TWENTY SIXTH SESSION.

November 29th, 1922 — 12.45 p.m.
Chairmen: Comrade Markhlevsky.

Contents:

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

Speakers: Murphy, Keller, Connolly, Frisarner, Heron, Eberlein.

Chairman MARKHLEVSKY: 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 theme 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 leaders 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, praising the Labor policy, as expressed in the Amsterdam and Transfort 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 task of the Comintern to transform the imperialist war into civil war, so is it 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 clear and obvious. 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 devastating war on two fronts, but also to pacify France, America, Japan, and the proletarian revolution, as contestants for world power.

Mr. Wilson came over in the garb of a deceive carrying the twigs of peace, but the predatory instincts of the participants in the conference were not in the least modified. It was not the 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 bluffling 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 mandate 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 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 grasp the significance of these mandates and transfers 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 London.

New markets appeared in China, and the effects of this expansion are to be seen in the rapid growth of the imperialist capital in India. In the last twelve months, Indians with more than two hundred million in the hands of the Indian capitalists who control, not only the factories of India, but also the railways and mines of the country.

In the development of industry, the Chinese capitalists are the modern setting of the difficulties which reach back to the early struggles of French and British imperialism in India. In the 19th century, the British government purchased a large number of shares in the Suez Canal. Then the Canal practically became a property of British Imperialism, and was opened to foreign capital.

It is impossible to separate in our minds the purchase of the Suez Canal and the cotton industry of Egypt. A change in the management of the Canal will threaten the Turkish Empire.

Thus, the revolution in Egypt, the future of the Egyptian cotton industry, and the threat of the British Empire, might become necessary to take measures for the security of the part of the world which we are not connected to.

On December 18th, 1914, England doled out Egypt to be a British protectorate. If we come to the Versailles Treaty, we see the struggle against the development of British Imperialism and equally for the protection of the cotton industry of Egypt. We see the struggle against the development of the cotton industry of Egypt.

The mandate for Syria is a mandate not only for Palestine and Mesopotamia, but also for Egypt. The cotton industry of Egypt is closely connected with the development of the cotton industry in Syria.

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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 the German not only her navy but also her merchant fleet. She sold 2,000,000 tons openly in the market at 4 tons a pound. 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. The repercussion to this was further drive on the standards of the workers of Europe. Equally disastrous was the effect of reparation 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 debacle in England when the miners' wages were drastically reduced, what do we find in France?—pits closing attacks upon wages and strikes 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 Britain, but 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. It is the opportunity 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 give to the C. I. A. an opportunity of making the masses to revolution. The Versailles Treaty started peace to end peace; and the revolutionaries are the only ones who can make the masses to revolution. Hence we reaffirm that the very foundation of the Versailles Treaty is the struggle against the German imperialism and the only weapon to end imperialism is revolution.

KELLER: Throughout the nineteenth century, Poland was uprisings against the oppression of the Tsars and for the recognition of an independent Poland, the forerunners of the workers of the Western Europe.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were warm partisans of the reconstructions of Poland. It was at the meeting held in London, in 1848, called to express sympathy with the Polish insurgents that the idea of an international association of German workers was launched, the First International, was launched.

But another revolution has taken place in Poland following the expansion capitalism. The bourgeoisie, encouraged by the high bourgeoisie denounced the traditional movements for national independence and became interested in the economic and political organizations in each country, which shared Poland. The old national trends survived only among the petty bourgeoisie and intellectual elements.

A few years later, when the modern world was in a period of so-called independent states, from Finland to Rumania, Lithuania, Rumania, Georgia, under the protection of Poland, was established a girdle of so-called independent states. From Finland to Rumania, Lithuania, Rumania, Georgia, under the protection of Poland, was established a girdle of so-called independent states. From Finland to Rumania, Lithuania, Rumania, Georgia, under the protection of Poland, was established a girdle of so-called independent states.

The revolution of proletarian of Poland opposed the patriotic ideology of the petty bourgeoisie and the struggle for socialism, as they said, by liberating the working class of Europe, will also liberate the Polish people from national oppression. It was only after the overthrow of Tsarism, after the establishment of proletarian government in Russia, after the overthrow of the Hohenzollers by the workers, the proletarian classes of Poland, the formation of a federation of all countries from Finland to Georgia.

With the war against Russia, Pilsudski wishes to kill two birds with one stone: First, to overthrow the working class government, second, to proceed against its opponents who, deprived of all possibilities of emigration since the war, suffer more than the others from the shortage of food, and threaten to attack the 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 Galicia, Upper Silesia, the Corridor, the Poles of Danzig, Eastern Galicia, and Lithuania form a chain each link of which may be transformed to 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 bundles of the Entente. Six months after the Peace of Riga, the foreign debt of Poland amounted to 4000 billion Polish marks. Stockholm has assumed even more astronomic proportions.

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

The Polish Empire includes within its borders 49% of inhabitants of non-Polish 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 nation. The treaty of Versailles, which solely guaranteed the freedom of the national minorities, has remained a scrap of paper.

The critical bonds established by the Treaty of Versailles between Poland and the principal stockholders of the Entente have been tightened by the special military agreement of the Treaty imposed on Pilsudski in February 1921. By this Treaty, bour-
The bourgeoisie 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 principal 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 it a tool for an instrument for the oppression of the national minority, a perpetual menace against the peace and the freedom of its neighbors. Eventually, 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, and it is impossible for any political change to be brought about in Poland until the Treaty of Versailles is settled and its consequences.

The Polish proletariat has another reason to join the world proletariat in its struggle against the Treaty of Versailles. The bourgeois Polish state has been created by the Entente as a weapon against the great Red Republic of the Soviets. The French armies, the Russian revolution and the help of the Polish soldiers, and yet it cost enormous sacrifices to Russia and retarded its work of restoration. After peace had been concluded, Poland continued to plot against Russia; it continually attacked it with the bands of Savinkov, Petrov, and Boult-Bulakhovitch. 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 force to break the bonds which tie Poland to France, will accomplish thereby a revolutionary and 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 revolutionary.

By fighting for the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles, the Polish proletariat not only fulfills its international but is fighting for its own liberation. It is fighting for its revolution.

CONCLUSION: (Ireland) - Concluded technical arrangements on the struggle against the Treaty. The Irish struggle against the Treaty has not been of the same order. Ireland, though it has requested the right 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 the oppressed peoples of Europe to the interests of its composers, Ireland was united with the Treaty of Versailles untouched. We know that the moral basis of the Treaty was the famous fourteen Points of Wilson, which included, among them, the right of self-determination for the peoples. We know it, also, that this foundation was not an instrument, not for the liberation of oppressed peoples but for the imperialist and reactionary designs of the Great Powers. The Great Conquering powers, England, France, America, naturally, therefore, highhandedly suppress the freedom of Ireland, and try to dominate the people. We might denounce the Treaty as a means to the peoples gaining benevolent yoke of either English or American imperialism.

At the time of the Versailles Treaty, the Irish National Revolutionary movement was just gaining strength. The Treaty was not yet entered upon by the Irish Nationalist organization in Ireland. The petty-bourgeois leaders of the movement were convinced to a certain extent in the peaceful pacific solution of their problems.

England by a reference to the League of Nations, which it could fondly hoped, would make a real application of the right of self-determination. The Irish, by the Treaty, would become convinced that with the Treaty they would also make Imperialism firm in Ireland. Ireland had therefore entered into negotiations with the leaders of the Irish revolution, and the result was the famous Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 6th, 1921. The Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland had not the effect of the Treaty. The Treaty had merely this effect: it won over the upper strata of the bourgeois bourgeoisie to the side of Imperialism in return for a share in the exploitation of the Irish proletariat and the same. It did not free the Irish people even from imperialism but the actual forms of this Treaty which was supposed to grant freedom to the Irish people shackled them more firmly than before. Imperialism, by various reservations and safeguards, including the measure of leaving the effective power of the so-called Free State to the hands of the King of England and in the hands of the representatives of British Imperialism, the Government.

It was also a fact that it gave Britain the permission to hold a number of bases in Ireland, which could be used as naval bases or stations for wireless. 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. Indeed, in reality, Britain did not need any such rights. Ireland as those given by the Treaty. Because by the fact of her superior fleet, armada, 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., which it did under the 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 result 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 Great Britain and Ireland is that practically within five months of the setting up of the Free State, the method 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 keep its power. It is permissible 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 it will not be practiced in Ireland, and I believe that it is impossible to carry out this Treaty, and to organize a-
or shows that this treaty is also bankrupt, like that of Versailles and of Sèvres. 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 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 landed interests and the capitalist landlords 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 fact leads us to believe that, if the struggle develops continually against the Free State, these masses of workers and peasants will inevitably increase their demand upon this struggle, and gradually transform the Republican 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, you will be opportunities to dilate much more on the situation. The Irish question is very little known in the rest of Ireland at the time it is impossible for this Congress, in a speech on the Versailles Treaty lasting only ten minutes, to give the subject a full treatment. The Communists in Ireland are bound immediately to throw all their forces and energy upon the question of Ireland. The task which has come through the long war, that the question is a very hard one, that the bourgeoisie, has come to the conclusion that it can get the support of prisoners taken during the Civil War, by promising that through the Communists, with its national forces and organisations, is the best way to give form to this struggle, not only against the Irish State, but against this terror employed against the revolutionary Party and the workers. The Irish Communist Party is drafted a resolution upon the terror of the executions, which the President considers and put to the Congress.

FRIEDLAENDER (Austria): Concerning the present situation and recent developments in Germany are double, doubtless, most significant for the present economic and political situation as well as for the coming revolutionary development a country such as Germany. Therefore the struggle against the Versailles Treaty must stand in the foreground of the fighting program 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 cruelly brutal and more sharply opposed to the interests of the working class than any other Peace Treaties. Some of these Peace Treaties have already begun to show through the influence of its own application, to absurdity. It is certain that if political stability will be brought about through these Treaties, Central, South, and Eastern Europe will fall under the influence of the bourgeois classes. The European situation has now distinctly altered. The failure of the Peace Treaties is obvious.

The European situation has not been 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 not only the League of Nations and the number of European states but also the League of Nations of Austria has been abandoned by the Czechoslovakia, and Italy — felt bound to intervene. Austria now finds itself in a most precarious condition. And if I call the attention to the Congress of the Communist International that 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 considerable extent, an international condition. Indeed, what 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 the real character, namely that of a veiled currency, and the bourgeois bourgeois themselves called in its aid. For the victorious and creditor nations of Austria there are about 13 to 17 of them — the fiscal of the Peace Treaty had been apparent from the beginning. They are compelled against their will to postpone the payment of the Austrian Reparations Debt for 10 years. Foreign capital will now how that because Austria, just as they have Germany and Hungary, now, as a source of profit, by which they will work to the limit, thereby they may arise as a worker to the capitalist. No, it is not the credit, which in its turn will lead to a severe industrial crisis.

Through these methods they have brought results similar to those in Germany, although to a lesser degree, naturally inasmuch as Austria is much smaller than Germany. The Austrian workers have not only itself, inasmuch as they have developed underselling competition upon the world market, thus damaging their own trade. The present crisis in Austria is visible in the Austrian national economy nor the Austrian working class. The Austrian workers are mainly and generally haunted by unemployment. And unemployment in such a country as Austria, this land deprived of foods stuffs and raw materials, means severe 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-
The Austrian bourgeoisie, led by the Christian Socialist Party, which controls the government and is principally a reactionist 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 colonial army of unemployed who will be politically exploited. 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 to 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 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 consider the Austrian question? This conference was not held to consider credits for Austria, but to form the conditions which should be attached to these credits. These conditions will involve the complete enslavement of the Austrian working class which is a most important prerequisite not only in Austria but in all Europe. And what is more, aid of the Austrian social democracy, which has only been able so far to hold in check. The Entente desires to make of Austria a reactionary army and will aid it. More than this, the assistance of the foreign bourgeoisie. Austria is to be a reactionary stronghold, and at the same time a safe haven for the otherwise weak Austrian bourgeoisie.

Let us now consider the political and economic conditions attached to the guarantees for the Austrian case. 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 all legislation and regulations as to 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 police force, accompanied by corresponding decrease of the proletarian Austrian "Wehrmacht" (militia), which is as it is, not a very formidable force.

These political decisions, which will paralyze 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 mill, a rate which is to be increased. The workers, public and private, are to be asked for an additional six weeks earnings. Protective duties and railway tariffs are to be increased, and a new tax is to be levied. In Austria, in the face of this, a new revolutionary movement is being made.

The Austrian proletariat is constantly being attacked. Day by day, the price of living is increased. The working class is being reduced to poverty. The Austrian foreign policy is being decided by the foreign powers. The Austrian social democracy is being reduced to impotence. The Austrian bourgeoisie is being encouraged to exploit the working class. The Austrian parliament is being reduced to impotence. The Austrian social democracy is being reduced to impotence.

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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 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 unsurpassing 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 imperialism in 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 programme of the bourgeois capitalistic and militaristic politics. 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 operating in and around Austria. (Loud applause.)

CHAIRMAN MARKHLEVSKY: 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.

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

To the Workers of All Countries!
The Austrian proletariat is at present engaged in a severe conflict against the enslaving designs of world capital and reaction, which deserves the attention of the workers of all countries. On the pretext of preparing to prop up the collapsing Austrian economy, the League of Nations - particularly England, France, Czecho-Slovakia and Italy, and other nations - wish to rob the Austrian working class of the last shreds of its liberty, and even to undermine the bourgeois democracy and erect in its place an open and brutal dictatorship of native and foreign capital.

Those countries which pose as the protectors of Austria do not intend to help her any real help. 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 to guarantee these credits. In return for this Austria without any certainty as to whether she 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 taxes upon her working class, to lease her capital to private capital to discharge the debt 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 gendarmerie and police, to maintain the 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 an apparatus.

Workers of all countries!
The fulfilment of these plans, born of the Geneva Agreement, brings the Austrian workers to utter despair. The Austrian workers could easily prove their own bourgeoisie from carrying out these plans, but the Austrian bourgeoisie is being supported by the capitalists of other countries, especially the capital 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 decided as to whether you wish to use armed warfare. And just as you would be duty not to tolerate war, it is your duty to struggle in every possible way against this war of extermination and attrition.

This is not mere talk in the interests of international solidarity: your own interests demand that you do all you can to oppose the Geneva Agreement 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 working class of the West. 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 strictly proletarian, and are not used against the working class. International reaction is greatly interested in the Austrian capitalistic and petit-bourgeois 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 French, English, Czecho-Slovakian and Italian working classes will soon feel the increased pressure from capitalist reaction, the whole world over, which will have grown stronger and more secure. In the approaching decisive struggle between world reaction and world revolution, the former will have gained an important strategic base of support, a new and dangerous stronghold whose importance will be particularly great now after the victory of Fascism in Italy. The enslavement of the Austrian workers is only the first 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 immediate death. We say that 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 pressure of the world. 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 know them, and now know, that the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy and of the Second and a Half International now both shed their tears in private. The task of the workers of all countries is to carry on the struggle. Your task is to prevent these hypocrites 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 sacrifices with which they have themselves emasculated, 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 and must come to your help by hindering the capitalists of other 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 Czechoslovakia! Assume the duty of proletarian solidarity towards the threatened Austrian working class. Your own interests and the interests of the world revolution depend upon it. Do not allow your governments to pursue their reactionary and predatory policies unhindered. Use all your powers to checkmate the plans of the international capitalist class. Tear the mask from the faces of the capitalist bourgeoisie who seek to fool 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 Markievsky: Comrades, we will now take a vote on the appeal just read. These in favour will kindly raise their hands. Anyone against? Adopted unanimously.

We now come to the next point on the agenda: Re-organisation 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 think it self-evident that the organisation of the Communist International must be put to the test by the 3rd 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 in every World Congress, whether the machinery and the organisation of the Executive are fully equal to their tasks, or extension and reorganisation 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, we have the desire to do away with the federalisations existing in the organisation, to create an Executive really capable of taking the central leadership of the World Party, and avoid 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 is the goal by which we were guided in our proposals which we have to make 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 actual action. It was an International in which each individual section could do as it wished, in which every one could follow his own line, in which the thoughts of 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 demonstrate 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 that 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: they did not carry out the necessary vigils and take 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. That calls for a substantially strengthened discipline on the part of the sections, and for a substantially strengthened central 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 decisions issued by the Comintern in the interest of the movement, at large, were not published by some individual parties, that some parties hesitated to pass the decisions of the Executive because they were not in harmony with their own wishes, while other sections published these decisions, the extracts of these decisions, and so forth. These are the 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, in disagreement with one another or with 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 this military organisation individual comrades must not be allowed to subordinate their personal wishes to the common interests of the International.

The Commission considered also the question of the Party Conferences of the Sections, this cause of the debate. The Comintern through the 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 considered that only by holding the Party Conference 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, precede the World Congress. Nevertheless, a sufficient amount of latitude is left to the Executive by giving it the right, in particularly important cases and under particular political circumstances, to permit this for the individual Sections. This 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 in 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 find itself faced with decisions approved by the Party Conference, putting the before Party the alternative of either submitting to international discipline and annuling the decisions of their Party Conference, or of putting themselves in opposition to the decisions of the Internation-
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 of 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 both the Congresses of 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 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 imperatively mandate. The Commission regrets this kind of procedure. The Congress 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 shall declare in future imperative mandates as void, and annul them.

But, comrades, this strict centralist lead of the Communist International can only be instituted, at the same time, we endeavour to make the leadership of the Communist International consist 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 sections, as heretofore, but with the difference that these representatives should no longer be elected to the seat of the Executive, as hitherto, but in the various sections, but that they should be elected here by the World Congress. Thus, coming as the elected representatives of the workers, the leaders of the communist movement are really representatives of the Communist International. Therefore, it is necessary that the delegates should be of a different type, and that it should be left to every Party and every section to send any representative the Party chooses or, whenever the Party wills it. If these representatives 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 consider that it is quite frankly that it is self-evident that in the future also the Russian comrades should exercise a stronger, say the strongest, influence, in the leadership of the Communist International, in the Presidium and in the Executive Council. They have had the greatest influence in the international class struggle, have really carried out the revolution and are therefore owing to that experience better qualified than all the delegations of the other sections. Therefore, they must also in future exercise a considerably greater influence than the other delegations in the Communist International. It is, therefore, necessary for the other Parties to 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 think that this will contribute to making the various sections take a real interest in International affairs in the Communist International. But that 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 organisation 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, those 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 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 of 12 members, of which 10 shall consist of seven members. It has been proposed that two members of the Presidium should form part of this organisa- tion Bureau. This Bureau will have new tasks to face it, and will deal with matters to which the Communist International and its leading organ have not paid sufficient 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, and that it is necessary that the sections must not as yet have the organisational apparatus of which does not differ very much from that of the old democratic electioneering society. This is therefore needed to go on. We do not require any elections within the Communist International, but within the Communist International, but within the Communist International, but within the Communist International, but within the Communist International. All the sections must endeavour to become such organisations. The Executive of the Communist International must concentrate on the organisational structure next year on the organisational structure, the 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 has been done in this direction and that done has not been sufficient. 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 being more 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 of the International, an auxiliary to 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 auxilliary 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 agitation work in the Communist International, at the same time assisting the various parties with counsel and instructions.

The same task will confront the educational department which should be in close connection with the agitation department. It must be its duty 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. This department has to carry out 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 I am 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 a connection with important political questions should be kept up with all the members of the circle of responsible party leaders from the various sections. Therefore, I propose that the Enlarged Executive shall be held during the year.

In our opinion, the composition of the Enlarged Executive should be as follows: 25 members of the Executive, four representatives of each of the Paris, Germany, France, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Italy, as well as three representatives of the Communist International and the Comintern, provided, the decisions arrived at by the Congress of the latter are not to be changed, the present form of collaboration. To these representatives added from Great Britain, Poland, Latvia, 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 Comintern 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 Executive. According to our proposal, 15 representatives must be permanently present, while the remainder may be sent by the Executive to 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 provision to the Congress, namely, its proposal 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 despatch of delegates to Moscow is not sufficient, and that it is absolutely necessary to entrust the Executive to send its plenipotentiaries to the various sections. The task of the latter must consist in either carrying out definite instructions received from the Executive or in making decisions on the basis of the instruction to the Executive, to go to the 21 conditions of the Comintern and Comintern, and on the basis of the instruction to the Executive, to go to the 21 sections of the Comintern and to see that they are being carried out. They must also exercise a strict control over the fulfillment 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 to also 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, to check the correctness of the views of the Central Committee. It was also to control the treasury and 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, or even 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. We further propose that the members of this control commission be elected by the section they are representative of. This year, the Executive proposes that the German and French Party be asked for this control commission, each Party electing three representatives. We are of the opinion that in this way the commission will be enabled to do better work.

Another question contained in these theses is that pertaining to the question of communications. Hitherto the contact between the various Parties and the Comintern has been far from satisfactory, while at the same time it has not been more evident that almost every political question, no matter when it occurs, has some 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 bigger parties. It is quite impossible that all the 61 parties adhering to the International should have their representatives within the control commission. 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 election.

We further propose that the parties shall, in the future, be obliged to send reports on 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 concerned with the central business 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. We believe that 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 we have previously mentioned, we have also expressed ourselves in this the-
Twentieth-Seven Session.
November 36th, 1922.

Chairman: Comrades Markievsky, Kolaroff.

Contents:


Speakers: Bordiga, Grin, Katayama, Eberlein, Radovanovich, Sascha, Varga, Kon.

The Chairman, Comrade Markievsky, declared the Session open at 12.40 p.m. and called upon Comrade Bordiga to address the Congress. MRDGA: I put my name down on the list of speakers on Comrade Eberlein's 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 Federalists' method of organisation prevailing in the old International.

If at this stage of the Congress one could allow a little more time for discussion, it would be useful to consider whether the mere re-organisation of the apparatus is an effective measure to bring about the 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 have come.

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-

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