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# **CORRESPONDENCE**

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## **Meeting of the Enlarged Executive of the C. I.**

### **Opening Session.**

The Enlarged Executive opened on March 21st, at 9. 15 p. m. in the Andreevsky Hall. The Hall gives the appearance of a World Congress. In the corridor and in the adjoining rooms there is an exposition of material of the various sections of the C. I. — the Red Aid, Agitprop, etc. The greatest interest

is called forth by the exhibition of wall and factory newspapers of all countries arranged by the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Executive.

Received amidst great applause, Comrade Zinoviev takes the chair.

### **Opening Speech of Comrade Zinoviev.**

Comrades, I declare the Session of the Enlarged Executive open. Permit me to say a few words regarding our work.

At first I regret to have to announce that yesterday we lost one of our most prominent comrades, Comrade Narimanov, one of the Presidents of the Union of Soviet Republics. Comrade Narimanov has stood in the fight for the cause of the workers for more than 25 years. He was active as a writer, organiser, leader of the Party, and recently as one of the Vice-Presidents of the entire Union of Soviet Republics. He played a prominent part at the Baku Congress in 1920, the famous Congress of the Peoples of the East, which left its impress upon the development of the Oriental peoples... Comrade Narimanov was one of the most prominent figures — a man who had worked his way to Leninism by himself, in a milieu where the labour movement was not yet highly developed, a milieu like the East.

Comrades, one is tempted to compare Comrade Narimanov with Sun-Yat-Sen, who was no Communist but a sincere ally of the revolutionary proletariat who did not work his way to Marxism, but who realised the historic role of the movement of the suppressed peoples as a component part of the proletarian revolution. Figures such as Narimanov and Sun-Yat-Sen characterise the epoch of the proletarian revolution in the sense that they show us how the great reserves of the world proletariat, the peoples of the East, are already in part Leninists and Marxists, are in part great leaders of the suppressed peoples, who are working for an alliance with the proletarian revolution.

Since the Fifth World Congress we have no great victories to report, but we went through several important episodes of the class struggle and of the civil war. In spite of the difficulties of the objective situation, despite the fact that in many countries there is no immediate revolutionary situation, as for instance, in 1923 in Germany, a refreshing breeze is blowing through a number of countries. That is also shown in the stand of our comrades in the trials and in jail. I believe that all of us will declare with the greatest satisfaction that the stand of our Comrade Urbahns and his colleagues in the Hamburg trial may serve as a model for every revolutionary, especially after the many sad experiences we have had. Thousands of plain and simple workers in Germany are maintaining a heroic attitude when on trial. The same is true of Poland, where for instance, our Comrade Lantuski is facing trial at just this time. Hundreds and thousands of workers fill the jails of Poland. The bourgeoisie and the socialdemocrats in Poland are already employing methods such as poisoning arrested workers with poison gas. That is a fact! Nevertheless we see that many of our comrades are unflinchingly continuing to do their duty. You know what sacrifices have been made by our Bulgarian Party in the recent period, how the direct physical destruction of an entire corps of proletarian leaders is taking place. In Roumania, we see comrades almost tortured to death; such as comrades Pauker, Dobrogeanu, etc. You know what happened in Esthonia. I hope that the Enlarged Executive will hear a detailed report of these events. You know how heroically a quantitatively small group fought there

for our cause, for the cause of the Comintern. In Germany, there is the beginning of a new strike movement — the railway strike. In the Scandinavian countries, the metal workers' strike, a number of class struggles, among them several on a large scale; the bourgeoisie is on the offensive, the working class on the defensive. What is even more important: a number of political demonstrations on the very largest scale have been organised by our Parties in the last few months, such as the laures demonstration in Paris. It was not the beginning of a revolution, as many of our comrades — and even more of our enemies — believed, but nevertheless it was a great beginning of the conquest of the streets by our French Communist Party. We must also attach the greatest importance to the demonstrations which were organised by our Czechoslovakian Party not so very long ago in Prague, Kladno, and other cities of Czechoslovakia. These demonstrations have demonstrated the will to struggle of the masses of Czechoslovakian workers. We hope that the mighty, wonderful Czechoslovakian working class will soon recommence the struggle under the banner of our Party. Great Lenin demonstrations almost all over the world, great political demonstrations in Berlin, the last one yesterday, on the occasion of the murders by the social democrats and the bourgeoisie in Halle. These street demonstrations are of great symptomatic importance. They primarily prove the fight of the Communist Parties for the streets.

Comrades, you know the agenda of our session. It is to be a session at which the burning questions of the Comintern will be discussed in a strictly business like way. Bolshevisation of the Parties, the trade union question, the peasant question and the discussion in the Russian Party, — these are the most important problems we have to discuss. Then a number of problems which from the formal point of view only involve individual sections, but in reality affect the entire Comintern. Most important of all, the Czechoslovakian problem. You know that the world bourgeoisie and the Second International are already rejoicing. They thought that the split in the Czechoslovakian Party was already a *fait accompli*. Our opponents have rejoiced too soon. The difficulties in this problem are evident, and none the less we are entirely convinced that there can be no question of a split in the Czechoslovakian Party.

There is not a group and not a leader, neither in the Czechoslovakian Party nor in the entire International, who doubts the will of thousands and hundreds of thousands of Czech workers, their will for unity and their honest adherence to the Communist International. Nothing can break this will. On behalf of the Presidium, comrades, I can already tell you that the most difficult problem, the Czech problem, will nevertheless be solved in such a fashion that unity remains absolutely intact. We will also have to consider many new aspects in world politics in this session of the Enlarged Executive; and we will do this in the spirit of Lenin: without illusions, without painting the situation better than it really is, looking reality eye to eye, and seeing the political and economic world situation as it is. We need no illusions; we will remain revolutionaries and Bolsheviks and will under all circumstances, the more difficult the situation the more firmly, the more resolutely and unitedly proceed upon the road towards real Bolshevisation. I believe that I do not need to add that our work will proceed strictly in the spirit of Leninism as hitherto.

Long live the Communist International!  
(Prolonged applause).

## Report of the Mandate Commission.

Following upon Comrade Zinoviev's speech

### Comrade Katz (Germany):

reported for the Mandate Commission 24 out of the 44 members of the Executive present. 8 candidates of the Executive arrived to take the place of the corresponding members of the Executive. Furthermore, 5 candidates of the Executive out of 27 are present, that is, a total of 32 members and 5 candidates.

In conformity with the prevailing rules, the Sections of the C. I. are to have the following votes:

1. Three votes: Russia, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Youth International.
2. Two votes: the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Bulgaria, Poland and the Ukraine.
3. One vote: all the other sections.

To sum up, the Delegations of the 50 sections have 68 votes.

Up to now 34 sections are represented.

The Presidium of the ECCI has invited increased delegations to the deliberations during the Enlarged Executive from the following sections: Czechoslovakia, France, Yugoslavia and Holland.

There are present with a decisive vote	104 comrades
with an advisory vote	140 comrades
Total: 244 comrades	

The report is accepted without debate.

\* \* \*

The Presidium is then unanimously elected and consists of the following members:

Soviet Union: Zinoviev, Bucharin, Stalin.  
France: Semard, Cachin.  
Germany: Geschke, Winterich.  
Czechoslovakia: Haken, Zapotocky.  
Italy: Viola.  
U. S. A.: Dorsy, Samborn.  
Great Britain: Gallacher.  
The Orient: Roy.  
Scandinavia: Hansen.  
Ireland: Jim Larkin.  
In person: Clara Zetkin.

The Secretariat of the ECCI was elected to consist of the following comrades:

Kuusinen, Piatnitzky, Katz, Humbert Droz, Neurath, Kornblum.

The proposal for the conduct of business of the Presidium, according to which the reporters and co-reporters have one hour for their addresses and a half hour for the concluding remarks, the speakers in the discussion 15 minutes the first time, and 5 minutes the second time, was adopted without debate.

### Comrade Zinoviev:

We have mentioned a number of parties here which have been compelled to carry on their struggle recently under very difficult conditions. Several representatives of these Parties will be given the floor. First of all the representative of our Esthonian Party, Comrade Anwelt. (Stormy applause).

### Comrade Anwelt:

Comrades, some of you probably know that there is a small country on the Southern Shore of the Gulf of Finland called Esthonia. This small country is very little known and when it is mentioned one is always asked what country is that. None the less the workers and peasants of this little country have their history. For 700 years a bloody struggle has been fought out there between the oppressors and the oppressed. The country lies on the threshold between Eastern and Western Europe and all the conquerors have marched through it: the German knights, the Danish conquerors, the Swedish kings, the armies of the Russian Czars, and of the Polish Pans: all have plundered here, violated our women, — and thus seven hundred years have passed. And when the civil war began the Esthonian proletariat went through all the horrors of the civil war. In Esthonia there have already been several uprisings; they were all suppressed however, and then came the white terror.

In 1917 the Esthonian workers and peasants seized power. Our Party was the biggest Party. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly we received more than 40% of the vote.

Then there came the German occupation supported by the Esthonian bourgeoisie, and when the German occu-

patron troops left, they did not turn over power to us, but of course, to the bourgeoisie.

After the bourgeoisie of Esthonia made peace with Soviet Russia, our Party began to prepare to take over power. For five years we waited for the suitable moment. Such a moment existed last autumn.

Our insurrection was subdued. Our workers were kind-hearted. They captured the Chief of Police and other leaders of the bourgeoisie but let them live. The bourgeoisie is different. It is difficult to picture what is happening in the Esthonian prisons. All the methods of the White Terror; murder and torture are being applied. They want to destroy the best section of the Esthonian proletariat.

That is a great loss to us. We are, however, again rallying our forces. We are moving forward and believe that the time will come when favourable conditions will enable us to seize power. We remember Lenin's commands. We march on under the leadership of the Communist International in alliance with all the Communist Parties, and when the Communist International considers the moment suitable and calls the workers and peasants of all countries to revolt, our proletariat will not be the last to fight.

Long live the preparation and the organisation of the armed uprising!

Long live the fighting alliance of the revolutionary Bolsheviks of all countries!

Long live the Communist International!

(Applause).

### **Geschke (Germany):**

Comrades, in remembrance of the days of the Paris Commune, we, the German workers, remember first of all the traitors' and executioners' role played by Prusso-German militarism towards Versailles and Potsdam, through which innumerable Paris Communards were delivered over to the Versailles gang.

Moreover, we remember the days of 1914, when the Social Democratic Party of Germany, — the Second International in general — issued the slogan of civil peace for the bourgeoisie. We remember our **Karl Liebknecht**, who proclaimed against this slogan of civil peace, the slogan of civil war. We think to-day of the march of the German army, of the Balkum hordes into the Border States against Soviet Russia. And we remember with rage and hatred the Social Democratic Party, which to-day in Germany exercises the greatest reign of terror against the revolutionary proletariat. I only recall that a few days ago in Halle German workers were shot down in a meeting hall by the police of the Social Democratic Minister of the Interior.

We remember the dead, those who fell in the German Revolution since 1918; we especially remember our **Karl Liebknecht**, our **Rosa Luxemburg** and our **Jogichès**, who fell as victims of the betrayal of the Social Democrats. We think of the class justice, which is exercised against hundreds and thousands of revolutionary workers. We greet to-day our seven thousand brothers in prison in the German jails. (Applause).

Full of joy and pride, we think of those, who with heads aloft at the bar of the bourgeois courts, facing their class judges, proclaim their creed of Communism, their love of the proletariat and their unquenchable hatred of the bourgeoisie. That makes us certain of our victory. And even though there have been in the past weak figures facing the German courts, to-day in a difficult situation. Urbans and other comrades in Hamburg, and the Wuertembergers in Leipzig proudly and frankly admit their Communism at the bar of the bourgeois courts. And those comrades who had only recently joined the Party declare that they would use the time in jail to become real communists, real fighters for the German proletariat. We must remember, comrades **Maslov**, **Hans Pfeiffer**, **Lindau**, **Heckert**, and all the other comrades for whom the class judges in Germany are still waiting, but who are already over a year in jail without sentence.

All the measures employed by the German bourgeoisie and the German Social Democrats against the working class have not been able to kill the revolutionary will of the German

proletariat; they have not been able to hold Germany's proletariat away from struggle; they have not been able to break up or dissolve the Communist Party. The CPG is the only Labour Party of Germany, which is in International fraternalism with the Comintern, the only world party of the proletariat.

We greet the Enlarged Executive; we greet our imprisoned brothers!

(Applause).

### **Comrade Markovsky (Poland):**

The working class of Poland must fight under very difficult conditions. Bourgeois Poland is a classical country of the white terror. Born as a child of the counter-revolution, arisen as a bulwark against the Red front on the West and on the East, bourgeois Poland has to concentrate all its energy against Communism. Poland's bourgeoisie, as a vassal of the international bourgeoisie, must have quiet in its own country at any price, in order to be able to function as an outpost against Soviet Russia. It must have quiet even at the cost of blood baths. Over 5,000 comrades, ay, they already number 6,000 are in Polish jails. Within seven weeks there were 35 hunger strikes in Poland, each one of from 5 to 12 days duration. There is no prison where political prisoners are not beaten and maltreated in the most brutal fashion. Things are even worse with the political police. The terror is worst of all in the so-called frontier region, in Western White Russia and in Western Ukraine.

On the average four years of hard labour are pronounced as sentence every day. Each month thousands are arrested, and from month to month the number grows. There is no workers' newspaper in Poland which can exist legally. Matters are even worse with the distribution of illegal newspapers. Only one example; a comrade who was to carry a small package with illegal literature from Warsaw to Lemburg was arrested on the way and **sentenced to death**. Only because he was merely 19 years old was the sentence commuted to 10 years of hard labour. Our trade unions, when they do not stand loyally behind the bourgeois government, are exposed to the most violent persecution.

The Social Democrats (PPS) are not only fascists in the ordinary sense of the term, that they seize and beat up our comrades, that they surround the meetings with open fascist organisations and kill our comrades, as was the case with Comrad **Viktor Baly**. They employ the most subtle methods, for instance, they slander good comrades as provocateurs and thus sow confusion in our ranks. They induce young Communist workers to testify to the police about their comrades.

Nevertheless, it may be said that the depression amongst our workers has recently come more or less to an end. In consequence of the slogan of the fight for the political prisoners, a revival is beginning amongst the masses of workers, thanks to the untiring work of our Party. When Comrade **Lanzucki** was arrested, we staged a big demonstration in Warsaw under the slogan: "Long live Communism; long live **Lanzucki**." Recently, on the eve of the trial, we had a second demonstration and a demonstration of the youth. These demonstrations show that the fighting spirit is again awakening amongst the Polish workers. There is also a great mass movement growing up amongst the peasants, and we know that we now have great influence amongst the peasantry. All the workers of Poland are closing their ranks against the white terror. The Ukrainian and the White Russian workers and peasants understand that they have a common enemy.

Comrades, in our struggle we need your help very much. Especially comrades in Germany, France and England can assist us greatly in our struggle. The Polish bourgeoisie is greatly concerned for its reputation in foreign countries. It wants to make foreign capital believe that order reigns in Poland. And if the French comrades, for instance, make a demonstration against the white terror in Poland, that is very inconvenient for the Polish bourgeoisie. The foreign comrades have therefore a certain means of pressure against our bourgeoisie.

Of course, we do not say that because we are afraid that we will not be able to settle with our opponents by ourselves. The intervention of our foreign comrades is of the greatest importance precisely because it encourages the Polish working masses to act. And now, when great movements are beginning in Poland, we know that the day is no longer far distant on which we will also establish our Soviet Poland.

And therefore, I should like in conclusion to say that our Party — in calling for your help — will organise with all its energy the workers and peasants for the fight for the victory of Communism. We are certain that we will move forward in this fight until we will be able to raise the banner of Communism also over Warsaw. (Applause).

## Comrade Marek (Balkans):

Comrades! the democratic mask continually worn by the Balkan bourgeoisie was always extremely transparent. To-day however, not a trace of it remains.

In view of this state of affairs, of the economic crisis, the misery of the masses of workers and peasants, the bloodshed during the war on the one hand, and the proximity of revolutionary Russia on the other, the bourgeoisie is exercising unheard of terror in order to maintain its power, which goes as far even as the extirpation of an entire people.

As early as 1920 the Yugoslavian government outlawed the C. P. and began the most intense persecution of its leaders and members. At the beginning of this year the Pashitch government also dissolved the legal Independent Labour Party and at the same time suppressed the Communist legal press. As the workers then began to issue illegal communist leaflets and the Red Aid organisations commenced their work of support, arrests and tortures were again commenced en masse. The Bulgarian political emigrants receiving support were also arrested.

The suppressed nationalities of Yugoslavia are carrying on an incessant struggle for their independence. That is why the population of Macedonia is subjected to a special regime. Murders of suspected Macedonians, deportations and tortures, and even the murder of their relatives without sparing women and children, the punishment and setting on fire of entire villages — that is the picture of the life of the Macedonian people.

A similar struggle on the part of the Albanians and Montenegrins.

The Croatian (Raditch) Peasants' Party, which represents 80% of the Croatian people, is actually outlawed. Its prominent leaders are in jail, and its deputies have been dispersed.

In the last election campaign, thousands of its voters and agitators were arrested and maltreated, and many of them seriously wounded and killed.

In Greece, there is no end to the riots and disturbances. The numerous strikes and street demonstrations of the workers never take place without workers being killed and wounded.

About 200 workers and peasants are in jail or have been banished to hard labour to the islands where death from starvation stares them in the face.

In January the peasants in a number of districts of Thessaly seized the large estates and divided them up amongst themselves. In Tricalla, the mass of peasants were fired upon; 6 were killed, 15 wounded, and about 100 arrested.

In Roumania, the Boyar oligarchy reigns, using the methods of the medieval feudal lords. During the past summer they suppressed the uprising of the Bessarabian peasants by the literal extirpation of the population. In the prison of Kishinev alone, there are at present over 250 imprisoned peasants.

Every strike is suppressed by the Rumanian police by the use of force. There are police detachments in every factory to nip workers' movements in the bud. Last December, 600 Roumanian communists, among them prominent leaders of the Party, were arrested. Only through a 34 days' hunger strike did they compel their release until the trial took

place. In December an exceptional law was issued against the Communist Party.

**Bulgaria, however, is the focus of black reaction in the Balkans.**

From the first day of his regime, Zankov began to extirpate the Communists. Immediately after the counter-revolution, dozens of ministers, deputies and other leaders of the Peasant Alliance were killed. At the same time our comrades were also killed. Thousands were arrested and inhumanly maltreated in the barracks and other jails. Hundreds were sentenced and others are waiting trial up to the present day.

After the suppression of the 1923 uprising the defeated rebels were bound together with ropes and shot down with machine guns, bayoneted or simply thrown into the Danube. Adherents of the Communist Party were locked in barracks and then taken out one by one and murdered. The murders committed by the Bulgarian government in recent times cannot be counted.

Several thousand communists, members of the Young Communist League and even of the Young Pioneers fell victims to the white terror immediately after the suppression of the insurrection. The Extraordinary Law for the Protection of the State outlawed the Communist Party and dissolved the legal Workers' Party, organised after the uprising. The same Law dissolved the trade union council and the "Osvoboshdenye" Cooperative Alliance. Beside the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties the social democrats also participated in the reprisals and organised social democratic punitive expeditions.

Nevertheless the Communist Party was not destroyed. It re-formed its ranks and continued the struggle despite continual sacrifice. Three illegal printing shops were raided and each time several comrades were killed. Many comrades were released from jail only to be shot down at once in the streets. The methods of torture of the arrested include beating, with whips, clubs and sand-bags; furthermore, crucifixion, the cutting of pieces of flesh out of the body, driving needles under the nails, castration, etc. Not so long ago our excellent comrade Elena Gitcheva hanged herself in the building of the Secret Police in Sofia and Comrade Dimitri Ch. Dimitrov jumped from the fourth storey and was killed at once.

All the Communist deputies — the last was Stoyanov — were physically destroyed:

During this period the Law for the Protection of the State was intensified.

Nevertheless the revolutionary population of the Balkans, which had and will have the support of the entire C. I., courageously continues the fight.

Long live the powerful unity of the proletarian International!

Long live the Socialist Soviet Federation of the Balkan Republics!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

## Comrade Harus (Czechoslovakia):

First of all I greet you fraternally in the name of the Communist Party and the revolutionary proletariat of Czechoslovakia. As in all other capitalist countries the working class of Czechoslovakia is facing great social struggles. What the Fifth Congress of the Comintern foresaw has come to pass. When the German bourgeoisie suspended the eight-hour day and lowered the standard of life of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist countries, following its example, also endeavoured to lower the standard of life of the working class. In Czechoslovakia we see the best manifestation of the correctness of the theses of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern upon the termination of the democratic-pacifist era. The Czechish bourgeoisie which until now has ruled the masses with the aid of democratic illusions, which, however, are evaporating more and more, has been compelled by the increased pressure of the class struggle to employ more intense forms of violence and of open procedure against the discontent and indignation of the working masses. The 10th of February bloody attack of the State power of the Czechish bourgeoisie upon the pro-

letariat is a proof of that. But on the other hand the revolutionary forces of the Czechish proletariat, which after a heroic struggle in 1920 had been defeated and had receded, are becoming manifest in new struggles. In this period of intensified class struggle, of the impoverishment of the masses of the proletariat, of the rise in the cost of living, of the continually increasing class pressure of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is more and more firmly and clearly stepping alongside the other Communist Parties of the Comintern as the only leader of the exploited masses; and it will sincerely fulfil this task and fight shoulder to shoulder with all other Parties, under all circumstances. Bolshevisation means for us the close contact with the masses in their daily struggles. The reorganisation of the Party, the establishment of Communist fractions in the trade unions and the slogan of the re-union of the trade union organisations, which in Czechoslovakia is especially important and necessary for the working class, linked up with mass actions of the proletariat for the daily demands of the exploited masses both in town and country will render possible the first steps towards obtaining influence among the masses, towards winning them over despite all external

and inner Party difficulties; they will bring the working masses under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Our Party leadership has worked energetically and successfully in the sense of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the C. I. The more successful work of the leaders of the Party has been, the less agreeable were the Bolshevisation measures of the Party leadership for those elements of the Party who wanted neither Bolshevisation nor the revolutionary struggle. These comrades organised the split within the Party. The Party has expelled these elements, and especially a prominent leader of this tendency, who it was proved had done this undermining work. The revolutionary working class of Czechoslovakia stands firm behind the Communist International and its leadership. The Czechish Party will resolutely combat all attempts on the basis and the principles of the C. I.

## Sémard :

Comrade Sémard proposed that the following "Manifesto to the Workers of the World" be adopted:

# Against the Governing Gangs of Murderers of Capital. To the Workers of the World !

Comrades!

A few days ago the best sections of the working class honoured the memory of the thousands of fallen heroes of the Paris Commune. You have opened the graves of the fallen heroes of the revolution and have borne the spirit, the revolutionising spirit of boundless devotion and courageous self-sacrifice for the emancipation of the working class, into the hearts and brains of millions of disinherited and oppressed wage slaves.

Comrades!

To-day the capitalists and their social-democratic lackeys are endeavouring to make a huge cemetery of the revolutionary movement. Everywhere there are thousands upon thousands of graves under which there lie thousands upon thousands of proletarians murdered by the bourgeoisie as an eternal warning to the working class of the world. The bourgeoisie of all countries knows no more important task than the persecution and torture of communist workers. Their torturers, without any spark of humanity, are daily inventing new methods of persecuting and torturing the hated revolutionary workers.

**The Climax of Sadistic Orgies of Persecution has been Reached in Poland. The Polish Bourgeoisie is Employing Poison Gas in its Fight against the Heroic Polish Workers. In Dombrowo, two communists Haiitchik and Pilyatchik, pursued by the Polish soldateska were surrounded in a house and tortured to death by poison gas.**

Do you doubt, Comrades, that the bourgeoisie of all countries will follow the example of the ruling Polish bandits?

In Germany the most refined system of provocation has become one of the fundamental mainstays of so-called democracy. The republican mass murderers of Halle, who blindly fired salvoes without warning into a closed mass meeting, are worthy companions of the Polish poison gas murderers.

The Esthonian bourgeoisie first provoked and drew the blood of the Esthonian working class, in order to subdue in the most brutal manner the workers, who had commenced an unexampled, heroic struggle against their exploiters, and then to murder them systematically.

The bourgeoisie of Lithuania and Latvia is not far behind the bourgeoisie of Esthonia in the persecution of the working class.

In Bulgaria the Government is having leaders of revolutionary workers and peasants shot down in the streets by its agents. All through the Balkans revolutionary workers have but one choice left — slowly to sicken and die in deepest misery or to be murdered at the slightest stir of revolution.

In Italy, fascism is again preparing to attack the working class.

In Roumania and in Spain, not a day passes by without hundreds of workers and peasants being thrown into terrible jails and slowly and systematically tortured to death.

**That is the Picture of Capitalist Rule in all its Nakedness.**

But one thing is certain! The worse the condition of the working class becomes, and the more it redoubles its efforts to destroy the political power of the capitalist bloodhounds, the wilder and more brutal will white terror rage, in all capitalist countries.

Therefore, the need of the hour is:

Workers! Redouble proletarian hatred of the capitalist oppressors!

Close your ranks more and more firmly for the fight for conquest of the political power of the working class which alone will eradicate capitalist terror.

Draw the indifferent masses as well into the proletarian class front!

Organise international proletarian solidarity with the victims of capitalist terror!

Down with the governing gangs of murderers of capital!  
Long live the proletarian revolution!

**Plenum of the Enlarged Executive  
of the Communist International.**

The manifesto was unanimously adopted.

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## Comrade Westphal (Germany):

Comrades!

At this moment, there is raging in Denmark and Sweden a bitter struggle of the working class against the brutal well organised employers. The Swedish and Danish employers, who wanted to decrease wages, proceeded ruthlessly to throw 160,000 workers in Sweden and 50,000 in Denmark onto the pavement in consequence of a threatened strike.

At this moment, when the representatives of the whole international working class are gathered here, we do not want to neglect expressing our complete sympathy with our fighting brothers in Sweden and Denmark.

I move that the following resolution be adopted:

### Proposed Resolution.

"The Enlarged Executive greets the fighting Swedish and Danish workers who during these days are the targets

of the insolent employers' offensive, and instructs the Presidium to send this greeting in a short open letter to the workers of Sweden and Denmark."

The motion of Comrade Westphal was unanimously adopted.

The following **Commissions** were elected:

## 1. Mandate Commission:

Katz (Germany), Alloye (France), Brown (Great Britain), Morelli (Italy), Patniizky, Trilisser (Russia), Sandborn, Cannon (U. S. A.), Neurath (Czechoslovakia), Secretary: Grolman.

## 2. Political Commission:

Chairman: Zinoviev; Secretary: Neumann.

Russia: Bukharin, Stalin, Candidate: Manuilsky.

Germany: Fischer, Katz.

France: Sémard, Suzanne Girault.

Italy: Gramsci, Scoccimarro.

Great Britain: Gallacher, Bennett.

Czechoslovakia: Neurath, Smeral.

Youth International: Vuyvich, Lominadze.

United States: Cannon, Pepper.

Bulgaria: Kolarov.

Yugoslavia: Miloshevitch.

Roumania: Ursu.

Poland: Donski.

Finland: Laufki.

Sweden: Fredrichsohn.

Norway: Hansen.

India: Roy.

South America: Codvilla.

Canada: Moriarty.

Austria: Fiala.

Switzerland: Bodemann.

Hungary: Kun.

Ukraine: Skripnik.

Spain: one representative.

Holland: one representative.

With advisory voice, one representative of the Eastern Department. (Petrov).

## 3. Commission on the question of Trade Union Unity.

Chairman: Lozovsky, Secretary: Sauvage.

Russia: Tomskey, Andreyev, Dogadov.

Germany: Geschke, Drevnitsky.

France: Sémard, Jakob.

Italy: Viola, Gramsci.

Czechoslovakia: Harus, Hais.

Great Britain: Geddes, Gallacher.

United States: Dorsey, Sanborn.

Bulgaria: Dmitrov.

Jugoslavia: Raditsch.

Romania: Ursu.

Greece: Sgrudeos.

Poland: Brunnevitch.

Latvia: Stutchka.

Ukraine: Skripnik.

Finland: Lumivuokko.

Esthonia: Anwelt.

Lithuania: Petrovsky.

Sweden: Vrelling.

Norway: Kristensen.

Denmark: Laurisen.

Switzerland: Bodemann.

Austria: Kopenig.

Canada: Moriarty.

Java: Semaeon.

South America: Codvilla.

Mexico: Almanca.

Georgia: Zkhakaidze.

Youth International: Schüller, Doriot.

Spain: one representative.

Holland: one representative.

As well as Taussig, and one representation each with advisory voice from the Eastern Department.

Information Department.

Agitprop Department (Smoliansky).

Org Department (Grolman).

## 4. Commission on the Peasant Question.

Chairman: Bukharin;

Secretary: Grieco.

Russia: Molotov, Kaganovitch.

Germany: Katz, Winterich.

France: Cachin, Doriot.

Italy: Telini, Scocimarro.

Czechoslovakia: Bodner, Haken.

United States: Dorsey, Powers.

Youth International: Passonen, Michaletch.

Bulgaria: Marek.

Great Britain: Benett (alternate, Geddes).

Jugoslavia: Boshkovitch.

Roumania: Ursu.

Poland: Brunnevitch.

Ukraine: Hopner.

Finland: Manner.

Border States: Stutchka.

Scandinavia: Laurisen.

Java: Samoan.

Canada: Moriarty.

South America: Codvilla.

Mexico: Almanca.

Hungary: Lingauer.

White Russia: one representative.

and Kornblum.

Smirnov.

Meshchcheriakov.

Dombal.

Varga.

Marinov.

and one representative each with advisory voice from the Eastern Department.

Information Department.

Agitprop Department (Sten).

Org Department (Mitzkevitch).

## 5. Czechoslovakian Commission.

Chairman: Zinoviev;

Secretary: Sémard.

Russia: Kuibishev, Manuilski (alternates: Stalin, Bukharin).

Germany: Fischer, Bertz.

France: Thore, Treint.

Italy: Gramsci, Scoccimarro.

Great Britain: Brown, Geddes.

Poland: Donsku, Jack.

United States: Cannon, Pepper.

Youth International: Katalinov, Jakobs.

Bulgaria: Kolarov.

Jugoslavia: Simic.

Roumania: Ursu.

Hungary: Kun.

Finland: Manner.

Scandinavia: Sillen.

South America: Codvilla.

Border States: Petrovski.

Ukraine: Skripnik.

Austria: Kopenig.

And one representative each with advisory voice from the Agitprop Department (Volk) Org Department (Edelson) Information Department.

## 6. Jugoslavian Commission.

Chairman: Kolarov; Secretary: Begucki.

Russia: Frunse, Gussev.  
 Germany: Bertz.  
 France: Rabatte.  
 Czechoslovakia: Smeral.  
 Italy: Gramsci.  
 Austria: Führenberg.  
 Roumania: Ursu.  
 Bulgaria: Dmitrov.  
 Youth International: Mehring.  
 Ukraine: Skripnik.  
 Hungary: Alpari.

And one representative each with advisory voice from  
 Org Department (Edukevitch).  
 Agitprop Department (Rafes).  
 Information Department.

## 7. Dutch Commission.

Chairman: Neumann; Secretary: Gallacher.

Russia: Pelenki.  
 Germany: Giwan.  
 France: Girault.  
 Great Britain: Brown.  
 Italy: Viola.  
 India: Roy.  
 Java: Semaoen.  
 Sweden: Johanson.  
 Norway: Kristensen.  
 Mexico: Stirner.  
 United States: Williamson.  
 Youth International: Reinhard.

And one representative each with advisory voice from  
 Org Department (Fried).  
 Agitprop Department (Dornbusch).  
 Information Department.

## 8. Italian Commission.

Chairman: Manuilski; Secretary: Doriot.

Russia: Sokolnikov, Bukharin (alternative, Losovsky).  
 Germany: Katz.

France: Raynaud  
 Great Britain: Geddes.  
 Czechoslovakia: Harus.  
 United States: Powers.  
 Poland: Krayevszki.  
 Youth International: Vuyovich.  
 Scandinavia: Hansen.  
 Balkan Federation: Vladetic.  
 Switzerland: Bodemann.  
 South America: Codvilla.

Also Rakosi.

And one representative each with advisory voice from  
 Org Department (Harry).  
 Agitprop Department (Yablonsky).  
 Information Department.

## 9. Colonial Commission.

Chairman: Dorsey; Secretary: Roy.

Russia: Manuilsky, Guralski.  
 Eastern Department: Petrov, Voitinsky.  
 France: Doriot, (Alternate, Marty).  
 Great Britain: Gallacher, (Alternate, Bennett).  
 Italy: Grieco.  
 United States: Powers.  
 Canada: Moriarty.  
 India: Roy.  
 Java: Semaoen.  
 Mexico: Almanca.  
 Youth International: Vartanyan.  
 Germany: Westphal.  
 Holland: one representative.  
 Spain: one representative.

And one representative each with advisory voice from  
 Org Department (Ebner).  
 Agitprop Department (Rafes).  
 Information Department.

\* \* \*

After the election of the Commissions the Executive was postponed until the Czechoslovakian Commission has concluded its discussions.

Close of the opening session.

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