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 Plenum. After the enlargement of the 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 cooperation.

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 where the pressure in what extent our relationship with the Proletarians shall extend, as the Proletarians Convention has not yet dealt with the resolutions which we can only deal seriously with this matter when their resolutions come before us. However, it appears to us now more important that, as it becomes more apparent that we must relate the economic structure closely to the political struggle, there should be close contact between the Communist International, and the Red International League 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 only proposals which the Reorganisation Committee 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 in the present session of the statutes, and that the Executive transmit their proposals to the sections of the International to the next World Congress may be in a position to adopt them. Until then, the present statutes are recognised as the only binding rules for the conduct of our affairs.

Comrades, we trust that, if you accept the proposals of the Reorganisation Commission, the organisation of the Communist International will, during the coming year, make a considerable advance and that it will be possible, through this reorganisation, to attach the sections more closely to the Communist International, to unite more closely the sections to each other, and to render the leadership firmer and more capable, that we may have in the near future a better organised and more active group for the Communist International. Such a guidance is necessary, and we are sure that the tasks of the Communist International in the near future are gigantic. We must unite our best comrades here in the Executive in order to adequately undertake them. (Loud applause.)

Chairman Markevsky: 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 Italian Commission, in which will participate all members of the Italian Commission; to-morrow morning at 10.30, the American Commission will meet; to-morrow 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.
plete agreement with the principles of centralisation, but I am, nevertheless, of the opinion that, in order to achieve complete centralisation, it is not sufficient to accept the mandate and make the national congresses precedence the international ones. Something must be said on the work and the organisation of our congresses.

We have now come to the last sessions of the congress, and we realise that the work of the latter was not altogether satisfactory.

Many important questions were discussed. Our deliberations are coming to an end, and yet we cannot say that very much has been achieved.

We must consider the question of the resignations. I agree that resignations must be prevented. But it would be as well to adopt the method which our experience in Italy has proved very successful.

Our method is to immediately accept all resignations with the provision that the resigning member cannot be reinstated for a year or two. I am of the opinion that the resignations would not be as plentiful under such a system.

It is a question with which I must absolutely deal notwithstanding the advanced stage of the Congress, and that is the proposal to hold the World Congress every other year. If the World Congress is to hold on as an assembly a program as the present one, it would perhaps not renew too soon such an effort which entails such an expenditure of energy, money, etc.

However, I will deal now with the special question of the interval which is to separate the present congress from the Fifth. Whether the Congress of the Comintern should be held once in every two years. But the next World Congress will certainly take place next year.

BORDIGA: I am greatly pleased to obtain this explanation. The misunderstanding was due to the too rigid French translation, according, I believe, to Eberlein's speech.

GRUEN (Austria): Comrades, the Third Congress of the Comintern adopted a number of resolutions in regard to the organisational activity of the Comintern and of the affiliated sections which were later to be transformed from its constituent federative form into a strictly centralised Central Committee of one international Communist Party.

The proposals made by the German delegation to the Organisational Commission have been accepted, and therefore the smaller Parties should not have feared their share of representation upon the Executive, even if in the course of the year there should be a change in the person of the representative chosen by the Congress. This imperfection could be obviated by a small correction.

The proposals worked out by the Executive Committee, which are submitted to the Congress, represent the transition from the present system, under which the Executive is made up entirely of representatives of the Sections, to the final goal of the international Communist Committee, which would be composed according to the wishes of the Sections, but in accordance with the wishes of the International Congresses, which shall appoint certain committees. But it would be detached from its Sections for the prolonged period, and whose sole task would be to form the Central Committee of the United International Communist Party. It is hoped that this goal will be achieved by the time of the Fifth or Sixth Congress, and the proposals made to-day let there be no doubt about this — are merely a step towards that goal.
rights of the Congress should in a number of cases be transferred to the Enlarged Executive, whose functions will steadily increase in the coming years, when the World Congresses will be held only once in two years. There is no doubt that the Enlarged Executive will under these circumstances become a sort of International Conference, a miniature World Congress, and I believe that the Enlarged Executive will be able to change its representatives whenever necessary. Naturally the Parties will use extreme prudence in taking such a course of action there is danger that they might lose their deciding vote if they should subsequently be denied the consent of the Executive.

The Austrian delegation, therefore, made a proposal which would help the smaller and the moderate-sized Parties, whose numbers and importance are steadily growing, to have their due representation on the Executive.

I believe that, after the proposals are carried, we shall see that the organisation of the future Executive Committee of the Communist International will actually be a pattern for the organisation of Central Committees of the various Parties. In my opinion we have already two parties which can serve as a model for the planned organisation of the Central Committees. These are the German Communist Party and the Austrian Communist Party in which this method of organisation has already been carried out. Through the adoption of this method on an international scale we may realise this plan in all sections of the international I would like to close with a comparison. The Communist International and now has been predominantly occupied with problems of agitation. It was mainly concerned with the destruction of illusory preconceptions of the working class and the unmasking of the old Internationals. Quite rightly, this was the first task to be undertaken.

We are the only party able to organise the broad masses. We have now arrived at a certain stage of our work where we hardly know where to continue. At any rate, we are under the necessity of building up the organisation. Until now we have had a tool of heavy weight, one often广场 enemies with dire results, but it was too heavy to be always in the hands of our skilled hands. It is necessary to have a precaution that such eventualities are not repeated. But we are now undertaking a new work which is of a far more delicate

nature. For this the heavy hammer is of no use. It has been found hard to work within the limits of our own International, as many cases were where the C.I. Executive was interested in the affairs of sections affiliated to the International. What we need now is a fine tool or even a machine of precise and delicate work. We must proceed from handcraft to machine precision, and so on to an electric hammer which will make the heaviest weight upon our enemies, but will also be capable of performing the most intricate and delicate work of a political or organisational character within the Communist International. The proposals of the Commission are for us a groundwork which fully meets our needs and which, with certain amount of diligence and application, may be transformed into something which we hoped that this Congress will facilitate the transformation of part into whole which will be capable of fulfilling all those intricate functions which are now necessary for the work of the Communist International.

KATAYAMA — Japan, Comrades. We agree with the proposal made by Comrade Eberlein. I want to impress upon you that the comrades here have the necessity for the organisation of the work of the Comintern and for the economy of its forces. So far the Comintern has been concerned with more important organisational questions. Of course, when the revolution comes in Germany the Comintern must have much to do on this question. There is no doubt about that. But comrades, the significance of the Comintern has to be international. So far we have spent too much time on national questions, and on propaganda against the Second and the Third and a Half Internationals. We want the capitalisation of the work of the Comintern and the communist parties of the West do not look beyond their national borders. It is necessary I can give you one case. The Mexican Communist Party is quite strong, and when it was in Mexico we had to bring about close connections with the American Communist Party. We wrote many letters to that party, and sent many articles to them, but there was no answer to the letters, and the articles were never printed. Most of us thought that it was a non-tactical matter. But when I left Mexico, a member of the Comintern in the Mexican Party asked that they should work in co-operation with the American Party, but there was a delay of a few months. That means, the American Communist Party was not interested in its own border. That is the idea nor the principle of the Comintern. Now that is why we support this organisation of the Comintern. Now I want to give my experience here in Moscow during the last ten months. When I elected 25 Executive members at this Congress and ten substitutes I want you to elect men who are acknowledged to be strong communists who can be executive members of the Comintern, not only for their own countries but also for all other countries. Strong communists are a necessity, but at the same time they must be men of large vision and wide horizon.

In the past the Presidium has done great work, important work, good work. But we want the Executive to be treated here Executive members from different countries, sometimes doing nothing at all and not even knowing what is going on. I say that is why we should consider the Comintern, or what the Presidium has been doing. Of course, some important things have to be kept secret even from the Executive members of the Comintern. They may be right, but you elect trusted men to the Presidium, so that they may contribute something towards the Comintern's work. Even if they cannot do that, then they ought to be educated by the Presidium and by the Comintern as a whole. That is my idea, that is my experience. When you elect an Executive you ought to elect men that can be trusted by the Presidium.

Now as to the Far Eastern Question. As Comrade Eberlein told you we should be recognised as an important section of the Comintern and in the coming years the Far East will be the centre of capitalist and imperialist forces. The East has already very small weak communist parties. They must be helped in order to help the communist movement of the world. We ought especially to recog-
nised as part of the direct control of the Communist party, because part of the Far East to-day is part of Soviet Russia, and there are Soviet Russia and the Russian Revolution and the future of the world, so that every capital with them and every aggressive action on their part will menace the Russian revolution and its enemies. Therefore we must stand and organise well to get power towards the Far East in order to help the revolutionary workers and the Communist party everywhere.

EBERLEIN (Germany): Comrades, I gather from the discussion that no proposals for the alteration of our thesis have been made. We therefore conclude that you are in agreement on the whole with our proposals.

Comrade Borodin is doubtless quite right when he says that our most important tasks are political and that the political training of the International and its sections should be our principal work. It is evident that good organisation itself cannot compensate for errors and omissions on the political field, and neglect, or diversion of political work to wrong lines. But my task was not to concern myself with the political tasks of the Congress, but with problems of organisation. All the other matters on the agenda were chiefly concerned with the political tasks of the International.

A word with regard to the proposals that were made during the debate. I believe that Comrade Borodin misunderstood me when he said that he thought we would hold Congresses every two years from now on. Our resolution was to have a Congress next year, but to consider, in the meantime, whether it would be suitable later on to have longer intervals between Congresses. This depends a good deal on the experiences of the Enlarged Executive during the next year. The few sessions which were held in the past year have done valuable work in this direction, so that we believe that in the Enlarged Sessions of the Executive will perform a considerable amount of the work which would otherwise have to be done by the World Congress. This would be the case especially if the meeting of the Enlarged Executive took place more often and at regular intervals. As great and important questions cannot always be left postponed for discussion and decision, we believe that the Enlarged Executive will perform a sort of substitute for the World Congress, and that will not be excellently done. If I have not understood Comrade Borodin rightly, he said, with regard to the question of resignation in the Congresses, that in his opinion resignations should be accepted by the Executive and that the resigning member should be suspended from the Party for a period of one or two years. In other words, they should be punished for their resignation.

Comrades, we are not in agreement with this point of view. For one reason, we have not a superfluity of policy capacity in the International, so that we cannot suspend members in this way. Besides, on the grounds of discipline, Comrades must learn to subdivide themselves to the will of the whole even if one or two questions their individual opinions conflict with accepted ones.

In all cases which have so far occurred, it has been shown that Comrades have been able to function quite well if the show enough discipline and enough submission to the will of the majority. Naturally, there could be certain cases in which resignations are necessary and in which resignations must be accepted. Resignations are not generally forbidden in our resolution; we only state that if agreement of the International Executive must be obtained. We believe that the resolution will provide the possibility of ascertaining the nature of the grounds for this action on the part of those Comrades wishing to resign as to whether the reasons are political or personal, for instance.

Therefore, I shall not propose in the resolution that Comrade Borodin's proposal be accepted.

Comrade Grün stated that the number of substitutes is too small in comparison with the number of members on the Executive and in the Presidency. We must have a new member at every meeting who, after attending a few meetings, fails to attend any more.

Such members are not helpful. On the contrary, they are a hindrance to the systematic and co-ordinated work in the Executive and in the Presidency. If these resolutions come here from other countries or are summoned for special negotiations, they must carry on as quickly as possible the work on which they were entrusted, with quick and good results without much delay. The Executive must, with particular purpose and work and not remain at the seat of the Executive for an unnecessary length of time.

The other question, brought forward by Comrade Grün, was based on a misunderstanding. He said that the Executive or the Presidency would not have sufficient control over various bureaux which are to be established. This is contrary to facts. I want to emphasise that, in addition to the Executive and the Presidency, we also have the International which is composed of the smallest number of Comrades and constitutes the real Political Bureau. All the sections are subordinate to this Political Bureau, and are responsible to it. We have returned much further, and have laid down that the most important sections must be under the responsible management of members of the Presidency, the organisation, agitation and propaganda bureaux and the Eastern Department will be under the direct control of the Presidency, and the other departments, such as the statistical etc., will be under the control and guidance of the Organisation Bureau. I believe that this arrangement meets the requirements of the International congress.

We shall, of course, examine once more in the Commission the few proposals which were made here during the discussion and ask you to carefully examine once more the theses, which will be put before you to-day or to-morrow, and to endorse subsequently the proposals of the Organisation Commission.

CHAIR MARKILEVSKY: I call upon Comrade Radowanovitch to put a proposal before you.

RADOWANOVITCH: (Jugo-Slavia). On behalf of the Jugo-Slavian delegation I propose that the following manifesto should be issued:

To the workers of the world! Working men and women! Comrades! The reactionary government of the young Jugo-Slavian capital has committed many crimes against the Jugo-Slavian Communist International during the years' reign of white terror. The whole court magistrates have already passed many death sentences. One of their victims is to be executed shortly. This latest victim is our comrade Keremej, who is a victim of the crime of having been the leader of the general miners' strike in Jugo-Slavia in 1929.

Although our revolutionary proletariat and workers of Jugo-Slavia and our comrades in the Jugo-Slavian proletariat succeeded in organising throughout the country a great campaign against this international of the Jugo-Slavian government. This appeal was directed to the members of the Second, Third and Half, Amsterdam International in which they invite them to establish against the white terror a united front of all the Jugo-Slavian workers and to work through the entire Jugo-Slavian working class. The reply was in the negative.

The IV Congress of the International expresses here its complete solidarity with the revolutionary proletariat of Jugo-Slavia, which is carrying on a struggle against the reactionaries for the establishment of the Jugo-Slavian proletariat, and declare its complete solidarity with the latter in its struggle against the execution of Comrade Keremej.

With the leaders, if possible, without the leaders, if necessary the working class, the masses must protest unanimously and energetically against this latest crime of the Jugo-Slavian bourgeoisie and its political and social Democratic policy.

Down with the white terror! Long live the Communist proletariat of Jugo-Slavia (cheers).

CHAIR MARKILEVSKY: We will now take the vote on this proposal. Those in favour, please raise your hand. The proposal is carried unanimously. I call on Comrade Katafyan to submit his proposal to the Congress.

KATAYAMA (Japan). Comrades, the Egyptian Commission has met several times. It has heard reports of the Socialist Party of Egypt and discussed the question of a very thorough-going manner. We recognise that Egypt occupies an important position on the one hand, and the dividing point between Europe and the East, and on the other hand it is a connecting link between the West and the East.
the East, Egypt holds the key to the East and the Far East. Therefore the Egyptian Communist movement is important.

For forty years the Egyptian people have been exploited by English and French imperialists. The late war brought about a change of attitude on the part of the Egyptian people. They revolted against English imperialism. The Egyptian petty bourgeoisie and the Egyptian capital are satisfied with the nominal independence of Egypt, but the communists and the revolutionary workers are not satisfied with nominal independence. They want a real independence and on this point the Comintern should support them. We believe, as a result of the fact that the Communist movements in Egypt should be helped and encouraged. A strong communist movement should be built up in Egypt in order to hold the key to the East and the Far East. In the case of revolt in India, Egypt is an example of geographic position it occupies, would hold the key to the Indian revolution and could assist it by blocking the Suez Canal. Therefore, we want to help the Egyptian Communist movement, and we want to recognize the Egyptian Socialist Party. The Egyptian Communist Party is young, as it is just beginning in most cases, although the Egyptian communists are working for the Comintern on Comintern lines. But we want to take certain conditions as to their admission to the Comintern and so we agree to present to you the following resolution for consideration:


November 26, 1922.

After several sessions, the Commission has reached the following conclusion:

1. The report of the S.P.E. delegate, made available to the Commission, is satisfactory evidence that the S.P.E. represents a substantial revolutionary movement in conformity with the Communist International.

2. The Commission considers, however, that the affiliation of the S.P.E. must be postponed until:

a) The Party has expelled certain undesirables.

b) The Party has convoked a Congress at which an attempt shall be made to unite the S.P.E. with any communist element in Egypt that may exist outside the S.P.E. and will meet on the 24th day of the C.I. Congress.

c) The Party has changed its name.

The Communist Party of Egypt.

3. The S.P.E. is therefore recommended to summon a congress for the above purposes by the 15th day of this month, and not later than January 15, 1923.

I have to announce that the Italian sub-committee and the communist fraction will meet at 2 o'clock, and that at 2:30 p.m. the Italian sub-committee will have a session with the maximum comrades.

It was found necessary to inform the Congress on the Korean question that the Presidium proposes to appoint the following members for this commission:

Felix Kon, Katayama, Chen-Tu-Shu, Manner, Pruchnik, Kuusinen, Voinov, Zetkin.

If there is no objection to this proposal, I will take it that you agree such a commission should be appointed and also that you are in favour of the proposed comrades becoming members of this commission.

There are no objections.

I call upon comrades Sascha to report on the decisions of the committee on the Negro question.

SASCHA — America. Comrades, the thesis on the Negro question which was returned for clarification and amplification I shall now read to you and trust that it will be unanimously adopted by the Congress.

During and after the war there developed among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples a movement of revolt, which is still making successful progress against the power of world capital. Penetration and intensive colonialism is becoming the last great problem on the solution of which further developments of capitalism itself depends. French capitalism clearly recognises that the port of French post-war imperialism is an obstacle to the full and free development of America on the basis of capitalism; when the last slaveries clashed with wage-slavery, capitalism had to go. The Civil War, which was waged by the Negro but a war to maintain the industrial capitalist supremacy of the North, led the Negro the choice of peonage in the South or wage-slavery in the North. The sinews, blood, and tears of the Negroes helped to build American capitalism, and when, having become a world power, America was inevitably dragged into the world war, the American Negro was declared the equal of the white man to kill, and to be killed for democracy. Four hundred thousand coloured workers were drafted into the American army and segregated into Jim Crow regiments. Fresh from the terrible sacrifices of war, the Negro soldier was met with race persecution, lynchings, murders, disfranchisement, discrimination and segregation. He fought back, but for the manhood he paid dearly. Persecution of the Negro became more widespread and intense than before the war, until he had learned to keep his place. The post-war industrialisation of America in the North and the spirit of revolt in the South, derided by post-war persecutions and brutalities, a spirit which brought despair into action when a Tsu or other inhuman outrage occurred for protest and place the American Negro, especially of the North, in the vanguard of the American struggle against oppression.

The history of the Negro in America fits him for an important role in the liberation struggle of the entire African race. Three hundred years ago the American soil was brought in slave ships under the most cruel and inhuman conditions and sold into slavery. For two hundred and fifty years he was a chattel slave under the lash of the American overseer. His labour cleared the wilderness, raised the cotton, laid the railroad tracks, and supported the Southern aristocracy. His reward was poverty, illiteracy, degradation and misery. The Negro was no docile slave, his history is rich in rebellion, insurrection, underground methods of securing liberty, but his struggles were hopelessly crushed. He was transported into submission and the bourgeois press and religion justified his slavery. When chattel slavery became an obstacle to the development of America on the basis of capitalism, when the last slaveries clashed with wage slavery, capitalism had to go. The Civil War, which was waged by the Negro but a war to maintain the industrial capitalist supremacy of the North, led the Negro the choice of peonage in the South or wage-slavery in the North. The sinews, blood, and tears of the Negroes helped to build American capitalism, and when, having become a world power, America was inevitably dragged into the world war, the American Negro was declared the equal of the white man to kill, and to be killed for democracy. Four hundred thousand coloured workers were drafted into the American army and segregated into Jim Crow regiments. Fresh from the terrible sacrifices of war, the Negro soldier was met with race persecution, lynchings, murders, disfranchisement, discrimination and segregation. He fought back, but for the manhood he paid dearly. Persecution of the Negro became more widespread and intense than before the war, until he had learned to keep his place. The post-war industrialisation of America in the North and the spirit of revolt in the South, derided by post-war persecutions and brutalities, a spirit which brought despair into action when a Tsu or other inhuman outrage occurred for protest and place the American Negro, especially of the North, in the vanguard of the American struggle against oppression.
comrades, i want to beg those of you who have white and coloured workers in your respective countries, to work out a programme on the basis of what the communist international will lay down for us in the way of instructions that will enable us to carry on more particularly in the trade unions. i ask you to allow this thesis to become a living letter, to bring it into effect, to carry it into life and to make the negro worker a vital part of the communist international.

chairman markilesky: you have received a translation which was sent to you, and we will now take the vote on this resolution concerning the negro question.

these in favour of the resolution, please raise your hand.

anyone against it?

as this is not the case, i declare the resolution carried unanimously.

we are coming now to the next item on the agenda. comrade varga will report on the findings of the newly elected agrarian commission, which has introduced several amendments to the proposed resolution.

comrade varga (poland): comrades, as you know, a new editing commission was appointed following the debate on the agrarian question, in order to amend the draft. the work of this commission received its inspiration from a letter of comrade lenin. in this letter, with which the comrades are acquainted, it was stated that the black and white coloured workers who are willing to form a united front and carry on a campaign to compel inclusion, chiefly in the industrial field, where the black and white workers told by side by side when they strike and suffer together, that the industrial oppression of capitalism can be overcome. this unity, this understanding, that binding tie that will finally bring them through a common organisation into the struggle. through this process of unity, moving, as it were, a great negro conference held in moscow, but one chief work lies in getting the industrial negroes into the unions where they will fight equally with the white workers for their equalisation.

the most important amendment is the introduction of a sub-title, which is as follows:

construction for the application of the agrarian theses of the second congress.

by this sub-title we wish to indicate that this agrarian programme of action was directly connected with the theses of the second congress and that a departure from the same would be a departure from the latter. a sentence was added to paragraph 1. at the end of the definition as it is meant by the term poor peasant, the following words were added:

"or who are exploited in some other way by the big landowners and the capitalists."

by this, we meant those categories which are not working direct for wages, but who are exploited either in repayment of debt or through tenancy, partial or complete, under very harsh conditions, thus coming under the head of the rural semi-proletariat in spite of a seemingly independent economic existence.

an amendment was also introduced in paragraph 5 section 2, dealing with the movement in the colonial countries, because there are two kinds of such countries. one of these is represented by turkey, where the peasants are fighting together with the feudal lords against foreign imperialism. the other type, which we had originally in mind, is exemplified by india, where the feudal landowners are fighting together with the imperialists against the peasants.

in turkey the struggle of the peasants against the feudal lords will begin when the national liberation struggle against france and great britain will be over.

in india the struggle against imperialism is at the same time a struggle against the feudal landowners. we have divided this part into two, in order to emphasise the difference.

in paragraph 4, in which we say that the cp supports the strikes of the agricultural labourers, we have added the following sentence:

"contrary to the social-democrats, who are attacking the struggle against the peasant proletariat from the back."
of the agricultural labourers, because agriculture was a "vital necessity". We wanted therefore to emphasise the difference between the attitude of the Communist Party and that of the social-democratic party in this connection.

In paragraph 7, only one sentence was added, which was by mistake omitted when the resolution was being typed. This sentence is as follows:

"Against the exploitation by loan and usurer’s capital imposing usurious interest on peasant servitude in connection with the repayment of this debt.

In paragraph 9, where it says that bourgeois agrarian reforms cannot offer anything to the purely proletarian elements, the following sentence was added:

"And semi-proletarian elements. For the certain semi-proletarians who have not sufficient means of production get inevitably into servitude under the bourgeois conditions of land tenancy, getting into debt to the banks, and are unable to better their conditions.

I believe, comrades, that after these editorial amendments, the Congress will confidently adopt this plan of action and the various parties, provided they put enough energy into their work, will be able to achieve considerable results in this basis.

Chairman MARHILEVSKY: We will now proceed with the vote on the proposed programme of action in connection with the agrarian question. If there is opposition, the vote should be taken on the resolution, together with the amendments which Comrade Varga has put before us.

There are no objections, the vote will now be taken. I declare the resolution and the amendments carried.

According to this resolution, the final draft of the agrarian programme is as follows:

Draft of the Agrarian Programme of the Communist International.

Instruction on the application of the thesis of the Second Congress on the Agrarian Question.

The basis of our attitude to the agricultural working masses was already laid down in the agrarian thesis of the Second Congress. The agrarian question has taken on importance during the present phase of the capitalist offensive. The Second Congress calls upon all the parties to do their utmost to win over the rural masses, in accordance with the following instructions:

1. The basis of the rural proletarians and the poor peasants, who do not possess land and must work part of the year in the fields for wages, or are exploited in any other way by the big landlords or capitalists, can be secured only through the establishment of co-operatives and from want, which are inevitable under capitalism only by a protracted revolution. This revolution will then create the condition of the land of the big landowners and the landless masses of the agricultural and industrial proletariat.

2. In the struggle against the government of the big landlords and capitalists, the poor peasants and small holders are the natural allies of the agricultural and industrial proletariat.

By joining in the struggle of the proletariat in the cities and in the rural districts, they will contribute to a great extent to the overthrow of the bourgeois state. While the urban proletariat seizes the means of production, the rural proletarians and the poor peasants take possession of the land, drive away the big landlords and put an end to the domination of the agrarians and bourgeoisie in the country.

3. In order to win over the poor peasants (petty farmers, small tenants and part of the small peasantry) for the revolution, in addition to the agricultural labourers, and in order to ensure the benefit neutrality of the middle peasantry, they must be freed from the influence and the leadership of the big landlords. They must be made to realise that their interests are identical, not only with those of the big peasants, but with those of the proletariat, and that, therefore, only the revolutionary party of the proletariat and the Communist Party can be their leader in this struggle.

In order to accelerate the revolution of the poor peasants from the leadership of the big landlords and the big peasants, it is not sufficient to draw up a program or carry on propaganda. The Communist Party, through continued action in the interests of these peasants, prove that it is actually the party of all the workers and of all the classes. Therefore, the Communist Party must at the head of every struggle of the agricultural masses against the ruling classes.

The Common struggle with the industrial workers, and the fact that the latter, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are fighting for the interests of the rural workers and poor peasants, will prove to all that the upstart from the capitalist system, the Communist Party, brings together the scattered forces of the rural working class, stimulates its will to fight, supports the struggle by bringing into it the forces of the industrial proletariat and indicates new ways and methods leading to the revolution.

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revolution has not fully accomplished its task and where the big landlords still enjoy feudal rights and privileges, these rights and privileges must be brushed aside in the course of the struggle for the land which in this case is of paramount importance.

6. In all countries with a rural agricultural proletariat, this division of the population is destined to be the most important factor of the rural revolutionary movement. Contrary to the social democrats who attack the rural proletariat from the back, the Communist Party, supports, organises and furthers all the struggles of the agricultural proletariat for the betterment of its economic, social and political conditions. In order to accelerate the revolutionising of the rural proletariat, and in order to train it for the struggle for proletarian dictatorship which alone can definitely free them from exploitation, the C.P. supports the rural proletariat in its struggle for a higher real wage and a betterment of the labour, housing and cultural conditions of the entire working class, through the political activity of the Party, through the setting up of trade unions, of socialist organisations, of the press, etc.--for at least the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the industrial working class, an average yearly 8 hour day, insurance against accidents and impediment of child labour, professional education, social legislation, at least to the same extent as it exists now for the city proletariat.

7. The Communist Party carries on its struggle for the liberation of the peasants from their servitude through the social revolution.

It struggles against all forms of capitalist exploitation of the poor and middle peasantry and especially against the exploitation by means of the loan and usurers capital which makes the poor peasants the slaves of their creditors, also against the exploitation by commerce and speculation capital which buys up the surplus agricultural products of the poor peasants at low prices, selling it at high prices to the town proletariat.

The C.P. works for the elimination of this parasitic speculative capital, and for an alliance between the co-operation of the urban proletariat, the struggles against the exploitation of the industrial proletariat, which must be strong as monopoly rights for artificially increased prices of manufactured goods, for the supply of means of production (artificial fertilisers, machines, etc.) to the poor peasantry at low prices. The factory councils are to help in this work by controlling prices.

It also strives against the exploitation of the peasants through the private monopoly of the transport agency system, as particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, and finally against the capitalistic state, which puts the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the poor peasantry and of the interests of the big landowners. We demand that the poor peasantry be freed of all taxation.

8. But the greatest exploitation of the landless peasantry in the non-colonial countries is the private ownership of the land by big landowners. In order to be able to exist, and to make full use of their labour, power, the poor peasants are compelled to work for the big landowners at starvation wages, or to purchase or lease the lands at such high costs that a considerable part of the produce goes into the pockets of the landlords.

Lack of land compels the poor peasants to put up with medieval servitude in modern form. Therefore the C.P. strives for the expropriation of the land including agricultural implements, and the distribution of same among those who work on the land. Until the proletarian revolution has accomplished this the C.P. will support the poor peasants in the struggle for the following immediate demands:

a) The betterment of the condition of the small tenants by decreasing the share of the owner.

b) Lower rent for small farms, unconditional compensation for the improvements made by the holder at the expiration of the lease etc. The agricultural labourers' union, under the leadership of the C.P., will support the small tenants in the struggle, by refusing to work on the fields of the landowner who has deprived of his small tenant of his land owing to the economic changes, etc.

The distribution of land, cattle and implements among all the poor peasants on terms that will assure their independence, the share of land to be large enough so that the peasants from the very first step in the revolutionary movement. But every bourgeois agrarian reform is hampered by the capitalist system. Under capitalism land can only be given at a price that is already in possession of means enabling them to carry on their agricultural work. Bourgeois agrarian reforms can give absolutely nothing to the proletariat and semi-proletarian elements.

If not the land conditions imposed on those receiving land under a bourgeois plan of land distribution, cannot lead to a betterment of their conditions, but only a further servitude under the system of share-cropping. These form the basis for the further division of the revolutionary proletariat, accentuating the contrasts between the rich and the poor peasants. The agricultural labourers who do not get land, and whom the partition of the estates only deprives of their former means of earning a livelihood.

The complete emancipation of all agricultural workers can be brought about by a proletarian revolution which eliminates without compensation the land, implements of the big landowners, while leaving intact the land of the working peasants, free it of rent, taxes, etc., and all other liabilities.

The workers are to decide themselves about the method and manner in which the conquered land shall be worked. In connection with this question, the press of the Second Congress set forth the following:

The Communist International is of the opinion that the big agricultural estates in the advanced capitalist countries should be to a great extent maintained and that they should be carried over into the model of the Soviet agricultural farms in Russia.

Support should also be given to collective farming (co-operatives, communes, etc.)

The maintenance of the big farms is in the interest of the revolutionary rural, rural population, of the landless agricultural class, and of the semi-proletarian small holders who earn their living partly as hired labourers on these farms. Moreover, the nationalisation of the big agricultural estates insures to a certain extent the independence of the food supply of the urban population from the peasantry.

In conclusion, it might be necessary to say that the land over to the peasants part of the big estates. This applies to the countries with survivals of the medival social order, of indentured labour or of a mooray system, which lead to various forms of estate.

In counties and territories where big agricultural estates do not play an important part but which have a large number of small land hungry peasant proprietors, the distribution of the big landowning's land will be the best means of carrying the peasantry for the revolution, while to maintain the big farms, out of consideration of food supply of the cities is of no great importance in countries like these.

In any case, wherever a partitioning of the big estates takes place, the interests of the rural proletariat should be of prime consideration.

From the organisational viewpoint, all communists engaged in agriculture and in the industrial concerns connected with it, must join the organisations of the agricultural labourers in order to rally and lead the revolutionary elements within them, with the purpose of turning these organisations into effective weapons for the revolutionary struggle. Wherever trade unions do not exist, the communists must endeavour to bring them into being. They must carry on an energetic educat-
ional campaign in the yellow, Fascist and Christian counter-revolutionary organisations, in order to disintegrate them. Estate workers councils must be formed in all the big agricultural estates for the defence of working class interests, for control over production and for the prevention of the extension of these estates. They must call upon the industrial proletariat to support the struggles of the agricultural labourers, and, on the other hand, they must endeavour to bring the latter into the industrial councils' movement.

In view of the enormous importance of the poor peasants for the revolutionary movement, communists must make it their business to join the organisations of the small peasants (agricultural, consumers' and credit cooperatives) in order to revolutionise them and to do away with the apparent conflict of interests between the hired labourers and the poor peasants, which are being exaggerated and put to the fore by the big landowners. The communists must also concentrate on effecting a close cooperation between the movement and actions of the rural organisations and those of the urban proletariat.

Only by uniting all the revolutionary forces of city and village, the capitalist offensive will be successfully resisted, and passing from the defensive to the offensive, the final victory will be won. (Cheers)

CHAIRMAN MARKHILEVSKY: Comrade Felix Kon has the floor.

FELIX KON: Esteemed comrades! At the opening of this Congress we adopted an appeal to all our class brothers imprisoned in the capitalist jails. Since that time only one month has passed, and during this month we got tidings of fresh imprisonments in nearly all the countries. In America, in Poland, in Jugoslav, in Japan, everywhere our comrades, and the leaders of the workers engaged in the fight against capitalism, were thrown into prison. It is high time now for us to establish a political Red Cross in all countries. The Union of Veteran Russian Bolsheviks has proposed to us to establish at this Congress a political Red Cross which is to be extended to all countries through the affiliated Communist Parties.

Comrades, at the present moment we ought to help our imprisoned comrades not only materially, but also morally. The Communist newspapers must give full publicity to what is taking place in the prisons, so that the entire working class might know how capitalism fights against the working class. On behalf of the Union of Veteran Bolsheviks, I submit the following resolution, urging the Congress to adopt it:

Under the capitalist offensive, in all the capitalist countries, there is a steady increase of the numbers of communist and non-party workers thrown into prison for taking part in the struggle against capitalism.

The Fourth Congress instructs all the Communist Parties to establish an organisation to render material and moral help to the imprisoned victims of capitalism, and welcome the initiative of the Russian Union of Veteran Bolsheviks to establish an international association of relief for political class prisoners.

Chairman KOLAROFF: The resolution as read by Comrade Kon is now put to the vote. Anyone against the resolution? No. Carried unanimously.

Comrade MARKHILEVSKY now has the floor to report in connection with some matter pertaining to the Poale Zion.

MARKHILEVSKY: Comrades, the Presidium has received a letter from several comrades who hitherto belonged to the Poale Zion Party. These comrades tell us that the differences of opinion in their Party have led to acute strife, and that they have decided to join the Communist Party. I ought to tell you that the Executive has had many negotiations with the Poale Zion Party, which lately began to call itself the Communist Union, in order to bring about the affiliation of the Communist World Union of Jewish Workers, as they now call themselves, to the Communist International. All those efforts were set to naught in consequence of the nationalist tendencies which exist in that organisation.

Now these comrades tell us that a conference has taken place which resulted in a split. The comrades who quit the Poale Zion and wish to join the Communist Party, applied to the International to facilitate their entry into the Communist Parties. It is mainly a question of these comrades who are active among the Jewish speaking proletariat in Russia, Poland