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Report on the Versailles Treaty (Conclusion). Adoption of Manifesto on Geneva agreement. Report on the re-organisation of the Executive Committee.—Comrade Eberlein.

Speakers: Murphy, Keller, Connolly, Friedlaender, Beron, Eberlein.

Chairman MARKHLEVSKI: Comrades. I declare the session open. We will continue the discussion opened yesterday. I call upon Comrade Murphy to address you.

Comrade MURPHY: Comrades, the issue on the Versailles Treaty is inseparable from the struggle of Imperialism for world power. It is not a treaty of peace, but a treaty of war, continuing the military conflict of 1914—18 in the domain of economics and politics. If we attempt to approach this subject from any other angle than this we shall be involved in the same difficulties as the leapers of the Second International. Their attempt to deal with the Versailles Treaty has shown them to be nothing more or less than instruments of allied imperialism. For example, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, voicing the Labor policy, as expressed in the Amsterdam and Frankfurt Conferences of 1921 and 1922 respectively, states: "The principles upon which the Labor policy regarding reparations are founded are briefly as follows:

- 1) The amount and form of reparations required two sanctions, — the first that of justice, the second that of economics.
- 2) The sanction of justice must be limited by the pre-Armistice negotiations.

- 3) The sanction of economics is limited not only by what Germany can pay, but by what we can receive without damage to our own people and by what forms indemnity can safely take."

This language is essentially the language of liberals among the capitalist countries which have been victorious and not the language of the working class which has suffered all the consequences of the treaty in both victorious and defeated countries. It is further based upon the assumption that Germany alone was responsible for the war, a theory already exploded by leaders within the fold of the Second International itself.

It may be very interesting to prove that the guns went off on their own but even that does not help us with regard to the struggles arising out of the Treaty of Versailles. We can only view it as a continuation of the imperialist war, and the Communist International has no alternative but to offer the same unrelenting opposition to the treaty that it offered to the war. Just as it was the tasks of the Communists to transform the imperialist war into civil war, so it is the task of the Communist International to utilize every political and economic consequence of the treaty as a rallying force among the masses and as a means

of developing international mass action against, not only allied imperialism, but world imperialism. The justification for such a policy is quite clear to us. The war of 1914-18 started with Britain and Germany as the principal contestants for world power. The military conflict ceased in 1918 with new protagonists in the field. Britain had not only to face a defeated Germany, but a victorious France, America, Japan, and the proletarian revolution, as contestants for world power. Mr. Wilson came over then in the garb of a dove carrying the twig of peace, but the predatory instincts of the participants in the Versailles Conference were not in the least modified. It was not a meeting of friends but a meeting of thieves keenly reaching for spoils. The big chiefs were Clemenceau and Lloyd George who made short work of Mr. Wilson's dream of a league of nations under the hegemony of America, and produced instead, a caricature of a league as an instrument of the Allied Supreme Council for the purpose of side tracking the dreamers and bluffing the workers as to their real objectives.

Having dismissed the idealists they proceeded to defend themselves against the revolution. For this purpose, they „Balkanized“ Central Europe and created a number of small states and called them a „cordon sanitaire“, to prevent the spread of the revolution from Russia to Western Europe.

Then Mr. Lloyd George forced the pace on behalf of the British Empire. He secured the transfer of the German colonies in East Africa and the mandates for Palestine and Mesopotamia to Britain. Australia secured the German possessions in the Pacific south of the Equator, and New Zealand got the island of Samoa.

All these things are not incidental to the conference, but the deliberate pursuit of a definite policy which had been formulated in the minds of the leaders long before the conference.

If we can just grasp the significance of these mandates and transfer of territory, we can take the measure of the efforts that are made to bring the great dreams of British Imperialism to fruition. There deeds pave the way not only for a Cape to Cairo railway, but also a Cape to Cairo and Calcutta railway, joining up

the continent of Africa with the continent of Asia, and driving all the time towards these new markets of the east upon which both America and Japan and the rising capitalism in China have got their eyes. Coincident with this expansion is the development of industrial capitalism in India and also the difficulties which are facing British capital at home.

The last twelve months or more have been witness to a tremendous export of capital to India and the rapid growth of industries. Within twelve months manufacturers of textile machinery in Lancashire have increased their export to India some 400 per cent, whilst the British papers have openly announced that the Cammel Lairds, well known as steel magnates of Britain, will lay plant in India to produce the cheapest steel in the world.

In these developments there is a twofold aim, one in the direction of the markets of the East, and the other directed against the proletariat of the west. The east offers untapped markets in the Malay Archipelago, whilst to capture the markets in the west it is necessary to utilise the cheapest labor possible. Where can they find cheaper labor than exists in the countries of the east? Hence while the proletariat of Britain and Europe goes downward in its standard of life, we see capital sweeping towards the East and utilising cheap labor there, not only as a means to capture markets but as a means to defeat the proletariat in their own countries. But this is not all the story. There are more imperialist than Britain. There is opposition both from France and America. Britain must turn to the cornfields and cottonfields of Egypt, and the oil wells of Mesopotamia, as a means of relieving herself of her dependence on America for her corn and cotton and oil, but someone else is looking on to the East and seeking to prevent the development of the British Empire according to the dreams of the British Imperialists. Clemenceau, standing for French Imperialism, also looked towards the East and continued the struggle which has been going on for many years ever since Britain wrested parts of India from French control, and even since England got control of the Suez Canal. The near eastern crisis of today, and the

Lausanne Conference are the modern sequel of the difficulties which reach back to the early struggles of French and British Imperialism.

In 1875 the British Government purchased a large number of shares in the Suez Canal. Then the Canal practically became the property of British Imperialism, and her gateway to the East. «The Times» of November 26th, 1875, declared:

«It is impossible to separate in our thoughts the purchase of the Suez Canal shares from the question of England's future relation with Egypt, or the destinies of Egypt from the shadows that threaten the Turkish Empire. . . . Should insurrection or aggression from without or corruption from within bring a political as well as a financial collapse of the Turkish Empire, it might become necessary to take measures for the security of that part of the Sultan's dominions with which we are most nearly connected.»

On December 18th, 1914, England declared Egypt to be a British protectorate. So, when we come to the Versailles Treaty, France, struggling against the development of British Imperialism and equally anxious for oil, secured the mandate for Syria and made more difficulties for Britain with regard to the development of her Empire.

Not only is the mandate for Syria a response to the mandates for Palestine and Mesopotamia, but Britain's gains in the oil fields of Mesopotamia led to the negotiations between France and Turkey, the revival of the Turkish army, the destruction of the Sèvres Treaty, and the survival of Turkey in the Near East. Thus the Lausanne Conference continues the war intensified by the Versailles Treaty. This struggle in the Near East for gateways of Empire, for oil fields, and markets are directly related to the struggle in Western Europe. France not only secured a mandate for Syria by the Versailles Treaty, but also acquired Alsace-Lorraine and Morocco. We shall see from the incidents which follow that the power which has been steadily accumulating in the hands of France has intensified in the fight between France and Britain in the west as in the east. Although they proclaim themselves to the world as great friends, as brothers in arms, yet it is

easy to see that France and Britain are now mortal enemies; but Britain cannot let herself loose from this alliance or this entente with France until she has secured resources in Europe from which she can draw support in the event of an open dispute, with France; nor dare she leave France to the unhampered influence of America. Hence she pursues a policy of friendship with France and operates the Treaty, whilst struggling for modifications and seeking for new resources in the north and in the east of Europe.

France has become by means of the Versailles Treaty potentially an industrial as well as an agricultural country. She can now see herself becoming the second steel — producing country in the world. The first is America. The second will be France. By the development of her industrial forces she is becoming a factor in the markets of the world, a keen rival to England in the place of Germany.

The Versailles Treaty is therefore revealed as a treaty raising more than a question of reparations. It is a continuation of a vigorous and bitter struggle of imperialist forces which are seeking to overthrow one another even as they are seeking to suppress the working class as it moves forward to revolution.

These movements and struggles have not taken place without effecting the masses of the population. The East has been awakened by all these tremendous changes of the last few years, and brought into closer relationship with the proletariat of the west. The important problem before the Communist International therefore is to transform the unconscious process to a conscious process and to make the workers of the West and the East conscious of the unity and mutuality of their interest. We have to draw all these forces of the East nearer to these of the West and strive to produce a situation where we can get simultaneous action against imperialism.

Still further. The repercussions arising from the application of the Versailles treaty to the countries of the West give rise to equally important mass movements. Cachon has spoken of reparations in relation to France and Germany and of the necessity of the French and German Communist Parties coming into closer

contact and arrangements with regards to action concerning reparations. The task, however, is bigger than that. If we will just review the incidents of the last 12 months we shall appreciate how great, how tremendous and far reaching are the effects of the operation of this treaty.

By means of this treaty Britain took away from Germany not only her navy but also her merchant fleet. She sold 2,000,000 tons openly in the market at 1 pound a ton. Shipbuilding at 25 pounds a ton could not compete with that. There immediately followed a tremendous drive on the standard of living of the workers of Britain. The repercussion to this was a further drive on the standards of the workers of Europe. Equally disastrous was the effect of reparation of coal. Two million tons a month has to be supplied to France by Germany under the Treaty. The immediate effect of this was to inundate France with coal. The British export coal trade collapsed. Then followed a violent attack upon the miners, who were forced downwards to terrible social conditions. Immediately after the débâcle in England when the miners' wages were drastically reduced, what do we find in France? — pits closing attacks upon hours, attacks upon wages and the whole market glutted with British and Reparation coal.

Nor does it end there. Immediately the miners are crushed in France. Britain, and Germany there followed an attack upon the miners of America. There are no limits to the effects of this Treaty, not only with regard to the economic disintegration of the world but also in the development of the movement of the masses of the world.

Instead of stopping the spread of the revolution by Balkanising Europe it has set in motion the masses of Western Europe and helped to awaken the peoples of the East. This is the opportunity of the Communist International, — to show the defects of the reparations and to make clear to the masses the fundamental character of the Treaty and its relation to the struggles of Imperialism for world power. On the one hand the Versailles Treaty is speeding up the Imperialist powers in their savage competition for oil, territory, and markets, culminating

in a colossal war; on the other hand, it is producing circumstances which are giving to the C. I. an opportunity of leading the masses to revolution. The Versailles Treaty started peace to end peace and peace to end peace or world revolution. Hence we re-affirm that the struggle against the Treaty of Versailles is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism. To end it is to end imperialism and the only weapon to end imperialism is world revolution.

KELLER: Throughout the nineteenth century, Poland was associated with insurrections. The struggle against the tyranny of the Tsars and for the restoration of an independent Poland were the slogans of the revolutionary democracy of Western Europe.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were warm partisans of the reconstitution of Poland. It was at the meeting held in London, in 1894, called to express sympathy with the Polish insurgents that the idea of an international association of workers, the First International, was launched.

But another revolution has taken place in Poland following the expansion of capitalism. The propertied classes led by the high bourgeoisie renounced all the traditional movements for national independence; their slogan became adaptation to the economic and political conditions in each of the three countries which shared Poland. The old nationalist tendencies survived only among the petty bourgeois and intellectual elements.

A few years later, when the modern working class movement was born in Poland, these patriotic movements played a reactionary rôle, they tended to separate the working masses of Poland from the common struggle against the Tzarist regime.

The revolutionary proletariat of Poland opposed the patriotic ideology of the petty bourgeois; the struggle for socialism, they said, by liberating the entire working class of Europe, will also free the Polish people from national oppression.

It was only after the overthrow of the Tzarism, after the establishment of the proletarian government in Russia, after the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns that the propertied classes of Poland, and

then the faithful lackeys, of the Tsars and the two Kaisers, established a bourgeois, reactionary state, to isolate Poland from the spreading revolution in East and West.

The Entente, which had no trouble about the Polish problem until the victory of the workers and peasants in Russia, was not slow in accepting the new programme of the Polish bourgeoisie. They wished to isolate Soviet Russia from the rest of Europe by a corridor or a barrier of barbed wire. For France especially, it was a question of finding a substitute for the overthrown of the Tzarist empire and for the suppression of Germany.

In the hands of France, Poland became a powerful instrument of war against the Russia revolution, in addition to the expeditionary forces sent against Russia by the Entente, Kolchak, Yudenitch, and Wrangel. The whole equipment of the Polish army, from guns and aeroplanes to socks for the soldiers, was furnished by either France or England. Pilsudski himself was seconded by a French general.

The French bourgeoisie, knowing how dangerous it was to send its own soldiers against the Russian revolution, was ready to fight to the last Polish soldier.

After the failure of all military enterprises against the Red Giant, the Entente gave up these methods for a time. But intervention against Russia never disappeared from Pilsudski's programme. The position of Russia, the separation of White Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus, the establishment of a girdle of so-called independent states, from Finland to Estonia, Lithuania, Rumania, Georgia, etc. under the protection of Poland, was for Pilsudski and his friends, the only real guarantee for the independence of their country. The bourgeoisie hates Soviet Russia as its class enemy. The megalomaniac, petty, bourgeois, Social Patriot, Pilsudski, fears it as the incarnation of the principle of proletarian government, more than a menace to the independence of Poland and its rôle as a great power.

The high Polish bourgeoisie is ready to start another war against Russia on the order of the Entente. The foreign policy of Pilsudski is dominated by his dream of the liberation of Ukraine and

the formation of a federation of all countries from Finland to Georgia.

With a war against Russia, Pilsudski wishes to kill two birds with one stone: first, to overthrow the working class government, second, to proceed against the peasants who, deprived of all possibilities of emigration since the war, suffer more than ever from the shortage of land, and threaten to attack the large landed proprietors.

The treaty of Versailles, which created a Polish Republic, placed it in a situation which would be the cause of many conflicts. The district of Teschen, Upper Silesia, the Corridor, the Free City of Danzig, Eastern Galicia, and Lithuania form a chain each link of which may be transformed tomorrow into a centre of conflict.

It is natural, therefore, that the rulers and the protectors of Poland have transformed it into an immense military camp. On the continent, the Polish army is numerically second only to that of France.

This results in the increasing dependence of Poland upon the bandits of the Entente. Six months after the Peace of Riga, the foreign debt of Poland amounted to 4000 billion Polish marks. Since then this has assumed even more astronomic proportions.

French capital which secured Upper Silesia to Poland, and tolerates its indefinite occupation of Eastern Galicia, took as its payment the mines and factories of Upper Silesia and the petroleum wells of Upper Silesia.

The Polish Empire includes within its frontiers 40% inhabitants of non-Polish race. — Germans, Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians and White Russians. Like every militaristic government with a centralized administration, the Polish government oppresses all tendencies to autonomy, following the worst examples of the former oppressors of the Polish nationality. The articles of the Treaty of Versailles, which solemnly guaranteed the freedom of the national minorities, have remained a scrap of paper.

The critical bonds established by the Treaty of Versailles between Poland and the principal stock holders of the Entente had been tightened by the special military Treaty imposed by France upon Pilsudski in February 1921. By this Treaty, bour-

geois Poland becomes definitely an instrument of French Imperialism.

The abolition of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Franco-Polish military alliance, has become the principle objective of the foreign policy of the revolutionary Polish proletariat.

Far from guaranteeing the independence of the Polish nation, the Treaty of Versailles and the Franco-Polish agreement make of it a colony, an instrument for the oppression of the national minority, a perpetual menace against the peace and the freedom of its neighbors. Finally, these treaties double the forces oppressing the Polish proletariat by the rulers of the Polish state.

The French ambassador in Poland continually interferes in the internal affairs of the country, and always in the most reactionary manner.

The working class of Poland is therefore fighting for its most vital interests when it associates with the proletariat of the whole world in the struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and all its consequences.

The Polish proletariat has still another reason to join the world proletariat in its struggle against the Treaty of Versailles. The bourgeois Polish state has been created primarily by the Entente as a weapon against the great Red Republic of the Soviets. The first attempt to strangle the Russian revolution with the help of Polish soldiers was defeated, but it cost enormous sacrifices to Russia and retarded its work of reconstruction. After peace had been concluded, Poland continued to plot against Russia; it continually attacked it with the bands of Savinkov, Petlura, and Boulat-Balakhovich. For the Polish proletariat, the struggle against the Treaty of Versailles and the Franco-Polish agreement is also a struggle for Russia.

The Polish Government, which would have the courage and the force to break the bonds which tie Poland to France, will accomplish thereby a revolutionary act of the greatest importance: it would free the oppressed national minorities and liberate the working masses of Poland from the unlimited exploitation which weighs upon them. Logically, it would be brought to unite with Soviet Russia and help the revolutionary movements in all

the border nations. Such a government could only be a revolutionary government. By fighting for the abolition of the Versailles Treaty, the Polish proletariat not only fulfils its International duty but is fighting for its own liberation and its own revolution.

CONNOLLY (Ireland): Comrades, the technical arrangements of the Commission on the "Struggle Against the Versailles Treaty" have not been of the best kind. For, though it has requested the Irish Delegation to speak on this question, for some technical reason we have not been able to participate in its work, and therefore we limit ourselves to a brief statement.

The relation of Ireland to the Versailles Treaty is of a purely negative character. Though it changed the status of some of the oppressed nations of Europe to some of the interests of its composers, it left the position of Ireland untouched. We all know that the moral basis of this Treaty was the famous fourteen Points of President Wilson, which included, as chief among them, the right of self-determination for all nations. We also know that in particular, this formula was made an instrument, not for the liberation of the oppressed peoples but for the imperialist and reactionary designs of the Three Great Conquering powers, England, France and America. Naturally, therefore, there was no application of this sovereign remedy to the peoples groaning beneath the yoke of either English or American Imperialism.

At the time of the Versailles Treaty the Irish National Revolutionary movement was just gaining strength. It had not yet entered upon a decisive armed fight against English domination in Ireland. The petit-bourgeois leaders of it believed to a certain extent in the peaceful pacifist solution of their problems with England by a reference of the question to the League of Nations, which, it was fondly hoped, would make a real application of the right of self-determination all over the world. They believed in the power of justice and the fourteen points; they could not penetrate into the imperialist nature of the Powers being League or of the Treaty that was being constructed. They did not understand that, accordingly, the Irish National

tion would not be settled by the five Great Powers at Versailles. They sent their delegate to the Versailles Conference to plead for the cause of the Irish freedom along with the oppressed peoples throughout the world. From Korea in the East to Ireland in the West all the representatives of the oppressed nations clamoured for freedom. But very quickly the Irish National representatives at Versailles saw that there was no hope for obtaining every national independence from the Supreme Council, and to a certain extent the Irish Nationalists were disillusioned. This was of particular importance because, following on it, the Irish National Revolutionaries became determined that if they could not achieve their freedom through appealing to the humanitarian instincts of the Great Powers then they would achieve it themselves by force against British Imperialism in Ireland. Accordingly, after the Versailles Treaty, we had a most intense national war in Ireland for two and a half years. The fierce struggle that the Irish revolutionaries carried on had a culmination in a most barbarous terror, but even this terror had to be abandoned owing to the resistance of the Irish revolutionaries. So, after two and a half years of a determined attempt to subjugate Ireland, Lloyd George bethought himself that if he could not win by force of arms, perhaps he could by force of diplomacy. Accordingly, Lloyd George, the chief composer of the Versailles Treaty, through which he had made imperialism as secure as possible in the West and East, became convinced that with the use of a treaty he would also make Imperialism firm and well-founded in Ireland. He therefore entered into negotiations with the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement, and the result of this was the famous Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 6th, 1921. The Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland had not the effect of settling the Irish question. The treaty had merely this effect: that it won over the upper strata of the Irish bourgeoisie to the side of British Imperialism in return for a share in the exploitation of the Irish proletariat and peasantry. It did not free the Irish people even from imperialism because even all the formal acts of this treaty which

was supposed to grant freedom to the Irish people shackled them more firmly than ever to British Imperialism by various reservations and safeguards, including the measure of leaving the executive power of the so-called Free State in the hands of the King of England and in the hands of the representative of British Imperialism, the Governor General. It was also a fact that it gave Britain the permission to hold a number of ports in Ireland that could be used as naval bases or as stations for wireless, etc. The fact that it gave Britain these rights within Ireland shows that this Irish Treaty does not in any way satisfy the claims for complete Irish independence. Of course, in reality, Britain did not need any such rights in Ireland as those given by the Treaty, because by the fact of her superior fleet, army and equipment, the English at any time in which the British Empire was threatened could use its forces to acquire the ports, naval stations, etc. with or without a Treaty. But it is necessary to show that even formally, the treaty which was signed between the representatives of British Imperialism on the one hand and the representatives of the Irish bourgeoisie on the other hand did not satisfy the claims for Irish independence.

The result of this treaty was practically the same as the results of every one of the so-called Versailles Treaties. Instead of bringing peace and harmony to the nation or to the people to which it was applied, it brought chaos, it brought civil war, and the increase of the revolutionary forces in the country. The result of the treaty between Britain and Ireland is that practically within five months of the setting up of the Free State (as the methods by which the treaty was to be worked), an unprecedented terror rages in Ireland, a terror which the Irish bourgeoisie finds it necessary in order to implement the treaty. If it were possible that this treaty satisfied in any degree the aspirations for the national independence of Ireland, a terror would not be necessary. But even the ordinary resources of a bourgeois state by which it seeks to enforce its will are not practicable in Ireland, and the fact that it has to resort to extra-legal methods, methods beyond the state, and to organise a ter-

ror shows that this treaty is also bankrupt, like that of Versailles and of Sevres. The present civil war is illustrated in its most intense form by the armed struggle between the forces of the Free State and those of the Irish Republicans. It is necessary for the Communist International, if it is to regard this struggle against the Free State or against the Treaty as a component part of the struggle against the Versailles treaty as a whole — it is necessary for it to understand what are the social classes which are involved in this struggle, and what classes the different military organisations represent.

The fact is quite plain, by an examination of the situation in Ireland, that the Free State and its army are the representatives of British Imperialism and that it is supported by the landowners, big financiers and capitalists of Ireland. On the other hand, the Republican Army, though it is more difficult to investigate into its social composition, may be said to be supported by a large mass of landless peasants, and a large portion of the not yet class-conscious workers in the towns, and to be led by the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie. This, in short, is the social composition of these two forces. And what is especially important for the Comintern is to realise that within the composition of the Republican forces there are those large masses of landless peasants on the one hand and the Irish workers on the other. Now, this fight leads us to believe that, if the struggle develops continually against the Free State, these masses of workers and peasants will inevitably impress their demand upon this struggle, and gradually transform it into being a purely independent and nationalist struggle against a free state into a class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the Soviet system in Ireland. That is the main general idea regarding the Republican Movement in Ireland and the support of this movement against the Free State Treaty, must be considered as part and parcel of the International struggle waged against the Versailles Treaty and its consequences.

Later on, when the Commission has decided upon the Irish question, there will

be opportunities to dilate much more upon the situation. The Irish question is very little known outside of Ireland, and at the same time it is impossible, within this Congress, in a speech on the Versailles Treaty lasting only 15 minutes to give the subject a full treatment. On the other hand, the Communist International is bound to take immediate steps with the question of Ireland. The movement has come through that the terror reached a climax where the State in Ireland, the bourgeois state, has commenced the execution of prisoners taken during the Civil War. Knowing that through the Communist International, with its international forces and connections, is the best method whereby to give form to the struggle, not only against the Irish Free State, but against this terror employed against the revolutionaries and the Irish workers, the Irish Communist Party has drafted a resolution upon the terror and the executions, which the presidium will consider and put to the Congress later.

FRIEDLAENDER (Austria): Comrades, the present situation and recent developments in Germany are, doubtless, most significant for the present economic and political situation as well as for the coming revolutionary development in Europe. Therefore the struggle against the Versailles Treaty must stand in the foreground of the fighting programme of the Communist International for the near future.

At the same time we must not overlook that there are other important political and economic issues in Europe upon which the Communist International must also make its pronouncement. Particularly, does this apply to the influence of the other Peace Treaties, peace treaties which are, if possible, more crudely brutal, and more sharply opposed to the interests of the European working class than even the Versailles Treaty. Some of these Peace Treaties have already been reduced through their own application, to absurdity. It is certain that no political stability will be brought about through these treaties in Central, South, and Eastern Europe. Instead of this we have a chaotic condition in which revolutionary and counter-revolutionary tendencies cross each other. See for example, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, and Turkey.

Therefore the Communist International, and especially the parties of those countries which are closely affected by the Treaty, should inaugurate a systematic campaign against the Peace Treaties and their results, which campaigns should be carried on entirely from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and of the revolution. Thus we shall pursue tactics contrary to that of the social democracy of all countries whose policies have been entirely inspired by the idea of the restoration of bourgeois order within each country, and the securing of an understanding between the various capitalist governments. Thus the social democrats condone and even support the laying of the burden of the costs of the world war and the fulfillment of the Peace Treaty upon the shoulders of the working class.

The Peace Treaties have led Europe and the whole world into economic chaos and political dislocation. In order to avoid this state of things which is so menacing to the bourgeoisie, the capitalist governments have developed methods which consist in solving the economic crisis through purely political means by which they seek to make the working class pay all costs. Wherever the social democrats lend their active or passive support to the reactionaries — and where is this not the case? — this leads to a temporary success of the bourgeoisie.

The role of social democracy, both the 2nd and 2¹/₂ Internationals, during and after the formulation of the Peace Treaties, was to work for the reinstatement of the European capitalist states. Instead of taking advantage of the acutely revolutionary situation at the end of the war in Europe, which would have led directly to the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, especially in Germany, Austria, and Hungary, they put every obstacle in its way. Since then they have carried out purely a policy of acquiescence to the designs of the bourgeoisie.

The European situation has now distinctly altered. The failure of the Peace Treaties is obvious.

Austria may be shown as a classical example of the bankruptcy of the Peace Treaty policies. The St. Germain Treaty has ended in absurdity. The catastrophic state of Austrian national finances has

extended so far that the famous League of Nations and a number of European states — particularly France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, and Italy — felt bound to intervene. Austria now finds itself in a most precarious condition. And if I call the attention of the Congress of the Communist International to Austria, it is not out of any local patriotism, but because that which may be at present so clearly absurd in Austria is, to a more or less extent, an international condition.

Indeed, that which is at present taking place in Austria is an international move against the Austrian working class. The League of Nations, by its present activities in Austria, clearly reveals its real character, namely that of veiled counter-revolution. And the Austrian bourgeoisie themselves called in its aid. For the victorious and creditor nations of Austria — there are about from 13 to 17 of them — the fiasco of the Peace Treaty has been apparent from the beginning. They have been compelled against their will to postpone the payment of the Austrian Reparations Debt for 20 years. Foreign capital well knows how to use Austria, just as they have Germany and Hungary, as a source of profit which they will work to the limit, thereby reducing the Austrian worker to the coolie level, which in its turn will lead to a severe industrial crisis.

Through these methods they have wrought results similar to those in Germany, although to a lesser degree, naturally inasmuch as Austria is much smaller than Germany. These results are that the Entente has only hurt itself, inasmuch as they have developed underselling competition upon the world market, thus damaging their own trade. The present crisis in Austria has helped neither Austrian national economy nor the Austrian working class. The Austrian working class is continually haunted by unemployment. And unemployment in such a country as Austria, this land deprived of food stuffs and raw materials, means sheer starvation.

Therefore the various interested Entente countries now consider that the time has arrived to exclude Austria from the world market and to destroy its industry — which produced mainly for export — in order to ease their own economic situ-

tion. The Austrian bourgeoisie, led by the Christian Socialist Party, which controls the government and is principally a reactionary peasants party, aid in this work in the hope of still further reducing the wages of the Austrian workers and lowering their standard of living through the creation of a colossal army of unemployed who will be politically impotent. In order to carry through this increased exploitation of the working class a deadly blow has been dealt to Austrian democracy.

Such is the object of the League of Nations, which pretends to serve Austrian reconstruction and the securing of credits for Austria.

Now, comrades, there is really no question whatever of the securing of credits from the victorious and creditor nations. The League of Nations has itself distinctly said that those countries which are included in the League of Nations could not even consider the question of granting a loan to Austria. The reason for this is clear: So long as conditions in Austria are unstable, no government is interested in extending credits to it. These are the same reasons which govern the relations of these countries to Germany, and with Russia when it is a question of loans.

Therefore, what does the League of Nations really offer? They offer the guarantee of England, France, Italy, and Czecho-Slovakia for loans which foreign private capital shall make to Austria. However, for the same reasons as those which affect the foreign governments, it is also hopeless to expect any assistance for Austria. However, for the same reasons as those which affect the foreign governments it is, also hopeless to expect any assistance for Austria from individual foreign capitalists.

Furthermore, it is most improbable that these guarantees will be ratified by the parliaments of the various guarantor nations. For instance, Mussolini has distinctly stated that Italy is by no means prepared to take this step. The aspiration for the annexation of a part of Austria enters into this question. Also they have allowed Austria a small loan, their principal interest is to collect this debt. There is no question at

present of Italy extending a new loan to Austria.

Therefore when will the Geneva Conference to consider the Austrian question? The conference was not held to secure credits for Austria, but to secure credit conditions which should be attached to these credits. And these conditions will involve the complete enslavement of the Austrian working class which is a most important factor, not only in Austria but in all Europe, and which with the aid of the Austrian social democracy, they have been able so far to hold in check. The Entente desires to make of Austria a reactionary centre and support. It is the link between Bavaria and Horthy's Hungary, between Yugo Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia, between Italy, Hungary, and Bavaria. With the assistance of the foreign bourgeoisie, Austria is to become a reactionary stronghold, and at the same time a safe domain for the otherwise weak Austrian bourgeoisie.

Let us now consider the political and economic conditions attached to the guarantees for the Austrian credits.

The chief political decisions are: The appointment of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations who will act as the dictator of the foreign and home bourgeoisie and especially of the guarantor States. He decides on the legislation and measures which the Austrian government must introduce. He is supported by a control committee, consisting of representatives of the guarantor states. The Austrian parliament is to be eliminated for two years. Law and order under the rule of this financial dictatorship is to be maintained by increased gendarmerie and police forces, accompanied by corresponding decrease of the proletarian Austrian «Wehrmacht» (civil guard), which as it is, not a very formidable force.

These political decisions, which will paralyse every working class movement and will lead to the liquidation of the Austrian democracy, find their explanation in the economic decisions of the Geneva Agreement. According to the latter, every worker is to pay two million kronen in rates and taxes, which is more than six weeks earnings. Protective tariffs and railway tariffs are to be in-

duced in Austria which is entirely dependent on the import of food as well as of raw materials, these tariffs being higher than anywhere else in the world. This does not only mean the destruction of all production for Export, but also the prevention of the revival of production for home use owing to the increased cost of all goods and necessities of life resulting from the destruction of the export trade, because the purchasing capacity of the home population will become even weaker than it was before. The results of this are bad wages conditions and unemployment on a large scale. In addition to this, there is the transference of State concerns into private hands, leading to the dismissal of State employees on a large scale etc. All these economic measures are directed against the working class, and would lead in every other country, which is not as weakened and oppressed as Austria (for instance in Germany) to a revolutionary outbreak among the working class.

The Austrian Communist Party is of the opinion that the prevention of the carrying out of the Geneva agreement and the seizure of the means of production at home, is Austria's only means of escape from its present plight. It has drawn up a proletarian programme for this purpose. The small Austrian Communist Party has already protested against the Geneva Agreement. On Sunday last, as reported today in the «Pravda», it organised an impressive mass demonstration, which was preceded by a series of preparatory meetings, and it is continuing its agitation against this agreement which enslaves the Austrian people. However, I want to lay emphasis on the fact that in this struggle it is entirely isolated. The Austrian social democracy has, of course, protested against the Geneva Agreement, but does not intend to prevent it, although it would be in its power to do so. The Austrian social democracy cannot, of course, do otherwise. It collaborated in the prevention of the proletarian revolution in Austria immediately after the war. It had a share in robbing Austria of its capacity to exist and to act, and it prevented Austria from joining Soviet Hungary. For social democracy Austria was and is an ideal field for the «typically independent»

tactics. In Austria it could successfully make revolutionary phrases, introduce sham proletarian institutions, and at the same time decline that any actual revolutionary action, any struggle against the bourgeoisie, are impossible owing to the absolute dependence of Austria on the foreign Powers. In the Geneva Agreement, what it has sown, the Austrian social democracy reaps. By their attitude, Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler & Co. have inflicted a financial dictatorship on the Austrian proletariat. According to the latest news they will establish a kind of coalition with the bourgeois government for the carrying out of the «reconstruction» of Austria by firming, according to the wishes of the League of Nations, an enlarged Cabinet Council in which they will be in a hopeless minority.

Therefore, it is the duty of the Communist, and especially of the Communist Parties in the so-called guarantor states, viz., Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, and Great Britain, to see to it that the sham struggle of the social democracy should be turned into a real struggle for the prevention of the Geneva agreement, and for the exposure of the League of Nations and of the Social Democratic Party. The Austrian proletariat is only interested in credits, only when the conditions of these credits are directed not against Austrian workers, but against the bourgeoisie, and when the burden is borne exclusively by the possessing classes of Austria and of Europe in general. Such must be the attitude of the Communist Parties on this question. The question of the Geneva agreement must not be considered from a wrong point of view, as has already happened. Since the Communist Parties, especially in Czecho-Slovakia, France, and Italy are in their respective countries factors to be reckoned with, and are much stronger than the social democracy of these countries they must take an energetic and vigorous stand in the press, parliament, at meetings, etc., in order to prevent the political and economic enslavement of Austria and in order to support the small Austrian Communist Party which stands all alone in its struggle against the Geneva agreement.

Moreover, what is happened in Austria,

is also a sign of doom for Germany. The Entente is practising on Austria in order to continue its work on a larger scale in Germany, and in order, if possible, to render the German working class impotent by the same methods and to the same extent as it was done in Austria. The German bourgeoisie is ready to mobilise the foreign bourgeoisie for the purpose, just as their Austrian brethren have done.

There is one more point, Austria is an almost unresisting party in International politics. Several of the victorious powers, especially Czecho-Slovakia and Italy cherish aspirations in connection with Austria whose State organisations are economically and politically untenable. Austria may become the cause of a new imperialistic armed conflict in Europe. Therefore, it is all the more necessary that the Comintern should identify itself with the interests of the Austrian working class, and should do its utmost to prevent by appropriate political action the realisation of the predatory policy of International capitalism. The present situation in Austria and the struggle against the Geneva agreement open an opportunity for the Communist Parties, which they must not miss, to further the revolutionary development in Central Europe in opposition to the reactionary forces which are concentrating in and around Austria. (Loud applause).

CHAIRMAN MARKILEVSKY: This was the last item on today's agenda. The resolution on this question has not yet been completely drawn up by the Commission. It will be, therefore, put to the vote together with the other resolutions.

Comrades, we have before us a manifesto submitted by the special commission formed to study the Peace Treaty in its relation to Austria. This manifesto will now be read to you by Comrade Beron.

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

To the Workers of All Countries:

The Austrian proletariat is at present engaged in a severe conflict against the enslaving designs of world capital and reaction, which deserves the attention of the workers of all countries. On the pretext of preparing to prop up the collapse

of the Austrian economy, the League of Nations — particularly England, France, Czecho-Slovakia and Italy, and also certain small states in league with the Austrian ruling class, wish to rob the Austrian proletariat of the last shreds of its liberty, and even to destroy bourgeois democracy and erect in its place an open and brutal dictatorship of native and foreign capital.

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

Workers of all countries!

The fulfilment of these plans, born of the Geneva Agreement, brings the Austrian working class to utter despair. The Austrian workers could easily prevent their own bourgeoisie from carrying out these plans, but the Austrian bourgeoisie is being supported by the capitalists of other countries, especially the capitalist governments of England, France, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia. Hence, it is your obvious duty to come to the aid of the Austrian workers and bring all possible pressure to bear upon your governments

to prevent them from working together with the Austrian capitalists to enslave and exploit Austria. That which your governments are now undertaking towards Austria is really nothing more than a war of conquest in which your governments have not yet considered it necessary to use armed warfare. And just as it would be your duty not to tolerate war, so it is your duty to struggle in every possible way against this war of extortion and attrition.

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

International capitalism attributes much importance to the enslavement of Austria, despite the smallness of the country, and this is not without cause. International reaction seeks to make of Austria an important base for action against the world proletariat and world revolution. In Austria the proletariat is still relatively very strong as compared with the bourgeoisie. The Austrian bourgeoisie has found itself compelled to preserve a certain amount of democratic freedom. Austria is also the only country in which the national armed forces are distinctly proletarian, and are not used against the working class. International reaction is greatly interested in the substitution of brutal capitalist dictatorship for the present false democracy. They thus wish to build up a reactionary force in Germany. If the plans matured by the Geneva Conference come to fruition, the English, French, Czecho-Slovakian and Italian working classes will soon feel the increased pressure from capitalistic reaction, the whole world over, which will have grown stronger and more secure. In the approaching decisive struggle between world reaction and world revolution, the former will have gained an important strategic base of support, a new and dangerous stronghold whose importance will be particularly great now after the victory of Fascism in Italy. The enslavement of the Austrian workers is only the first preparatory step towards a similar and much more dangerous oppression of the German workers will have perilous consequences for the working class of the

world. International capital understands why the bourgeoisie have become so presumptuous as to plan the cancellation of this democracy. Now the social democratic leaders claim that a struggle for the defence of democracy would expose the Austrian working class to the danger of death by starvation. But, the pressure of the working class was so strong that the social democrats had at least to make a pretence of fighting. They were compelled to launch a campaign in Austria fearing the possibility of success most of all. The Second and a Half International had called upon the workers of all countries to oppose the enslavement of Austria through the Geneva Agreement. But already the Austrian social-democrats have given way and have abandoned even their sham battle. They are prepared to participate in the fulfilment of the Geneva Agreement by forming a masked coalition.

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

Workers of Austria! The workers of other lands can and must come to your help by hindering the capitalists of their countries in their assistance to the Austrian capitalists. It is for you, however, to carry on the decisive struggle against your bourgeoisie. You are strong enough for this, if you will only have the necessary determination. Do not let yourselves be deterred by your social democratic leaders from carrying on this fight against your complete enslavement with all possible force. You must realise that only the Communist Party of your country can show you the right way. Struggle all together, regardless of Party distinction, against our common danger.

Workers of all countries! And especially workers of France, England and Czecho-Slovakia! Assume the duty of proletarian solidarity towards the threatened Austrian working class. Your own interests and the interests of the world revolution depend upon this. Do not allow your governments to pursue their reactionary and predatory politics unhindered. Use all your powers to checkmate the plans of the international capitalist class. Tear the mask from the faces of the capitalist hypocrites who seek to full you with democratic phrases while in Austria they are destroying the last remnants of democracy. Face them with your determined opposition, and let them know that you are a force to be reckoned with. The international capitalist front must be met by the international front of the revolutionary proletariat! Form the International United Front of the Proletariat!

Down with the Geneva Slave Treaty!

Down with World Reaction!

Long live International Proletarian

Solidarity!

Long live the United Front of the

International fighting Proletariat!

Long live the victory of the World

Revolution!

CHAIRMAN MARKELEVSKY: Comrades, we will now take a vote on the appeal just read. Those in favour will kindly raise their hands. Anyone against? Adopted unanimously.

We now come to the next point on the agenda:—Reorganisation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its further activity. Comrade Eberlein is going to report on this question.

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

We took it to be self-evident that the organisation of the Communist International must be put to the test at every World Congress, in order to make sure that the organisation and the machinery of the Communist International are quite equal to the tasks entrusted to them. It was the task of the Committee to try and make the organisation of the Executive suitable to the tasks entrusted to the

Executive by this World Congress. On these grounds, I declare it is necessary to raise the question again and again, at every World Congress, whether the machinery and the organisation of the Executive are fully equal to their tasks, or whether extension and re-organisation are called for.

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

That this is necessary, that we have to do our utmost to become a really centralised World Party, is an obvious thing to the Communist International. Past experiences gave us sufficient warning. The Second International was to us a constant warning example in this respect, and an international that was rather a federation than a centralised body, an organisation whose activity in the main consisted of regular or casual conferences at which the finest speeches were delivered and the finest resolutions adopted, but which nobody ever thought of putting into action. It was an International in which every individual section could do as it pleased, in which every one could choose his own tune. This is a thing which does not suit the Communist International, and which should teach the affiliated parties to consider the central leadership of the International as a real central leadership. We cannot help observing that in recent years a number of events have taken place which demonstrated to us that this goal has not

been achieved by a long way. It was, for instance, one of the most depressing moments of this Congress when a delegate stood up to declare: If you do not decide as we wish we shall leave the Congress! This is an impossible thing for the Comintern and it should not occur again. The Comintern should make it impossible once and for all.

During the past year some sections did not carry out the decisions of the various congresses with the necessary vigour and with the necessary good-will. On looking up the decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses and comparing them with the work done in the individual sections, you will find that nearly all the sections have failed to properly carry out the decisions, and what is still worse, not everywhere was the desire manifested to really put these decisions into action. This calls for a substantially strengthened discipline on the part of the sections, and for a substantially strengthened control and energetic intervention on the part of the Executive, in order that the adopted decisions of the Congresses should not remain on paper, but really be translated into deeds.

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

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

In the militant organisation individual comrades must under all circumstances subordinate their personal wishes to the common interests of the International.

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

nal on the ground of their Party decisions. As International discipline must be our chief concern, we are of the opinion that the best solution for the future would be to hold the Party Conferences of the various sections after the World Congress. Those who advocate that the Party Conferences should precede the World Congress, explained their attitude by saying that without a Party Conference it is impossible to carry out the necessary preparatory work for the World Congress. The Commission does not consider this explanation as valid. It is certainly necessary to convene before the Congress the appropriate bodies in the various sections, for instance, the District Party Conferences, the National Central Committees and other similar bodies and organisations of the sections, in order to discuss in full detail the questions which are to be put before the World Congress. We ask you to accept our proposals that the Party Conferences should be held in the future after the World Congress.

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

But, comrades, this strict centralist lead of the Communist International can only be instituted if, at the same time, we endeavour to make the leadership of the Communist International a body consisting of people who are really capable of taking upon themselves the enormous responsibility for the leadership of the Communist International. The Commission is therefore of the opinion that in the future the Presidium and the Executive of the International should consist of

the representatives of the various parties as heretofore, but with the difference that these representatives should no longer be delegated to the seat of the Executive, as hitherto, by the various sections, but that they should be elected here by the World Congress, thus becoming, as the elected representatives of the Executive, the truly responsible workers and leaders of the Communist International. Therefore, it is necessary that the delegations should be of a different type, and that it should not be left to every Party and every section to send any representative the Party chooses, and to recall him whenever the Party wills it. If these representative are elected here, they can actually work in the Presidium and the Executive of the Communist International as responsible collaborators.

This decision was not arrived at for the reasons of agitation, and because the opponents of the Communist International have continually claimed that the leadership of the Communist International is in the hands of the Russians, and that the latter is carrying on its work in the various sections and countries at the dictates of the Russians. This was by no means the reason for our proposal. On the contrary, we are convinced and say it quite frankly that it is self-evident that in the future also the Russian comrades should exercise a stronger, nay the strongest, influence, in the leadership of the Communist International, in the Presidium and in the Executive, since they have had the greatest experience in the International class struggle, have really carried out the revolution and are therefore owing to that experience better qualified than all the delegates of the other sections. Therefore they must also in future exercise a considerably greater influence than the other delegates in the Communist International. But it is necessary that the other Parties should gradually extend their co-operation in the leadership of the Communist International, and that they send their best and most capable representatives in order to guarantee a truly international composition of the Central Committee of the Communist International. We trust that this will contribute to making the various sections take a keener

interest in International affairs in the Communist International. In fact it has been a great drawback in many of our actions that the best comrades in these actions have confined themselves within the boundaries of their own organisation working exclusively for the party without taking sufficient interest in International work as a whole. It is absolutely necessary that the various sections should show a keener interest in the International work, and be more ready to collaborate in it than heretofore.

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

We propose that you elect a chairman and an Executive of 24 members, including two representatives from the Young Communist International, these 25 representatives to be elected at this World Congress! The various sections have of course the right to send in nominations. But the final elections must be carried out here by the World Congress. As it may happen that some of these members of the Executive should have to return to their sections on important political business or be sent by The Communist International to do work in other sections, we further propose to elect ten candidates who will remain in their respective countries until they be required as deputy representatives of their countries.

The Commission also proposes that the Plenary session should elect a Presidium out of this Executive. The number of members for the Presidium has not yet been definitely decided upon, probably there should be nine to eleven members. It is the duty of the Presidium, which is at the same time a kind of political Bureau, to solve the political problems of the International. It will establish an Organisational Bureau which will probably consist of seven members. It has been proposed that two members of the Presidium should form part of this organisational Bureau. This Bureau will have new tasks before it, and will deal with matters to which the Communist International and its leading organ have not paid much attention hitherto. It has become evident that the Communist International must exercise more influence on the organisational form of the various sections, that

it must assist them with advice and otherwise at the establishment of their organisational Bureau. We are of the opinion that this task is a very important one, for many of the sections at present attached to the Communist International, do not as yet have the organisational apparatus needed for becoming Communist Parties in the full sense of the word. There are still many sections, the organisational apparatus of which does not differ very much from that of the old social democratic electioneering society. This must not be allowed to go on. We do not require any electioneering societies within the Communist International, but fighting organisations. All the sections must endeavour to become such organisations. The Executive of the Communist International must concentrate next year on the organisational structure and consolidation of the various sections, and must assist them in this work by word and deed.

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

We further propose the establishment of a general Secretariat, as an auxiliary organ of the Presidium, with a General Secretary, who is to be elected by the Enlarged Executive, and who is to have at his disposal several assistant Secretaries, The General Secretariat itself has not the right to arrive

at binding decisions. It is an auxiliary organ of the Presidium, and must not be anything else. We further propose the establishment of a department for agitation and education. This department should be under the direct control of the Presidium, and should endeavour to centralise and unify as much as possible the agitational work in the Communist International, at the same time assisting the various parties with counsel and instructions.

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

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

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

under all circumstances rest with a member of the Presidium.

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

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

The Commission proposes still another

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

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

sentatives. We are of the opinion that in this way the commission will be enabled to do better work.

Another question contained in these theses is that pertaining to the matter of communication. Hitherto the contact between the various Parties and the Comintern has been far from satisfactory, while at the same time it has become more and more evident that almost every political question, no matter when it occurs, has an enormous influence on the other countries. It seems to us that intensive collaboration and a firm understanding between the various parties, are among the most important tasks of the next few years. Therefore, we recommend that the bigger parties should have a mutual exchange of representatives. This, naturally, applies only to the more important and biggest parties. It is quite impossible that all the 61 parties adhering to the International, should have their representatives within all the other parties. We are not proposing a binding resolution, but the wish of this Congress should be expressed, that we are in favour of the great parties establishing such mutual relations.

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

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

As I have previously mentioned, we have also expressed ourselves in this the-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The session is now closed.

The Session closed 4.25 P. M.

BULLETIN

OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Moscow.

December 7th, 1922.

No 27.

Twenty-Seventh Session.

November 30th, 1922.

Chairmen: Comrades Markhlevsky, Kolaroff.

Contents:

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

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

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

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

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

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

If at this stage of the Congress one could allow a little more time for discus-

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

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

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