole presents to the workers ready made results and endeavors, and to put before it knowledge in a very indifferent popular form and the doubtful fruits of bourgeois sciences and art, thus giving the poisoned crumbs from the table while pretending to give them wholesome bread. On the other hand, the communist educational work shows to the proletarians the class character of bourgeois science and entire educational system, and wages war against bourgeois science, art, morals, and religion. It shows that the bourgeois tendencies are manifested not only in the social sciences and in politics, but also in the seemingly neutral sciences, and on seemingly remote fields of knowledge. Thus, by a critical exposition of bourgeois science and art, morals and religion, the communist educational work creates the basis for the construction of a new, proletarian and socialist culture and mode of living. It is Utopian to imagine that a new proletarian culture can be created in any other way than by means of this critical exposition of bourgeois science and art carried on in the service of the class struggle and of the proletarian revolution.

The proletariat is poor today not only because it lacks material possession, but also because it lacks spiritual possessions because it is spiritually disinherited. This is the chief difference between the proletarian and the bourgeois revolution. In the bourgeois revolutions, the bourgeois intellectuals, during the revolutionary period, produced great and lasting works of art and scientific achievements opening up a vista of vast possibilities. They were able to do so because even before its revolution the bourgeoisie was well fed, because already before its political revolution it was in possession of the material and of the spiritual means of production after it had conquered power. The earliest spiritual pioneer work of the proletariat, from the historic viewpoint, consists in the proletarian masses in the midst of the struggle, forging a mighty weapon of historic materialism, and while still in its infancy, inspiring the

intellect of a Marx and Engels for the construction of the mighty edifice of Marxism.

The Communist educational activity, being strictly dedicated to the struggle, must confine itself to certain limits. It is quite impossible for a financially weak party, engaged in a hard political struggle, to indulge in teaching any branch of science that might be quite useful in itself, but serves no direct purpose in promoting the task of the Party. It must confine itself to such subjects as will be of direct interest to the fight. For instance, it should give the membership instruction in the history of the revolutionary labour movement, in the principles of Marxian science, in the principles and tactics of the Communist International, and where the large masses are still strongly under the influence of the theological doctrine it must take a further step to acquaint them with natural science and the role of religion. In those countries where the large masses of the proletariat are still illiterate, attention should also be given to elementary education, at least among its own members, in order that they be enabled to become propagandists and agitators, as well as reporters for the Party, for, otherwise they will not be in a position to carry out their political and revolutionary tasks.

You thus see that the whole matter centres around the problem of the best way of increasing the agitational and organisational strength of the Party.

Along with this general educational activity among the large masses of the membership, a party desirous to fully do its duty must also carry on special educational work among its officials. The Communist Party has to work in the trade unions, in the co-operatives, in the tenants' associations, among the women and among the young folks. It has to work in the parliaments, in the municipalities etc. It is therefore necessary to equip the officials active in that kind of work with the special knowledge requisite in their respective spheres of activity. This kind of work cannot be done without special training. General knowledge will not suffice to one who has to work in a special sphere of activity. In the absence of such intensive, systematic and organized educational activity, there is danger

that the membership would be deficient in mental independence which would make them unable of controlling and criticising their leaders, as is the case with the flocks that follow the reformists. They would thus become the victims of the oscillations of their leaders.

But even the education of the members and of the officials does not cover all the ground of the educational activity of communists. Communist educational activity must be extended also to the masses of outsiders and sympathisers, to the reformist workers, to the large masses of indifferent. It means that the Communist Parties should not confine their propaganda to general slogans, but to base it on sound Marxian knowledge and at the same time to make the slogans accessible to popular understanding. A great philosopher once said that there is no greater art than that of stating the profoundest things in the simplest language. Most communist agitators would subscribe to this wise saying. There is nothing more difficult than presenting the scientific results of Marxian research in a quite simple and popular language, adapted to the understanding of the large non-party masses, to their prejudices and traditional notions, to their daily interests, and leading them on to the great goal. The Communist Parties must therefore be continuously engaged in creating new ways of propaganda and agitation as a means of attracting the large masses and arousing their interest. We should take a leaf out of the book of the bourgeoisie which has cleverly managed to attract the large masses by pictures and lantern slides, by church display, etc. Communist Parties must learn how to adopt the moving pictures and lantern slides, artistic festivals and theatrical presentations for political propaganda, etc. This is a branch of activity that has hitherto been neglected, but which we must carry on systematically. We must also permeate the proletarian educational organisations that are outside the party but are sympathetic towards it. Such proletarian educational organisations are to be found in nearly every country. As an instance I will mention the German proletarian Freethinkers. In other countries they are known as Proletcult, Plebs Leagues, etc. Communists are already active in



most of these organisations, but their activity is not centrally guided by the Communist Party. There is a wide difference whether one acts on one's own initiative in these educational proletarian organisations, or whether this work is co-ordinated and centrally guided by the Party.

In some countries there are numerous continuation schools maintained by town and county councils, which under certain circumstances afford certain facilities for revolutionary work by the party. Such schools are generally attended by large numbers of workers, and the party would neglect an important task if it failed to be present where the workers come to still their thirst for knowledge. The Party should therefore apply its utmost endeavours to gain the leading influence in such schools and where possible to influence the curriculum of such schools. The influence of the party, of the proletarian militant organisations, should be brought to bear upon such educational institutions. The attempt should be made to arouse the opposition of the working class students in those schools against bourgeois professors and instructors. It should be insisted that the method of instruction shall be in the form of discussion, so that the best members will take a hand in those discussions and thus arouse the mental opposition against bourgeois influence.

It is self-evident that after the conquest of power, the educational problem of the Communist Party will be quite different and of far larger scope. It will then be no longer a question of merely educating the members, the officials, organisers, editors, etc., it will no longer be a question of keeping the party at the highest level of education, but the Communist Party in a country of triumphant proletarian dictatorship will have to go much farther and assume the responsibility for making the Communist spirit predominant in all offices, in the streets, cultural institutions, schools and universities, to give communist guidance to the entire cultural life of the State and the community.

Communist educational work is substantially different in its methods from the educational activity of bourgeois and reformists. The common method of instruction in the bourgeois schools is even to-

day of such a nature that makes the pupils merely passive receptacles for ready-made knowledge. It is predigesting knowledge which the pupil is made to memorise, mostly in written form. Such a method is absolutely unsuitable for communist education because it is in primary desire to arouse the inquisitiveness of the pupil, it is the Marxian method of analysing the historical situations and the economic and political circumstances which should equip the pupils to be themselves able to debate against reformist and bourgeois opponents, to be able to decide for themselves in the trade unions and elsewhere on the most appropriate and efficient methods of action.

In communist education the place of lessons should be substituted by collective thinking between pupils and instructors which should eventually take the form of free discussions and exchange of opinions rather than predigested knowledge imposed upon the pupils.

Communist educational work should always be revised in the light of experience gained in the daily struggle against propaganda of the Party. It should therefore be closely related to daily practice and to daily conflicts. Under no circumstances should the educational activity of the Party run on parallel lines with the political work, but the former should always be subordinated to the latter. This should be achieved by purely organisational means, by seeing to it that the responsible officials of the educational work of the party should not be composed of unknown literatures, aestheticists, etc., who form so to speak the unattached intellectual fringe of the revolution, but of the best political officials and fighters of the party, so that the entire educational work should be strictly subordinated to the political fighting interests of the party. This would at once bring to light the necessity of adapting the educational policy continuously to the political experience under given circumstances. Where the party is engaged in action, which demands the straining of all the forces which calls every member to the front where the centre of gravity is in the street in the factories etc., all must temporarily be put in the background, and theoretical work during the ensuing quiet

period, in order to analyse the past experiences and to draw the proper lessons from the victory or defeat, so as to turn it all into a source of new knowledge and new force for action.

To sum up, the minimum educational demands upon Communist Parties to-day should be stated as follows: Centrally guided and organised educational work among the members; and special training for the officials, scientific Marxian intensification of the agitation, associated with a really popular form of propaganda and supported by all the technical means of the magic lantern, music, the stage etc.

Even the weakest party is able to comply with these few demands, to create a staff of party workers trained and able to train the rest of the members in the principles of Marxism. There is indeed no need for great scientific seminars to conduct the work of education among the members and candidates as well as among sympathisers. A good experienced comrade will readily be in a position to give the necessary instruction to new members who are yet politically backward. In some cases it is even necessary to teach these new members how a communist paper is to be read and what use is to be made of its contents for agitation in the factories, trade unions, etc.

It would be wrong to allow free play to the initiative of individual groups of persons in the publishing of textbooks etc. This work should also be centralised and carried on by the united forces of the party.

The secretariat of the party, which is to take charge of this educational work, must work hand in hand with the publication and bookselling departments of the party, so as to promote the publishing of such books and leaflets that are of particular importance to the work of education. Neither should the work of libraries be neglected. On account of the increasing impoverishment of the working class which forbids the individual purchase of important books or even of the most essential scientific Marxian publications, it should be the duty of local groups and parties to seek the means of remedying this book-hunger. The attempt should be made to get communist literature into the trade union libraries

and into the municipal libraries, so as to facilitate the work of the party by bringing the necessary political knowledge within the reach of the membership and the working masses at large. The central publishing department of the party should also seek to secure the services of revolutionary artists and writers to aid communist propaganda. While these forces work singly, everyone on his own account and his own locality, the results cannot be nearly so good as when all these forces are concentrated in one place basing upon their activity the entire experience in the realm of popular or artistic propaganda.

The educational work of Communist Parties should also include the educational work among the young workers and the children. The independent educational work of the young communist organisations should be strongly supported by the party financially as well as by supplying teachers, books, etc. Every member of the Communist Youth must be attracted and admitted to all the educational institutions of the party. The Communist Parties should also take care of the revolutionary education of the proletarian children organised by our local communist children's groups.

The Commission submits the proposal to the Congress—a resolution in that sense will be handed to the Presidium—that in order to organise, to guide and control communist educational work of the different parties, the Executive of the Comintern shall create a section which shall take charge of the educational work of the different parties, making it an international organisation. The Commission deems it exceedingly desirable that a socialist academy should be established here in Moscow, the seat of the Executive, the place which brings together all the threads of the International and where the international outlook of the comrades is most wide awake. The exact details will be discussed later on. But we deem it necessary that the individual countries should have the possibility of sending some comrades with the necessary practical and theoretical preparation to obtain their thorough Marxian training here, at the seat of the Executive. For all the Western parties, all the parties outside of Soviet Russia, know that they suffer because



they have quite large numbers of revolutionary comrades who lack proper Marxian science, and this need should be satisfied by establishing the Academy.

Comrades, the Commission is of the opinion that if a start is made with the organising of centralised and systematically guided educational activity in the parties, as I have briefly outlined here, it will be of tremendous benefit to the Party. Naturally the work will have to take different form in the parties that have to act illegally from the form of the parties that carry on legal activity; there will be differences between parties that already embrace large masses and therefore are better situated financially and materially and parties that are yet weak and ideologically undeveloped. This systematic and centrally organised educational work, guided by the Executive, will be a great source of strength to the theoretical training of the militant forces of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International. (Prolonged cheers.)

Krupskaya. Comrades, I should like to add a few words to what has been said by Comrade Hörnle. Our Communist Party has had a great deal of experience in the line of agitation and propaganda. The distinctive feature of our Party has been that every member of the Party is obliged to carry on active work. This was necessitated by the conditions of the existence of the Party. The Party had been for a very long time an illegal organisation and to join it meant to run the greatest risks, first of all the risk of being arrested. The Party offered no personal advantages and imposed the greatest obligations, and therefore only active men were joining our ranks. The position of the Party on this point was quite clear from the very beginning. Twenty years ago Comrade Lenin in his book: "What must be done" emphatically stated that every member of the Party must be active in Party work. At the Second Congress of the Party in 1903 it was the question of Party membership that became the cause of the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The proposition introduced by Comrade Lenin stated that every member of the Party must not only subscribe to its program, but must be active in one of its organisations. On the other hand, the

position of Martov was that a member of the Party should recognise the program of the Party and work under its direction. From the first glance it appeared that the difference of opinion was insignificant. Indeed, many comrades were then of the opinion that the whole argument involved minor details and had no serious background. But, the subsequent history of the Party proved that the issue involved was of a very vital character. Our Party exerted a large influence upon the masses and was able to achieve victory precisely because its members were active members. The position that every member of the Party must be actively engaged in Party work reflected itself upon the entire structure of our organisation and on the form of our agitation and propaganda. It is one thing to occupy oneself with theoretical questions for the sake of theorising it and is quite a different thing when the need for theoretical study results from the necessity of solving problems. Every member of the Party must work either in the field of agitation and propaganda or carry on organisation work. I shall dwell on the question of agitation first. Owing to the proper organisation of the agitation apparatus, the Communist Party succeeded in gaining an immense influence in the masses. Agitation is calculated to act upon the sentiments and the emotions. By means of agitation the broad masses are drawn into the Party. The question of agitation has first arisen when a large economic movement began to manifest itself. The first agitation of a large scale was conducted in the struggle for the improvement of the material conditions of the working class. This was in the nineties of the last century. Then many of our comrades paid too much attention to this particular phase of the struggle and as a result had a special faction, the so-called "Mysl" group. The latter over-estimated the significance of the direct element of movement of the masses. They were much carried away by the colossal success of their agitation and began to believe that theory was altogether unnecessary, that the entire thing is in the elemental movement of the workers. This "Mysl" group went so far as to express the famous idea that we have

need for Marx and Engels and that the working class will achieve socialism without them. Then the Party directed an energetic campaign against this tendency. Another question which arose then was how to deepen our agitation. This controversy also occurred during the same period, i.e. 30 years ago. Then a part of our comrades maintained that we should not force the agitation and confine ourselves to those questions which find an immediate response among the masses. At the time the masses were mostly interested in economic questions and, therefore, some of our members insisted that we should limit ourselves to this phase of the struggle and not go any further in our agitation, i.e. to stand on the level reached by the working class at this given time.

These were the so-called economists (the group of the "Workers' cause") who maintained that it was unnecessary to deepen our agitation and that all we had to do was to follow behind the working class. During this time the "iskra" group conducted an extremely determined and passionate campaign against this tendency considering it productive of the greatest detriment. Indeed, if the Party would have taken this standpoint of the economists, it would have meant that the Party would not be leading the masses.

Marxism helped the Party to correctly estimate the value of agitation. How did we conduct that work? We always defined the central issues of our agitation, which required much time. At the end of the nineties, the economic demands were the central issue of our agitation. In 1905 the central issue was the political demands of the working class, and, finally, during the world war it was the war that became the central issue. But the central issue was only one of a number of questions into which it was divided. We gathered a select element of agitators into a group where we discussed all the questions of our agitation. Our Party was capable during the war to accomplish colossal work, became during the preceding period we devoted the utmost attention to all the questions of agitation. Discussing the forms of agitation, we shall consider first verbal agitation. The success of agitation depends not so much upon the eloquence and the artistic abi-

lity of the orator, but it depends much more to what extent the question is of vital interest to the masses.

This proved true on all occasions. So, for instance, during the war it would happen that a soldier who was hardly able to speak coherently would produce a tremendous impression on the masses, because he expressed in his speech the sentiment of the masses. This must be especially emphasised. There is no need for me to take up the question of local agitation. But, I want to point out one form of agitation which was extensively used during the war. This is the agitation by means of art. A working man thinks much more in the form of imagery than in logical concepts, and therefore art agitation by means of placards, by means of music and theatricals creates an irresistible impression upon the working masses. When it is required to draw the masses into action, the use of art may be of great importance. In this respect, the Russian experience shows that as far as the primary form of agitation is concerned the art agitation is of the utmost value.

We have in our Party still another tradition. Not only agitation, but also propaganda played in our Party a great role. Prior to the time when our agitation began to attract large masses we were conducting propaganda in our illegal circles. Usually a Marxian student would come to the circle and read Marx and Engels and lead discussions on the questions of the day. He would speak on the history of civilisation and on political economy. This tradition took deep root in the working class, not only among the adult workers, but also among the youngsters. I had a chance to observe how in a far off village the boys and girls demanded of their teacher that she teach them the subjects which they were taught formerly in the circles, i.e. political economy and the history of civilisation. They thought that without such study there is no salvation. The studies in the circles were very frequently interrupted due to arrests, and the workers had to complete their education in exile or in the prisons. The tradition of our Party is such that the jails and the places of exile were converted into a sort of universities and schools in which the wor-



leaders who were later to become prominent acquired a solid Marxian training. The "Workers' Cause" group was inappreciative of the importance of propaganda. Comrade Lenin, arguing with them, pointed out that Engels in his introduction to the "Peasants' war" states that parallel with the economic movement of the working class and the political struggle equally important is theoretical grounding. The Communist Party has never separated the questions of agitation and propaganda from its fundamental work. Agitation and propaganda constituted the essential work of the Party.

At the present time when the Party has become legal, and the working class is in power all our educational work, our work in the Trade Unions is permeated by the same traditions. Every educational worker everywhere — in the school for adults as well as in the library—every worker of the Trade Union movement is obliged to carry on according to his capacity a certain amount of propaganda. To-day the Party is directing the Trade Union movement and the educational work among the masses. It is for this reason that they have become such a tremendous force. Marxian education is carried on throughout the length and breadth of the country, and our youth is now assiduously studying. We should only welcome this tendency towards theoretical study. This has made itself manifest particularly at the last Congress of the Youth.

We are to-day witnessing generally a fundamental transition. In the first years of the revolution all our attention was concentrated on the agitation on the fronts and among the entire population; at the present time when we entered upon the work of economic construction, questions of a more involved character have come to the fore. Now the interest in theory and in the study of Marxism is extremely intense. I am working in the Chief Political Education Department and there we receive every day abundant confirmation of the fact that the masses are to-day striving for fundamental education. This is perfectly natural. In 1905 the revolution stirred the masses to the very depths and brought the entire country into an upheaval. This was followed

by years of reaction. During these years the intelligentsia lost heart. It imagined that all the conquests of the revolution are lost and that there is no hope for victory. But the masses cannot be made to forget the revolution. We saw that in 1912, the Lena events stirred the masses anew and proved that the masses had grown stronger. Throughout this period of time, colossal internal work was going on unobserved.

The impressions of the revolution were thought out and digested by the masses, and in 1912, the masses represented an entirely different phenomenon from what we observed in 1905... At the present time an identical process is manifesting itself. We see that the masses withdrew into themselves. At the present time the entire attention is concentrated on building up of this material basis under the conquest of the revolution. But the building up of this material basis is closely bound up with the transformation of the human element, with the elevation of it upon a higher cultural level, with a modification of the habits of work and the change of the entire psychology.

To-day we are passing through a definite stage when a deeply intensified, internal and invisible work is going on among the masses. The working class and the working youth of Russia is at the present time intensely studying. While working to raise the productivity of industry, they are at the same time engaged in self education. This fills us with the hope that at the time when the world revolution arrives we shall be ready for the occasion.

Chairman (Clara Zetkin). Comrades, the Committee charged with the question of political education has completed its thesis which will be laid before the Presidium and then presented to the Congress for its approval.

We now proceed with the session. The question of to-day is: The Versailles Treaty. Comrade Cachin of France will open the debate.

Cachin. Comrades, we shall examine the consequences of the Versailles Treaty and of the other Treaties which followed it.

From the first we may observe that these treaties — and especially that of Versailles — appear to be implacable and

to have wrought grave misfortune on Europe.

It is a truism that we are by no means certain whether the results of the Versailles Treaty have not been worse than those of the war itself.

These treaties show such an ignorance of the economic and political necessities of the present time that the Entente bourgeoisie is now compelled to consult together for the third time in Lausanne in order to try and modify these texts which they thought were decisive. And this is by no means the last effort of this kind.

We now hear of a new conference which is to take place at Brussels; and one has reason to expect from this conference, serious consequences for the present miserable conditions of things.

Above all I would like to deal with the attitude of one of the Entente countries, which since 1918 has shown the most grasping proclivities and, at the same time, a profound misunderstanding of actual needs. I wish to speak of France.

The political rulers of France maintain that it is the most stable country in Europe, suffering less than any other from social convulsions. The French bourgeoisie officially present an attitude of mental tranquility and serenity.

But in reality France is ravaged by the economic and financial aftermath of the Versailles Peace. There is a bleeding wound in her side. It is the crushing debt which is continually growing and to which it can set no limit. A number of the representatives of French capitalism maintain that it is impossible at present to regulate her budget and to limit expenditure to the normal.

One can easily foresee that within three or four years the French budget will hardly suffice to pay the interest on the total National Debt.

The reporters on the budget to the Chamber of Deputies stated that in 1923/30 there will be no sufficient provision in the budget to maintain the public services of the country. The milliards and tens of milliards which will then be secured through the most rigorous taxation, will hardly be sufficient to pay the interest on the National Debt.

In order to understand the evil which

afflicts modern capitalist France, one should understand the illusions of her bourgeoisie.

They have always thought, — and the official economists and financiers have not dissuaded them of this notion, — that they should be able to extort sufficiently sums from Germany to enable them to pay the capital of the National Debt.

We remember the unheard of sums which France demanded from England up to the time of the Treaty of London in May 1921; they told the credulous folk of France that something like three or four hundred milliards of francs would be obtained from Germany by a continual pressure exerted until they had received the last sou. The Ministers of Finance contended that the whole policy of the country should be exerted towards one supreme end: to make Germany pay in silver and in gold.

In May 1921 they began to reduce the mad claims with which they had started.

They then fixed the definite figure of the sum which they said Germany should pay, namely, 132 milliards of gold marks of which 52% was to go to France, that is to say, 80 milliards.

And this payment has been until recently the only theme the only leit-motiv of the Ministers of the Republic, the servile press and all the public opinion which has been encouraged in this belief.

Then, little by little, when they saw that no money was forthcoming they began somewhat to modify their original conception. When they realised that until this year, 1922, not a single gold mark had come to France, that there were no payments in specie, and that the sole gold payments which Germany had made amounting to a little more than one milliard had been paid to Belgium and England, and that France had not received anything, then the public began to doubt that Germany would pay her debts.

Up to the present France has paid about 80 milliards as advances on payment for war indemnities. Since December 1918 she has maintained an Army on the Rhine of 90,000 men, which has cost her 12 milliard gold francs.

Under these circumstances, one understands how it is that France, misled by the stupidities of officialdom, has com-



menced to lose faith in the dogma that Germany will pay.

It was in this spirit that the Lubersac affair took place. I shall not go into the details, but when a certain number of claimants and politicians saw the fruitlessness and sterility of a project which had been announced as definite, they attempted to enter into direct relations with the German heavy industrialists in order to obtain payments in kind as it was impossible to obtain them in specie.

It was then that the famous agreement was produced which has since made so much noise. Back of this agreement was a whole series of negotiations between numerous French and German capitalists.

To what extent have these negotiations been realised? We are not very well informed on this point. Between the two countries there are customs tariffs which are far too high, differences in rates of exchange and a whole series of economic and financial difficulties, as well as political and sentimental obstacles, which have prevented these attempts from attaining practical success.

So that at the present time we are able to perceive quite a different tendency. It appears that agreements, like the Stinnes-Lubersac agreement, do not secure an easy practicable application.

Capitalist France finds itself hard pressed. A violent campaign has been initiated by the worst of our jingoes, by French employers and those of the capitalists who fear to let slip from their hands the exploitation of reconstruction activities in the north which they wish to reserve for themselves. Therefore they are carrying on an energetic campaign against the Stinnes-Lubersac agreement. The latest manifestations of parliamentary opinion and of the French bourgeois press show that they are endeavouring to divert public opinion to entirely different ends.

Thus, when the Reparation question came before the Senate the other day, for the hundredth time, M. de Lubersac failed to get support for his famous agreement. He was subjected to much criticism. I believe that he is alone in his opinion and that the Government has given him no support whatever. On the contrary, numerous senators drastically opposed

these agreements; and one of them stated that the Stinnes-Lubersac negotiations, as well as others of the same nature which had been attempted, could not at present receive that favourable consideration in France for which they had previously hoped. He added that the situation demanded energetic and forceful action, that they should once more pursue those policies of which M. Poincaré had hitherto been the champion.

In the Chamber the same spirit prevailed of which I shall content myself with giving you one definite instance. A man who had up till now been a prominent defender of the Stinnes-Lubersac economic agreements generally, Loucheur, stated that it was necessary to return to a more vigorous policy for Germany by instituting a prolonged occupation of the left bank of the Rhine.

At present, therefore, it appears—and this explains the forthcoming Brussels Conference—capitalist France is at last giving up the illusion of money payments and payments in kind, and is going to concentrate its efforts on two definite aims.

The first is the intention to maintain a prolonged and unlimited occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, and to proceed to its economic exploitation.

It is well to understand that by the left bank of the Rhine is included also the bridge-heads on the right bank. It is also well understood that this includes the whole Ruhr district and not merely that part of it which is at present under occupation. In fact one of the most influential experts in France has declared that our armies at present occupy that portion of the Ruhr in which there are 45 steel mills, and that by extending our occupation of the right bank to a small extent we should have under our guns not merely 45, but 60 plants. "And," he continued, "if you establish a strict customs barrier on the further side of those 60 plants, you will break up the relationship of the German metal industry, you will sever the artery of the greatest German industry."

This is a conception which we must take into account. It is now being generally stated in the French bourgeois world, that, as the Germans are not pay-

ing, we must smash their industry, naturally in favour of the French metal industry. At the present moment the idea of the occupation of the right bank for an indefinite period gains more and more support. As usual, this capitalist cupidity is disguised in high-sounding words. It is said that it is necessary to assure the safety of France and as neither England nor America wished to sign the guarantee which was requested of them in 1919, it now becomes necessary that France herself and her army maintain the permanent security of the right bank of the Rhine.

By these words, pronounced by diplomats, military and industrial leaders, and the whole of French capitalism, we must understand the left bank of the Rhine as detached from Germany—not annexed: they do not wish to use such a crude term, but with its independence secured under the fiscal, political and military control of the French.

So this is the attempt, started in 1919, to extract from Germany those sums necessary for the reconstruction of France. It is against such policies that we have the right to protest in a decisive manner.

But it is not only these consequences of the Versailles Treaty upon which we should dwell. There are others which are obvious to all and of which our comrades from other countries can bear witness. French capitalism has not wished to extract from Germany only money and commodities; it also wishes to dismember her. At the same time France wishes to profit by her victory by securing economic and political hegemony over those little European countries, of which she created a whole patchwork after the war. These countries have neither an independent economic life nor a free political existence. They owe their present existence to the moral and material support of the bourgeois Entente. In this connection we have witnessed a whole series of manoeuvres which have shown the evident desire of French capitalism to establish its economic and political domination over all the peoples of Central Europe. Our comrades coming from these countries will relate to you the consequences of these events.

The Versailles Treaty, by the drastic nature of its impositions, has contributed

in large measure to the present financial situation; the extreme depreciation of most of the currencies of Europe. It also demonstrates the deep-rooted incapacity and improvidence of the bourgeoisie which has not in the least been able to foresee the certain consequences of its own policies, and which shows itself more and more impotent to remedy the present evils in the slightest degree.

It would be gratuitous for me to remind you here of all the consequences so well known to all communists nowadays, of the Versailles Treaty and of all those treaties which accompanied it or followed it. The essential thing is to emphasise the impossibility of European Capitalism to extricate itself from these accumulative ruinous results.

We must realise the decline of the power of capitalism in all countries, whether victorious or defeated.

We must recognise the sinister fact that the most intelligent of the bourgeoisie find it impossible to remedy the financial deterioration which is about to dislocate the whole bourgeois world and aggravate poverty and social crises. Naturally, in the face of these facts and their consequences, the class struggle becomes sharper in all its forms. On us in France it imposes the duty of making a most energetic campaign against the Treaty of Versailles as such, to point to the concrete results of it, to show the growing influence of the militarists in our country, and to struggle in ever more forceful fashion against this militaristic development, to demand the immediate liberation of the 6 million Rhinelanders who are under the heel of our militarists and who have not even been able to take part in a strike which was proclaimed for all of Germany. We must combine more and more frequently the actions of the two great working classes must directly concerned: the French and the German. Up till now our relations have been too infrequent. We have met together only two or three times and until recently, especially in France, we have been so absorbed by internal disturbances, that we have not been able to give to this most necessary measure that care which it imperiously demands.

As a result of this Congress there



should be a more intimate union and a more stable and detailed understanding between the two delegations representing German and French Communism. It will be necessary to increase the number of demonstrations in the two countries, to send more and more French militants to Germany and have more German militants come to France, in this way to ensure the reciprocal interchange of propaganda between the two parties.

A short time ago, October 15, our comrades the French miners were threatened with a reduction of wages by the mineowners. They decided to resist this reduction and declared that they would go out on strike rather than accept the decision of the employers. There are many communists among them. In common accord with the Party, they decided to visit our comrades the German miners of the Ruhr, in order to decide together with them a common plan for the struggle.

At the same time, the Ruhr miners were menaced, not with a reduction of wages, but with an increase in the working day. We concluded that here was a specially favourable opportunity for uniting the two working classes in one common action, and we fondly dreamt that it might be possible to create a movement which would embrace the Ruhr, the districts of the North, of the Pas de Calais and the mining districts in general. We hoped out of this would come a decisive act which, if well conducted, would have considerable moral and material influence on the workers of both countries and the workers of the world. It was found impossible to realise this plan, but I believe that it is along these lines that we should increase our efforts. We believe it possible to bring before this Congress a clear and simple resolution which shall be practical and concrete in its conclusions. The delegates here assembled must come to an understanding in order to prepare, on the eve of the Brussels Conference, and in view of the grave consequences which will result for Europe from it, a great united movement against the Versailles Treaty, which shall be prosecuted in every possible form with the greatest energy and vigour of which we are capable. It is this concrete plan, capable of immediate realisation, which I beg to submit to this Congress. (Applause).

Chairman Clara Zetkin. Comrades, I have a pleasant surprise for you. Our Italian Comrade Gennari has just arrived after having been persecuted and wounded by the Fascists. I am sure that the Presidium voices your sentiments by bidding him welcome and inviting him to take his place in the Presidium (Loud Applause.)

In general we greet the brave, persecuted, and maltreated Italian proletariat, which, in the face of the white terror, is preparing to rally all its revolutionary forces for a new advance against capitalism and for ultimate victory. Comrade Gennari, we bid you all a hearty welcome! Long live Communism in Italy! Long live the Italian proletariat! (Loud Applause).

(While Comrade Gennari was ascending the platform, all those present stood singing the International, and broke out in to renewed storm of applause).

Gennari. Comrades, allow me to express my thanks for your hearty welcome, particularly since it applies to all the other comrades, to all the revolutionary Italian workers who have struggled for many years under terrible conditions, to all those who were beaten and wounded and who in spite of all this never left the trenches of the social revolution.

When the Congress will sit in judgment over the conduct of the Italian Communist Party, it will have to point out the mistakes which were made, but it will also have to bear in mind under what conditions the comrades were fighting in Italy.

I can assure all the comrades that in spite of the fact that the political situation in Italy has grown worse, the Party has remained intact. The Communists and the revolutionary workers are still ready to fight together with you for the cause of the world proletariat revolution (applause).

Smeral: (Czecho-Slovakia). The Versailles Peace Treaty has brought into being the Czecho-Slovakian State. For this reason, a large part of the population of Czecho-Slovakia is labouring under the illusion that the Versailles Peace is a factor of social progress and the basis and guarantee of national self-determination and national emancipation. The Czech Communist Party has done fairly successful work from its inception, and

will continue the work of freeing the Czecho-Slovak proletariat from this illusion, which is nothing but a bourgeois lie. The entire Czecho-Slovak proletariat must be made to realise that the emancipation of small nationalities was not the decisive factor in Versailles at the establishment of the Czecho-Slovakian State. The independence of Czecho-Slovakia was never meant to be anything but fictitious. In reality, it was destined to be a vassal State of the capitalist Great Powers of the Entente serving as a prop for their domination, particularly for that of France. The decisive factors in the formation of the Czecho-Slovak State were not the economic interests of the population, but those of militarism and imperialism.

It was by no means a matter of chance that within the frontiers of the newly created Czech State established in Versailles, a population of many languages was incorporated whose national right to self-determination was entirely ignored. The rulers of the Entente adopted in this case the same policy which was also the chief support of the reactionaries of former Austria-Hungary, namely "divide and govern." They reasoned as follows: if we incorporate into the Czecho-Slovakian State almost a third of Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Ukrainians, we shall be able to do as we like with both groups, the ruling and the ruled. We shall foster in both national prejudices we shall play off one against the other and will thus keep the country in subjection. The Czecho-Slovakian majority will reckon with the "irredents" in the national minorities, and will limit civil rights, will maintain a reactionary regime, will keep up, for reasons of inner policy, a strong army and will thus have to depend on our support. The reactionary regime and the powerful army are not only useful against the national minorities, but also against the proletariat, for the consolidation of the system which the capitalists of the big States of the Entente are trying to establish throughout Europe. The powerful army of Czecho-Slovakia will be at the disposal of the Great Entente Powers in the event of an armed conflict.

Only military and imperialist considerations prevailed in Versailles. When the States of Central and South East Europe

were being formed, no attention was paid even to those economic conditions which it would have been logical to consider from a capitalist point of view. The chief cause of the world war was the fact that even the big States were too small for the development of the productive forces. This war ended in the Balkanisation of the territory of Central and South East Europe instead of bringing about its economic unity. Under Entente influence all the small States of this part of Europe are aiming at isolation. Each one of them is aiming at complete economic independence and is endeavouring to set up within its frontiers all the industries, including those for which it has no favourable natural conditions, and the produce of which it could acquire much more profitably by organised international exchange. This leads to a great waste of the productive forces at a time when the world, impoverished by the war, stands so much in need of increased production. While a number of States are undergoing a severe economic crisis owing to the lack of manufactured goods, Czecho-Slovakia has a good technical industrial apparatus capable of supplying 70 million consumers, while the country has only 14 million inhabitants. The ruling bourgeois clique, instead of endeavouring to escape from its state of isolation by an orientation towards the East and Russia, is ready, by orders of the Entente capitalists to destroy at least half of its splendid technical apparatus instead of developing it. This clique is indifferent to the fate of the masses who have been thrown out of work owing to the closing down of the factories. Thus, the Versailles Treaty has resulted in the deliberate destruction of the existing means of production. This is a clear proof that capitalism is not any longer able to solve the problems, which arise within its own order, by its own methods. In the present period, every attempt of the capitalist to prolong its existence conflicts with the development of the productive forces.

The Versailles Treaty has not carried out in Czecho-Slovakia the bourgeois principle of national self-determination for minorities. Neither has it solved the national question for the Czech nation which is the ruling nation to-day. Even in the national circles of the Czech



bourgeoisie a feeling of uncertainty exists about the future of the country and of the nation. The bourgeoisie is aware that by its alliance with the principal forces of reaction and counter-revolution, it has lended the small nationality in the cul de sac and has exposed it to the danger of being crushed in the great social storms which have reached their most acute stage and will decide the future fate of Europe and of the world.

The Versailles Peace Treaty serves only the military interests and aims of the Entente, ignoring the real needs not only of the workers, but also of the large part of the non-proletarian population in Czecho-Slovakia. The natural consequence of this will be that, after the illusions will not be able to rest on the democracy of the Czech-Slovak State. Already, the foreign French influence is endeavouring to maintain in the government a clique which has no firm social or political basis. The more this clique loses its influence over the population; the more will it become the tool of the imperialist counter-revolutionary policy of the French capitalist directed against Germany, which has been crushed by the reparations, as well as against Austria, but particularly against Soviet Russia. It is to be expected that the foreign influences by which Czecho-Slovakia is maintained on the basis of the Versailles Peace Treaty is preparing the ground in Czecho-Slovakia for a minority government, i. e. for open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in fact for a regime of Fascism.

The Czech workers are beginning to realise that the Versailles Peace Treaty has not solved the national problem, and that it has brought only misery to them as a class. In the mouth of the bourgeoisie, the fine words, "the right of nationalities" which had been advanced by the Entente as a political justification of the political aims of the world war are nothing but an empty phrase and a lie. The Czecho-Slovakian Communist workers must realise that the national idea is not our primary consideration. We are not by any means indifferent to the national aims and struggles. It is a ridiculous notion that the Communist International is intent on depriving the small capitalist nations (including Cze-

cho Slovakia) of their so-called national independence. But, we look on the concrete side of every nationalist movement. Our attitude towards it depends greatly on whether the nationalist movement is strengthening our fighting front of the social revolution, or whether it becomes a tool in the hands of the world counter-revolution. Thus, the national aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks could be considered in the light of historic progress, as long as it aimed at the determination of the former European order, at the destruction of the feudal dynasty of Austria-Hungary. It must be considered as a counter-revolutionary force, in as far as it has allied itself, owing to the influence of the Czech bourgeoisie, with the Versailles Peace Treaty and with the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the capitalist Entente powers. As soon as this becomes an accomplished fact, the nationalism of the Czecho-Slovak bourgeoisie became the ally of every reactionary movement in Europe.

The national problem will be solved only when the forces of capitalist anarchy and industrial competition inevitably leading to armed conflicts will have been overcome. A reconstruction of Europe, which will systematize production and will make free and peaceful co-operation between nations possible, will arise from the ruins of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It will not be an isolation and a "sovereignty", which to-day is only another name for vassal dependence of the small States on the big Powers, but a universal federation of the United Soviet Republics of the world. This solution, which is the only way out of the economic as well as political anarchy of to-day, has become a matter of vital importance particularly for Central and Balkan countries. It is the opposite of the former Austro-Hungarian State, the re-establishment of which is againsts instinctively lurking in the minds of the conservative, clerical groups in France and Great Britain owing to the desperate position of capitalism and of the capitalist class. Only a relentless, co-ordinated revolutionary action of the poor peasants on an international scale, will overcome the monarchist and counter-revolutionary groups which are raising their head again. The great struggle of

our class, the victory of the social revolution is also an indispensible prerequisite of the solution of the national problem of the small nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe.

Radiitch (Yugo-Slavia): The numerous conferences of the Entente States since 1919 have shown the impossibility of carrying out the Versailles Peace Treaty, which was to assure the hegemony of French imperialism in Europe, and of British imperialism in the Near East and on the seas. The Peace Treaty is entirely in a state of liquidation.

In accordance with the iron law of economic development, the Entente States in framing these Treaties, were guided by their imperialist aims. The war indemnities to be paid by the vanquished States far exceeded their financial and economic resources. New States were created in Europe and particularly in the Danube Basin. The Balkans and the Danube territories, which have economic identity but are a motley mosaic of nationalities, were parceled out into different States, of which every one has its strong national minorities. The difficult economic situation of the individual States which had lived together for centuries, and the spoliation of the territories by alien elements, have brought about a situation of strained relations between these States that are liable at any moment to break out into armed conflict. The nationalist Russians were again aroused, and the bourgeoisie, particularly in all the new born States, are attempting to represent their imperialist and predatory class interests as the common national interest, in order to win the entire nation by this slogan to the defence and maintenance of the situation created by the Versailles Treaty. But the same slogan the bourgeois tries to overcome the elements that are opposed to the State, and in this manner carries on a severe political and social reaction which is primarily directed against the revolutionary proletariat. The national funds, rampant in the Balkans and in the Danube region in the past, are as acute today as ever. The Treaties of Versailles, Neuilly and Trianon not only failed to solve the national problems, but on the contrary rendered them even more complex and acute. The new States, possessing strong national mi-

norities, conduct a relentless denationalising policy against the minorities which degrades them to the state of inferior citizenship. These minorities are excluded from the operations of agrarian reforms and of all cultural measures, and the least opposition on their part is met by the harshest treatment on the part of the respective governments. As a result of this policy, conducted by all the new States of the Little Entente against the national minorities, the resistance of these minorities grows incessantly, and manifests itself in diverse ways. In Macedonia, for instance, the Bulgarians and Albanians are up in arms against the imperialist policy of the Serbian bourgeoisie; the Germans and Hungarians in all the new States are fighting by passive resistance and systematic sabotage against this policy. The interested States take advantage of these circumstances to aggravate the sentiments of the oppressed minorities of their nationals, and thus the relations between the neighbouring States become ever more untenable.

All these treaties strain the relations not only between the different nationalities, but also between the races that make up a nation. A classical example is furnished by Yugo-Slavia, where the struggles between the Serbians and the Croats, although they are of the same race, have reached such a stage that the strongest Croatian parties are demanding complete independence. The grounds for this demand aren't only political. The Serb bourgeoisie are interested in the integral carrying out of the Treaties of Versailles, Neuilly and Trianon because of the reparations they guarantee to Serbia. This causes them in this question to go hand in hand with France and blindly follow the French imperialist policy. The bourgeoisie of Croatia and the other regions of Yugo-Slavia which are not directly interested in the question of reparations stand in strenuous opposition to the Government. This found its most acute expression during the Genoa Conference, when the Croats presented a separate memorandum to the Conference.

All these new states, financed and founded chiefly by France for the purpose of furthering her imperialist interests, are totally dependent on French capital and



are in the position of French colonies. France makes use of these states to carry on her policy of domination in Europe, and is trying to have the Versailles Treaty enforced. French interests against Soviet Russia are taken care of by Poland and Rumania; Jugo-Slavia watches over French interests against Italy in the Near East; Czechoslovakia against Germany. Their common dependence upon France, their common interest in the rigid enforcement of the Versailles Treaty, as well as the common danger which threatens them from the side of Hungary, were the principal reasons for the military alliance between Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania under the aegis of France, which not only finances the militarism of these States, but actually organises and controls it. Poland is also in close League with these States. In spite of the alliance there are differences between these States, which frequently come to the surface. The Banat district is a constant bone of contention between Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. In the same manner the Czech question aggravates the situation between Poland and Czechoslovakia. All this goes to show that the equilibrium of these States is unsettled.

But these States are the most zealous defenders of all the treaties, the revision of which would entail the greatest territorial and economic sacrifices for them. For this reason they tried to maintain this untenable condition by a strong militarism which is far beyond their financial and economic resources. The bourgeoisie of these States are trying to split an economic entity into several units, which would guarantee the naive bourgeoisie a definite monopoly within the boundaries of the State.

If we glance at the Balkan Peninsula and the Danube Basin, we can see quite clearly the perfect absurdity of all the peace treaties concerning these countries that have been written since 1913. We find, for instance, that Fiume, the best and nearly the only outlet to the sea for both North Western Jugo-Slavia and Hungary, is practically occupied by Italy, which was the cause of extremely strained relations between Jugo-Slavia and Italy. The same we find at Salonica, the best port for the entire Balkan Peninsula,

which together with a very small hinterland is in the possession of Greece without in any way affecting the commerce of Greece.

Industrial Austria has been completely separated from the regions which furnished her raw materials and food-stuffs, and is thus doomed to extinction.

All these illegal phenomena, however, are the necessary corollary of capitalism, leading to the inevitable conflict between the interested States.

The role of the Little Entente as against Soviet Russia has been clear from the outset. It has maintained a consistently hostile attitude. Not only did Poland and Rumania, who are territorially interested in this attitude towards Soviet Russia, but Jugo-Slavia, as a vassal of France, also breathes hostility towards Russia. Thus we find, in spite of all official disclaimers, the remnants of the Wrangel Army maintained in Jugo-Slavia, completely armed and organised. There the Russian counter-revolutionaries maintain their military schools, and the ambassador of the defunct Koltchak government is still recognised as the representative of the Russian government. All this counter-revolutionary army with its schools and other institutions, are financed by Jugo-Slavia and France, and form a State within the State. This army is destined for action against Soviet Russia, but at the same time also for the carrying out of reactionary tendencies which suit the interests of French imperialism, as was the case, for instance, in Bulgaria.

The role of the Little Entente was manifested clearly at all conferences, as well as in all the actions undertaken against Soviet Russia. Yet in spite of the hostile policy of the governments of the Little Entente towards Soviet Russia, the attitude of the masses of the people is quite the opposite, i. e. the masses have shown very great sympathy for Soviet Russia, and in this the unsolved agrarian question has played a big part.

The latest crisis in the Near East has demonstrated the complete dependence of the Little Entente upon France. Jugo-Slavia had a special role assigned to it as the Near East. In the beginning of the crisis, it is true, Jugo-Slavia made an attempt to assert her own interests and support the English standpoint, because

she was against the return of the Turks to Europe for fear of closer territorial contact between Bulgaria and Turkey, and an eventual alliance against Jugo-Slavia, at the same time Jugo-Slavia attempted to benefit by the crisis by taking possession of Salonica. But all these attempts at independent action were forbidden by Jugo-Slavia's guardian, France. The predominant influence in this crisis was the French orientation and the hostility to Russia.

The breaking up of the economic unity, the strong antagonism between the States of the Little Entente and the other Balkan States, the antagonism of the Little Entente States among themselves, the relentless policy of denationalising and oppression of the national minorities, reaction and exceptional laws against the working class in all these States—all this, supported by a strong militarism which surpasses the economic resources of these States, lead to the inevitable collapse and liquidation of the treaties of Versailles etc, by which this situation was created.

All these circumstances make it incumbent upon the Communist Parties to mobilise the whole of the revolutionary proletariat for this struggle against imperialist peace and imperialist war. In this fight the Communist Parties should emphasise all these antagonisms, particularly the enmity between nations. We must tell the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of the Balkans and of the Danube region, that their national, political and economic emancipation can only be achieved by revolutionary fighting under the banner and leadership of the Communist Parties, and that the guarantee of peace and normal development, as well as the solution of all the controversies in the Balkans and in the Danube Basin, can be found only in a Federated Soviet Republic of the Danube and Balkan countries.

The Balkan Federation of the Communist Parties of the Balkan States has for a long time been working in this direction, but in the future this activity should be increased until the consummation of the final victory in conjunction with all the Communist Parties. (Prolonged Cheers).

Chairman Markleyev. Before closing the session, I wish to announce that the following Commission will meet tonight:

At 6 p. m. the Small French Commission.

At 8 p. m. the Czechoslovakian Commission.

At 9 p. m. the Jugo-Slavian Commission.

I also propose to read to you the following telegram to be sent from this Congress:

"To the All-Indian Trade Union Congress, Lahore.

Comrades,

The proletariat of the West sends you its enthusiastic good wishes in the fight which you have been waging during the past year for the economic amelioration of the Indian working class. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends you heartiest greetings. Comrades, in assuring you of our sympathy and in promising you our utmost support for the victory of your cause, we must at the same time remind you that yours is a very great cause which should not be restricted. The Indian working class is fighting not only for "a fair days wage for a fair days work", the economic emancipation of the Indian workers and peasants depends upon the political liberty of the nation.

No amelioration of living conditions is possible while imperialist exploitation exists. It is for this reason that you will play an important part in the struggle for national independence. Prepare for this historic role. The advanced proletariat of 52 countries represented at this Congress is entirely on your side. Beware of the false friendship and the misleading advice of labour leaders that are subservient to imperialism.

With fraternal Greetings.

Comrades, do I have your consent to the sending of this telegram. Adopted unanimously.

The discussion will be continued tomorrow at 11 a.m.

The session is now adjourned.

(Session closed at 4.15 p.m.).