

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES

of the

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(For the Period March-November 1926).

Compiled by the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

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REPORT

ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

March -- November, 1926.

1926

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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The present report deals briefly with the activity of the ECCI and the individual Sections of the CI since the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive of the CI (February-March 1926) up to the middle of October 1926. The analysis of the economic and political situation in the various countries has not been included in this printed report. Arrangements however, have been made to supply the delegates to the Plenum with this material in good time.

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I. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL  
AND ITS DEPARTMENTS.

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## I. THE PRESIDIUM AND THE SECRETARIAT.

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The last Enlarged Executive adopted a resolution on the question of the reorganisation of the work of the ECCI. In accordance with the directions in this resolution measures were taken immediately after the Plenum in order to establish a closer connection between the ECCI and the various Sections, and to draw in the strongest Sections into the leadership of Comintern, thereby carrying out a sub-division of the work and collective collaboration in the apparatus of the ECCI itself.

Immediately after the Enlarged Executive, the Presidium was newly appointed, and the total number of members considerably increased. The most important Sections were allocated two seats each on the Presidium, and quite a number of other Sections, especially several Parties of the Eastern countries, are now represented on the Presidium.

The work of the Secretariat of the ECCI was extended and intensified. National Secretariats (eleven) were established within the Secretariat in order to follow up the development in the various groups of countries systematically, to prepare questions concerning the various countries to be dealt with by the organs of the ECCI, and to include a larger number of representatives of the various Parties in this work of preparation. At the head of each National Secretariat (Ländersecretariat) a Secretary of the ECCI has been appointed who is responsible for the activities; therefore, the number of secretaries was increased from 5 to 13. In addition to the members of the National Secretariats, who, as a rule were representatives of the various Parties, the referents of the various Parties of the ECCI, representatives of the Youth International, and representatives of some parallel organisations were drawn into the work.

The following National Secretariats (Ländersecretariate) were formed:

- |    |  |      |            |
|----|--|------|------------|
| 1) | National Secretariat for Germany                               | --   | 5 members. |
| 2) | " " " France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, French Colonies,    | -- 6 | "          |
| 3) | " " " Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Australia, South Africa | 6    | "          |
|    | with a sub-section for British and Dutch Indies                | -- 5 | "          |
| 4) | " " " Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary                        | -- 4 | "          |
| 5) | " " " Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania              | -- 9 | "          |

6)	National Secretariat for	Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Roumania, Albania, --	5 members
7)	"	" Scandinavia, (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland), --	5 "
8)	"	" Spain, Portugal and Latin America, --	6 "
9)	"	" America and Canada --	8 "
		With a sub-Section for Japan, --	5 "
10)	"	" The Near East (Persia, Syria, Egypt, Palestine), --	6 "
11)	"	" The Far East (China, Mongolia, Korea) --	7 "

The National Secretariats have only been working for some months so that their activity is only in its early stages. Still, the results up to the present show that this reorganisation has proved valuable. The investigations about the various countries, the contact between the ECCI and the Sections have been considerably improved thereby.

Further perfecting of the work has taken place through the establishment of a permanent Trade Union Commission, composed of representatives of the most important Parties and the Profintern. The chief task of the Trade Union Commission is to keep track of the activity of Communists in trade unions and to be responsible for supplying advice and directions to the various Parties about work to be carried out by Communists in the trade unions. The work of the Trade Union Commission will enable the Presidium to deal with the various trade union questions more regularly and in a more systematic manner.

This new division of labour within the Secretariat, and the formation of National Secretariats, have enabled the Secretariat of the ECCI to follow more closely the various Sections of the ECCI and exert influence on them. In every department, a secretary of the ECCI was responsible for the work.

Further, the contact of the Secretariat of the ECCI with the various parallel organisations was more closely established in so far as the Secretariat was in a better position than hitherto to control the work of parallel organisations through their representatives to participate therein, and to give directions. The closer contact of parallel organisations in the Org Bureau of the ECCI has systematically dealt with the questions of parallel organisations and examined the plans of work of these organisations.

The Secretariat of the ECCI has carried out, together with the representatives of the Parties present in Moscow, a critical examination of the results of the reorganisation of the work of the ECCI. It was revealed that, in spite of the great progress that had been made through reorganisation without even increasing the apparatus of the ECCI,



that many shortcomings both organisationally and in the method of work still exist. One of these shortcomings consisted in the fact that the various National Secretariats worked in too isolated a manner and utilised much too little the Departments of the ECCI in their work, deputing too few tasks to these Departments. Further, it was stated that a large number of the Secretaries of the ECCI and the representatives of the Sections were not always able to carry out their political activities fully, because of being overburdened with organisational tasks. Through the formation of National Secretariats, questions concerning the various countries were more thoroughly dealt with, but on the other hand, it became apparent that the treatment of the actual International economic and political questions was neglected. (viz. International Economic Conference; International Armament Conference; Congress on the Migration Question; Question of the Regulation of Inter-Allied Debts, etc. etc.). Increased attention should be devoted to questions appertaining to the East in view of the intensification of the national revolutionary movement. It is quite apparent that the shortcomings in dealing with such questions were due to organisational causes. The Secretariat has no special organ to deal with these questions and the conferences which were decided upon by the last Enlarged Executive could not take place. In order to overcome these shortcomings, it will be necessary to form a permanent commission in the apparatus of the ECCI whose work it will be to investigate economic and world political problems.

The fact that the journal "The Communist International" is now appearing regularly as a weekly publication denotes further progress. The journal "C.I." was founded at the same time as the Communist International. The task which the Presidium has set itself by transforming the monthly journal to a weekly, is the creation of a popular, political fighting organ of Leninism and of the ECCI. The journal intends to elucidate more quickly than hitherto the international questions of the proletarian class struggle in a Leninist sense. It is necessary for the Communist Parties to become cognisant without delay of every change in the situation in this complicated position of great political antagonisms, developing on the foundations of economic antagonisms of imperialism. The internationalisation of actual important questions in the labour movement in all countries has advanced considerably in the recent period. A weekly journal will enable the leadership of the Comintern to react more quickly, to the actual main questions in the various countries, to give political advice in good time, to bring them to the notice of all Sections, and to popularise the policy of Comintern amongst the broad masses of the workers. It is no easy task to issue a good weekly paper regularly. It can only be accomplished if the Communist Parties of all countries guarantee regular collaboration of their best forces in the "Communist International". The new weekly journal of the Comintern is under the collective editorship of all members of the Presidium and representatives of the Parties here present and other comrades in the capacity of experts. In the weekly editorial discussions, not only are the contents of the journal decided upon, but also all actual political questions are discussed.

The last Plenum issued the order to the ECCI to take measures to render possible a more intensive control over the execution of decisions. After the Enlarged Executive, the control of work was examined and organised more systematically and connected with the National Secretariats. Not only was the question of control and execution of decisions taken by the Departments of the ECCI and individual comrades taken in hand, but the execution of decisions of the Comintern in the sections was arranged. Regular reports were given by the control commissions at the sessions of the secretariat.

The following statistics show that reorganisation has considerably helped the work of the ECCI and also of the Presidium and the Org Bureau. The Productivity of the organs has considerably increased. For example, during the past seven months, the Presidium held several more sessions and dealt with more questions than in the previous report period of ten months. Further, there is no doubt that all questions which were dealt with by the leading organs of the Comintern were prepared more scientifically and collectively. Of all the questions on the agenda of the ECCI and of the Presidium during the period under report, 60% were prepared in the National Secretariats and 10% by the Trade Union Commission.

The Presidium followed the course of the big miners' struggle in Great Britain systematically. It approved of the policy of the CPGB during the British General Strike. It adopted the theses on the lessons of the British General Strike.

Important decisions were made on the Polish question. It was decided to send a critical letter to the CPP on tactics adopted during the Pilsudski rising. Further, it was decided to send a letter to the CPP on the lessons of the Pilsudski rising and the attitude of the Party.

The Presidium discussed the question of national territorial autonomy. Far-reaching reports were made on the position in China. The Presidium made a thorough examination of the Norwegian question and decided that the campaign which the Party was carrying on for the establishment of a trade union Left bloc in Norway should be continued and intensified. The attitude on the question of the Bordiga group and the struggle against the Italian ultra-Left was outlined. Trade union tactics in Italy were brought under review. Several reports were made on the economic and political situation in Germany and the inner Party position of the CPG. The delegation of the ECCI to the French Party Congress submitted a report on the course of the Party Congress. The resolutions of the last Party Congress of the CP of Yugoslavia were endorsed. A report was made on the position of the CP of Uruguay and the Presidium sent a letter to its Party Congress. It was decided to send a letter to the Party Congress of the CP of Belgium. Further, a report was given on the position in Mexico and the Party Congress of the CP of Mexico. The Presidium endorsed a detailed letter to the CP of Mexico. After considerable preliminary work, the programme of action of the CP of Indonesia was endorsed. Preparatory work was begun for the Enlarged Executive opening up the discussion on actual questions of the economical and political international situation.

During the period under report, trade union questions were dealt with by the Presidium and ECCI on seventeen occasions; primarily the Italian, German, Norwegian, French and Bulgarian questions. The Presidium also in some important political questions determined its policy in respect of parallel organisations.

Information on the political importance of the decisions carried out, discussions, etc., may be gathered from the national reports submitted.

The following statistical items may be given on the activity of the decisive and preparatory organs of the ECCI during the period under report:

The Executive Committee and the Presidium in 32 sessions dealt with 175 questions, viz:

1. General International and Political questions	--	19
2. Trade Union questions	--	17
3. Political questions of individual Sections	--	82
4. General Political Organisation questions	--	53
5. Questions of parallel organisations	--	4

The Org Bureau of the ECCI in 14 sessions dealt with a total of 46 questions viz:

1. General organisational questions	--	12
2. Organisational questions of individual Sections		10
3. Financial questions	--	1
4. Questions of parallel organisations	--	8
5. Questions of the Department of the ECCI	--	10
6. Miscellaneous questions	--	5

The Secretariat of the ECCI in 37 sessions dealt with a total of 489 questions, viz:

1. Preparation and execution of general political and organisational questions	--	111
2. Preparation and execution of questions of individual Sections	--	183
3. Questions of parallel organisations	--	39
4. Questions of the Departments of the ECCI	--	80
5. Administrative and Economic questions	--	39
6. Personal questions	--	35

The smaller commissions of the Secretariat held 53 sessions during the report period and dealt with 825 questions.

The Secretariat and its smaller commissions during the report period held 31 sessions more and dealt with 341 questions more than in the former report period. About 25% of the questions dealt with by the Secretariat were prepared in the various national Secretariats.

The Trade Union Commission dealt with 37 questions at ten sessions.

The following statistics illustrate the activity of the various national Secretariats:

	Sessions.	Questions dis- cussed.
1. German National Secretariat	17	80
2. British " "	16	62
3. Czechoslovakian " "	15	58
4. French National " "	12	53
5. Spanish and South American	9	38
6. Polish National Secretariat	16	42
7. Balkan " "	21	90
8. Scandinavian " "	10	35
9. American " "	12	52
10. Indian and Indonesian	8	20
11. Japanese " "	2	9
12. Far Eastern " "	13	17
13. Near Eastern " "	12	14

## II. THE AGITPROP DEPARTMENT.

During the period covered by this report there was an internal reorganisation and reinforcement of the apparatus intended to adapt the Agitprop Department to the new structure of the general apparatus of the ECPI.

Apart from the fundamental tasks: conduct of campaigns of the Executive and of propaganda of Leninism, the Department was mainly confronted with the task of timely support for the work of Agitprop Departments in the most important countries which are considerably developing their activity.

Questions newly drawn into the Department's sphere of work are: study of the activity of the Social Democratic Parties, Communist work in mass organisations, organisation of propaganda for the construction of socialism in the USSR, and information about events in the CPSU.

Soon after the VI Plenum, the Department succeeded in resuming with increased energy, regular relations with the Agitprop Departments of the most important countries, in order that all important questions connected with their work could be discussed with them.

During the report period the agitation and press sub-department either supported or conducted the following international campaigns.

### 1. Campaign for the British General and Miners' Strike.

Already on April 23, a letter was addressed to the sections drawing their attention to agitational and propagandist tasks in connection with the coal conflict which seemed imminent. Several other circulars and letters of instruction were sent out in support of the strike. The information of the Parties on the most important events was very much developed. A considerable number of Russian and foreign articles on the British strike were sent to the Inprecorr for publication. During the strike, the Department issued 13 Bulletins which published material on the relief campaign of the Russian proletariat. At the same time we placed at the disposal of the Soviet press, articles and material on the British campaign. The Agitprop Department, in conjunction

with the Inform Department, has begun a thorough study of the press and the reports of the Sections of the CI on their activity in support of the strike. The study of the agitation campaigns of the various Parties in connection with the British strike, will be concluded for the Enlarged Plenum.

## 2. Campaign on China.

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A prolonged campaign was conducted in support of the struggle in China. This campaign can be divided into the following stages: first of all, a very detailed letter was issued for the anniversary of the Shanghai events, instructions were given concerning support for the struggle of the Chinese revolution and arrangements were made for a regular supply of articles on this question to the Russian and foreign Party press.

On the occasion of the retreat of the National Armies, detailed material on the importance of this event was sent out and the Parties were urged to organise support-demonstrations. The outbreak of the General Strike in Great Britain, prevented the further development of this campaign. It was, however, resumed on the occasion of Chang-Tso-Ling's advance and of the victorious advance of the Canton Army. On special occasions, telegrams and instructions were sent regularly to the Parties, and suitable articles were published.

## 3. Ninth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

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In July and August, letters concerning this campaign were sent to the CP of Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany and America. The Department supplied the editor of the Inprecorr with the following material: special theses for agitators, short concrete articles for reproduction in the Party press, excerpts from the labour legislation and Constitution of Soviet Russia. Part of this material was published in the special number of the Inprecorr on the October Revolution, and the remainder in the following numbers up to the end of October. Full statistical material was also supplied for a special number. The German, French and Czech Parties received from the Department 30 photographs illustrating life in the USSR.

## 4. Anniversary of the Paris Commune.

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This event was also duly prepared by supplying suitable material, circulars and letters to the Parties.

## 5. May-Day Campaign.

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On the occasion of the May-Day celebrations, a special number of the Inprecorr was published. The theses of the Agitprop Department of the ECCI were adopted by most of the sections of the ECCI.

## 6. International Cooperator Day.

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The Agitprop Department supported the Cooperatoring Section by issuing theses and circular letters.

7. Rakosi Campaign.  
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The main feature in the conduct of this campaign was the emphasis laid on the struggle of the CP of Hungary for its legality. An investigation was made concerning the conduct of this campaign by the Parties, and a circular in connection with it containing critical remarks was sent out.

The Agitprop Department has already begun to make preparations for the Lenin week. It is intended to combine the Lenin week with the elaboration of the decisions of the Enlarged Plenum.

The Parties which sent workers' delegations to the USSR were invited to collect material on the report campaign, and particularly to make a list of the written questions handed in by workers at the report meetings.

As to the agitation activity of the individual Parties, reports were made during the past period on agitprop work in Great Britain, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Poland and America in the presence of the responsible representatives of the respective Parties, which reports served as a basis for detailed letters of instruction.

A number of letters and instructions issued on various other occasions were forwarded to the Parties.

With respect to the press, in addition to watching the Communist Party press, the following work was accomplished: 1) a better connection was established between Russian and foreign workers' correspondents. 2) Regular relations were established between the press of the Soviet Union and the foreign Party organs. With respect to this, directions were elaborated together with the editor of the "Pravda" and letters were sent to the Parties in question. 3) At the III Conference of worker and peasant correspondents of the USSR the Department presented a report on the International workers' correspondents movement. 4) A critical appreciation was sent to the American Party with respect to factory newspapers and the workers' correspondents periodical "The American Workers' Correspondent". 5) Theses on the workers' correspondents movement in Germany and Great Britain, are in the course of preparation. 6) Reports and a critical appreciation on the Vienna "Rote Fahne", on the new column of "l'Humanité" and on the reorganisation of the "American Daily Worker" were elaborated. The improvement of this organ was discussed in conjunction with the Editorial Board of the Berlin "Rote Fahne". A number of provincial newspapers of the CPG were examined. The Dutch "Tribune" also underwent examination. A report on the organ of the CP of Italy, the "Unita" is being prepared. Of the theoretical organs of the Sections, the "Workers' Monthly" (United States), underwent examination followed by a critical appreciation sent to the Party. A critical appreciation of the "Kommunistische Revue" (Prague) is being prepared. In Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia the question of workers' correspondents is now under-going systematic elaboration.

Owing to the reinforcement of the staff of the agitation and press sub-department, it was possible to pay more attention to the problems of the workers' mass organisations and of information on the USSR. Communist activity in the international freethinkers movement, in the Red Front Fighters Union in Germany was dealt with and various proposals were made.

It was impossible to make a beginning with systematic information on the USSR before the middle of September. Enlightenment of the Parties on the events in the USSR was carried on from the propagandist and agitational viewpoint. Four main spheres received our special attention: 1) Information about the steady development of the economic, social, political and cultural life of the USSR. 2) Supply of material about newly arising problems, (for instance, results of Soviet elections, new decrees, important political trials, etc.), in connection with which special campaigns had to be conducted. 3) Material enabling the Parties to deal effectively with the false news and attacks of the enemy press. 4) Information about events in the life of the CPSU. Such material was prepared and forwarded to the various Parties. The October campaign was also in the nature of information about the USSR. The preparation of this campaign by the Agitprop has already been described.

Information about events in the CPSU has been greatly developed particularly lately in connection with the new attitude of the oppositional bloc. Information about the XV Party Conference of the CPSU was very carefully organised.

The propaganda sub-department suffered a long time from lack of collaborators and was not able to resume its work properly until the beginning of September. 1) The Department has tried for the first time to organise a campaign on elaboration of the decisions of the VI Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI, by sending methodical instructions and material to all the Parties. 2) A plan was drawn up for the propaganda campaign for socialist construction in the USSR. 3) A detailed circular with organisational and methodical instructions was sent out in preparation for the organisation of educational work during the winter season. 4) A special circular which was sent out to the Parties with several enclosures dealt with the organisation of self-education activity by the Parties. 5) The Parties received methodical instructions regarding week-end courses, important questions of the day and re their utilisation for propaganda purposes. One of the enclosures sent out with these instructions dealt with the British strike, as a practical example. 6) At present, a reader on Communism and a programme with supplements for courses for the higher political education of functionaries are being prepared. The Parties will receive them shortly.

Special letters on propaganda questions were sent to America (on directions for the organisation of educational work), France (on questions of district schools), Czechoslovakia (on criticism of central and elementary schools), Australia (on the propaganda work of the Australian Party), Norway (on questions connected with the conduct of campaigns), Germany (on various propaganda questions, particularly school activity), Great Britain (on the Party school). In addition to this all the Parties received from the Department information about the organisation of propaganda and educational work in the CPSU.

The Department is at present preparing the school programme of the German Party school.

As the work connected with the development of the ordinary educational activity of the Parties (elementary education, political education for functionaries, central schools) is going on satisfactorily, the Department intends to turn

its attention to some spheres which so far have remained almost untouched; first and foremost, to the development of self-education work by the Party members, to questions of workers' education (arrangements made by the Parties for the education of the workers and their proper utilisation) as well as to problems of the school policy of the Parties (attitude to bourgeois schools etc.).

As to special efforts to counteract Social Democratic influence, this work is only in its initial stages. A detailed report was placed before the Plenum of the ECCI on tendencies in the Second International. The collected material forms the basis of the work of the commission of the Plenum of the ECCI on new phenomena within the working class.

Since September, efforts were made to establish a regular connection with the Eastern countries in order to discuss with them agitprop questions. The referent dealing with these questions has to adapt the general directions of the department to the special conditions of the movement in the Eastern countries, and has to study all problems arising there. In connection with this, special attention was paid to the CP of China, the CC of which shows great interest in educational questions. The Agitprop Department held several sessions at which special questions connected with agitation and propaganda literature and with publishing activity were discussed.

International Courses on Leninism. -- The official opening of these courses took place soon after the VI Enlarged Executive. As most of the Parties had not sent the students at the appointed time, the proper functioning of these courses was delayed until just before the summer vacation. Another obstacle in the way of the proper functioning of the courses was the fact that some of the students sent by the Parties did not entirely comply with the conditions made for their reception. During the summer vacation, the students were engaged in practical work in some of the big enterprises of the Moscow gubernia, and regular tuition began on October 1st. There are at these Lenin courses, two German language groups with 40 students, one British group with 15 students, one French group with 15 students and one Russian group with 16 students. The Agitprop Department has watched the work of the schools during this period and has supported it with advice and also in a practical manner.

### III. ORG. DEPARTMENT.

In the period covered by the report between the sixth and seventh Plenum, the Org. Department of the ECCI was confronted with the following important tasks:

- 1) Carrying out the decisions of the Second Org. Conference and the Sixth Enlarged ECCI Plenum.
- 2) Elaboration of material and practical proposals for the sessions of the Org. Bureau.
- 3) Participation in the work of the national secretariats and the departments of the ECCI.



4) Work with practitioners.

5) Issuing instructions to Parties and ideological support for their organisational work.

6) Issuing instructions to Parties with respect to nucleus newspapers.

7) Advice and hints concerning correspondence between the foreign CP nuclei and the CP nuclei of the SU.

The Org. Department has drawn up a time table for its own activity and for that of the Org. Bureau. All the tasks set by the Second Org. Conference as well as those arising out of the working conditions of the most important Parties are mentioned in this time table.

During the period covered by the report the Org. Department concentrated its attention mainly on the following countries: Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, China, America and Czecho-Slovakia.

As before, connection between the Org. Department and the various Parties is inadequate. The best material comes from Parties to which Org. Department instructors are attached. There were four such Parties during the report period. A close connection exists between the Org. Department of the ECCI and the CPG.

The Org. Department has endeavoured to introduce regular reports by the Communist Parties to the ECCI according to a definite scheme. However, not one of the Parties has sent in such a report. This shows that the apparatus of these Parties is very weak and that it will be necessary to obtain the reports of the Parties by some other means. The Party apparatus must not be taxed beyond its capacity. On the other hand instructing must be more thorough and arrangements should be made for more frequent reports by the Parties to the ECCI. Very useful are the practitioners of the Org. Department. The Secretariat has allowed the Org. Department eight practitioners from the most important sections. During the report period the Org. Department had only four practitioners. In spite of frequent reminders some Parties did not send any practitioners. Lack of information material from the various Parties has made more difficult the general work of the Org. Department and also the work of the practitioners. During the period covered by the report the Org. Department held 28 meetings at which questions of the Org. activity of the various Parties and also general Org. questions relating to all the Parties were discussed. The questions discussed in the Org. Department of the ECCI can be tabulated as follows on the basis of various countries: Germany -- 7, France -- 5, Czecho-Slovakia -- 5, Italy -- 5, Austria -- 4, Holland -- 3, Yugoslavia -- 3, Great Britain -- 2, America -- 2, Switzerland -- 2, Australia -- 2, Argentina -- 2, Norway -- 2, Belgium -- 1, Sweden -- 1, Lithuania -- 1, Palestine -- 1, work among women -- 3, Communist cooperative work -- 3, work of Communists in sport organisations -- 2, IRA -- 1, YCI -- 1.

In addition to current correspondence 42 letters on organisation were sent out. These letters dealt with various questions of Org. work: statute questions (France, Yugoslavia, Austria), general tasks of Org. work (Argentina,

Spain, Greece, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Australia), Communist work in the Trade Union (Norway, etc.). The distribution of these letters to the various countries is as follows: Germany -- 15, France -- 3, Great Britain -- 2, America -- 2, Czecho-Slovakia -- 2, Austria -- 2, Switzerland -- 2, Holland -- 1, Italy -- 3, Norway -- 2, Sweden -- 1, Belgium -- 1, Spain -- 1, Australia -- 1, Yugoslavia -- 1, Roumania -- 1, Greece -- 1, Argentine -- 1, moreover, the following directions were sent to the Sections in the form of circulars:

1. On nucleus newspapers.
2. Registration of members including active members.
3. On Party members' visits to the USSR.
4. On presenting information reports.
5. On work in householders' organisations.

Finally, the Org. Department issued three information bulletins, five reviews of Great Britain, one of Germany, one of Czecho-Slovakia. The following questions connected with Org. work occupied during the report period the attention of the Org. Department: politisation of nuclei, proper organisation and activity of street nuclei, activity of nucleus bureaux, connection between nuclei and higher Party organs (and vice versa) construction of the apparatus of Party Executives, activity of fractions, nucleus newspapers, registration and proper utilisation of existing cadres, formation of new cadres, numerical growth of Communist Parties (recruiting members), participation of nuclei in the most important political campaigns and organisational consolidation of the results of these campaigns.

The Sections were very glad to receive the decisions of the Second Org. Conference as they contained the necessary supplementary directions on the further work of reorganisation and on the organisational constructive work of the Communist Parties. However, it must be remarked that not all the Sections, by far, have carried out these decisions with sufficient energy. Neither have these decisions been carried out correctly in every case. For the present the total result of Org. work is as follows:

1) The instruction apparatus of the Org. Department of the ECCI is inadequate, the number of practitioners must be raised. The practitioners must be drawn not only from the biggest Parties. In connection with the utilisation of practitioners some errors have crept into the work of the Org. Department which must and will be remedied.

2) The Org. Department has published the decisions of the Second Org. Conference and also a series of articles on Org. questions of individual Parties.

3) Ideological support for the Org. activity of the individual Sections through the Org. Department of the ECCI must be developed and strengthened.

4) All Parties are confronted with the question of widening the basis of the Party among the working class, especially among workers employed in big enterprises. The British, French, Czecho-Slovakian and Swedish Parties have been able to increase their membership considerably, but it must be said that not sufficient attention is paid to the recruitment of new members. Special importance attaches to the work connected with bringing again into the ranks of the Party former members who are workers and who left the Party as a result of reorganisation. Recruitment of members must go hand in hand with making the new members part and parcel of the Party, with the general development and revitalisation of the work of factory nuclei.

5) It is also of the utmost importance that Parties should systematically control the reorganisation work. Constant efforts must be made to strengthen the nuclei, to re-establish nuclei which had stopped working, to train collaborators for nucleus bureaux, to remedy the evil of a too mechanical procedure etc.

6) The foremost task now before the Party is the politisation of the work of the nuclei, and also of the entire Org. work, in order that the various Org. questions should not be solved in a mechanical manner, but that every one of them should be linked up with all the struggles of the Parties as they arise and with their partial demands. It is essential that all Org. work should arise out of the every-day demands and needs of the working class.

7) Street nuclei have already been organised in many countries, but they do not function properly everywhere. It is still frequently the case that street nuclei are either inactive or that they carry on their work in the old fashion of the former territorial organisations.

8) Although in some Parties, the apparatus has been strengthened, it is not yet able to adapt itself to the new requirements and tasks of the Party.

9) The regular political guidance of nucleus work is as yet inadequate, and the same may be said of the connection between the leading Party organs and the nuclei.

10) The instructing of the minor organisations is also inadequate, there is lack of appropriate cadres, and very little is done towards the training of such cadres of active workers. There is great need of trained nucleus and fraction secretaries and also of leading collaborators in urban sub-district organisations.

11) Work for the formation of fractions in mass organisations including trade unions and cooperatives is also only in its initial stage.

12) Parties do not pay sufficient attention to YCL organisations and do not give them the necessary support.

In addition to the report for the VI Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI the Org. Department will place before it written reports of the various Sections. It is also drawing up a full report on all the Parties. We will give here only a few data which illustrate the state of organisation in the most important Sections.

#### G e r m a n y

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We have not yet received for the VII Plenum of the ECCI complete statistics of the membership of the CFG. On the strength of the material at our disposal, it can be assumed that the CFG has over 150,000 members.

Only in the Berlin-Brandenburg district has reorganisation been fully carried out. In other districts reorganisation has been mainly carried out in big industrial centres. Factory nuclei, particularly in big enterprises, are as yet very small whilst the street nuclei are very big.

Street nuclei have the tendency to develop at the expense of mixed nuclei, i.e. at the expense of nuclei composed of members from several enterprises, most of whom are inactive. However, the rapid growth of street nuclei is mainly due to the fact that they are joined by unemployed Party members. Nucleus bureaux do not as yet work satisfactorily, but it can be said on the whole that nuclei are growing in strength. They take an active part in all political campaigns.

The policy of the Party with respect to Org. work is on the whole correct and considerable achievements have been made in this sphere.

#### C z e c h - S l o v a k i a

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The membership has increased to 120,000, but it has not yet reached the 1924 figure (138,000). No full material is at hand concerning the distribution of Party members in the nuclei. The political activity of the nuclei is as yet inadequate, but there has been nevertheless a certain growth with the result that the number of Communists in Factory Councils has increased -- at the last factory council elections it increased from 9.42% to 9.70%. The nuclei were also very active during the anti-taxation campaign, which shows that the Czech Party is well able to mobilise large sections of workers in spite of the opposition of the Social Democrats. Just lately the apparatus of the CC including the Org. and Agitprop Departments has greatly developed. Nevertheless these two Departments stand in need of further development. Connection between the CC and the local organisations and the instructing of the latter by the CC are still inadequate. The number of nucleus newspapers has increased. Forty six newspapers are now published in Prague, 22 of them regularly, as compared with 20 newspapers in 1925. Fraction work in mass organisations is only in its initial stage. Some functionaries of the Red Trade Unions are still of the opinion that there is no need to organise fractions within them, as they are working as it is in full agreement with the CP.

#### F r a n c e

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During the period covered by the report, the French CP has done good Org. work. In accordance with the instructions sent by the Org. Department of the ECCI, the Party has done its utmost to reorganise itself according to the administrative districts of the country. On the strength of the decisions of the Org. Conference in Lille, the formation of provincial (Department) Central Party organs has been taken in hand. At the time of the Lille Congress, the membership of the Party, in round figures, was 56,000. From the same September material one can gather that the membership of factory nuclei is still very small particularly in big enterprises. In the autumn the Party linked up a recruiting campaign with the general political campaign for partial demands. The participation of the nuclei in the recruiting campaign for "l'Humanité" deserves special mention. The CC informs us that the number of readers has increased by 60,000 in 1926. In October 1926, the issue of "l'Humanité" was 2,000 copies. The column of "l'Humanité" headed "Party Life" which is to give ideological support to the nuclei has been improved and developed. The "Cahiers du Bolchévisme" is also paying more attention to Org. questions than before. On the strength of the material at the disposal

of the Org. Department one can also say that the activity of the Party in trade union and other mass organisations has been crowned with considerable success.

### Great Britain

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The British CP has achieved considerable success during the report period. The membership has grown from 6,000 to 12,000. Still greater is the number of sympathisers grouped around the Party. Although not officially organised they take a very active part in all the public actions of the Party. The British CP is doing great work in the trade unions and among the members of the Labour Party as well as among factory workers. One can say that on the average every member of the CP of Great Britain influences 100 non-Party workers. During the General Strike and also during the miners' strike, the Party was the only organising force of the movement, which raised its prestige considerably and which also increased its influence over the masses. Nucleus newspapers play a very important role in the entire Party work. Their number and circulation has increased steadily. During the General Strike, the nucleus newspapers were the main source of information of the masses. The circulation of the Central Party organ has also considerably increased. In April the weekly organ "Workers' Weekly" had an issue of 55,000 whilst in October 1925, its issue was 8,000 copies. The "Communist Review" (theoretical monthly) increased its issue from 3,500 in April to 6,000 in October. The Party apparatus is as yet weak and the cadres are small. Generally speaking, the Party is growing rapidly in strength and numbers and is developing into a real Bolshevik mass Party.

### America

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The present membership of the Party is 12,000. Previous to reorganisation it was 16,000. The social composition of the Party has greatly improved, the proletarian element is stronger, but at the same time the Party has lost a considerable number of good proletarian elements. Reorganisation was carried out mechanically without the necessary ideological preparatory work. In the enterprises and particularly in the big enterprises, the American Party is still weak, and in this sphere even its technical organisational work is far from accomplished. Nucleus newspapers play an important role in the work of the American Party. Forty nucleus newspapers are published regularly, the total number of copies being 40,000. Points which deserve mention are: general consolidation of the Party apparatus, better connection between the local organisations and the CC and better instructing on the part of the CC.

### Holland

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The Org. activity of the Dutch CP is still very weak. This is shown by the figures descriptive of the position of the biggest organisation of the Party, that of Amsterdam. According to information received through the instructor of the Org. Department of the ECCI who attended the last Party Congress, the distribution of the 530 Amsterdam members is as follows: 50 nuclei have over 3

members, 14 nuclei 2 members each, 50 nuclei 1 member each. The social composition is as follows: about 350 manual workers, all the other members are intellectuals, artisans, housewives, etc., 100 Party members are unemployed. The material of the last Congress of the CP of Holland indicates that some considerable ideological work will have to be carried out before the Party is able to fully understand the organisational questions as propounded in the decisions of the First and Second Org. Conference of the ECCI. The "Tribune", has a maximum edition of 4,500 copies.

### I t a l y

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The CP of Italy had to work during the report period under extremely difficult conditions, under unprecedented persecution on the part of the government. The secretaries of Party Executives were generally arrested and sent to prison after an activity of from 2 to 3 months at the utmost. But on the other hand, this persecution has steeled the Party and has resulted in bringing new forces into the forefront. It can be said that organisationally, the Party is growing stronger. The apparatus of the CC and of some of the bigger provincial organisations has developed. Conditions of work in trade unions continue to be very difficult.

### B e l g i u m

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The following figures illustrate the increase of members in the Belgian CP:

<u>12-9-21</u>	<u>18-5-22</u>	<u>1-10-22</u>	<u>1-3-23</u>	<u>15-1-</u>	<u>1.5.26</u>
535	639	472	536	728	853

According to these statistics, the Belgian CP is growing in numbers in spite of extremely difficult conditions of work. Nevertheless, its numerical strength is but small. The total number of nuclei is 44, including 19 mixed nuclei. Most of the Party members belong to these nuclei. The organisation of the Party is not yet complete. The instructor of the Org. Department has informed us that at the last Party Congress the Party dealt in a very business like manner with the solution of Org. questions. This had its reflex in the last municipal elections when the Party achieved considerable success among the masses. The material before us also shows that the Party has had a certain amount of success with respect to work in mass organisations, particularly in trade unions. The "Drapeau rouge", the Central organ of the Party has 5,000 subscribers.

### S w i t z e r l a n d

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During the report period the CP of Switzerland conducted a series of campaigns in order to extend its organisational and political influence among the masses. At the proposal of the CC, the organisations set themselves the task to recruit during this campaign a definite number of subscribers for Party newspapers and periodicals, and also a definite number of new Party members. Full particulars about the result of this campaign are, however, not yet at hand. But one thing is already certain: that

organisationally, the Party has grown stronger and that it is establishing a better connection with the masses. An Org. Conference was held on May 15 and 16, convened by the CC, in order to discuss the decisions of the II Org. Conference of the ECPI and their practical adaptation to Swiss conditions.

### S c a n d i n a v i a n   P a r t i e s

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Norway. The minor Party organisations have certainly been more active. About 30,000 Kronen were collected during the campaign in support of the Central organ of the Party; 50 factory nuclei participated in the collection. The achievements in connection with the application of united front tactics in the trade union movement deserves special attention!

Sweden. In 1926; the membership of the Party increased from 10,000 to 11,400. In 1925, the number of nuclei in round figures was 400, whilst in 1926 their number is 615. There are 90 factory and street nuclei in Stockholm.

Denmark. In 1926 the membership was 700. The Party still shows few signs of life. Reorganisation has not been carried out. No general members' meetings have been held in Copenhagen for several months.

Finland. The Party is steadily developing organisationally. Good work is being done in the mass organisations, as well as systematic work in the rural districts followed up by organisational consolidation.

### A r g e n t i n e

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Through reorganisation carried out in the beginning of 1925, the membership of the Party fell from 3,000 to 1,500. In 1926, the Party conducted a recruiting campaign and its membership now is 2,700 including 10% candidates. As there is no candidate-stage for manual workers in the CP of Argentine, one must assume that during the recruiting campaign 76% manual workers and 24% non-proletarian elements entered the Party. The structure of the Party is as follows: nuclei, sub-districts, districts, CC. There are 13 districts in Argentine, 3 of which embrace 75% of the total membership. There are paid workers only in 3 districts (one in each) namely, in Buenos Aires, Cordoba and Santa Fé. The CC consists of 70 members and has 9 paid workers, including one collaborator in the Org. Department, one in the Agitprop Department and a travelling propagandist. In Argentine, the Party carries on work in a considerable number of rival trade union organisations. The work is done with the help of fractions. The resolutions of the II Org. Conference were published by the Party in the Spanish language in pamphlet form. The Party has a weekly central organ and also 7 provincial newspapers. Moreover, Communist newspapers in Yiddish, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian, German and Roumanian are published occasionally; 44 nucleus newspapers are published. The Party has a sound political basis and good prospects for further development.

The East and the Colonies.

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The main feature during the period covered by the report was the steady development of the National Liberation and Communist movement in almost all the colonial and Eastern countries. We must single out the steady development of the revolutionary movement in China. The Communist Party of China has grown and has at present 12,000 members. A Communist Party has been formed and firmly established in Korea. The Japanese Government persecutes the Korean Party, it has arrested over 100 of its members, and several members of the Party and the YCL have been tortured to death in the prisons. But these persecutions have not been able to stop the movement. The work of the Communist Party of Indonesia has also developed in spite of cruel persecutions by the agents of the Dutch Government. The formation of a national-revolutionary party on the model of the Kuomintang is imminent. The national-revolutionary and the Communist movement in the North African Colonies and on the coast of the Mediterranean, as well as in Egypt has grown considerably. Although the organisation of the revolutionary movement in the Eastern countries has not yet clear and definite forms, the influence of the organisational principles of the CI is noticeable everywhere. With respect to organisation it must be said that the Chinese Communist Party has made remarkable progress. During the period covered by the report the CP of China has gone in for severe self-criticism also with respect to organisational work. It is at present engaged in strengthening its minor organisations and in imbuing them with energy. It is also training cadres of active workers. The CP of China is certainly a Party which is in close contact with the mass of the working population. Suffice it to say that the work of the CP is linked up with that of the one million strong Kuomintang, as well as with that of the peasant unions with their 900,000 members, and with that of the trade union organisations ~~with~~ over 500,000 members.

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#### IV. INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

Since the last Plenum of the ECCI, all the publications of the Information Department have been issued in German and Russian and most of them also in English and French. Reports, communications, information letters and bulletins have been published.

Reports are intended mainly to keep the ECCI and its organs informed about all important questions of an economic and political nature. They are also to give regularly a review of the activity of individual Sections and of all important political questions under consideration. Furthermore, they should also serve as information material for the utilisation of the Sections. Communications are issued on all important occasions, in order to provide the members of the ECCI without delay with the necessary information in a concise form. Information letters and bulletins give the Sections a continuous survey of the work of the Presidium of the ECCI, of the most important decisions, resolutions and letters. They also reproduce important speeches of ECCI members in a condensed form.

The information bulletins are issued to give the Parties a survey of the activity of the various organs of the ECCI and also of the activity of the Sections in the various countries.

In addition to these reports, the Information Department has endeavoured to establish closer contact with the various Sections and their inform. departments. Thereby should be established closer contact with the Information Department of the ECCI and a more regular reporting on the part of those who should supply information about the various countries. This work is as yet in its stages.

The following reports and communications were published:  
 50 on Germany, 39 on Great Britain, 11 on the United States of America, 5 on France, 33 on Czech-Slovakia, 15 on Italy, 6 on China, 4 on Korea, 10 on India, 5 on Japan, 2 on Canada, 3 on Turkey, 4 on Egypt, 6 on Roumania, 4 on Bulgaria, 4 on Yugo-Slavia, 1 on Greece, 7 on Poland, 2 on Sweden, 8 on Norway, 3 on Denmark, 11 on Holland, 9 on Belgium, 5 on Switzerland, 1 on Argentine, 9 on Russia, 2 on Palestine, 1 on Lithuania, 7 on Hungary, 1 on Venezuela, 11 on Austria, 15 on Indonesia.

There were published altogether: 304 communications and reports, 13 reports of an international character, 9 information letters and 3 bulletins of the Information Department.

#### E.C.C.I. Library.

Since the last Plenum, the library of the ECCI has been reorganised and considerably extended. A new departure in its work is the regular publication of bibliographical notes, as well as the compilation of publications in connection with important current problems, for the various departments and individual comrades.

## V. COOPERATIVE SECTION OF THE E.C.C.I.

General. On March 4th and 6th a Cooperative Conference with the representatives of the national Sections of the Comintern was held in connection with the last Session of the Enlarged Executive. This conference defined in the theses (endorsed by the Org. Bureau of the ECCI on 10.4.) the tasks of the Comintern and of the individual Parties in the sphere of cooperative work, and also the methods of carrying out these tasks.

These theses indicated how the future activity of the Cooperative Section should be carried on. In this connection the Cooperative Section was frequently compelled to intervene in the details of the work of the individual national Sections because the Central Committee of the Parties in the most important countries do not as yet pay sufficient attention to this sphere of work. The accomplishment of the tasks in the manner indicated has always been linked up with the various campaigns, on an international scale as well as within the framework of the special tasks of the individual countries. The most important campaigns, requiring considerable preparatory work on the part of the Cooperative Section were:

1. The annual district and general cooperative congresses in the various ~~countries~~ countries.
2. The International Trade Union Congress on July 3rd.
3. The international relief action for the British miners.
4. The sessions of the Executive and of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance.

The Cooperative Congresses in the various countries were carefully prepared by the Cooperative Section by circular letters and special instructions. In almost all countries these congresses show that considerable progress has been made. In comparison with former congresses, the Communists acted in a more united and effective manner. The Cooperative Congresses of nearly all the important countries (except Germany and Switzerland) were attended by representatives of the cooperatives of Soviet Russia as visitors.

The International Cooperators' Day (July 3rd) was also very thoroughly and carefully prepared. In addition to a manifesto of the Executive, the Cooperative Section issued a circular. The Agitprop Department also issued a circular and hints re speeches. The Women's Department sent out a circular and the International Women's Conference a manifesto, whilst the Information Department of the ECCI sent out a letter of information. A special number of the Inprecorr was published in 3 languages. But in spite of this preparation, it must be recorded that with very few exceptions, the International Cooperators Day this year was not utilised sufficiently for the strengthening of Communist influence among the masses.

Relief action for the British miners was for a long time not taken up actively enough within the cooperatives, and its results were not very satisfactory. Already in its manifesto of April 25, the ECCI pointed out that cooperatives should cater on an international scale for the strikers and their families, and the Cooperative Section on its part, urged the cooperative departments of the Parties to carry out a campaign on this basis. The cooperative societies

of Soviet Russia proposed through their representatives at the session of the Alliance Executive on May 1st, and then again in a letter addressed to the secretary of the international Cooperative Alliance that the latter should organise an international campaign in support of the miners. After repeated and final rejection of these proposals the Cooperative Section on August 21st, addressed a manifesto to the proletarian members of the cooperatives and a circular letter to the national sections, containing concrete proposals concerning the relief campaign. This renewed initiative of the Cooperative Section met with a certain amount of success. In addition to the Soviet cooperatives which from the start participated very actively in the relief campaign, cooperatives in Czecho-Slovakia including the Central cooperative organs passed resolutions of sympathy and organised collections. In Germany collections were taken up in Consumers' Cooperatives under Communist control, despite the disapproval of the reactionary cooperative authorities who threatened to expel and even disband the offending cooperative societies. Communists in other countries met with partial success in this work. In France, collections were made in several local organisations and also at the Cooperative Congress of the Paris district. In Great Britain, various cooperative societies were induced through Communist pressure to grant larger sums than originally intended. On the whole, the participation of cooperative organisations of various countries in this relief action has for the first time in the history of the movement made a breach in the reactionary neutrality policy of the Cooperative Alliance and of the national cooperative societies.

The International Cooperative Alliance. The sessions of the Executive Organs of the Alliance held during the period under report showed that the position of the Soviet Cooperatives within the Alliance has improved lately in spite of the hostile attitude of the Right wing. A session of the Executive was held in Antwerp on May 1, on the eve of the British General Strike. The representative of the Soviet Union urged that the Alliance Executive should participate in the May demonstration of the Antwerp workers and issue a manifesto to the cooperatives throughout the world in favour of moral and material support for the British miners. Proposals in connection with the other items on the agenda (attitude to the dissolution of cooperative organisation, an additional item on the agenda of the next congress dealing with "cooperatives in the struggle against cartels and trusts", determining the number of representatives in the Central Committee) were rejected in some cases however, by very small majorities or a parity vote. One is justified in saying that the action of the Soviet Russian members of the Alliance Executive in Antwerp has found an echo in the national cooperative organisations.

The Central Executive of the Alliance met in Session in the middle of October, in Hamburg. Soviet cooperatives were represented by 10 votes. The viewpoint of the Communists re the question of separate representation for the various Soviet Republics on the Central Committee, was rejected by only a very small majority, and the question was once more referred to the Executive for final decision. The proposal to organise an international cooperative relief action for the British miners, on which the Soviet cooperatives forced a discussion was rejected by 31 votes against 11. The determining factor in this was the attitude of the

British representatives who considered such an action, interference in their national affairs. The representatives of the Soviet cooperatives in a written declaration and in discussion speeches, put forward the Communist view with regard to the reports of some of the members of the Central Committee who had personally participated in the work of the preparation committee for the economic conference of the League of Nations. However, their proposal to convene an international economic conference of trade unions and cooperatives was rejected.

Sessions-Correspondence-Tours. --- The presidium of the Cooperative Section held its sessions regularly once a month. The current work was discussed at the sessions of the Secretariat of the Section to which were co-opted representatives of other Departments of the ECCI and of those National Secretariats (Ländersekretariaten) whose questions were on the agenda. Furthermore representatives of the Section participated regularly in the sessions of the presidium, the Org. Bureau and the Departments of the ECCI.

Publishing activity --- This activity assumed considerable dimensions during the report period. There were published: the "Coop-Inform" 12 numbers, the Russian organ "International Cooperation" and the German bulletin "Die Genossenschaft in Klassenkampf" 8 numbers each, the French bulletin "La Coopération Internationale" 3 numbers. The "Inprecorr" published special numbers in 3 languages on the occasion of the Cooperative Conference in March and of the International Cooperators Day. A pamphlet "Frau und Genossenschaft" with contributions by Zetkin, Alexander, Bark amongst others was published for the International Women's Day. A pamphlet on the visit of the II German Workers' Delegation to the Soviet Cooperatives is being printed, and another pamphlet on the lessons of the British Miners' Strike is being prepared.

Reorganisation of the Cooperative Section. The Org. Bureau of the ECCI endorsed at the end of September a reorganisation plan elaborated by the Cooperative Section together with the Org. Department. This reorganisation which is to be carried out after the Enlarged Executive, definitely establishes the Cooperative Section as a Department of the ECCI, thereby strengthening still more the connection between the Section and the other organs of the ECCI which had already considerably improved during the period covered by the report. Moreover, this implies a larger number of collaborators which need will be met partially by the appointment of representatives from the most important countries. Such a strengthening of the Section will render it possible to deal with many tasks which hitherto could not receive much attention or were utterly neglected. The arrangement of more frequent information and instruction tours in the most important countries will make possible the establishment of better connections and enable practical tasks to be carried out in a more effective manner on the spot.

## VI. THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE ECCI.

In accordance with the decision of the Org. Bureau, the International Women's Secretariat was reorganised in April as Women's Department of the ECCI. This implies greater responsibility and more energetic participation of the leading organs of the ECCI in the work of the WD, more intensive collaboration with the other organs of the ECCI, particularly close contact with the Eastern Sections. Further the staff of the Department was increased by the addition of a larger number of permanent women collaborators (one each from Russia, France and Great Britain), thus establishing leadership of a more international character, and strengthening the connection between the Women's Department of the CPSU and the WD of the ECCI and the Sections in the West and East.

The Women's Department of the ECCI, has appointed a comrade as leader of the Women's Department in the Sun-Yat-Sen University and in the Communist University of the Workers of the East (Kutvo), in order to prepare officials for the Women's Departments in the East. Women students attending the lectures of these universities are to be drawn into the work of the Women's Department of the ECCI in the capacity of practitioners.

The activity of the Women's Department of the ECCI was mainly concentrated on the ~~COMINTERN~~ Fourth International Conference on Work among Women which was held in Moscow between May 29, and June 10, 1926. This Conference was attended by responsible women directors of work among women drawn from the most important Sections, by experienced women officials in charge of practical work in factories and trade unions, leading women officials of the CPSU, representatives of the leading organs and departments of the ECCI, as well as by representatives of local organisations.

Good results were achieved in the International Women's movement: with respect to the united front. Generally speaking, the characteristic feature of this period is the acceleration of the politisation of large sections of women who were drawn into public life. It was possible to mobilise large numbers of women for revolutionary slogans under the leadership of the Communist Parties or under the banner of the national revolutionary movement. During the General and Miners' Strike in Great Britain, women -- unorganised as well as followers of the Labour Party -- acted in the spirit of the slogans of the CP (participation in the work of the Councils of Action, in propaganda, in the news service, picketing, public feeding, in Cooperative Women's Guilds, in the struggle for support for the strikers by the Boards of Guardians, in measures for the protection of revolutionary leaders from the police). Through its activity the CP raised the number of women members from 600 in May to 2,000 in October. In other West European countries there were mass demonstrations or actions of working women, or wives of unemployed men. For instance in Poland, at the time of the Pilsudski coup d'Etat, in Germany in connection with the Plebiscite on the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses, in France in connection with inflation and high prices, in Czecho-Slovakia where strikes of sewing-

women took place in Prague and Pilsen and of women textile workers in Brünn, in Norway where women's demonstrations were held in Oslo in support of the municipal workers on strike. In Germany, the Red Women's and Girls' League (under the leadership of the CP) increased its membership from 9,000 in May to 25,000 in September. In non-European ~~countries~~ countries special mention should be made of the growing political class-consciousness of the female masses in China, which is of historical importance. The consolidation and intensification of the national-revolutionary movement after the May events in Shanghai, and the military campaign against the Mukden elements were instrumental in bringing large sections of women into the political life of the country. At first the movement among the women was of a spontaneous character, but lately it is becoming organised, it pursues general political tasks within the framework of the national-revolutionary movement and of the class struggle. The natural consequence of the politisation of the female masses is an influx of new women members into the Kuomintang and into the Communist Party. At the initiative of women Communists and women members of the Kuomintang in Shanghai, it was decided to convene a Central Chinese Women's Congress, which has set itself the task to coordinate on a federative basis, all the existing women's organisations, and to place all the available forces at the disposal of the national-revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement. In Japan too, a movement is on foot for the coordination of the women's organisations.

In China, large numbers of women participated in nearly all the revolts, demonstrations and strikes. Very significant is the organisation of a league of children employed in factories. In a British tobacco factory 200 children went on strike for higher wages.

The revolutionary movement in China, finds an echo also among the female masses of Japan and Indonesia.

The Women's Department has paid systematic attention to the question of the incorporation of work among women into the general work of the Party. At the Party Congress in Lille, work among women came up for serious discussion for the first time in France. A special commission was appointed and a programme of work drawn up. At the last Party Congress in Holland a similar procedure took place. In a number of Sections the results of the International Conference, plans of work and definite campaigns of the Central Women's Departments in the CC of the Party were discussed, and conferences or commissions for work among women were either held or prepared in connection with the Party Congresses. Side by side with these good results, the following weak points and deviations must be pointed out. In Czecho-Slovakia, Women's Departments and women Party members are still inclined to carry on work separately from the men. In Great Britain, there was a tendency to demand an independent position for women Communists within the Party on the model of the "Women's Sections" in the Labour Party. The Women's Department opposes this most energetically. In Sweden we had to deal in one of the Central Women's Departments with an echo of the conception that the inclusion of work among women into the general work of the Party obviates the necessity of special organs and methods for this work. The question of women delegate meetings received special attention and was thoroughly

discussed at the VI Plenum and at the International Women's Conference. Considerable results were achieved in this sphere in a very short space of time. In Great Britain the first big and politically important women delegate meetings was held in April, in Mansfield. It was attended by 300 members from 55 organisations; its main object was to make preparations for the strike. Since the International Conference, women delegate meetings have been held in Germany, namely, in Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Berlin. The Hamburg meeting could not be called a mass meeting: it was convened by the Women's Department of the CP, and was attended by 40 delegates including 18 women Communists. The meeting in Berlin was a great success for the Party which took the lead politically, whilst an inauguration committee, consisting of working women, was responsible for its convocation and organisation. The attendance was 259, most of whom were elected at mass meetings. They included 114 factory women workers, 26 unemployed and 119 working men's wives. The meeting decided on a fighting programme for which the delegates are to carry on propaganda among their electors. It issued a manifesto to all working women, elected delegates to the workers' congress and decided to meet again after the Congress in order to discuss further activity. The "Rote Fahne" published a detailed report. In Czecho-Slovakia this question is still in the discussion stage (CC Women's Department, women's Conferences, press and enterprise), and in the stage of practical preparations for the establishment of circles in the factories. In Mongolia, the first delegate meeting was held in the capital. The 150 delegates were elected from among women office workers and working men's wives.

Within the limits of this report it is impossible to enumerate all that has been done with respect to winning working women in enterprises and trade unions and also with respect to strengthening the influence of the CP among the masses of the various countries. We have given the most important facts about Great Britain and China because of the special importance which attaches to the Labour movement in these countries. The CP of Great Britain, has as yet hardly any factory nuclei in typical women's industries. The growth of the women members is almost entirely due to the influx of miners' wives. With respect to non-Party women's organisations, through the recent action of the Party, British women Communists have taken a firm footing in the Women's Sections of the Labour Party and in the Women's Cooperative Guilds, from whose ranks many members were secured for the Party. Moreover, women in Great Britain participated in all strike committees and councils of action. In many localities, councils of action were formed for definite tasks. These councils were composed of women of all tendencies, but they were pre-eminently under the leadership of women Communists. In China, organised influence and leadership of the women is exercised by coordinating all working women's organisations under a common national-revolutionary banner. The CP of China and also in the Kuomintang are carrying on a big campaign as an ideological and organisational preparation for this. The campaign seeks the support of any organisation at the head of which are women Communists and representatives of the Left wing of the Kuomintang. However, it does not limit itself to arming women already organised, but appeals directly to the mass of working and peasant women who participated spontaneously in the struggles.

The Women's Department has seen to it that systematic educational work for the training of women functionaries be carried on in all the Sections. In Czecho-Slovakia, 600 women functionaries, 40% of whom are women factory workers have been trained during the winter in the 15 district schools. Preparations for the establishment of similar schools are made on a district and sub-district scale. In Poland, courses were held for leading women functionaries in order to fill the gaps made by police persecution.

In conclusion we will give the following important data from the activity of the Women's Department of the ECCI during the last eight months: 1) the WD of the ECCI carried out in March a very successful campaign in connection with the International Women's Day, in 16 countries of Western Europe, in North and South America, in China and Mongolia. 2) The WD participated in the preparation, conduct and utilisation of the following campaigns: a) relief action for the British miners (providing the manuscript for a propaganda pamphlet), b) working women's delegations from Germany and Mongolia to Soviet Russia. c) International Cooperators' Day. d) Anniversary of the Russian October Revolution. e) Conference of the International Women's Cooperative Guilds in Stockholm. f) Campaign in connection with the events in China. 3) In connection with the work of the International Conference, the decisions of the Conference and the minutes were published, or got ready for publication, a pamphlet on the work of the CPSU amongst women was prepared and the first bulletins for the information of the Sections about the international work among women were compiled. 4) The WD carried on a continuous campaign of enlightenment on Soviet Russia by regularly supplying the Sections with women's periodicals and pamphlets of the CPSU, and with special articles and letters, by making arrangements for international sisterhoods between Russian and foreign enterprises, working women's groups, women's periodicals etc., by sending entire exhibitions of picture posters, mounted photos, diagrams, photographs, picture postcards, etc., to Germany, France, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and Mongolia.



II. SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

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A U S T R A L I A.

Towards the end of 1925 the Party reported that it had undertaken a thorough purging process removing members unsuitable for the Party. According to the report the membership is 280 and together with the New Zealand section, 400. But the members are very scattered. Most of them are factory workers and active trade unionists. Up till now no factory nuclei have been formed as the Party declares that the scattered condition of the membership is such that frequently one Party member is only to be found in some of the factories. The "Workers Weekly" is issued in 6,000 copies and the number of subscribers is 1,489.

Last year during the elections in the separate states and in the Commonwealth the CP was attacked by all the parties including the Labour Party. On the strength of the provisions of the "Crimes Bill", which was passed in 1926 it will be very easy to declare the CP illegal. But in spite of the Party's apprehensions this has not yet taken place. All the preparations have already been made for the continued existence of the Party on an illegal basis.

The stronghold of the Party is New South Wales, which is the centre of the Australian industry. Sidney is the strongest position of the Party in New South Wales. The local trade union council there is under the influence of the Party. It has a rather important Left wing which supports the policy of our Party.

Lately the political questions of the day have given an excellent opportunity to the Party to extend its influence. One of these questions was the referendum proposed by Premier Bruce, for the solution of certain questions including that of a flagrantly anti-labour law. The result of these proposals is supposed to have caused great excitement among the entire working class. It served as a basis for the formation of a united front consisting of the Communist Party, local labour party groups and almost the entire trade union movement against the Bruce Government and the parliamentary fraction of the Labour Party. The CP developed a strenuous campaign against these proposals, which were rejected by an enormous majority, in spite of compulsory voting as a result of which the government expected to get a clear majority.

Another important question which aroused general interest in Australia was the proposal to convene a pacifist labour conference. Such proposals made their appearance already in 1921-22 but they did not materialise. In 1925 this proposal was once more considered, but as a result of inadequate connections not enough replies were received from the other pacifist countries. Finally, the Right Wing decided to hold a special congress at which all Australian trade unions were to be represented in order to discuss the question of the referendum. One hundred and fifty delegates were present. In spite of the efforts of the Right wing made from the managing committee's table, the resolution against the referendum was passed by 144 votes. The Party decided at the same time to convene a special preparatory pacifist labour conference which was

attended by a considerable number of the delegates to the Trade Union Congress. At this Conference a representative of the Party spoke on the necessity of the proposed conference and a resolution was adopted approving the convocation of the conference in the spring of the next year. It was decided to hold this conference in Canton. A resolution was also adopted in favour of dispatching a trade union delegation to Russia.

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A U S T R I A.

A noticeable change has taken place lately in the CP of Austria. The belief which gained ground in the Party after the VIII Party Congress that an end has been put once and for all to fractionalism, has certainly proved erroneous. But after long years during which fractional struggles seemed to constitute the life of the Party, the latter has at last begun to work. Compared with the nervous excitability which formerly characterised the Party, its present work is unassuming and not very striking, but it is effective nevertheless. It is already beginning to annoy the Social-Democrats who hitherto treated the Communists with contempt. A proof of this is the plan proposed by the Social-Democratic Party Committee to prevent the pollution of the Social-Democratic workers by the Communist virus by organisational measures. Through reorganisation, which is not yet complete, our comrades have created an important premise for the consolidation of the Party. The "Rote Fahne" is endeavouring to free itself from the policy of fine phraseology so beloved by it in the past. In the trade unions our comrades have completed the reorganisation from blocs to fractions. Criticism of Social-Democratic policy is, on the whole, correct, united front tactics are applied more skilfully than before, and several campaigns conducted by the Party have been crowned with success. The Party gave great encouragement to the work of the Russia Delegation and denounced very effectively the sabotaging of the Soviet Russia report meetings by the Social Democratic fakirs. The questionnaire of the "Rote Fahne" on sickness funds has roused the Social-Democratic workers and has robbed the sickness fund fakirs of the illusion that they are omnipotent. At the Chamber of Labour elections, the Party won a victory in Styria. Although in Vienna and Lower Austria, the Communist vote decreased, the influence of our Party has also grown in these regions: the election figures were so unfavourable to us because many Communists were deprived of the franchise through unemployment (in Lower Austria there are nuclei two-thirds of which consist of unemployed). Moreover, the Social-Democrats copied in these elections the methods of the Christian Socialists. According to statistics to hand, our comrades have also done fairly well at the last Factory Council elections. The Christian-Socialist-Social-Democratic hullabaloo about the schools was cleverly utilised by the Party. The Party has now, as before, considerable influence over the unemployed movement, although the publication of the organ of the unemployed had to be discontinued.

The Party could have achieved more, if the Opposition which has been very active lately, did not consider interference with Party work its real task. Just as the Opposition formerly owed much of its success to confused organisational conditions, so its present victories are mostly won in the street nuclei. Its activity can be made innocuous by educational and organisational work.

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 B E L G I U M.  
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The activity of the Party during recent months may be said to be comparatively considerable in view of its small membership.

In April a number of demonstrations and meetings were organised by the Fascists. The Party attempted to counteract but without success. At this time the Social Democrats issued the slogan of the creation of workers' militia organisations. After some hesitation the Party declared itself ready to participate in order to push them forward, to transform them into effective instruments of the class struggle, and to prevent them from becoming empty parade organisations.

During May the Party organised a propaganda month.

The Flemish national movement was supported by the Party. Nevertheless, the Party combated the pacifist tendency in this movement which is attempting to limit the national action to mere parliamentary and democratic gestures. When the official negotiations between Germany and Belgium regarding the return of the annexed area of Eupen-Malmedy once more brought up the national problem, it took the Party a long time to arrive at a clear attitude on this question. It limited itself to criticising the interference of British and French capital in this matter as well as the weakness of the Belgian Government, without openly bringing up the demand of self-determination of the population in the area in question.

An important event for the Belgian labour movement was the trip of the Delegation to Soviet Russia (end of June). The Delegation consisted of 14 workers and trade union officials, Social Democrats and non-Party, and travelled in the name of the unitarian Belgian trade union movement.

The influence of the Party on the masses of workers has considerably increased in the course of the last few months.

A clear proof of this was furnished by the municipal elections held on October 10. Whereas during the parliamentary elections of April 1925 — the last elections in which the broad masses were able to participate — the Party obtained only 34,000 votes, it obtained in this year's municipal elections 70,000 votes. Particularly large was the increase of Communist votes in the industrial areas: in Brussels and environs the number of votes rose from 10,000 to 23,000, in Ghent from 962 to 5,000. In Seraing we

received 29% of all the votes cast. During the election campaign the Party carried on energetic activity. In the last two weeks before the elections the Party organised 140 meetings mostly in the open air, quite apart from the meetings organised by Socialists and other opponents where we participated in the discussion and also not counting the numerous local meetings which were not announced in the Party organ "Drapeau Rouge". The Party used the increased political interest engendered by the elections in order to inaugurate a 14-day propaganda campaign for the Communist press. The result of this campaign was an increase of 1,000 copies daily in the sale of our newspapers through our comrades, quite apart from the increased sale through news stands.

At the beginning of April the Party inaugurated a collection in favour of the Communist press which, by the end of September yielded 15,000 francs. The prospects for the proposed issue of a second loan to the extent of 100,000 francs for the "Drapeau Rouge" are equally favourable. The collection for the support of the British miners yielded by the end of September 35,500 francs.

The indisputable increase of the influence of the Party among the masses of workers raises the problem of a permanent and organic contact with the many thousands of workers whose sympathy we have won.

In fact the increase of membership in the Party is not keeping pace with the increased Communist votes at the elections; it is not keeping pace with the participation in the meetings organised by the Party nor with the increase in the membership of the trade unions which are under Communist influence.

The number of members in the Party remains unchanged: it was as follows:

September 1921	535 members	September 1923	536 members.
May 1922	539 "	January 1925	728 "
October 1922	472 "	May 1926	853 "

The Brussels organisation has to-day 209 registered members.

In its letter of September 4.5. directed to the Congress of the Belgian CP, the ECCI called the attention of the Party to the disproportion between the number of members and the number of sympathisers and indicated the means by which the Party could combat this weakness in its organisation.

In the trade union field the Party faced as before difficulties as a result of the reformist policy of excluding Communists from the trade union. In general however, it can be said that the attempt of the trade union bureaucracy to apply the Hertens resolution on the exclusion of Communists was restricted to a few instances. Thus for example, the attempt to remove Comrade Jacquemotte from his responsible post in the office workers' union which was made at the last Congress of the union failed. On the other hand the trade union cartel (Federation des Syndicats) of Brussels elected a leading committee, and three

reformist members who had served on it hitherto were not re-elected (September 17). The leadership of the trade union is at present practically in Communist hands.

The connection of our comrades with the leading elements of the Left trade union movement, whose central point is "l'Unité" is not yet as it should be. There is still friction and even contradictions of principle and tactics in regard to the "Unité" groups.

On September 4 and 5, the Party held its national congress at Brussels. It discussed the situation of the working class and drew up a working programme for the immediate future. The trade union problem and the reorganisation of the Party, both points of the utmost importance will be thoroughly discussed by an Org. Conference, which will take place shortly.

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### B U L G A R I A.

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The CPB has made considerable progress since the last Plenum of the ECCI, with respect to the reconstruction of its organisations destroyed in April 1925, and with respect to rallying the Party masses and bringing them under its leadership. At present, the Party has a network of organisations in all the most important labour centres, and is already beginning to extend its influence to the villages. Although the Party dwindled considerably as a result of the white terror, its reconstruction is continued on the principle of mass organisation and not only on the basis of its apparatus. As it was necessary to form the Party anew, it was possible to build it up on the factory nucleus basis. But small ownership predominates in the country, the Party Executive was therefore compelled to allow the formation of local nuclei. Because of the emergency regime, inner Party democracy has to be sacrificed whenever the interests of the Party demands a stricter centralism and discipline.

The task of forming a capable Party Executive which would work in full contact and agreement with the ECCI, was a difficult one. But one can now say that it has been done.

The "Communist Banner", the theoretical organ of the Party, which has been published since January 1926, has greatly contributed to the ideological coordination of the Party which has made considerable progress lately. Nevertheless, the difficulties in this sphere are enormous. Various deviations from the policy of the Comintern are encouraged because of white terror conditions which for several years have isolated our rank and file Party members from the international labour movement, and also because of the lack of a sufficient staff of Party functionaries, many of whom were assassinated whilst others have either emigrated or are in prison. The deviations are of the Right liquidatory as well as of the ultra-Left varieties. The ultra-Left deviation was by far the less dangerous.

Relics of this deviation are being rapidly got rid of, but it is quite different with Right deviations of a more or less liquidatory character. Some Right liquidators have left the Party and are now in the camp of the bourgeoisie. They have thereby ceased to represent any danger to the Party. Others again endeavour without joining the Party to keep up relations with our rank and file members and to influence the unorganised masses. No doubt the latter constitute a great danger to the Party and the latter carries on a relentless struggle against them. Liquidation within the Party sometimes assumes the following peculiar form: some former Party functionaries do not work against the Party, but under the pressure of terror are afraid to join it. At the same time they are willing to do a certain amount of Party work.

Deviations which have sprung up in the Party recently deserve special attention. They find expression: a) in an incorrect attitude to the ECCI, b) in a lack of understanding for the leading role of the CP and in an erroneous application of united front tactics, and c) in vacillations with respect to the question of trade union unity. However, it is only just to say that proper and regular relations between the Party and the ECCI have been temporarily disturbed mainly through the intensification of the terrorist regime. Proper relations have now been established and with the assistance of the ECCI, the Party is strictly following the policy prescribed by the Comintern with respect to the trade union question. The erroneous application of the united front tactics and of the labour bloc during the municipal elections (February 1926), was to a great extent made good during the Zemstvo (provincial councils) election campaign. The Party has fully realised that by giving up its leading role during this year's May Day celebrations, it committed a grave error. However, the white terror regime does not protect the Party from a repetition of similar mistakes. The CC of the CPB has brought its attitude to the question of trade union unity into harmony with the policy of the Comintern and the RILU.

With respect to questions of the inner policy of the CPSU the Communist Party of Bulgaria is entirely on the side of the CC of the CPSU and against the opposition bloc. It condemned without hesitation the attempts of the opposition to form a fraction in the CPSU and in the Communist International.

The main feature of the CPB's activity during the report period, was the pursuance and conclusion of the Party defensive against the military capitalist dictatorship. Whilst during this period, the Party has not been able to place on record big political campaigns, it has been able to extend its organisational influence over the masses in their resistance to reaction and terror.

The municipal elections in February of the current year gave opportunity to the CPB to play a leading role in a big election campaign. Unfortunately this attempt of the Party after April 1925, to place itself at the head of a legal mass struggle, cannot be considered very successful. United front tactics were in most cases applied erroneously, being interpreted as voting unreservedly for the candidates

lists of the Agricultural Association. Nothing was done to bring the leadership of the Communist Party forcibly before the masses. Nevertheless, the joint action of workers and peasants during the election (in many places also of artisans), was a very important political demonstration against the emergency law regime. The workers' bloc was actually the first body to offer opposition to the might of the Government. It showed in a graphic manner what success can be achieved by a correct application of united front tactics.

The Balkan Trade Union Conference organised in Amsterdam, which held its sessions in April 1926, in Sofia, was intended to be in the nature of a decisive attack of reformism on Communism. But to the surprise of Right Amsterdam leaders, a great awakening of the revolutionary spirit of the Bulgarian proletariat — in spite of terror — was witnessed at this Conference. Through its delegates, the proletariat testified enthusiastically to its international solidarity and expressed its unshakable faith in the international proletarian revolution. This Conference not only brought about the unification of Communism and the Bulgarian "Tjesnjaki" — the relentless opponent of all opportunism and reformism, but it made the participants of the Conference more opposed than ever to their leaders.

This year, for the first time after the change of Government, the labour festival was observed in some towns of Bulgaria. Enormous numbers of workers participated in the celebrations and were animated by a strong fighting spirit. But this imposing labour demonstration was marred by the grave error committed by the CPB, which, when it found that it could not participate directly in the demonstration, ceded its place to the Social-Democratic party which used this opportunity to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the workers.

The general strike and the miners strike in Great Britain found an echo in Bulgaria in bourgeois as well as proletarian ranks. Although the Bulgarian proletariat has to live under miserable conditions, it showed its solidarity with the British strikers by sending money to them. The struggle of the miners is revolutionising the Bulgarian workers and is encouraging them to continue their struggle against the emergency law regime.

The serious housing crisis and the repeal of the law which alleviated it, have given rise to a strong mass movement in the big cities of the country. The CPB was at its post when the question arose of strengthening its connection with the many victims of the housing crisis.

The refugee question plays an important role in the internal life of the country. The correct attitude of the Communists and their courageous advocacy are helping to extend its influence over the immigrants. The full importance of this fact can only be realised if one considers that in the Balkans the refugees are generally used for counter-revolutionary purposes by the bourgeoisie.

The conflict between Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia which broke out in the beginning of August 1926, has once more conjured up in the Balkans the war peril. This time the quick intervention of the interested imperialist powers, prevented a sanguinary solution of the conflict. Nevertheless, it constitutes a standing peril for the Balkan peoples.



This incident has shown the CPB how necessary it is to carry on a systematic campaign against the adventurous policy of the bourgeoisie in the Balkans and against the influence of the big imperialist powers in the hands of which the ruling Balkan classes are merely blind tools or loyal vassals. This conflict has also shown how necessary it is for the Communist Party in the Balkans to have a clear notion of its tasks in similar cases, and how important is close collaboration between the various Balkan Parties. Unfortunately, during this last conflict, the Balkan Communist Parties were separated from each other. Whilst the representatives of Yugo-Slavia and Roumania and Greece were able to reconstitute their old Balkan bloc, the Communist Federation in the Balkans was important and unable to take up a joint struggle. This fact points to the necessity of a rapid and thorough consolidation of the Communist Balkan Federation.

Bulgaria is in the midst of the Zemstvo election campaign. The CPB is testing its tactics during the municipal elections and is drawing lessons from them, in order to avoid a repetition of the errors committed at that time. There is no doubt whatever that thereby it will ensure a certain amount of success for itself.

#### C A N A D A.

The main feature of the work of the Party in the course of last year was the development of the united front in the Canadian labour movement. The Party thereby, was enabled to extend its influence considerably in spite of the relatively critical organisational position within the Party.

The internal position of the Party is very serious indeed. In the mining districts this can be ascribed to the heavy defeats in the recent struggles, which led to persecution and disciplinary measures against the leading elements of the Party, with the result that the position of the Party in localities where it was formerly very strong, was considerably weakened.

The incapacity of Party members to adapt themselves to the new methods of work due to the reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis has had a detrimental effect on the work of the Party. The main difficulties in connection with reorganisation was the diversity of languages in the Party, and also lack of capable comrades who could have conducted the work on the new basis. In some places this has resulted in passivity and loss of membership.

That progress has been made with Agitprop work is shown by the fact that the circulation of the "Worker" has risen from 5,000 to 7,000, and that it was possible to publish a six-page Jewish weekly organ, "Der Kampf". The Party organised courses on Leninism, but only a very small percentage of members were able to participate in the courses this year. Plans were also elaborated for the organisation of a central Party school in the course of next year.

The Party played the most important role in the formation of the Canadian Labour Party and of the political united front of the Canadian trade unions, as well as in the formation of other labour organisations, for instance, co-operatives, the Independent Labour Party etc. The last conference of all the provincial sections was a testimony of the enormous growth of the Canadian Labour Party, as well as of the influence of our Party in the CLP. The expulsion of the Communist Party from the Quebec section was balanced by the rejection of an expulsion resolution in the biggest section (Ontario) by a 2/3 vote. (Delegates belonging to the Party constituted less than a quarter of the total number). In its policy within the CLP, the Party pursued the following main points: 1) complete independence of Canada by the repeal of the British North American Act, and abolition of the office of Governor General, as well as of the Senate. 2) Nationalisation without compensation of key industries. 3) Labour protection questions. 4) Exposure of the Locarno Pact. 5) Credits for the USSR. 6) Repeal of the law for the utilisation of troops in trade union conflicts. The Party also turned its attention to old age pensions, capital levy for the redemption of debts, a minimum wage and a 5 day working week. The Party has issued the slogan of the Workers' and Farmers' Government as the Socialist corner stone of its entire programme.

The entire work of the Party during the elections was based on this programme and 75,000 leaflets were distributed. The Party succeeded in having special conferences convened through the CLP in preparation for the elections. The Independent Labour Party which has two members in Parliament was invited to join the united front. Six members of the Communist Party were on the united front candidates lists, whilst one member appeared on an open candidates list of the Communist Party. Another Party member appeared on the united front candidates lists of the farmers.

The growing tendency in the Canadian trade union movement to bring about a breach with the American Federation of Labour was taken advantage of by the Party, which brought forward the demand for the convocation of an "all embracing unity conference" through the Canadian trade union congress. The struggle for the independence of the Canadian trade unions was given an impetus and constituted the only basis on which the Canadian trade unions could become an effective weapon in the struggle against the Canadian capitalist class and British domination in Canada.

The main tasks of the Party were: exposure of the reactionary policy of the trade union democrats and of the class truce policy and of defeatism. To counteract this policy, the Party agitated for a programme of trade union unity, a five-day working week, a 24-hour strike, as well as a national petition against the adverse decision of the Supreme Court with respect to picketing, for the abolition of a craft policy, for a minimum wage, international trade union unity, unemployment insurance, and the nationalisation without compensation of key industries and their control by the workers. The main task before the Party in the trade unions is the formation of a mass movement of the Left wing.

C Z E C H O - S L O V A K I A

In the course of the last half-year the CPCZ has very effectively utilised in its campaigns the unfavourable situation of capitalist economy and its consequences. By correct tactics, it frustrated the consolidation of the bourgeois bloc and the further development of bourgeois reaction. By means of an earnest and extensive campaign for the partial demands of the working class, it has made impossible the continued participation of Socialists who support the state in the bourgeois coalition government. It is rallying with considerable success the forces of the workers, it exposes the false leaders of the working class, it is gaining the confidence of the masses, it propagates trade union unity, it is establishing the workers fighting front, it gets in contact with the rural population, frustrating thereby the growth of the Fascist movement, against which it is developing the organisation of proletarian defence corps. It applies united front tactics by means of proposals made to the upper strata concerning common action, but particularly from below, through the activity of factory nuclei, meetings, an extensive press campaign, newspapers, manifestoes, factory newspapers, and also by means of individual propaganda and the formation of proletarian unity committees. By connecting its activity in Parliament with its actions outside Parliament, it has gained the ear of the masses. It has been successful in destroying illusions about democracy and the possibilities of development about bourgeois progress and honest nationalism.

During the parliamentary elections, and in the subsequent campaign for the workers and small-peasants government, the CPCZ carried on a successful movement against tax deductions from wages and against the heavy taxes imposed on the rural population. It has utilised the interest which its activity has aroused among the workers for the formation of defence committees consisting of workers of various Parties. Many reformist functionaries were compelled by the pressure of the united action of the masses to dissociate themselves from the agreements made with the taxation authorities with respect to tax deductions.

The British General Strike and the strike of the British miners has increased still more the desire of the workers for joint action. If in this respect success has fallen short of expectations, it is due to the opposition of the reformist leaders and to the intermittent crisis in the coal industry. The reformists have refused collaboration with respect to the limitation of the export of coal. They also opposed joint collections for the British miners. But nevertheless, over 400,000 Kronen were collected up to September. The RILU has placed its members under the obligation to deduct a certain percentage of their wages for the British miners. Joint action is promoted by propagating an international strike of all miners. The bourgeoisie, together with the present government officials, made a renewed attack in the beginning of June on the living standard of the workers, through agrarian tariff legislation, dearer sugar and spirits, higher transport tariffs, a grant of 50,000,000 Kronen to the coal magnates, and a

present of several millions, in the form of a church subsidy. The CPCz has taken up the defence of those who would suffer from these measures. It has carried on an energetic struggle against these plans of the bourgeoisie which entail so much suffering to the working class population. Apart from Communist workers many working class members of the reformist parties participated in these struggles in spite of the resistance and orders to the contrary of the reformist leaders. The pressure of the masses has also compelled the national-socialist members of Parliament to join the Communists in their obstruction tactics. The united front has been extended and further successes and increased confidence of the masses accrued from it to the CPCz. Factory nuclei, as well as the entire new organisational apparatus have greatly contributed to these successes,— the membership of the Party has, for instance, increased.

At the end of the struggle against protective tariffs, the few weeks interval was used for a careful examination of the successes hitherto achieved, for the elimination of defects and for the preparation of the autumn campaigns. The latter was initiated in the engineering enterprises under the slogan "Down with high prices". A number of demands of the workers in the engineering and metal industry against high prices and speculation, against unemployment and for the protection of the unemployed, against heavy taxes and for more privileges for the working class, were linked up by the Party with the demands which the Communists brought forward at the Cooperative Congress and also with the demands of the nationalities brought forward at conferences held in the Slovakian and German regions. These demands now constitute the basis for a further rally of working class forces. When Parliament re-assembled for the Autumn session, these demands were placed before it by the Communist fraction. The Party explains them at public meetings and through the press. It rallies at the same time, the forces of the masses for the struggle for the most elementary relief to workers affected by catastrophic unemployment, high prices and other misfortunes.

The campaigns for Rakosi, against white terrorism in Poland, Roumania and the Balkans, were carried on with the same energy as all the other campaigns. A series of mass protest meetings were organised. Two delegates were sent by the Party to the Budapest trial.

The CPCz has enlisted the sympathy of ever-growing sections of the working class by its recent political campaigns. It has been the task of the organisation department of the CPCz to coordinate and utilise this sympathy organisationally. This could only be achieved on the basis of a continued Bolshevisation and reorganisation of the Party. A systematic division of labour was introduced in the Central Committee and increased attention was paid to systematic activity on the part of the Org. Bureau and the Org. Commission. By direct intervention in the various regions most of the regional executives have been induced to introduce obligatory service for the members of regional executives, and to form corresponding commissions which are working in their respective areas. With the assistance of the districts, the Bolshevisation and construction of the necessary district and section executive groups is

proceeding. Good progress has also been made in the re-organisation of the basic organisations of the Party and the formation of new factory nuclei. New elements are increasingly drawn into the ranks of active functionaries from the ranks of members who were formerly only on the membership list of the Party without doing any work. A considerable number of factory nuclei are already taking an active part in the campaigns of the Party. The membership of the CPCz has grown considerably during the past year. To judge by the average revenue from membership dues the Party has now 120,000 members. The number of members who have joined the various organisations is much bigger. The explanation for this discrepancy is: that in spite of its development, the administrative and organisational apparatus cannot cope with the growing sympathy of the workers for the CPCz, with the result that the Party apparatus is unable to coordinate everywhere this sympathy and to make use of it organisationally. Another difficulty in the way of the organisational activity of the Party is the multiplicity of nationalities and languages. The population of Czechoslovakia is 14,000,000; it is composed of six different nationalities; all of them speaking different languages. This difficulty is particularly felt in the regions with a mixed population.

Trade Union fraction activity has been greatly strengthened and developed of late. This applies particularly to fraction activity in the Red Trade Unions. Resistance and failure to understand the necessity of fraction activity have been almost entirely overcome in this sphere. The Central Commission for fraction work in the trade unions can already place on record not only the existence of regional trade union commissions, but also the extension of the network of Communist fractions in trade union managing committees and in local groups. With respect to the Amsterdam trade unions, fraction work has not made much progress. Here, the greatest difficulty is lack of active elements suitable for fraction work. Almost all the capable and active Communists have been expelled from the Amsterdam trade unions, and those who have remained are not suitable for fraction work. Moreover, the Amsterdam organisations still continue the practice of expelling active Communists capable of fraction work. Nevertheless, the Party is not giving up the organisation of fraction activity in the Amsterdam unions, and is at the same time carrying on indefatigable propaganda for the unification of the trade unions.

Maximum attention was paid to the affiliation of the Red Trade Unions, namely the wood-workers, transport workers and builders' unions, to the RILU. In the first two cases, partial affiliation has been accomplished and the necessary pre-requisites have been created for complete affiliation. But a split took place in the builders' union. Tetenka, the leader of the builders' union, has expelled the members of the managing committee and of the control commission, and ultimately entire local groups who dared defend the expelled comrades. He simply ignored the action undertaken by the members for the convocation of an emergency trade union congress. When the Congress was after all held much against Tetenka's wish, the members of the builders' union affiliated to the RILU, but the money and property of the union have remained in the hands of

Tetenka, who has the support of the Government. Negotiations were recently carried on for the amalgamation of the international railwaymen's federation (Red Trade Union) with the railwaymen's federation (German Amsterdam Union). There is reason to believe that the negotiations will have the desired result. The RILU has several times proposed the amalgamation of the Czech trade union federation with the RILU, but the former ignored this proposal. A campaign was conducted on a large scale for the establishment of a united front on the basis of factory councils and committees. During the protective tariff and high prices campaign, it has been possible, in spite of orders to the contrary by the political leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and of the Czech Socialist Party, and in spite of the intervention of the Central Committee of the Amsterdam trade unions, to organise united action by the workers, to convene joint meetings and to form workers unity committees. This campaign is now further developed through the Autumn campaign which is directed against unemployment, high prices and the burden of taxation. According to information received, it has been possible to form lately a committee of action and unity in the Skoda works in Pilsen, famed as a stronghold of the Social-Democrats.

No further progress has been made with work among the small peasantry. On the whole, one can say that campaigns conducted by the Party against heavy tax and high prices, etc., have also found an echo in the rural districts, and have aroused the sympathy of the small peasants. But no organisational use has as yet been made of this sympathy. It is proposed to hold in the Autumn, a series of agitational meetings in the rural districts and also district conferences of small peasants, at which a number of questions bearing on organisational methods are to be discussed. The most important demand seems to be the reorganisation of the apparatus of the Central small peasant department and the systematic organisational development of the small peasant commissions in the regional executives. In order to give an impetus to the movement, one should also endeavour to obtain a favourable solution of the question of the despatch of a peasant delegation to the Soviet Union.

The CFCz occupies strong positions in the cooperative organisation of Czechoslovakia which have a membership of 760,000. A considerable number of workers' consumers cooperatives are under the control and leadership of Communists. Nevertheless, Party activity in the cooperative movement was not carried on in an organised manner through firmly established fractions. It is only through practical experience, particularly during the recent period, that Communists working in the cooperatives began to realise the necessity of fraction work based on the Party viewpoint. The Congress of the Czech Cooperatives, held in September 1925 in Pilsen was under the ideological influence of the Communist delegates who were represented at the Congress in the proportion of 2 to 3. However, the Party was unable to make use of this fact organisationally and in a practical manner. At the time of this Congress, a fraction conference of Communist delegates was convened. It was attended by about 200 comrades, and came to the unanimous conclusion that systematic fraction work must be organised. The comrades who were present have also

undertaken to carry out this work in their own districts. A separate department for fraction work in the cooperatives (such a department had not hitherto existed) was also formed in the CC.

A beginning was made with fraction work in the householders' organisations, and the results achieved were satisfactory. Through its fractions the CPCZ exercises influence over the Prague Householders' League, and carries on a systematic activity for the amalgamation of all householders organisations of Czecho-Slovakia.

A member of the CPCZ was delegated by the League to the International Householders' Congress in Zurich.

The war victims organisation in Czecho-Slovakia, has 200,000 members, coordinated in 3 leagues — Czech, German and Slovakian war victims Leagues. Successful fraction work is carried on by the CPCZ in all these Leagues. Members of the CPCZ constitute a majority in the Executive of the Slovakian League, and the party holds strong positions in the Czech League. A member of the CPCZ participated in the International War Victims' Congress (September 1926), as a delegate of the Slovakian League. His speech at the Congress caused great commotion.

The work of the Party in the army has been very successful lately. The Party has made a proper use of the dissatisfaction in army ranks with the reduction of soldiers' pay, the proposals to deprive the soldiers of their franchise, and with the postponement of the enactment of the law concerning shorter military service. At the time when the new conscripts were taken into the army, the Party published the first number of the periodical "Der Soldat" (15,000 in the Czech and 10,000 in the German language), which was very favourably received, all the copies being sold out in a few days. The army command has prohibited subscription to the paper, stimulating thereby the soldiers' interest in the publication.

After the reorganisation of the Women's Secretariat which took place after the National Women's Conference in October 1925, the newly appointed national women's department was confronted with the important task of the organisational construction of an apparatus for work among women, of concentrating its activity, on work among the masses of indifferent women, and on the training of new active forces capable of coping with the requirements of the new work. After a successful struggle against various deviations, it has been possible to establish a women's department from the CC down to the sub-sections. But it would be premature to say that we have succeeded in giving a new character to the activity of the women's department. However, successful attempts are made in the direction of capturing the women in the factories with the result that a strike of laundresses and factory-gate meetings were organised during the International Women's Day campaign. Regional schools on a national scale, have been established for the purpose of training new active forces, and this effort has been crowned with success. Six hundred women attended these schools, including 40% factory women workers. These comrades form a strong basis for work among women. It is proposed to hold such courses in the current and also in the

next year, but they are to be more centralised than was the case last year. There were 448 demonstrations on International Women's Day, as compared with 265 last year. After the IV International Conference in Moscow on work among women preparations were made on a national scale for the introduction of the delegate system.

During the period covered by the report the youth movement made considerable progress. Work in the trade union movement was strengthened, an impetus was given to the united front movement (campaign for the despatch of a II Young Workers Delegation to the USSR). Collaborations with the Party is satisfactory. The membership has grown and is to-day about 14,000.

The activity of the party in the municipal sphere has slightly improved during the report period, but still lacks coordination. The Municipal Secretariat in the CC insisted on the Communist fractions in the Municipalities supporting the actions of the Party. For this purpose the Municipal Secretariat drew up model proposals against the language regulations, for the recognition of Soviet Russia, for the extension of the rent protection act, and for better conditions for war victims. The Communist proposals were adopted in a considerable number of municipalities. The Secretariat drew up a programme for the municipal school in Brůx.

The activity of the Agitprop Department has developed and has grown in strength of late. The Department took an active part in all the campaigns of the Party. It gave them a lead, it elaborated their programmes and issued the necessary directions. After bringing the Central Party courses to a successful conclusion, the Agitprop Department organised a number of elementary Party courses on a local scale and a number of regional schools. The school material required by these schools was printed in four languages. Preparations were made for the centralisation of the entire publishing activity of the Party.

Considerable progress was made in the Spring with the organisation of the proletarian defence corps. This applies particularly to the Aussig Reichenberg and Prague regions and also to Slovakia, where proletarian defence corps were given a great impetus. A serious obstacle has arisen lately in the way of the development of this work. The police prohibited organisations of this kind, as well as wearing uniforms, badges, carrying batons, etc. This police order has placed the further development of the organisation in jeopardy, and it will be very difficult to solve the question how one can develop a mass organisation, the existence of which has become illegal, and how workers of other political views and non-Party workers can be enlisted for such an organisation.

With respect to the sport movement, one can say that the sport and gymnastic organisations which are in sympathy with the Red Sport International have amalgamated. Through this amalgamation, a united central committee has come into being under the title "Federation of Proletarian Gymnasts in Czecho-Slovakia". Fraction work is carried on in the German Workers' Gymnastic and Sport League.



The Agitprop Department of the Party has kept in contact with the Fkoj (Czech Proletarian Freethinkers) and has supported its campaigns for the amalgamation of the individual proletarian freethinkers' organisations, all of which have fairly strong Communist fractions.

In connection with the Russian opposition, there were also in the CPCz a few comrades who disagreed with the attitude taken up by the Polit. Bureau of the CC of the CPCz, towards the Russian opposition. The Polit. Bureau and the CC adopted unanimously a resolution expressing full agreement with the attitude of the CPSU and with the measures taken against the Opposition. Comrade Neurath was the only one to hold a divergent view. He demanded 1) that material on the Russian question be procured and 2) that a discussion be opened. Comrade Neurath's views did not get any support whatever. As it was subsequently noticed and proved that in spite of the rejection of his proposals, Comrade Neurath managed to obtain material from the Russian and German opposition which he duplicated and handed over to some of the comrades, and as it was also ascertained that on the strength of Comrade Neurath's activity, the regional secretary of Reichenberg, Comrade Kreutz, organised regular fraction activity by convening secret sessions of comrades at which, under the guarantee of fraction discipline, information and material was given with the object of organising an opposition movement against the Party, it has become necessary to put a stop to this disruptive activity. A disciplinary commission was formed in the region and in the Central Committee which examined the whole affair and recommended the suspension of Comrade Kreutz as regional secretary, and Comrade Neurath as secretary of the CC and member of the Polit. Bureau. These measures were unanimously approved by all Party organs and organisations. Approval was also given to the measure against Görlich who endeavoured to utilise the questions of the "new opposition in Russia" in the interests of the rejected proposal of the "Right" of the CPCz. These incidents are simply episodes limited to individuals. The membership of the CPCz thousands strong holds faithfully to the Leninist policy, is convinced of the necessity of the further Bolshevisation of the Party, and is prepared to make a firm stand for the unity of the Party against all attacks from Right and Left.

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D E N M A R K.  
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The Communist Party of Denmark has a very difficult position considering that it has to contend with a centralised Social Democratic Party with a big membership, an excellent apparatus and a widespread press, with a party which has the majority in many communes and dominates the entire Trade Union Federation. Its position was made still more difficult by prolonged struggles of tendencies and fractions formally which came to an end at the general congress. These struggles had to be once more liquidated in May, but are still smouldering under the surface. The general Party Congress formulated the main tasks of the Party as follows: 1) Systematic and intensive work in the trade unions and 2) reorganisation of the party on a nucleus basis. This task was immediately taken in hand.

And yet, according to the report of the CC, all that has been achieved since May in Copenhagen (the capital embraces about one-half of the Party) are four factory nuclei, and ten nuclei of professional people, with a total membership of about 150, plus ten "district branches" with about 250 members. There are 14 district organisations in the provinces which have retained the old organisational form. Our only press organ, the "Arbejderbladet", a weekly publication, has become more stable and has at present 4,500 regular subscribers.

The Party has achieved considerable success in the trade union sphere with the support of the trade union delegation which visited the Soviet Union in 1925. National and international unity of the trade union movement was propagated with considerable élan in the Party and trade union press, in trade union branches and federations as well as at trade union congresses and sessions of the international trade union movement held during the summer in Denmark. National unity has become a burning question since the secession announced a year ago of the "Arbeidsmännerverband" (unskilled workers of all branches) from the Trade Union Federation. This union with 80,000 members is the strongest and at the same time the most radical and militant union in the Federation. As large a number of trade union members of other smaller unions are outside the Federation. Now that the year's notice of secession has expired negotiations are going on -- which is greatly due to Communist efforts -- with the object of keeping the union within the Federation. Should this come about the Communist members of the union will certainly work for the democratisation and radicalisation of the Federation.

In the unemployed campaign, too, the Communists have managed to make some trade unions and the Copenhagen local federation amenable to their demands, under this pressure the government had to accede to the most elementary demands. However, the campaign for the unemployed was conducted almost without the unemployed themselves. A number of responsible posts in important trade union branches and in some central committees have been captured by the Communists. Of late efforts to form a Left trade union bloc have begun to materialise. Five oppositional groups and clubs -- with strong Communist sympathies -- have decided to work together for this object. However, a very weak point of the Party is: that all these considerable successes have been achieved not so much through systematic fraction work as through the strenuous activity of individual Communists influential in the trade union movement. This weakness is part of the chief defeat of the Party: inadequate political activation as well as inadequate collective activity by the Party as a whole. The policy is decided by the higher Party authorities, the application of this policy is also ordered from above -- just as this was also the case with reorganisation which had many weak points and defects -- without paying due attention to the correct propagation of the slogans and the mobilisation of all Party forces. The Executive will probably have to help the Party draw up a programme of action.

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E S T H O N I A.

The excessive and continuous White Terror drove the labour movement completely underground. There was wholesale suppression of trade unions so that only the railwaymen's and woodworkers' unions are still in existence, plus the metal workers' union which was established this August. Social traitors are at the head of these unions.

The Communist Party continues to carry on an illegal existence and activity and has a considerable influence over the masses in spite of the persecution of revolutionary workers, of continuous arrests and of frequent shootings. Brutal terror made it impossible to carry out fully the decision of the international revolutionary proletarian organisations. The slow pace of the reconstruction of the trade unions has its explanation partly in the temporary weakness of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. The Party, however, is growing in strength and is extending its influence to the rural districts. The difficult task now before the Party is to compel the bourgeoisie to relax its terrorist methods, in order to obtain for the urban and rural workers and the poor peasants the right of association and the right to establish co-operatives. The most pressing task of the Party consists in strengthening its organisations in the rural districts and in placing itself at the head of the workers' revolutionary movement.

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F I N L A N D.

At the beginning of the current year the workers emerged from their state of passivity and developed a certain degree of activity. In this respect considerable success has been achieved during the period covered by the report. The most important features of this activity were: an unemployed movement sprang up because of the rapid increase of unemployment at the beginning of this year. Unemployed committees were formed in the most important towns, conferences were convened in the biggest industrial centres and demands were placed before capitalists, municipalities and state institutions. The Trade Union Federation supported the movement which gradually developed into a joint movement of employed and unemployed workers against unemployment caused by capitalism.

The economic struggle assumed enormous dimensions during the spring and summer. The workers endeavoured to get a wage rise as a considerable reduction had taken place during their period of unemployment. In July there were strike movements in 128 enterprises, the number of participants being 5,000 as compared with only 19 strikes and 771 participants in July 1925. Export industries, namely, the timber and wood, building and metal industries were also affected by the strike movement. Most of the strikes ended in victory for the workers.

The struggle for the unity of the trade union movement reached its culminating points this year. The Social Democrats threatened a split in the Trade Union Federation. The committee appointed by them for this purpose presented demands in the form of an ultimatum. This was done with the open support of Amsterdam. This disruption policy received also the support of the bourgeoisie and the secret police. Their demands included: 1) Repeal of the decision re affiliation to the RILU (a decision which was not carried out), 2) affiliation in July 1926 to Amsterdam and despatch of a representative to Geneva, 3) at least half of the seats in the CC of the Federation, 4) Prohibition to use trade union funds for political purposes. They threatened to found another trade union federation, should these demands be rejected. However, an overwhelming majority of the organised workers expressed themselves for unconditional unity, -- 50 delegates of the Congress of the Federation out of a total of 65 delegates. A declaration was read at the Congress on behalf of the supporters of unity to the effect that they were willing to accept some of the demands made by the other side although they considered them erroneous, in order to draw the Social Democratic workers who were on the side of the disruptionists to the side of unconditional unity, and in order to frustrate the craft intentions of the disruptionists. The supporters of unity agreed to all the demands of the disruptionists except those which concerned Amsterdam and participation in the CC. The supporters of unity are in the majority in the CC. Thus the disruption attack of the bourgeoisie and of the Social Democrats were repulsed. But subsequent events showed that the Social Democrats, the bourgeoisie and the Amsterdam leaders intend to continue to act together in order to cause a split in the Trade Union Federation.

Trade union membership has been steadily growing since last year, but it is as yet rather weak in comparison with the total number of workers -- 65% of industrial workers are unorganised. Support for the British strikers was placed on the programme of the Trade Union Federation from the start. A relief campaign was carried on (special day for solidarity demonstrations), and a certain sum of money resulting from workers contributions was handed over to the relief fund.

The legal political radical labour movement has grown in strength and has found a response among the masses. For instance, the radical workers converted May Day demonstrations into a struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the united front. These united front actions were very successful, for they rallied large sections of workers, including those belonging to the Social Democratic Party around our main slogan. In a considerable number of towns May Day unity committees were formed. They consisted of radical and Social Democratic workers and almost everywhere Social Democratic leaders, who opposed the united front, remained with hardly any following at all. The number of newspapers (two dailies, and two which appear three times a week) has not increased. A youth newspaper was suppressed by the authorities; on the other hand our newspapers have certainly gained popularity among the masses.

The parliamentary fraction of Socialist Workers and small farmers has made a courageous stand for the rights of the workers, against the bourgeois regime of exploitation, against militarism, the political espionage system and against the oppressive policy of the government. The fraction has at present 16 members, this after the expulsion of a member who was a disguised Social Democrat and of another whose behaviour was unworthy of the position he occupied.

The policy of oppression adopted by the bourgeoisie is a great menace to the radical labour movement. Repressive measures are enforced. Thus, for instance, bourgeois newspapers impudently advocate the limitation of workers' independent activity prior to elections.

The bourgeoisie has dissolved the youth League. But the youth movement is not downhearted for all that, and the working class youth is as active as ever before. A proof of this is the active and organised participation of the youth in the November campaign, <sup>and</sup> during the trade union propaganda week for which a special trade union economic youth programme is to be drawn up. The courageous speeches made in Court by the members of the dissolved League deserve special mention. These speeches were followed by the singing of the International which caused consternation among the magistrates.

The following remarks should be made concerning former and present deviations in the legal labour movement: it has been noticeable that united front tactics receive but scant attention from the "Left". On the other hand there was opportunist fraternisation with Social Democrats under the cloak of the united front. The present situation in the capitalist development of Finland called forth in the Finnish labour movement, whose struggle is carried on under very difficult conditions, a strong desire to form an independent labour party. Every now and then one observes also a desire for emancipation from the leadership of the illegal Communist Party and from "Moscow". But this desire does not find very forcible expression and is entirely due to legal conditions.

It is under such circumstances that the activity and tactics of the Communist Party developed on the basis of the two main directions of the ECCI and of the Enlarged Plenum: 1) comprehensive organisational, ideological and political consolidation of the Party itself, 2) Consolidation and intensification of the influence of the Party over the masses to a much higher degree than before.

This was the basis on which the organisational development of the Party was effected. The membership has increased almost 50% and the number of nuclei 25%. Good work was done with respect to the organisation of fractions and the result is: that the Party has considerably increased its influence over the legal class movement.

The Party tried to carry on its activity and tactics in such a manner as not to evoke persecutions and oppressive measures likely to impede its work and perhaps lead to the destruction of the Party itself. In all its activities the Party always bore in mind that the bourgeoisie is ready at any moment to start a new offensive against any class movement animated by a fighting spirit.

The Party conference held last June showed that considerable success has been achieved "in the development of the Party during the past period with respect to organisational and ideological coordination and consolidation and also with regard to increasing its political influence over the masses", so that owing to the increased activity and the fighting spirit of the working class and also owing to the guiding activity of the Party carried on on correct lines, the latter was able to resist the offensive of the bourgeoisie and of the Social Democrats against the revolutionary labour movement, with the result that this offensive was unable to defeat the movement."

But the Conference emphasised at the same time that "in spite of the success achieved lately in important branches of Party work, Party members must not be blind to the great shortcomings and weak points of which there is still a considerable number in the Communist movement of Finland." Organisational development is still showing many defects: there are not enough factory nuclei, the number of street nuclei in the provinces as well as in the big towns, has increased out of proportion with the number of factory nuclei, the average membership of the nuclei is also too small. The network of local executives is not yet sufficiently developed, the nuclei do not show much initiative, they keep too much apart from their surroundings, which is certainly not conducive to a rapid growth of their influence over the masses. Systematic ideological education to promote the formation of active cadres and also systematic Leninist education of the members are as yet inadequate. Although the deviations in the work of the Party were not very serious, they have nevertheless left their mark.

In spite of all these defects and weaknesses the Party conference declared that, considering the economic and political situation and the present position of the labour movement, one can say that in Finland "the necessary premises for the proletarian revolution are gradually being created objectively and that subjective revolutionary factors are also developing in a favourable manner." Therefore, "preparation of the working class for the seizure of power in conjunction with the other sections of the working population is the main and all-embracing task of the Party."

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F R A N C E.  
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The CPF in connection with the financial crisis of the country has directed its propaganda and agitation among the workers against the policy of the cartels and that of the big bourgeoisie. The inflation policy was systematically combated. The CPF pointed out to the workers not only the immediate material evil effects of inflation for the workers and other toiling sections of the population, but also indicated the future effects. In the press, in the Chamber, at meetings, through circulars and pamphlets, the CPF attempted to make clear to the workers what class interests are behind the inflation policy, how inflation has permitted the big capitalists to enrich themselves further at the expense of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the

workers. In opposition to the many projects and plans of the government, the political parties and the bourgeois press for combating inflation, the CPF issued its own programme and its own slogans. The CPF expressed itself in favour of stabilisation, but a stabilisation at the cost of big capital. To the report of the financial experts the CPF replied with the following slogans: nationalisation of the banks, monopoly of foreign trade, taxation of great wealth, annulment of war debts, a workers' and peasants' government, a United States of Socialist Europe. The poster issued on this occasion concluded with the following appeal: "To the war declaration of the bourgeoisie reply with the united front of the proletariat!"

On July 9th, the Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of 22 votes turned over "full powers" to the Government. On July 11th, the proletariat of Paris, under the leadership of the CPF and the CGTU demonstrated against the abdication of the Chamber and against the policy of the bourgeois parties. On July 11th, "l'Humanité" published the headline: "Proletarians demand 'full powers' for yourselves." The workers protested against: the enslavement plan of the experts, the 8 billions new taxes, increase of cost of living, the relentless repression of the demonstrations of hungry workers by the police and fascist bands, the abolition of the 8-hour working day; for: a general rise in wages and a sliding wage scale, the dissolution and disarmament of the Fascist guards, shifting the cost of the stabilisation of the franc to the rich, mass trade union unity, proletarian united front and solidarity with the British miners. These slogans were already posted beforehand by the Paris organisation.

On July 14th, that is, after Poincaré entered the Government, the CPF issued a manifesto "To the workers, peasants and soldiers", in which it repeated these slogans.

Two weeks later, on August 7, the CPF issued a gigantic poster in which it pointed out the slogans "which alone are capable of solving the crisis, without injuring the interests of the workers": 1) Monopoly of foreign trade for the purpose of controlling and suppressing the exodus of capital, for the protection of the State against the danger of foreign finance capitalists. 2) Nationalisation of the banks for the abolition of control of the State by the financiers. 3) Nationalisation of the big monopolies: railways, mines, mills, sugar, and petroleum refineries, etc. 4) Taxation of big fortunes for the purpose of paying off war costs through the 500,000 capitalists, who possess 600 billion francs, that is, half of the national wealth. 5) Annulment of all war debts. 6) Control of production and trade by the worker and peasant organisations. When the Party issued these slogans, they committed the error of not sufficiently distinguishing between immediate demands on the one hand, and far-reaching revolutionary ultimate demands on the other. It placed the taxation of large fortunes on the same plane as the monopoly of foreign trade and the nationalisation of the banks.

The political campaigns of the CPF were not carried out with sufficient consistency. They seem accidental and the result insufficient. They are too little connected

with the demonstrations and needs of the working class, for example, the slogan: dissolution of the Chamber. It was issued too late and was propagated with too little consistency. It would have been necessary to tie up the demand of the dissolution of the Chamber with the everyday demands of the Party. In general it can be said that the political slogans are insufficiently connected with the daily struggle of the masses (demonstrations, manifestations, strikes, the demonstration of government employees before parliament).

The autonomy movement was supported by the Party organisations of Alsace-Lorraine with sufficient energy. The political and tactical work in this region was conducted in agreement with the Central Executive of the CPF, but the campaign for the autonomy movement found an insufficient echo in "L'Humanité" as well as in the general policy of the Party. A few newspaper enquiries on the condition of workers in Alsace-Lorraine cannot be considered as a political campaign such a campaign requires that every action of the enemy, or of allies should be answered, and that the masses should be won over for our slogans and aims. The error of the Party consisted in looking upon the Alsace-Lorraine question as merely a regional question; in failing to see the national and international significance of the struggle for the national movements in general and for the Alsace-Lorraine movement in particular. Therefore, the Party did not take the trouble to win over the masses of workers in all of France for the support of the autonomy movement in Alsace-Lorraine. Thus limitations of our action is all the worse in view of the fact that the Presidium of the CI pointed out the errors and the correct path to be followed.

Since the October Revolution the British general strike and the Coalminers' lockout of six months is the class movement which has mobilised the largest number of workers. The British working class has thus become the advance guard of the European and world proletariat, in the struggle against the deterioration of the living conditions of the toiling masses. The CPF correctly understood the significance and the sense of the struggle in Britain and fought against all under-estimations of the British movement. The Party and the Trade Union conducted a widespread campaign in favour of supporting the British Strike and of an embargo especially in the mining districts and in the ports where coal is exported. Inspection committees were formed on a united front basis by the harbour workers, the railway workers and the sailors of the merchant marine; in these there participated also the reformists and the independent trade union of the merchant marine in Havre. In connection with the solidarity action there were a number of strikes for immediate demands (Boulogne-Dunkirk). Other movements involved solidarity action for the British miners with the direct aim of getting the harbour workers of Bordeaux to refuse to ship certain products to Britain, and getting the sailors of Havre to refuse to replace striking British sailors. A collection throughout the country on behalf of the British strikers had considerable results. Thanks to the action of the Party and the CGTU it was possible to carry out on August 9th a 24-hour general strike of French miners, which was much more an expression of solidarity with the British strike than a



struggle for immediate demands of the French miners themselves. Despite the opposition of the reformists 100,000 out of 300,000 miners downed tools, so that the number of strikers exceeded the number of strikers who came out on October 12th, 1925, in protest against the Moroccan War. In the reformist mining centres of the North: Pas-de-Calais, Carmaux, a considerable number of reformist workers struck, despite the opposition of the leaders. However, certain errors must also be pointed out which were made in the press and in the other Party organs. The refusal of the General Council of the British trade unions, was in a certain sense justified by "l'Humanité". In the same way the breaking off of the General Strike was looked upon as a favourable compromise for the British working class. These errors were later corrected at the request of the Party Executive.

The struggle between the working class and the employers: Wages have only slowly kept up with the rise in prices. The workers are organising resistance, and strikes are breaking out everywhere. The employers, foreseeing an industrial crisis as a result of the stabilisation of the currency have made efforts since the beginning of 1926 to carry out reorganisation in their factories. In this connection there is the sharp struggle against the 8-hour day and a number of lockouts. There have been locked out: 30,000 workers from the Renault automobile factories, 4000 workers from the Farman factory, 2,000 workers from the Citroën factory, 6,000 in Chateau-Rognault, 1,200 workers in Voisin, Issy-les-Moulinaux, 4,000 ceramic workers in Limoges, 4,500 dock workers in Dunkirk, 2,000 workers from the Hispano-Suiza plant, etc.etc. There have gone on strike: 10,000 workers of the phosphate mines in Tunis; 1,000 textile workers in Larroque d'Olmes; 6,000 miners in Ostricourt (united front), 2,000 textile workers in St. Marie-les-Mines; textile workers' strike in Tourcoing, Terrars, la Ferté-Macé; 15,000 strikers in the building trade, demonstrations and threats of a strike of the railway workers in Alsace Lorraine, a half day general strike of the Paris metal workers (100,000); a 24-hour general strike of coal-miners on August 9th (66-70% participation). In addition a strike of lease farmers in the rural districts and of agricultural workers in various capital departments. It must be said that the Party press gave proper publicity to the strikes and lockouts in headlines and supported them morally. The parliamentary fraction made various interpolations in favour of the strikers, of raising wages, for a sliding scale, for the maintenance of the 8-hour day and against increased living costs.

Despite the numerous strikes and lockouts there has been only a very small increase in the membership of the trade union organisations. The CGTU had on September 18th, 541,825 membership cards issued, as against 512,000 in 1925; it had 2,866,755 stamps sold as against 2,714,470 in 1925. The reformist CGT maintains that the number of its members had also risen. There can as yet be no talk of mass trade unions. In many of the big metal factories of Paris it often happens, that out of 2,000 workers only 25 belong to trade unions. The strike movements have shown that the trade union organisations are far from having a steady connection with the masses.

The strikes, the threats of the Fascists, increased living costs, repressive measures, the financial policy of the government, the employers' offensive, have increased the necessity of the toiling masses for the formation of a united front. It was thus that there took place a united front in Isère-Voiron (13.6.), a regional congress of textile workers of the unitary and federated trade unions; a congress of federated textile workers (September) with 104 votes in favour of a unity resolution; 6,000 strikers in Ostricourt (July) led by a strike committee consisting of unitary and federated trade unionists; a united front of miners in Meurthe-et-Moselle (10,000 trade unionists); out of 13 miners' strikes, 5 ended in victory, thanks to the united front, while 8 ended in defeat as a result of insufficient unity; the federated teachers of the Departments of Lyons joined the "Friends of the United Front". In Constantine 2,000 Communists and Socialist workers formed a united front in the struggle against high cost of living (25.7.); agreement of both post office workers federations (end of July); unity committee of the metal workers of Lyons comprising 95% of the organised workers.

In Bone (Algeria): united fronts in the struggle against high cost of living formed by Communist, Socialist, Unitarian and federated workers, together with the League for the Rights of Man. In Algeria, 5,000 Communists and social workers formed a united front against the increased cost of bread; in Havre 3,000 workers demonstrated under the leadership of Communist, Socialist, Unitarian and Federated organisations against Fascism. A united front of unitarian and federated railway workers in La Rochelle, anti-Fascist demonstration in Givors, Hénin-Liétard, Derneval. Joint meetings of unitarian and federated workers of Paris (for the first time since the trade union split). Joint action in connection with the 1st of May in Nimes, Alais, Toulouse, le Card, Nancy, Dijon, Tours, Lille, Marseilles, Troyes, etc.etc.

Since May the organ "L'Unité" has been appearing (edition of 5,000) about which the trade union Lefts of the reformist CGT grouped themselves. These Lefts have undoubtedly become stronger. Within their ranks there work together Communists as well as Left Socialists (followers of the newspaper "L'Étincelles").

The relations between the central unions of the reformists on the one hand and the unitarians on the other have not changed. The unitarians continue to send letters and proposals to the reformists, to which the latter either do not reply at all or reply evasively. While at the top of the trade union organisations nothing is being done for carrying out the united front, its necessity becomes more and more clear at the base and leads to the formation of joint committees, of proletarian unity committees in the factories, in which the CPF energetically participates.

The problem of trade union unity was further discussed in the CGTU and in the Party. In this connection the following three viewpoints were expressed:

I. The tendency of least resistance; out of a fear of not acting correctly those who have this tendency prefer not to act at all and to maintain the purity of principle.

2. The tendency of amalgamating trade unions of various directions on a local scale or through the formation of independent trade unions without any plan involving the central unions or the trade union federation.

3. The tendency to liquidation, which is beginning to crop up. This tendency favours the entrance of the CGTU into the CGT, i.e. the dissolution of the CGTU. The expression of this tendency must be taken all the more seriously since they reflect the spirit of considerable trade union circles. The supporters of this point of view argue as follows: the masses are showing a certain amount of fatigue. Our CGTU is developing slowly, the Left Wing in the CGT is weak. In the CGT there are not only petty-bourgeois elements, but also a broad section of workers. At the same time the situation of the working class demands the formation of mass trade unions. However, it is impossible to create these unless trade union unity is quickly realised. Until now we have confined ourselves to a purely oratorical struggle for trade union unity. Unity was not seriously sought. Other slogans must be found and the entrance of the CGTU into the CGT is won, on condition of course that the Dumoulin motion be withdrawn.

This tendency which means retardation and is really in opposition to the application of new methods for the achievement of trade union unity and which in addition the CGTU still continues to regard as a kind of revolutionary party "suis generis", is opposed to that tendency which would have the struggle for trade union unity take first place. They defend the concept of a mere revolutionary perspective, and declare that under these circumstances it is necessary, above all things, to work for the strengthening of the trade union cadres. For the formation of a strong trade union movement they premise the creation of a strong apparatus. They point to British events, to the treachery of the trade union leaders, to the weakness of the Lefts in the CGTU. The vague thesis of these comrades is not free from a certain anti-unity spirit, in fact they state: 1) in Britain there is a mass trade union movement. 2) Unless we have the leadership firmly in our hands we take the risk of losing important struggles in the class war. 3) The revolutionary perspectives demand that at the head of the trade union movement there should be revolutionary leaders. 4) However, since these perspectives are close at hand, and since the realisation of trade union unity seems further away, and the leadership of the trade union movement by revolutionary leaders seems still further away, the problem of revolutionary cadres should take first place, in other words the CGTU must maintain its character as an organisation of revolutionary cadres. In connection with the relations between the Party and the trade unions, the supporters of this point of view take the following attitude: the work of the trade union fractions of the CPF must find expression through the work in the trade unions. The Communists must carry on ideological work in the fractions and must be active in the trade unions individually. They must do personal work, that is in so far as the trade unions can exist without the Party, while the precise opposite is possible. In this way, the fraction will increase its function of control and leadership.

The Party leads the trade union movement but by means of and only by means of the CGTU and the central unions.

In regard to the movement in favour of the immediate demands of the proletariat and the role of the CGTU the supporters of this tendency reason as follows: since the formation of the CGTU it looked upon the political struggle as of prime importance. Just now we are beginning to work for immediate demands, which brings with it considerable dangers of sinking into reformism. This must be combated. Precisely in this struggle against reformism and for revolutionary training, lies the task of the fraction.

The development of the crisis within the Socialist Party and the possibility of a split were examined by the Central Committee on February 1926 and by the subsequent B.P. since then the question has not been followed with sufficient attention. Two points of view were represented. The first was in favour of taking into the Communist Party all individual Socialists who sympathise with us. This thesis was rejected by the B.P. The second group was in favour of taking into account the attempts of the Socialist workers who sympathise with Communism to build a Left wing on a local and national scale, thus one emphasises the possibility of the Socialist Party coming back to the path of the class struggle while the others inclined more to a steady approach to the CP. The crisis in the Socialist Party is the expression of the crisis in French capitalism. The development of the Social left wing is the expression of the fact that the Socialist workers in order to defend themselves must first break with reformism and must first return to the path of the united front and the class struggle. The Party seems to have paid insufficient attention to these problems.

With regard to the number of members in the CPF there is not enough clarity. The report of the Central Committee at the Lille Congress (June 1926) stated that there were 60,000 members in 1925 and 64,600 on April 15th, 1926. Since September 15th, the Party has been carrying on a campaign for increasing its membership; it has set itself the goal of winning 20,000 new members. Meetings have been organised in all the large cities. According to "l'Humanite" there were times when 10,000, 6,000, 5,000, 4,000 and 2,000 workers participated. There have been many new entries into the Party. At present the Party faces the following main task in the field of organisation; drawing in the new members into practical work (factories, trade union, etc.). Organisation work must not be restricted merely to administrative measures and must not be done by itself, but must be in the closest possible way tied up with political work.

The Central Committee has successfully fought against ideological deviations in the question of the united front tactic and the circumstantial agreements (accords circonstanciel); on the other hand nothing has happened so to speak in combating the ideology of the former Right. It must be said that the ideological work of the CPF is in general weak. The lack of politically and ideologically trained comrades is felt everywhere, particularly in the province. The situation is made worse by the fact that the central press of the Party is not on a sufficiently high level to meet its tasks and does not give sufficient political direction. The "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" are still too much improvised and concentrate too little on the actual questions in the country.

In regard to the situation in the USSR and the CPSU, the CPF has adopted the following attitude: approval of the disciplinary measures of the CC and the CCC against the Opposition, for the unity of the CPSU, confidence in the CC. With the basic questions of the discussion the CPF has not yet deeply occupied itself, in view of the tasks in France. At the last session however, the CC expressed itself in favour of the policy of the CPSU.

The comrades who formed the Central Committee come from various sections of the labour movement. It seems that unanimity is often purchased at the price of a certain limitation of the activity of the Party due to the attempts of groups of various origin to neutralise each other. If it was necessary at the Lille Congress to enlarge the Central Committee and to join all the healthy elements in the Party in responsible political work, it is no less necessary to state all political questions clearly. That is a pre-requisite for the creation of a good leadership in the CPF.

## G E R M A N Y.

A number of concrete tasks were placed before the CPG by the VI Enlarged Executive and subsequently in the directions of the Presidium of the CI. The most important of them are to be dealt with here, showing in what manner they were carried out.

### 1. Struggle Against War Preparations and Intervention

#### Armaments Against the U.S.S.R.

As usual, the CPG held anti-war demonstrations throughout the country on August 4. In some of the larger towns "Red days" of the Red Front Fighters' League held, all of which were very well attended. The anti-war campaign was carried on as a campaign against the League of Nations and against Germany's entry into it. The International Workers' Relief (IAW), took an active part in the campaign on China organised by the Party. The campaign against Pilsudsky and Poland, and on the occasion of the Russo-Lithuanian agreement was pre-eminently a press campaign. All these campaigns were at the same time directed against the Social-Democrats and their ideological preparatory work for an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union (Kautsky, League of Nations articles, Breitscheid at the Geneva Session, press campaign of the SPG).

In connection with this must also be mentioned the struggle of the Party against ultra-Left deviations. When Korsch and Schwarz, who were at that time already expelled from the Party, voted in the Reichstag against the Russo-German agreement, the Communist Reichstag fraction protested energetically against this.

The anti-Soviet Union campaign of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press in connection with CPSU questions was countered by the Party by an enlightenment campaign on Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. However, this

was not as effective as it should have been because of lack of material. Through the lack of discipline of the ultra-Left, the Party was compelled to open a discussion on Socialist construction in the Soviet Union in spite of the Enlarged Executive's decisions to the contrary. One must say that through their counter-revolutionary distortions and lies about the Soviet Union, the ultra-Left inside and outside the CPG provided the bourgeois and above all the Social Democratic press with material for their anti-Soviet Union campaign. (Ruth Fischer's speech in Charlottenburg, statements by Kersch and Katz, declaration of the 700).

Another asset for activity are also the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union. With the active support of the Party, arrangements were made during the report period of the despatch to Soviet Russia of young workers, adult workers —, women's and free-thinkers' delegations, most of which consisted of SPG followers and non-Party elements. These workers' delegations played an important role in the campaigns for the Soviet Union and against the war peril. Contests of German sportsmen with Russian working class sportsmen which took place in some German cities were frequently converted, under the leadership of the Party, into demonstrations for the Soviet Union.

It should also be pointed out that the slogan of the United States of Socialist Europe was given prominence in all the manifestoes and other publications of the Party on the League of Nations and the war peril.

## 2. Support for the British Strike.

On May 4, that is to say, immediately after the outbreak of the British General Strike, the Central Committee of the CPG published a manifesto with slogans suitable for the occasion. On May 5, the CC of the Party approached the ADGB with concrete proposals for the support of the British struggle and for the initiation of a struggle in Germany. However, the reformists rejected the proposals on the ground that the ADGB itself would take the necessary measures. This gave the Party an opportunity to utilise this campaign for the enlightenment of the masses on the treacherous role of the reformist leaders. When the British General Strike was broken off, the campaign of the Party for the relief of the British miners suffered a serious set back. This was probably due most of all to the fact that the Party had its hands full with the plebiscite (June 20). In July, the campaign for the British strikers was again given an impetus. However, the Party did not succeed anywhere in moving the miners and transport workers to active solidarity by downing tools or declaring a sympathy strike. In some colliery districts, the Party succeeded in bringing about refusal to work overtime. With respect to the appeal for financial support for the British miners, the Party succeeded in breaking down the reformists' opposition to collections for this purpose. They were actually compelled to appeal themselves for financial help for the British miners. Up to date, the collections of the IWR amount to 107,517 marks. During the whole campaign, the Party held joint meetings with the IWR in Berlin and in the colliery districts. In the Ruhr Basin and in Upper Silesia, the campaign was linked up with the position and the demands of the German miners. In those places the Party propagated a miners' strike from October 1

(when the wage agreement expired) for a 7-hour shift and higher wages. A similar campaign was also conducted with great energy in the ports. During the Hamburg Dockers' strike, the Party endeavoured to draw into it the workers of the most important German ports in support of the Hamburg struggle and also in aid of the British miners' strike. The Hamburg strike was, however, throttled by the reformists after five days of determined struggle.

Apart from collections of money and the actions in Duisburg and Hamburg and perhaps in a few other small localities, it did not come to any real actions in support of the British strike, this is probably due chiefly to the fact that "rationalisation" had just led to many dismissals among miners and transport workers and that the Party has not yet sufficient influence in the trade unions.

### 3. Struggle Against the Employers' Offensive - Struggle for the Unemployed.

Much of the CPG's energy was expended on the mobilisation of the unemployed. After numerous local and district meetings, the so-called national unemployed day was observed throughout the country on March 23. The most important slogans of the Party on this day were: a bigger unemployment dole, measures for providing employment, prohibition to close down enterprises, public works at trade union wages, abolition of compulsory labour, raising the unemployment dole to 80% of the local wage, struggle against wage reductions, an 8-hour day as a maximum, solidarity between employed and unemployed workers. The work of the Party among the unemployed was closely connected with trade union work, but without making the coordination of the unemployed dependent on the consent of the trade union authorities. In this respect, the Party had some successes: several trade unions or district committees of the ADGB were compelled to convene conferences of their unemployed members (in May and June). After that there was a lull in the Party's work among the unemployed. Because of its trade union policy, the Party was placed before the dilemma of either a closer coordination of the unemployed or of an unemployed congress on a national scale. It decided in favour of a loose coordination of the unemployed through unemployed committees, and is carrying on a struggle for trade union recognition of these committees. A national conference of unemployed is to take place just before the Workers' Congress whose task it will be to establish a united fighting front between unemployed and employed workers. Mobilisation for the Workers' Congress through the Party is at the same time mobilisation of the unemployed. At all manifestations and big demonstrations for the Workers' Congress the demands of the unemployed occupy first place.

As a prelude to the Workers' Congress, district unemployed conferences have been held in many provinces. They were attended by Communist, non-Party as well as by a number of Social-Democratic and Christian Socialist delegates of the unemployed. Representatives of factories also attended these conferences. Trade Unions refused to participate in them. Altogether 10 district unemployed conferences

were held, including conferences in Berlin, Hamburg, Halle, Saxony, Rhine-Ruhr, etc. These conferences drew up "theses on rationalisation and on the tasks of the working class." They include the fighting programme of the Party against the offensive of the employers.

#### 4. Capture of the Masses Through the Application of United Front and Partial Demand Tactics.

During the period covered by the report, the CPG conducted four united front campaigns: Plebiscite for the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses without compensation, campaign for the Workers' Congress, the Hamburg Dockers Strike and the struggle against the Prussian Hohenzollern settlement.

The main political results of the Plebiscite were as follows: 1) The 15 million votes during the Plebiscite meant an unmistakable defeat of the Government. 2) Ever-growing sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are beginning to turn away from the Right Parties and even from the Democrats and the Centre party, and are coming over to the side of the workers. 3) Half and probably even two-thirds of the followers of the democratic parties voted for the expropriation act. The Plebiscite brought disintegration into the ranks of the Democratic Party (exit of Schacht, the president of the National Bank). 4) The crisis in the Centre party became more serious: one-third of the electors of the Centre Party voted for the Communist draft law. 5) The monarchist idea was seriously compromised by this campaign. 6) The question of power was brought very much to the fore, particularly through the fall of Luther, and above all through the Hindenburg letter. 7) On the strength of united front tactics the CPG succeeded for the first time in compelling the SPG, to make common cause with the CP and to accept the leadership of the latter throughout the campaign. At the same time it gathered new experiences with the unity committees and established close contact with large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie through the Kuczynski-Committee. 8) The class consciousness of the Communist workers was developed, democratic illusions were no longer to the fore and an activation process took place in the ranks of the CPG. 9) Defects were still noticeable in the Party organisations, and the Party certainly did not succeed in mobilising the rural districts to the desired extent.

The Hamburg Dockers' Strike was of considerable political importance for the whole of Germany. It is the first big economic struggle for a long time. Twenty-thousand dockers, stokers and engineers struck work for five days. The strike broke out contrary to the wishes of all the trade union authorities. The Communist dockers' fraction had aroused the fighting spirit of the workers by several weeks preliminary agitation and a systematically organised campaign in connection with the expiration of the wage agreement. When the vote of the Dockers' Union functionaries was taken, thousands of dockers congregated in front of the trade union premises. The struggle was of a decidedly class conscious and determined character which was greatly due to Communist leadership. The strike slogans not only contained the economic demands of the dockers (8-hour shift,



a wage increase, guarantee of a five-day wage); they also brought forward the demand for the vindication of the right of organisation and the right to strike which are in jeopardy through the liability declaration contained in the adverse award made by the Labour Minister. The ideological and political leadership of the struggle was in the hands of the Communists. The Strike Executive, 75% whose members were Social-Democrats and 25% Communists, publicly opposed the reformist trade union leaders and the Social-Democratic Party Executive, which on the third day of the strike published a paid advertisement on unconditional resumption of work in the "Hamburger Echo" of the Employers' Federation. This strike can be considered as the first big mass struggle against capitalist "rationalisation". The Communists gave it at the same time the imprint of a solidarity declaration for the British miners. Through the mean treachery of the reformist leaders, the strike was broken off after five days. Its main result is the fact that large numbers of Social-Democratic and free trade-union workers have shown for the first time after many years that they are beginning to have confidence in the Communist Party not only as leader in political struggles against the bourgeoisie, but also as leader of economic struggles directed against the employers. This important progress was due to correct and rapidly applied united front tactics during the struggle.

Leadership of the struggle against the Prussian Hohenzollern settlement was entirely in the hands of the Communists. The Communist Party exposed the plan of the Government and the Social-Democrats to take the workers by surprise, it urged the masses to protest on a national scale, organised many mass demonstrations, addressed the Social-Democratic workers in an open letter which was posted in the enterprises, distributed 100,000 leaflets of the same contents as the open letter in Berlin and used obstructionist tactics in the Diet. These measures found an echo among the masses and made the working class and large sections of the working middle classes take up once more the idea of expropriation without compensation -- the slogans of the Flebiscite campaign. The strong effect of obstructionist tactics in Parliament was entirely due to the fact that it was linked up with the mass mobilisation of the masses outside Parliament. While the Parliamentary fraction broke up three Diet Sessions, and drove the Presidium out of the hall because of its provocative actions, delegations of unemployed addressed big crowds from platforms outside the Parliament building, Social-Democratic workers tore up their membership cards in the Diet, workers' and women's delegations from the factories, demonstrated in the lobbies under the leadership of Communist members of the Diet. The struggle of the Communists and the masses against the Hohenzollern settlement occupied almost for a whole week the situation of the entire bourgeois press because of its enormous political importance. As a result, Communist prestige increased and Social-Democratic leaders were discredited in the eyes of the masses. After the Hamburg strike as well as after the Prussian Hohenzollern campaign, a process of differentiation was noticeable in the ranks of the Social-Democratic workers. Social Democratic and Communist workers fraternised in the districts and enterprises, a considerable number of the former left the SPG, the recruiting week of the Social-Democratic party was a complete failure while the CFG

prolonged its recruiting campaign which it held simultaneously with that of the Social-Democrats, for a whole week. The Hohenzollern Bill was passed after over 20 members of the Diet had been expelled. But this does not by any means end the struggle which is pursued at present in the Reichstag and particularly outside Parliament. The success of the Party in the Hamburg Dockers' strike and in the Hohenzollern campaign shows the correctness of the decision made already in June regarding the convocation of a national workers' Congress.

The campaign for this congress is so to speak a continuation of the Plebiscite campaign. The manifesto for this Congress bears the signatures of the following organisations: CPG, Socialist Federation (Ledebour), Association of Positive Republicans, Christian-Social National Party, National Federation of Small Peasants, Federation of Working Farmers, IFR, IGWPA, International Federation of War and Labour Invalids, Rote Front Kämpferbund, Red Women's and Girl's League, YCLG. The Workers Congress will be held in the middle of November. One must say that already now, four weeks before its opening, the campaign has a rousing effect on the masses.

The Red Front League (RFB) which has more than 150,000 members has rapidly developed. It consists mostly of non-Party workers with a sprinkling of members of the Social-Democratic Party. A considerable number of "Reichsbanner" members went over last year to the RFB. The Berlin Whitsuntide Action in 1925, was a tremendous success for the RFB. Just as successful were all the provincial actions and Red days. Tens of thousands of workers hitherto not in contact with the Communist Party were roused through the RFB and joined the ranks of the revolutionary movement. This rapid development of the RFB necessitates its ideological consolidation, a thorough development of its organisational apparatus, and above all more effective Communist fraction work within its ranks.

The Party's work in the rural districts is still inadequate. Nevertheless, it has been able to achieve a certain amount of success with the Mosel, Thuringian and South German peasants. The East Prussian peasants day in Lauknen was a great success. It was attended by representatives of the CPG and RFB and also by representatives of a few trade unions. The Party also organised Red rural Sundays and is beginning to introduce the patronage system, big factory nuclei becoming patrons of various villages.

#### 5. Development of Trade Union Work and Construction of

##### Fractions in the Trade Unions.

The results of improved fraction work in the trade unions could be clearly seen during the election of delegates to the Congress of the Metal Workers' Federation when the opposition polled 31.80% of the total vote as compared with 27% at the elections to the Breslau ADGB Congress. In Berlin, the Party obtained for the first time since 1923 a majority, — 13,000 votes against 9,500 votes for the reformists. But its representatives at the Congress constituted only 15% of the total number of representatives. It has also been possible to increase the influence of the Communist opposition in the miners', bootmakers' and railwaymen's unions.

The trustification of industry and capitalist reorganisation made the work of the Communist Factory Councils very difficult. The Party endeavoured to lay down uniform tactics for its functionaries in the steel and cornmill Trusts, in the mining and shipping industries and on the State railways.

Strenuous propaganda was carried on by the Party for the demand for national and international trade union unity, particularly during the recruiting week of the International Trade Union Federation, September 13 to 19.

The main feature of the trade union work of the CPG is the development of fractions and the mobilisation of the workers for the struggle against the capitalist reorganisation and its effects, for alliance between employed and unemployed workers, and the establishment of a fighting front of all workers against the class truce policy of the reformists.

6. Continuation of the Reorganisation of the Party on a  
Factory Nucleus Basis and Development of Fractions in  
Mass Organisations.

Progress has been made with the reorganisation of the Party on the factory nucleus basis. The increase of factory newspapers has been rather slow. About 10% of the factory nuclei publish newspapers either by their own efforts or with the help of the district executives. Thorough politisation of the nuclei is now as heretofore a fundamental task of the Party. It is of course true that in the CPG more than in any other section nuclei are the main ground of the inner Party and political life. But as already pointed out before, one cannot rest content with this, for much remains as yet to be done in this direction.

The Cooperative Congresses in May and the central Congress in Munich in June, showed that the fractions in the consumers' cooperatives had worked satisfactorily. On the other hand the fractions did not show up to great advantage at the May Day celebrations, in the utilisation of the International Cooperators Day and in the British Miners' Strike. Much work remains to be done by the fractions in the Red Front League and in the Red Women's and Girls' League in the political and organisational sphere. Communists constitute 15 to 45% of the membership of these organisations.

With respect to sport organisations, this year's congresses showed that we exercised organisational influence over one-sixth of the delegates, and over one-third of the delegates as far as the voting was concerned. Communist proposals frequently received a majority of the votes (for international unity, for the class struggle). There are well organised sport fractions in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Stuttgart, Dresden, Nürnberg, Erfurt, etc. In Berlin, fraction work is to a certain extent still impeded by bringing the Party discussion into it.

## 7. Concentration of the Struggle Against the Ultra-

### Left Overcoming Right Tendencies.

After the VI Enlarged Executive, the ultra-Left in the CPG increased their fractional activities. All of them declared the Russian question to be the question and demanded that it should be fully discussed in the Party and in the CI. First of all the Party concentrated its attention on the struggle against the Korsch-Schwarz group, it succeeded in alienating the workers from these renegades. At the beginning of July, Maslow was released from prison. He obtained permission from the Attorney General to undergo a cure in Missingen (which by the way he has not yet begun). In spite of repeated invitations through the CC, and ICC and the Secretariat of the ECCL, he categorically refused to comply with the decision of the ICC and to appear before the ICC in Moscow, in order to account for his attitude in court. Ruth Fischer violated the repeated decisions of the CI according to which she was not to return to Germany for the time being. She went to Germany without the permission of the ECCL. Because of this breach of discipline she was relieved of all Party functions by the CC of the Party. Together with Maslow she worked systematically for the disruption of the Party. They formed a fraction CC of their own and went on systematically with their fraction work in all parts of the country. A confidential circular letter addressed by Korsch to his followers divulged the fact that Maslow and Ruth Fischer were working together with the renegades, Korsch and Schwarz and under their leadership for the disruption of the Party in a very systematic manner. Thereupon, Ruth Fischer and Maslow were expelled from the Party, on the decision of the CC of the Party (against the votes of Comrades Urbans and Weber and of the CC candidate Schmansky). Their expulsion was endorsed by 83 votes against 7 by the conference of the political secretaries and editors of the CPG, August 26 and 27.

In the beginning of September, the ultra-Left circulated a printed "declaration on the Russian question", which was signed by 700 Party functionaries and was given a very prominent place in the "Vorwärts" even before it was brought to the notice of the Party membership. This anti-Party declaration resulted in the disruption of the "Wedding Opposition" (Weber-Kotter group). There was also a split in the Korsch-Schwarz group. As a consequence of these splits, there are at present in the CPG and outside of it, six ultra Left fractions. They are: 1) the Katz group, 2) the Schwarz group, 3) the Korsch group, 4) the Maslow-Ruth Fischer Urbans group, 5) the Weber group, 6) the Kötter group. The Katz group has founded the "Spartakus Bund of Left Communist organisations" in conjunction with the Pfempfert General Labour Union with the Schmidke, Schuhmacher and Weyer "Independent Unions". This organisation differs very little from the KAP (Communist Labour Party). Katz has at present hardly any followers within the CPG. One can also say that Korsch-Schwarz and also the Urbans and Weber groups have lost some of their followers, considering that Katz conceptions and methods are becoming more and more noticeable in circular letters and resolutions.

The Korsch-Schwarz Group held a national Conference in the beginning of September. At this Conference there was considerable divergence of opinion and it actually came to a split.

Korsch works for the disruption of the Comintern and the CPG and for the establishment of a new CI. This is to be achieved through fraction work within the CP and the amalgamation of all Left groupings inside and outside the Communist Party into a new "Zimmerwald Left" on an international scale.

Schwarz and his followers want to join the KAP. He is already in close contact with Katz. The resolutions moved by Korsch and Schwarz were adopted by the national conference; the vote was 21 against 20. After the split, Schwarz has begun to publish his own bulletin under the title "Entschiedene Linke". Korsch continues to publish his "Kommunistische Politik". War has been declared between the two. The former Korsch-Schwarz group has a very small following throughout the country and the split has probably added to its weakness. The Korsch-Schwarz group had a majority only in the Hagen sub-district. However, the Hagen local group has already expressed itself by 61 votes against 20 against the Party disrupters and for the policy of the CC. On the other hand, the Darmstadt Delegate Conference of the CP adopted a Korsch resolution by 10 votes against 8. A split has taken place in the former Weber-Kötter group because of the manner in which the declaration of the 700 was made public. Shortly after the declaration of the 700 had been published, the CC received a declaration from Comrade Kötter condemning the declaration of 700. Kötter's declaration was made on behalf of the Wedding Opposition, the West Saxony (Leipzig), Lower Saxony (Hannover) districts and the 6th Berlin district.

Weber accused Kötter of "betraying" the common cause". He sent on his own behalf and on that of a few followers, a declaration to the CC directed against the Kötter declaration, asserting that Kötter himself participated in the elaboration of the declaration of the 700. Comrade Weber's declaration shows clearly where he is drifting to: into the arms of the renegades, Ruth Fischer and Maslow, towards the disruption of the Party. We give below verbatim an excerpt from his declaration:

"The Left opposition in the CPG cannot overcome the dictatorial and opportunist Party Executive and its apparatus, identifying itself with the platform of the Wedding opposition, it establishes the unity of the German Left and puts a stop to the fatal splits. A mighty stride forward in this direction was the support given to our resolution and declaration by the Urbans followers (namely the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group).

The Wedding opposition locks upon the demagogic protestations re Party unity contained in the last paragraph of the Kötter declaration as unheard of aspersion and denunciation."

Through this split, the old Weber-Kötter group, hitherto the strongest of the opposition groups, has been considerably weakened, which is all the more important as there are among Kötter's followers elements who are veering towards the Party.

After the printed declaration of the 700, the attitude of the Urbans Group has been more provocative than ever. Everywhere, its actions show that it is animated by the desire for mass expulsion from the Party.

In the meantime, a number of men and women comrades have withdrawn their signatures from the declaration.

The tactics of the CC consist also in increasing differentiation in the ranks of the ultra-Left and to alienate working class elements from the leaders of the groups. At its session of September 16, the CC adopted a resolution on the declaration of the 700, in which it is said that this declaration is a direct call to split the Party. The resolution goes on to say that the declaration is not an expression of any revolutionary ideas, but merely an anti-Bolshevik Lampon which was, moreover, reproduced in the "Vorwärts" before it was known to the Party membership. The resolution of the CC takes up a very severe attitude towards Weber, particularly as the Wedding opposition has hitherto dissociated itself repeatedly from the split policy and double book-keeping of Ruth Fischer-Maslow-Scholem group. In an article in the "Rote Fahne", the CC declares that it is prepared to carry on a business-like and comradely discussion with the Kötter group and that it would do its utmost to win back all the honest workers of this group for the policy of the CC. In the said resolution, the CC speaks of "severe political and organisational measures" against the instigators of the split-Urbahns, Scholem, Weber and intimate collaborators.

It should also be mentioned that Giwan an ultra-Left moved a resolution in his factory nucleus, declaring "that at present the entire state and social order in Russia is only reactionary, and that the proletarian dictatorship is being openly done away with." He advocated "more strenuous class struggle in the Soviet Union and a second revolution for the overthrow of the power of kulakdom and of the Nep bourgeoisie." Giwan was expelled from the Party.

During the period covered by the report, the Party had also to make good a number of serious opportunist errors, which were; the Reichstag fraction's consent to the Anpappschaftsgesetz (legislation on pensions for miners); the Communist speech of Comrade Smolka (Thuringia) in which he declared that the question of unemployment is the business of the trade unions and not of the political Parties, the grave errors of the Communist Diet fraction in Mecklenburg before and after the formation of the Government. The Party had also to deal with the opportunist conceptions of some Württemberg comrades concerning tactics during the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses campaign.

There were also some episodes with the former group of comrades Ernst Meyer, Gerhardt, Karl Becker (Right). (Interview of Becker and Gerhardt, and the letter from Enderles to some Stuttgart functionaries). Comrade Thälmann declared at the secretaries' and editors' conference that in the course of conversations of the CC with the leading comrades of the Meyer group, a basis has been found for the complete liquidation of this group and for the collaboration of <sup>this</sup> group with the CC.

The Party has been able to place on record a number of important successes during the report period in addition to the struggle for the expropriation of the ex-Ruling Houses initiated by it and conducted from beginning to end under its leadership, the Hamburg Dockers' Strike, struggle against the Prussian Hohenzollern Settlement and the present campaign for the Toilers' Congress. The Party has also been successful with the mobilisation of the unemployed. It must be stated, however, that there was a time when it did carry on the struggle for the unemployed with the necessary energy. The campaign in support of the British strike had to be carried on by the Party under very unfavourable conditions (nationalisation with all its consequences, reformist supremacy in the trade unions). The Party has also failed to induce the German miners and transport workers to active solidarity.

The growth of Communist influence in the trade unions has been slow but sure. There are, however, still defects in the work of the Communist fractions, and one must admit that Communist functionaries are still at sea concerning practical Communist activity in the trade unions. Another difficult question is that of the work and the formation of Communist fractions in mass organisations.

Other successes are -- that Berlin and Leipzig were almost entirely unanimous for the policy of the Comintern. The tactics of the CC were instrumental in disintegrating the ranks of the ultra-Left, from which excellent working class elements were secured for the Party. The Party Executive has also succeeded in restraining the Party discussion which threatened to paralyse the entire Party work, and in rallying all the forces of the Party under the pressure of the ever-growing acuteness of the political situation and of the important tasks which confront the Party, making thereby, the slogan "instead of discussion, practical Party work" a reality.

After this report was written two events occurred which are of considerable importance to the united front tactics of the CPG: the municipal elections in Berlin at the end of October, and the elections to the Saxon Diet on October 31st.

As everyone knows, the Berlin municipal elections resulted in a Social-Democratic-Communist majority. The CPG succeeded repeatedly through the pressure of the factory workers, the labour organisations and the unemployed to induce the Social-Democrats to identify themselves with some of the Communist proposals. As vacant posts had to be filled in the Town Council at the end of October, the CPG proposed to the SPD to have a joint list of Communist and Social-Democratic candidates, in order to make a breach in the present bourgeois majority. Without replying to the Communist demands coupled with these proposals, the Social-Democrats secretly made a pact with the bourgeois Parties. On the day of the Town Council elections, obstructionist Communist Town Councillors were forcibly ejected from the Town Hall by the police at the order of the Social-Democratic Town Council Chairman, whereupon the Social-Democrats, undisturbed by the Communist fraction, proceeded with the election together with the bourgeois elements, with the

natural result of another bourgeois majority. The CPG immediately initiated the mobilisation of the Berlin workers against this Silverberg-Course (course towards the big coalition) and this new treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders.

The Party was very successful in the elections to the Saxon Diet on October 31st. The CPG was the only winning Party. It polled 75,000 votes more than before and obtained four more mandates. The Social-Democratic Party which is as everyone knows divided in Saxony, lost about 200,000 votes. Results of the Saxon election show that the Party succeeded in enlightening the workers also on the treacherous role of so-called Left leaders who dominate the Saxon SPG organisation.

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### G R E A T B R I T A I N.

Since "Red Friday" of July last year, the Party, through the "Workers Weekly" and other press organs in which it has influence has issued repeated warning to the workers about the pending capitalist offensive. The campaigns carried out in connection with the arrest of the Party members, and the expulsion of the Party from the Labour Party were closely connected with these warnings. The campaign for a united front with the ILP was based on the necessity of preparing the workers for this offensive. At the same time the Party emphasised the importance of the Minority Conference and gave it full support.

Immediately before the declaration of the General Strike the Communist Party published in the "Sunday Worker" of May 2nd, a Manifesto in which it pointed out that there was great danger, in the possibility of the government and the Right Wing succeeding in cutting off the miners from the rest of the labour movement, isolating them and obscuring the real issue of the struggle, i.e. that the miners should under no circumstances agree to any deterioration in their working conditions.

On May 5th, the Party realised that the position had changed and formulated the following slogans in a manifesto:

"The first slogan of the General Strike — 'not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day' — must now give way to a new slogan; for 'only nationalisation of the mines without compensation can smash the economic power of the mineowners and guarantee the workers against a repetition of the attack by the capitalists. Demand the resignation of the Government which openly supports the mineowners and brings insulting charges against the working class. Demand the formation of a Labour Government. The limitation of the strike to purely defensive measures is fraught with danger. In order to conquer it, it is necessary to go forward to attack and to strike a crushing blow at the capitalists.'"



On the next day, a further slogan was issued demanding payment of wages for the duration of the General Strike. In the "Workers Bulletin" of May 10th, we find a statement of openly declared intentions of the employers to "smash" the trade unions; further we find a reply to Sir John Simon's declaration in the House of Commons that the General Strike is illegal; here the slogan is repeated, "no more defensive slogans", and a slogan is put forward demanding wage increases for every worker on the basis of the programmes which the big trade unions drafted last year. On the next day May 12th, the "Workers Bulletin", the Central Strike Organ of the Party reported rumours of negotiations carried on behind the scenes, said: "Since those who call themselves Left wingers in the General Council are shamefully silent, the workers must take action into their own hands. Demand an emergency meeting of your Strike Committee or Council of Action and get resolutions sent to the General Council demanding that they stand firm. Renew the pledge to the miners: no reductions, no longer hours. Remember Baldwin's message 'Wages in every industry must come down', stand firm behind the miners and for the freedom of organised labour."

On May 13th, the day after the betrayal the "Workers Bulletin" published a manifesto of the CPGB from which we take the following characteristic quotations:

"The General Council's decision to call off the General Strike is the greatest crime that has ever been committed not only against the strikers, but against the working class of Great Britain and the whole world.

The Right wing in the General Council bears direct responsibility for throwing away the workers' weapon and leaving them almost defenceless against the capitalists. Throughout the General Strike they deliberately avoided any pledge to fight against wage reductions. They gave prominence to appeals by Archbishops and County Councils to call off the General Strike without guarantee as to living standards. They suppressed the news that scores, sometimes hundreds of workers were being arrested or batoned for exercising their right of picketing or propaganda. And most of the so-called Left wing have behaved no better than the Right. By a policy of timid silence, by using the false pretext of loyalty to colleagues to cover up breaches of loyalty to workers, they have left a free hand to the Right wing and thus helped to play the employers' game. Even now they have not the courage to come out openly as a minority in the General Council and join forces with the real majority — the workers — against the united front of Baldwin-Samuel-Thomas.

But the working class is bigger than any leader. If the old leaders turn traitor or coward, the workers are capable of taking charge themselves. The Communist Party calls upon all its members, upon all who have realised by experience that the Communists were right and that the reformists were wrong

in their estimation, months ago, of the bosses' intentions, and upon every class conscious worker, to press for immediate emergency meetings of all strike committees and councils of action, with a view to continuing the struggle and forcing the leaders to do so....Refuse to return to work. Repudiate the Samuel Memorandum, demand emergency conferences of strike committees and Councils of Action! Force the Union leaders to continue the fight! Put forward your own programme! Stand by the miner — no reductions, no longer hours!"

After the betrayal the Party agitated that district Councils of Action should be convened on May 14, 15, 16, the further existence of these Councils of Action was urged and the discussion of the question of change of leadership. On May 16th, it was decided to concentrate on three slogans: 1) support of the miners by the embargo, financial support to the miners and cooperative credits; 2) no victimisation, convention of the local and district conference of Councils of Action, pressure to be brought to bear on the TUC for the immediate convention of a conference of the trades councils in order to receive explanations for the betrayal, and to take immediate steps; 3) to strengthen the trade unions, a preparation for new struggles, struggle against desertion, 100% trade unionism, campaign struggle within the trade unions to elect ~~rank~~ leaders who would really fight on behalf of the workers.

Beginning with the very first day of the strike, the Party issued a multigraph organ, the "Workers Bulletin", issued in a limited edition in the capital, but was sent to the districts in order to re-duplicate there or so that the leading articles should be reproduced in the local Bulletin which the Party published or in the Bulletins published by the Councils of Action.

On May 31st, after the General Strike the CFGB decided at a meeting of the Central Executive to publish a declaration on the General Strike and its lessons in the "Workers Weekly" of June 4th.

We will now deal with the details of party activities in connection with special events in the course of the miners' lockout.

Already on May 16th, the Party published a demand in the "Workers Weekly" for the immediate convention of a Conference of Trade Union Executives to discuss the question of the General Strike. The General Council shortly afterwards summoned a conference. On May 21st, the "Workers Weekly" called on the Left wing not only to criticise activities in the past, which would not lead very far, but to follow a political policy and force it on the General Council. "Fix the date. If victimisation is not ended, and the lockout notices have not been withdrawn by that date, bring out the workers again."

The leading article in the same number said that the composition of the General Council must undergo a thorough change. The tasks of this Conference were formulated in a manifesto, published in the "Workers Weekly" of June 25th.

When it was announced that this Conference was called off, the Central Executive of the Party issued a further declaration in which it emphasised once more the necessity of such a conference.

Meanwhile, the General Council had decided to address an appeal to the trade union executives to organise a relief campaign on behalf of the miners. In the "Workers Weekly" of 9.7.26, the Party pointed out that the General Council appeal fails to mention the following points: 1) Support of the miners' struggle, both as to wages and working hours; 2) support of the slogan: not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day, by the Parliamentary fraction of the Labour Party and systematic obstruction in the House of Commons until the wage-cutting Government be forced to resign; 3) campaign on behalf of the embargo; 4) Manifesto of the Anglo-Russian Committee for the organisation of international relief. Trades Councils to concentrate entirely on these four points in their local campaigns.

In subsequent issues the Party was able to show that the four largest Trade Union Executives, London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Bristol, had put forward the demand for the embargo. The Party called upon these Trades Councils to organise the embargo locally, without waiting for the Executive decision, jointly with local committees of the Transport Workers' Union.

In accordance with the resolution of the EC of the ILP, of June 4th, which calls on the ILP members to support the embargo policy on strike-breaker coal, the CC decided to invite the ILP to joint action for the better execution of this resolution. The ILP did not answer immediately and only after four weeks had elapsed sent a reply in the negative. The Party made a long reply to the ILP pointing out that the ILP had proved to the entire working class that: "your words were a sham and a fraud and your deeds inspired not by the interests of the workers, but by the desire at all costs to prevent the workers widening and developing their struggle against the capitalists."

In the "Workers Weekly" the Party condemns the acceptance of the Bishops' proposals by the EC of the Miners. When the Miners' Conference rejected the Bishops' proposals the Party wrote in the "Workers Weekly" of 13.8.26: "This affair should be a lesson to the miners' leaders. If they lead the workers to fight they will win. They can never win by yielding to the traitors of the General Council and recommending surrender." In a leading article in the "Workers Weekly" 27.8.26, in reference to the Minority Conference it was stated that the number of delegates to come to the Conference showed how quickly the workers had moved to the Left since the General Strike. "The rank and file is ready for action in support of the miners, the trade union reorganisation and for the replacement of a leadership which fails to lead".

The attitude of the Party towards the Trade Union Congress was formulated in the "Workers Weekly" of 3.9.26. Party members took active part in the Congress. The following opinions of the Party were published in the "Workers Weekly" 17.9.26. 1) The old leaders have formed a united

front of treachery against the workers. 2) The former Left on the General Council has capitulated in a scandalous and disgraceful manner to the Right; 3) A.J. Cook has already taken the second step to the formation of a United Front with the General Council; a step on the path leading to the betrayal of the workers; 4) Even this Congress, consisting of more than half of trade union officials has given proof of the increasing Left tendencies among the workers; 5) There is no hope of finding new leadership in the ranks of the trade union movement, capable and willing to fight against the employers; this new leadership must be organised from the ranks of the Communist Party and of the Minority Movement; 6) the leaders who capitulated on May 12th to the capitalist government talked a lot of the Trade Union Congress about the refusal of the Government to agree to the 48-hour week and their advocacy of the eight-hour day, their action against the miners, etc., but they avoided to take any action to solve these questions.

In view of the fact that the Government quite openly agreed with the demands of the mine-owners for a solution on a district scale, the Communist Party in the "Workers Weekly" of 24.9.26, published further slogans. In an article in the "Workers Weekly" 1.10.26 were published some decisions of the National Conference of the Left wing mainly organised by the Party and at which were present 145 delegates from 73 Left wing labour groups from the London area and 25 Labour Party or Left wing groups from the provinces. The article stresses the significance of this Conference as an expression of the attempts which are being made to prevent the Labour Party from going over to Liberalism, which the Right wing openly favours.

The tasks before the Labour Party Congress were set forth in an open letter to the delegates in the "Workers Weekly" of 8.10.26.

In the manifesto published in the "Daily Herald" on September 27th, the Communist Party called on all workers, in view of the Miners Conference which was to take place two days later, to unite against the capitalist attack. The manifesto closed with the following words:

"Stand by the miners, the heroic vanguard of the working class!

Break the boss attack on their wages and hours, and defend your own!

Defence Labour's freedom against the capitalist government!

The Embargo and the levy to win victory for the miners!

Down with the General Mineowners' Government! Demand a general election.

Unite to defeat the capitalists!"

On the Russian question the Party immediately after receiving the decisions of the Plenum of the CPSU on Comrade Zinoviev, etc., passed a resolution expressing full agreement with these decisions. The "Workers Weekly" published a series of articles under the title of "Is Russia Building Socialism?"

The only signs of opposition against this decision made themselves felt at the Glasgow District Conference which was held to consider the agenda of the National Congress ("Workers Weekly" 19.9.26).

During the whole period covered by the report the Party carried on in the "Workers Weekly" an explanatory campaign about the position in China in articles both of an explanatory and informative nature. Further, the Party, put forward the slogan "Hands off China" and it was supported in this campaign by the Minority Movement.

The Party issued weekly information about oppression of workers in Colonial countries. It entered into closer contact with the brother Parties in Egypt and Palestine and maintained contact with the Indian movement; contact with the Australian and South African Parties was less satisfactory.

On the occasion of the by-elections the Party continued to support labour candidates under the general slogan: return Labour Party candidates to Parliament. Still, the Party retained the right of criticism in every individual case. At the recent by-election in an electoral district in Cumberland, a rural district, the Party issued a special manifesto printing out that all those who live by the land must have the right to cultivate the land. Further, peace will only be attained in agriculture by nationalisation of the land without compensation. The closing words of the manifesto were: "Down with the wage-cutters and anti-Trade Unionists. Forward to a real Labour Government that will fight for the interests of all workers. Cement the alliance of the workers in the country with the workers in the towns against the capitalists and landlords." Information about the prospects in other districts and especially about the position of our member of parliament in Battersea has not yet reached us.

The Party in the "Workers Weekly" has continued to deal with the grievances and demands of soldiers and sailors. As one of the first results of this activity, we may consider the decision of various army groups to make collections in support of the miners. In the "Workers Weekly" of July 30th, a leading article was published entitled: "War is coming"; this number contains a special anti-war supplement — the printers refused to print a section of this supplement. In this unprinted section there was the Party programme of the political and economic demands of the soldiers and another section contained the manifesto ~~to~~ the armed forces in connection with the miners' lockout.

Party work in the cooperatives has been intensified. The number of district and local committees in which members have been appointed for work in the cooperatives has increased.

Party work in the trade unions continues on the increase. Still, fractions, as the Party itself admits, must be better developed in the trade unions. As regards campaigns for international trade union unity, the Party began, immediately after the General Strike, to make propaganda for a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee. In full agreement with the All-Russian Trade Union Council,

the CP started a campaign against dissolving this commission and combined herewith criticism of the policy of the Right wing at the conferences in Paris and Berlin. The resolution calling on the T.U.C. to convene an international trade union congress was rejected by 2,416,000 votes against 1,237,000 and a weaker resolution adopted.

The Party decided to carry out a fortnight's recruiting campaign beginning April 25th. The Party members recently released from prison were drafted on to this work of conducting campaigns in the districts. On the outbreak of the General Strike they were retained in the districts to carry out quite a different campaign through which many new members were won for the Party. The results were far better than were expected from the April campaign, for the Party more than doubled its membership, having now 10,730 members. This increase still continues and the "Workers Weekly" 16.X.26 reports a meeting in a mining village in the Tyneside at which 250 new members joined.

Although the British resolution of the last Enlarged Executive definitely calls for a land policy, it must be admitted that the Party has been very inactive in this respect.

In the struggle against Right Wing tendencies which put forward parliamentarism as an alternative weapon to the General Council, the Party agitated against illusions of the masses about parliamentarism. This campaign, however, was not carried on with sufficient energy.

One of the organisational lessons which the Party learned through the General Strike was the establishment of factory nucleus papers in factory groups possessing a number of workers who could carry on useful work during the General Strike.

The decision of the last Enlarged Executive re conferences of women delegates as a means of bringing women into the Party was carried out successfully by the CP. It is true that the delegates came from women's organisations, such as the Labour Party, Cooperative Women's Guilds, etc., and only rarely from the factories. On March 31st in Mansfield, a big women's delegate meeting took place attended by 300 delegates representing 55 organisations. These meetings were interrupted by the strike but the increase of women members in the Party will have a good effect on this work.

During the period covered by the report, our Party organ has ultimately failed to give support to the Communist Youth League.

At the very beginning of the General Strike the Communist Party started a campaign against the Right leaders on account of their treacherous attitude. It is worthy of mention that the campaign against the Left wing did not develop so quickly, nor was it maintained with equal intensity. For example, the Party manifesto adopted on May 29th by the CEC contains no direct criticism of the attitude of the Left wing, whilst it deals with the General Council as a whole, or as "General Council" or as "Right Wing controlled by General Council".

No special attention was paid to the parliamentary fraction of the Labour Party. The Party adopted an absolutely incorrect policy by supporting the demand of the Minority Movement Conference for the withdrawal of the Labour Party members from the House of Commons to carry on an agitation on behalf of the coal embargo and the levy in the constituencies in support of the miners. Comintern was correct in pointing out that whilst it is necessary outside of Parliament to carry on very energetic agitation, that it could not support anti-parliamentarism expressed in the decisions of the Party and of the Minority Movement.

During the entire period under review the Party endeavoured to prevent the expulsion of local Labour Parties which had refused to carry out the Liverpool decisions. When despite these endeavours the Labour Party continued its crusade, the CP considered its next task to be the prevention of the formation of Right wing Labour Parties in those districts where expulsions had taken place. By organising Left groups the CP did some real good work. These Left groups were brought together for the first time by a ~~Left~~ Greater London Left wing. This Conference appointed a provisional committee and this Committee was instructed at the subsequent conference to organise a national conference.

Since the General Strike, propaganda has been carried on in the "Workers Weekly" to transform the weekly into a daily, but it has set itself the task previously to increase the circulation of the weekly to 150 thousand. A special energetic campaign is to be carried out for this purpose in November.

Since the General Strike the ECCL was forced to criticise some errors in the policy of the CPGB. In the opinion of the ECCL, the Party has given signs in various instances of Right vacillations (especially the tendency to soften the criticism of the General Council and what are termed the Left leaders).

It will be the task of the Enlarged Executive to make a thorough examination of the British strike movement in order to deduce the necessary lessons therefrom both for the British Party and the International as a whole.

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G R E E C E.

Of all the countries in the Balkans the political situation in Greece is the least stable. The struggle between the imperialist Entente powers for the exploitation of the Greek people and to hold the Greek people in readiness for the imperialist war led in recent years to so-called internal "revolutions" almost every year. These were desired and organised either by Great Britain and Italy or by

France. The recent coup d'etat of General Pangalos already led to an open dictatorship in January 1926. The CP of Greece was almost entirely driven into illegality. Hundreds of workers, including the majority of the Party leaders, were thrown into jail or were exiled to the islands. The Party paper ceased to appear, meetings were forbidden. The labour municipal councillors of the "Workers and Exiles Bloc", who are under the influence of the Communist Party, were arrested and the elections annulled. The only connection of the CP with the masses was possible through the trade unions, but the terror on the one hand and the general offensive of capital on the other, considerably weakened the labour organisations and at the last trade union congress (March 1926) the reformists succeeded in taking over the leadership of the CGT.

Despite the lack of Party groups the Party succeeded in adapting itself to illegal forms of work. Several Party organisations were reorganised, factory nuclei were created, connections with the masses inside and outside of the trade unions were strengthened. The illegal "Bulletin of the CC" and bulletin of the Athenian organisation "The Revolutionist" facilitated the organisational-practical as well as the ideological work of the Party. For May 1st, the CC issued the slogan "illegal meetings". This was carried out in several places. Attempts were made to acquaint the masses of workers in sympathy with the CP with the slogans and lessons of the British coalminers' strike. However, since the Party is lacking in the necessary experience and in trained leadership, several serious political errors were made.

The first serious mistake of the CC was the attitude of the CP during the recent republican presidential elections held under the Pangalos Government. During these elections the CC had no clear line and always were in tow of the bourgeois opposition parties and party groups. Such an attitude did not allow the Party to expose the cowardly attitude of the opposition and to gather around itself all of the masses of workers opposed to ~~Pangalos~~ Pangalos.

The second mistake made by the CP was during the first weeks following the seizure of power by General Kondilis and during the "September events" when a putsch was attempted against Kondilis. From the moment when Pangalos was overthrown the CP of Greece found itself in a new situation. Most of the arrested comrades were liberated, the central organ of the Party "Risospastis" could once more appear legally, the Party once more was able to work legally and from the very beginning attracted the attention of the broad masses of the toiling population. At the same time the Kondilis government resorted to unprecedented revolutionary phrases, announced the inauguration of



proportional representation, and decided upon new parliamentary elections. Influenced by these circumstances, the CC forgot that Kondilis was the former leader of the army against Soviet Russia, that he is the leader of the Fascist organisations and that he too would function as a tool of Entente imperialism. Under the pressure of its own Right wing the CC even supported Kondilis by issuing the slogan "Left democracy", and "Left republic". The immediate demands issued by the Party gathered around it thousands of workers (even at illegal meetings). But the Party failed to connect these demands with the struggle for the ultimate goal of the working class. On September 5th, 6th and 7th, a Plenum of the CC was held at which CC members returning from exile participated, and where a new CC was elected. This Plenum changed the first theses by omitting the words "Left democracy". However, when on September 9th there was the threat of a putsch by the monarchists against Kondilis and the masses -- partly as a result of the activity of the CP -- came out into the streets, the CP conducted itself in such a way that it could have been considered as a supporter of the Kondilis government. This false attitude of the Party, which is entirely to be ascribed to its weaknesses, created a certain democratic illusion among the masses, which must bring with it its disillusionment. An attempt will be made to make good this mistake and to use the present situation for healthy training of the masses of workers.

The CP now faces the parliamentary elections. Its influence on the "workers', peasants' and exiles' bloc" might bring it considerable success. However, it already appears that the Kondilis Government will follow the same path of persecuting the CP and the masses of workers as was followed by Bagnalos. The masses of workers who participate in the economic struggle are attacked with firearms (the October printers' strike in Athens) and new arrests are taking place. The CP is now carrying on a struggle for the establishment of a mass workers' party, for the complete legalisation of the CP against the dangers of monarchism and war. However, a struggle must also be conducted against the "enemy within" in order to overcome the tendencies to liquidation.

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### H O L L A N D.

The Party Congress of the CP of Holland was held in Amsterdam at the end of May. Long and repeated negotiations with the Wynkoop fraction led to the expulsion of Wynkoop, Van Ravesteyn and Van Burink. This group rejected all compromises proposed by the CC. It was clear that the Wynkoop group wanted to split the Party. It openly entertained the illusion that the majority of the comrades would follow them, that the Party could not get along without their leadership, and that on the basis of these factors they could secure their mandates at the local elections which would take place in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in May 1927 and thus confront the World Congress of the CI with a fait accompli. But only very few comrades

followed the Right Wing Party splitters, who organised a committee for appeal to the World Congress of the CI and issued their own fortnightly organ "de Communistische Gids". The brief period which has passed since then has clearly shown whither the journey of these bankrupt leaders is taking them. At open meetings it attacked not only the CP of Holland and the revolutionary trade unions, but also the leadership of the CI. The last number of "de Communistische Gids" reports that at the end of October a national conference of the "committee for appeal to the World Congress" will take place for the purpose of forming a "Communist Party" which will participate in the coming municipal elections.

The expulsion of Wyncoop and Van Ravesteyn at the Congress was the final act of a crisis seething within the CP of Holland since 1920, which the ECCI was forced to attack again and again during the years 1923-26 and which became acute after the 1925 Party Congress, when the Congress by a very small majority adopted the resolution of the local Rotterdam group (Ravesteyn) which rejected the decision of the ECCI (taking the Left opposition into the CC, the Secretariat, and the list of parliamentary candidates). The ECCI objected to this decision of the Congress. The Wyncoop group split. A Party Conference elected a new CC out of the Left opposition and the de Visser group which split off from the Wyncoop group. The new CC carried out the decisions of the ECCI. The Wyncoop group refused all cooperation, sabotaged the elections and Party work, formed a close fraction which held conferences and public meetings and carried on a campaign against the CC and against the ECCI throughout the country. After the decisions of the Executive on the Dutch question of December 1925 and March 1926 the leaders of the Right opposition, not only continued their anti-Party conduct, but intensified it by holding new fractional conferences, by refusing to defend their point of view in the organs of the Party and of the CI, by informing the bourgeois and reformist press. By falsifying facts and slandering comrades of the CC they succeeded in getting a number of local groups to oppose the CI. They systematically played on the backward petty-bourgeois instincts of the Dutch proletariat, especially their nationalism and their insufficient understanding of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In this way they objectively strengthen the position of the reformist leaders and as an inevitable reaction also strengthen the Anarche-Syndicalist tendencies among the workers. The more and more intensified obstruction and sabotage of these leaders who openly worked for a split which would be favourable to the Right wing, made their expulsion from the Party by the Party Congress unavoidable. The Wyncoop group did not succeed after the Congress in splitting off a considerable number of workers from the Party. Already during the Congress the followers of this group were divided, Comrades Knuttel and Vanter declared that they refused to participate in the struggle against the CI, and since <sup>then</sup> they have been loyally working with the Party. Following the Congress it appeared that the majority of the local groups which sent delegates to the Congress recognised the decisions of the Congress. Only a few dozen workers finally followed the Wyncoop group. The group has influence only in Rotterdam, particularly among the unemployed with whom van Burink tried to ape the example of Katz and of Hannover and to break up several meetings of the Party and the NAS.

The new CC attempted after the Congress to activate the Party, to begin its reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, especially in Amsterdam, and to organise trade union work better. The Party and its daily paper attempted with their weak forces to carry out a relief campaign for the British coalminers. The Party also attempted to mobilise the Dutch workers in support of the struggle of the Indian workers and peasants against Dutch imperialism. It can be stated that in this field the Party overcame several Right deviations. Also at the confusion in connection with the autumn manoeuvres of the army (which is repeated every year) the Party showed great activity, in contrast with its attitude in previous years. It endeavoured to take a lead with the aid of appeals and open meetings.

The Party's recruiting campaign for new members and subscribers for the daily paper "De Tribune" is still not very successful. Although it is true that in Amsterdam 1,400 new subscribers were gained for "De Tribune", an equal number of subscribers were lost. The Party must seriously take up the question of its press and do everything in its power by means of its press to reach the broad masses of Social Democratic workers.

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 H U N G A R Y.  
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A process of disintegration is going on within the SPH with the result that the influence of the party and its trade union bureaucrats is dwindling.

The CP of Hungary has ascertained that with respect to the general conditions of the working class, the main reasons for the dwindling power of resistance of the latter, for the disintegration of the trade union movement are to seek in the Social-Democratic Party and in the bureaucratic system of the trade unions.

With respect to its trade union tactics, the CPH thinks that its most important task at the present juncture consists in developing the power of resistance of the working class. For this purpose, the mass of unorganised workers must be coordinated in the trade unions. The workers have been alienated from any organised movement through the treacherous activity of the trade union bureaucrats, and we cannot win back their confidence unless we are able to transform the trade unions from charitable funds institutions — as they are to-day — into fighting mass organisations.

Communist nuclei or fractions in the trade unions are active politically as well as economically. They have to contend all the time with the well organised espionage system of the SPH and of the trade union bureaucrats. Our nuclei have secured for our Party a certain amount of influence in the trade unions, and in the corresponding Social-Democratic Party organisations. One can say that the nuclei have developed their activity in the young workers' and sport organisations. The compulsory military training of

the entire youth of the country ("Levente") is in the hands of retired terrorist officers. This compulsory training which has State support extends also to the entire working class youth. The Party has succeeded in securing influence in some "Levente" districts. It is developing a systematic activity among young agricultural labourers in whose ranks there is great dissatisfaction because of the brutal gendarme-system of the "Levente" training. Care is taken that an organised activity and business-like construction of nuclei should take the place of the spontaneous outbreaks of discontent among the proletarian "Levente" against the brutal and drilling methods of the military authorities.

The Rakosi trial has shown that the great changes which have taken place during the last three years in the Hungarian labour movement have resulted in doing away with the monopoly of the Social-Democratic Party of Hungary with respect to the legal mass movement, and in developing an ever-growing Left workers' front. As a result of the trial, the working class has begun to realise the necessity of its own hegemony. This idea assumed a concrete form because the Rakosi trial familiarised the toiling masses with Lenin's precept of the leading role of the Communist Party. The trial was a mighty help to the CPH in making a breach into its state of illegality. At the same time the trial showed that this struggle for the legalisation of the Party can be nothing but a struggle for the leadership of the masses for their revolutionary mobilisation. The trial has shown that the most effective weapon of the Party also against the terrorism of the Horthy-Bethlen-system and against the persecution of the Party is its own organisation and the permeation of all the branches of the labour movement by it.

In the struggle for legal working possibilities, the CP of Hungary is making the first steps towards the annulment of its illegality. In spite of increasing difficulties and persecutions the influence of the Party is growing, and is gradually assuming an organised form. The struggle for a legal existence is energetically pursued and takes the form of the development of the Party's illegal organisations and of assimilation with tendencies in sympathy with the Party. The fighting programme of the CPH with respect to unemployment contains the following important points: organisations of the unemployed, state unemployment insurance, compulsory measures by the State to create employment (many enterprises reduce production without valid reasons), eight-hour day, factory council system.

In the Franc-forgery affair, the attitude of the Party was as follows:

All class-conscious workers and Communists above all, must carry on the struggle for the overthrow of the Bethlen Government and the dissolution of Parliament, for the right of assembly and association and for the freedom of the press, as well as for the dissolution of the remnants of fascist organisations. Every Communist is in duty bound to explain to the masses that counter-revolution and its murderous organisations can only be finally liquidated by a workers' and peasants' government. The struggle which originated in the Franc-Forgery Trial must develop into a struggle for the workers' and peasants' Government.

With respect to the constitution of Hungary the attitude of the Social-Democratic Party is vague and anti-republican. When it proposed, at the formation of the oppositional unity party, to strike off the agenda "for the time being" the question of the Constitution, it showed that it had betrayed democratic demands and had identified itself with the consolidation tendency supported by the liberals. The Social-Democratic Party struck off the agenda the question of the republic. This was done in order not to lose its chance of coalition with the opposition which is gradually veering to the Right. The attitude of the CP of Hungary with respect to the republic was clear and unequivocal.

An important relic of the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, as far as industrial workers are concerned, is the precept of the importance of the peasant question.

In spite of some errors (1. expropriation of latifundia with compensation, 2. excluding big tenant farmers from expropriation), the agrarian programme of the Social Labour Party can be considered as the first honest attempt to establish a revolutionary alliance between the workers and peasants. The response which the programme found among revolutionary workers in the rural districts, the ever-growing, if as yet more spontaneous than organised activity of the latter, show that the rural proletariat has a strong desire for this alliance under the leadership of the Communist Party.

#### I T A L Y.

For the past three months the Italian Government, by the application of draconic measures has been fighting the economic and financial crisis. It has actually succeeded, with the aid of enormous monetary resources, to raise the value of the lire; nevertheless this improvement is largely artificial and therefore can last only until the resources are exhausted. The number of unemployed is to-day only about 110,000; nevertheless, — as was admitted by Secretary of State, Grandi, in an interview in the United States which has been suppressed in Italy — the number of unemployed, as a result of the industrial crisis, will soon increase to half or even one million.

Despite the industrial crisis the Fascist Government has established the 9-hour day in the hope that it will be able to help industry to get on its feet to a certain extent by increased exploitation of the workers. Another measure against the crisis will undoubtedly be the reduction of wages; this is already being urged in the Fascist press.

Since the Fascist Government sees itself threatened in the economic field, it is seeking to save itself by an intensification of political reaction.

In connection with the recent assault on Mussolini which was followed by innumerable arrests, chiefly of Communist workers, and by attacks upon the editorial offices of Socialist and Communist newspapers, the long contemplated

law on the establishment of the death penalty has now been enacted. The entire Fascist press is demanding that this law, which is intended to apply to assaults on members of the Royal House and Prime Ministers, should also be applicable to the instigators and moral accomplices of such assaults. The General Secretary of the Fascist party, Turati, has even come out openly in favour of lynching; he has even gone so far as to demand that the law providing for the death penalty should retrospectively apply to crimes committed before its enactment.

Great discontent has seized not only the workers, but also the productive sections of the middle class who are suffering greatly under the economic crisis.

The condition of the working class has evoked increased discontent among the broad masses of workers. Following the abolition of the 8-hour day, the ninth hour, which is particularly important for export industries, such as textile, is not being paid for. In the other industries, payment for the ninth hour is optional, which of course means that the workers are made dependant upon the whims of the employer. The workers have been most hard-hit by the interdiction of strikes. Despite this interdiction a number of strike movements have recently taken place here and there; these have resulted in the arrest of leaders and organisers. The fermentation in the working class is still being suppressed by Fascist bayonets but all the more quickly and surely is this fermentation becoming widespread. Though the discontent of the working class is not as apparent to-day as at the time of the Matteotti murder, still it is much deeper and more enduring.

The trade union leadership of the General Confederation of Labour maintained — as usual — a completely passive attitude towards the government. Even against the introduction of the 9-hour day it could not make any better protest than to recommend that the ninth working hour should be introduced only where there is no unemployment and where the interests of the industry absolutely demand it. One after the other — the trade union leaders compromise with the status quo, and voices have even been raised which demand "technical" cooperation with the Fascist corporations. Within the Confederation of Labour the apparatus has become completely bureaucratic. The local organisations have been deprived of all independence; the Chambers of Labour are being dissolved and are replaced by individual officials. The reformist leaders of the Confederation have rejected all proposals of the Communists for joint action — the raising of money for the striking British miners, struggle against the trade union law, etc. The number of members of the General Confederation of Labour has recently shown a great drop. This fact is explained first by the circumstance that the class organisations no longer have the possibility of organising the economic struggle of the workers and of entering into agreements; secondly by the circumstance that by law the trade unions are obliged to turn over the names of their members to the police and thus surrender their members to the will of the Fascists; thirdly by the circumstance that the workers are forced to pay membership dues to the Fascist Corporations; the financial condition of the workers does not allow them to pay dues in two organisations.

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The Fascist corporations are actually not trade unions at all; they are State organisations which every worker is forced to join and to which he has to pay tribute. Through these corporations the Fascist Government aims to show the world that the interests of the workers can be defended without the class struggle, while in reality it is trying to suppress this class struggle by every possible means of force and violence.

The Maximalists, giving way to the pressure of the workers, express themselves in favour of the Anglo-Russian Committee; nevertheless they rejected every proposal of the Communists for joint action and forbade their members to participate in agitation committees and in delegations to Soviet Russia. At the conference of the Confederation of Labour which took place at the end of July, the Maximalists let the Communists alone carry on the struggle for trade union unity, for the restoration of the democratic regime within the Confederation of Labour, for the calling of a trade union congress, etc.

The Maximalist Party is split into three groups -- into the so-called Left Wing which groups itself around Avanti, in the Right wing with Nenni at the head, which issues its own periodical "Quarto Stato". The Right wing is in favour not only of re-union with the reformists, but also with the republicans. A discussion has broken out on this question and the last word is to be said at the Party Congress which will take place this month. The third wing is formed by those workers in the Maximalist party who are more radical than their leaders and often despite all party orders to the contrary seek to carry out a united front with the Communists on their own responsibility. They participate, though so far in insufficient numbers, in the agitation committees, and also participate in the preparatory work for sending labour delegations to the Soviet Union.

As far as the Reformist Party is concerned, it has not succeeded in rebuilding its ranks following the interdiction of the Party. Through the General Confederation of Labour, whose leaders are recruited from the ranks of this party, it attempts to make its influence effective over the workers organised in trade unions.

The intensified Fascist reaction has forced the Communist Party to carry on its activity more and more illegally. Since every legal action of the Party is immediately followed by the domiciliary searches and arrests, its only possibility of legal activity is the newspaper whose editors are always alternately in prison.

Despite all illegality the Party this year has succeeded in holding its Party Congress. At the Party Congress there was a sharp discussion with the ultra-Lefts, who are in the Party in an ever-diminishing minority. Attitudes were taken on all important problems of Party activity and the tasks for further work were established.

For the purpose of winning over the broad masses of workers, the most important problem of the Party, the slogan of agitation committees was issued. Since the "internal commission" (factory councils), the gathering point of the non-Party masses have been abolished by the trade union law,

and since the trade union leaders have done nothing in this matter to mobilise the workers against this law which completely robbed them of their rights and which practically nullifies the class trade union organisations -- new organs had to be created which replace the "internal commission" and lead the workers to the traditional class trade unions. This purpose was served by the "agitation committees for the defence of the trade unions"; these have found a great response among the masses of workers. In all of the larger cities of Italy factory conferences were held at which there were discussions on the burning questions of the day -- trade union unity, the Anglo-Russian Committee, wages, hours, the housing question etc., -- and at which agitation committees were elected. The composition of the factory conferences as well as the composition of the agitation committees were in most cases as follows: Communists 50%, non-Party workers 30-50%. The rest were "aximalists, Reformists, Republicans and Anarchists. This relation shows that the slogan of factory conferences and agitation committees has as yet found a weak response among the workers organised in the other parties; on the other hand it has found a great response among non-Party workers. Particularly in the field of organising labour delegations to Soviet Russia, great activity was developed by the agitation committees, in which above all the youth participated. The fruits of this work, which evoked the sympathy of the broadest masses of workers, were the first labour and youth organisations which went to Moscow at the beginning of October, and in which all the labour parties as well as non-Party workers were represented. Furthermore the agitation committees inaugurated campaigns for the striking British miners for Sacco and Vanzetti, etc.

The agitation committees are now being unified and centralised on the basis of provinces, and in further stages of their development they are to be subordinated to a national committee.

The slogan of agitation committees has been attacked by various comrades who maintain these committees will split the trade unions. The ECCI has taken up this question thoroughly and has approved of the tactics of the CP of Italy.

The Association for Defence of the Peasants organised in 1924 serves the purpose of comprising the masses of peasants; this is of special significance for Southern Italy which is exclusively an agrarian area; in that area the peasants are still entirely unorganised in contrast to the peasants of North and Central Italy who belong either to the Peasant Party (Piedmont) or to the Catholic Party (in the central area) or to the Slav Peasant Party (in the Slav provinces of the North). In the field of work among the peasants the Party must still overcome difficulties in its own ranks, since the workers must still be convinced of the necessity of cooperation with the peasants. This work also meets with the opposition of the ultra-Lefts, here as everywhere else, they exercise only very slight influence.

A number of such committees for the defence of peasants have been created; at their head is the Peasants Council of Italy which is affiliated with the Krestintern. The council issues its own bulletin as well as a number of circulars. In addition there has been appearing in Piedmont, since June a periodical called "The Poor Peasant".



The slogan issued for the association declares: united front of all working peasants with agricultural and industrial workers. For the agricultural workers there has been issued the slogan: formation of trade union defence committees for the reconstruction of the once powerful and later totally destroyed Agricultural Workers League.

The reformist and Maximalist trade union leaders of the Agricultural Workers League opposed the formation of the Peasants Association in which they saw a rival organisation. It was only when they became convinced that the association has a much greater attraction for the peasants than the League that they calmed themselves, and now they no longer insist upon the dissolution of the association.

Our comrades have succeeded in winning for the Peasants Association, in addition to non-Party members, also the sympathy of the already organised peasant masses. This was above all true of the members of the Left wing of the Catholic Peasant Party, and also of the Peasant Organisation Piedmont; on the other hand the Sardinian Peasant Party has so far rejected all our approaches.

The further activity of the organisation of peasants is being developed on the basis of calling a Peasant Congress, which should furnish the base of a united front of all peasant organisations, who stand on the foundation of the united front with the proletariat.

For Agitprop work of the Party a special Agitprop Department was formed several months ago in the Central Committee. In the larger district organisation special Agitprop Departments have also been created, while in the smaller organisations individual comrades have been entrusted with Agitprop work.

In the field of agitation an intensive campaign has been carried on for sending a labour delegation to the Soviet Union. This agitation was connected with the propaganda for a united front. It has already been pointed out that this campaign scored great successes among the workers.

For the 1st of May, circulars and handbills in large numbers were circulated in which the workers were urged to fight for the united front, freedom of organisation, and against the threat of war. Almost everywhere there were small skirmishes with police and Fascists. In various places despite reaction and threats the workers responded to the call to stop work; in this connection it is worth while pointing out that in this way the celebration of May 1st, has lost its Social Democratic character and has become a truly revolutionary holiday. This is chiefly due to Communist agitation.

The anniversary of the Matteotti murder was commemorated by issuing a manifesto; the Maximalists ignored this day.

The Party distributed a large number of circulars explaining the economic crisis, the measures taken by the government, and above all the abolition of the 8-hour day. In the middle of June, an international propaganda week was carried on in all countries in which there are many Italian

emigrants. The purpose of this propaganda was to win over the Italian workers abroad in the struggle against the Avantine parties who have now transferred their demagogic anti-Fascist game abroad.

For the striking British miners, money was collected and a number of appeals issued. The appeals for joint action in this matter which were sent both to Socialist parties and the trade unions were turned down.

International Cooperative Congress found hardly an echo in Italy where the Fascists have entirely destroyed the cooperatives. The Congress was thoroughly discussed in a number of articles which appeared in "Unité". Propaganda work was directed for the establishing of courses for training Party functionaries and for spreading elementary political knowledge. Since there is no legal possibility of holding courses, the students of whom there are already 200, were furnished in writing with popular expositions of Marxism and Leninism.

The publication of books and pamphlets is made very difficult by illegality and continual persecutions. As a result not much could be done in this respect.

Special attention should be called to the success attained in the workers' correspondents movement, of the issue in "Unité" of such correspondence, and the Party is now attempting to comprise these workers' correspondents' organisationally, so that they can participate in the united front.

As far as the organisation work of the Party is concerned it has been made especially difficult as the result of the recent intensification of reaction. While the Party, as has been said above, has developed energetic political activity since its last Party Congress, and thanks to its correct slogans has won a great influence over the masses. The number of its organised members has gone down somewhat. The reason for this is to be sought in the persecutions to which Communist workers more than all others are exposed.

Following the Party Congress the CC established a special Org. Department; the organisational apparatus was strengthened in a similar way in the larger district organisations.

Following the Party Congress the ultra-Lefts remained in a smaller minority (9.2%). The CC attempted to draw the comrades of the ultra-Left opposition into active work. When a number of comrades refused to do responsible Party work, the CC found itself forced to apply disciplinary measures and suspended the comrades in question from the Party for one year. This measure was approved by the ECCI.

Shortcomings in the work of the Party: the opposition of the united front with the Maximalists was criticised by the Executive of the CI in a letter addressed to the CC of the Party. When the Maximalists declared themselves in principle for the Anglo-Russian Committee, the CP did not react quickly enough to the leadership of the Maximalist party with a proposition for a united front. It limited itself entirely to the tactic of the united front from below. After the receipt of the letter the Party attempted to correct its errors. Nevertheless the further development of the Maximalists nullified every attempt to form a united front from above.

Another shortcoming in the work of the Party is that its organisation is not always able to strengthen its influence over the masses organisationally. This was admitted in the report on the activity of the Party made at the Plenum of the CC. Whereas last year the chief attention of the Party was directed towards organisational strengthening (as a result of Fascist attacks it was necessary to make the organisation capable of resistance) this year political activity is in the foreground. Often it is carried on at the expense of organisational work, but the Party leadership is conscious of this shortcoming and is doing everything to overcome it.

Another shortcoming in the work of the Party is the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Party members are not organised in trade unions. This fact must be taken into consideration in the struggle for trade union unity for which the Party has issued the proper directions.

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### I R E L A N D.

In 1924 the Communist Party of Ireland was dissolved by the decision of its own membership. In the same year, Comrade Larkin returned from America and found the "Workers' Union of Ireland". A "Workers League" was formed from the elements of this Union but hitherto no political party has been formed from this organisation and very little is known as to its present position. Certain elements of the former Irish Party combined last April with others and formed a new organisation called "The workers Party of Ireland" (Workers and Working Farmers Party). An inaugural conference of this organisation took place in April also. The Conference adopted statutes and a programme and a national executive was elected to remain in office until December, in order to facilitate the formation of local groups throughout the country. In December, new elections are to take place on the broader basis of these new local groups. At the end of April the Party began to issue a weekly multigraphic publication entitled the "Irish Hammer and Plough". The Party has started negotiations with the Comintern for admittance into the Communist International.

## L A T I N A M E R I C A

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In all the countries of Latin America there are governments which have either been set up by the United States or are supported by it. These are exclusively agrarian countries with a purely feudal structure. The poor and landless peasants are robbed of every protection and are subjected to the will of native and foreign big landowners. Liberal or intellectual oppositionists who oppose the dictatorial regime, or proletarian revolutionaries are exiled without any judicial procedure or thrown into jail. There they remain as long as it pleases the tyrannical dictator.

There is a strong movement for the unity of all Latin American republics, but Latin America is still divided and lacks system and common leadership. There are trade unions comprising workers in the small industries in towns. These trade unions are affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labour (controlled by the A.F. of L.). However, they are in opposition to the treacherous policy of the leaders of the Pan-American Federation of Labour and appeal to the American workers against the oppressive policy of their own governments and that of the United States. There are Communist groups in Guatemala, El-Salvador and Nicaragua. These together constitute the Communist Party of Central America, whose Central Committee is in Guatemala. It is persecuted by the Government, most of the members of the Party have already been in jail several times.

The most important task is to organise all revolutionary and anti-imperialist elements of Latin America for the common struggle against the tyranny of the government supported by the United States.

### A r g e n t i n e

As a result of the economic crisis our Party stated to the masses what they must do in order to prevent a further deterioration of their living and working conditions. Our Party launched mighty agitation campaigns in the large industrial cities against the increased cost of living and for the 44 hour week. In September, when the crisis became sharper, our Party organised a campaign throughout the entire country based upon a concrete plan of action containing concrete demands.

At the same time our Party proposed to the Socialist Party and the various labour and peasant organisations the formation of a united front to conduct a campaign of agitation around these slogans. The results of this action cannot yet be determined.

In addition our Party organised a campaign against foreign loans particularly against the loan floated by the United States for modernising the fleet as well as for increasing armaments.

Another campaign was inaugurated for the immediate demands of agricultural workers and peasants in the province of Cordoba and another campaign for the demand of native workers who toil under slavish conditions in the region of Tucuman. At the same time there were several agitation campaigns connected with the anniversary of the war, International Women's week, for the British coalminers, for the recognition of the Soviet Government, etc.

The election to the Legislative Assembly took place on April 7th. Our Party participated in these elections in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Santa Fe and Tucuman. In the district of Buenos Aires we gained 40% in the number of votes received, while the Socialists lost 20%. In other regions our Party came out with a programme under the name of the "workers and peasants' bloc"; this programme was adapted to the demands of both these categories. Altogether our Party received 12,000 votes.

For the first time in the history of our Party it took up a thorough study of the conditions of the various sections of the masses of peasants of Argentine. The already existing language groups extended their activity particularly to the Jewish and Italian groups. Each of these groups issues a weekly paper and maintains a Communist school for young workers. To counter-balance fascist propaganda among the Italian immigrants and to keep up their revolutionary spirit, the Italian group has organised a proletarian defence organisation called "The Anti-Fascist United Front". In addition to both of these groups, other groups also did good work, as for example, the Yugoslavs, the Bulgarians, the Germans, the Letts, the Armenians, the Hungarians, the Arabs amongst others.

The YCL, after a period of inactivity during which all its leading members were occupied with general work in the Party, has recently developed great activity. Its weekly paper now appears regularly, and has an edition of 4,000 copies. The reorganisation of the League on the basis of factory nuclei is now practically completed in all the large cities, and they have already begun to issue several factory newspapers. The Red Sport League has doubled its membership and at present has 2,000 members. In all of the important centres where there are Party organisations Pioneer groups were formed, and a number of special schools for these children have been created. Both Party organs "Companerito" and "Solidaritat infantil" appear regularly and have a circulation of 20-30,000 copies.

Despite the formation of a Central Women's commission, this does not do any systematic work, and has not yet succeeded in reaching the great mass of women workers.

The "Friends of Soviet Russia", an organisation of sympathisers, has established branches in all of the most important centres of the country. Its periodical "Revista de Orienta" appeared regularly. Recently there were also organised sections of the "Anti-Imperialist League".

It can be said that the Party has made marked progress in bolshevisation since its VII Party Congress held in December of last year. After the expulsion of the last remnants of the so-called workers' opposition, which carried on consistent sabotage within the Party, the Party entered

upon a period of the most intense activity, and has become stronger ideologically and organisationally. In the industrial centres the Party has been reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei and has begun to build up its apparatus. In the Secretariat as well as the Agitprop and Org. Departments of the Central Committee there are special comrades paid by the Party. At the head of both of the most important districts there is a paid secretary.

In the Buenos Aires district and in several industrial cities in the interior the Party regularly issues factory newspapers.

While it has been possible to increase the number of weekly papers which appeared in the interior of the country, the Party has on the other hand had to transform its central organ, which for five years has been appearing daily, into a weekly periodical. The present economic crisis makes it impossible for Party members and sympathisers to subscribe to the Party organ. The publication of a daily paper was beyond the powers of the Party. The paper swallowed up all the financial resources of the Party and prevented other political work. The needs of the paper made large contributions necessary, which fact prevented the influx of a large number of workers.

#### B o l i v i a

The organisation of the Communist Youth which has been in existence since 1925, and has considerably grown in strength in the course of this year, published for a time a weekly organ "Le Drapeau Rouge". But as its influence over the masses grew from day to-day, the government suppressed the periodical and imprisoned the members of the Central Committee of the Youth League.

Nevertheless, the working and peasant masses are becoming more and more imbued with the revolutionary spirit. This applies particularly to the natives who are being exploited in North American enterprises, and there is every reason to believe that the labour movement will shortly revive.

#### B r a z i l

Despite the reaction our Party is continually developing. Its illegal apparatus which has been steadily built up maintains contact with the masses despite all repression. In the most important factories, there are factory nuclei. In the same way the publication of a number of factory newspapers has been undertaken. In general the ideological level of our Party, apart from isolated remnants of the Anarcho-Syndicalist spirit, has considerably risen and allows the rapid acceptance of a large number of members. The central organ of the Party, which was suppressed by the police, is appearing under another name and has met with great sympathy among the masses of workers.

The Party continues to build its propaganda with the aid of material published in the trade union organs which are under the control of Communists. The future possibilities of development of our Party are very great.

## C h i l e

The Communist Party of Chile is a mass Party. It is the outcome of the old Socialist Party which split off from the Democratic Party prior to the war. During the war, the Socialist Party established the trade union federation, which embraced most of the trade unions. As a result of its close connection and collaboration with the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Party is a kind of Labour Party. When it changed its name and joined the Communist Party, it did so without divesting itself of its old Social Democratic traditions. Therefore, the Party has still opportunist elements in its ranks in spite of its revolutionary struggle, elements who look upon the Party as an organisation for election purposes.

During the elections to the Constituent Assembly last April, our Party achieved successes in nearly all working class districts. The bourgeoisie and the Government brought into every means of corruption and violence in order to prevent the triumph of our Party. Nevertheless, our candidates were returned. In the mining districts, in spite of pressure on the part of the employers, nearly all the votes were cast for the Communist candidates. Our Parliamentary fraction is very weak, not only from its ideological viewpoint, but also because of its Social Democratic mentality, it seeks to escape Party control whenever possible. On this account two members of Parliament were expelled from the Party thereby causing a crisis.

Our Party publishes regularly 4 dailies in the various miners' districts of the country.

The Trade Union Federation of Chile has affiliated to the RILU and the entire revolutionary movement is, generally speaking, under the influence of the Communist Party.

Towards the end of this year a Party Congress will be held which is to liquidate the internal crisis and to determine the political and organisational tasks necessary to convert the Party into a real Communist Party.

## C o l u m b i a

The Communist Party which was established in 1924, has recently greatly developed and has already branches throughout the country. In spite of government persecution, our Party is extending its influence over the masses and also over the trade unions. At the last national congress of the revolutionary trade unions, our Party was represented by two-thirds of the delegates present. This resulted in the Congress appointing a trade union executive composed of our comrades. A split occurred lately within these trade unions, so that at present there are two organisations: one under the leadership of the anarcho-syndicalists and the other under the leadership of the Communists.

Not so long ago the Communist Party asked for affiliation to the Comintern, which was adopted in principle. But as we have no full information about the activity of this Party we have not yet definitely included it in our ranks. We have instructed our South American Secretariat to get into contact with this Party and to send us all the

information material available. We have at the same time invited the Communist Party of Columbia to send a representative to the VI World Congress of the CI which is to be held next year.

#### C u b a

During the last few years the revolutionary movement in Cuba has made great advances. The former anarchist trade union sympathises today with the Communist Party and the programme of the RILU. In February 1925, the national workers' congress was held, at which it was decided to form a trade union federation. At the organising Congress in August, most of the trade unions with a membership of over 200,000, were represented. At the same time the Communist Party and the "Anti-Imperialist League" were organised. The latter received the enthusiastic support of the revolutionary students who had already previously organised an anti-imperialist committee at the University.

Despite the fact that the objective situation is favourable for the development of the Communist movement, the Party has been unable to develop because of the sectarian spirit that reigns in its ranks. In addition to the information which the CI had received, more exact information is expected.

#### E c u a d o r

The Communist movement has been able to develop. The small Communist group that has existed for the last few years has increased its membership, and recently the Socialist Party proposed amalgamation with the Communist group in order to form a really strong Communist Party. Since the influence of the Socialist Party among the workers and in the trade unions is very great, we shall in a short time have a good trade union organisation under the direction of the Communists.

#### M e x i c o

In the period which has just elapsed the influence of our Party on the masses of workers and peasants has become greater. But the strength of the Party as far as the number of members is concerned, and its organisational form, bear no relationship to its influence. This influence is not the result of systematic work which is carried on from top to bottom in the Party, but is the result of the activity of small groups, or sometimes even of single comrades who do not always maintain contact with the Party central. Despite its weak membership our Party, thanks to the activity of these comrades, has gained a certain amount of influence in the industrial centres and also in several agrarian regions. The central organ of the Party has an edition of 6,000 copies and has its largest circulation chiefly among the railway workers, textile workers, oil workers and so forth. Nearly all Party members are organised in trade unions, and there are several Communist fractions, but there is no central trade union leadership to direct them. The reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei is not yet completed. In the industrial centres, namely, among the railway workers as well as among the workers in the textile industry and oil indus-



try, several factory nuclei have been organised. Recently the Central Committee attempted to raise the ideological level of the members; but this attempt was not very successful, due to the lack of Communist literature. On the other hand the Party's work in the "Anti-Imperialist League" as well as the work in the IRA was very successful. In June of this year our Party held its Fourth Party Congress in Mexico. At this Congress the Party succeeded in dealing with a number of the most important problems: the internal regime of the Party, its tactics, its organisation, etc. Theses on the future tasks of the Party were adopted which were based on an objective analysis of the economic and political situation. The errors committed of late as a result of an under-estimation of the political situation have ceased; the comrades who were responsible for these errors admitted them at the Party Congress. The internal conflicts which hamper the activity of the Party were liquidated by the Congress. The new Central Committee, a majority of which consists of workers and peasants, has the support of the entire Party in carrying out the tasks laid down by the Congress. The chief of these tasks are a thorough renunciation of the Left policy, as well as the establishment of a line that will allow the Party to become a mass organisation. In order to assist the Party in carrying out these tasks the Comintern recently sent a letter in which it approved the decisions of the Party Congress and, after an analysis of the objective situation, formulated the future tasks of the Party.

#### P a r a g u a y

Despite the brutal reaction which reigned in Paraguay (the country is almost a colony of North American imperialism) the Communist movement is developing. The Communist groups which exist illegally will meet this year in a Party Congress in order to form the Communist Party of Paraguay. In the summer of 1925 the trade union federation of Paraguay, together with a number of other labour organisations, issued a manifesto to the working class of Paraguay. This manifesto described the miserable conditions and the regime of slavery of the workers and peasants of Paraguay in the silver and copper mines, and on the plantations. Most of the peasants have not even freedom of movement and cannot leave without the permission of the plantation owner or manager. Their life is literally the life of slaves under conditions which have for years been most intolerable.

#### P e r u

The situation in Peru is more or less like the situation in Bolivia. Both countries are dominated by North American imperialism. The Government of large landowners, headed by Leguia oppresses the workers' and peasants' movement in a brutal manner. The government recognises only the trade unions affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labour. Protests raised by several sections of the intelligentsia against this tyrannical regime were brutally suppressed. Despite this there exists a large illegal peasant organisation which is preparing to take action against the Government. Recently several Communist groups were formed which have developed a certain amount of activity.

## U r u g u a y

Apart from a long campaign for the united front the Party recently organised a campaign against a law introduced into Parliament by the president of the Republic providing for compulsory military training. The Party and the UCU proposed to the anarchist trade union the formation of committees of action for combating this law. The anarchists rejected this proposal and committees of action were formed under the direction of the Party in all sections of the city. The campaign was actively conducted by the workers; similar committees were organised in the provinces. The campaign was successful. Parliament was forced to reject the government bill. Following this the Party inaugurated a campaign on behalf of the workers in the refrigerator industry. In three large refrigerator factories employing over 10,000 workers, two thirds of the workers were discharged on the grounds that the stocks were sufficient for several months. The same committees of action which had been organised to fight the compulsory military training bill took over the proposition of the Party to inaugurate a campaign on behalf of the discharged workers. The Communist deputies introduced in Parliament a bill, demanding government support for the unemployed. This bill was defeated, but as a result of this action the Party gained the confidence of the working class. The recognition of the Soviet Union by the Government of Uruguay made it possible for our Party together with the trade unions, to inaugurate a great campaign in favour of the Soviet Union. Recently, the Party also carried on other important campaigns including the protest movement against the new 45 million dollar loan floated by the United States, as well as a campaign of agitation among the peasants for the improvement of their working and living conditions.

The work among the peasants is hindered by the bad means of communication. Nevertheless, the Party has succeeded in increasing the number of local groups from 7 to 17 and among these to establish several village organisations. There is a Communist provincial periodical which is read almost exclusively by peasants. There are sections in a number of agricultural colonies.

In conformance with the decision of the CI the Party began its reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei. At the beginning many comrades voted against this work. The Central Committee was even forced to dissolve the regional executive of the capital, which sabotaged the instructions for reorganisation. At present, there are in Montevideo 95 factory nuclei. A large number of these function regularly and several factory newspapers are issued. The lack of Communist literature in the Spanish language is the chief obstacle in the way of extensive Communist agitational work.

The central organ "Giustizia" appears regularly in an edition of 6,000 copies. In addition, the section at Rocha issues a weekly paper called "Accion Comunista" which has 600 subscribers. The section Carmelo issues the weekly "Nuevos Horizontes" which has 600 subscribers and in October and November during the election campaign appeared daily.

Recently, the Bolshevisation of the Party made great advances. There was no intrinsic Social Democratic deviation in the Party. However, such a deviation did appear in the person of the old leader, deputy Libelli, who always attempted to drag the Party along this path. As a result of the increased spirit of unity which reigned in our Party, this deviation was tolerated until recently. However, in view of the existence of a strong Bolshevik tendency especially influenced by the youth and the increasing deviations of Libelli, who compromised the Party in the eyes of the masses of workers and peasants by his opportunistic policy, the Central Committee decided to relieve him of all responsible posts.

A Plenum of the CC which took place at the end of July and at which the South American secretariat was represented, unanimously voted that Libelli should resign as deputy and should be relieved of all responsible posts in the Party.

The Youth has been entirely reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei and has increased its membership. The red sport organisation, which is under the leadership of the Communist youth, is very popular among the organised and non-Party workers. In December, a number of sympathisers and students organised the Society "Friends of Soviet Russia" modelled on the similar organisation in Argentine.

#### V e n e z u e l a

The brutal reaction which for ten years existed under the dictatorship of Gomez has of late become more intense. The intensification of the dictatorship is due to the formation of a workers' and peasants' movement, the purpose of which is to overthrow the present government. In order to avoid death many of the revolutionists have had to flee to foreign countries. That explains the presence in various countries of over 100,000 Venezuelan emigrants. Thousands are suffering in the jails, particularly in the prison called "La Rotonda" in which the prisoners are subjected to medieval tortures. As a result many of the prisoners become ill and perish without any assistance. Their bodies are thrown to pigs for food.

This criminal regime is supported by the United States and Great Britain, both of which find cheap labour for the exploitation of petroleum fields. Venezuela is completely dominated by foreign investors and when the workers protest their movements are brutally suppressed.

The Venezuela revolutionary groups in exile in Mexico, Columbia and Cuba maintain contact with those which remain behind in Venezuela. The small Communist group which emigrated to Mexico maintains contact with these revolutionary groups and exercises a great influence over them.

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L A T V I A  
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As reaction had grown in strength the Communist Party developed a strenuous activity for the establishment of the united front, which in some places was crowned with success. The impressive spring demonstration against the introduction of the corn tax was a proof of this. Nevertheless it must be said that the Party under-estimated the development of reaction and therefore also the peril which Fascism constitutes for it, with the result that it lacked a clear perspective. This was reflected in the work of the general Party conference held last summer. The Party also under-estimated the radicalisation of the petty bourgeois masses, which led to many errors, as a result of which these masses were not directed into revolutionary channels.

The general Party conference held last summer summed up the results of past activity and drew up a programme for the immediate future. Although the conference did not appreciate the existing situation at its proper value it adopted on the whole a correct policy with respect to such fundamental questions as the united front, the peasant and national questions. In connection with the national question the following slogan was issued: "Self-determination up to the complete separation of Latvia". In connection with the peasant question the immediate needs and demands of the peasantry were given a concrete form.

In spite of the above-mentioned political shortcomings and lack of firm leadership and in spite of the growing strength of the reactionary forces, the Party has become considerably consolidated during the period covered by the report. In comparison with last year one can say that Party members are much more active, that new methods of work have been introduced (workers' and peasants' correspondents, manuscript periodicals, increased self-activity, etc.), and that the network of organisations has been extended.

The existing defects and the errors which were committed are entirely due to the extremely difficult conditions under which the work of the Party has to be carried on.

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L I T H U A N I A  
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The Sejm elections occupied the period between March and the beginning of May. Candidates lists of the radical working class elements were put up in all the constituencies. These lists polled 17,000 votes. But not one of the candidates was elected to the Sejm. Simultaneously with the election campaign, the Party carried on a campaign against reaction and against the Fascist coup d'etat which was being planned.

After the elections and the fall of the clerical government, the Communist Party made full use of extended legal opportunities. It turned its attention first of all to the trade unions: the old trade unions had to be reconstructed and new ones to be organised. The radical workers have begun to publish weekly organs in the Lithuanian and Jewish languages. Efforts are made to legalise the Labour Party, but the Government is putting obstacles in the way of legalisation. Neither is the Workers' Cultural and Educational League legal.

At the initiative of the Party, about 100 meetings have been held apart from trade union meetings.

Communists have begun to advocate openly Communist tactics at meetings and also in the press. They are also unmasking the new government and the government Parties.

With respect to putting the decisions of the last Plenum into practice, our Party has been popularising them in the press. It also did its utmost to apply united front tactics among the masses and has carried on a strenuous campaign for trade union unity, which has enabled us to win the sympathy of the Social Democratic workers (the Social Democratic Party has begun to expel members in sympathy with us), and to carry disintegration into the ranks of the Memel Social Democratic organisation. The Party has also carried on a big campaign against new wars, and particularly against the Pilsudski adventure. It has made several attempts to come out into the open and is carrying on a struggle for the legal existence of the CP.

With respect to defence in Party work, it may be said that the Party has not paid sufficient attention to work in the rural districts particularly among the agricultural labourers. During the election campaign, Party organisations were not active enough and some Right and ultra-Left deviations made their appearance to the detriment of that campaign. With respect to trade union work, we failed to consolidate our influence organisationally, which gave the Social Democrats an opportunity to become firmly established and to begin an energetic campaign against the Communists. On the whole, the organisational side of the work is the weak point of the Party. The Party does not know how to go about consolidating its influence organisationally. Moreover, ultra-Left tendencies are not yet overcome. The January Party Conference has already laid stress on the necessity of struggle against ultra-Left and particularly against Right deviations. Nevertheless, these deviations made their appearance when, for instance, many Party members veered too much to the Left after the fall of the clerical government. Many of them even imagined that they saw the advent of a "Kerensky era" in Lithuania, while others again indulged in democratic illusions. With respect to the attitude towards the new Government, a Right viewpoint has made itself felt now and then. This has occurred in the leading article of No. 49 of the central organ of the CP of Lithuania "Tiesa", in the manifesto of the CC of the CPL of 14.6.26, and in an unpublished article by Comrade Kapsukas. However, these defects in the work of the CPL are being gradually overcome. With respect to trade union work, we have already begun to consolidate organisationally the influence of the Party. At the initiative of the latter, the Left trade unions (unity committees) are already beginning with the preparations for the trade union congress. We have also corrected the errors committed with respect to our attitude to the government.

N O R W A Y  
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There was a big lockout in five of the largest industries of Norway in April and May 1926. The struggle coincided with the British General Strike. In spite of their united will to fight the workers were defeated because of the usual passivity and treacherous attitude of the leaders of the Trade Union Federation. Subsequently we saw the same process in the big paper industry and a gigantic wage struggle is bound to break out again in many branches of industry in the beginning of the new year. We can set against the united and concentrated attacks of the bourgeoisie the strong desire for unity which animates the entire working class including foresters and agricultural labourers. A fairly rapid clarification process is also going on in the trade union movement and in the Labour Party. Workers demand the revolutionisation of the trade unions, their transformation into fighting organisations and withdrawal of incompetent reformist leaders. This great dissatisfaction finds organisational expression as shown by the recently formed "trade union opposition", which has found many adherents in the capital where about one-third of Norwegian workers organised in trade unions are resident. This fact will make it rather difficult -- or even impossible -- for the reformist leaders of the trade union federation to find their way to Amsterdam. The misuse of the unity aspirations of the workers by Tranmael, leader of the Workers Party, who wants to bring about an organisational rally in his party, carries on amalgamation negotiations with the Social Democratic Party of Norway and is on the point of leading large sections of the Norwegian proletariat into the Second International -- has roused many workers also in his party and has been instrumental in creating a strong opposition. Fear of disrupting the Party still keeps Tranmael back from quick action. In this situation the Labour Party slogan issued by our Party was the only correct slogan. The reformist leaders of the N.F. multiplied their efforts for the organisational rally in their Party, being supported in this also by Right Social Democratic leaders, whilst some of the most influential non-Party trade union leaders supported the Labour Party slogan from the start. The negotiations of the leaders of all the three labour parties and of the Trade Union Federation were frustrated by the manoeuvres of the Tranmaelites. The formation of a permanent unity committee was also frustrated. Through the big wage struggles which took place in the spring attention was entirely concentrated on the trade union struggle. In this respect our Party represented the revolutionary will of the working class, but could not assert itself in the face of the overwhelming power of the reformists and Tranmaelites. However, the Party succeeded by its consistent application of united front tactics to win the sympathy of large sections of workers. However, the organisational utilisation of these successes is certainly far from perfect. With respect to combining the struggle of the small peasants, tenant farmers, and agricultural labourers with that of the industrial workers, the Party has certainly achieved considerable success. There is a good opportunity to establish a close alliance between workers and peasants, provided adequate directions are given for activity among the peasantry.

From the organisational viewpoint the internal position of the Party has considerably improved. Contact between the Central Executive and District Executives has become closer, reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis is making progress, but the work of Party organisations is far from adequate. As a rule correct decisions are made concerning the general policy, but these decisions are very seldom carried out properly and there is also lack of control over the manner in which they are carried out. Lately there has been certainly some improvement in this direction. The plenum of the CC of the Party which was held between June 6 and 9 dealt with a series of important questions and made unanimous decisions. Worthy of mention are the following: adoption of the decisions of the last Plenum of the Executive; rejection of Arvid Hansens' attitude to this Plenum, endorsement of the analysis of the position and tasks of the Party formulated by the Pol. Bureau in a circular letter, decisions on the peasant question, development of organisational work, on the work of the trade union opposition for the purpose of creating a left bloc, against fractional activity in the Party, etc.

Internal Party difficulties made again their appearance, this time from the ranks of Right wing comrades. It is generally known that the last Plenum of the ECCI decided to do its utmost for the establishment of the Labour Party, to fight against the errors of Right Wing comrades who advocated unconditional merging of the CPN into the MAP, to make the struggle for this slogan an affair of the masses and not only an affair of the leaders and to struggle at the same time against the sectarian errors of the ultra-Left. The great campaign was to be always closely connected with questions of the day and the needs of the workers. The Party was to elaborate for this a programme of action and was to see to it that the rank and file members should receive a Leninist education. The Party has certainly shown that it is determined to carry out the decisions of the ECCI. To what extent it has succeeded in this is demonstrated to a certain extent by what has already been stated here. There was also definite success with respect to the internal policy of the Party at the time of the Party plenum. The groups around Hansen and Scheflo agreed unanimously to all the decisions. However, the gulf was only seemingly bridged. During the subsequent trade union work for the Left bloc and in the attempts to parry Tranmael's rally manoeuvre the old differences again made their appearance through the fault of the Right comrades.

All this makes it very difficult for the Party to solve even its most promising tasks: 1) strengthening the opposition in the trade unions, in order to be able to mobilise them as the main factor in the struggle of the workers against capitalism, 2) promotion of the differentiation process in the Tranmael Party in order not to allow the radicalisation of the workers to be brought to nought in the Second International.

On the whole it may be said that the Party has increased its prestige among the workers. Work in the organisations is carried on **energetically**. This increased activity was particularly noticeable during the campaign in support of the central organ, when a considerable sum was raised in spite of unemployment and the number of subscribers increased. Fraction work is actively pursued in the trade unions, but is still quite inadequate in the cooperatives. One of the main shortcomings is the lack of activity

and initiative at the base. Nuclei of which there are still very few are eloquent testimony for this. Then, the cadres or functionaries are still inadequate, but efforts are continually made to remedy this. The fairly good circulation of nucleus newspapers is of great advantage to the Party, which by this means increases its sphere of influence. The publishing activity of the Party also deserves commendation. Lately the CC of the Party has developed the central agitprop apparatus. It also took care that political questions of the day should receive the necessary attention in information letters sent out to the Party organisations.

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P O L A N D  
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In spite of the mistakes made during the May events, the influence of the Party over the masses has increased during the period under review as shown by the campaigns carried on by the Party, and also by the growth of the Party membership.

The first campaign of the Party after the XV Conference (held in December 1925) was the campaign for the levy of the 700 million zloty income tax arrears of the bourgeoisie. The Communist fraction introduced a motion to this effect in the Sejm and organised a series of meetings in support thereof. The radical peasant parties were also drawn into this movement. This campaign was interrupted by the May events to be resumed again in July with a certain amount of success in the colliery districts. But it was impossible to give it again the character of a mass movement.

The campaign for amnesty for political prisoners assumed wide dimensions. A central committee was formed for the struggle for amnesty. The Independent Peasant Party, the radical national minority parties, the Independent Socialist Party and others joined this committee. Local committees were formed in 11 towns. Public and factory meetings were organised in the industrial districts, which passed resolutions demanding the release of political prisoners. Several thousand signatures were collected for amnesty.

Relief campaign for the British miners did not begin till July when it developed into a mass movement in the colliery districts. A number of relief committees were formed and resolutions were adopted at miners' meetings re regular deductions for the fund. Collections were also organised.

Of considerable importance, as a review of Communist forces, was our action during the PPS campaign and on the occasion of what is called June 27th. In connection with the legislation enacted by Pilsudski which means restriction of Sejm prerogatives, the PPS advocated democracy and issued the slogan "dissolution of the Sejm and a general election."

The CPP used the PPS campaign for the exposure of the alleged democracy of the PPS which in reality supports the Fascist government and urged the workers to resist the offensive against the last remnants of the prerogatives won



by the workers. Although the CC did not mention this task in its first rather abortive manifesto and limited itself to an attack on the PPS and despite inadequate preparation of the campaign in all the important districts and towns, the PPS failed ignominiously and all the meetings it convened adopted our resolutions. This shows that PPS influence has considerably decreased since the Pilsudski coup d'etat.

The campaign against the war peril which is of particular importance in connection with Pilsudski's plans was initiated too late, at a time when the campaign of the populist-democratic press, which had almost immediately exposed Pilsudski's war preparations, had already lost some of its zest. This spoilt considerably the effect of our campaign. A joint manifesto was published with the CP of Lithuania, as well as a series of manifestoes to soldiers, women and the militia.

The Party and the economic struggle of the working class. During the period covered by the report the CP of Poland made several attempts to centralise at the right time workers struggles which were brewing in various branches of industry. The Party pointed out the necessity to centralise struggles without however being able to effect such centralisation in February 1926, when a miners' and textile workers' struggle was imminent, in August when the municipal workers of Lodz, the workers in the paper factories of Jeserno and the textile workers in Girandovo went on strike, and also when conflicts were on the point of breaking out among miners and railwaymen. Most of the organisations used very clumsy methods in their preparation of economic struggles, and only in the colliery district, the Party showed itself capable of coping with these tasks. A big strike wave swept through the country during the period under review. Prior to the coup d'etat it was mainly a question of defensive strikes against the abolition of the 8-hour day and wage reductions -- the main points in the capitalist offensive. After the coup d'etat the basis of the strike movements was in most cases wage demands. The Party organisations of the colliery districts were very active during the June and also the July conflicts. But because of the rest of the Party Executives in Upper Silesia and in the Dombrovo district, they were no longer able to play a leading role in the trade union movement during the September conflicts. Prior to the coup d'etat the unemployed movement, under the leadership of the CP as all the other parties sabotaged it, played an important role in the general labour movement. After the coup d'etat, the unemployed movement died down to a certain extent as unemployment decreased; but the leadership of this movement is still in Communist hands. Great importance attaches to the journey of representatives of the unemployed organisations of the colliery districts to Warsaw, where they laid their demands before the Council of Ministers. On their return, the delegation spoke about their experiences at the numerous meetings which were held. When an improvement took place in the mining industry, a campaign was organised against overtime.

In spite of the persecution of Communists by the Amsterdammers, the influence of the Party in the trade unions has grown. At a number of trade union congresses the opposition was in the majority, and many trade union central and local executives were wrested from the reformists. But matters are

less favourable with respect to the methods of organisational work in the trade unions. The trade union departments of the Party Executives are only in the course of organisation, fraction work is as yet not very methodical. Hardly any work at all is done in other non-Party organisations, such as for instance cooperatives, educational organisations, etc.

The influence of the Party in the rural districts has considerably increased. The Independent Labour Party and the White Russian Gromada (Peasant Party) have also developed and strong Communist groups have been formed. This growing influence of the CPP is admitted by the bourgeois press ("thousands of landless peasants become victims of bold Communist agitation") and by the peasant deputies ("we must say quite openly that the influence of the Communists is growing in a dangerous manner").

The Communist fraction in the Sejm has lately considerably developed its activity and also its mass work at labour meetings.

Apart from a resolution on the errors committed in May 1926, the August Plenum of the CC adopted a resolution on the immediate tasks of the Party, which points out that agitation against Pilsudski's war preparations is the most important task in the struggle against his dictatorship.

With respect to the Russian question, a resolution was adopted unanimously condemning the new opposition and discussing in detail its standpoint with respect to foreign and home policy.

Apart from the May errors discussed elsewhere, the main defects of the work of the CPP are as follows:

1) Insufficient attention to the economic struggle of the proletariat. The trade union theses of the August plenum remark on this point: "the majority of our organisations do not as yet know how to prepare and lead economic campaigns and to utilise them for the mobilisation of the toiling masses."

2) Inability to conduct pressing political campaigns. Apart from the amnesty campaign, all the campaigns were either initiated too late, or were conducted only on a local scale. In some cases they were broken off before reaching that culminating point. In this sphere a great obstacle is the lack of a leading (illegal) organ. The "Czerwony Sztandar" ("Rote Fahne") should be such an organ, but it is not published frequently enough.

3) Scant attention to the ideological education of the Party, as well as inadequate publishing activity in this sphere. The theoretical organ is not published often enough.

The department for work in the rural districts is very inactive. And yet the growth of our influence in the countryside demands a strong leading central organ. The work of the local trade union departments and fractions must also be strengthened.

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During the Fascist coup d'etat, the CP of Poland committed a number of serious mistakes.

The Party even fell victim to the pettybourgeois illusions which Pilsudski utilised for his plans. The Party saw in his coup d'etat, a bourgeois Democratic revolution against the relics of feudalism and urged the proletariat to give "moral and material" support to the Pilsudski troops, with the only reservation that "its aims were more far-reaching than those of Pilsudski." A fortnight after the coup d'etat, the CC of the Party decided to vote for Pilsudski's presidency. The Warsaw organisation participated in the demonstration organised by the PPS in honour of Pilsudski. At its plenary session held at the end of May, the CC still considered its policy correct in principle and merely admitted that "a few formulations were erroneous". It was not before the beginning of June that the CC understood how deeply it had erred. The June theses of the CC are the first serious step towards self-criticism and towards the correction of the mistakes made in May. The same appreciation of these errors is also contained in the letter addressed by the ECCI to the CPP. The June theses very aptly described Pilsudski's dictatorship as a capitalist dictatorship, but even these theses contain certain errors. But in spite of these errors they have played an important role in correcting the policy of the Party, as they directed the whole energy of the Party organisation to the struggle against the Pilsudski government, to the exposure to the masses of its Fascist character as well as to the treachery of the PPS which supported the Fascists.

Already at that time a group of 4 comrades protested against the decisions of the CC. They drew up theses denying the capitalist character of the coup d'etat. The latter was estimated to be a petty bourgeois movement directed against the capitalist government Chjeno-Piast. In the opinion of these comrades only after victory did Pilsudski's dictatorship begin to degenerate into a Fascist dictatorship for the purpose of achieving its imperialist aims. These comrades attached the greatest importance to the "class conflicts between the Pilsudski dictatorship on the one hand and the capitalist and big landowners on the other". They expected Pilsudski to appeal in this conflict to the masses. Thus these 4 comrades maintained the same erroneous position as the Party in May and looked upon the petty bourgeoisie as an independent element which can be "set against the big bourgeoisie". These 4 comrades have succeeded in getting resolutions in this sense passed in the Warsaw Party Executive and in the executive of the colliery district. Other district organisations and also the CP of West Ukraine supported on the other hand the viewpoint of the CC.

In July, the ECCI addressed to the CPP a letter in which the errors committed in May were submitted to minute criticism.

The August Plenum of the CC has completely adjusted the Party policy. With respect to the most important question on the agenda -- the May errors, a resolution was adopted by a majority of 12 votes, with 4 extensions. The minority placed before the Plenum draft theses of its own.

The "group of four" made a declaration on September 2nd acknowledging the erroneousness of its former theses and identifying itself with the resolution of the CC minority.

The difference between the resolution adopted by the CC and that adopted by the minority is as follows: the minority under-estimates the importance of the errors of the "group of four", and sees the main danger in the existence (in their opinion) of a solid Right wing which is following a consistently opportunist course and bases itself on an anti-Leninist theory of the revolution of its own. The minority reproaches the CC with endeavouring to minimise the Right peril.

A month after the Plenum (October 11), the minority issued a declaration signed by 4 CC Members, containing a sharp criticism of the theses adopted by the Plenum of the CC.

The CC has not yet discussed these latest divergences of opinion. It will examine the position of the CPP very thoroughly in the very near future. The ECCI's standpoint is that it is essential to work for the consolidation of the CPP on the lines laid down in the letter which the ECCI sent to the CPP.

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P O R T U G A L  
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The connection between the CP of Portugal and the ECCI has been very weak of late. Therefore, the ECCI is not in a position to judge the tactics followed by the CP of Portugal during the recent political events in the country. At the same time, however, the CP is still so weak that it was impossible for it to participate actively in these events.

Following the crisis in the Party leadership which took place last year, strenuous efforts were made to form a new Party leadership adapted to the greater tasks. However, these efforts had very little success. The directions of the ECCI which were carried out by the Portuguese comrades, were concerned with drawing in new elements from the trade union movement into the Party leadership. In order to achieve concrete results a Party conference was called in May. Unfortunately it did not accomplish much in the political field. It met neither the political situation in the country nor the Party's tasks. Its only achievement was the formation of a new central executive and the election of a comrade active in the trade union movement as general secretary of the Party. However, this new Central Committee has not yet found it possible to establish connections with the ECCI and in general its work must be characterised as rather weak.

The Party conference was able to report a certain increase in the Party membership. This increase took place chiefly in Oporto where several hundred workers joined the Party. The Party has also gained a foothold among the peasants; but the Party has hitherto not understood how to

increase its influence among the Lisbon workers. This should be its chief task.

In the trade union field the Party should have made good the errors it committed which led to a split in the trade union organisation. The Party adopted the point of view of the International, but did not work for its realisation.

The chief cause of the weaknesses of the CP of Portugal is as heretofore the lack of ideological training which makes the Party incapable of struggling against the Anarcho-Syndicalist remnants of the Portuguese Labour movement, and of getting in close touch with the leading sections of the working class of Portugal.

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R O U M A N I A  
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The illegal CP of Roumania has suffered a good deal in the last few months from the White Terror of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. A first-class Party worker Comrade Tkatschenko was murdered two weeks after his arrest and another active member of the Party, Boris Stefanov, faces the charge of high-treason before the military courts. Hundreds of other Party members and sympathisers among the workers and peasants have been arrested, subjected to the most horrible tortures and condemned to decades of imprisonment. The terror has been extended to the revolutionary unitarian trade unions as well as the workers and peasants bloc with the obvious object of destroying the mass organisations influenced by the CP of Roumania. Despite all this, however, the Party has succeeded in maintaining the Party apparatus in general as well as the connection of the CC with the provincial organisations and with the CI. This shows that the CP of Roumania has considerably increased its organisational power.

The Party has had successes not only in this field but also in the field of general Party activity. The resolution adopted by the VI Plenum of the Enlarged Executive on the Roumanian question was discussed at a special session of the CC and the political line laid down in that resolution was unanimously recognised as correct. The resolution was circulated among the Party nuclei. Despite the illegality and the terror, the CP through its influence in the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc successfully participated in the parliamentary elections. The Workers' and Peasants' Bloc received about 40,000 votes. The political-practical line of the Party in the united front question was correct this time. The experiences of the Party in this field are gaining in significance; despite the new treachery of the leaders of the Peasant Party which has now amalgamated with the National Party, the CC of the CP of Roumania decided to continue to work in the new National-Peasant Party. The CP as well as the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc issued manifestoes against the fusion.

The Party is fighting against the liquidation tendencies of Christescu, who, during the election campaign, openly proceeded against the CP as a result of the terror

the suppressed Bulletin of the CC (Bolshevism) has been replaced by the illegal publication "The Class Struggle". This is published in the Roumanian and Hungarian languages.

Since the arrest of Tkatschenko and Stefanov the Party has succeeded in mobilising part of the working masses in the struggle against the terror.

Following the latest arrests the CC was depleted by cooption. Because of the financial difficulties the number of district secretaries had to be reduced. In general there is a lack of Party forces.

The daily slogans of the Party are at present: Regular payment of Party dues, increase in the numerical strength of the Party, transformation of the CP into workers mass party, struggle against the terror, legalisation of the CP.

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S P A I N  
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The conditions under which Party work is going on have not improved. A process of radicalisation is taking place extremely slowly among the masses. The Party is compelled to work illegally. Nevertheless, the appointed Party CC succeeded in carrying on for several months elementary organisation work for the formation of cadres, and for the re-establishment of connection with the main centres of Spain. As a result of this activity, a national conference of the Party was held in order to discuss and solve a few of the organisation problems with which the Party is confronted. But the greatest difficulties are cropping up now when the Party should come out into the open in order to do something more than organise cadres, when it should establish contact with the masses in the endeavour to become a mass organisation. The CC of the Party has been unable to achieve much in this respect. Consequently, the CP does not participate in the political life of the country, and is far from being active within the working class.

The ECCI, after ascertaining the positive results of the organisation of cadres, was obliged to intervene and sent a letter to the CC of the Party to draw its attention to the new tasks which are arising and to the necessity to adapt the methods of work of the Party and its CC to these new tasks. The letter of the ECCI was accompanied by a letter of the Org. Department and emphasised (to no avail) the necessity to introduce a more democratic system in the Party and to struggle against every form of sectarianism in the ranks of the members.

During the last few months a serious crisis broke out in the Party Executive which had its reflex in the membership. The ECCI is rather concerned about this crisis as it threatens to cause a new split in the various groups of the union from which the Communist Party of Spain has originated. The Enlarged Executive will have to study the crisis within the Communist Party of Spain and will have to help with its solution.

In the trade union sphere, the Party did good work for the convocation of a national conference for trade union unity. The Party succeeded in inducing several local organisations to participate in this conference. The latter, however, could not be held on the date fixed, and after the postponement, the Party did not resume work with the same energy.

The Party succeeded in liquidating a crisis which was interfering with its relations with the CPF by taking up a definite attitude against the French Right in a public resolution. The Party organ (Antorcha), is a daily publication with an edition of 10,000 copies. Severe censorship prevents this organ carrying on proper mass agitation, and the Party has not succeeded in carrying on such agitation by other means.

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S W E D E N  
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Since the autumn of 1924 until the beginning of June 1926 Sweden had a purely Social Democratic Government (only one of the consultative councillors of State was non-Party). During its whole term of office this government pursued in the economic sphere a reactionary policy completely in harmony with the stabilisation policy of the bourgeoisie. In order to curry favour with the bourgeois parties and to be able to remain in office, the government went so far as to accede to the peremptory demand for a so-called law on class truce and to appoint a so-called "class truce delegation". The latter -- (it had of course a bourgeois majority) had to deal with all questions of compulsory arbitration courts in case of labour conflicts, of prohibition of strikes, etc. But in spite of all its efforts the cabinet did not succeed in remaining in power. In the beginning of June 1926 the Third Social Democratic government in Sweden collapsed. The so-called "Left bloc" was broken up, the Social Democratic government resigned and was succeeded by the Ekman Cabinet. The members of this new government come from the ranks of the "Freethinkers Peoples Party" and from those of the liberal party. A few days prior to the change of government, the Communist Party issued the slogan of the dissolution of the Reichstag and of the general election and called upon the masses to form a proletarian front against the bourgeois bloc. The answer of the Social Democratic government was meek capitulation before the bourgeois bloc which was thus given an opportunity to form a "strikebreaking government". The change of government was the prelude of the autumn elections for the provincial Diets and communal councils. The provincial Diets also elect the members of the Upper Chamber of the Reichstag. Therefore the election campaign was conducted by all political parties as a broad political action. In most constituencies election cartels were formed by the bourgeois parties which directed their activity against the working class. In answer to this the Communists proposed to the Social Democrats to form a proletarian united front for the election campaign. As usual, this proposal was rejected by the Social Democratic leaders, who declared that they did not want to have anything to do with Bolsheviks. Nevertheless the Communists worked in all the constituencies under the

same cartel as the Social Democrats, taking care however to always give the name of their Party. The Communist Party even issued an election address to its members and sympathisers urging them to vote for the "Labour Party's" list of candidates wherever our Party had no candidates of its own. When this report was written the municipal elections were not yet over, but the provincial Diet elections were. However their results are not yet known. According to figures received so far the Social Democrats seem to have won an election victory. The figures to hand concerning the results of the municipal elections show that the Communist Party has been fairly successful.

At the Congresses of the Trade Union Federation, the Metal Workers', Sawing mill Workers, Textile Workers' and Garment Makers Unions, Communists were not as well represented as at preceding congresses. Nevertheless Communist delegates had a certain amount of influence on the non-Party and also on some of the Social Democratic delegates. However the reactionary decisions adopted by these congresses, including that of the Trade Union Federation, are likely to aid trade union opposition.

The Party has conducted the following campaigns:

- 1) For trade union unity, 2) in support of the miners, 3) the election campaign, 4) for a proletarian rally in connection with the government crisis (as a prelude to the election campaign), 5) the jubilee campaign for the central organ of the Party, 6) propaganda and agitation campaign among women, 7) support for the campaign of the Youth League on the occasion of the election of a young workers' delegation to Soviet Russia and on the delegations' return, 8) against using unemployed workers as strike breakers, 9) against espionage by the police.

The collection of money for the British miners organised by the "Trade Union Unity Committee" was well supported by the Communist Party. Moreover the Women's Committee of the Party organised a collection of clothes for the children of the strikers, and with very good results. The women's campaign achieved considerable success which would have been even greater if this campaign had not partly coincided with the campaign for the central organ of the Party. The latter was fairly successful, the circulation of the paper increased and the financial results were not at all bad.

The young workers' delegation which visited the Soviet Union was very useful to the enlightenment campaign concerning the workers' and peasants' State. The attitude of the executive of the Social Democratic Youth League, which expelled two members of the delegation from the League stimulated ~~xx~~ still more the interest of the workers in this delegation.

The main slogan of the election campaign was: "Workers' front against the bourgeois front!" In its election address the Party also formulated some of its everyday demands. The central organ of the Party has pointed out that there were blemishes in the conduct of the election campaign. One of the greatest defects was the inadequacy of the preparatory work in a few districts and above all in some localities.



Fascist tendencies have been making their appearance more and more in petty bourgeois circles. A Fascist party has been formed, there are beginnings of Fascist militant groups and leaflet and correspondence propaganda is going on. The "party" whose leaders have been exposed as frauds and cheats will hardly be able to get a following. Much more serious is the activity which the white guard and pro-Fascist officers' cliques and bourgeois groups connected with them are developing. The central organ of our Party has succeeded in exposing the connection which exists between the Stockholm chief of police and these cliques. This exposure has shown that the chief of police had purchased modern machine-guns in the name of the police -- such arms the police force is not allowed by law to have. These purchases were made from the secret funds of the white guards. The Party is just now carrying on a campaign against police rule with the support of the Social Democrats and Syndicalists. As in other countries the police authorities make use of forged documents concerning plans for Communist risings. This is done to have an excuse for the purchase of arms. The affair has created a great sensation and the demand which the Communists laid before the municipal council of Stockholm regarding the retirement of the chief of police after his admission that the arms had been purchased "to suppress risings", had also the support of the trade unions. This affair was very inopportune for the bourgeois parties, as they were just on the point of preparing by means of a big agitation campaign the introduction of reactionary legislation against the freedom and independence of trade unions.

This report shows that the Party is applying united front tactics and is energetically supporting the movement for trade union unity. The Party has also done good work among the peasantry, which also set the Social Democrats in motion. The latter have begun to form in South Sweden peasant organisations which are formally non-Party but are really of a Social Democratic character. In addition to the agitation for the despatch of a young workers delegation to the Soviet Union, the Party has also encouraged in other ways activity among the youth, among other things, by issuing correct directions to all sub-sections. With respect to work among women, we have already mentioned the special agitation campaign and the collections for the British strikers, in which non-Party women also participated. The membership of the Party has been steadily growing since the autumn of 1924. Recent Party reports show that the number of members at present is 11,451. Reorganisation on a nucleus basis has been pursued but there is still much to be done in this respect. Good results have been achieved in this direction in such important districts as Stockholm, Göteborg and Lorbotten. The experience of the last trade union congresses has shown that fraction work in the trade unions is not yet satisfactory and that strenuous work is still required if the fractions are to be properly developed and particularly if new fractions are to be formed in trade unions where they do not yet exist (and this is the case in most of them). Strenuous and extensive work was carried on for the Party press. This work must be continued with the same energy, in order that the Party press should have a firm footing among the workers. In connection with the various campaigns of the Party there has been increased political activity in the factory, street and village nuclei. But this political activity must be intensified, as it is relatively rather weak. The same applies to district executives which with a few exceptions are inactive.

To sum up one can say that the CP of Sweden has endeavoured to carry out the directions of the ECCI and that its development is on the upward grade.

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S W I T Z E R L A N D  
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The CP has not conducted any big campaigns. It organised a recruiting campaign for the press and for the increase of its membership with the result that a few hundred new subscribers and Party members were secured. When the question of the entry of the Swiss Social Democratic Party in the Second International was being discussed the CP issued a manifesto and distributed leaflets against it. The Party is carrying on the campaign for the despatch of a workers delegation to Russia initiated some time ago. There is much sympathy for such a delegation, also in Social Democratic ranks. The Party had to take up a definite attitude to various draft laws including the law on salaries for Swiss employees and civil servants (prohibition of strikes) and to the corn monopoly which is of particular importance. After giving its consent to the monopoly, the Party should have pointed out more emphatically the contradictory nature of the present law; this would also have disarmed the opposition within the Party in respect of this law. The Party should also have used this opportunity for placing before the peasants a positive agrarian programme. (State control of mortgages and land, help for producers' cooperatives, insurance, electrification, road building etc.).

The Party had also to take up a definite attitude to the council elections to the various Cantons. With respect to this question the Party received from the ECCI, directions to the effect that the non-issue of Communist lists was approved as also the refusal to take any initiative for the introduction of the proportional representation system for these elections. It is also quite correct for the Party to carry on propaganda among the workers against the participation of the Social Democrats in the council elections. However, the Executive points out that this attitude must not lead to abstention in view of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats and that the Party must support the Social Democratic candidates wherever a struggle is taking place between these two camps. This will be a test for the Social Democrats which will make it easier to unmask them subsequently in the eyes of the workers. The reports to hand show that the Party has not been particularly active in the very important sphere of trade union work. Very little mention is made in the reports of the CP of Switzerland, concerning the activity of trade union fractions. We gather from these reports that apart from Basle and Schaffhausen, fractions are either very weak or do not exist at all. It came almost to a split in the compositors' union because of the expulsion of the Basle section from the central federation. There were also serious collisions between Communists and Social Democrats in the clerks, transport workers, food workers' unions and in the civil servants and municipal workers' unions.

In the central society of Consumers' Cooperative, the Party has considerable influence in the big workers' consumers' cooperative societies in Basle, Zürich and Winterthur. The society in Schaffhausen is under Communist management. The fractions in the managing committees of the said societies carry on regular work. A communist fraction made its appearance for the first time at this year's cooperative congress.

With respect to the organisational position of the Party one can say that at present 420 of the 1,127 Basle members are organised in factory nuclei and 400 in street nuclei, whilst the remainder are still in the old residential organisation. Of the 800 Zürich members, 200 are coordinated in 14 factory nuclei. In Schaffhausen reorganisation is in its initial stages. On May 15 and 16, the Party held an organisational conference and on September 18 and 19, a session of the Enlarged CC. The latter dealt with the various problems of Swiss politics and with the question of the Russian Party with respect to which a resolution was passed emphatically condemning the Russian Opposition.

The regular Party Congress will be held in January.

#### ----- S O U T H A F R I C A -----

The IV Party Congress of the Communist Party of South Africa was held in Cape Town on December 26, 27 and 28, 1925. At this Congress it became evident how inadequate was the connection between the Party and the Trade Unions. It was decided to develop the trade union fractions and to organise a campaign for unity among the white and the coloured workers' organisations. It was also decided to carry on systematic work for the education of Party members and a recruiting campaign in order to increase the Party membership.

With respect to the intention of the Government to deprive the natives of the Cape province of their voting rights, the Party Congress resolved to organise a campaign against the proposals of the Herzog Government. The Congress decided to get in contact with the British-Indian workers in Natal, in order to organise them around the slogan for higher wages, shorter working hours and equality with white workers. A discussion of some length took place on the Peasant and Agricultural labourers question which divulged the miserable conditions of the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers. The Congress decided to initiate propaganda for the slogan a "workers and peasants government" and to carry on an energetic campaign among the rural population. The new Central Committee was instructed to draw up a detailed agrarian programme for the Party.

It was decided to revive the Young Communist League which was almost extinct, and an organiser was appointed for the reorganisation of the League with the direct assistance of the Party. The title of the weekly organ of the Party "The International" was changed into "South African Worker".

The first numbers of this paper, which we have seen are certainly an improvement on the old "International" which paid very little attention to the everyday questions of the South African workers. A report of the Central Committee of the CP of South Africa on the activity of the Party since the Party Congress is not yet to hand.

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T U R K E Y  
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It is only 3 or 4 months ago that the Turkish workers have begun to awaken from the torpor into which they were plunged by the terrorist regime and all its hardships. There are very many movements for definite everyday demands among the workers of the various production and transport services. The most important cause of these spontaneous movements is the pressure of economic conditions which have made it impossible lately to satisfy even the most elementary needs of the people. Although the cost of living has gone up 50% and fiscal demands have doubled, the wage level has remained the same as in 1923. The revival of Communist activity in connection with the reorganisation of the ranks of the Communist Party played an important part in the development of these movements.

The attitude of the government during negotiations between employers and employed and with respect to the few cases of strikes is extremely interesting. Instead of resorting to methods of intimidation and repression -- as this was the rule since the establishment of the dictatorship -- the government preferred to play the role of benevolent mediator. It even went so far as to allow the concession company of oriental railways to raise its tariffs in order to enable it to pay higher wages to its employees. Thus the most important of the conflicts of the day was settled favourably for the workers owing to the attitude of the government. This was the first case of a rise in wages.

This attitude of the government shows that it has a definite programme for its actions. At the end of 1925 and at the beginning of 1926 it seemed as if the legalists were not interested in winning the support of the trade unions and of the working class and were contemplating the complete dissolution of their organisations. Probably the vitality of the proletarian organisations, which bravely resisted all chicanery and all intrigues, compelled it to change its methods. Thus about five or six months ago a deputy the former General Consul of Batur was sent to Constantinople -- the biggest labour centre of Turkey, -- as leader of the People's Party. To show his competence in labour and Communist questions this leader began immediately on his arrival to turn his attention to questions arising out of labour conflicts. He formed in the legalist Party a bureau for workers and artisans. He invited all representatives of labour organisations and trade unions to an inaugural conference at which he promised the workers the right of association and of struggle for better conditions. At the same time he warned them against the "interested" agitation of revolutionary politicians, he gave a gloomy picture of the position of the Russian workers and said that the Bolshevik revolution was the source of all their misfortunes.

The workers distrust this protection which it is intended to force on them. However, the agents of the Peoples Party carry on a strenuous campaign against the spread of Communist influence. Lately the policy has been not to arrest Party members, but to discredit them in the eyes of the workers.

The situation within the CPT is much more favourable than prior to its last Conference. Its trade union work has grown, there is more unity within its ranks, but nevertheless, the Party is far removed from the fulfilment of all the tasks set at the Conference. The main reason for such slow development is the fact that up till now, the Party has not been in the position to settle the most important point on which everything else depends -- the publication of an organ of its own. Without such an organ, the leading apparatus of the Party finds it almost impossible to assert its authority and to give a proper lead to the activity of its members. The Party has no other means for establishing contact with the masses than the individual propaganda work of its members. This main defect is the cause of the weakness of the CPT.

Thus, there is no regularity in the relations between the CC of the Party and its sections. The latter have developed by their own efforts, no definite ideological influence was exercised over them, and they are animated by decidedly autonomous tendencies. This is a great peril which jeopardises the entire future of the Party.

Another consequence of this abnormal state of affairs, is -- that it encourages all kinds of ideological deviations. And yet the central apparatus has no means whatever to fight against this effectively. Lately a group of three intellectuals who wanted to take advantage of the temporary difficulties of the Party, to make a career for themselves have seceded from the Party. They are endeavouring now to justify their treachery by issuing a publication in opposition to the policy of the Party, the entangled opportunist phraseology of which contains here and there a few "left" formulae. But in view of the close relations of this group with the nationalist bourgeoisie one can assume that it won't be long before it makes common cause with legalism. The secession of this group does not constitute any danger for the Party as its leaders have no authority whatever with the masses.

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 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.  
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During the period covered by the report, the American Party succeeded in overcoming its isolation to a marked degree. This holds true of the movement for the creation of a Labour Party as well as for its political activity in general. The participation of the Party in local and in individual State Labour Party organisations and the "united labour ticket" campaigns as well as in the sections of the Farmer Labour Party in this year's elections shows not only that the Party has to a certain extent broken through its isolation, but that with the further development of independent political actions of the American working class the basis has been laid for great progress of the Communist Party in

the immediate future. The election policy of the Party was directed towards supporting candidates of the United Labour Party, but at the same time to set its own candidates where there were no ULP candidates. In six states we supported the Farmer Labour Party, on the basis of united front policy and in a number of others we supported the United Labour candidates, in order to prepare for the formation of a Labour Party. In eight other states the Party had its own candidates under its own name. The movement for the politisation of the workers and farmers is being promoted in every trade union, cooperative, and fraternal organisation where we have connections.

Our Party proposed to the Socialist Party at its National Convention the formation of a united front for the purpose of carrying out joint campaigns on certain basic questions such as, support of the United Labour candidates, the formation of a Labour Party, protection of the foreign born, defence of the Soviet Union, opposition to class collaboration and support for trade union unity. This proposal was rejected, nevertheless, individual Socialist and local organisations, despite the interdiction of the national bureau of the Socialist Party, participated in the work in joint action which were carried out on a united front basis.

The Party connected with greater success than before its broad political campaigns with its trade union work and with the work of the Party members in the factories. This was made possible by reorganisation of the Party, the creation of factory nuclei which function well and through the success of the Party fractions in the building up of the trade unions.

The fact that the American Federation of Labour was compelled to make a gesture of support for the British workers during the General Strike is undoubtedly a result of the activity of the Workers (Communist) Party, its press, the activity of its trade union fractions and factory nuclei. The Party organised a campaign for an embargo on coal shipments. Under the influence of this campaign the IWW declared a boycott in a number of eastern ports; nevertheless no effective embargo was carried out.

The Party has been steadily growing, thanks to its activity in the trade unions, in the working class and within other Socialist sections, as well as through the movement for the recognition of Soviet Russia. The Party energetically supported the movement for sending a trade union delegation to Soviet Russia.

The attitude of the Party in the spontaneous strike of the unorganised textile workers in Passaic at the beginning of the year opened a period in which the Party for the first time appeared as the recognised leader of strike actions. The Party successfully carried out the organisation of 16,000 unorganised workers which coincided with its leading the strike. Through a successful application of the united front policy the Party gained an extraordinarily broad basis. The Communists led an extremely bitter struggle against the police terror and through this successful action the influence of the Party grew to an unprecedented degree throughout the entire labour movement, particularly in the textile industry and in other industries in eastern cities.

The Communists succeeded in defeating the attempts of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Party to throttle the strike. As a result of the successful application of the Communist trade union policy the A.F. of L. was forced finally to accept the textile workers' union of Passaic as a member of the United Textile Workers (the A.F. of L. organisation).

The Party itself led the campaigns for the five-day and 40-hour week in the trade unions and factories of the big cities. As a result of the successful leadership of the strike of 10,000 furriers in New York against the employers' organisation, which was accompanied by a successful defence against the attacks of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, the prestige of the Party increased as never before in its leadership of the daily struggle of the workers for economic demands. This was followed by Communist and Left leadership of the strike of over 40,000 clothing workers for similar demands, such as were won in the furriers' strike.

Considerable attention was devoted to trade union fractions. A monthly bulletin for trade union fractions is being issued. The Party now has about 250 fractions including 70 in the building trades, 60 in the needle trades, 24 in the metal trades, 36 in the mines, 18 in the food workers' unions, etc. Despite immense difficulties the trade union organisation of the Party members is making headway. Thus for example, reports at hand for district No. 2. show that 70% of the members are organised in trade unions.

In the question of building a Left Wing in the trade unions, the Party proceeded from the basis laid down in the criticism of the last session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern. This criticism demanded the creation of a mass opposition bloc, an orientation based on the key industries, and the policy of gathering the widest possible masses of organised workers for leading a real struggle for the daily demands of the workers. Considerable success in this direction was made in the mining industry, among the railway workers, in the needle trades, in the textile industry, etc. The Party followed the policy of using its influence in the Trade Union Educational League to turn that organisation into a broad Left wing movement.

The organisation of the unorganised is a task which can be carried out only by the Communists and the Left Wing; for the so-called Progressives, which above all represent the skilled and semi-skilled workers lack the activity for great strikes. The organisation of the unorganised was energetically undertaken by the American Party.

The orientation toward the key industries is seen by the fact that the campaigns among the coal miners and in the big branches of the machine industry, such as the automobile industry, occupy first place in the present work of the Party. A further step for carrying out this orientation will be taken in the application of its plans for the steel industry, the railway workers, etc. It is noteworthy that the biggest and best functioning nuclei of the Party exist in the automobile factories, steel workers, etc.

The Party is beginning to pay attention to anti-imperialist work. Mexico was the centre of a Party campaign in connection with the present question of the Catholic church and at the beginning of the year in connection with

the question of the oil and land laws. Support was offered to the Calles government in its struggle against American imperialism. At the same time it was pointed out that a Calles government was not a real workers' government. The slogan "Hands off China" was in the centre of our press campaigns and mass demonstrations and we have established connections with the American Kuomintang Party. Other campaigns were carried on in connection with Cuba, Venezuela and Tacna-Arica as well as the South American Republics. In the Philippines the Party together with representatives of the independence movement organised a campaign for the complete independence of the Philippines. It exposed the plans of the rubber annexationists and organised a campaign against sending a government commission of the United States to the Philippines.

The work of the Party among the city Negro population has increased but very little has been done among Negro farmers. The Party fraction within the Negro organisation has successfully supported a Left Wing movement, which in New York has already been victorious. The policy of the Party and its activity for the trade union organisation of Negro workers has already forced a number of Negro organisations to adopt a favourable attitude to this work.

One of the most important campaigns of the Party in the past year was conducted for the protection of the foreign born. The Party has started the work for the protection of the foreign born throughout the country and has gathered the trade union, fraternal organisations and even the conservative, religious, labour organisations in its favour. The national united front conference for the protection of the foreign born, which took place in Washington in May, was able to support itself on 25 preliminary conferences which were held previously in various cities and altogether represented 600,000 workers. This campaign became a real mass movement.

In the anti-Fascist alliance of North America, the Workers (Communist) Party succeeded in defeating the Socialist Party's attempts at splitting and instead to split the SF's ranks. The leading Italian Social Democrats were forced to remain within the organisation despite their contention that the "Alliance is dominated by Communists." The recent Congress of the Alliance represented 200,000 workers and forced William Green, President of the A.F. of L. to address it. Green and the Social Democrats carefully avoided attacking Soviet Russia and the Communists. Thanks to our work resolutions were adopted against the deportation of political prisoners, for a joint campaign against Hungarian and Spanish Fascism, for the liberation of political prisoners, for the support of the movement, for the protection of foreign born, for affiliation to the International Labour Defence, and the characterisation of Fascism as a symptom of imperialism.

In its work among the farmers the Party supported the United Farmers Educational League, which is attempting to organise the poor working farmers.

It conducted very successful work in the Cooperative movement, particularly in the middle and north-west and among the Finns in the east, where a large part of this movement is under its influence. The Party played a leading role in the organisation of the International Labour Defence. At its congress in September the work of the past year was discussed.



The reorganisation of the Party was successful considering the great difficulties which the Party faces; the language federations, the fractional atmosphere, the pessimism in regard to the new Party structure and the former social composition of the Party. At first reorganisation was carried out too rapidly and mechanically (although this was to a certain extent necessary in order to overcome the opposition). The nuclei did not become active at once and several organisations refused to reorganise. But the Party is on the way to overcoming these difficulties and mistakes and in this it is supported by the splendid example of an ever-increasing number of nuclei. Eighty five per cent. of the Party is reorganised; 25% in factory nuclei and 60% in street nuclei; 8% are in an organisational transition period and 7% have not yet been affected by reorganisation. These figures are for May; since then considerable progress has already been made. A new registration is being conducted now in order to bring back to the Party those who were lost through reorganisation, and in order to place many nuclei upon a firmer basis. Participation in various Party affairs has recently improved in comparison with the former territorial organisation, in most cases it has doubled and in many cases tripled. The activation of the membership also shows progress. The workers' clubs are functioning well and three foreign language papers which formerly used to appear twice a week or once a week have now been transformed into dailies: (Lithuanian, Czech and Yugoslav papers). Among the Finnish workers we had on the 1st of May 105 fractions; among the South Slav 77; among the Lithuanian 71; the Hungarians 45; the Ukrainians 43, etc. These figures are based on incomplete reports. The Org. Secretary has been replaced by an Org. Department. A bulletin will be issued. Org. instructors will be sent out. The Agitprop work of the Party was successful especially in New York. There the Party school has 800 students and spread over a broad basis in the Left Wings of the trade unions. The schools in Cleveland and Boston have made good progress. The Party publishes 81 newspapers in 17 languages and theoretical periodicals in the English and Yiddish languages. There are already 40 factory nucleus newspapers, the movement of workers' correspondents has also developed and a monthly publication -- the Workers Correspondent -- is published.

For a number of reasons the "Daily Worker" is in a critical financial position. A campaign for \$50,000 for "saving the "Daily Worker"" is now being carried on by the Party. At the last Party plenum it was decided that the quality of the paper must be changed and this is being done. The Political Committee decided to move the editorial office to New York where it has the greater circulation and can receive better support.

It is reported that the fractional differences in the Party have still not been completely abolished but that the bitterness of the last two years have become milder and the basis for joint work of the various groups in the Party been created. On the question of moving the headquarters of the CEC and of the "Daily Worker" from Chicago to New York there were differences of opinion within the CEC. The minority appealed to the CI which sent the following telegram:

"Because of the differences that exist in the Party on the question whether the Central Committee of the Party is to be removed from Chicago to New York, the Presidium of the ECCI, although recognising the weightiness of the arguments that have been brought forward by the majority of the Political Committee, is of the opinion that such a decision should be made unanimously. If unanimity in this question cannot be reached, then the decision in this question should be left to the next Party Convention.

"Concerning the removal of the daily organ before the Convention to New York, the Presidium leaves the decision of this question to the Political Committee."

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 Y U G O S L A V I A  
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During the period following the VI Enlarged Executive, a considerable change took place in the development of the CP of Yugoslavia. The III Party Congress did not only testify the will to party unity, to the liquidation of fractional struggle, it also condemned very emphatically the sectarianism of the Party and laid down Bolshevik lines for its future policy.

The Party Congress which was held in the end of May 1926, was organised and held with the direct collaboration of the Executive. The resolution of the Plenum of the ECCI on the Yugoslavian question was forwarded to the regional organisations already before the Party Congress. It was adopted by the majority as well as by the opposition.

The practical results of this Congress are already noticeable. In spite of the terrorist regime, the CC is active and whatever remains of divergences of opinion is being liquidated through this very activity. Division of labour in the CC was taken in hand immediately after the Congress, and the Agitprop Department is working fairly well. The Congress decisions were printed illegally as a pamphlet which has been distributed, together with other illegal short mass-pamphlets, translations from Lenin, Stalin etc. The "Sickle and Hammer", a small periodical of the Party is published since March 1926, and a theoretical organ is soon to make its appearance. The CC of the Party (frequently together with the CC of the Youth League) has published several illegal leaflets such as for instance the "May Day Manifesto" and "Down with the Terror of the Serbian bourgeoisie". Some of the May Day slogans were: Against the emergency law, for civil liberties for the working class, against corruption, against the palace Camarilla, against the hegemony of the Greater Serbian Monarchy, for the self-determination of oppressed nationalities, for alliance with the USSR, for trade union unity and other economic everyday slogans.

The CC placed at the disposal of the various Party organisations the necessary material in the form of a bulletin.

A number of regional conferences have taken place and the reorganisation of the Party has begun. The Party is now on the right path. A struggle is still going on against liquidatory elements, who although no longer in the Party still have the sympathy of certain working class circles.

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III. REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE

EASTERN COUNTRIES.

C H I N A  
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Since the last Executive report there have been ups and downs in the revolutionary movement of China. Changes have been kaleidoscopic; whilst in some places the revolutionary movement was at its height, darkest reaction reigned supreme in others. It frequently happened that simultaneously the situation in the various parts of the country was reactionary in one place and revolutionary in another.

During these ups and downs the Communist Party of China was able to make steady progress, to increase the number of its members, to extend its influence over the various movements and also to win permanent influence over the general trend of affairs in the country. At the end of May 1925, the Party had about 3,000 members. At the end of May 1926, the membership was already 10,000. But even this figure seems to lag behind the real total of the membership. In some districts the membership has increased five-fold and in other districts ten-fold. The Party has at present organisations in nearly every province of China, and this is so not only in districts where conditions are favourable to the activity of our Party, but also in districts where military and imperialist reaction hold sway and the work of the Party has to be conducted under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions. The Party is strongest numerically in the Kuo-Tung-Kung districts, the centre of which is Canton. The membership there is 4,200, next come the Kiangsu-Chekiang districts with 2,241 members, the northern district with 1,700 and the Hunan district with 1,686 members. The smallest Party organisations are to be found in Chechuan, Anwei and Fuhien which have at present 42, 27 and 23 members respectively. It is satisfactory to note the influx into the Communist Party of China is mainly from the ranks of the working class. Thus the working class elements constitute at least 66% of the total membership, 22% being intellectuals, 5% peasants, the remainder belonging to other categories, including a small percentage of soldiers (2%).

The Party has introduced a very thorough system of organisation and administration. The Party is divided into 447 nuclei and 80 special nuclei. These nuclei are under the control of 35 district executives. In the provinces where the Party is strongest numerically, and where its influence is greatest, there are provincial executives which control the activity of the district executive and are in direct contact with the central committee. There are at present 5 provincial executives. The leading influence of the higher organs of the Party is not sufficiently felt because of the lack of a reserve of well-trained Party workers. Connection between the central committee and the local organisations is inadequate and it frequently happens that the instructions of the leading organs are carried out by the minor organs of the Party in an unsatisfactory manner or are even entirely ignored. The Party is endeavouring to remedy this evil by establishing special Party schools and courses for the training and education of Party workers and by making it a point to draw as many working class elements into the schools as possible. In spite of this serious shortcoming of the Party, it may be said that the Communist Party of China is the most powerful and best organised driving force of the national-revolutionary movement in China.

During the period under review this circumstance has led in connection with the present differentiation process of the various groups of the national movement to a serious internal crisis in the Communist Party of China as well as as in the Kuomintang. The leading posts in the Kuomintang were pre-eminently occupied by Communists. The reactionary forces of the country were given encouragement by the reverse suffered by the national revolutionary <sup>army</sup> of the Kuomintang, in the north, which resulted in rousing also the Right wing of the Kuomintang to greater activity. The Right wing accused the Communists of using their power in the Kuomintang for diverting the national-revolutionary movement from its real aims, and it levelled against them the charge of betrayal of Sun-Yat-Sen's aims. In its agitation among the middle classes, the Right Wing accused the Communists with wanting to force on the Kuomintang nationalisation and expropriation and they actually succeeded in arousing thereby hostility among the masses against the Communists. Moreover, the Commander in Chief of the Canton Army, Chan-Kai-Shi, who although not connected with the Right wing of the Kuomintang, was under the impression that his own position was endangered by the domination of the Communists. He resolved to take decisive measures to avoid this danger. He carried out his coup d'etat on March 20, took the Government into his own hands and made demands which practically meant the expulsion of the Communists from all leading positions in the Kuomintang as well as from the Kuomintang Party itself. Wan-Chin-Wei, the President of the Kuomintang and head of the Canton Government, who belongs to the Left wing of the Kuomintang and who collaborated with the Communists left Canton. The main problem which confronted the Communist Party during this crisis consisted in preventing unification between the Chan-Kai-Shi and the Right wing, which would have constituted a grave danger for the entire national movement. Therefore, the Party decided to make certain concessions to Chan-Kai-Shi. When the latter saw that his position had been strengthened, he declared his willingness to work with the Communists as before, with the reservation that the principles established by Sun-Yat-Sen in the Kuomintang be maintained. At a joint session of the central committee of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, it came subsequently to an agreement on the strength of which a list of members of the Communist Party within the Kuomintang was submitted to <sup>the</sup> central committee. It was at the same time resolved that the number of members of other Parties (of the Communist Party) holding posts in the central committee and also in the provincial and district executives of the Kuomintang should not constitute more than a third of the total membership of these higher bodies, and that no member of another Party (Communist Party) be allowed to occupy a leading position in any of the departments of the central committee of the Kuomintang. Through this arrangement, the leadership of the Kuomintang was placed into the hands of the "centre". The latter, however, collaborates with the Left wing, so that the Right wing is isolated. The question of organisational relations of the Communist Party with the Kuomintang still requires final regulation. The Communist Party works now as before within the Kuomintang in order to further the national movement, to drive the "centre" to the Left and to fight against the Right wing.

After the crisis had been overcome, the Canton Government directed its whole energy to the organisation of an expedition to the north, the result of which was of enormous

importance for the entire political situation in China. There was much hesitation with respect to the expediency of such an expedition and there were misgivings with respect to its result. Therefore, the speedy success achieved through the expedition exceeded all expectations.

The present situation places the revolutionary government of Canton before new and important tasks. The government must show if it is capable of consolidating the successes of the revolutionary armies and create conditions in the newly conquered regions which will rally the mass of the people around the national-revolutionary banner.

But the present situation is also creating new and important tasks for the Communist Party of China. The latter played an important and decisive role during the whole expedition to the North. This expedition has proved that the Communist Party of China is an important driving force and an indispensable factor in the national-revolutionary movement in China. The recognition of this fact resulted in closer relations between the Left wing and the "centre" at the last sessions of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang; an invitation being sent to Sun-Chin-wei to come back to Canton and to occupy against his post as leader of the Kuomintang and of the Canton Government. The Communist Party of China must make use of the present more favourable conditions in China and of the present extended field of activity for the consolidation of its position. Its activity must also extend to the further organisation of the industrial proletariat without the participation of which the victory of the national revolution cannot be assured.

The adherence of the peasants to the national-revolutionary struggle is one of the most important phenomena during the recent events in China. Large unorganised armed bodies of peasants are operating in various parts of the country against their oppressors, the militarists, and against the corrupt officials. For the time being this is only a spontaneous movement lacking political content. It arose at the initiative of the peasantry itself and was directed as much against the pillaging bandits, who devastate the country, as against the lawlessness of the soldiers who rob the peasants. The peasants are organised in bands called "red spears" or "black spears", titles borrowed from old heroic epic poems or from folklore. They swear mutual allegiance and are inspired with the superstitious belief in their own invulnerability in the struggle. They operate mostly in the Honan and Shantung provinces, offering effective resistance to their oppressors, and contribute thereby to the liberation of their villages. As they lack political insight, it sometimes happens that these peasant troops are used by reactionary elements against the national-revolution. The Party must see to it that the peasant masses be organised in peasant unions, and must bring forward a number of demands which can be linked up with the needs and requirements of the peasantry. Although only a small beginning has been made and the ground to be covered is enormous, still a certain amount of progress has been made.

The organised proletariat of China was during the period covered by the report in the foremost ranks of the revolutionary struggle. In Canton the strike and boycott against Hongkong was carried on with undiminished energy in spite of the obstructing attitude of the British imperialists. No one has ever denied that the strike and boycott have dealt a severe blow to the British trade interests in South China. Various attempts were made to come to an agreement. A conference was held between representatives of the Canton and Hongkong Governments, in order to come to an understanding, but the conference did not lead to anything. At last, the Canton Government came to the conclusion that a continuation of the strike and boycott would no longer serve its purpose. It announced in a public declaration that the strike and the boycott directed against Hongkong were in the nature of a protest against the wanton assassination of Chinese citizens by British imperialists in Shanghai and on the ~~XXXXX~~ <sup>Shameen</sup> in the summer of 1925. This protest of the workers of Canton and Hongkong which lasted over 12 months in the form of a strike and boycott did not only impair the prestige of British imperialism, it also did enormous harm to British trade. In this struggle the attitude of the workers of Canton and Hongkong was clearly expressed. But as this political protest cannot be made the object of a bargain or a compromise, the workers of Canton and Hongkong declare that they are discontinuing the strike and the boycott of their accord, in order to concentrate their energy on the expedition to the North and to advance the aim of the strike and boycott through the promotion of the national-revolutionary movement in the country... Thereby the strike and the boycott were brought to an end officially at the end of September. The shootings in Shanghai and Shameen in 1925 continued to attract the attention of public opinion in China and throughout the world through the advance of the national-revolutionary forces to the Yangtse. The Shanghai strike movement which set in with the shootings of May 30, 1925, was followed up by a series of strike movements of varying magnitude. Most of these strikes are directed against the deprivation of the workers of their rights, their aim is to obtain the right of association, the recognition of trade unions, better treatment etc., although demands of an economic nature, wage rises etc., are also brought forward. Moreover, all strike movements have also an anti-imperialist character. Characteristic of this was the new impetus given to the strike movement through the assassination of a Chinese secondhand dealer on a Japanese ship, as well as through the refusal of the Japanese to deliver the culprits to the Chinese courts. As a result of this there were many strike movements in the Japanese textile factories.

In spite of the attempts of the authorities to suppress it, the labour movement in Shanghai is steadily progressing. In Shanghai as well as in other districts it is under the influence of the Communist Party. The Party is doing successful work among the industrial proletariat even in districts under the influence of reactionary militarists. This is due to the formation of big trade union organisations which spring up wherever the districts are freed from the tyranny of the militarists. Educational work carried on by the Communist Party among the workers of China has resulted in the workers realising more and more what their tasks during the national revolution are. This is shown by the voluntary support which they give to the revolutionary fighting forces.

## J A P A N

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The main features this year of the position of the working class of Japan are as follows:

### I. The Trade Union Movement.

a) Growth of trade union membership in various industries, particularly in the cotton industry; in transport services, in the printing trade, in the electrical industry, etc.

b) Increasing number of strikes and their long duration. Brutal measures against the Left leaders during strikes.

c) Acute differences between Right and Left elements, particularly in the Workers' and Peasants' Party.

d) Attempt to establish trade union unity; the treachery on the part of Right leaders.

At present differences between the Right and Left have been replaced by differences between the Right and the centre, for the representatives of the Left trade unions have been excluded from the sessions of the Executive.

The III session of the CC of the Workers' and Peasants' Party decided to expel all Communist elements from the Party. The pressure against Left elements is growing and is becoming stronger from day to day.

On the other hand, there is much activity in the peasant movement of the country. A strong petition-movement against the privileges of big landowners was organised, and this movement developed in spite of persecution and arrest of leaders.

Therefore, our immediate tasks must be:

a) To get ready for the dissolution of Parliament, and for the election campaign.

b) To strengthen for this purpose, the Workers' and Peasants' Party and to fight against the Right inside and outside of the Party.

c) To strengthen the organisation of the Left.

d) To induce the centre to make common cause with the Left.

e) To fight for the political emancipation of the proletariat and the peasantry.

### II. The Communist Movement.

Up to the promulgation of the law for the maintenance of peace in 1925 it was not considered a crime in Japan to study and propagate Communism as a science. On the strength of the above-mentioned law, Communist propaganda and its organisation is considered as an attempt to organise a secret Communist Party. Anyone guilty of this crime is



liable to punishment of up to 10 years imprisonment. Whoever joins such a Party is sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. This law is in full operation today against the entire Communist movement. Ten months ago, 37 university students and a working class agitator were arrested and tried. They will be sentenced simply for having conducted, in connection with the programme of the social science society (which is a legal organisation), Communist propaganda among the workers. The law places the Constitution of the country and private property in the same category. Thus, whoever endeavours to change the system of private property commits a crime punishable by 10 years imprisonment, and every Communist movement, is suppressed in Japan on the strength of this law.

But in view of the development which has taken place in workers' and peasants' circles in Japan, it is impossible to suppress principles and ideas by means of a law. Marxist and Leninist ideas are beginning to take rapid root in the ranks of the Japanese proletariat and strikes and peasant movements are fought out on the basis of the irreconcilable class struggle.

That this is so is shown by the rapid growth of the Left wing in the trade unions. At present there is bitter strife between the Right and the Left. The Left wing is represented by the Hyogikai (trade union federation) with a membership of 35,000. The Hyogikai, although only 17 months in existence is already the most militant trade union federation and the leader of the Left wing elements of the labour movement. The Right wing is represented by the Sodomei (Japanese Labour Federation). The Sodomei, a decidedly opportunist party on the model of the American Federation of Labour, collaborates with the reactionary government and with conservative capitalists. It carries on a virulent struggle against the Left trade unions, brands them as "Communist organisations" and does its utmost to isolate the Left and to separate them from the general political and trade union movement of the working class.

In spite of all these obstacles and difficulties, the Hyogikai continues its struggle against the Right and for its own demands in the most energetic manner. It endeavours to bring over to its side the trade unions of the centre which are represented by the Nomin Kumiai (Peasant Union). The latter is a class conscious organisation with 7,000 members and the acknowledged leader of the peasant movement. It is assuming more and more radical forms as shown by the big Niigata peasant strike.

The Left wing exercised considerable influence on the Workers' and Peasant Party which was established on March 5, 1926. Although the organisations of the Left wing are not officially represented in the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Hyogikai was able to influence the policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Party through the Peasant Union and from below through the trade union membership.

There is bitter strife between the Sodomei and the Hyogikai within the Workers' and Peasants' Party. Although the Sodomei controls this Party officially, it is inactive and sabotages the activity of the Workers' and Peasants' Party. The Hyogikai, on the other hand, is very active in the movement of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and exercises influence at the base. It also endeavours to promote

its views through the peasant union and the members of the WPP, among whom are Left elements of the Hyogikai.

Since the establishment of the Hyogikai, a rapid process of differentiation is going on in the Trade Union movement. At present Right as well as Left trade unions are endeavouring to gain complete domination over the labour movement, and to get leadership into their own hands by influencing the central organ of the trade unions. Both, the capitalist offensive and the exploitation of the workers have grown more acute through government oppression. But the Hyogikai endeavours to bring the political and trade union movement of the proletariat on to the correct path, in order to be able to fulfil the historical tasks of the labour movement.

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K O R E A  
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A great impetus was given last year to the national movement in Korea. This was accompanied by persecutions and repressive measures on the part of the Japanese authorities. The most important features in the development of the revolutionary movement in Korea during the last year were as follows:

- 1) Establishment of a Communist Party and a Young Communist League in Korea.
- 2) The various Korean national revolutionary organisations are endeavouring to put a stop to fractional struggle, to come in contact with one another, and to draw up a joint programme of action against Japanese feudalism. This was particularly noticeable during what were termed the June events, when nearly all the national revolutionary organisations participated in the national demonstration against the Japanese occupation.
- 3) Cruel persecution by the Japanese Authorities of all who participated in the June demonstration. All legal national revolutionary organisations suffered from these persecutions. Over 100 people were arrested and had to undergo cruel illtreatment and even torture, to which several of the arrested people succumbed.
- 4) The policy of the Japanese authorities makes the presumption of the struggle inevitable. These persecutions will teach the revolutionary organisations better methods of organisation. The proposed amalgamation will certainly strengthen the revolutionary organisations. China's example is an encouragement to continue the struggle and makes for confidence in a victorious solution.

It should be pointed out that peasant organisations are beginning to be more active. A revolutionary spirit is even developing in a religious peasant organisation. Because of this the Japanese Governor General stopped the publication of the organ of this organisation.

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I N D I A  
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The new economic policy of British imperialism in India is a policy of concessions to the growing Indian capitalist class. This policy finds a wide expression in the increasing independence in the taxation policy and in a greater opportunity for capital investments, which are offered more and more to native capitalists. However, this policy is carried out so that it not only leaves undisturbed the political domination of British Imperialism, but also serves to determine the direction of capitalist development in India.

The present policy has also brought about the desired political results and has led to an extension of the social basis of imperialist domination. The upper strata of the bourgeoisie created in the process of capitalist development work more side by side with imperialism than against imperialism. This is especially true since the forces which are in irreconcilable opposition to imperialism appear more and more clearly as the class forces of a social revolution which go deeper than is compatible with bourgeois interests.

This social differentiation which in itself represents an inevitable stage in India's social development, has for the time being brought the nationalist movement in India to a standstill. A certain disintegration can be observed in the movement. The struggle between Hindu and Moslem is an indirect expression of this disintegration which is proceeding along class lines.

A more simple and direct expression of this tendency to disintegration may be seen in the decomposition of the organisational form of the official nationalist movement. The Swaraj Party, which since 1923 has been the leading nationalist Party organisation, is on the verge of collapse. Dialectically considered, this collapse is quite natural. The social basis of this Party, which consists of bourgeois as well as of proletarian intellectuals and petty bourgeois elements, was from the very beginning unequal. The bourgeois elements of this Party are less opposed to imperialism as such than to the specific form in which it appears. In the uncertain incoherent policy of this party, in its inability to oppose any kind of practical resistance to imperialist domination, the heterogeneous character of its social basis was most clearly expressed.

The bourgeois elements of the Swaraj Party have united in a Right wing while the intellectual and petty bourgeois elements have united into a Left wing. Now there is going on a struggle between these two wings for the dominating influence over the Party leadership and the Party apparatus. The elements of the extreme Right wing have already at the beginning of this year split away and have formed the "Party of Responsivists" -- i.e. the Party of those who can be approached for responsive cooperation with imperialism. And the closer the elections for the legislative assembly (November) approach, the more these elements of the Right Wing split off.

It must be observed that there is no sign of a split from the Party by the Left Wing. The Left wing has even become more entrenched in the Party and is seeking to carry on from the Party itself a struggle against the compromise policy of the Rights.

The noteworthy contribution of the Left wing of the Swaraj Party to the solution of the problem of national emancipation consists, not as in the official Swaraj policy of a sterile rejection of parliamentarism, but in its orientation to the masses. In order to be able to carry out its aggressive oppositional policy against imperialism, this Left wing consciously bases itself upon the driving forces of mass action.

Objectively the further consolidation of the Left wing will develop either in the direction of a complete break with the Swaraj Party -- an organisational and ideological break with the big bourgeoisie and its compromise policy -- or, what is more likely, in the direction of the formation of a peoples' party. A Swaraj Party which will throw the big bourgeoisie overboard and base itself upon the masses, or a peoples' party consisting of all elements of the social revolt, ranging from the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie to the workers and peasants -- either of these solutions would mean an extension of the social basis of the national liberation movement.

The decisive question at this stage is the political attitude of the Left wing and its ability to go along with the transition from the hegemony of the bourgeoisie to the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle. The ideology of the Left wing leaves much to be desired in this respect.

The development of the labour movement in India which has kept pace with the development of capitalism, has already brought up the question of the class struggle in its fullest range. Of late there have been no big strikes, such as the railway workers and textile workers strikes of last year. But the strike movement itself has involved wider masses of the industrial proletariat, than would be expected from the large number of strikes and the categories of workers affected by these strikes throughout the country. The miners' strike and the General Strike in Great Britain aroused great sympathy and prepared the ground for a sympathetic strike.

The peasant organisations also showed great activity. Mass protest meetings were held by the peasants in those parts of the country in which new agrarian laws were passed which, corresponding to the demands of the steady growth of capitalism throughout the country, burdened the masses of peasants with new taxes. As the president of the Swaraj Party pointed out at the Bengal provincial congress, held in the middle of this year the workers of this country have awakened and they show signs of an all-pervading self-consciousness; when these masses will fully awake, there will be a revolution which will be a thousand times more cruel than the Russian revolution.

It is therefore no wonder that the Indian bourgeoisie in the face of the spectre of such a revolution attempts to drag the existing proletarian organisations into reformist swamps. From time to time under the influence of London attempts are made to create a labour party in India after the pattern of the British Labour Party. But these attempts have failed and will continue to fail because the objective basis for a Social Democratic orientation of the masses is lacking.

The activity of the Communist Party of India was made unusually difficult by immense obstacles and by the brutal imperialist policy of suppression. Nevertheless the number of Communists and their sympathisers have increased. The organisational and political activity of the Communist Party is as heretofore strictly illegal. The approaching last stage of the revolutionary struggle for national emancipation can historically proceed only under the hegemony of the proletariat under the hegemony of a party which gathers around it the most active elements of the class-conscious proletariat. The Communist Party of India represents today the crystallising point of such a Party.

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I N D O N E S I A  
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Because of the illegality of the Party we cannot say much about its activity. But the harsh measures of the Government have not been able to intimidate the workers.

According to Dutch newspapers, secret meetings are held everywhere in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Ternate, etc., and lead to mass arrests.

On May 1st, when two new articles of the press law came into force, we stopped publication of our Party organs in order to avoid unnecessary persecutions, as many editors have already been sentenced. A short time ago newspapers again made their appearance, and publish theoretical articles of a non-committal character.

Important for the further development of the national movement is the fact that a unity committee with national-revolutionary intellectuals was formed in August 1926, in Bandung. The formation of this committee is important because it shows that the native intellectuals are no longer afraid to work together with Communists. This unity committee proposes to establish a united national movement and collaboration with the national movement of the coloured peoples. The Dutch newspapers have now opened a campaign of incitement against the revolutionary intellectuals. To what extent the Government will dare to persecute these intellectuals remains to be seen. People in the Government assert that only the Communist movement is suppressed whilst no obstacle is laid in the way of the "healthy" national movement.

According to Indonesian newspapers, similar unity committees have also been formed in other places.

Imperialist circles dread the influence of the Communist Party because it has been exercising considerable influence over the Indonesian national movement since the end of 1924. The trade unions of the most important branches of industry such as transport, post, telegraph and telephone, sugar enterprises, printing works, etc., are in sympathy with the CP. Through the disintegration of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry the Communist Party has also secured many followers in these circles. The Chinese in Indonesia and almost all the Chinese newspapers there are not hostile to our Party. The Party seems also to have adherents among the soldiers and the police force, for the Dutch papers speak about arrests and dismissals of soldiers and policemen because of alleged Communist views.

Through numerous arrests and many cases of imprisonment and exile of comrades experienced in the movement, the Party is losing some of its best forces, so that very young comrades are perforce obliged to carry on the work of the Party. This increases the danger of errors being committed.

The geographical isolation of the Indonesian Island groups brings with it a certain ideological isolation of the Communist Party which prevents the latter profiting by the experiences of the other brother parties. As a result of this, the international orientation of a considerable number of comrades is somewhat narrow.

Not much Communist theoretical literature is available because our Party has not sufficient intellectual forces at its disposal capable of translating Marxist literature into the vernaculars and of popularising them. The theoretical education of the masses is adversely affected by the persecutions to which the Communist Party and its organs, the Red Trade Unions and other revolutionary organisations are exposed. That this increases the danger of a distortion of Marxist theories is self-evident.

The de-classed petty bourgeoisie see no way out except through individual terrorist acts. Such acts have lately been the order of the day. Incendiarism and assaults are frequent in Java and also in Sumatra. There is the great danger that young comrades might under the existing circumstances, be influenced by this individualistic petty bourgeois tendency.

Therefore, the Party must be more careful than hitherto, that this petty bourgeois tendency should not bring confusion into the Communist ranks.

The chief base of the Communist movement is the thickly populated Java which is full of the enterprises of big capital. That the opponents of the Communist Party take a very serious view of the situation in Java is shown by the fact that the petty bourgeois Hague "Nieuwe Courant" and the "Indische Courant", the organ of the European office workers in Indonesia, have compared the present situation in Indonesia with that of pre-revolutionary Russia.

It should be pointed out that in spite of all their efforts, the Dutch Social Democrats are unable to exercise any influence either over the masses or over the native intellectuals of Indonesia.

The next task before the Communist Party is to regain legality in order that it should be able to carry on propaganda again in the open.

The victories of the Canton Army in China will be greeted with enthusiasm by the Chinese in Indonesia, and this enthusiasm is bound to have a great effect on the native masses and will encourage them in their resistance to imperialist oppression. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that we will witness in the very near future a great development of the national movement.

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N E A R E A S T  
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The mighty events in China overshadow the steady development of revolutionary movements in the East, mainly in the North African coastal countries. The Arabian question is looming big there. Arabs constitute the population of the entire coast of North Africa, Morocco, Tripoli, Algeria, Egypt and also of the coasts of the Red Sea, Lesser-Arabia, Syria, Palestine, the Lebanon, Mesopotamia, the Trans-Jordan territory and the Hedjas. The Arabs constitute the native population of these countries, which are however, dominated and exploited by the imperialist powers. Morocco is partitioned between Spain and France. Tripoli is in the hands of Italy, Algeria and Tunis are old French colonies. The British dominate in Egypt and the French in Syria and in the Lebanon. Palestine and Mesopotamia are under British rule. The Hedjas is an independent Arabian state. The strategic position of all the countries on the sea route to India (Gibraltar, Mediterranean, Suez and Red sea) makes them the object of bitter struggle between the imperialist powers. The most important rivals are Great Britain and France. Great Britain is interested in making its connections in India secure and therefore, it wants to dominate along the entire African and Arabian coast. But France too has great interest in these regions -- its old Colonies. Moreover, the general interests of the French bourgeoisie make it antagonistic to the British policy in the Mediterranean basin. Italy again is interested in Tunis and makes use against France of the differences between the latter and Great Britain. Spain on the other hand depends on France in the face of Great Britain's attempts to convert Tangier into a British military-strategical base.

The war of the Riff Nabyls was so protracted and stubborn because, on the one hand, this unfortunate people, which had been driven into the war had no other way out but victory or death. In this struggle Great Britain supported the Riff Nabyls. Moral support was given quite openly, whilst military support was engineered through private agents. America which looks askance at France's growing domination on the coast of the Mediterranean also intervened in the Riff conflict. In view of this situation Abd-el-Frim's defeat could not solve the question. As soon as the first news was received about the probable capitulation of Abd-el-Frim the British and also the Italian Government lodged a protest against the possible Franco-Spanish method of solving the Morocco question. But the Riff Nabyls, although deprived of their leader, continued their struggle.

Therefore, neither the French nor the British Government are in a position to withdraw big army detachments from Morocco, and strenuous fighting is going on continually along the whole Riff front between the Rabyls and the French army of occupation. In Syria we have the same situation. Although Great Britain is less interested in Syria than in Morocco, it cannot remain indifferent. The entire Tunisian population is in a state of ferment and irritation because of the French occupation. War against the army of occupation is a holy war to every Syrian Arab. Geographical conditions in Syria make this war particularly difficult to the French. At present, about 100,000 French troops are operating in Syria, who in spite of their numerical predominance cannot break down the resistance of the rebels. Even Damascus is still exposed to the attacks of the insurgents. According to information to hand, no political revolutionary organisations have as yet existed in Morocco. But Abd-el-Krim's army and the guerilla troops of some Moroccan tribes who joined them have played the role of a national-revolutionary party carrying on an armed fight for the independence of its people. The Riff war found an echo throughout the Arabian world, and Abd-el-Krim has done his utmost to win the sympathy of the North African coastal peoples for the struggle of the Riff Rabyls. It was particularly the Arabian population of Algeria and Tunis which showed the greatest sympathy for Abd-el-Krim and gave him material support in his struggle.

However, the Syrian events have stirred up the entire Arabian world even to a greater extent than the Riff campaign. Arabian peoples are more closely connected with Syria than with the Riff Rabyls. A number of revered political champions of the independence of the peoples of Syria have come from the ranks of the Syrian people (for instance Tawaya who died recently, the present political leader of the Syrian rising Dr. Achach-Bander, the military leader of the rebels Sultan-et-Atrash and others). The Syrian movement has the support of political organisations. There is for instance in Lebanon a "Peoples Party", an illegal national-revolutionary organisation, headed by representatives of revolutionary intellectuals and in close contact with the workers and peasants. There is also an illegal Arabian Party, "Istiklal" ("Independence") in Syria proper, in the Trans-Jordan region, in Mesopotamia, Palestine and the Hedjas. The aim of this party and also of the Lebanon Peoples Party is struggle against the imperialists for the independence of the Arabian peoples. The leading circles of the "Istiklal" are in contact with the Arabian "Congress", a broad legal Arabian organisation in Palestine. The Arabian congress is constructed on the model of the Indian National Congress. It is mainly an upper strata organisation embracing progressive elements and has contact with all Arabian countries. It has even representatives in Western Europe. The Arabian congress has no definite programme apart from the demand for the independence of the Arabian peoples and the representation of their interests against the arbitrariness and exploitation of the imperialist powers.

Of late, all the national-revolutionary movements of the Arabian Peninsula have been based on the Arabian state Hedjas, which is at present an independent Arabian state, fighting openly against the imperialists with the active support of the politicians of the Indian Mohammedan national

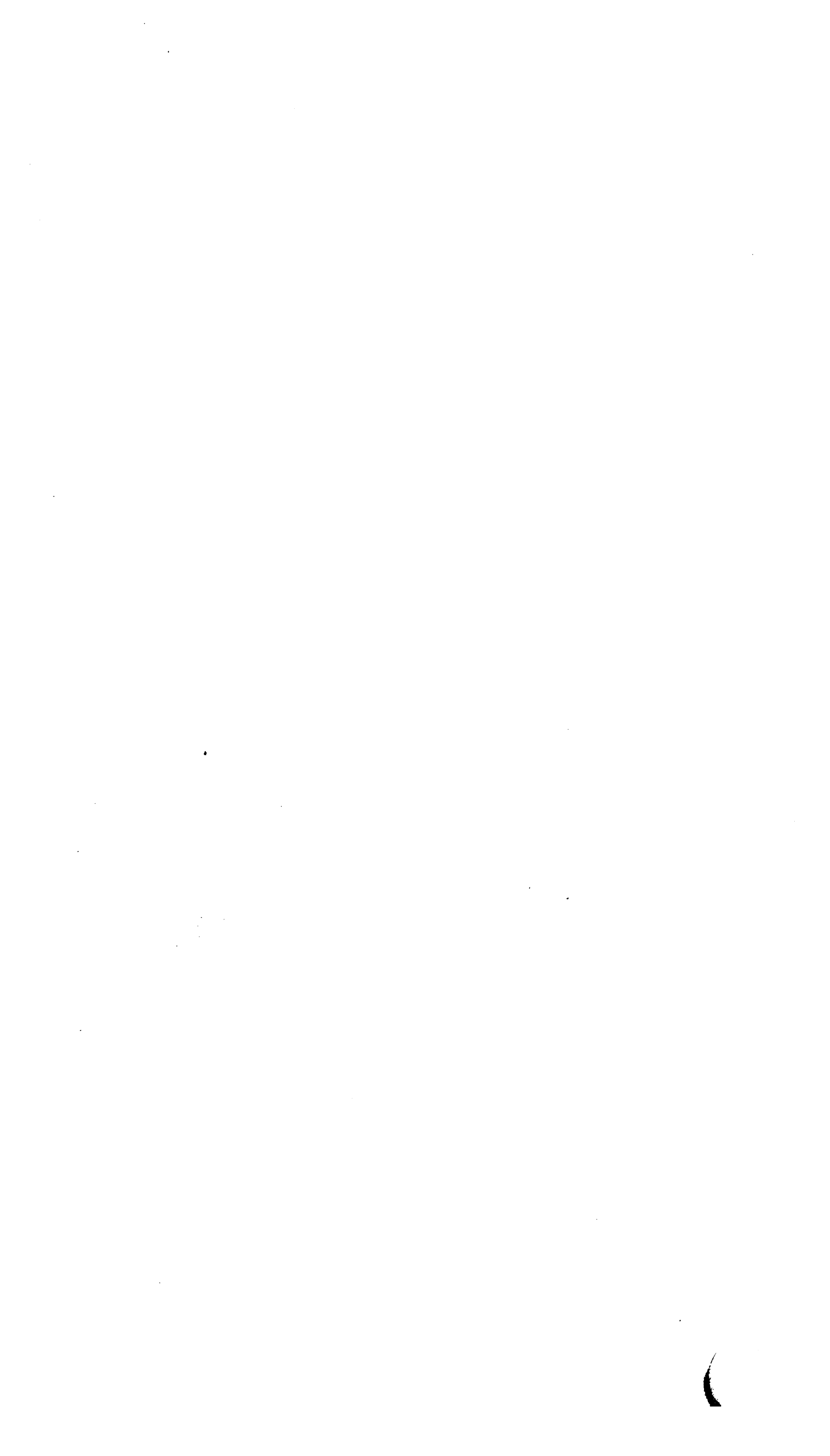


congress. Thus, the national-revolutionary movement of the Arabian Peoples in the Arabian Peninsula, depends on the state of Hedjaz, is coordinated by national-political organisations such as the Arabian congress, the "Istiklal" and the Lebanon Peoples Party, and finally forms part of the national liberation movement of India. Through similar organisations and through the intermediary of Egypt, the national liberation movements of the Arabs in Syria also keep in contact with the liberation movement of the North African Colonies, Tunis, Algeria, Tripoli and Morocco. During the past year, the struggle against British domination has received an impetus. Zaglul Fasha's Party has developed into a national liberation movement which keeps contact with the workers and peasants, showing a strong radical tendency in this part of its activity. All the necessary premises exist there for the establishment of a national-revolutionary party, closely connected with trade unions and peasant organisations. There are fairly influential Communist Parties in Algeria and Tunis which are certainly developing. The national liberation movement in Tunis is developing under the political leadership of the national-revolutionary Party "Destur" which is in close contact with the trade unions and with large sections of workers in Tunis.

Thus we witness a growing national liberation movement along the whole North African coast and throughout Arabia. The clash of interests between the imperialists give the leaders of this movement an opportunity to support one another and to undermine ultimately the foundation of the colonial regime in these countries which have a population of over 50 million.

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