

# The COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

BETWEEN THE FIFTH  
& THE SIXTH WORLD  
CONGRESSES 1924-8

A Report on the Position  
in all Sections of the  
World Communist Party

PRICE: FIVE SHILLINGS

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN  
16 King St., London, W.C.2

Published July, 1928

Dorrit Press, Ltd. (T.U. throughout),  
68-70, Lant Street, London, S.E.1.

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

BETWEEN THE FIFTH  
& THE SIXTH WORLD  
CONGRESSES - 1924-8

London :  
Communist Party of Great Britain,  
16, King St., Covent Garden, W.C.2.

# CONTENTS

I. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SECTIONS - - - - -	7
Presidium and Secretariat - - -	8
Organisation Department - - -	10
Agitprop Department - - -	36
Information Department - - -	50
Women's Department - - -	55
Co-operative Section - - -	66
Publication Department - - -	74
II. INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION -	75
III. SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL	90
I. EUROPEAN COUNTRIES :	
Germany - - - - -	90
Great Britain - - - - -	111
Ireland - - - - -	133
France - - - - -	138
Italy - - - - -	158
Belgium - - - - -	175
Holland - - - - -	182
Sweden - - - - -	190
Norway - - - - -	200
Denmark - - - - -	207
Czecho-Slovakia - - - - -	213
Austria - - - - -	231
Hungary - - - - -	237
Yugo-Slavia - - - - -	242
Rumania - - - - -	248
Bulgaria - - - - -	253
Greece - - - - -	259
Switzerland - - - - -	265
Spain - - - - -	271
Portugal - - - - -	276
Poland - - - - -	281
Finland - - - - -	305
Esthonia - - - - -	315
Latvia - - - - -	320
Lithuania - - - - -	327



## CONTENTS

### 2. AMERICA :

United States	-	-	-	-	-	333
Canada	-	-	-	-	-	352
Mexico	-	-	-	-	-	361
Cuba	-	-	-	-	-	369
Colombia	-	-	-	-	-	374
Ecuador	-	-	-	-	-	377
Uruguay	-	-	-	-	-	380
Chile	-	-	-	-	-	385
Argentina	-	-	-	-	-	389
Brazil	-	-	-	-	-	398

### 3. NEAR EAST :

Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	401
Persia	-	-	-	-	-	406
Syria	-	-	-	-	-	411
Palestine	-	-	-	-	-	415
Egypt	-	-	-	-	-	419

### 4. FAR EAST :

Japan	-	-	-	-	-	425
China	-	-	-	-	-	437
Korea	-	-	-	-	-	458
India	-	-	-	-	-	464
Indonesia	-	-	-	-	-	478
Australia	-	-	-	-	-	484
South Africa	-	-	-	-	-	488

## IV. APPENDIX

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS

**T**HE following report on the activity of the Communist International during the period which elapsed between the Fifth and the Sixth International Congress only gives a general review of the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its organs and of the National Sections of the Communist International.

Certain difficulties arose for the Information Department in connection with the compilation of the report of the Sections \* The reports of some Sections were inadequate and this factor must be kept in mind when studying same. But in spite of this shortcoming, the reports provide a concise survey of the economic and political conditions of the various countries, the position of the political parties and the activities of the Sections of the C.I.; in this way they serve to give a useful picture of the situation in those countries where Sections of the C.I. exist.

In respect to an analysis of the most important political and economic changes throughout the world and their relation to the activity of the C.I. attention is here drawn to the other printed report which will be submitted to the Sixth International Congress.

---

\* The reports cover the period up to May 1st, 1928.)

## PRESIDIUM AND SECRETARIAT

### The Activity of the Decisive and Preparatory Organs of the E.C.C.I. Between the Fifth and Sixth International Congresses.

In view of the fact that a special report will be submitted to the Congress on the activity of the Communist International, we give here merely statistical information about the decisive and preparatory organs of the E.C.C.I. for the period between the Fifth and Sixth International Congress; at the same time, we would refer you to the printed reports which appeared prior to the session of the Enlarged Executive.

In six Enlarged Executive Meetings (July, 1924; March-April, 1925; February-March, 1926; November-December, 1926; May, 1927; February, 1928) the Executive dealt with 69 questions. These were as follows:—

International political questions: 18.

Political questions relating to the individual Sections: 37.

Political-organisational questions: 7.

Trade Union questions: 5.

Questions on parallel organisations: 1.

Miscellaneous: 1.

In fifteen meetings the Executive dealt with 90 questions; these include:—

International political questions: 17.

Political questions relating to individual Sections: 37.

Political-organisational questions: 17.

Trade Union questions: 2.

Questions on parallel organisations: 2.

Miscellaneous: 14.

The Presidium decided 551 questions at 101 meetings; these include:—

International political questions: 57.

Political questions relating to the individual Sections: 282.

Political-organisational questions: 122.

Trade Union questions: 43.

Questions on parallel organisations: 10.

Miscellaneous: 37.

The Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., which was in existence until December, 1926, and was then replaced by the Political Secretariat, dealt with 872 questions at 71 meetings. These questions were:

Preparation of general political and organisational questions : 181.

Preparation of political and organisational questions of the individual Sections : 328.

Questions on parallel organisations : 62.

Questions relating to the E.C.C.I. Departments : 110.

Administrative and financial questions : 93.

Personal questions : 69.

Miscellaneous : 29.

The Polit-Secretariat, which started work in January, 1927, dealt with 587 questions at 71 meetings; these were:—

International political and organisational questions : 130.

Political and organisational questions of the individual Sections : 287.

Questions on parallel organisations : 30.

Trade Union questions : 39.

Questions relating to the E.C.C.I. departments and apparatus : 44.

Personal questions : 19.

Miscellaneous : 38.

The Organising Bureau of the E.C.C.I., which functioned until December, 1926, and whose duties were then divided up between the Presidium, the Polit-Secretariat and the National Section Secretariats, dealt with 148 questions at 35 meetings; these were:—

General organisational questions : 37.

Organisational questions relating to the individual Sections : 39.

Financial questions : 4.

Questions on parallel organisations : 27.

Questions relating to the departments of the E.C.C.I. : 28.

Miscellaneous : 13.

# REPORT OF THE ORGANISATION DEPARTMENT OF THE E.C.C.I.

## MAIN TASKS.

**T**HE following main tasks confronted the organising department during the period under report.

(1) A systematic study of the organisational experience of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues and the issuing of systematic instructions on the basis of this international organisational experience of the Sections of the C.I.

(2) The reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups.

(3) The organisation and guidance of the work of the fractions in trade unions and other mass organisations.

(4) The proper organisation of the central apparatus and the local organisations of the Communist Parties.

(5) Instructions to the Communist Parties on anti-militarist work.

(6) Instructions to the Communist Parties on illegal work.

(7) Systematic assistance to the leading political organisations of the C.I. (The E.C.C.I., the Presidium and the Polit-Secretariat) in working out the problems of organisationally strengthening the Communist movement as a whole and the organisation strengthening of various Sections of the C.I.

(8) Systematic aid to the Communist Universities which help the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries in imparting of international organisational experience to the students.

(9) Elaboration of the organisational experience of the C.P.S.U. for the benefit of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

Of these the main tasks, comprising the principal work of the department during the period under report, were:

(a) Reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups.

(b) Organisation of Communist Parties in the trade unions and other organisations.

(c) Building up of a central apparatus and the local organisations of the Communist Parties.

Why have these problems occupied a central position in the work of your department during the said period?

### **The Factory as the Organisational Basis of the Communist Party.**

The Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern pointed out in their resolutions that a necessary pre-requisite for a strong Communist Party is its construction on the basis of factory groups which are closely linked up with the broad masses of the proletariat.

The same early Congresses of the Comintern, which took place under the direct leadership of Comrade Lenin, pointed out in their principal resolutions that the victory of the proletariat in the capitalist countries is impossible unless the Communist Parties gain decisive influence in the trade unions, and that the conquest of the trade unions in its turn is impossible unless there are strong Communist fractions organised within them working under the systematic and skilful leadership of the respective Party committees.

Both these tasks are very closely related to each other, and constitute essentially only one task, because according to the same resolutions of the Comintern the chief task of the Communists with regard to the trade unions is a struggle for their re-organisation on an industrial basis so that there should be only one union in a given enterprise, and that every such union should be based on the factory trade union organisation, the factory committees and the trade union representatives, representing all workers of the given enterprises, and should report systematically on their work to them. All work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions should be concentrated upon the factories and the latter should be made the organisational basis of the Communist Parties and the trade unions—such was the main idea of the organisational decisions of the Comintern Congresses on the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties. These decisions raised exceptionally difficult tasks before the Communist Parties of all countries.

### **Differences in the Organisational Structure of Socialist and Communist Parties.**

The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries have been formed out of the Left wings of the Socialist Parties. In their transformation, they unavoidably brought with them the organisational methods of work of the Socialist Parties, which are quite alien to Bolshevism. The chief of these remnants of the Social Democratic past which the Communist Parties had to overcome at all costs, were the following :

## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(1) The principal work of the Socialist Parties is carried on outside the factories, whereas the Communist Parties are built on the factory principle.

(2) The work of the Socialist Parties is carried on during large campaigns and especially during parliamentary elections. The work of the Communist Parties must consist of daily persistent work in organising the masses, in drawing them into the struggle for partial demands, and for the proletarian dictatorship.

(3) In the Socialist Parties only the leaders constitute the guiding force, namely, the parliamentary groups, the central newspaper editors, the Central Committees and the individual leaders; the rank and file Party members are passive and as a rule act only during the various campaigns (during elections, etc.). In the Communist Parties it is just the contrary, all work is carried on through and based upon the activity and self-initiative of the rank and file membership.

(4) In the Socialist Parties there is no rigid discipline. The Communist Parties, on the contrary, must be built on the basis of iron organisational internal discipline.

(5) The Socialist Parties are built as Federations of various "freedom-loving" tendencies among which are also the liberal, Christian pseudo-Socialism of the McDonalds and the falsifiers of Marxism à la Bauer, Kautsky, etc. The Communist Parties must be built as absolutely ideologically homogeneous organisations in which non-Communist views cannot by any means find a place.

Without exception the European Communist Parties started out with a repetition of all the enumerated methods of organisational work of the Socialist Parties. Only the Third Congress of the Comintern decided on the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups. But at first this decision was not even properly understood, and until the Fourth Congress it practically remained on paper. At the Fourth Congress Lenin emphasised the tremendous importance of the organisational decisions of the Third Congress and that the carrying out of these decisions must become the very first task of all Communist Parties.

However, even after the Fourth Congress the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups made no serious progress, but was merely limited to ideological elucidations. The actual realisation of the resolutions and the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory groups and the actual liquidation of the Social Democratic methods of organisational work started only after the Fifth Congress.



**Objective Difficulties of Organisational Work by Communist Parties in Capitalist Countries.**

When considering the results of the organisational work of the Communist Parties during the period covered by the report one should take into account the terrible conditions created by the growing terrorism of employers and police under which the Communist Parties had to work throughout this period. In Italy, one-third of the membership of the Communist Party are in prison. The growth of membership, which is due to the indefatigable recruiting work of the C.P.I. and to the latter's self-sacrificing heroic defence of the interests of the proletariat, is brought to nought by the never-ending arrests which are depleting the ranks of the Party, particularly in regard to its leading cadres. In regard to repressions against the Communist Party, a number of other countries do not lag behind Italy—for instance, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugo-Slavia, and Hungary. Brutal extermination of anyone suspected of Communism is going on in China and Indonesia. In Japan, and particularly in Korea, being convicted of Communism is tantamount to being handed over to the executioner. In India, people are sentenced to years of imprisonment simply for a trip to Moscow. Countries where Communist Parties are still formally legal vie with each other in the persecution of their adherents. Vivid illustrations of this are Germany and France. As a rule governmental and employers' terrorism is particularly strong in big rationalised undertakings. According to the C.P.G., C.P.F., C.P.G.B., and the W.C.P. of America and other countries, all new workers are subjected, before being engaged in big enterprises, to a minute examination as to their political reliability. For this purpose there is in all enterprises a widely ramified body of secret and open employers' or government police, who work in closest contact with the Intelligence Department. To assist this police special white fascist nuclei are recruited from the dregs of the population, agents provocateurs are sent into Communist factory nuclei, etc. As soon as a worker is suspected of sympathy with Communism he is dismissed and a secret mark is made in his documents which prevents him getting employment. Provocation is developing. Lately this evil has greatly hampered the development of the Communist Party even in countries where it is semi-legal or legal (for instance, in Germany and France).

Finally, we witness open collaboration between police, employers and social democrats in the struggle against the Communist movement. There are characteristic examples of this truly pathetic collaboration in Austria—the country where the social democratic “commune” has triumphed (the name given to Vienna by the “Left” social democrat C. Bauer). In Austria, on the eve of the election of new factory committees, the adminis-

tration dismisses Communist candidates who compete with the social democrats, as a result of which the social democrats are "victorious" and the factory committees remain in their hands. In Poland and Germany the Social Democrat leaders again and again, as can be readily proved, work in closest contact with the police, and the trade unions which are under Social Democratic influence never raise their voice in defence of Communists who are discharged from factories for carrying on revolutionary activity.

In France and Poland the police organised pseudo-Communist nuclei which in some cases came out in favour of the Trotskyist Opposition. The Pilsudski police forces played the same trick in Poland during the recent elections. Unfortunately our factory groups are still working very badly in exposing the Social Democrats.

In practically all countries Communist Parties are either already driven underground or on the eve of it, the most fierce attacks being launched against the factory groups of the Party. The Organising Department has to pay more and more attention to issuing instructions regarding methods of illegal work.

It is under such conditions that the Communist Parties have lately had to carry on their organisational and mass work. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Communist Parties have shown a relatively slow development. They are, however, developing, carrying with them ever-growing sections of the proletariat, and getting the better of all the obstacles placed in their way by employers' police and Social Democrats.

### Results of Reorganisation.

In its work in reorganising the Parties on the basis of factory groups, the Organising Department chiefly concerned its attention on the Communist Parties of the major capitalist countries, namely, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, and the United States. Nevertheless, the Organising Department was able during the period covered by the report to work out most important organisational tasks facing all the sections of the Communist International.

The reorganisation was affected with great internal difficulties in all Communist Parties. The greatest obstacle in the matter of reorganisation has been the misunderstanding of the true nature of this reorganisation. This found particularly clear expression in France. The Party Congress in Slichy in 1925 decided to complete the reorganisation by April 1st of that year. On March 1st, 1925, the C.C. C.P.F. had 2,500 factory groups, and in 1928 it has only 898. The general secretary of the C.C., C.P.F., Semard, in summarising the organisational situation of the Party before the national conference and in explaining this weakness of the factory groups, said, in his preface to the official report of the Organising Department :—

" The factory groups are numerically weak and their activity is insignificant, whereas the street groups, which in most cases resemble strangely enough the old territorial organisations, are numerically increasing and have a tendency to play a greater part than the factory groups.

The February National Conference of the Communist Party of France at last decided to start systematic work in building up real factory groups and towards the conquest of the factories.

It would be wrong to conclude that there are no real factory groups in France. There are quite a few such groups in the French Communist Party. Some of them have given splendid examples of successful mass work. As an example we can take the strike in the Citroen works in 1927, which was organised and carried on under the direct leadership of the factory group, and many other similar examples, showing that there are good and efficient factory groups in France which are closely linked up with the masses. But at the same time the material of the National Conference of February, 1928, shows that there was not one real factory nucleus at that time in Northern France. The Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. reports in the " Humanité " of April 11th, 1928, that, according to latest information of the Eastern district committee of that region (Nancy), there are large industrial enterprises with tens of thousands of workers in which, in 1926, there were forty-one factory groups, thirty-one local organisations, and seven street groups. In March, 1927, there were only two factory groups left in that region and twenty-five local branches. Thus, the characteristics given above of the general organisational situation in the Communist Party of France as outlined by Comrade Semard fully corresponds with the actual state of affairs.

The greatest progress made in reorganisation is that of the Communist Parties of Italy, Poland and Finland. The Communist Party of Italy was entirely reorganised on the basis of factory groups towards the beginning of 1927, and it is thanks to this reorganisation that it was able successfully to withstand the savage Fascist repressions.

Towards the end of 1927 almost all Party organisations had been in the main reconstructed, in which connection the overwhelming majority of factory groups are more or less firmly welded organisations, tried in revolutionary battles and under severe police persecution. However, there are also to be noticed in the C.P.G. cases where members of factory groups prefer to work outside of the factories, in their residential districts. This is how the proposal made by some of the leading comrades of the District Committee to organise such important political campaigns as the election of co-operative managements and Landtag elections on a territorial basis (transferring for the time being the members of the factory groups for work outside of the factories) must be understood. It stands to reason that during elections

in organisations built on a territorial basis (Co-operatives, etc.) the Party organisations must be assigned for agitational purposes, etc., to territorial units in accordance with the respective electoral districts. But the entire basic preparatory work of the Party must be carried on in the factories as in the case all other political campaigns. This is particularly true with regard to parliamentary elections.

Quite contrary to this viewpoint, the above-mentioned comrades apparently think that factory groups are good only for ordinary daily work when the Party is not faced with great political tasks, and that in other cases they must make room for the old territorial organisations. A similar explanation was given by some comrades of the Organising Department of the Communist Party of Great Britain of the weakening of the factory groups soon after the termination of the miners' lockout. They maintain that the factory groups became weaker because they cannot work normally in time of strikes. In reality, the Communist Party, although it was numerically weak, gained recognition as the only leading factor in the strike chiefly because the Party organisation in the coal districts were built around the mines on the principle of factory groups.

As a result of the reorganisation of the Workers' (Communist) Party of America on the basis of factory groups, the ground has been prepared for a radical organic reconstruction of the entire party. Formerly the Workers' Party was a federation of nineteen practically independent Communist Parties with their own Central Committee and local organisations, their own Party press, etc. After their organisation on the factory group basis, this federation of nineteen Parties has been transformed into one centralised Communist Party.

The Communist Party of China has until lately been organisationally very weak and this organisational weakness was one of the causes of the Party's heavy defeats. The Communist Party of China made it its object to organise on the basis of factory groups. However, under conditions of permanent battles and fierce repressions this work proceeded very slowly, and it is now faced with the task of undertaking most energetically the organisation of factory groups.

In summarising the reorganisation of the Communist Parties, on the factory group basis, up to January, 1928, the following main conclusions can be drawn:

1. The reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups was confronted with tremendous difficulties. For a long time the proposals were misunderstood everywhere, and therefore met with resistance inside the Party. Many serious blunders were made, as a result of which it became necessary to start the work all over again. The reorganisation on an international scale has not yet been completed. But it can definitely be said that a decisive change has occurred and

that serious progress has been made. In some Parties, as for instance, in the C.P.I., the C.P.P., the C.P. of Finland, the C.P.G., and the C.P.Cz., this work has in the main been completed. In others, as for instance in France, all necessary prerequisites have been secured for a successful reorganisation in the near future. In the Communist Parties of the small countries, as for instance, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, etc., the reorganisation, if it has not yet been carried out, and if such explanatory work has still to be done, it can nevertheless be stated that these Communist Parties also have entered upon the path of reorganisation, and that so much has already been done in that direction that a return to the old territorial organisations is impossible.

2. The reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups has to a considerable extent helped to proletarianise the social composition of the Communist Parties. The first external result of the reorganisation in all countries (with the exception of Germany) was a loss in members and in some cases this loss was quite considerable. However, upon close analysis of these losses it became clear that as a rule, with the exception of a small drop in the proletarian membership (which was also the result of a wrong approach), most of those who left the Parties were non-proletarian elements.

3. There is not a single Communist Party and not single group of any size within the Communist Parties which questions the necessity for reorganisation and that the factory groups must play the role of the principle organisation of the Communist Parties. It can be stated without any exaggeration, that the importance of reorganisation on the basis of factory groups has been realised by all.

4. The extent to which the factory groups are really a means of organisational consolidation among the proletarian masses may be seen to a certain extent by the following facts. Lately, the Social Democrats and especially the Fascists have been trying to organise their own factory groups to counteract the Communist nuclei in the factories. The employers and the police are simultaneously doing their utmost in order to liquidate the Communist groups. At the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., a representative of the Communist Party of Italy, said that when the Communist Party was still a legal organisation they already brought people to trial for belonging to factory groups. Upon the Party's inquiry as to the causes of this action the chief prosecutor explained that according to Italian laws every citizen has a right to belong to any political organisation and perhaps also to the Communist Party, but the Government cannot agree to the existence of Communist factory groups because they undermine the foundation of the existing order. This reply of the prosecutor is very characteristic as it shows

that the factory groups, even if they are weak, and are still learning to make their first steps, already menace the very interests of the bourgeoisie. In general it should be stated that the Italian example is the best proof of the importance of the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the factory group basis. The Italian comrades all agree that if the Communist Party of Italy was able, not only to withstand the savage repression of Fascist reaction, but even to strengthen and consolidate its organisational contact with the broad non-Party masses, it was only because it is organised on the basis of factory groups. In Italy the factory groups have really proved to be the best organisational form with the help of which the Party can withstand the most vicious blows of reaction and the terror of the employers.

### **Chief Shortcomings and the Immediate Tasks in the Sphere of Strengthening the Factory Nuclei.**

The growing offensive of the capitalists and their governments in all countries raises as an urgent problem the question of general intensification of activity in the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory groups. For this it is first of all necessary to take measures toward the speediest correction of the mistakes committed and toward the overcoming of defects. The following are the main mistakes and defects to be overcome :

1. The factory groups in all countries, with the exception of Czecho-Slovakia exist as a rule only in the small factories. In the large undertakings there are in most cases no nuclei whatever and if any do exist they are very weak.

2. The work of the factory groups must be closely linked up with all activities of the Communist Party. For instance, the proposal of the comrades of the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation that members of the factory groups should be transferred for Party work outside of their factories during big political campaigns is absolutely wrong. Party work must be so arranged in the Communist Parties that the factories should be the centres of activity both in the process of day-to-day work and during big political campaigns and revolutionary battles. It is necessary to combat still more energetically the system of the C.P.F., according to which all big campaigns of the Party have hitherto as a rule been carried on without any participation of the factory groups (even in such a case as a strike—*e.g.*, the factory groups were not at all drawn into the preparation of the General Strike of August 8th, 1927).

3. The work of the factory groups must be closely linked up with the work of the trade union fractions. As a rule this is not the case at the present time, and this is one of the greatest shortcomings in the entire work of the factory groups in all countries.

In the resolutions of the II. International Organising Conference on the work of the trade union fractions it is said that in the factories the trade union fractions base themselves directly on the factory groups. This must be accomplished by all means, as this is the sure organisational means of influencing the trade unions to organise their work on a factory basis and of securing to the trade union fractions (and consequently to the entire Communist work in the trade unions) close contact with, and the constant support of those proletarian masses with which the factory groups are connected.

4. Along the same lines it is also necessary to point out another shortcoming in the work of the factory groups, consisting in the fact that in very many cases (this is particularly true in countries where the trade union movement is illegal) the work of the factory groups and the trade unions is practically identical. This is wrong. In the sphere of trade union work in the factories, the factory groups must endeavour to draw in the trade union members, not only those who belong to the Party, but all workers of the factories, regardless of their political views, for active trade union work, pursuing the united front policy on the basis of the daily demands of the workers of the given factories. As a rule, we should avoid having the members of the committees of the factory groups also on the factory committees. It is especially important to observe this rule in the countries of white terror, so that the arrest or dismissal of comrades of the leading trade union factory organisation should not paralyse the work of the factory groups.

5. The factory groups do not perform adequate work among the non-Party sympathising workers. This shortcoming also must be classified as one of the greatest defects in the work of the factory groups. This is partly due to the comparatively weak recruiting work of the Communist Parties. The ideological and political influence of the Communist Parties on the working class is in all countries much greater than their organisational influence. This is clearly evident from the circulation of the Communist press, the number of votes given for Communist candidates at various elections, etc. For instance the Communist Party of France has 56,000 members, the circulation of its national paper, "l'Humanite," is 250,000, and during the parliamentary elections in 1928 it received about a million votes. The Communist Party of Belgium had in 1926 853 members (1,500 on January 1st, 1928), the circulation of the central organ, "Drapeau Rouge," was 6,500, and at the municipal elections it received 70,000 votes or 82 votes per member. The C.P.G. received 3,260,000 votes in the 1928 elections while its registered membership at the time was 150,000. The circulation of the Party press was 277,747 in 1927, while the dues paying members numbered 124,729. In Norway the Party Membership in 1927 was 8,000 while the circulation of the daily Party press was 15,500. The circulation of the daily



American press is 110,000 while the Party membership is 12,000. Where are the non-Party workers who buy the Party press and vote for Communist candidates? They are in the factories. However, as a rule, the factory groups cannot find these sympathisers and establish daily contact with them, mobilising them for various Party work and bringing them closer to the Party, drawing them into the Party as actual members. Work among the sympathisers is now one of the most vital tasks confronting all factory groups.

6. There is insufficient activity of the members of the factory groups. As a rule, only some of the leading comrades, or only the Secretary does all the work, while the other only pay membership dues and attend group meetings. One of the reasons for this situation is the fact that the resolution of the II International Organising Conference on proper distribution of work within the nuclei is very often not carried out.

7. Supervision of the work of the factory group on the part of the respective Party committees (district or town committees) is also as a rule not what it should be. It is, however, absolutely clear that without such systematic daily assistance on the part of the local Party committees, the factory groups will not be able properly to do their work. Insufficient assistance to the factory groups by the local Party committees is very often the result of weakness of the committees themselves, which in turn is a result of inadequate attention to the work of the local committees on the part of the higher Party bodies.

8. Insufficient attention is paid by the Party to factory newspapers. The entire international experience of the factory groups shows that one of the best means of livening up their activities and of gaining influence over the proletarian masses is the factory newspaper. A thousand proofs of this can be given from all countries, with large and small, legal and illegal Communist Parties, in Europe and America, in the colonial countries, in a work, everywhere. Suffice it to mention the United States, where in August 1927, there were 25 factory newspapers with a circulation of 59,000 copies, or the factory newspaper of Great Britain during the General Strike which were the only papers in circulation dealing with the events from the point of view of the Communist Party. However, far from all factories have as yet factory newspapers, although they may have factory groups. The leading centres of the Communist Parties of all countries do not yet pay sufficient attention to this most important branch of Party work. The Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. devoted attention to the question of factory newspapers. During the period covered by the report a large number of general and individual letters have been sent to the Parties, instructions have been given in conversation with Party representatives, criticisms of factory newspapers

of the various countries have been published, etc. This work will have to be further intensified in the future.

9. Insufficient aid has been given to the Young Communist League in their work of organising factory groups and of drawing the young workers into their revolutionary activity, striking examples of this are to be found in the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, where side by side with the powerful factory groups of 100 and more members each, the Young Communist groups either do not exist at all or if they do, they are very weak numerically, organisationally and ideologically.

10. Group work among female workers has been very weak.

11. Finally, a great obstacle in proper and successful development of factory group activity are the weakness of the work of the streets nuclei and the weakness of work along this line on the part of the leading Party organs. The question of organising street groups was decided by the first International Organising Conference (March 1925). In considering the question of the practical re-organisation on the basis of factory groups the question was raised as to what the Party members who do not work in factories (individual workers, artisans, housewives, etc.) should do. It was decided that such Party members should be organised in street groups according to their residences. This decision was arrived at after much discussion. Objections were continually raised by representatives of the French Party who thought that street groups were unnecessary. Extreme weakness in the work of the street groups is to be noticed to this day. In very many cases the street groups are not organised properly and in the main, they work as the formed territorial organisations. First of all it is necessary to overcome this defect.

If the street groups work as the former territorial organisations, they inevitably attract the members of the factory groups, who, for one reason or another want to escape factory activity. This is to be noticed in the Communist Party of Germany and it must be pointed out that the respective local Party committees do not always properly resist these tendencies.

In a still greater number of cases the street groups have simply not yet been organised. When street groups do not exist, the Party members who do not work in factories are "attached" to factory groups. In France, this has assumed an absolutely monstrous form. According to the figures of the Organising Department of the C.C. C.P.F., about 50 per cent. of the members of the factory groups consisted of "attached" comrades who had no direct or indirect relations to the given factories. The national conference of the C.P.F. in February this year confirmed the decisions of the Organising Conference which preceded the Party Conference, that a determined struggle be

undertaken to purge the factory groups from the "attached" members.

12. On the whole, the decisions of the Second International Organising Conference on the factory groups still hold good and will for some time still be the centre of attention in the work of all Communist Parties.

### **Work of the Trade Union Fractions, Shortcomings and the Immediate Tasks.**

The work of organising Communist fractions and instituting systematic guidance over their work by the respective Party committee has, notwithstanding the numerous requests and warnings of the Organising Department, only recently been begun by the Communist Parties—in 1927 and even during the latter half of that year (the C.P.F.). This circumstance could not fail to have its influence on the work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions. An investigation of the documents with reference to the preparations for the Fourth Congress of the Rilu has revealed numerous great shortcomings, defects, and blunders in this respect. The Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. organised a conference of heads of trade union departments of the Central Committees and the large provincial organisations of various C.P.s. after the Fourth Congress of the Rilu, to find out the causes of the weakness in their trade union activity. Those present at the conference unanimously agreed that the corresponding decision of the Second International Organising Conference fully justified itself whenever it had been put into practice, but that very little has been done in living up to it. It was established at the conference that the Party members in the localities are as a rule not sufficiently informed (and in some cases are entirely ignorant) of these decisions, that the trade union department of the Party committees as a rule are very weak, and that in very many cases (in the local committees) they do not exist. Thus, in the sphere of Trade Union fractions the Communist Parties of all Countries are faced with the tasks established by the Second International Organising Conference and maximum attention has to be paid to them. In discussing the question of trade union work of the Communist Parties at the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and also of the work of the fractions at the Fourth Congress of the Rilu, great organisational weakness was revealed on the part of all Communist Parties in the sphere of trade union activity and the traditions of Social-Democratic methods of organisational work are particularly strong in the sphere of trade union activity. As a result, even the strongest and best Communist Parties, for instance, the Communist Party of Germany, were found to be not quite up to the mark in connection with the new revival of the labour movement. The present

situation urgently demands that the Communist Parties should effect rapid and radical changes in the sphere of trade union work. Of the various concrete tasks in the sphere of trade union fractions, partly supplementary to the decisions of the Second Organising Conference) it is necessary to emphasise the following :—

1. Speedy organisation of trade union departments and trade union fractions wherever such are demanded by the decisions of the Second Organising Conference and in strict accordance with those decisions.

2. Closest contact between the work of the trade union departments and that of the Organising Departments, particularly in in connection with the organisation of work in the factories.

3. Close co-ordination of the work of the fractions of corresponding parallel trade union organisations.

4. Abandonment of trade union days. In 1925 the C.P.G. established a rule, according to which all Communist members of trade unions had to come together on certain days of the week to consider trade union problems. As these meetings were organised mechanically, according to calendar, without any regard as to the questions arising in the practical trade union work, naturally they not only failed to intensify the work of the trade union fractions, but on the contrary they did this work abstractly, rendered it lifeless and disorganised it. The C.I. (particularly the Organising Department) issued several times instructions to the C.P.G. to stop this practice. After some resistance, the C.C. C.P.G. agreed with the proposal of the C.I. The Berlin-Brandenburg organisation has recently substituted fractional day, for trade union day but this is merely a change in name without a change of content. It is necessary that this be stopped. Instead of this, there should be obligatory fraction meetings before the meeting of the respective Party organs. At these meetings the fractions should carefully discuss the line of conduct of the fractions (speeches, motions, etc.). At the meeting of the respective trade union organs, the Communists should unanimously work for their decisions.

5. An energetic struggle should be carried on against the efforts of some Party members to escape trade union work (refusal to join the unions, etc.). Without a radical overcoming of the anti-trade union sentiments of Party members, not a single Communist Party will be able to carry on successful work in winning the trade unions. In this connection, however, it is necessary to warn against endeavours to fight this by purely mechanical measures (such as a point in the statutes that Party members who are workers must be members of their respective trade unions, or the proposal of some Polish comrades to expel from the Party after a certain period all workers who refuse to

join the trade unions, etc.). The main struggle must be carried on by means of patient and persistent explanation naturally without refusing to use wherever necessary disciplinary measures even to the extent of expulsion from the Party).

6. The major task of the trade union fractions in the immediate future is to carry over the trade union activity directly to the factories and to organise strongholds there (factory committees, trade union representatives, etc.), seeking to realise in practice the corresponding decisions of the Third Congress of the C.I. on the question of reorganisation of the trade unions.

7. In close contact with this task there is also the task of effecting a clear demarcation between the methods of trade union work and fighting for the daily interests of the working class of the Communist and the methods of the reformists. This is of especial importance in countries where there are dual trade unions, as in France and Czecho-Slovakia where there are trade unions under the control of the Communist Parties. Present day practice shows that the revolutionary trade unions of these countries in their structure and methods of work do not always differ from the reformist trade unions, which renders extremely difficult their mass work and their struggle against Social Democratic illusions, and at times of struggle renders the application of revolutionary methods difficult. (For instance the opportunist blunders of the unitarian trade unions in France in the recent strikes in Noselle and Loirs, where the unitarian trade unions obstructed the development of the struggle).

8. Work in distinguishing our methods from the reformist methods must necessarily be supplemented by a very careful choice of Party members for leading trade union work. The fractions must very closely follow up the responsible trade union worker-Communists and see that they fully meet the requirements laid down in Lenin's motion at the Tenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the leaders of the Russian trade unions. According to these decisions of the Tenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Communist trade union leaders must set an example by their exceptional, attentive and conscientious attitude to their duties; they must be of models of efficiency and perseverance in defending the daily interests of the working class. This task of the Communist fractions in the trade unions is particularly urgent now considering the fact that, in testing the work of the Communists holding leading positions in the trade unions during the recent industrial conflicts in Germany and France, cases have been established in which Communist trade union leaders did not pay sufficient attention and were not sufficiently responsive in the matter of defence of the daily interests of the working class.

Finally, to a still greater degree than the factory groups, the trade union fractions are faced with the task of working among the sympathisers, drawing them into their daily activity and thus

preparing future Communists. This is especially true with regard to work among the young workers.

### Lower Organisations.

The Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. had to pay most serious attention to the work of lower Party organisations (District, sub-district, city, section, etc.). With regard to these the following most important defects, which the Organising Department constantly had to combat, should be mentioned:—

1. Extreme centralisation on the part of Central Committees (the most extreme cases being the C.P.s. of Sweden and Canada) paralysing the initiative of local organisations.

2. The fact that the structure of lower organisations does not tally with the administrative division of some countries.

3. Lower organisations do not provide the factory groups and fractions with suitable leadership.

This resulted in the fact that factory groups were organised mechanically, and having been organised they remained without leadership. They did not know what to do, as a result of which in many cases they fell apart, etc. The Organising Department had to explain tens of times that the factory groups cannot work properly, cannot perform their role of fundamental Party units, unless they are provided with systematic and daily assistance by the lower Party committees, and that this assistance in turn is impossible unless these Party committees are strengthened. The work of organising factory groups also pre-supposes that there are efficient Party committees in the lower Party organisations which keep account of all Party members living and working in the respective territories and which see to it that all Party members take active parts in the daily work of the Party, concentrating their efforts for the conquest of decisive influence of the Party among the workers of the largest factories in the most important branches of industry and in the trade unions.

The French comrades decided that the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory groups necessitates the greatest weakening of the role of the lower organisations so that a return to the old forms of Party organisations, the residential principle, be made impossible. Acting along these lines the French comrades went so far as even to discard the very names of the lower organisations calling them either district or sub-district organisations, and organised new local units without taking into account the administrative division of the country; in some cases they even deliberately split up the town and settlement organisations into several parts (for instance, the former structure of the organisations of the Paris district which in 1925 and 1926 was arbitrarily sub-divided into sections each of which consists of several precincts of Paris and several suburbs and settlements,

some of which belong to several districts). Naturally, such a wrong approach to the structure of the lower organisations seriously effected the entire work of the Party, especially the efficiency of the groups and in general the entire course of re-organisation of the Party. Having before them such wrong ideas on the question of re-organisation, its opponents were supplied with good arguments by these blunders confirming the correctness of their views and were thus able to cause certain confusion among the ranks of the Party and to hamper the process of re-organisation. In the Eastern and colonial countries, as for instance Australia, Egypt, Persia, India and China, it is still necessary to explain that a necessary prerequisite for the successful work of the factory groups in the presence of strong lower Party committees which give systematic aid to the groups in their daily work.

### **Model Statutes and their Importance.**

That factory groups must become the organisational basis of our Communist Parties is an important question, which has compelled the latter to take organisational measures in order to secure to factory groups a proper place in the hierarchy of Party institutions, including the participation of factory groups in the discussion and solution of all the most important general Party questions. Working in this direction, the Organising Department of the E.C.C.I raised at the First International Organising Conference a series of questions concerning the structure and work of the various Party organs and concerning the adaptation of the statutes of the Communist Parties to the Bolshevisation requirements of their entire organisational work. The first Organising Conference confirmed the so-called model statutes (Musterstatut) for the Communist Parties. Beginning in the second half of 1925, immediately after the First International Organising Conference, the revision of the statutes of the Communist Parties in accordance with the requirements of the model statutes was taken in hand under the direct guidance of the Organising Department. In regard to the European Communist Parties this work has been in the main accomplished for the Sixth Congress. All European Communist Parties now have statutes elaborated on the basis of the model statutes and adapted to concrete national conditions. This work was not accomplished without considerable internal resistance on the part of the Communist Parties. In this, just as in the question of factory groups, the main resistance was in connection with the liquidation of Social Democratic relics in the structure and methods of the organising work of the Communist Parties. For instance, considerable difficulties were encountered with the liquidation of the old methods (particularly strong in the C.P.G.), when the most important Party questions were decided at meetings of officials, the rank and file



being assigned a passive role. Against these relics of the Social Democratic order we set the demand for internal Party democracy, that the supreme Party organs in every grade of the Party structure are the general membership meetings, the Party conferences and Party congresses, which must take place regularly, within periods established by the statutes at which the corresponding Party committees must account for their work and at which the most important questions connected with Party life must be discussed and decided. The position of the factory groups as the fundamental organisation of the Party, which moreover, plays the role of direct link between the Party and the proletarian masses, was also strictly defined.

Somewhat on similar lines one had also to struggle against the tendency to cling to the old order when the political role of the local and the district committees was practically infinitesimal, whereas the C.C. kept up direct connection with the local organisations (including groups), collected membership dues, etc., etc. Such conditions prevailed mostly in the Communist Parties of small capitalist countries, particularly in the Scandinavian Parties. However, we witnessed something similar also in the C.P.G.z., for instance, where delegates to district conferences were not elected at sub-district conferences, but by the same local organisations which send delegates to the sub-district Party conference.

Also, a number of Parties deemed it necessary to make statutory provision for the compulsory subscription of Party members to the Party organ, and in the case of workers, to join the corresponding trade union. The Organising Department energetically opposed such proposals, proposing in turn to limit this to the corresponding demands of the model statutes which only make it obligatory for a Party member to belong to and actively work in the group, as well as to pay his membership dues regularly.

As to the statutes of the Communist Parties in the countries of Latin America and in colonial countries, the work has only just begun. This is due, first of all, to difficulties of communication. With some Communist Parties in these countries a more or less satisfactory connection has been established only quite recently. In any case draft model statutes have been forwarded to all of them. Draft statutes have been drawn up for the regular congresses of the Communist Parties of Japan and China.

### **Control Commissions.**

In the model statutes nothing is said about Control Commissions. However, several Parties in preparing for their congresses took up this question. The Organising Department, while supporting the proposals concerning the organisation of auditing committees in all Party Executives, both local and national, to control the finances of the respective Party Executives, was

opposed to the organisation of special control commissions in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, elected at Party Congresses and conferences to cope with the behaviour of Party members. Organising Department, in justification of its attitude, said that Communist Parties which are not in power do not have to deal in their work with internal questions which demand the existence of special elective organs running parallel with Party committees and not subordinate to them. Any inner-Party conflicts and anti-Party offensives of individual Party members can be examined and settled in the usual way by the Party committees. If necessary, the latter can appoint special commissions for the preliminary examination and the preparation of a draft decision on the question. On the other hand, the Organising Department drew attention to the difficulties connected with the selection of suitable people for the control commissions, taking into consideration the weakness of the leading cadres in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries. The Organising Department holds that the Communist Parties have not yet become sufficiently consolidated internally to be able to risk the possibility of dual power in the Party and to create parallel elected centres. The experience of the Communist Party of the Czecho-Slovakia with its Central Control Commission, which opposed the C.C. and the C.I., is the best proof of this. This question was discussed in the Organising Bureau which endorsed the proposal of the Organising Department. However, in practice such control commissions exist in some Communist Parties.

### **Leading Cadres and their Preparation.**

Particularly in connection with the discussion of the question of the work of trade union departments and trade union fractions it came to light that the work of the Communist Parties for the training and preparation of leading cadres was very inadequate. All Communist Parties have weak leading cadres. This is only natural if one takes into consideration the youth of the Communist Parties and difficult conditions of work. However, when Communist Parties declared that they did not organise fractions and trade union departments for lack of responsible workers who could be put at the head of such departments and fractions, the Organising Department refused in every case to accept such an explanation. Where are those necessary responsible workers to come from? Will they drop down from the sky? Or will the C.I. send them? The right solution is Party schools, and the Party must give them its serious consideration. But, firstly, Party schools cannot do justice to all demands; secondly, no school can take the place of practical work; and, finally, the schools will produce Party workers for the future, but there is work to be done now. There is only one way out; namely, to advance comrades with practical experience to leading positions. This method has

been tested by the C.P.S.U. It too had no well-prepared cadres to undertake the management of industry. The Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. raises before the Communist Parties of all countries the task of most intensively drawing in new elements to the leading cadres by boldly advancing the best rank and file proletarians to leading Party and trade union positions. In doing this errors are, of course, inevitable, just as it is inevitable that some comrades advanced will not be suitable for the position. Political and organisational mistakes are also inevitable on the part of even the properly chosen comrades, owing to their inexperience. Newly advanced comrades must, especially at the beginning, be given much attention and comradely aid. They must be given timely advice as to what to do and if they make any mistakes they should be assisted in making them good. To this effect, the Organising Department has issued a number of instructions to individual Parties, and it uses every opportunity to revert again and again to this question, as it is self-evident that here is one of the most serious obstacles to the growth and consolidation of the Party.

#### **Anti- Militarist Work.**

The Organising Department paid considerable attention to questions connected with anti-militarist work. Apart from giving systematic instructions to individual parties re the organisation of this work and verifying it on the spot, the Organising Department did a big piece of work in connection with the Eighth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which had on its agenda a special item—the struggle against war danger. The Organising Department has elaborated material in regard to the individual countries and has held a series of conferences with the representatives of individual countries and groups of countries. In connection with the work of the Eighth Plenum, former organisational forms of work were carefully revised, a number of additions and specialisations in connection with changed conditions were introduced. Special attention was paid to the work of the military departments of the C.P. of China.

#### **Numerical Growth of the Party-Recruiting Work and Fluctuation.**

The numerical growth of the Party during the period covered by the report lags considerably behind the growth of its political influence among the proletarian masses. This inadequate growth of the numerical strength of the Communist Party is one of the signs of the general inadequacy of the organising work of the Parties, it shows that organising work lags behind the development of political influence. The changes in the numerical strength of all the sections of the C.I. taken together in the period between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses are as follows :—

At the time of the Fifth Congress we had, according to incomplete figures, 1,222,035 members in all Sections, including the C.P.S.U. This does not include the Young Communist membership. With regard to these figures it should be stated that at the time of the Fifth Congress, and in general before the re-organisation on the factory group basis, not a single Communist Party, except the C.P.S.U., had any more or less satisfactory statistics on the fluctuations of membership. Thus, the figures characterising the Communist membership at the time of the Fifth Congress are inaccurate and in all cases they are rather exaggerated. The Parties, and at that only the largest ones, such as the C.P.G. and the C.P.G.z., have correct membership figures only beginning with 1927. On January 1st, 1928, the Communist membership of all Sections, including the C.P.S.U., was—again according to incomplete figures and not including the Young Communists—1,707,769. Compared with the 1925 figures, show a re-progressing tendency, seeing that many large parties show a smaller membership, indicating only the regular dues paying members. With this reservation, we have the following fluctuation in membership in the largest parties since the Fifth Congress.

	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.
C.P.G.	121,394	122,755	134,248	124,729*
C.P.Cz.	138,996	93,220	92,818	150,000**
C.P.F.	68,187	83,326	75,000	52,376
P.Amer.	17,000	14,000	11,990	12,000†
C.P.Swed.	7,011	8,650	10,849	15,479
C.P.G.B.	4,000	5,000	6,000	9,000††
C.P.S.U.	446,089	741,117	1,078,185	1,210,954

The general tendency in the process of the numerical change of the Communist Parties after the Fifth Congress and up to the beginning of 1927 is—declining membership and big fluctuation. What is the explanation for this? Every Party and local has

\*The April figures which are close to the average figures for the year, have been taken. These figures indicate only the regularly dues paying members. The actual membership is about 20 per cent. higher. At the time of the Essen Congress in 1926 the membership was 144,980.

\*\*According to the latest figures the membership of the C.P.G. is now 150,000.

†The figures show only the dues paying members. The C.C. reports that the actual membership for January, 1928, may be considered as 14,000.

††In October, 1926, after the miners' lockout, the C.P.G.B. had 12,000 members.

of course its specific reasons. General fundamental reasons are as follows: (1) exit of unstable elements scared by the growing difficulty of the struggle and opposed to the active work and the strict Party discipline exacted lately by the Communist Parties from their members; (2) exit of ideologically alien elements (ultra-Right in France, the so-called ultra-Left in Germany, the Roland-Holst and Wynkoop group in Holland, etc.; (3) the inability of lower Party organs (group committees, committees of local organisations) to treat new members with the necessary tact and consideration; in one case, rank and file Party members are not drawn to a sufficient extent (or not drawn at all, which is also a frequent occurrence) into the everyday work of the Party, which leads to their gradual alienation and final disappearance from the Party; in another case, rank and file members are given tasks to fulfil which are beyond their strength, particularly in regard to all sorts of financial duties, etc. The Organising Department has followed carefully the numerical growth of the Communist Parties, it has been drawing its conclusions and has demanded of the Communist Parties energetic struggle against loss of membership and fluctuation as well as the maximum strengthening of recruiting work it should be pointed out that, as a rule, the recruiting work of the Communist Parties is their weak point. The main defect of this work is its lack of system, casual methods, and no concentration on the most important quarters of the struggle. The Organising Department pointed out facts showing that bad work on the part of local organisations is chiefly responsible for this. Another cardinal defect is the fact that new Party members, as a rule, are not drawn into the day-to-day activity of the Parties, which would bind them to the organisations and imbue them with the Communist ideas. When pointing out the various errors and defects in the organising work of the Communist Parties, the Organising Department made it a point to draw the attention of the Parties also to these serious defects in their activity; it demanded that the recruiting work of the Parties be properly planned and systematised, that it should not be limited to general agitational proclamations and manifestations and that its centre of gravity should be the big enterprises in the most important branches of industry. The slow numerical growth of the Parties in all capitalist countries demands of the more energetic recruiting work. The poor numerical growth of the Communist Parties of all capitalist countries requires great recruiting work on their part.

### **Methods of Work of the Organising Department.**

In conclusion, something must be said about the methods of work of the Organising Department, the verification of the carrying out of decisions, results achieved and the most serious defects of the work, which must be overcome in one way or another and as soon as possible.

In order to make a through study of the most important questions connected with the re-organisation of the Communist Parties on a factory group basis, the Organising Department convened two International Organisation conferences in the period covered by the report (one at the time of the Fifth and another at the time of the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.). These conferences were attended by Organisational workers of the most important national sections belonging to the C.I., workers from the central committees as well as organising workers from the lower party organisations. These organisation conferences drew up full directions with regard to all fundamental questions connected with the organising work of the Communist parties: factory groups, street and mixed groups, factory newspapers, construction of the central Party apparatus, structure of local Party organisations, fractions in trade unions, model statutes for Communist Parties, etc. Carrying out the decisions of the first and second Organisation Conferences was the substance of the whole work of the Organising Department in the period covered by the report. Apart from these big conferences, which were attended by representatives of all the most important European countries and of several Communist Parties in Eastern countries, the Organising Department made a special point of utilising every visit of Party representatives for getting supplementary information about the organising work of the respective Communist Parties and for discussing various question connected with the organising work of those Parties.

The Organising Department took advantages of the Plenums of the E.C.C.I. for the organisation of a series of such conferences. The International Congresses and conferences of various mass organisations (The Fourth Congress of the R.I.L.U. and others), were also utilised for the purpose of organising conferences with Communist delegates. With regard to all these conferences it should be pointed out that, as a rule, they greatly helped the Organising Department to strengthen its connections with the Communist Parties. Unfortunately, it must be stated that the delegates arriving are not always informed on the organisational work of their Parties and this unavoidably reflected itself in the practical work of the conferences.

The main method of work of the Organising Department was systematic instruction of the brother parties. This instructing was done in three ways: (a) through correspondence; (b) through instructors; (c) through workers from the Department.

Instruction by correspondence is carried on on the basis of the material received from the Parties which describes their organising work (reports, resolutions, the Party press, oral reports, etc.). The Organising Department in its replies, addressed to the Organising Department of the C.C. points out all the defects in the organising work of the Party noticed on the strength of the received information, it explains how they can be overcome, taking

into consideration the entire international organisational experience. In some cases the Organising Department takes upon itself the initiative in setting new organisational tasks in the Party (for instance, *re* work with sympathisers for the C.P.G., *re* departmental committee for the C.P.F., *re* trade union and factory activity for the C.P. of Argentine, etc.). Instructors and workers in the Organising Department have visited during the period covered by the report a number of the most important European countries and also China; they participated in the everyday organisational work of the respective parties, down to their factory groups. The work of the instructors produced the most positive results in regard to verification of the carrying out of the organisational decisions of the C.I., and of the special directions of the Organising Department, and also in regard to direct help to the Parties with the practical utilisation of the international organisational experience. Unfortunately, the Organising Department did not have at its disposal a big enough body of instructors to do justice to the requirements even of the most important Parties, not to mention the numerous requests for instructors on the part of all the Parties which could not possibly be satisfied. The Organising Department was able to provide all the countries with instructions by correspondence, but this kind of instruction, had other big defects: (1) Technical difficulties of communication owing to which even European Communist Parties sometimes either received the letters of the Organising Department too late to do any good or did not receive them at all; (2) insufficient documentary information on the part of the Communist Parties, with the result that the Organising Department did not get, in many cases, timely notice of the errors committed in the organising work by one or other of the Parties or could not react in due time to these errors because of the inadequacy of documentary information. This applies particularly to distant countries such as China, Indonesia, the countries of Latin America, etc. Lack of information was particularly noticeable with regard to instructing Communist Parties about questions connected with anti-militarist work.

The Second International Organising Conference which took place at the beginning of 1926 made the following decision: the most important Communist Parties were to have in the Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. workers from the ranks of the best organising workers in local and central organisations. The Organising Bureau of the E.C.C.I. decided to have for the time being nine such workers, each for a period of six months. In the course of these six months, the attached worker has to familiarise himself with the methods of work of the Organising Department and has to elaborate the concrete tasks connected with the Organising work of his Party on the basis of the material of the international experience in organising work (the material of the Organising Department) and of the experience of the



C.P.S.U. (attending the nucleus meeting of the Moscow organisation familiarising himself with the work of the urban District (" rayon ") Committees of the C.P.S.U., the Moscow Committee, etc.). During the period covered by the report, sixteen such organisers went through the Organising Department. The system of attached organisers, although there are still serious defects in the work with them, has certainly justified its existence. The most Department, apart from those mentioned above, are as follows :—

1. Lack of qualified workers, particularly for Eastern and colonial countries and the countries of Latin America.

2. Lack of instructors.

3. Not all parties by far have had organisers attached to the Departments. Careless treatment of such organisers by the Party (no material was supplied for work, etc.); insufficient work among them.

4. Inadequate connection with the Parties in regard to receiving material about the Organising work of the Communist Parties, which in its turn prevented the Organising Department from reacting in time to the most important organisational problems.

5. Inadequacy of the Party press in dealing with questions of Organising work.

6. Inadequate connection with Communist fractions (Rilu, I.C.W.P.A., etc.).

7. Inadequate assistance to Communist universities in regard to the elaboration of the international organising experience of the students.

8. Inadequate utilisation of the organising experience of the C.P.S.U., especially of the experience with underground work, for which the need is steadily growing.

9. Insufficient attention to the Organising work of small Parties.

10. Insufficient attention to questions concerning rural work.

11. Inadequate verification of the carrying out of the direction given to the Communist Parties (which is the inevitable result of inadequate connection between the Organising Department and the individual Parties).

In the coming period which will make big demands on the Communist Parties of all countries and on the C.I. in regard to more energetic organising work, one of the main tasks will be the removal of the defects in the work of the apparatus of the Organising Department of the E.C.C.I.

### Results and Conclusions.

In summing up the results of the work achieved and taking into account the organisational position of the Communist Parties of the individual countries, one can arrive at the following three important conclusions in regard to the organisational tasks of the C.I. in the immediate future.

1. The organising work of the Communist Parties made considerable progress in all the spheres in the period intervening between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses. All Parties without exception have done much in regard to Bolshevisation and re-organisation on a factory group basis.

2. The fundamental organisational tasks of the Communist Parties are: in every respect better instruction of Communist Parties, first of all, in regard to carrying out formal decisions re-organisational questions, particularly the decisions of the first and second Organising Conferences. As before, special attention to questions connected with the work of factory groups, and trade union fractions. Elaboration of organising problems and corresponding preparation of Communist Parties on the lines of the policy of the C.I. indicated at the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. On these lines, careful consideration of errors and defects arising from the experience of the Vienna insurrection in the summer of 1927, of the fascists coups d'Etat in Poland and Lithuania, the Chinese experience, etc.

3. The C.I. and its various sections are confronted now with the task of strengthening organisational work in every possible way. Energetic struggle against carelessness and lack of attention in regard to this. The masses are veering to the Left. Ideologically, the political influence of the Communist Parties is steadily growing. It is already very considerable. However, the organisational consolidation of the ideological influence of the Communist Parties on the masses is still weak, and this might mean defeat in the coming struggles. The class enemies of the C.I. are well informed about the organisational weakness of the Communist Parties. With the help of the State apparatus and the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, they carry out at present an energetic offensive against the Communist Parties. Accordingly the Communist Parties must involve maximum activity so that the blows of the bourgeoisie, the fascists and the Social Democrats may hit against the iron wall of their organisations.

# THE AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA (AGITPROP) DEPT. OF THE E.C.C.I.

## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HIS report follows up the printed report of the Sixth and Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and deals therefore only with part of the period intervening between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses. The tasks which confronted the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. in the period covered by the report were of particular importance because above all the ideological struggle with the Opposition, as well as the numerous campaigns during this period, taxed all the resources of the agitation and propaganda work of the E.C.C.I.

It was difficult to do justice to the tasks owing to frequent changes in the management of the department, to the weakness and instability of the apparatus, and particularly owing to inadequate connection with the Sections, especially with the smaller Parties. There was, moreover, inadequate connection between the Agitprop Department and the general political work of the E.C.C.I., as has already been mentioned in former reports.

This report gives first of all a survey of the work done, after which it deals fully with the activity of the sub-departments—agitation, press and propaganda.

## HOW WORK WAS CARRIED ON.

Compared with earlier periods one must say that in the most important Sections the central agitprop machinery has developed considerably, although it is not yet up to the mark, and that general agitprop work is being carried on already in the big legal Parties. On the other hand, the agitprop machinery has not yet been organised from the top to the bottom, and a general defect is that hardly anywhere is agitprop work systematically organised and carried on on a district scale, not to mention the lowest organisations—the factory and street groups. Lately one of the most important developments has been an increased tendency towards Leninist educational work in all the Sections, resulting from a general need of trained officials. In this respect, one can point to the good results of the Central Party School of the C.P.G., in the organisation of which the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. had a direct share. Another satisfactory fact is the initiation of the systematic education of Party members, and also of self-education work in a number of countries, the initiative coming directly from the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. In the

sphere of agitation work the main activity of the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. has been limited to carrying out the very numerous campaigns in which individual Parties displayed ever-growing self-reliance and initiative. The increasing utilisation of new agitational means in all countries (the wireless, the cinema, etc.) sets new tasks before the Parties, which they have hardly tackled at all. The election campaigns which are at present proceeding have been accompanied for the first time by a broad application of the new agitational-technical means, but it is only in the future that conclusions can be drawn from these experiments.

As to international guidance and support of the Party press, it has consisted mainly in supplying the press of the individual sections with information; proper international guidance of this work is still conspicuous by its absence. It should be, however, pointed out that the "Inprecorr, as the leading international press organ, is publishing valuable material on all international questions, and is supporting the press of the small Sections in its capacity of an officials' organ; it is developing into a platform for the practical exchange of experiences in the sphere of agitation and propaganda work.

With regard to agitprop work in our Sections one can say in general that although considerable progress has been made in the period covered by the report with regard to the frequently spontaneous popularisation of new agitational and propagandist methods, yet the development of machinery and the organisation and guidance of this agitation and propaganda work are not yet up to the mark; and that therefore our main task still consists in a systematic and thorough organisation of agitprop work from the top to the bottom. This, however, will only be possible if the responsible Party authorities pay more attention to this question than before.

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE DEPARTMENT.

The Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. has two sub-departments: the sub-department for Propaganda, and the Agitation and Press sub-department. As already mentioned, it has suffered from the repeated changes in management and staff, which interfered temporarily with the regular functioning of the sub-departments. The activity of the department, as a whole, had to be directed first and foremost towards the improvement of the connections with the Sections, and the establishment of agitprop machinery in the various countries. Two measures were taken to improve the connections: first, the introduction of comrades engaged in agitprop work from the different countries to work for a time in the department, and secondly, the sending out of instructors. Hitherto these measures have not been carried out properly, and the department certainly needs more foreign comrades on its staff.

During this period the task of the department has been to

support the various Sections. In connection with this, there was the risk of going into too much detail, which actually happened in some cases. Various difficulties cropped up in connection with combining two different methods of division of labour within the department—division according to countries and division according to branches of work.

Considerable attention has been paid to the establishment of regular connections with the different countries. But as instructors or agitprop workers had not yet come over for a regular exchange of opinion, comrades visiting Moscow casually had to be relied upon for oral reporting. We have not yet been able to establish regular reporting by correspondence on the part of the Agitprop Departments of the Sections. The oral reports gave valuable material which, however, was not always utilised.

Conversations took place with comrades present here in the course of which the agitprop work of the C.P. of France and of the United States was very fully discussed, and this has been the case also with the work of the C.P. of Norway and of Great Britain. As a rule, full reports were sent to the respective Parties based on these conversations.

A number of other conversations provided the Agitprop Department for the first time with full material on the agitprop work of individual Sections; for instance, Latin America and several illegal Sections.

Nevertheless, work was, as before, concentrated on the big European countries and the United States, and this must be considered a defect. The work of the illegal Sections has made no progress, though it has been frequently discussed.

A special problem is presented by work in Eastern countries, which has been thoroughly discussed; up till now, however, the Agitprop Department has done nothing towards the proper development of work in these countries. Connected with this is the problem of work among emigrants from illegal and Eastern countries, of whom there are a considerable number in some countries, but nothing has been done as yet in this direction.

If the Agitprop Department has so far catered only for the big countries, this is due to the fact that it has not been possible as yet to draw a sufficient number of outside forces into collaboration, and also to the fact that a considerable part of the work done did not benefit the Parties at all, or not at the right moment, owing to lack of proper connections.

One can say that a number of Parties are already beyond the need of elementary instructions, which means that their requirements with regard to agitation and propaganda material are of a higher nature than before. Others, again, have hardly gone beyond the initial stage. Owing to this, the work of the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. will have to be adapted to the diverse requirements of the individual Sections; this applies particularly to the press and agitation service.

Hitherto, the Agitprop work of the parallel organisations and the activity of the Parties in mass organisations has not received sufficient attention. Isolated positive results in this sphere, such as full discussion of the questions of the International Freethinkers' and Workers' Wireless Movement, are only the beginnings of systematic work in these spheres.

Trade union agitation and propaganda has been entirely neglected, although relations with the R.I.L.U. have been maintained.

### AGITATION AND THE PRESS.

The tasks of the Agitation and Press Sub-Department became more complicated in the period covered by the report because, side by side with general directions, considerable quantities of concrete material had to be given to the Parties. Maximum attention was paid to the enormous number of difficult campaigns. It has already been pointed out that, because of this, the systematic international guidance of the press was rather neglected. The Sub-Department limited the number of instructions and circulars to a minimum, and endeavoured to replace them by material which could be used immediately in a practical manner. Reference material, theses, etc., were also restricted in number as much as possible, and press articles substituted for them. Information about the Soviet Union occupied a special place; all Parties were supplied with this in a bulletin which published authentic material. Reaction to the attacks of the Social-Democrats, etc., did not always take place with the necessary rapidity. For instance, in such important questions as incitement against the Soviet Union in connection with the arrest of German engineers in Donetz, our information lagged far behind that of the bourgeois. Efforts were also made to systematise and utilise the experiences of the bigger campaigns. This was attempted in connection with the campaigns against the war danger, for China, and particularly for Sacco and Vanzetti. But the great quantity of material collected was not fully utilised.

In order to give a full picture of the agitation and press activity of our Department, we give below a survey of all of the campaigns conducted.

### CAMPAIGNS.

Through its superintendence of the campaigns, the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. has come to the conclusion that many directions and instructions given in the circulars can be dispensed with, owing to the way in which work is now carried on in the most important Sections. Communist Parties chiefly require facts, whereas detailed organisational directions which have to be adapted to every separate country are superfluous. Moreover, we have ascertained that in nearly all campaigns the material reached the Parties much too late. Therefore an attempt was

made in the course of 1927 to introduce a change in this respect, and to replace circulars and organisational instructions as much as possible by the despatch of material which could be put to a practical use.

Since the beginning of 1927, the following campaigns have been carried out with the support of the agitation sub-department :

Lenin Week, 1927.

The Anniversary of the February Revolution.

May Day, 1927.

The Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

Lenin Week, 1928.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.

Side by side with these traditional campaigns, we had to conduct campaigns against imperialist war and intervention in China. There were also campaigns against White terror and the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and the campaign for the popularisation of E.C.C.I. decisions with which we deal in another part of the report.

In the last two years, the Lenin Campaign differed from the preceding ones in that it no longer pursued a general agitation for Leninist doctrines, but adapted itself concretely to the immediate tasks of the Party.

In 1928 particularly Lenin Week was linked up with the utilisation of the decisions of the XV Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. and with the Trotskyist polemics based on these decisions.

This way of conducting the Lenin campaign was all the more expedient because it had already assumed definite traditional forms in all countries which have only to be given a suitable substance in every recurring year.

For May Day, material of an historical character was issued for utilisation in the press; it was co-ordinated in a special number of the "Inprecorr." But for May Day, 1928, nothing special was undertaken.

The campaign for the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution was something outside the scope of the ordinary traditional campaigns. Its beginning coincided with the Tenth Anniversary of the February Revolution on which historical material—articles, notices, a chronicle of events, etc.—was published regularly. It was intended to give full information during the second half of the campaign about the successes of ten years of Socialist construction. But this second task was only partly carried out: some of the proposed pamphlets were not published, and this was also the case with some articles and material intended for the press. In this campaign material was to be forwarded in two ways: through the "Inprecorr" and directly to the press. The press was supplied with made up "pages" on certain questions (wages and others), which contained illustrations and statistics as well as short articles. An attempt was

also made to place pictures and other illustration-material at the disposal of the Parties; a series of diagrams on construction under ten years of Soviet rule were sent to all Parties, and the biggest legal Parties were supplied with small exhibitions for the Tenth Anniversary.

This report deals only with this side of the work of the Agitprop Department without going into its share in the political conduct of the October campaign, particularly the campaign connected with the workers' delegations to the Tenth Anniversary.

The defects of the campaigns for the Tenth Anniversary were: delay in the despatch of part of the material; inadequate adaptation to the requirements of the individual countries; lack of literature; and above all a flagging of the campaign after the day of the Tenth Anniversary itself.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army was organised entirely by the Agitprop Department. The course adopted was to supply the Parties with descriptive material about the Red Army. A considerable number of short articles were forwarded in good time to the press; almost all of them were utilised by a whole series of newspapers, and in Great Britain they were even published in short pamphlet form. Lantern slides were also produced and ten exhibitions about the development and life of the Red Army were placed at the disposal of the Parties. This campaign was to be considered part of the general campaign against the imperialist war danger.

### CURRENT CAMPAIGNS.

A whole series of important political campaigns on current affairs confronted the agitation sub-department in the later period covered by the report. The most important of them was the anti-war campaign. It developed early in 1927; in connection with it, the agitation sub-department undertook the task of making the rank and file of the Party realise the danger of war, through the publication of relevant facts, giving thereby concrete form to the anti-war agitation.

The main work in this sphere was that of influencing the press by supplying it with facts about armaments and imperialistic conflicts. The campaign was intensified on the occasion of the Eighth Plenum. We did not succeed, however, in carrying out our original intention, i.e., in making the campaign against war a permanent part of the entire agitation activity of all our Parties.

The campaign for the Chinese revolution was particularly difficult for all the Sections, because it was not easy to make head or tail of the contradictory bourgeois news, reliable information frequently arriving too late. The duty of the agitation and press sub-department here should have been to enable the Parties to react in good time to important political events, but it must be admitted that it was very remiss with regard to this task and



limited itself mainly to transmitting what had appeared in the Russian press on Chinese questions.

The campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, in which the Communist Parties of all countries developed extraordinary recruiting powers and initiative went on almost spontaneously, and the part taken in it of the agitation sub-department was quite insignificant.

We omit the permanent campaign against the White terror as it produced nothing new and does not occupy a special place in the activity of the agitation sub-department; we also omit a number of other campaigns. Neither do we deal here with the election campaigns in Germany and France because the results of these with regard to the collection of new agitation experiences are not yet summed up, and the direct share was limited to supplying a small amount of material about Soviet democracy and similar matters.

### UTILISATION OF AGITATION EXPERIENCES.

In this period an attempt was made to draw general conclusions for the agitation activity of the Parties from the biggest campaigns. The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign was studied jointly with the Information Department, and the Anti-War campaign was carefully examined by the Agitprop Department. This brought us face to face with the difficulty of being compelled to use the press as the only material available for the study of the agitation carried on by the Parties, because we had no reports or other information. On the strength of the discussion of this question in the Agitprop Department, a letter was addressed to all Parties in which their attention was drawn to the lessons of this campaign.

No more attempts were then made, however, to systematise the agitation experiences of the Parties, since the results could not have been of much value, being drawn only from written material without utilisation of the practical experience of the Parties.

When conducting campaigns most attention has been devoted to the press. An attempt was certainly made to give a correct picture of the activity of the Parties by introducing systematic surveys by the central organs of the Party concerning the treatment of important questions, but these surveys remained only for the internal use of the department and did not bring any improvement into the Party press.

The supply of the Party press with useful material, which was done first and foremost through the "Inprecorr," proved to be the best way of influencing it. Although the "Inprecorr" is not a very adequate substitute for a press correspondence, it does serve as an information organ for the editorial boards of the provincial press and for the press of the smaller Parties, and facilitates their work.

Telegraphic transmission of news must be certainly considered as a measure of particular importance with regard to the improvement of the political information of the Party press. For this reason, the Agitprop Department supported the steps taken for the organisation of a telegraph agency which, since March, 1927, has been supplying firstly the biggest Communist newspapers of the capitalist countries with news from Russia and the East; and which has now extended its work and is transmitting news between the European countries. In spite of enormous material difficulties, and the short period that the agency has existed, one can already say that it has justified itself.

### **INFORMATION ON THE SOVIET UNION.**

In the course of the period covered by this report, this work has developed in two directions as a special function of the agitation department; firstly, for the refutation of the bourgeois and Social Democratic lies about the Soviet Union by means of suitable facts, and secondly, for the transmission of facts about the life of the Soviet Union.

There were difficulties in connection with the carrying out of the first task, because recourse had frequently to be had to outside collaborators, with the result that one of the most important considerations in this work—the prompt reaction to libellous statements—could not always be obtained.

The second task was carried out with the help of the bulletin issued daily in three languages to the most important Party organs; this bulletin contained a compilation of facts from the Russian daily press. Although this bulletin was, on the whole, utilised in a satisfactory manner, it had one very serious defect; it was not sufficiently adapted to the requirements of the daily press of the capitalist countries, and failed to give comprehensive surveys. In order to remedy these defects the bulletin has been appearing less frequently and is giving more comprehensive and concise material.

### **WORKER CORRESPONDENTS AND FACTORY NEWSPAPERS.**

This sphere of work of the agitation sub-department has received continuous attention, and systematic efforts have been made to give individual guidance to the Parties in all countries.

The general development of the Worker Correspondents' movement is progressing, although not at the desired pace. Valuable experiences were lately obtained in this sphere. Among them are the establishment of Worker Correspondents' clubs at the editors' offices, and the organisation of competitions among Worker Correspondents (in Austria and Sweden), which have resulted in improved correspondence and an increased interest in the Worker Correspondents' movement.

The connection between the Worker Correspondents of the Soviet Union and those of the capitalist countries, which is of enormous importance for the development of the Correspondents' movement, is still in its initial stage. But a good beginning has been made in this direction in several countries.

Although factory newspapers, generally speaking, developed rapidly in individual countries, they must still be considered as in their initial stage, owing to the general inadequacy of the work in factories, which entails unsatisfactory make-up and contents of these papers. Nevertheless in some countries, particularly in Germany, there are already a few good factory newspapers which are beginning to play an important role in the activity of the groups.

The agitation sub-department has endeavoured to influence this work, not so much by circulars and letters as by criticism in the press, and particularly in the "Inprecorr," as well as by direct contact with their places of origin.

So as to give a complete picture of activity in the field of agitation work we will mention in conclusion agitation by illustration and art as a sphere which is gaining in importance. In connection with individual campaigns it has always been pointed out that the agitation sub-department endeavours to place illustration material at the disposal of the Parties. The greatest defect is the lack of suitable films which could be utilised by the Parties at not too exorbitant prices. The efforts of the agitation sub-department in this sphere have not yet met with much success.

### THE PROPAGANDA SUB-DEPARTMENT.

The Fifth Congress and the decisions made since that Congress on agitprop work have laid emphasis on the fact that propaganda is the main task of the Agitprop Department. Particular stress was laid on the necessity of increased propaganda of Leninism and of the publication of Lenin's works in foreign languages. But as this activity is no longer part of the work of the department, this report cannot include what has been done with regard to Lenin publications.

Lack of a sufficient number of properly qualified comrades, and the fact that those available are overburdened with current work which is not always directly connected with propaganda, make the development of the latter more difficult. Therefore, the tasks which the Sixth Enlarged Executive laid down in its agitprop resolution for the propaganda of Leninism (education of the leading cadres of the Parties, Leninist education of secondary Party officials and members, and the popularisation of Leninism beyond the ranks of the C.P.) were only partly carried out.

But although the propaganda work which had been planned was not developed to the extent that it should have been, a considerable amount of work for the popularisation of Leninism was

done, together with the current propaganda work, and the foundation was laid for the development of the Party educational system.

All the sessions of the Executive of the E.C.C.I. were utilised for propaganda purposes by sending out to the Parties suitable syllabuses for courses and methodical instruction, as well as self-education material. The fact that, owing to inadequate connections with the Parties, no idea can be given as to what extent this material was utilised practically, must be considered a defect.

Much of the current propaganda work has been concentrated on the ideological struggle against Trotskyism, and the elements of Leninism were contrasted with the conceptions of the opposition. The more important material published in the Russian press was properly abbreviated and elaborated for publication in the Communist press; the discussion material for the Fifteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. was translated in full and a compilation of material, "Facts and Figures," was published with it. For the thorough study of the decisions of the Fifteenth Party Congress a plan of courses was elaborated in connection with the Lenin Week, 1928, which contained a reasoned argument against Trotskyism based on principles.

### THEORETICAL ORGANS.

The enormous importance of the theoretical organs for the popularisation of Leninism in the Party made it necessary for the press sub-department to give regular support to these organs in their work. This was done principally by forwarding articles to the theoretical organs on individual problems, particularly on those connected with Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and also by criticising the theoretical organs. The latter method has proved to be an effective means of influencing the theoretical Party organs.

The re-appearance of the international periodical, "Under the Banner of Marxism," in a slightly altered form will fill the gap in the theoretical treatment of the problems of Marxist-Leninism from the scientific standpoint.

### PARTY EDUCATIONAL WORK.

The education of the Leading Party cadres was certainly not taken up systematically enough in the period with which we are dealing. The greatest progress in this sphere has been made by the C.P.G., which has already secured the attendance of the best class of district officials at its central Party school for the second time, and is also making energetic preparations for the holding of district schools. The British, Czech and American Parties have also held central schools which were supported by the Propaganda Sub-Department of the E.C.C.I. by the drawing up of syllabuses on various subjects in the sphere of Leninism, and by instructions on organisation and method.

Side by side with Central Party Schools, district schools and weekly courses are developing in all Parties and are bearing fruit. To encourage the education of secondary officials, a complete course on the elementary questions of Leninism was elaborated, which is also a guide for the drawing up of manuals by the Parties.

In connection with the elementary education of Party members, the Propaganda Sub-Department has done its utmost to link up the programme of the education courses with the actual political problems of the Party and with Party campaigns.

For this purpose, a series of organisational instructions were given to the Parties; materials for courses on various subjects was also elaborated for immediate use (including plans for courses on "Leninism and War," "Results of the Fifteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U." and "Results of the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.")

As to the organisation of elementary education, this rests as before mostly with the local organisation; the centre of gravity of this work has not yet been transferred to the groups. No definite results are yet available concerning the attempts of the C.P.C.C. to make educational work obligatory in the groups; however, big difficulties will undoubtedly have to be overcome in this sphere, just as in the other Sections.

The main defect in this field and in education work in general is the absence of good and popular Manuals of Marxist-Leninism. There is no doubt whatever that the Propaganda Sub-Department of the E.C.C.I. has not done enough to fill these gaps. Its work in this respect has been limited to criticising the manuals produced by the Parties themselves (for instance a detailed criticism was written on the "Communist Party Training" of the British Party) and to inviting the Parties to produce manuals themselves, taking advantage of the help which the agitprop of the E.C.C.I. is willing to give (supplying plans, and schemes, and also manuscripts for examination).

The Propaganda Sub-Department has now undertaken the preliminary work for the compilation of a series of short guides for elementary education in the winter education campaign, 1928-29, which it will send to the Parties in good time for the necessary local alterations and additions and for subsequent publication.

### THE SELF-EDUCATION SYSTEM.

The self-education system is a new field of activity for the agitprop work of the Communist Parties. It is a question here of adapting the important experiences of Russia to the special working conditions of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries. An attempt was made, first of all in the daily press of the Parties, to introduce self-education corners which were to supply material regularly to those interested in this work. The

difficulty in connection with this consists for the time being in the fact that the individual Parties have not as yet sufficient forces capable of undertaking this work. The biggest part of this task was the elaboration of a self-education plan for the questions of war and the war danger which was forwarded to all the Parties. An attempt also was made to introduce self-education corners in the press and in the theoretical periodicals, but with hardly any results as yet. In connection with self-education, being a new sphere of work, one notices here more than in connection with anything else the lack of regular connections with the Parties which carry on this work. Hitherto, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia has alone done effective organisational work in the sphere of self-education.

The worker's educational system is confronted first and foremost with the task of spreading Leninism beyond the ranks of the Communist Party. Increased attention was therefore paid to this towards the end of the period covered by this report. This was after several Parties had already taken the initiative in this sphere.

In connection with this, one should mention the development of the Workers' School of the American Party, which is a good example of an educational institution catering for circles outside the Party. Lately, other Parties have also begun to do work of this kind. One must, however, admit that as yet not enough has been done to utilise Communist influence in the trade unions and other labour organisations to gain ideological influence in their ranks. It is here that the propaganda sub-department of the E.C.C.I. is faced with one of its most important tasks.

It has been felt during the period dealt with in this report that in order to elaborate and develop systematically the various branches of propaganda and educational work a propaganda bulletin is very much needed. It should take the form of an independent publication or of an appendix to the officials' organs, and should carry on the task of organising educational work on a political basis. A special instruction was sent on this subject, therefore, by the propaganda sub-department to all big Sections. One can safely assume that the establishment of such a bulletin will be of the greatest importance for the development of the educational system of the Parties.

### TO SUM UP.

The Fifth Congress laid the foundation for the development of agitprop work in the Comintern. If it has not been possible since then to carry out all the tasks which the Fifth Congress imposed on the Agitprop Department, this has been mainly due to the defects in the working methods of that department during this period.

We have already mentioned the changes of staff and its frequently inadequate qualifications, the frequent changes in the

management, and particularly the lack of association with the other work of the E.C.C.I.

It has become apparent that division into sub-departments and according to branches of work is not strictly adhered to, because every member of the staff has to do agitational as well as propaganda work when it concerns the country with which he is familiar. For this reason it must be considered whether it will not be more expedient in future to replace the present division according to branches of work by an organisation of national specialists who are familiar with the conditions of the countries in their charge and who can keep in contact with the respective secretariats. A fully qualified Marxist staff should be grouped around this body of specialists, whose business it should be to elaborate the books, manuals, syllabuses, etc., which are required.

Another lesson to be drawn from this period is that without personal connection with the Sections agitprop work cannot produce good results. Therefore it is essential to develop a system of instructors, whose activity must not be limited to propaganda, but must embrace all the spheres of agitprop work. Temporary work by experienced agitprop officials from the various countries in the capacity of practical advisers will also give an impetus to this activity and will help to bring about the actuality desired in the work of the individual parties.

As to immediate tasks, propaganda work must be concentrated entirely on the publication of the necessary manuals; explanatory literature in connection with the programme of the Comintern should also be produced with the greatest care. This does not mean that the agitprop apparatus must make itself responsible for literary production; it means that the best available literary forces should be drawn into this work.

Agitation and press work will also profit by the creation of instructors. Through the elimination of circulars and general instructions, it will be possible to concentrate attention on an improved service for the supply of up-to-date political material to the Parties.

Collection of experiences connected with agitational work and international exchange of experience, which has hitherto been very inadequate, must be thoroughly developed in the future.

One can say in conclusion that during the period covered by this report agitprop work in the most important Sections has developed in volume and quality; it has done much for the stimulation of the whole Party organisation, with the result that various agitation and propaganda methods developed spontaneously. But if agitprop work is to do justice to the ever-growing requirements of the political life of the Parties, all leading Party committees must pay more attention to it than before; they must strengthen and develop the agitprop apparatus from the top to

the bottom and must give its activity an increasingly political form. This applies to big and small Sections of the Comintern alike. In view of the specific importance which agitprop work has for the Bolshevisation of our Parties in the capitalist countries, there can be no doubt whatever that the general progress of our Party organisations depends greatly on the solution of these tasks.



## REPORT OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF THE E.C.C.I.

**T**HE outstanding items with which the Information Department of the E.C.C.I. has been mainly occupied since the Fifth World Congress can be summarised as follows:—

1. Information to the E.C.C.I. and its organs on the situation in the various countries and the activities of the national sections of the Party.
2. Information to the sections of the C.I. on the activities of the E.C.C.I. and the brother Parties.

Since the Fifth World Congress the methods of work of the Information Department have changed considerably following the changing needs arising from the practical experiences of the Department, and the Department itself has also been reorganised. It has been found that the political work of the E.C.C.I. and its organs necessitates a closer observation of the work of the national sections and an extensive gathering and elaboration of incoming material. Realising this, the Presidium decided after the Fifth World Congress to reorganise the Information Department. In accordance with a plan drawn up by the Organising Bureau of the E.C.C.I., the following tasks were allocated to the Information Department:—

- (a) To supply the E.C.C.I. and its organs with information on the political life and activities of the Communist Parties.
- (b) To keep the sections of the C.I. informed as to the activities of the Executive.
- (c) To call the attention of the organs of the E.C.C.I. and the Executive to new political and other problems of the sections and to make the necessary proposals to serve as a basis for the decision of the E.C.C.I.

A necessary pre-requisite towards the carrying out of these tasks formulated by the Presidium for the Information Department was, naturally, the securing of a qualified staff. In this respect, the situation in the Information Department was for a long time very difficult, but it has considerably improved during recent years. Certain defects, however, have still to be overcome. The department has at the present time collaborators on the following countries: Germany, England, Ireland, United States, Canada, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Poland, Scandinavia, Holland, Near East, China, India, South Africa, Indonesia, Australia. It should be emphasised that in some cases one specialist deals with several countries. For some time considerable difficulty was experienced in supplying information on the countries of the Far East, particularly

China and Japan. However, in this respect also the situation has improved, and the material now dealt with in the Information Department is received directly from Chinese sources.

## THE BASIS OF WORK OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

The chief basis of the work of the Information Department is:—

(1) The Party Press, Party literature, and the Opposition Press of the various countries.

(2) The material of the E.C.C.I. and its organs.

(3) The minutes and reports of the individual sections or reports from representatives of the sections appointed to the E.C.C.I. In this respect the Information Department has been faced with great difficulties as the sections do not supply sufficient material necessary for the work of the Department. Certain shortcomings are, therefore, inevitable in the work of the Information Department, which become still further enhanced owing to the difficulties of distance and the consequent delay in the receipt of material. Many improvements, however, have been made in this respect during the last few years.

In order to improve the international connections of the Information Department and to link up its work closely with the sections of the C.I., the sessions of the Enlarged Executive and the Executive were utilised in organising Information Conferences. One of the most important of these conferences took place during the Enlarged Plenum of March, 1925. At that conference 17 countries were represented by 25 delegates. Among others, the conference made the following decisions:—

(1) The Central Committee of the various sections to appoint representatives who are to keep in continuous contact with the Information Department of the E.C.C.I.

(2) Information Departments to be set up as part of the Central apparatus of the Parties.

(3) The Information Department of the E.C.C.I. to issue a monthly bulletin.

With regard to the setting up of Information Departments in the various sections, considerable progress has been made since the Fifth World Congress and since the Information Conference of March, 1925. The larger parties have in nearly every case set up Information Departments, while in the smaller parties individual comrades are engaged in information work. As far as the first decision is concerned, it was impossible to establish the necessary contact with most of the parties to an extent satisfactory to the Information Department. This lack of contact adversely affected the various aspects of the work of the Department.

In addition to the various conferences connected with the

sessions of the E.C.C.I., minor conferences with individual members of the various parties in the E.C.C.I. were held whenever an opportunity arose. In the absence of other contacts, these conferences served a very useful purpose. In particular, the recent R.I.L.U. Congress deserves special mention.

### INFORMATION LETTERS.

The main activity of the Department has been the sending of "Information" letters, reports and communications. Most important in this respect have been the brief communications formulating concisely the current issues in the various countries. These communications partly include concrete proposals. This work is carried on in close contact with the existing "national secretariats," who also assign certain tasks to the Information Department. In addition to these communications more extensive reports are written on the important problems of a political, economic and tactical character in the various countries, the most important of which are also communicated to the different sections of the C.I. Questions of international importance are dealt with by the Information Department and these are written laying down the fundamental principles.

The "Information" letters deal mainly with questions concerning the Communist International itself. They give regular reports on the work of the Presidium and the Polit-Secretariat and on the most important questions confronting the parties. On the whole, about 45 "Information" letters have been written. In addition five comprehensive bulletins have appeared which dealt with the activity of the E.C.C.I. and its organs as well as with the situation in the various Communist Parties.

Information has been supplied to the Press either for publication or as points of information. Finally, various reports on the work of the E.C.C.I. and the sections have been written and partly published since the Fifth World Congress in connection with the sessions of the Executive and the Enlarged Executive. The present report for the Sixth World Congress has been drawn up by the Information Department. In compiling this report the Information Department has had to contend with many difficulties, as with very few exceptions the sections of the C.I., although requested to do so, have not sent in reports on their activities. This is a shortcoming which must be overcome in the future.

"Facts," which gave a daily report on the most important and political economic events since March, 1925, has been discontinued as its publication is no longer deemed necessary.

The files of newspaper cuttings started in 1925 have assumed enormous dimensions and have considerably helped in improving the work of the Information Department and in facilitating the activities of the various organs of the E.C.C.I., such as the "national secretariats," etc.

The E.C.C.I. library has been considerably enlarged and books on vital current political problems are continually being added.

On the whole it may be stated that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, the work of the Information Department has in many respects improved. The most important difficulty, however, continues to be the lack of sufficient contact between the Information Department of the E.C.C.I. and the sections of the C.I. The qualitative side of the work of the Information Department will improve to the extent to which this difficulty is overcome.

## REPORTS IN FIGURES.

Information Reports, 634.

Information Letters, 45.

Communications, 600.

Bulletins, 5.

Sections.	Reports.	Communications.
Germany ... ..	105	119
England ... ..	60	28
France ... ..	23	12
Italy ... ..	38	33
Spain ... ..	2	—
Portugal ... ..	1	—
Czecho-Slovakia ...	36	83
Austria ... ..	14	18
Switzerland ... ..	8	10
Belgium ... ..	8	20
Holland ... ..	6	24
Ireland ... ..	2	—
Scandinavia ... ..	8	—
Sweden ... ..	13	9
Denmark ... ..	10	5
Norway ... ..	16	8
Esthonia ... ..	1	—
Lithuania ... ..	1	1
Finland ... ..	3	2
Poland ... ..	16	9
Hungary ... ..	2	5
Bulgaria ... ..	5	3
Roumania ... ..	11	4
Yugo-Slavia ... ..	4	2
Greece ... ..	10	1
Albania ... ..	2	—
Turkey ... ..	6	1
Arabia ... ..	1	1
Iraq ... ..	—	1
Egypt ... ..	2	12
Palestine ... ..	2	4
Persia ... ..	3	3

## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

South Africa	...	...	2	...	6
United States	...	...	38	...	14
Canada	...	...	3	...	—
Argentina	...	...	3	...	1
Brazil	...	...	2	...	—
Venezuela	...	...	—	...	1
Chile	...	...	1	...	—
Nicaragua	...	...	3	...	1
Peru	...	...	1	...	—
China	...	...	26	...	18
Japan	...	...	7	...	2
Mongolia	...	...	—	...	1
Korea	...	...	1	...	4
India	...	...	8	...	32
Indonesia	...	...	—	...	45
Australia	...	...	—	...	1
Iceland	...	...	3	...	—
Syria	...	...	1	...	1
Afghanistan	...	...	—	...	1
Russia	...	...	13	...	11
International	...	...	74	...	27

# REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE E.C.C.I. TO THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

## SURVEY OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

**W**ITH every year the significance of the part played by women in the class struggle increases. Capitalist rationalisation has brought hundreds of thousands of new women workers into industry, whom the proletariat must organise into their united front.

It is in the best interests of the bourgeoisie to prevent working women from joining up with the revolutionary struggle and wherever possible to keep this new militant proletarian group away from the revolutionary movement and keep them in the service of the bourgeoisie. This fact explains why in recent years both the bourgeoisie and its allied reformists display increased interest and activity in the recruitment and organisation of working women.

### **The Influence of Reformists on Working Women.**

The main pillars of reformist propaganda amongst women are : Revolutionary phraseology of a vague nature, with a copious mixture of Christian Socialism, welfare work, pacifism and the swindle of bourgeois culture.

The propaganda of the Second International amongst women in its political lines is in accordance with the general policy of class collaboration, gradual development towards Socialism, confidence in the League of Nations, etc.

#### **(a) The Second International.**

Since the Brussels conference in December, 1926, there has been attached to the Second International a women's international committee for the permanent conduct of this branch of work. For this purpose the Second International publication, "International Information," started a monthly women's supplement in January, 1927. Such measures have resulted in an intensification of the work of the national parties, which have recently shown signs of extending their apparatus (women's secretariats, committees, sections, groups); they organise all national and regional conferences, membership recruiting campaigns and especially carry on intense work in the training of women officials in all sorts of courses for this purpose.

In recent years the Social Democrats have increased the number of their women members. S.D.P. in Germany; March, 1925; 153,693; December 31, 1926:—165,492; 1928, after the recruiting campaign: 181,541. Women's Section of the British Labour Party at the Women's Conference in Birmingham, 1925: 200,000 individually enrolled women members; at the Huddersfield Congress; 1927:—300,000. S.D.P. of Austria: 1920—70,000; October 27, 1927:—190,000; January 1, 1928, after the recruiting campaign of "woman to woman":—220,000. In Vienna the number of women members rose as a result of the recruiting campaign from 116,187 to 127,779. S.D.P. of Holland: March 31, 1922:—9,148 women members—21.8 per cent. of the entire membership; December 31, 1927:—13,502 women members—27.1 per cent. of the total membership.

### **(b) The Amsterdam International.**

A general exodus of women workers from the reformist Trade Unions took place in several countries prior to 1927. Their leaders did not venture, either in Germany or in England, not to mention America, to carry on serious recruiting for the Trade Unions amongst the women workers, because the strength of the newly-organised masses might become dangerous for them. However, on an international scale the international women's committee attached to Amsterdam, in the same way as the German Trade Union bureaucrats, pretends to be actively interested in women workers and organises conferences and holds enquiries, etc. In reality, the policy of Amsterdam has been that of a continual betrayal of the most elementary interests of women workers, especially in regard to the question of wages.

The daily struggle for wages and a shorter working day in the course of the big international strike wave served to undermine the influence of the reformists on the masses of women.

### **(c) Women's International Co-operative Guilds.**

The Women's Co-operative Guilds in England, with a membership of 58,000, and in Scotland with 30,000 members, constitute the proletarian backbone of the International Guilds. It is difficult to estimate the sphere of influence of the comparatively young international guilds (founded in 1921), since the other affiliated organisations are not so well organised as the British Guilds. Last year, just at the same time as the policy of the London Co-operative Alliance took a more reactionary turn a differentiation also arose within the ranks of the women's guilds. The International leadership and the leaders of some of the women's guilds adopted an extreme Right policy at the Stockholm Congress, but a Left opposition rallied around the Soviet delegation, composed mainly of British delegates, friendly disposed towards Soviet Russia.

**COMMUNIST INFLUENCE AND REVOLUTIONISING THE  
MASSES OF WOMEN.**

The strong traditional influence of the bourgeoisie and the reformists on the masses of working women in connection with the recent recruiting activity makes it extremely difficult for Communist Parties to gain permanent influence over large masses of women workers. At the same time there is every evidence that the Communist Parties have been able to win over large masses of women in support of all the campaigns and struggles of the working class as a whole. The big international strike wave of 1927 may serve as an instance of the revolutionising of the masses of women under the strong influence of the C.P.; this was the case in Europe, America and Asia. In Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Poland, etc., women workers displayed a determination and readiness for the struggle and bravery in the bloody encounters with the police and military—Italy, Poland, miners' strikes in Czecho-Slovakia and America—which could leave no doubt as to the extent of the mass movement amongst women workers. The influence of the Party cannot be estimated generally by the strength of the movement. Only in Italy, Poland, Bulgaria—where the strikes of women workers were actually headed by Communists—is it possible to get an exact estimate of Communist influence. Generally speaking, other factors must be taken into consideration in judging the organic growth of Communist influence. One proof would be the extent of the permanent gains of the C.P. as a result of the big struggles; nearly everywhere these gains are by far not in keeping with the real or apparent influence exerted during the actual movement. Still, progress has been made, even in this difficult field, such as the increase in the women membership of the C.P.G.B. during the miners' strike, an increase which has been retained to a certain extent; the big rally of women workers to the C.P. of China: the increase in the number of women workers in the Italian Trade Unions; and the big rally of women workers to the Trade Unions in Germany in 1927.

The frequent campaigns against war and for the Soviet Union show in most countries that Communist influence on certain types of women workers is far greater than the numbers organised in the Party lead one to believe.

**WORK OF THE COMINTERN AMONGST WORKING  
WOMEN.**

Instructions were issued at the Fifth International Congress and at the Third Women's International Conference in 1924 for greater activity on the part of the Comintern amongst women. During the last two years of the period under review the activity of the Women's Section of the E.C.C.I. and that of the National



Sections was concentrated on the International Conference on work amongst women, held in May-June, 1926. The concrete instructions of this conference were on the following lines :—

(1) Increased incorporation of work amongst women in the general Party work.

(2) Greater concentration of the work of women's departments on factory and Trade Union work;

(3) The inauguration of systematic organisation of women's delegate meetings in countries outside the Soviet Union;

(4) Increase in the international exchange of experiences between the Soviet Union and the Sections in other countries.

The content of the Comintern work amongst the masses of women was confined to the realisation of these tasks.

### **The Activity of the Women's Section of the E.C.C.I. and the Results in the C.I. Sections.**

The chief activity was the preparation for the Fourth International Conference on work amongst women, which was held in May-June, 1926. This conference submitted a plan of the policy for the main branches of work amongst women to the Org-Bureau of the E.C.C.I.

The Women's Section assisted in carrying out the international decisions in the various Sections; it controlled and inaugurated the activity of Communist Parties amongst women by the collection, study and utilisation of suitable material.

### **Work Amongst Women—an Important Task for all Parties.**

Practically all the Sections of the C.I. carry on work amongst women. Those Parties who started this work since 1924 are: Denmark, China, and some of the smaller South American Parties; a beginning has also been made in Australia. The European Parties which absolutely fail to carry on this work are: the Belgian, Rumanian, Yugoslavian, Esthonian, Spanish and Portuguese. This work on the whole is weak and one of the chief causes is the inability of the majority of the Parties to realise the necessity of special work to win over working women. Consequently, as a general rule the active leadership and support of the work amongst women by the Party leaders is still weak.

### **Situation as to Women Members.**

The absolute and relative strength of the women membership in the Parties is still unsatisfactory. (France 1100—2 per cent.). Even when the figures are favourable (Czecho-Slovakia 25,000—19 per cent.; Germany 848—13 per cent.; Sweden and Norway 13 per cent and 19 per cent. respectively; Great Britain 1700—14.25 per cent.) the sociable composition is unfavourable, for prac-

tically everywhere the number of industrial workers is too small when compared with that of working-class housewives.

### **Work in Factories and Trade Unions.**

Nearly all Sections now recognise that attention should be concentrated on work in factories and Trade Unions. Some Sections have carried on earnest work in this direction, though the results have not always been very great. But in spite of such attempts this section of the work constitutes the weakest spot in nearly every Party. The main causes of this shortcoming are to be found in the inadequate reorganisation of the Parties on the lines of factory nuclei and the general weakness of Trade Union work in most Parties. Furthermore, this work suffers from the lack of trained women in factories, and consequently the work there is restricted and slow.

In spite of all these shortcomings the following successes have been attained: Work in Factories; extensive introduction of meetings of women workers in factories and outside the factory gates, and the simultaneous circulation of literature (Germany, France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland) inauguration of factory newspaper containing women's pages (Germany, France, England, Italy, America) the organisation of a considerable number of women worker correspondents in many countries (Germany, France, England, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Italy, America; the formation of the first women worker circles and factory groups in Germany, Italy, Poland, Latvia and Norway.

### **Trade Union Work.**

In Germany, in connection with successful strikes, there has been a great increase in the number of women workers in Trade Unions, especially in the Metal Workers Union (14,000 new members, quite a considerable number of whom were women; Tobacco Workers Union 8,000, 70-80 per cent. women; Textile Workers Union 7,000 women); the conquest of local managing boards by the opposition after strikes of women workers and the convention of opposition conferences of women workers, etc.

In France in the C.G.T.U. the inauguration of numerous women's commissions and the convention of women's Trade Union conferences.

In Czecho-Slovakia in the I.A.V. the inauguration of women's commissions in connection with the executive, the textile and clothing workers union and a campaign to recruit women in 1924, during which new women members were secured.

In America the foundation of women's Trade Union Clubs in connection with certain Trade Unions to win over women workers to the Minority Movement. In China and Japan the first women's Trade Union commissions have been formed. In Italy the

creation of a cadre revolutionary women workers, who form the backbone of all the strikes.

### **Women Delegate Meetings.**

This type of work, to which the Fourth International Conference attach particular importance, is only receiving the consideration of the majority of Parties.

Many of these Sections have not not beyond the stage of discussion, congress resolutions, preliminary work, etc. (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Poland, China). In a more or less developed form women delegates meetings have been held in Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, England, America, France, Finland and Mongolia.

Generally speaking, there have been but a limited number of women delegate meetings up to the present. Women delegate meetings are primarily a link between the Party and women workers and presuppose a certain Party basis in the factories and Trade Unions. The weakness of this basis in the majority of Parties continues to handicap the development of the women's delegate movement. For this reason, too, Parties who had not a sufficiently strong basis in the factories begun to organise women's delegate meetings on other lines, which should be further developed according to the international policy in this respect. Hence the picture of the position of women's delegate meetings varies very much in the different countries.

In Germany, where Trade Union and factory work is better developed than in any of the other Parties, the type of women's delegate meetings is most in accordance with the international instructions. The delegates were either elected or chosen from amongst a definite class of working women, mainly factory delegates then delegates of unemployed women and housewives. They held meetings periodically and in the intervals between the meetings carried on definite work (propaganda of the Party slogans, circulation of literature, compilation of simple propaganda material, recruiting for Trade Unions, etc.). In this way a body of working women was brought into active work and trained, and agitation was carried by these delegates for definite campaigns. The most important activity was the Workers Congress, held in 1926, which served as the starting point for the election of the first women's delegate meeting in Berlin and five other centres. After the first successes there was a setback in the movement. Even all the women's delegate meetings started were not maintained, and in others the number of delegates declined and the activity and regularity of the meetings deteriorated. However, those delegates who remained under the leadership of the Party did good work during the various struggles in mobilising and organising women in Trade Unions; this was mainly the case in Berlin and Solingen.

A protocol on the experiences of the German Party,

compiled by the Women's Section, made all Parties acquainted with the results attained in Germany. An article on women's delegate meetings in Germany was published in the *Inprecorr*. Extensive information on the women's delegate meetings in the Soviet Union was sent to all the Sections in the form of the original programme and policy, partly contained in articles (*Inprecorr*) and in the bulletin of the Women's Section of the E.C.C.I.

In New York in 1927 a women's delegate conference, on the lines laid down by the international policy, was convened with representatives from the factories. The meetings were to be held periodically and a newspaper was started. The first experiences show a lack of participation of factory nuclei and Trade Union factions.

Women's delegate meetings are quite different in England. Since the C.P.G.B. has practically no supporters amongst women in factories and Trade Unions an attempt was made to get into contact with the women organised in the strong reformist women's organisations and gain influence over them by the convention of women's delegate conferences, composed of chosen representatives from the Women's Co-operative Guilds, Women's Section of the Labour Party, Trade Unions, etc. Women workers were in a minority and only recently has a beginning been made in sending delegates directly from the factories, but so far this section of the work is weak. One of the fundamental defects of these meetings is that they are on a basis which does not provide for the main source of strength to come from the factories, whilst another shortcoming lies in the fact that the delegates do not carry on systematic work. But their success lies in the fact that the little Communist Party has been able to get into touch with large masses of women under the leadership of our opponents and to spread Communist slogans amongst the masses.

In Czecho-Slovakia the first women's delegate meetings were held in 1927 in Bruex and Dux (Aussig district) just as a miners' strike was in progress. The meetings were composed of delegates from the miners' wives, factory and home workers and elected representatives of the Social Democratic and National Socialist Parties. On a few occasions they met with great success amongst the masses, but when the strike was concluded the meetings died out.

Recently attempts have been made in Czecho-Slovakia and France to organise women's delegate meetings through the Red Trade Unions. These meetings, which have already been held, were composed only of women workers organised in the Red Trade Unions. Delegate meetings on such lines can be very useful in those countries where the C.P. is illegal.

As a general rule it is most important for all Sections to establish close contact between the women's delegate movement and the Trade Unions, but this should not imply that women's delegate meetings be restricted to Trade Union work only.

**Work in Women's Non-Party Organisations.**

This branch of work forms an important section of the activity of certain Parties. Women's non-Party organisations have helped to establish contact between the Parties and factory workers, though in certain instances this activity has not been specially successful. In Canada the Women's Labour League and in Holland the Proletarian Women's League constitute practically the only link between the weak Parties and the masses of women, but in Norway the work has been concentrated almost entirely on Housewives Societies. In the United States women in factories and Trade Unions have been neglected and all attention directed towards the organisations sympathising with the Party, which existed before systematic activity was carried on amongst women.

In Germany and France there has been also a certain amount of ideological vagueness and consequent political deviations in the work amongst non-Party women's organisations. The Red Women's and Girl's League copies the Communist Party too closely, and therefore cannot be so effective in recruiting the backward masses of women.

In France the contrary occurred. The "Union fraternelle des femmes contre la guerre" was so intent on adapting its policy to the pacifist tendencies amongst the masses of women that in the beginning it quite lost the character of a Communist Party.

**Work in the Non-Party Mass Organisations.**

This must be increased. Steady and successful work is carried on in the Co-operatives by the C.P.G.B., which has been very active during the past year within the Women's Guilds, the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia has formed a whole network of women's commissions in the Co-operatives under Communist influence and several important Co-operative women's conferences have been held where women Communists were strongly represented. In Germany a definite women's Co-operative movement has also started. The most active forces in the Red Aid and the International Workers' Aid in practically every country are the women members under the leadership of Communists.

**Press.**

The press is used by nearly all Parties as a means of carrying on propaganda amongst women. But only very few sections have special women's paper. New women's papers were started in Germany in 1926 ("Kaempferin"); England, 1926 ("Working Woman"); Austria, 1926 ("Arbeiterin"); Norway, 1926 ("Gnisten"); Italy ("Campagna"); papers revived include: in the United States, 1927 ("Working Woman"); Canada, 1926 ("Woman Worker"). In those Sections where there is no special woman's paper there is usually a woman's section in the

Party press, and in some instances this exists as well as a special paper. Such papers have opened out on new lines and broken with the usual traditions, with the exception perhaps of the "Rozse-vacka," Czecho-Slovakia; they are all closely connected with the masses, mainly with the factory workers; this is greatly assisted by the constant increase in the number of women worker correspondents.

The main defects in the press are : the Party daily press, and to a still greater extent the theoretical organs, pay too little attention to the question of work amongst women.

The political and theoretical level of the special women's press in the majority of countries is not satisfactory. Without exception progress has been made during the past few years by the women's press, and some are exceedingly well-edited, such as the "Kaempferin" (Germany) and the "Campagna" (Italy).

### **Educational Work.**

On the whole, the work of training cadres for work amongst women has been too weak. The Communist Party of Austria carries on systematic and serious work in this direction, and also the C.P. of Poland. In the winter of 1925/26 the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia made a most successful attempt by starting district schools for women, where 500 women officials were trained, but the work has since been neglected. Some Parties are afraid of cultivating feminism by starting special training schools for women.

### **Work to Paralyse the Activity of Opponents.**

This branch of work is in practically every country aimless and unorganised. One of the reasons why the Communist Parties fail to retain the working women who are won during successful campaigns and struggles must be attributed to the lack of political discussions with opponents on fundamental points.

## **METHODS OF WORK OF THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENTS OF THE E.C.C.I.**

The Women's Section of the E.C.C.I. insructed the individual Sections in respect to work amongst women on the lines laid down by the Comintern. Chief attention was concentrated on the following questions :—

### **(a) Incorporation of Work Amongst Women in the General Party Work.**

In this connection in certain countries ideological vagueness and deviations had to be overcome; these arose from the fact that certain sections of the Party denied the need for "special" work amongst women, prevented the formation of a special department for this work, or rejected the individual demands of working women on the grounds that the struggle was a united class strug-

gle for working men and women. (Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia). The Women's Section of the E.C.C.I. advised that the women's departments in the various Parties be strengthened and closer connection be established between the W.S. and the other departments of Party work. The Women's Section supported the women's departments of the various Sections by utilising the general campaigns of the Party for the mobilisation of working women.

**(b) Establishment and development of the apparatus.**

for work amongst women. Instructions were issued for the completion of the network of women's departments, especially in the most important industrial districts; the allocation of women organisers for work in the factory nuclei and Trade Unions, the inclusion of women workers in the women's departments and that a definite programme of action and concrete plans of work be drafted for women's departments.

**(c) Intensification of work in the factories and Trade Unions.**

All instructions issued for international campaigns definitely urged that work in this connection should also be carried on in factories and Trade Unions. The instructions for the International Women's Day 1927-28 made a feature of the mobilisation of women workers; in addition to this many Sections were given instructions bearing on definite questions (viz., in Germany the women's day in 1928; Czecho-Slovakia, work in the I.A.V.; American, Passaic; Sweden, lock-out; Norway, circles for working women; Latvia, women's sections in the independent Trade Unions, etc.). The Women's Section issued a special Bulletin with reports and material on work in factories and Trade Unions.

**(d) Women's delegate meetings.**

The Women's Section followed and studied the experience gained in the preparation and organisation of women's delegate meetings in the various countries. Special instructions and criticism based on the reports were sent to the Sections with suggestions for further work. The Women Section issued instructions for the development of the women's delegate meetings movement in connection with the Jubilee of the Soviet Union and the International Women's Day in 1928.

**PRESS.**

The Women's Section made a close study of the Communist women's press and expressed opinions to the Parties in question on the following papers: Kaempferin (Germany), Woman Worker (England), Arbeiterin and Roscevaccka (Czecho-Slovakia), Ouvriere (France), Arbeiterin (Austria), Working Woman, Woman at Home in the Shop, Voice of the Working Woman (America).

The W.S. gave advice on the use to be made of the general Party press and factory papers and the development of women worker correspondents.

### CAMPAIGNS.

In connection with the other departments of the E.C.C.I. and allied organisations (Y.C.I., etc.), the Women Section of the E.C.C.I. participated in a number of international campaigns and congresses through instructions and articles on the mobilisation of working women. (May Day, International Co-operative Day, Youth Day, Children's Week, March 18th, etc.). The W.S. arranged for women delegates at the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress, collected and compiled material relating to international women workers and Trade Unions and supplied articles for the campaign.

The W.S. issued two circulars in connection with the Anti-War Campaign for the international press and published two bulletins on the role of women in war. In connection with the China campaign, one bulletin and one circular were issued.

The Campaign on behalf of the Soviet Union was carried uninterruptedly, culminating in the Jubilee of the Soviet Union and the International Women's Day. The Women's Section, with the assistance of the women's departments in the C.P.S.U. and the C.C., supplies the Sections with articles, reports, photographs, posters, newspapers, pamphlets, diagrams, etc., dealing with the working and peasant women in the Soviet Union. Two bulletins on this subject were issued in connection with the International Women's Day 1927-28, one of which was devoted to the women of far eastern countries. The W.S. took part in the propaganda preparation and utilisation of the women's delegations to the Soviet Union in the press, by supplying information, etc.

### INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND ABROAD.

(a) A bulletin is published periodically by the W.S. in four languages to keep the Sections informed of the most important occurrences in the international women's movement and the experience made in Party work. (December, 1926, to March, 1928, 10 numbers).

(b) The W.S. regularly supplies the Press Service of the Women's Newspapers of the Soviet Union with material on the international women's movement, and writes or suggests special articles on important questions for the women's press and the general press in the Soviet Union.

(c) The W.S. constantly supplies the International Press with articles on its special work. These have been sent partly in the form of M.S.S. to the Sections (March, 1927 to March, 1928 95 articles and letters of information), or appeared in the *Inprecorr* (October, 1924 to March 1928, 80 articles). In addition to this Press work eleven pamphlets were published.



## THE CO-OPERATIVE SECTION OF THE E.C.C.I.

**T**HE development of the Co-operatives during the period of relative stabilisation has brought about some changes in the objective conditions necessary to strengthen and spread Communist influence amongst Workers Co-operatives.

After the dislocations of the war and post-war period a certain consolidation of the commercial basis has taken place in the economic situation of the Consumers Co-operatives, their economic role, and the perspectives for their development within capitalist economy as a whole. Progress has been made practically everywhere in the development of the turnover and capital and the extension of business installations; but in spite of this relative success the possibility of the economic development of the Consumers Co-operatives has been restricted and their economic dependence on finance capital increased, though in a covert form. The most important factors in this development are the increased monopoly control of the provision industry by trusts and cartels and the rapid advance made by big trade capital in the form of shop combines.

Notable changes have also occurred in the basis of the membership. Generally speaking the petty bourgeois section has increased and that of the workers shows a relative decrease. The average turnover per member is practically everywhere less than the average of the last pre-war years.

Simultaneous with the general development of the class forces in recent years a more marked differentiation has set in between the bourgeois-reformist and the proletarian-revolutionary camps in the Consumers Co-operatives. On the one hand, we find the petty-bourgeois-reformist Co-operative leaders tending more towards open and decided collaboration with the bourgeoisie, whilst the still weak and vacillating proletarian opposition wing has grown in practically every country and become more active.

### **The Co-operative Policy of the Bureaucracy.**

The Consumers Co-operative mass organisations in capitalist countries are practically all under the control of Social Democrats; in some countries they share the leadership with definite bourgeois elements. This bureaucracy has recently begun to concentrate more and more on purely commercial methods. In place of struggles against trusts they enter into alliances with them and to a certain extent leading Co-operative organs are working hand in hand with employers' combines; in some countries the big stores belong to various capitalist enterprises. The workers and

employees in Co-operative enterprises are being ruthlessly subjected to the methods prevalent in capitalist concerns, especially in connection with "rationalisation." Friction between Co-operative bureaucrats and Trade Unions is on the increase in many countries, where the Trade Unions are under reformist leadership. The leaders are getting more determined in their opposition to the idea of the Co-operative movement forming a part of the labour movement. Support is refused, or sabotaged, in the case of the workers' economic and political struggles, and, as in Germany, is denounced as injurious to the Co-operative movement. Therefore, in order to carry out this policy more thoroughly the bureaucrats do all they can to limit the members' right to self-determination and adverse criticism.

With the growth of the class collaboration with the bourgeoisie a simultaneously intensified aggressiveness on the part of the Co-operative-reformists against Communism has set in; this is directed against Communists generally, but especially against Communists who are active in the Co-operative movement. There has been a great increase in the system of expulsions and victimisations recently in respect of Communist Co-operative officials and Left local organisations. In Germany especially the internal conflict has been much more acute. In the Czechoslovakian Co-operatives the social-democratic leaders have been working openly for a split since the last Congress in Pilsen (October, 1926). In Great Britain attempts have been made to victimise Co-operative members who supported Left wing candidates at the elections in preference to the Co-operative Party candidates.

The Co-operative bureaucracy adopts a similar policy in the sphere of international politics. The League of Nations economic programme and "Peace endeavours" are becoming more and more part of the definite policy of their own programme. The traditional Co-operative pacifism has now developed into the support of the Imperialist policy of encircling the Soviet Union.

At the same time the relations between the reformist and bourgeois co-operatives and the Soviet Co-operatives have become considerably worse. The tremendous growth of the Soviet Co-operatives during the past few years has to a certain extent strengthened the desire to develop trade relations. But this tendency is being over-shadowed by the fear of the growing ideological influence of the Soviet Co-operatives on the proletarian Co-operative members in capitalist countries, just as it is held in check by the desire to acquiesce in the hostile policy of the bourgeois governments towards the Soviet Union. This tendency is most pronounced amongst the British Co-operative bureaucrats, who formerly cultivated trade relations with the Soviet Co-operatives and thus were in marked contrast with the German Co-operatives; but since trade relations have been broken off between Great Britain and the Soviet Union they have become gradually more hostile towards the Soviet Co-operatives.

### The Position in the International Co-operative Alliance.

The situation has become more strained in the Alliance to which the Soviet Co-operatives also are affiliated. British representatives attacked the Soviet Co-operatives at the Brussels Conference of the Central Committee of the Alliance in April, 1927, for assisting the relief action on behalf of the British miners, which they interpreted as unauthorised interference in the internal affairs of another country. Subsequently the International Co-operative Congress in Stockholm (August, 1927) helped to aggravate the situation still more. Violent discussions took place on the participation of representative of the Alliance in the Economic organs of the League of Nations, the demands of the Soviet representatives for the creation of a programme of work in the interests of the proletariat, and on the basis of this programme, the creation of a system of collaboration with the International Trade Union movement. Discussion also took place on the question of struggle against the Imperialist war policy. The British and Germans controlled the majority and by their decisions sanctioned the already existing class collaboration with the bourgeoisie; these decisions were the vote to participate in the economic organs of the League of Nations and the rejection of the programme of action in the interest of the proletarian membership, as well as a refusal to make any tangible opposition to the war policy of the Imperialist governments. What is more it was recorded in the official report of the Central Committee, ratified by the Congress, that the Soviet Co-operative representatives had constantly attacked the Alliance in disloyal manner and carried on disruptive work within organisations in other countries.

Shortly after the Stockholm Congress the Right wing lodged further complaints; the German Central Committee protested against the invitation of German delegates to the October Jubilee of the Soviet Union. This grievance is to be considered at the session of the Executive Committee in July and also that of the Czecho-Slovakian Executive Committee. Meanwhile, in the official organ of the Alliance, "The International Co-operative Bulletin," December, 1927, the General Secretary has raised in a most provocative manner the question of the Soviet Co-operatives remaining in the Alliance. With the exception of certain vacillations, which from time to time occur amongst the reformist leaders (France, Belgium) the international Co-operative bureaucracy, either actively or passively supports the Right wing offensive against the Soviet Co-operatives, so that the question of a split in the Alliance has now entered upon an acute stage.

The development of an opposition proletarian wing in the Co-operatives in the different countries, to put up a systematic fight against the official policy of the Co-operative bureaucracy, has made certain progress. In Great Britain the passive attitude of the co-operative bureaucracy towards the anti-labour and war-like policy of the Conservative government has aroused deep

discontent amongst the proletarian members of the Co-operatives; this fact has given a great impetus to the activity of the Left wing. This dissatisfaction became very apparent at the last two congresses (Belfast, 1926; and Cheltenham, 1927), and the bureaucrats were forced to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the opposition of the Co-operative members. The agitational effect of the delegations to the Soviet Union gave a great impetus to the development of the proletarian wing. The Left wing in the Co-operatives is in close contact with the Minority Movement in the Trade Unions. The traditional pacifist and centrist influences are still very strong, but still the influence of the Communist Party is on the increase. The Women's Co-operative Guilds play a special role in the Co-operative Minority Movement, here too, recently, Communist influence has greatly increased. In Czecho-Slovakia the Co-operative delegations—one official in May and an unofficial in October, 1927—have had a tremendous effect amongst the general membership and livened up the Left wing movement. This too has been the case in other countries, such as Finland and Norway, though to a lesser extent. In Germany and France the opposition has so far not been very successful in rallying the masses. In the United States of America, where the workers are very badly organised, the Left wing has comparatively great influence; at the last congress of the Co-operative League (November, 1926) it was able to secure the adoption of a number of resolutions in favour of the workers.

The growing influence of the Left wing was felt at the International Congress in Stockholm and the International Conference of Women's Co-operative Guilds. Here for the first time the Soviet representatives were supported by various delegates from capitalist countries.

### **The Activity of the Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.**

The activity of the Section was mainly directed towards the struggle for the proletarian class character of the workers Co-operatives and their inclusion in the general proletarian class front; it was conducted in close connection with the daily requirements and demands of the proletarian Co-operative members and the daily struggles of the workers. (Against the exorbitant prices of the trusts and cartels, the exploitation of the masses through duties and taxation, on behalf of the active participation of the Co-operatives in the struggle against the employers' offensive, the reduction of wages and bad working conditions and against Imperialist war danger.) Simultaneously with this policy, work was carried on uninterruptedly for the development of the organisational basis for Communist fraction work and the improvement of methods of work in the various national Sections.

Considerable progress has been made, but still the present state of the work in the majority of the Sections is far from satisfactory. Communist activity has suffered mainly from two

handicaps as a result of a shortage of experienced officials to carry on practical Co-operative work in the revolutionary sense. The work was either inadequately connected with the concrete daily problems, which the members of the Co-operatives must solve, and therefore, the Communist political slogans were used mechanically in co-operative work; or the work was conducted without any political content whatever. The Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I. was constantly on the alert to overcome these shortcomings in the various national sections, and at the same time had to deal with the under-estimation of Co-operative activity which prevails in many Parties and is responsible for the inadequate attention paid to Co-operative work.

In Germany the Co-operative Section of the C.C. carries on regular systematic work. The contact with the general work of the Party is still unsatisfactory, but there has been a marked improvement recently. At the end of 1926 the apparatus for work in the Co-operatives was enlarged: a new national fraction was created for the purpose of carrying out the instructions in a more uniform and concrete manner. At the same time systematic work was started for the training of recruits to increase the number of officials. In all important Party districts Co-operative Depts. have been started. Only a few of the fractions work in a satisfactory manner. In view of the Reformist attacks on Communists vacillations occurred amongst some of the officials as to the execution of Party instructions. In the big local organisations where the Social Democrats rule the work with few exceptions is badly done and very erratic.

In Great Britain in the majority of the Party branches comrades are delegated for co-operative work, but this work is still weak and unsystematic because of the absence of trained workers. In France the work during the past two years has been carried on in a much more systematic and energetic manner; the traditional idea that the so-called "Co-operative circles" are a substitute for fractions has been largely overcome. A capacity to link up Co-operative work with the general political questions has not yet been satisfactorily developed, and systematic work on these lines has scarcely been started in the big organisations under Reformist control. In Czecho-Slovakia fractions have been formed but real fraction work is still non-existent except in a few local branches. The Co-operative section of the C.C. confines its activity to general indications and lacks sufficient initiative. The result is that the Communists who for years have been influential amongst the Co-operative members are unable to use this influence satisfactorily and often lose important positions (viz. Bruenn). In Sweden and Norway there are Co-operative sections, but there are no proper reports available as to the activity of fraction work. In Switzerland active work is carried on only in Basle and Zurich. Here too work suffers for lack of trained workers. In the Austrian and Belgian Co-operatives, where the movement is of international importance systematic work has not

even been begun. In the United States of America the Party controls comparatively strong positions and uses them successfully to spread its ideological influence. The sphere of activity there remains so far restricted to workers belonging to the national minorities.

### **Special Tasks and Campaigns.**

The Congresses of the National Co-operative Societies in several countries gave proof of Communist fraction work which secured successes for the Left wing. Congresses deserving of special mention are the last Congresses in Great Britain, Germany, France, Norway, Switzerland and America. At the last Congress in Czecho-Slovakia fraction work was prepared but it was undertaken too late to have any tangible effect.

The various sessions of the International Co-operative Alliance necessitated extensive work especially on the Stockholm International Congress, and the International Conference of the Women's Co-operative Guilds. Definite progress was made and both at the congress and at the women's Co-operative guilds conference international fractions which did not consist of the Soviet representatives, made themselves heard. The stand taken by the Czecho-Slovakian and American Congress delegates should be specially mentioned. Since the Stockholm Congress the Right wing of the Alliance has adopted an attitude likely to bring about a split, therefore questions relating to the International Co-operative movement have been receiving more attention. A protest movement of the Left wing has been inaugurated in several countries: Great Britain, France and Czecho-Slovakia, but so far it has not developed to any great extent.

The annual International Co-operative Day (July 1st), for the propagation of proletarian Co-operative demands among masses at large, was badly utilised, also last year, despite the extensive preparations that were made; in most cases the campaign was confined to the Party press. One of the main causes lies in the fact that the majority of the Parties failed to mobilise the entire Party membership for the campaign.

The Parties had an opportunity to increase their propaganda for the Soviet Union in the Co-operatives through the invitation issued by the Centrosoyous in the spring of 1927 to a number of important central societies to send Delegations to study the Soviet Co-operatives. The only society that sent an official delegation was the Czecho-Slovakian. The Party was able to make good use of the results of this delegation in the press. On the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution various countries sent delegations in response to the invitation of the Moscow Co-operative Society: Great Britain, France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Latvia and Switzerland; the majority of these delegates were members of the Social democratic party. These delegate visits and the reports that are

published afterwards are most useful for Communist propaganda amongst the masses; this was the case mainly in Great Britain and Czecho-Slovakia, for in Germany and France the delegates were themselves almost exclusively Communists.

Besides these delegations a propaganda campaign was conducted in many countries on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Union; this campaign was carried on by means of mass meetings, lantern lectures, cinema shows, exhibits and the circulation of pamphlets. The Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I. issued detailed instructions to the national Sections for the conduct of this campaign and supplied the necessary material for propaganda relating to the development of the Soviet Co-operatives and their role in the construction of Socialism.

All these campaigns were more or less connected with a steady Campaign Against the Danger of Imperialist War, which has been intensified since the Arcos raid and the breach of trade relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. This campaign had most effect amongst the masses in England and the Women's Co-operative Guilds particularly took a prominent part in this activity. In Czecho-Slovakia the question was discussed in the local organisations and furthermore at the International Congress in Stockholm and the national Congresses in Great Britain, France and Germany this question played an important role and, in some instances, caused disputes.

### **Working Methods and Apparatus of the Co-operative Section of the E.C.C.I.**

The permanent Co-operative Commission of the E.C.C.I., which was established in the autumn of 1926, is the political leader of the Co-operative Section. So far the work of the Commission has not been as regular and intense as circumstances demand, and only in the past few months have matters been improved in this direction. Current work is discussed at the weekly meetings of the Section and in very important cases questions concerning the work of certain national Sections were dealt with in collaboration with the competent national secretariats. Generally speaking, greater contact must be established in future between the national secretariats and the other organs of the E.C.C.I.

Many questions of importance, such as the work in the Eastern countries, had to stand over because of shortage of workers; the systematic examination of theoretical problems was also neglected for the same reason.

The circulation of instructions and conduct of current work are usually carried out through correspondence between the Co-operative Section and individual Parties, and in rare instances by means of circulars. This method has shown good results, as it enables the particular questions arising in each national Section to be dealt with in accordance with the peculiar conditions

prevailing. Regular Correspondence is now carried on in a satisfactory manner only with the Co-operative Sections in Germany, France and America; the written communications from most of the other Sections, especially from Great Britain and Czechoslovakia and the Scandinavian countries still leave much to be desired.

Educational and Information Journeys can only be undertaken periodically and to a limited extent.

On the occasion of the sessions of the Plenums of the E.C.C.I. discussions took place with the delegates from the various Parties. The occasion of the Fourth Congress of the Red Trade Union International was also used for the discussion of revolutionary Co-operative work.

The last International discussion that took place was on the occasion of the Co-operative Conference, which was held in connection with the Sixth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., and when general instructions were issued for Communist work in the Co-operatives. The experiences gained from the execution of these instructions have raised a number of questions in various countries, which urgently call for discussion at an International Conference of Communist Co-operators. Such a Conference is planned for the coming autumn and preparations are already being made.

The Co-operative Section issues the information bulletin "Co-op.-Inform" once or twice a month and also a Russian monthly journal ("International Co-operative Movement"); a German edition of this journal was started in 1927, but so far it does not appear regularly.



## PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

**I**N 1925 the Publication Department was started in view of the necessity of centralising the Party publishing activities.

The Department was to plan publishing work, help to secure authors, and assist Party, Left Marxist and sympathising publishers in their work. The first task which the Publication Department endeavoured to cope with was the creation of a supply of serious theoretical and propaganda literature. This work would not have been possible for individual Party publishing houses. The international scale of publishing work has already resulted in greatly enriching the store of Party literature, and non-Party publishers, who conduct publishing work under the banner of Marxism, have also contributed greatly to this result. Publishing work has had very considerable results in Germany, France, America and Great Britain. The Parties in Sweden and Czecho-slovakia have also done much work. In the principal countries, in addition to other publications, the first volume of the thirty volume edition of Lenin's works has been published. According to the information to hand the publishing houses intend to continue to publish Lenin's works without any unnecessary delay, and publication is planned at the rate of 4-5 volumes per annum.

By degrees the Publishing Department is establishing contact with almost all the Party publishing houses and extending the sphere of its editorial activity.

The exhibition of literature, which is being organised for the tenth anniversary of the Comintern, will be opened on the occasion of the Sixth Congress. This exhibition is intended to give a survey of the existing literature, the amount of work accomplished, to help in the exchange of experiences and the explanation of problems. The compilation of an exhaustive catalogue of Marxist Leninist literature will greatly assist the future work of the Publication Department in respect to planning publishing work and providing a correct survey of the market for Marxist literature in the various countries, including the most remote countries.

# INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

## GENERAL REMARKS.

**T**HERE was no International Control Commission prior to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. The functions of the Control Commission were then carried out by the central committees of some of the largest Sections of the C.I. (Germany for instance) or the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. appointed temporary commissions to inquire into some of the more serious cases. A control commission was first set up by the Fifth Congress consisting of seventeen comrades. There were representatives from the various countries on the Control Commission (U.S.S.R., Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Turkey, United States, Mexico, South America). The I.C.C. was located in Moscow (U.S.S.R.). But most of the time there were only a few members of the I.C.C. in Moscow. The others visited Moscow very rarely and most of the members, therefore, took either very little part or none at all in the work of the I.C.C.

The Fifth Congress of the C.I. placed the following tasks before the I.C.C. as stipulated in Paragraph 27 of the Statutes of the Communist International :—

- (a) To examine complaints on the action of the Departments of the E.C.C.I. ;
- (b) To examine complaints of individuals or organisations concerning disciplinary measures taken against them by the Sections ;
- (c) To audit the finances of the E.C.C.I. ;
- (d) To audit the finances of the various Sections on the decision of the E.C.C.I.

The I.C.C. received no complaints during the period under review concerning the activities of the Departments of the E.C.C.I. It did receive about 190 complaints concerning disciplinary measures taken by the Sections against individuals or against organisations. Most of these have been investigated ; only a few remain that still have to be inquired into (as a result of insufficient material received from the Sections and the National Secretariats of the E.C.C.I., and also to other reasons). We will speak in greater detail of the nature of these complaints later. As far as the auditing of the finances of the E.C.C.I. is concerned, that has has been done regularly once a year ; it was impossible to

audit the finances of the various Sections, owing to the fact that the members of the I.C.C. are scattered in all countries and burdened with other Party work at home (in their own Sections).

In practice the I.C.C. had to extend somewhat the functions assigned to it by the Fifth Congress. The Statutes of the C.I. provide that the I.C.C. should examine complaints from individuals or organisation concerning disciplinary measures taken against them by the Sections of the C.I. In practice, however, the I.C.C. had to inquire into matters which had not yet been considered by the Sections. That occurred in cases when members of the E.C.C.I. or members of the C.C.s of the various Sections of the C.I. were involved, or when the question concerned was connected with an internal struggle, when owing to political reasons the Party central organs of the Sections appealed to the I.C.C. to look into cases without their being first considered by themselves, so as to avoid possible accusations of partiality. Such cases were either brought before the I.C.C. through the Secretariat or directly. In the latter case, the matter was taken up with the Secretariat of the E.C.C.I.

After the election of the I.C.C. at the Fifth Congress, the Commission at first received mostly minor cases for consideration, and these came almost exclusively from the U.S.S.R. Had the I.C.C. indulged in the investigation of these minor cases their number would have risen greatly and the I.C.C. would have been transformed from an International Control Commission into an organ almost entirely engaged in action on appeals of members or ex-members of the C.P.S.U. With this in view, the I.C.C. passed a decision at its session of April 9, 1925 limiting the kind of complaints which are to be brought before it. The resolution of the I.C.C. on this question reads:

"Complaints of individuals concerning disciplinary measures taken against them by the various Sections of the Comintern will be looked into by the I.C.C. only to the extent that this is politically necessary or if they are brought before it by the Secretariat or the Presidium of the E.C.C.I."

This decision of the I.C.C. was passed with the consent of the E.C.C.I.

It is also necessary to note the following. Although the Fifth Congress elected an International Control Commission, the E.C.C.I. occasionally formed as before commissions independent of the I.C.C. to investigate various serious questions which, by their nature, were within the competence of the I.C.C. to investigate. These Commissions did not always have representatives of the I.C.C. in their midst. The I.C.C. will therefore, propose to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern to change Paragraph 27 of the Statutes of the C.I. appertaining to the I.C.C.

### **CASES BROUGHT BEFORE THE I.C.C.**

Altogether, the I.C.C. received over 200 complaints from the various countries,

# INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION 77

1. U.S.S.R. ... ..	59	13. Austria ... ..	3
2. Germany ... ..	32	14. Lithuania ... ..	3
3. Poland Proper ... ..	5	15. Holland ... ..	3
Western Ukraine ... ..	2	16. Italy ... ..	2
Western White Russia ... ..	29	17. Latvia ... ..	2
4. France ... ..	7	18. Bulgaria ... ..	2
5. Spain ... ..	7	19. Switzerland ... ..	2
6. Czecho-Slovakia ... ..	6	20. Yugo-Slavia ... ..	2
7. Hungary ... ..	6	21. Finland ... ..	1
8. Great Britain ... ..	5	22. Canada ... ..	1
9. Roumania ... ..	5	23. Persia ... ..	1
10. America ... ..	5	24. Sweden ... ..	1
11. Argentine ... ..	5	25. Indonesia ... ..	1
12. Palestine ... ..	4		

In addition to these, there were many other cases which affected two or three Sections simultaneously. Such cases were connected with comrades who transferred from one Section to another and against whom some charges were subsequently brought by the first Section or by individual comrades.

Cases affecting two or more Sections together, were considered as follows :

1. Germany—U.S.S.R.— India ... ..	1	6. U.S.S.R.—U.S.A. ...	1
2. Lithuania — Germany —U.S.S.R. ... ..	1	7. U.S.S.R. — Bulgaria	1
3. Germany — U.S.S.R.	4	8. U.S.S.R. — India ...	1
4. U.S.S.R. — Finland...	2	9. Roumania — U.S.S.R	1
5. U.S.S.R. — Czecho- Slovakia ... ..	1	10. France — U.S.S.R. ...	1
		11. France — Roumania...	1
		12. Italy — France ... ..	1

There were also cases which did not refer to the Sections of the C.I. Most of them concerned the apparatus of the E.C.C.I. There were eight cases concerning the apparatus of the E.C.C.I. and one brought up by the Jewish Communist Party (Poalei Zion) which is not affiliated to the E.C.C.I.

From the figures above we see that most of the cases concerned members of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.G. Of the former there were 74 (59 members of the C.P.S.U. and 15 affecting also other Sections to which members of the C.P.S.U. formerly belonged), and of the latter 38 (32 and 6). The largest percentage of cases were brought up by the U.S.S.R. and members of the C.P.S.U. in general, not because the C.P.S.U. is the largest Section, but chiefly because members of the C.P.S.U. have greater access to the I.C.C. inasmuch as the latter is located in Moscow. On the other hand, almost all cases from the U.S.S.R. were minor cases.

The nature and number of the various cases can be seen from the following :—

Nature of Cases.	U.S.S.R.	Germany.	France.	E.C.C.I. appara- tus.		Total.
				Others.		
1. (a) <i>Re</i> Opposition	3	11	1	20	—	35
(b) Opposition and misuse	—	—	—	1	—	1
2. Slander	3	—	1	6	—	10
3. Fractional slander	—	—	—	3	—	3
4. Violation of discipline	—	—	—	4	—	4
5. Estrangement from Party work	—	1	—	—	—	1
6. (a) Undesirable elements	17	1	—	7	—	25
(b) Participants in White army	—	—	1	—	—	1
7. Religious	1	—	—	—	—	1
8. Political dishonesty	—	3	—	10	—	13
9. Acceptance in the Party	3	—	—	1	—	7
10. Reinstatement of expelled	6	—	—	1	—	7
11. Transference	1	4	—	22	—	27
12. Organisational	1	—	—	4	—	5
13. Non-conspirative work of fractions in other organisations	—	1	—	—	—	1
14. Financial	—	2	2	4	5	13
15. Financial auditing	—	—	—	—	8	8
16. Miscellaneous	23	9	2	10	3	47
17. Indefinite*	1	—	—	—	—	1
	59	32	7	93	16	207

Most cases on oppositional questions have come forward in Germany. They concern both the Right opposition (followers of Comrade Brandler) and the ultra-Lefts (Maslow and others). From the C.P.S.U. only three opposition cases have come forward. Two of them concerned Chinese students who were Trotsky adherents and the third was a complaint from Yemalyanaov-Kalin, one of the adherents of the platform of the 15, against the editors of the "Communist International" and the "Pravda."

In view of the fact that the cases of the two Chinese students

(\*A complaint has been sent in from a comrade expelled from the Communist Party without pointing out the cause of the expulsion and no supplementary material has been received from the complainant.)

had been sent also to the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., where they had not yet been investigated, the I.C.C. did not take them up. In general, the I.C.C. did not consider cases which had not been previously considered by the respective Parties, with the exception of those cases mentioned above. Apart from the two opposition cases of the Chinese students, and the complaint from Yemalyanov-Kalin, the I.C.C. took part in the consideration of the question of the oppositional activity of Trotsky and Vuyovitch. That was on September 27, 1927, at a joint session of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I and the I.C.C. Vuyovitch and Trotsky were excluded for their oppositional activity—the first from membership of the E.C.C.I., and the second from alternate membership.

Of all the cases brought before the I.C.C., 87 were not decided upon. Most of them were not considered in detail by the Sessions of the I.C.C. but after a preliminary investigation the complainants were notified that their cases would not be considered by the I.C.C. inasmuch as the latter considered the decisions of the respective Sections as final (see above). Cases which the I.C.C. did not consider in detail at its Sessions mostly concerned members of the C.P.S.U. (embezzlement, drink, undesirable elements, reinstatement of members expelled mostly for reasons of embezzlement) or cases of transference from one Section to another. If the C.C. of any Party refused to give a recommendation to a member transferring to another Section (mostly to the C.P.S.U.) the I.C.C. did not consider it necessary to take up the question at its Sessions, as it cannot compel any Section to recommend any of its members to another Section.

Three cases were withdrawn by the complainants, three were settled by the E.C.C.I. before the I.C.C. took them up, several have not yet been taken up as the I.C.C. has not received the necessary material from the Sections. Seven cases have been passed to the E.C.C.I. as they referred to questions which are not within the jurisdiction of the I.C.C. Forty-eight cases have been previously considered by the Sections or by the highest been given over to the Sections, as they have either not organs of those Sections (some comrades complained directly to the I.C.C. on decisions of local organisations, without appealing first to the central organs, the C.C.C. or C.C. There were even complaints from comrades where groups refused to accept them into the Party). In referring cases back to the Sections, it was pointed out in four cases that there was not sufficient ground for the expulsion of the comrades in question. In thirteen cases the Party reprimands were completely annulled and in thirteen modified, in eleven cases the decisions of the sections were confirmed, and in ten cases the I.C.C. itself decided on disciplinary measures, ranging from reprimands and removal from responsible positions to actual expulsion from the Party. In addition, disciplinary measures were withdrawn in two cases after the members

concerned had corrected their old mistakes. Finally, in four cases charges were referred to the respective Communist fractions for investigation.

Some cases were brought up several times for consideration before the I.C.C. Usually such cases were connected with factional struggles (the Maslow case), or with slander where responsible Party members were involved, or where factional struggles were linked up with slander (the Bondarova, the Spanish and other cases). Of these, one case was considered nine times, one eight times, two six times, six four times, four three times, and thirteen twice each.

The I.C.C. followed the correct practice of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. in re-considering cases if decisions had been made in the absence of the comrades in question, provided the latter appealed against the decision. Instructions to this effect were sent out to the sections of the C.I. They read:—

“The I.C.C. has been receiving complaints from comrades against whom disciplinary measures have been taken by the various Parties. The I.C.C. points out hereby, that if Party organs decide on some disciplinary measures against some of their members, or if they expel members, in their absence, the cases should be reconsidered in the presence of the members in question, provided the latter appeal against the decision.

“There may be exceptions to the rule only in extraordinary cases and in underground organisations in which, owing to conspirative reasons, it is impossible to call the parties concerned to meetings. But, even then, cases should be reconsidered by entrusting a reliable comrade to talk the matter over personally with the comrade in question or to receive a written statement from him.”

In examining a whole series of cases the I.C.C. directed the attention of our comrades to the fact that there is insufficient care taken in illegal work in the Parties which were not underground prior to the war. Such a remark concerning the non-observance of this on the part of a faction and some individual comrades in a certain organisation was made to American students of the International Lenin Courses. Because of non-observance of correct methods of illegal work some documents of an organisation of a certain country fell into the hands of the police. After the work of the Communist faction in that organisation was investigated, the I.C.C. pointed out that the faction in question did not take the necessary measures to prevent the discovery of the secret documents, and suggested that in future rules of illegal work should be more strictly observed, both in the apparatus of the Comintern and by members of Communist Parties working in the different organisations.

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION 81

### RIGHT OPPOSITION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

The defeat of the working class of Germany in 1923 was accompanied by the Right blunders of the C.C. of the C.P.G. headed by Brandler, Thalheimer and others. After the leadership went over to the Lefts, a Right opposition formed itself in the C.P.G. headed by Brandler, Thalheimer and others, after which the first two joined the C.P.S.U. on arrival in the U.S.S.R. While in the U.S.S.R. these comrades interfered in the work of the C.P.G. supporting the Right opposition. On request of the C.C. of the C.P.G. the question of Brandler's Thalheimer's and Radek's activity was brought up before the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. A mixed commission was formed consisting of representatives of the C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., the E.C.C.I. and the I.C.C. That commission passed a resolution in March 1925 the concluding part of which reads as follows :

" . . . Prompted by the desire to liquidate the factional groups in the Communist Party of Germany with as little friction as possible and to give Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer and the others an opportunity to prove the sincerity of their statements at the session of the C.C.C. that they will not carry on any more factional work, the C.C.C. finds it possible to limit itself to the following measures :

" 1. A strict reprimand and warning to Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Eda Baum, Felix Wolf and Hanz Müller for their systematic factional work and gross violation of Party discipline.

" 2. To forbid Comrades Brandler, Thalheimer, Radek, Eda Baum, Felix Wolf and Hanz Müller to meddle in any way with the work of the Communist Party in Germany.

" 3. The C.C. warns the comrades that any continuation of factional work and interference in matters appertaining to the Communist Party of Germany will unconditionally place them outside the ranks of the C.P.S.U.

" 4. To consider Comrade Brandler's, Thalheimer's and Radek's participation in the work of the Comintern inadmissible.

" 5. The C.C.C. deems it necessary that the Central Committee of the C.P.G. start a broad inner-Party campaign explaining to all Party members the political significance of this decision."

This resolution was confirmed by the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1925.

On October 20, 1926 Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer appealed to the Polit-Bureau of the C.C., C.P.S.U. to reconsider and withdraw the decision of the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. This appeal was referred to the I.C.C. which after deliberation at the session of December 14, 1926 decided the following :



"The International Control Commission having examined the application of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer of October 20, 1926, for the withdrawal of the resolution of the Fifth Enlarged Executive of the E.C.C.I. which condemned the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer and, in view of their fractional work, removed them from activity in the C.P. of Germany and the Comintern, proposes to the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the following decision :

"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., while maintaining the estimation of the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer given by the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., places on record the fact that during the period since the Fifth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. up to the Seventh Plenum, Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer have not conducted any fractional work and have thereby proved the reliability of their statement at a meeting of the Central Control Commission that in the future they would refrain from all factional work. Therefore, the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. decides to withdraw Section 2 and 4 of the concluding part of the corresponding resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. concerning Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer and to permit them to work in the Comintern. The question of utilising the above mentioned comrades for work in Germany is left to the discretion of the C.C. of the C.P.G.

"As far as Comrade Radek is concerned, the present decision does not effect him, as Comrade Radek has not ceased factional work since the Fifth Enlarged Executive."

The proposal was adopted by the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in 1926.

When the ultra-Left leaders of the C.P.G. started to expel large numbers of old members from the Party as if there existed no other measures except expulsion, the I.C.C. had to interfere. As a result the I.C.C. re-instated Comrade Yanaka in the Party and referred other cases for reconsideration by the C.C., C.P.G. which reinstated many comrades.

## ULTRA-LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE C.P.G.

### The Maslow Case.

The case of the ultra-Left opposition headed by Maslow (member of the C.C., C.P.G.) and Ruth Fischer (member of the C.C., C.P.G., and the E.C.C.I.) was very complicated. The Maslow case was brought before the I.C.C. in the summer of 1925 by the presidium of the E.C.C.I. Maslo was accused of conduct in court unbecoming to a Party member. The C.C., C.P.G. did not act on the Maslow case as the latter was himself a member of the C.C. and a leader of the ultra-Left faction. The ultra-Left faction would not have hesitated in accusing the majority of the Party

of being biased, of utilising Maslow's expulsion from the Party in its factional struggle. The I.C.C. at its session of October 12, 1925 condemned Maslow's conduct, but in as much as Maslow was in prison when his case was considered by the I.C.C., the latter found it necessary to leave the question of his Party status open till his release. Ruth Fischer protested in the E.C.C.I. on behalf of the ultra-Lefts who were still in the German Party against Maslow's condemnation. In essence the presidium of the E.C.C.I. agreed with the decision of the I.C.C. (not even Zinoviev objected), but on the motion of a representative of the I.C.C. the case was returned to the I.C.C. for reconsideration on the ground that sufficient motives had not been given and also with the object of calling new witnesses. At its session of March 13, 1926, the I.C.C., after re-examination of the documents and stenographic reports on the Maslow case, confirmed the old decision and supplemented it by a statement. The Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. fully agreed with that decision of the I.C.C.

After Maslow's release in 1926 the E.C.C.I. summoned him several times to a session of the I.C.C., but he refused to come. As soon as he was out of prison he commenced his factional struggle with the object of splitting the C.P.G. Subsequently the C.C., C.P.G. without waiting a decision of the I.C.C. on Maslow's behaviour in court immediately expelled him, Ruth Fischer and others, from the Party for their fractional work and for the alliance they had made with the renegade Korsch. At its session of August 23, 1926 the I.C.C. expressed full agreement with the decision of the C.C., C.P.G. to expel Maslow, Ruth Fischer and others from the Party, sanctioned the expulsion and, in its turn, passed a resolution on Maslow's expulsion from the Communist Party of Germany and from the Comintern. In its final form the resolution reads as follows :

"I. The I.C.C. having examined the case of Maslow and his behaviour in the bourgeois court passed on October 12, 1925, the following resolution :

"Having considered the report of Maslow's speech in court the I.C.C. considers that speech unbecoming to and incompatible with his status as Party member and particularly as an ideological leader and member of the C.C. His Party status will be finally decided after the I.C.C. has had the opportunity to hear Comrade Maslow personally.

"II. In connection with Ruth Fischer's protest against the I.C.C. decision of October 12, 1925, the I.C.C., having heard Ruth Fischer's, Urahns', and Maslovsky's evidence and reconsidered all documentary material including the full report of the Maslow trial, has confirmed its decision of October 12, supplementing it by the following :

"Maslow's behaviour was unbecoming for a member of the Communist Party, and particularly for a leader such as Maslow was at that time, for the following reasons :

"(1) It is becoming for a Communist to seek mercy from a bourgeois class court or from bourgeois society as a whole, or to ask for 'equal rights' in a bourgeois court, because the class court of the bourgeois does not regard the class opponent as an equal.

"(2) It is unbecoming for a Communist to refer in a bourgeois class court to dissensions in the Party and to opposition to the C.C. and the International in order to diminish his own guilt. If Maslow claimed in court that certain charges could not be brought against him because he was in opposition to the C.C. which demanded that he take certain action, the true purpose of these arguments is absolutely clear, although Maslow adds that he did not use them with the object of utilising these differences (this last remark actually makes the case still worse for him, because it shows that Maslow acted consciously).

"(3) It is unbecoming for a Communist to state, in order to obtain acquittal on the charge of high treason, that in 1923 he did not believe that an immediate insurrection was possible and that in his opinion the matter had to be protracted (elsewhere he says for ten years), etc.

"(4) It is unbecoming for a Communist to give information to a bourgeois class court on sessions of the E.C.C.I. and on secret sessions of commissions at which he participated against his own will, under compulsion, as a representative of the opposition, the more so that he gave this information not with the object of revolutionary agitation, but with the obvious purpose of saving his own skin.

"(5) It is unbecoming for a Communist to admit facts before a bourgeois court (for instance, the authenticity of typewritten minutes), referring not only to Maslow himself but other comrades and the whole Party. Maslow did this in order to gain the confidence of and to oblige the court, so as to win it over in his favour. The court does not need, and does not insist on, the confirmation of facts by the defendant if it has at its disposal irrefutable evidence. It is equally unbecoming for a Communist to mention the fact that he alone is accused while others who are as much guilty as himself are at liberty. Even if this is not a direct denunciation of other comrades, it is nevertheless unbecoming of a Communist and provokes the government to make good its 'omission.' The prosecutor was in fact not slow in replying 'their turn will come.'

"(6) It is unbecoming for a Communist to distort revolutionary principles before a bourgeois court (for instance, concerning a workers' government) and it is immaterial as to whether this is done with malice aforethought or because of a misunderstanding of these principles. In the present case it is a serious offence on the part of a Party leader, who

several times repeated in court that the government was prosecuting him as the leader of the Party.

"(7) It is unbecoming for a Communist to boast before a bourgeois court of his disagreement with the Comintern (for instance, 'We from Berlin were always in the opposition,' etc.).

"(8) It is unbecoming for a Communist to play in a bourgeois court, even if not seriously, with such phrases as: 'In this case the C.P.G. must be also made illegal.' The outlawing of a Party is too serious a matter for anyone to take the liberty of using such expressions.

"This behaviour of Maslow did the greatest harm to the Party and its prestige even in the court. The court clearly showed this in its sentence by referring to Maslow's 'goodwill' although, notwithstanding the behaviour of the latter, it did not think highly of his efforts to gain sympathy.

"The I.C.C. does not consider it necessary to gather any additional material, as this could by no means change its opinion, arrived at, not on the basis of words or phrases recorded in the stenographic record, but on Maslow's entire conduct in court.

"As pointed out above, Maslow's role as a leading comrade does not allow of any extenuating circumstances in giving an objective evaluation of his behaviour. As far as Maslow's position in the Party is concerned, the I.C.C. will decide the question after it has examined Maslow himself.

"III. After his release Maslow not only failed to take any measures for his rehabilitation by the I.C.C. and E.C.C.I., but even refused to come to the I.C.C., although the latter summoned him twice to its sessions.

"IV. Maslow, in addition to that, chose the path of splitting the ranks of the C.P.G. In order to make their disruptive work more successful, Maslow and Ruth Fischer made an alliance with Korsch, who had been expelled from the C.P.G. and the Comintern for his anti-Communist behaviour, and carried on a campaign together with him and his group against the C.C., C.P.G. and the Comintern, and by their general conduct disorganised the ranks of the C.P.G. and helped the enemies of the working class.

"Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the I.C.C. resolves:

"To expel Maslow from the C.P.G. and the Communist International, for his unbecoming behaviour in court, as an undesirable member and, agreeing with the motives given by the C.C., C.P.G., confirms the decision of the C.C., C.P.G. of August, 1926, to expel Maslow and others from the C.P.G."

The question of Maslow, Ruth Fischer and others was brought up again before the Comintern during the Seventh Enlarged Plenum

of the E.C.C.I. in the form of a written protest on the part of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbhans, Scholem and Schwan, dated November 16, 1926. The Enlarged Plenum appointed a commission to look into the matter. There was a member of the I.C.C. on the commission. The commission again reported that Maslow and the others were engaged in injurious fractional work directed against the Comintern, and that they had shown no desire to amend. On this ground the Enlarged Plenum confirmed the expulsion of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbhans, Scholem and Schwan from the C.P.G. and the Comintern.

Attempts were also made by other ultra-Lefts to return to the Party with the object of carrying on their fractional work within it. Such an attempt, for instance, was made by Schutz, who was expelled from the Party. He appealed to the I.C.C. against expulsion, and the I.C.C., at its session of June 20th, 1927, passed the following decision on the matter:

"To reject Schutz' appeal against his expulsion from the C.P.G. Schutz has been expelled from the C.P.G. for his insubordination to several decisions of organisations of the C.P.G. and the Comintern concerning the inadmissibility of factionalism in conjunction with the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group, which has been expelled from the Party. In this connection he refused to sign a pledge that he will observe Party discipline and refused, notwithstanding the demand of the C.C., C.P.G., to give up his mandate as member of the Reichstag. Because of this his expulsion from the Party became necessary."

### FACTIONAL SLANDER CASES.

In some countries in connection with heated factional struggles, some Party members brought up all kinds of unfounded charges against members of opposing factions, including accusations of political dishonesty. Such methods convert factional struggles into regular feuds. We have examples of such factional struggles in various countries, but they assumed particularly sharp forms among the Hungarian, Spanish and Indian comrades. Some comrades, after the I.C.C. had condemned the methods of bringing forward unfounded charges against Party members, nevertheless continued their slanders, and others would not admit the harmfulness of such methods. The I.C.C. was therefore compelled to take disciplinary measures against comrades who would not stop bringing unfounded charges against other Party members, and in one case (the Spanish case) reprimanded a member of the C.C. and in another (the Hungarian case) decided to remove a member of the C.C. from his post.

### BORDIGA'S OPPOSITION IN ITALY.

The question of Bordiga's opposition was taken up by the I.C.C. on the request of Bordiga himself. Bordiga and his

## INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION 87

followers proved in the minority not only in the C.I. but also in the C.P.U.I. The majority of the Party removed several followers of Bordiga from responsible positions with the object of strengthening its ranks. Bordiga protested against this. The I.C.C., after consideration of the request in his presence, found nothing wrong in the actions of the C.C., C.P.I., and adopted the following decision :

“ After examining the material submitted by the Central Committee of the C.P.I., and hearing Comrade Bordiga and Comrade X, representative of the C.C., C.P.I., the I.C.C. resolves :

(a) Inasmuch as organisational deductions are inevitable in every ideological struggle within the Party, there is, therefore, no reason to investigate complaints concerning a personal struggle within the ranks of the C.P.I.

(b) The I.C.C. rejects Bordiga's request to reconsider the decision of the C.C., C.P.I.”

This decision was submitted to the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. for confirmation. The latter found it necessary to formulate the wording more accurately and appointed a special commission which unanimously adopted a somewhat more accurately worded resolution to the following effect :

(a) The charges brought forward by Comrade Bordiga against the C.C., C.P.I. at the moment of preparation for the Party Congress have been found to be without foundation.

(b) Bordiga's statement concerning the invalidity of the Party Congress is not based on arguments of a personal character, but on the organisational consequences resulting from any ideological struggle in the Party.

(c) The I.C.C. therefore rejects the request to reconsider Comrades Bordiga's accusations.”

This draft resolution was adopted by the I.C.C. on April 26, 1926.

### ALLEGED “ ZINOVIEV OPPOSITION ” IN AUSTRIA.

Apart from real oppositions the I.C.C. had to deal also with alleged oppositions. When the factional struggle in the C.P. of Austria broke out, one of the factions accused a group of comrades of adherence to the “ Zinoviev Opposition.” It was obvious that the accusation was unfounded. Not only the representatives of the C.P. of Austria, but also the representative of the C.C., C.P.G. (Comrade Remmele) who was called to the session of the I.C.C. (the C.C., C.P. of Austria was, in 1925, closely connected with the C.C., C.P.G.) denied that there existed a Zinoviev opposition in Austria at that time. The I.C.C. therefore passed the following resolution at its session of June 20, 1927 :

“ The charges brought forward by Comrades Toman and

Korichaner, and by Frey, Binder and others who have been expelled from the Party, against Comrades Vial, Kopling, Frank and Hirsih (Peter) that in the summer of 1925 they, together with Zinoviev and Maslow, Ruth Fischer and others expelled from the C.P.G., organised an international faction against the Comintern and the C.C., C.P.S.U., are unfounded, seeing that at that time Zinoviev, as the Chairman of the Comintern, was opposed to the Maslow group, so that there could not exist a Zinoviev-Maslow faction and, consequently, these comrades could not belong to such a faction.

"Close collaboration on the part of the C.C., C.P.A. and the C.C., C.P.G. was effected with the knowledge and support of the Comintern.

"The charges brought forward against the above-mentioned leading comrades of the C.C., C.P.A. were brought against the leadership of the C.P.A. for factional reasons, and must be rejected."

### THE FACTIONAL STRUGGLE IN AUSTRIA.

Apart from the fictitious "Zinoviev Opposition" there was in Austria a real opposition engaged in a factional struggle. At the head of the faction was Frey, who subsequently joined the camp of the counter-revolution. Frey, Donauer and other leaders of the faction were expelled by the C.C., C.P.A. They appealed against the expulsion before the I.C.C. The I.C.C., in examining the appeal, did not find it possible to change the decision as it was absolutely correct, and therefore at its session of June 20, 1927, it decided as follows:

"The protest of Frey, Donauer and others against their expulsion from the C.P.A. is rejected. Frey, together with the others, did not only indulge in an inadmissible factional struggle but by means of issuing newspapers and circulars and calling open meetings against the C.P.A., has already broken his ties with the C.P.A., and openly gone over to the enemy camp."

In the parliamentary elections in Austria the hostile attitude to Communism of these people became even more evident inasmuch as they advocated support for the Social Democrats.

In its telegram to the C.C., C.P.A. the Comintern correctly qualified by the betrayal of Frey and Co. as treason and declared as such any agreement with him.

### AUDITING.

The I.C.C. had also to audit books. The I.C.C. appointed an Auditing Commission which had to audit the finances of the E.C.C.I. Up to the Fifth Congress, the Comintern had no Auditing Commission. The Auditing Commission of the I.C.C. could not

fully carry out its functions as its members were scattered, because they left Moscow and it was physically impossible for them to handle all the work. Nevertheless, the finances of the E.C.C.I. were audited annually. The financial books of the E.C.C.I. and the finances and documents were found to be in good order. The Auditing Commission brought its decisions before the I.C.C. for approval. Apart from the annual verification of the books, the Auditing Commission of the I.C.C. was able at any moment to look into the finances of the E.C.C.I., and a representative of the I.C.C., a member of the Auditing Commission, took part in the consideration of more important financial questions, etc. There were certain shortcomings in the details of financial accounting at the beginning. Thus, for instance, after the Fifth Congress some departments of the E.C.C.I. had their own treasuries where deficiencies were found in the accounting, particularly in the period prior to the Fifth Congress. In 1926 these treasuries were liquidated and concentrated in the general accounts office. In 1927 the Auditing Commission of the I.C.C. thoroughly audited all books, made certain suggestions to the accounts department for the simplification of book-keeping and suggested the immediate elimination of various shortcomings.

It should be mentioned that this really helped to improve the work of the accounts department.



# SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

## EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

### Germany

#### ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**A**T the beginning of 1926 German Industry was still in the midst of an acute and partly catastrophic production and credit crisis. An improvement set in during the summer of 1926, and developed into a steady and lasting boom. It is the biggest and most lasting boom since the end of the world war, and is an eloquent expression of the success of the stabilisation of the currency and the rationalisation of production, which was undertaken at the end of 1923 with the help of the bourgeoisie of the "victorious countries."

The starting point of Germany's upward trend was the British coal dispute. Rationalisation led to intensive centralisation and concentration, with the result that to-day almost all branches of production are controlled by powerful monopolist trusts and cartels. This concentration on a national scale was partly supplemented by international cartels and agreements in which German capital played an important rôle (e.g., the European pig-iron cartel). Other features of rationalisation were: The closing down of unprofitable enterprises, the introduction of technically improved means of production, and, above all, unprecedented intensification of labour, reduction in real wages, abolition of the eight-hour day, attack on "non-productive expenditure," such as unemployment doles, and a standing industrial army reserve of over one million unemployed.

In almost all branches of German production the boom was fed by foreign loans. In the period from the introduction of the Dawes' plan to the end of 1927, Germany has received in round figures 5 billion marks in foreign loans. The interest payable on this sum amounts approximately to 500 million marks; in addition, there are the Dawes' payments of 2½ billion marks a year (1928). This means that every year 3 billion marks are sent abroad apart from the amortisation of the loans.

The favourable economic situation is largely due to the fact that the internal market is closed to foreign competition by high industrial and agrarian tariffs. However, the internal market will be unable for any length of time to cope with the existing productive capacity. This, and above all, the obligations of the

Dawes' Plan, compel German capitalism to look for markets abroad. There is, however, little prospect of German capital being able to succeed within a short space of time in transforming its trade balance (the sore point in Germany economy) from a passive into an active balance.

Rationalisation has proved extremely profitable to German capital. The total value of German industrial securities quoted on the Berlin Stock Exchange amounted at the close of 1925 to about 7 billion gold marks, and in January, 1928, it rose to 17.3 billions. In the course of 1926, the German industrial companies paid about 800 million marks in dividends, besides considerable interest on preferential shares and debentures, procuring thereby a revenue of about 1 billion marks. The anticipated income for 1927 is about 2 billion marks. To this should also be added enormous sums of money set aside for reserve funds, etc. The capital investments in German industry in 1927, according to estimates by the Imperial Credit Association, amounted to 7.6 billion marks. The "*Frankfurter Zeitung*" even estimates this figure at 9 billion.

There has been no increase in real wages in the last two years equal to the increases gained in 1924 and 1925. In 1926 the real wages of skilled workers formed about 92 per cent. of the pre-war real wages, and now they amount to 92.5 per cent.

As against the slight growth in nominal wages, there is a steady rise in the cost of living. In January, 1927, the prices of manufactured commodities stood at 50.9 per cent. above the pre-war prices. In February the increase had reached 58.2 per cent., in September 55.8 per cent., and at the close of January, 1928, 72.2 per cent.

### **Agriculture.**

Under the slogan of "Agricultural Distress," the "Landbund"—the most powerful organisation of German agriculture, acting entirely under the influence of the big landowners—has recently succeeded in inducing the peasants throughout Germany to participate in tremendous demonstrations. The objects of these demonstrations were: (1) To obtain State subsidies for the big landowners; (2) to exercise pressure in connection with the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Poland in order to establish reciprocity in the import of pigs and potatoes; (3) to stop all importation of foodstuffs; (4) to reduce the taxes on capital and on landed property.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to speak of a crisis and over-indebtedness of agriculture as a whole, as it is mainly individual enterprises which are heavily in debt. The chief cause of this phenomenon should be looked for in the technical backwardness of the big agricultural enterprises.

The present state of affairs leaves the small and middle farms

in a serious position, due on the one hand to the prices of their products having fallen, whilst, on the other, they have to pay higher prices for forage and other necessities. These conditions were not altered by the measures carried out by the Government for restoring the economic basis of the country, and thus the lower and middle elements of the rural population which are called upon to bear the burden of the restoration of the encumbered large estates are being slowly and steadily impoverished.

The economic recovery of capitalist Germany has led to an extension of its external political influence. The Locarno Treaty, the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, the Thoiry negotiations, the return of confiscated German war property in America—and, with some reservations, the Berlin Treaty with the Soviet Union—constitute the essential stages in the progress of German imperialism towards shaking off the fetters of the Treaty of Versailles which have hampered its free development.

### FOREIGN POLICY.

The external policy of German finance capital is at present directed towards the realisation of the following aims:—Evacuation of the Rhine, revision of the Dawes' Plan, removal of the military restrictions, and complete liberty in the matter of military preparations; revision of the eastern frontiers, i.e., the restoration of eastern Upper Silesia, Danzig and the Polish Corridor, and, finally, the acquisition of colonial mandates. Yet even the granting of these demands is considered by the German bourgeoisie merely as a stage in their struggle for the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles. At the same time German imperialism is trying to break its way through by taking advantage of the antagonisms among the imperialist powers of the West, and of their joint antagonism towards the Soviet Union. This has been demonstrated with particular clearness by Germany's attitude in the meetings of the League of Nations.

By its leaning towards British imperialism, which has been frequently shown of late, German financial capital hopes to quicken the achievement of its aims. It is prepared to proceed at any price with the westward orientation inaugurated by the Locarno Treaty and its admission to the League of Nations, and is willing to join the capitalist bloc being formed under the leadership of England for armed intervention in the Soviet Union.

### INTERNAL POLITICS.\*

In the field of Internal Politics the recovery of capitalist Germany has resulted in the formation of the bourgeois Coalition Government. The leading elements of the German bourgeoisie\*

---

\*This was written before the General Election of May, 1928.

are now working systematically and deliberately to strengthen their class dictatorship, for which they have prepared during the seven years of coalition policy with the Social-Democrats. The fact that those representing finance capital in Germany no longer require the aid of the Social-Democrats and the Trade Union Reformists in the Government is not only the expression of the growing power of the bourgeoisie, but also shows that along with the development of the new German imperialism the antagonism between the German Nationalists and the other elements of the German bourgeoisie—which was very evident in connection with Locarno, agrarian protection tariffs, and the question of “republic” versus “monarchy”—has been considerably weakened, and even partly eliminated. The understanding between the leading bourgeois parties—chiefly the Centre Party—and the German nationalists, who represent the forces of the extreme counter-revolution, was necessary in order to “Locarno-ise” the Reichswehr, and to transform the military associations, the Courts of Justice, and the administration, in which the nationalists play the leading rôle, from an element hindering foreign policy, into the protagonist of the new German imperialism. Yet whilst the economic contradictions between the industrial bourgeoisie and agrarian capital, represented by the German Nationalists, cannot be entirely eliminated, a mutual bargain has been struck in the interest of the struggle against the common enemy.

The bourgeois Coalition Government is, however, only the first fruits of the efforts of the big bourgeoisie towards concentrating the whole of the political power in its hands. The attempts to weaken the power of the small peasantry in the State is still greatly hindered by the direct influence exercised by the petty bourgeois and Social-Democratic Parties upon the policies of the country. For this and for many other reasons propaganda is being conducted for the creation of a single Reich, i.e., for the amalgamation of the existing 18 federal republics. This should lead to the complete domination of the State machine by the economic groups of big capital. At the same time it is anticipated to effect thereby a slight economy in the expenditure of the State.

### THE SITUATION IN THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The Centre Party, which receives extensive support—to the extent of 50 per cent.—from the workers, is strongly affected by the leftward tendency among the masses of the workers. This party, which wants to unite all classes and elements on a common religious basis, has been undergoing a severe crisis for a number of years; this has been still further enhanced by the effects of the policy of the bourgeois Coalition Government in which it has played a leading part. The proletarian masses,

and even the petty bourgeois elements and the middle peasants in this party, are strongly opposed to the leading wing of big industrialists in the party, without being able to assert themselves. In order to counteract the leftward tendencies among the workers enrolled in the Centre Party, the Christian trade union leaders appear under a mask of Radicalism and take up a "sharp oppositional attitude." They are trying to play the same rôle with regard to the workers as was played for many years by the former Imperial Chancellor Wirth with regard to the petty bourgeoisie of this party. At the same time the Christian trade union leaders take advantage of the discontent of the proletarian wing to consolidate their own influence in the Centre Party.

The Christian Socialist National Party, a left branch of the Centre Party, which made common cause with the Social-Democrats in the plebiscite on the compensation of the ex-ruling houses and in the Toilers' Congress, has remained a small party, but it nevertheless constitutes a constant menace to the Centre Party.

The Volkspartei (The People's Party) is the party of the leading elements of the big bourgeoisie, and its numerical strength in the Parliaments in no way corresponds to its influence. It is anxious to preserve its following among the "black-white-and-red"\* electors. In spite of the fact that the Stresemann policy is supported by the German nationalists, the latter is a formidable competition of the Volkspartei.

In the German National Party, the "State Political" wing has substantially overcome the opposition of the "Volkist" wing upon the essential questions of foreign policy, which was expressed in the participation of this party in the bourgeois Coalition Government. The Free Conservative group has seceded. This party claims the following of large numbers of disappointed elements of the petty bourgeoisie which have broken away from the traditional bourgeois parties. In its policy it is still strongly tied to its German Conservative group and to its "Volkist" wing, the latter exercising strong influence over the "Steel Helmet" and other militarist associations. The "Steel Helmet" is waging an intensified campaign against German Parliamentarism in its present form, and demands "the introduction of the rule of responsible leading personalities" into political life, and consequently "enlarged powers for the Reichs president." For some time it has been trying, by the establishment of Fascist nuclei in the factories, to win support among elements of the working class.

The "Reichs-Landbund," the dominant organisation of the agrarians, is politically associated quite closely with the German National Volkspartei. Among its small peasant members par-

---

\*Referring to the colours of the old Imperial Flag, roughly—Monarchists.

particularly, oppositional currents and growing discontent are becoming noticeable, leading more and more frequently to splits. Attempts are made to meet this by forming new organisations which sail under the flag of neutrality.

The Parties of Petty Bourgeois Fascism, which have broken away from the Volkist Bloc and formed themselves into a whole series of small parties, really exercise no influence whatever, since with the consolidation of the power of the German bourgeoisie, Fascism has lost its importance to that class, even if it meets with temporary success in some local elections from time to time.

The Democratic Party, which stands in "opposition" to the bourgeois bloc, is distinctly a retrogressive movement. It is not in a position to check the leftward development of the petty bourgeoisie which is largely to the advantage of the newly-formed petty bourgeois economic and middle-class parties.

### THE SITUATION IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Social-Democratic Party in Germany, after the setbacks during the period of the revolutionary wave, entered upon a period of stabilisation and of partial growth of its organisational forces, accompanied by the elaboration of a consistent programme of coalition with the bourgeois parties, and with the official acceptance by the party conference at Kiel of the Hilferding theory concerning the attitude towards the State, rationalisation, etc. By these means the final theoretical transformation of Social-Democracy was accomplished.

The Left wing within the party, whose spokesmen are the intellectuals grouped around organs like Paul Levi's "Sozialistische Politik," and, lately, also the review "Klassenkampf," is ideologically under the leadership of the Austra-Marxians; one section stands closer to Otto Bauer, while another section sympathises with the pseudo-Radicalism of Max Adler. Although this tendency controls two important party newspapers ("The Leipziger Volkszeitung" and "The Volksstimme" of Chemnitz), nevertheless it is justly considered by the official party leadership as constituting no serious menace. This view was fully vindicated by its attitude at the Kiel Conference. Its traditional task is to check the leftward development of the workers.

On question of international policy the attitude of German Social-Democracy is in line with that of the rest of the Second International; recognition of and collaboration with the League of Nations, and bitter denunciation of the Soviet Union. German Social-Democracy represents the "Western orientation," and it takes advantage of every opportunity to extend the cleavage between the Soviet Union and Germany. A particularly striking example of this was furnished by the attitude of the German

Social-Democrats during the so-called "grenade campaign," and more recently in connection with the arrests of the German engineers in the Donetz mining district, when the Social-Democrats resorted to the most venomous attacks.

The leftward development, which affects also sections of the petty bourgeoisie, naturally brings new recruits to Social-Democracy. These elements lend strength to the Right wing of the party, and hence the possibility arises of conflicts between the leftward moving workers and the newly-enrolled elements of the party who endorse the policy pursued by the party leadership.

The most dangerous aspect of the policy of the Social-Democratic Party is that of the question of a Coalition Government. In order to avoid conflicts upon this question, about which a considerable portion of the membership disagrees with the leadership, the Social-Democratic Party refrained from holding any party conference this year; so that, after the elections, it could confront the membership with the accomplished fact of the Social-Democratic Party taking part in the Coalition Government which will eventually be formed.

The Social-Democratic Party has about 860,000 members, of whom 73.14 per cent. are workers. Thus, on the basis of comparative figures furnished by the Social-Democrats, the percentage of workers in the party has decreased 15 per cent. as compared with 1908. Of this membership about 73 per cent. consists of older workers (over 35 years of age).

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Free Trade Unions have overcome the state of stagnation in membership, and since the beginning of 1927 they have been slowly but steadily growing. The A.D.G.B. (General Federation of Trade Unions) Unions had:—

October 1st, 1927	...	...	3,933,000	members.
April 1st, 1927	...	...	4,003,000	"
July 1st, 1927	...	...	4,145,000	"
January 1st, 1928	...	...	4,291,000	"

The Reformist trade union leaders continue to act as the useful tools of the bourgeoisie for keeping the masses in subjection, whilst the radicalisation of the masses compels these leaders to put up a sham opposition. In the struggle against the Communists, whose influence is growing, they repeatedly resort to the most drastic means, such as expulsion, wholesale "cleansings," postponement of elections, and so forth. At the same time they do not shrink from breaking up individual organisations that are dominated by Communists. In many cases the Reformists resort to open Social-Democratic fractional activity against the Communists.

They use the theory of economic democracy to support

capitalist rationalisation, and to defend the State arbitration machinery and the sanctity of the wages agreements. Their participation in the workers' struggle is confined to keeping them within the capitalist system of society, whilst comforting the workers with the promise of great results from the coming elections.

### **THE LEFTWARD DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

The situation in the trade unions and in the parties, as well as in the whole domain of internal politics, is largely determined by the strong general leftward development. This leftward development was revealed with particular force in the course of numerous national and municipal elections which have taken place in recent months. This leftward development takes the form of the desertion of large numbers of petty bourgeois voters from the German Nationalists to the Social-Democrats, and of a similar move towards the Left of the working class elements, who eventually go over to the C.P. In the course of the elections in Hamburg, Königsberg, Hessen, Anhalt, etc., and lately in the Saar district, there was to be observed in the proletarian centres the partial transfer of voters from the S.D.P. to the C.P., which nevertheless did not always find expression in the final count of the ballot, since the S.D.P. losses in proletarian votes were almost invariably compensated for by the gaining of votes from the German nationalists and other bourgeois parties.

The growth of Communist votes in the trade union elections is also quite substantial. In the Freethinkers' organisation of Berlin, in March, 1927, the C.P. received for the first time a majority of 43,000 votes. This election was particularly remarkable since over 80,000 members of the Freethinkers' organisation took part in it, whereas in previous years only a few thousands had taken part in the elections. Similar phenomena have been observed in the workers' sports organisations.

Finally, the increased leftward development of the working class is shown by the steadily growing activity in the course of the fights conducted by the workers.

### **THE DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE C.P.**

The Communist Party has practically overcome the prolonged difficulties with the ultra-Lefts, which have frequently crippled the whole of the party activity. Among the important results of the Eleventh Party Conference (1927) should be mentioned the closing of the internal party discussion. The Maslow-Urbahns group, the German branch of the Trotskyist opposition, has completely collapsed ideologically. This group has completely fulfilled the prediction made by the Essen Conference; it has become the main support of the German



bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lackeys in the struggle against the C.P. in Germany, against the Comintern, and the Soviet Union. Its "official organs," the daily "Volkswille," published at Suhl, as well as the "Fahne des Kommunismus," provide the arsenal from which all the enemies of the proletarian revolution borrow their poisoned weapons. The total collapse of the Trotsky opposition in the C.P.S.U. has deprived this group of its ideological basis, and it is already turning towards the Social-Democracy. The loss of the Parliamentary seats in the coming elections, in spite of a vigorous election campaign for its own list of candidates, should deprive it of any vestige of importance. This is the only reason for the formation of its new party, the "Leninbund." Where they still have a following of valuable proletarian elements, e.g., in the Suhl and Pfalz districts, the party has succeeded, by persistent and untiring activity, in winning back these elements.

The Essen Conference had also to fight against Right deviations. A group of comrades had set its face against the thesis adopted by the conference to the effect that the "Left" leaders in the S.D.P. were the chief enemy. These comrades demanded an improvement in the tactics in the trade union struggle, the elaboration of a programme of action, and a centralised struggle against trustified capital under the transitional slogan of "control over production." Their proposals were rejected by the Party Conference, particularly the slogan of "control over production" which was denounced as Left wing opportunism in the actual circumstances. The article of Comrade Brandler in the "C.I." on a programme of action, and, above all, the activities of this group in some organs of the party against the decisions of the Essen Conference somewhat hampered party activity, and, finally, the remnants of fractions, as well as a series of grave opportunistic mistakes, have prompted the party to devote greater attention to the dangers of the Right wing.

Nevertheless, the Eleventh Party Conference did not spend too much time to the discussion of the ultra-Lefts, but applied itself from the very outset mainly to practical work. The reports contained relentless self-criticism, and in the discussions the problems of practical party work were put in the foreground of the speeches.

For the first time the Essen Conference of the C.P. dealt fully with the problem of winning the workers from the Centre Party and of combating the Centre Party.

The following tasks were set down by the conference as essential to the party: The campaign against the war menace (supporting the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution, and the international revolutionary movement); the struggle against the capitalist offensive and the cutting of wages; the struggle against the Government of the

bourgeois bloc, against the reaction and Fascism; the struggle against Social-Democracy; the formation and consolidation of a Left wing in the German Labour movement; the strengthening of activity in the trade unions; the revival of the factory council movement; the conduct of the struggle of the unemployed; the alliance with all toiling elements; the strengthening of the sympathising proletarian mass organisations; increased activity among the proletarian youth and among the proletarian women. Further tasks are: The struggle against the petty bourgeois deviations in the party; inner party consolidation, raising the level of theoretical knowledge in the party; and increasing revolutionary mass activity.

### **The Campaigns.**

Outwardly, of course, the activity of the party was most strongly demonstrated in the big campaigns. Each of these campaigns continued for several weeks, culminating in an intensified campaign on a given day (the C.P. campaign in connection with the Toilers' Congress; the campaign in favour of the Soviet Union on November 7th, etc.), and were conducted upon the broadest basis. The campaigns were supported by the Press, preliminary action was taken in Parliament, meetings were held, demonstrations were organised, house-to-house agitation was carried on, and so forth. Nevertheless, all the big campaigns of the C.P. were handicapped by one drawback: at the height of each campaign, which meant also its close, it disappeared entirely from the Press and from the party activity. The party did not sufficiently realise how important it was to follow up the big campaigns by further party activity, and still less how important it was to link up the numerous campaigns.

Thus it happened that most of the campaigns in which the party had mobilised large masses under its slogans, e.g., in the plebiscite on the compensation of the ex-ruling houses, or, in connection with the Toilers' Congress, the party failed to take advantage of the situation to draw large numbers of workers into the party organisations. All these defects were revealed with particular clearness in the campaign for winning large masses by the application of the tactics of the united front. In this connection there were revealed many other defects, with which the party has also to contend in its regular Parliamentary and trade union activity. These defects may be summarised as follows:—

### **Defects in Campaigns.**

1. The party had too little knowledge of the movements within the S.P., in the trade unions, and in the factories. Therefore the agitation was too abstract. Instead of the application

of the united front tactics according to different districts, they were automatically transferred from one district to another.

2. In the application of the united front tactics the party organisation was lacking in elasticity, particularly in the trade unions.

3. The line of demarcation from the Social-Democracy was not always distinctly and clearly drawn, leading to numerous opportunist deviations in connection with municipal and national elections.

It must be observed that since the Essen Conference a great deal of improvement has been effected in these respects.

The tactics of the united front were successfully applied by the C.P. in connection with the plebiscite on the compensation of the ex-ruling houses. In order to continue this united front of 14½ million people, in order to deepen and develop it into a united front for the struggle against capitalist stabilisation, the plebiscite movement was utilised by the C.P. to mobilise the masses for the national Toilers' Congress. The weakness of the Toilers' Congress movement was that the party did not succeed in mobilising for the Congress any big trade unions and big factories of note. A further drawback was that the majority of the delegates came from little towns and localities, whilst the large towns were not stirred by the movement to the extent that was desirable. The chief defect, however, consisted in the fact that immediately after the conclusion of the Congress, the party gave up the campaign and the Congress was insufficiently utilised for agitational purposes. Thus the party was unable to bring the large masses which had been mobilised by the movement into close contact with the party.

### **The Elections, May Day and China.**

Campaigns were conducted by the C.P. in the numerous national and municipal elections which took place during last year in nearly all parts of Germany. Naturally these electoral campaigns developed largely into big mass campaigns against Social-Democracy. In nearly all these elections the C.P. succeeded in considerably increasing its votes, bringing them nearly to the level of the poll obtained in the May elections of 1924.

The party campaign in connection with the Reichstag election was carried out in full force. In connection with the order issued by the War Ministry against the Red Front League a vigorous campaign was launched by the party, in the course of which great masses have been attracted to the defence of the R.F.L. in connection with the forthcoming electoral campaign.

In connection with the May Day celebration this year the party carried on a unity campaign from below, for the joint celebration of the May festival. In some districts the pressure from the factories and the union locals was so strong that the

local S.D. leaders were forced to negotiate with the C.P. for a joint May Day celebration. Particular importance was attached to this fact, since the May Day of 1928 is bound to be an important factor in the electoral campaign.

A considerable part of the activity of the C.P. has been devoted to the prolonged campaigns against the war menace and for the Soviet Union, for revolutionary China, and against the League of Nations.

The campaign in connection with China was chiefly conducted in the Press, and at special meetings organised after the Brussels Conference. Nearly all the demonstrations organised by the party were at the same time conducted under the slogan of "Hands Off China." Nevertheless, it ought to be noted that the campaign on China was not always given the prominence in the party's activity which its importance merited. Thus, after the fall of Shanghai and the massacre of Nanking, as well as after the Canton upheaval, the party organised neither demonstrations nor public meetings.

### **For the Soviet Union.**

In the campaign against the danger of war and for the Soviet Union, the party went over from the defensive, to which it had confined itself since the beginning of the Social-Democratic "grenade campaign," to the offensive, in the course of which the rôle of Social-Democracy as the inciter of war against the Soviet Union was exposed in the Press and at public meetings. On the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution the party organised mass demonstrations throughout the country. The workers' delegations and the delegations to the Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union have served as important factors in this campaign. On the Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army the party organised mass demonstrations and meetings jointly with the Red Front League. By a continual flow of articles in the Press, which have considerably improved of late, but which are not yet adequate in furnishing information on the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the campaign has been steadily extended. It must further be observed that the activities of the Trotskyist opposition in the Soviet Union and in Germany proved a handicap in this movement, as well as in party activity generally.

### **The Fight against the Bourgeois Bloc.**

The chief slogan of the party, since the formation of the bourgeois bloc, is that of "The Fight Against the Bourgeois Bloc." All the campaigns of the party in the field of both internal and external politics are at the same time campaigns against the bourgeois bloc. This is particularly so in regard to

internal political campaigns, such as the campaigns for the amnesty, against Fascism, against the Centre Party, against Social-Democracy, against the taxation policy of the bourgeois bloc, for State aid to the small peasants, for the demands of the tenants, for the unemployed, and, above all, against the employers' offensive. All these campaigns were conducted in close collaboration with the Parliamentary fractions of the party, which inaugurated these campaigns supporting them by the introduction of motions in Parliament, but not always to a sufficient extent.

### **The Industrial Struggles.**

In recent months the party has increased its campaigns in support of social demands, realising that the mobilisation of the masses under these slogans constitutes at the same time the most effective mobilisation against the bourgeois bloc. For this reason the party has devoted its chief attention to the big industrial struggles.

In the development of these industrial struggles the following phases should be noted in recent years: up to the beginning of 1927 the workers were relatively passive. In May of that year a strong revival set in, and wage demands were made by ever larger masses of the workers. The employers began to organise "mutual insurance" schemes to guard against the danger of strikes. By August, 1927, the workers commenced to advance on a wide front, making demands for higher wages, and, to a lesser extent, for general amelioration of conditions. The number of labour struggles rapidly increased. At the close of April, 1928, there were over 4 million workers involved in wage movements, including the basic industrial groups, like mining, chemical works, railways, etc. The employers put up the greatest resistance to the smallest demands made by the workers.

The influence of the C.P. in the strikes, etc., has grown in recent months. For example, the handing in of notices by the Miners' Union affiliated to the Free Trade Unions took place "under pressure from the Communist side." It is a well-known fact that at the last big conference of the old Miners' Union at Bochum a big rôle was played by the demands raised in the Communist paper, "Ruhr-Echo." Even the "Kölnische Zeitung" (February 19th, 1928) was forced to report that a large number of representatives from the locals had taken sides with the Radicals, so that the original Husemann programme had been modified.

The Reformists are trying to neutralise the pressure of the masses by clever manœuvring and by conducting isolated strikes. In this connection the comment of the "Kölnische Zeitung" on February 22nd, 1928, is of interest:—

"It cannot be gainsaid that the tactics of the largest body of workers involved, the German Metal Workers' Union, have been almost completely determined by the tension which exists between the Moderates and the Radical Communist wing."

Owing to the concerted attacks levelled by the Reformists against the party in view of its growing influence, the party frequently finds itself in a very difficult situation. Confronted with the problem of carrying out the most important demands in the teeth of unscrupulous sabotage by the Reformists, a great many party members are inclined to the idea that no movement should be started against the Reformists, since this would lead to expulsions.

A considerable handicap in the party's activity in the struggles is the fact that the leading organ in this field of activity, the Trade Union Department of the C.C., has hitherto been lacking in unity. The party was also without a clear unanimous policy in many of the big fights, such as the fight of the smelting workers in Rhenish-Westphalia and the metal workers' and miners' strikes in Middle Germany. The Communist press, too, has failed to take up a clear, and, above all, a unanimous standpoint in connection with most of the industrial fights. To this it should be added that large masses of the party members do not yet sufficiently realise the tremendous importance attached to industrial fights in Germany at the present time, with the result that an insufficient number of party members, and of the workers generally are mobilised to take part in these fights.

### Party Organisation.

To a large extent these defects are due also to organisational weaknesses. Thus, it was established by a national investigation that towards the middle of 1927 there were only 61.67 per cent. of the party members organised in the trade unions, whilst 1.13 per cent. had been expelled from the unions, and 21.60 per cent. of the members were unemployed. It was further established by the investigation that over one-half of the C.P. members who were organised in the trade unions already belonged to the unions before 1914, and three-fourths had belonged before 1920. This shows that the C.P. possesses a stalwart body of trade unionists with whose aid, and by the use of whose influence among the workers, the party might have entrenched itself far more strongly in the factories and in the trade unions than it has hitherto done. The investigation referred to also showed that the large majority of the C.P. members are in small and medium-sized factories; 70.5 per cent. of all the party members are employed in factories with less than 500 employees, 22 per cent. in factories with 500—3,000 employees, and only 7.5 per cent. in factories with more than 3,000 employees. In some of the large factories the C.P. has no influence whatever. Naturally

these organisational weaknesses become intensified and extremely noticeable in connection with the mobilisation of the masses for big industrial struggles.

In the field of organisational work the C.P. has made considerable progress in its trade union activities. Fractions have been formed both in the districts and local organisations of nearly all the trade unions, and fractional activity is again being systematically and successfully carried on. In the course of the trade union elections in the spring of 1928 the party succeeded not only in increasing its vote, but also in capturing important trade union organisations.

### **The Agitprop Department.**

In recent years the Agitprop Apparatus has been organised in the district, sub-district and local groups, as well as in the nuclei. Naturally, there are still many defects in the apparatus, especially in the lower units of organisation. The propaganda work still shows many weak points. Nevertheless, the good work and the agitational efficiency of the Agitprop apparatus was demonstrated in the course of the big campaigns of last year, such as the campaigns in connection with the compensation of the ex-ruling houses, the Toilers' Congress, the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union, as well as in the mass demonstrations, e.g., in connection with the "Steel Helmet" Day on May 8th, 1927, in Berlin.

During the last two years a network of party schools has been built up. The elementary training of large masses of the membership has been organised in such a manner that, in connection with all the big campaigns and after each Plenum of the E.C.C.I., as well as after each important conference of the party, elementary courses are organised in conformity with plans worked out by the Agitprop of the C.C. Thus, after the Essen Conference, a wide campaign was organised on the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union and on the trade union movement, and a number of courses on the decisions of the Party Conference and of the Seventh Plenum. In the winter of 1927-28 the Berlin-Brandenburg district showed remarkable initiative in drawing up a comprehensive plan of popularising the slogan: "More political education, fewer newspapers." The educational plan comprised elementary courses, advanced courses (second-grade elementary courses), and courses for officials, all of them centrally organised.

Particular value was attached to drawing up the curriculum on the economic doctrines of Marxism, which has so far been neglected in most of the party courses. The training of officials was undertaken in 1926-27 in nearly all districts. Besides various special courses on different practical questions, there were also general district schools organised for officials at

Chemnitz, Berlin, Hamburg, and elsewhere. A Central Party school, with about 30 pupils and with a school term of two months, was held with good results in 1927, and a second school of this type in the spring of 1928.

Self-educational work. A new aspect of party educational work has only lately started in the form of the publication of "Self-Educational Corners" in the party press and of syllabuses and questionnaires. Leading organs for this work (self-education bureaux) have not been organised as yet, this being largely due to the lack of success in the self-educational work. The "Little Library" of the "Parteiarbeiter" began the publication of booklets dealing with self-education.

To meet the great demand for textbooks in connection with party training work, the Agitprop of the C.C. undertook to compile from its own resources "Elementary Books on the Class Struggle."

Lately, the Agitprop has endeavoured to increase the influence of the party in the Workers' Educational Movement. On the one hand, fractional activity by Communists was organised in the Reformist workers' schools and trade union schools, and, on the other hand, the party founded its own schools, e.g., the "Workers' School of Marxism" in Berlin.

### **Factory Papers and Worker Correspondents.**

On the whole, the factory newspapers have developed fairly well during the last year, and their contents given a more live character, their importance as political organs as well as their rôle in industrial fights and in the organisational activity of the party has increased.

The worker-correspondents have developed more in the provincial press than in the central organ. The "Ruhr Echo," the "Kämpfer" of Chemnitz, the "Klassenkampf" of Halle, and the "Hamburger Volkszeitung" have had their well-trained staffs of worker-correspondents for years, and these are being continually enlarged. Systematic work in this respect has been taken up only lately by "Rote Fahne."

### **Co-operative Work.**

The activity and influence of the party in the Co-operatives is still rather weak on the whole. One of the reasons for this is the under-estimation of the importance of this work which still persists among a good many comrades and officials in the party. There is also a lack of a sufficient number of experienced and trained party officials in this field of work. The Co-operative Department of the C.C. has carried on systematic and intensive activity in this respect; nevertheless, owing to the circumstances referred to, the work is slow in bearing fruit.



During the period when the party leadership was dominated by the ultra-Left tendency, there was even an appreciable retrogression in the general activity in the co-operatives, whilst the organisational structure and methods of this work were severely impaired. During the period which followed the "Open Letter" a slow but steady improvement took place. The party apparatus for work in the co-operatives has been strengthened, both centrally and in the districts; substantial progress has been made in the activity of the fractions and in their structure, even if the present state of affairs is still far from satisfactory. Since the beginning of 1927 there has existed a national fractional leadership which co-ordinates this work throughout the country, and has already proved very useful in working out concrete instructions for this line of work. A beginning has also been made with systematic educational activities (courses and instructive conferences). The party press, and particularly the central organ, have generally devoted too little attention to co-operative questions.

The improved activity in the last two years has resulted in the party regaining most of the positions lost to the Reformists in past years. New positions have been won, and the old positions extended and consolidated. At the same time there has been a tremendous growth of the aggressive attitude of the co-operative bureaucrats towards the Communists. At the present time the Communists dominate 30 middle and small co-operative societies with a total membership of 100,000, whilst the central association has a membership of 3,000,000. At the last Co-operative Congress the Communist fraction had 51 delegates out of a total of 933. So far there has been little success in getting large masses of revolutionary co-operative members to rally around the Communist fractions as sympathisers.

### **Work Among the Peasants.**

Rural activity is no longer considered by the party as a side issue, but rather as part and parcel of the general party activity. Nevertheless, the influence of the party among the peasants is still relatively weak.

In the big peasant demonstrations in the spring of 1928 the C.P. was the only party whose activity was generally lacking in the districts, although in 1926-27 some peasant demonstrations of this kind had already taken place, and the party had then realised its mistake in not having taken part in them. It ought to be noted that a great many of these demonstrations have passed almost before the very gates of Berlin. In some districts the party distributed leaflets which were eagerly read by the peasants. The peasant organisations friendly to the party did not take part in these movements.

An intensive campaign was conducted by the party in the

various Parliaments, under the slogan of "Alliance between the working peasants and the working class," and "Workers' and peasants' government." There were also resolutions moved in favour of the peasants by the C.P. fractions in regard to taxes, credits, mortgages, land tenure, and colonisation. In connection with the campaign in connection with the property of the ex-ruling houses, excellent work was carried on by the party throughout the country. It also organised campaigns on the bad harvest and floods, which led to conferences with the victims and to the establishment of connections with peasants of all political tendencies.

; In this connection there were established auxiliary committees of peasants, which are still functioning very well in conjunction with some of the Landtag fractions. Sympathising peasants are attracted and induced to take part in the meetings of the fractions irrespective of their political and trade affiliations, and current legislation is jointly discussed with them and reported upon before meetings in their respective localities.

The party has also established contact with the rural youth movement, which is of tremendous importance.

At the Würzburg Conference of Communist Parliamentarians on March 12-13th, 1927, the party decided on the line of policy to be followed in Parliament in regard to the peasant question, and with regard to the Parliamentary demands to be made on behalf of agricultural workers. These decisions are to be published in a special booklet, entitled "Parliamentary Policy of the C.P."

The "Rote Fahne" now gives more space to agrarian and peasant questions. It is to be regretted that not all the provincial newspapers have as yet introduced peasant supplements. In the Brandenburg province a special "Village Newspaper" is published, which has met with a good reception.

### **Non-Party Organisations.**

Party work in the different mass organisations was increased by the extension of the party fractions. Great importance attaches to the Red Front League and its companion organisations, the Red Women's and Girls' League. Both are mass organisations with more than one-half of their membership made up of non-party elements. The attempts of the German Trotskyists to carry their fight against the party and against the Soviet Union into these organisations were frustrated by the party. Both of these organisations take an active part in all the big campaigns of the party.

An abortive attempt has also been made by the ultra-lefts in Germany to destroy the International Red Aid (I.C.W.P.A.). The International Red Aid has been very active, particularly in the amnesty campaign, whilst the Workers' International Relief was

largely responsible for organising the intellectuals' delegations to the Soviet Union on the Tenth Anniversary, and in many strikes it rendered aid to the strikers by the distribution of foodstuffs. The "Hands Off China" campaign, particularly the International meetings, was jointly conducted with the Anti-Imperialist League.

The party has to record considerable progress also in the other mass organisations. Thus, it has succeeded in capturing important local and district organisations of the Freethinkers, and generally to increase its influence among them. The same can be said about the workers' sports organisations, which have aided the party in its fight against the yellow sports movement.

### Work Among Women.

After the almost complete cessation of activity among the women under the Maslow-Fischer regime in the C.C., the Women's Section of the C.C. was strengthened in 1926 by the attraction to this work of a body of regular women workers. The women's sections in the districts and in important local branches were revived again, whilst in the sub-districts, notably in Berlin, new groups of women officials were trained, particularly among the circles of working women in the factories. In the second half of 1926 the first women's delegate meetings were organised at Berlin, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Hamburg, and in the Ruhr district, by which the party extended and consolidated its connections with the working women in the factories. Finally, in November, 1926, the party succeeded in publishing a new paper for working women in place of the "Kommunistin," which had ceased publication. The "Kämpferin," in the six months since its publication, has, by its close contact with the life of the working woman, grown into a valuable weapon for drawing working women to the Left wing of the trade union movement.

At the close of 1925 the "Red Women's and Girls' League" was formed, which grew rapidly in the first year of its existence under Communist leadership. This was, unfortunately, attained largely at the cost of the women's sections of the party, since, in consequence of a lack of ideological clarity, the tasks of the party in its activity among the women and the rôle of the R.W.G.L. as a subsidiary organisation of the party were misunderstood by many. Lately, a certain stagnation has set in in the R.W.G.L.

After the Essen Conference an attempt was made by the C.C. to strengthen political activity among the women. Nevertheless the old deep-rooted weaknesses of party activity among the women have been so far only slightly overcome. The political importance of activity among the women has not yet been fully realised by the party as a whole, nor by the central organs.

Typical in this respect is the attitude of "Rote Fahne," which persists in practically ignoring the masses of working women, at a time when in Berlin alone there are tens of thousands of working women playing an active rôle in strikes. Equally unsatisfactory is the activity in the factories and the trade unions, despite some progress which has been made. The women's delegate movement is generally at a standstill throughout the country. The experience of systematic activity in Berlin seems to indicate that the women's delegate meetings can be successful only when organised in close connection with activity in the trade unions. In its trade union activity the party has gained considerable influence among the women during the various strikes capturing important positions in the unions and attracting considerable numbers of working women into the unions, above all in the textile, metal, and footwear industries. The party has begun the formation of women's trade union commissions in the unions which are led by the Left wing, and also the organisations of Left wing conferences of working women for the preparation and conduct of fights.

### General Organisation.

In the field of organisation the C.P. of Germany is among the strongest sections of the C.I. It was among the first to take up the re-organisation of its ranks upon the basis of factory nuclei. By 1927 this transformation had been completed. Nevertheless, among the members of the C.P. of Germany there are still a good many workers who do not belong to the existing factory nuclei, while it is also frequently the case that members of factory nuclei merely attend the nuclei meetings to pay their dues, doing their party work in their residential districts. Another defect in the organisation of the C.P. in Germany is the weakness of the organisations in the large factories. However, the elimination of this defect constitutes the central task of organisational activity. The statistical data given above in the chapter dealing with trade union activity goes to show that (in 1927) out of a total of 124,729 party members there were 58 per cent. factory workers, but only 8 per cent. in the large factories. In order to grasp the significance of these figures one must bear in mind the tremendous difficulties which hamper the activity of the C.P. in the large factories, the extremely well-organised system of espionage as well as the class-collaboration of Social-Democracy in the process of weeding out the Communists from the factories. Lately the reactionaries have conducted a bitter campaign against newspapers published by the factory nuclei.

In the period between the Fifth and Sixth World Congress the numerical strength of the C.P. membership in Germany fluctuated as follows:—In 1924 there were 121,394 members, in

1925—122,755, in 1926—134,348, and in 1927—124,729 members. At the time of the Party Conference of 1926 there were 145,000 members. The figures for 1926-27 show 20 per cent. less than the real strength of the membership in the C.P. of Germany, the reason being that only members in good standing were included; but even with this reservation the figures show during this period the membership of the C.P. of Germany has practically remained at a standstill. At the same time it should be noted that there has been a steady growth in the number of votes given to Communist candidates in various elections.

The circulation of the party press is twice as large as the strength of the party membership. The number of regular readers of the party press is estimated by the C.C. at 280,000. The question of the organisational consolidation of the influence of the C.P. in the trade union organisations is a particularly acute one. The weakest point in the whole organisational activity of the C.P. in Germany is the activity of the trade union fractions of the C.P. The German party has accomplished a big task in organising the party apparatus in conformity with the model statutes worked out by the First International Organisation Conference. Among all the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries, the C.P. of Germany has the best and strongest apparatus. The work of this apparatus has still many serious defects, e.g., the insufficient guidance of the activity of the nuclei and of the trade union fractions by the local party leadership; but the C.P. in Germany is systematically and persistently removing all these defects and rectifying the errors which have been committed.

# GREAT BRITAIN

## ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**T**HE economic situation in the period since the last World Congress has revealed more markedly than ever the decisive changes that are taking place in Britain's economic position in relation to world economics. Britain's economic superiority is admittedly lost, and the decline is reflected in the general state of industry in the country. The basic industries—coal, iron, steel and cotton—have shown a steady decline, and doubts are expressed even by the bourgeoisie as to whether these industries will ever again occupy their former place in world economy. On the other hand, there has been a rapid development in certain new industries, such as artificial silk and automobiles, as well as in the chemical and electrical engineering industries. Significant of the changing character of British industry is the large increase in the number of workers employed in industries like the distributive trades, furniture making and building, i.e., in trades ministering to direct consumption, and a large decrease in coal mining, ship-building, iron and steel and engineering.

The present state of the basic industries in Britain has prominently brought to the front the question of rationalisation as a means of arresting the decline, and this is being strongly advocated by the leading sections of the bourgeoisie as well as by the Labour leaders. Rationalisation already carried out in the chemical industry begins to be applied to engineering.

Technical backwardness in the old basic industries proves an obstacle to their rationalisation, which so far has only taken the form of serious attacks upon the conditions of the workers. Nevertheless, a step in the direction of rationalisation has been taken in the coal industry by the formation in Scotland, Wales, and in the Midlands of cartels, and a scheme was brought out in Manchester at the beginning of the year for combining a number of cotton mills under a single company which would re-organise production on more efficient lines. In close connection with the movement for rationalisation is the movement for so-called peace in industry, which is advocated by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and supported by the big bourgeoisie headed by Mond, the purpose of which is to prevent the workers' resistance to rationalisation.

An important symptom of the changing character of British economy is the marked increase in the adverse balance of trade. Since 1924 imports have steadily increased, while exports have remained practically stationary.

In the beginning of this year a levelling tendency in imports and exports was observed, but it has yet to be seen whether this tendency will be maintained. These sustained and considerable adverse balances clearly indicate the extent to which Britain is becoming a rentier country living on returns from foreign investments, and this helps to explain the flourishing condition of the luxury trades in the face of the steady depression in the basic industry.

This is confirmed by the steady increase in the proportion of new capital investments that are invested abroad.

Even in regard to home investments, statistics since 1920 show that the proportion of new capital invested in real industrial undertakings is diminishing, while that invested in government and municipal securities, railways, financial enterprises, and other enterprises like cinemas, breweries, etc., is increasing. In regard to foreign investments, an increasing share of the new capital is being invested in the colonies.

Looming large in the background of Britain's struggle to maintain her economic position is her conflict, steadily becoming more distinct and acute, with the United States.

### **Wages, Cost of Living and Unemployment.**

While miners' wages have dropped catastrophically, wages in other industries, according to government and bourgeoisie economists' statistics, have remained stationary in the period under review, ranging between the index number of 170 to 175 of pre-war. The cost of living according to the official index has fluctuated with a tendency to drop, and on February, 1928, stood at 166 of pre-war.

The actual earnings of a vast number of workers in Britain, owing to systematic short time and long spells of unemployment, are even below pre-war, and recent investigations of the coal mining industry have revealed that the conditions of the vast majority of the miners are really desperate.

From 1924 to 1926 unemployment steadily increased from 10.3 per cent. in 1924 (out of about 12 million persons insured) to 11.3 per cent. in 1925, and 12.5 per cent. in 1926 (not including miners on strike). The figures for 1927, however, showed a drop to 9.7 per cent., and there has been a steady drop in the weekly returns of the actual number of unemployed in the first three months of 1928 with another rise, however, in the last week of April. The percentage of unemployment, however, continues to range between 9.7 and 10.7 per cent.

### **POLITICAL SITUATION.**

In the domain of politics the situation in Britain since the last Congress has been marked by reaction at home and imperialist aggression abroad.

The so-called Labour Government, under the premiership of Ramsay Macdonald, failing to cope with the rising tide of the Labour movement, was ignominiously thrown out, and it went down amidst the jeers of the very bourgeoisie whose interests it tried to serve. At the general elections, which took place at the end of 1924, the Conservative Party stampeded the electorate by means of the notorious Zinoviev Letter, and succeeded in getting itself returned to the House of Commons with an overwhelming majority.

The period has been marked by the most gigantic social conflicts in the modern history of Britain. For the first time in modern times the power of the ruling classes in Britain was challenged by the working class, and was saved primarily by the treachery of the official Labour leaders. Following this betrayal the Baldwin Government found itself free to turn the counter-attack upon the working class, and to pursue its policy of imperialist aggression abroad.

#### **Foreign and Colonial Policy.**

The external relations of Great Britain during the period since the Fifth Congress have been determined by the strenuous efforts of the British Government to maintain Britain's place as the predominant power in world politics in which she is being strongly attacked by powerful new rivals on the one hand, and by the growing revolt of the peoples under her subjection on the other.

The growing economic development of the British Dominions and their growing economic intercourse with countries outside of the British Empire are causing the restraints imposed upon them by the British connection to become irksome to them, and Great Britain is compelled to resort to skilful manœuvring in order to retain them within the economic orbit of the British Empire.

On the European Continent the policy of the British Government in this period has been to manœuvre between the conflicting interests on the continent with the aim of forging a hostile ring (to include Germany and France) around the U.S.S.R. and to prepare the ground for an attack upon her. The first important step in this hostile policy was Locarno in 1925, the second was the rupture of relations with the U.S.S.R., and the third the Birkenhead conversations in Berlin in April, 1928.

In the colonial countries the British Government has been steadily working to tighten the clutches of British imperialism upon the countries it held previously, and to consolidate its position in the new so-called mandated territories. Under a thin cloak of treaties and Acts, which ostensibly grant independence and self-government to these subjected countries, the British Government is conducting a policy of practical annexation. The



aim of British imperialism is to acquire undivided mastery of the whole territory from the Sahara to India. In China the revolutionary movement was precipitated by the shooting by the British authorities of unarmed students and workers in Shanghai and Canton, and was later followed by the landing of a large British force in China for the purpose of overawing and crushing the revolutionary movement.

Meanwhile the growing economic rivalry between Great Britain and the United States is being reflected in the domain of politics. After the debt settlement with United States and Britain's return to the gold standard of currency, the British Government strove to throw off the restraints imposed by the Washington Conference. It made overtures for a renewal of close relations with Japan, and laid plans for naval construction unhampered by an agreement with America. Following the breakdown of the conference between the United States, Great Britain and Japan at Geneva last summer it has become clear that both countries have now entered into a race for armaments with an eye to the day when the United States will forcibly challenge Britain's command of the seas.

### **Home Politics.**

In the sphere of home politics the Baldwin Government has turned its attention to the Communist Party of Great Britain, rightly judging that it was the only active force in Britain rallying the workers for the fight against the bourgeoisie and their Labour lackeys. After the stage had been properly set by the passing of the anti-Communist resolution at the Liverpool Congress of the Labour Party, the Government in 1925 raided the headquarters of the party and arrested nearly all the members of the Executive Committee, and sentenced them to varying terms of imprisonment.

During the general strike in 1926, and throughout the whole course of the miners' strike, the Government utilised its forces to intimidate the workers and crushed the strikes. Thousands of workers were arrested and imprisoned for their activities in the strikes.

Following the betrayal of the general strike and miners' fight by the Labour leaders, the Baldwin Government directed its attacks upon the rights of the trade unions and upon the sources of public aid to which the workers resort in periods of distress. By this means it aimed at cutting away the material support which enabled the workers to maintain their class solidarity. The Government gave legislative sanction to the return to the eight-hour day. This was followed by the Trade Union Act, by which sympathetic strikes, or even the advocacy of such, became criminal offences, and which cuts at the financial basis of the Labour Party.

The Government has also reduced the scales of unemployed benefit, and, moreover, workers suffering from prolonged unemployment have been deprived of benefits altogether.

The Conservative Government has made attempts to perpetuate its reactionary rule by a proposal to reform the House of Lords, which, if carried, would have given that body power of veto over all legislation. The opposition to this measure, however, was too strong, even among the bourgeoisie, to permit the Government to proceed with it. The Government is now endeavouring to achieve the same object by a measure to extend the franchise to women under 30 years of age, on the assumption that the majority of women vote for the Conservative Party.

### THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

#### The Conservative Party.

The apparent division of the party into a "die-hard" group, and a more moderate group, proves to be merely a division of Labour, and so far no differences, if they existed at all, have led to anything in the nature of a crisis in the party. The party continues to have solid support in the House of Commons and that of the agrarians and big financial and industrial capital. The farmers have on several occasions expressed their discontent with the Conservative Government owing to the, in their opinion, inadequate Government support and protection of the farming industry. But the main plea of economy urged by the Baldwin Government finds support among the petty bourgeoisie generally, and even among certain industrialists who formerly supported the Liberal Party, as, for example, the Lancashire cotton spinners, who are demanding still further reduction of expenditure on social services.

#### The Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party does not show strong signs of recovery from the collapse it suffered after the break-up of the coalition. Nor does it appear to have a wide social basis upon which it can rebuild its power. The big bourgeoisie have gone in with the Conservative Party. The rift between the Grey and Runciman group, representing the traditional Liberal, commercial and industrial groups, on the one hand, and the Lloyd George group on the other, has not been healed. But Lloyd George controls the funds of the party, and therefore controls the party itself.

Under Lloyd George's leadership the party is to make a big bid for the working class and petty bourgeois vote at the next election. The Liberal Party has advanced new proposals of land and industrial reform. The agrarian proposals are for

the increase of taxation of land values, to give powers to local authorities to purchase land, encouragement to small farmers in the way of credit for the purchase of land and implements, etc. The industrial proposals are for the re-organisation of industry under State control, workers' participation in management, minimum living wage, State acquisition of mining royalties, transference of a large proportion of local taxation to the State, etc. At the Convention of the Liberal Party, held at the end of March, this programme was accepted with slight amendment.

### **The Labour Party.**

While in office the Labour Party proved itself to be no less ready to utilise the forces of the State against the workers than the bourgeois parties, and avowedly adopted the principles of "continuity" in its foreign and colonial policy. It mobilised the forces of the State against the transport workers in anticipation of the strike that threatened in 1924. It exercised the Emergency Powers Act at the time of the underground railway strike in London in the same year. Ramsay MacDonald heralded his entry into office by threats against the Indian national movement, and his Government endorsed the repressive Bombay ordinances under which the Labour and Nationalist movement was violently suppressed in Bombay. MacDonald gave utterance to strong words and even threats to Egypt after the breakdown of his negotiations with Zaghlul Pasha in 1924. Actually, military operations and the bombardment of villages from the air in Iraq were carried out in the period of office of the Labour Government. The Labour Government fostered and carried through the Dawes Plan for the enslavement of the German workers.

The defeat of the Labour Government was no less discreditable than its period of office. During the negotiations for a Trading Agreement with the U.S.S.R. the Labour Government was helplessly buffeted, first to one side—towards an agreement—by the pressure of the masses of the workers, and then to the other—against an agreement—by the pressure of capitalist interests. In the course of three days negotiations with the U.S.S.R. were first broken off, then renewed, and finally an agreement was signed. The bourgeois parties, upon whose votes the Labour Government depended, decided that they had no further use for it. Their opportunity came when, with its habitual vacillation, the Labour Government first instituted proceedings for sedition against R. Campbell, the editor of the "Workers' Weekly," and then, owing to the protests of the masses of the workers, dropped the prosecution. Using this as a pretext, they turned the Labour Government out of office in October, 1924. But the crowning shame of the Labour Govern-

ment, headed by Ramsay MacDonald, was its action in connection with the forged Zinoviev Letter.

As his majesty's opposition, the Labour Party throughout this period has acted in a manner calculated to paralyse every protest on the part of the masses, and by its sham opposition has acted as a shield of the bourgeoisie. It helped to betray the general strike, and throughout the whole period of the miners' strike it strove to break the morale of the miners by continually urging them to accept the offer of the employers. Its opposition to the miners' eight-hour day was farcical. It practically urged the workers to reconcile themselves to the Trade Union Act on the plea that they would come back to power at the next election and repeal it. It helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the despatch of troops to China. Its representative on the Blanesborough Commission signed the recommendation to reduce unemployed pay, but the E.C. of the party did not reprimand her for doing so. It supported the appointment of the Simon Commission on India, and appointed its own representatives to it, notwithstanding the protests of the Indian people against it.

The party leadership as a whole has swung still more to the Right than it was at the time of the Fifth Congress. The pseudo-Left wing led by Lansbury, Purcell and the rest, that emerged prior to the big strike movements, has sunk back into the fold of the Right wing, and has completely merged itself with it.

The Labour Party has thrown overboard the Socialist programme it adopted in the period of the rise of the revolutionary movement in England, and has now even abandoned its post-war demands.

Simultaneously with its policy of alliance with the bourgeois parties, the Labour Party leadership is conducting a ruthless campaign against the radical rank and file of the party.

In all respects the Labour Party is changing rapidly from its previous form of a loose organisation of affiliated bodies allowing the free expression of various views into a regular political party relying mainly on an active individual membership recruited largely from among the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie—and from bourgeois deserters from the Liberal camp—with a strong party discipline, relying upon the affiliated trade union membership merely as a base for its financial support. These are the circumstances which have made necessary a change in the attitude of the Communist Party towards the Labour Party.

### **Independent Labour Party.**

The Independent Labour Party finds itself between the hammer of the Communist Party and the growing Left wing

and the anvil of the Labour Party. Its former leaders, Snowden, MacDonald and others, have become merged with the reactionary Right wing of the Labour Party leadership, and consequently it has lost its former influence in the Labour Party. Indeed, it is now itself being subjected to attack. At the Blackpool Congress of the Labour Party, the I.L.P. was threatened if it dared to put itself in opposition to the Labour Party policy. Bowing to these threats, the party withdrew the half a dozen or so "Socialist" resolutions standing on the agenda in its name.

The party has abandoned its "Socialism in Our Time" slogan, and substituted it by the slogan of the "Living Wage." But even this has now sunk into oblivion. The party repeatedly rejected the offers of the Communist Party to participate in joint campaign in connection with urgent matters like the armed intervention in China and the Trade Union Act, and confined itself to mild verbal protest. It was very strong, however, in its denunciation of the Soviet Government for executing the 20 White Guards and hailed as a "striking victory for Socialism" Pilsudski's successes at the last general election in Poland.

The Independent Labour Party tries to play the rôle of conciliator between the various wings of the Socialist movement, and at the beginning of this year issued a manifesto to the Socialist Parties of all countries appealing for unity between the Communist International and the Second International, and also for international trade union unity. This manifesto called forth a telling rejoinder from the Communist Party of Great Britain.

There is a growing section in the party that is dissatisfied with its policy, and the number of workers that have passed from the I.L.P. to the Communist Party is symptomatic of this. Particularly is this the case among the younger members of the organisation, a large section of whom have established close organisational contact with the Young Communist League. At the I.L.P. Conference held last Easter it was reported that last year the party lost no less than 249 whole branches. It is becoming evident to the working class members of the I.L.P. that in this period of acute conflict between labour and capital there is no room for a "centrist" party.

### THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Although considerably weakened as the result of a huge loss in membership, unemployment, etc., symptoms were observed early in 1924 that the trade unions were pushing forward to resist the capitalist offensive. The strike wave of 1924, the setting up of the Anglo-Russian Committee, the emergence of the so-called "Leftists" (Purcell, Hicks, Bramley) on the General Council of the Trade Union Congress, and the launch-

ing of a National Minority Movement in the same year were positive signs of the Leftward swing of the masses.

When Baldwin gave the signal for the general capitalist offensive in 1925—"The wages of all workers must come down"—the rank and file of the trade union movement rallied to the counter-attack and expressed their militancy in the united front of July, 1925, which culminated in "Red Friday," when the General Council was compelled by the direct pressure of the masses of the proletariat to threaten a general stoppage.

This rising tide of mass militancy was confirmed at the Scarborough Trade Union Congress in 1925, at which resolutions were passed which, if honestly adopted and carried out by the leadership, would have brought about fundamental changes in the British trade union movement.

But already at that time the treacherous designs of the official trade union leadership were beginning to reveal themselves. While talking glibly about the necessity for improving the state of organisation of the working class the trade union leaders did not do a single practical thing to organise the workers for resistance to the capitalist offensive. When the test came with the General Strike of May, 1926, the trade union leadership openly adopted a defeatist policy. The so-called Left wing utterly collapsed and fell in with the policy of the Rights.

At the very time when the strike movement was in full swing, when the workers were displaying a solidarity and militancy hitherto unprecedented, the General Council, to the astonishment and dismay of the masses of the workers, informed the Prime Minister that "the General Strike was being terminated to-day (May 12th)."

The Miners' Federation refused to agree to a settlement on the terms then proposed, and the miners continued the fight alone. But the General Council did all they could to hamper the miners in their unequal struggle. It turned down the demand for an embargo on coal, and also rejected the proposal for a levy on the whole trade union membership in aid of the miners' strike funds.

Characteristic of the attitude of the official leadership was their contemptuous rejection of the generous aid offered by the masses of the Russian workers to the British workers at the time of the General Strike, and their complaint, like that of the British Government, that the aid rendered to the miners was "interference in British affairs."

The low water mark of the bankruptcy of the trade union leadership was indicated, first at the Conference of Executives and then at the Edinburgh Trade Union Congress last year. This Congress registered the complete swing over of the official leadership towards reaction. This was expressed in the resolutions passed at the Congress, the principal of which may be

summarised as follows: (1) Capitulation on the question of the Trade Union Act; (2) break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee—which, in fact, had been sabotaged by the General Council all the time it existed; (3) refusal to deal with the scabbing tactics of Havelock Wilson, the leader of the Seamen's Company Union; (4) declaration in favour of "Peace in industry"; (5) the declaration of war on the minority movement.

The demoralisation resulting from the defeat created certain favourable grounds for the spread of a scab union movement, led by the renegade Spencer, but the trade union officials took no measures whatever to counteract it. It refused even to take disciplinary measures against Havelock Wilson, who granted a considerable sum of money out of the Seamen's Union funds in aid of Spencer scab unionism. In the Nottinghamshire coalfields the employers refused to deal with the official Miners' Union and would agree to recognise only the Spencer Union. They went even further, and attempted to compel the miners to leave the Miners' Union and join the Spencer Union. The General Council made a great display of energy, and intervened in the case, first of all demanding that all criticism of its actions by the Miners' Union must cease.

This pompous blackmailing intervention took the form of a proposal to take a ballot of the miners on the question as to which union they desired to belong. The ballot was taken in the early part of May, and resulted in an overwhelming vote in favour of the Miners' Union—32,277 for the Miners' Union and only 2,533 for the Spencer Union. The vote showed that scab unionism could be easily crushed if the trade union officials gave a proper lead to the workers.

## THE MINORITY AND LEFT WING MOVEMENTS.

### The Minority Movement.

The National Minority Movement came into existence in 1924, and since then has made considerable progress. It is now recognised as the organised opposition to the existing trade union leadership, and as such has all the guns of the trade union bureaucracy turned against it.

The following table shows the growth of the movement as expressed in the number of delegates attending the various annual conferences held since its formation and the number of organised workers represented:—

Annual Conference.	No. of Delegates.	Organised Workers Represented.
August, 1924	271	200,000
August, 1925	683	750,000
March, 1926	802	956,000
August, 1926	883	957,000
August, 1927	718	434 trade union branches.

The minority movement, guided by the Communist Party, played an extremely important part in the preparations for and the conduct of the General Strike. It convened the first great rank and file assembly; the Special Conference of Action, convened in March, 1926, which denounced the findings of the Samuel Commission on the mining industry and formulated a counter-plan of action. In this, however, it displayed a certain inconsistency, for, while in itself it was an organised protest against the defeatist policy of the General Council and was one of the principal instruments for exposing this policy, it nevertheless issued the slogan of concentrating the leadership of all the unions in the General Council. However, the other items in its plan of action contributed enormously to rallying the workers in the strike and maintaining their militant spirit. These items were: (1) Election of factory, shop and pit committees; (2) concerted action between the trade unions and the co-operative societies; (3) creation of a Labour Defence Corps; (4) propaganda among the forces; (5) agitation for the repeal of the anti-Labour and sedition laws. It is no exaggeration to say that the fine fighting spirit of the masses of the workers in the localities during the general strike was due to the efforts of the minority movement under the political leadership of the Communist Party.

On the betrayal of the strike by the officials the minority movement agitated for an embargo on the export of coal and a levy on the trade union membership in support of the miners' strike funds.

By 1927 the minority movement had become a serious menace to the trade union bureaucracy. That they realised this is evident by the statement made by A. Conley, a member of the General Council, at the Bournemouth Trade Union Congress in 1926 in opposing the affiliation of Trades Councils which supported the minority movement that: "*If the Council had agreed to this affiliation, within a short time the minority movement would become the majority.*"

Notwithstanding these attacks the minority movement is making headway in the general trade union movement, and has succeeded in capturing a number of positions on the leading bodies of various trade unions as well as in the local organisations. In this respect the minority movement is particularly successful in the Miners' Union in Scotland, where it now has a majority on the Scottish Mine Workers' Union as well as on the executives of the Fifehire and Lanarkshire Miners' Unions. Comrade Horner is on the Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation and of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. Comrade Pollitt, for several years in succession, has been elected delegate to Labour Party Congresses by the Boilermakers' Union. In the recent elections for the general



secretaryship of the Engineers' Union, Comrade Tanner opposed the present secretary, Brownlie, and received 13,476 votes, which represented over 50 per cent. of the votes obtained by Brownlie.

### **Left Wing Movement in the Labour Party.**

The discontent with the defeatist policy of the official leadership in the Labour Party has found expression in the formation of a Left wing in that organisation, which first sprang from the Liverpool exclusionist decisions in 1925, and took organisational shape in 1926, and now has groups throughout the country. The Left wing works in close contact with the Communist Party, and its policy is largely guided by the latter. At the inaugural conference it was reported that 65 groups had been established: 24 in London, 6 in South Wales, 5 in Lancashire, 9 in Yorkshire, 11 in Scotland, 4 in the Midlands, 3 in naval ports, and the remainder in other parts of the country. At the conference 145 delegates were present. The conference discussed the Liverpool decisions of the Labour Party concerning the expulsion of Communists and disaffiliation of organisations refusing to abide by the Labour Party Executive decisions, and preparations were made to put up a fight against these decisions at the ensuing Labour Party Congress in Margate. As a result a strong Left wing fraction consisting of 60 delegates was formed at the Margate conference, which came out in an organised manner against the official policy.

Considerable organisational progress was reported at the Second Left Wing Conference held in September, 1927. At this conference 54 local Labour Parties and groups, aggregating 150,000 individual members, were represented.

By this time also the campaign against the Left wing movement in the Labour Party had been intensified, with the result that at the last conference of the Left wing movement the disaffiliation of 28 local Labour Parties was reported: 19 in London, 5 in South Wales, 2 in Scotland, and 2 in the North of England.

The disaffiliated local Labour Parties continue to function as independent bodies in their localities, in close contact with the Communist Party. At recent local elections the disaffiliated parties have put up candidates in conjunction with the Communist Party against the official Labour candidates with a fair amount of success. Preparations are also being made to put up candidates for the forthcoming Parliamentary elections.

### **THE COMMUNIST PARTY.**

In the period under review the Communist Party of Great Britain has emerged as one of the important factors in British politics generally, and in the Labour movement in particular.

It has not yet succeeded in becoming a mass party from the point of view of numbers, but through its leadership of the minority movement and Left wing movement the party exercises direct influence upon masses of militant workers far exceeding its own numerical strength.

The party has been fighting on numerous fronts under the direct blows of the Government. In the course of their activities during working class struggles thousands of the members of the party, including members of the E.C., have been subject to arrest and imprisonment. Notwithstanding this the party has continued the struggle, and is winning increasing support among the militant sections of the Labour movement.

The party and the Comintern suffered a sad loss by the death of Comrade Arthur MacManus in March, 1927. Comrade MacManus was one of the founders of the party, its first chairman, and also a member of the E.C.C.I. During his comparatively short life he played an active and leading part in the revolutionary Labour movement. From the time when, in 1916, he was deported as a leader of the shop stewards' movement, up to his imprisonment in 1925-26 by the British Government as one of the twelve Communist leaders, he was in the forefront of party activities. Almost his last activity was to participate, on behalf of the party, in the foundation of the League Against Imperialism at the Brussels Conference in February.

In the main, the party has been able to maintain the unity of its ranks, and while differences of opinion have naturally arisen from time to time on the leading bodies and in the local organisations this has never affected the close co-operation of all units of the party. It must be stated that the party is entirely free from Trotskyist or any other reformist elements.

### **The Party Policy.**

Engaged as it has been in strenuous struggles and tasks of a proportion far in excess of its numerical strength and resources the party has not always been able to see the struggle in its true perspective, and has not been able on all occasions to manœuvre with sufficient flexibility in the midst of changing circumstances. Throughout this strenuous period the party has adopted a sharp line of criticism and of exposure towards the Labour bureaucracy, but the effect of this line was diminished to some extent by its weak conduct of the campaign for a change of leadership. This line was marked during the General Strike, and recurred again in 1927 in the resolutions of the Party Congress and in public statements concerning the anticipated coming into office of a Labour Government after the next general election. The party was slow also in reacting to the changed situation created by the sharp differentiation in the Labour movement caused by the decisive turn to the Right of the Labour

bureaucracy and the steady swing to the Left of the masses. The tremendous issues involved in the struggle in Great Britain have caused the Comintern to follow the development of events there very closely, and by maintaining constant contact with the British Party has helped it to straighten out its line when it erred.

### **The New Tactic.**

The party executive itself realised that the events of the past two years made it necessary to take stock of the situation and define anew its attitude towards the Labour Party. This it did in an open letter to the party membership, published in the "Worker's Life" in January last, in which, while noting the definitely reactionary policy of the Labour Party and the swing to the Left of the masses of the workers, declared that criticism of the Labour bureaucracy must be sharpened, but that the time has not come for altering the policy of continuing the fight against the bureaucracy within the framework of the Labour Party.

Moreover, at the Ninth Congress of the Party a resolution was passed stating that "the fight for a Labour Government is the main task." The tactics of the British Party in the present period served as one of the principal items of discussion at the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., to which the majority of the E.C. of the British Party submitted a thesis embodying the lines enunciated in the open letter. After a thorough discussion of the subject the Ninth Plenum on February 18th this year resolved unanimously—including the British Delegation as a whole, that the change in the situation in Great Britain necessitated a departure from the advice given by Lenin to the British Party in regard to the Labour Party, and that the time had come when the Communist Party of Great Britain must come out openly as the sole political party of the working class opposed to the Labour Party, which has become Social-Democratic in form and bourgeois in character. This line was to find practical expression among other things in the party independently putting up its own candidates for public bodies, and particularly for Parliament, in the forthcoming general election, even in constituencies contested by official Labour candidates, and especially in these constituencies represented by the prominent Labour leaders.

The decision of the Ninth Plenum was discussed at the full meeting of the E.C. of the British Party in March, and carried unanimously. It was also submitted for wide discussion to the rank and file of the membership of the party, and was adopted almost unanimously—a small minority, while agreeing with the general line, insisted upon the abandonment of further demands

for affiliation, which had not been decided upon at the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

### **The Party and the Strike Movement.**

The party was particularly active in the General Strike and in the Miners' Strike, and the influence it exercised upon the masses in these struggles proved its fitness to act as the leader of the working class. It was the only party that, during the nine months' truce between July, 1925, and May, 1926, prepared the workers for the impending fight.

The party initiated and was the leading spirit in the preparations made by the rank and file for the strikes, the formation of the committees of action, local strike committees, etc. The party members were active on all the local strike committees. Through its regular organs as well as through a "Special Bulletin," which was sent to the districts, there to be duplicated and distributed broadcast, as well as in special literature, the party urged the workers to stand firm in the struggle, warned them against the probable betrayal by the leaders, and strove to give the strike a political turn by issuing the slogan, "Down with the Baldwin Government."

With the collapse of the General Strike, the party concentrated its forces in the mining districts. Here, too, the party members were active on local committees and among the masses of the miners rallying them to resist the attempts of the trade union bureaucracy to compromise on wages and hours, organising relief for the strikers and rallying the rest of the workers to come to their assistance. The party initiated the campaign for an embargo on the export of coal and for a levy on the trade union membership in aid of the miners' strike funds.

As a result of these activities the party's prestige has been raised enormously among the masses of the workers, particularly among the miners, and a large influx of miners as well as other workers into the party took place at that time.

The party has been active on other sections of the industrial field. It took an active part in the unofficial strike of the seamen in 1925, and close contact was maintained between the party's industrial committee, and the seamen's strike committee. In the early part of this year the party took a leading part in organising the resistance of the cotton textile workers to the employers' attempts to reduce wages and increase hours, which resulted in the attempt being defeated. Even the capitalist press admitted that the good fight put up by the workers was due to the influence of the Communists.

The party is also conducting a wide campaign throughout the Labour movement against the General Council's policy of industrial peace. In addition to participating in these great struggles, the party has initiated and conducted a number of

important campaigns in connection with important issues that came up, of which the following are the most outstanding:—

### **Hands Off China Campaign.**

In addition to persistent propaganda and the distribution of a large quantity of literature dealing with this subject, the party initiated the Hands Off China Committee movement, and it is largely due to the party's efforts that a wide campaign was conducted in the Labour movement throughout the country. The campaign resulted in the setting up of over 70 Hands Off China Committees in the country and the holding of numerous local conferences, and a large London conference attended by 587 delegates. The party organised the distribution of anti-imperialist literature among the troops as they were being embarked for China, which had a marked effect upon the soldiers.

### **Anti-Trade Union Bill Campaign.**

On the initiative of the party the May Day demonstration in 1927 was converted into a huge mass working class demonstration against the Baldwin Bill and against the sham opposition to the Bill by the Labour bureaucracy. The party issued the slogan of the General Strike, and called for the establishment of factory committees and the convening of special conferences of trade unions in preparation for resisting the Government's operation of the Act. However, the party revealed certain weakness in its campaign of exposing the sham opposition of the General Council to the Bill by failing to criticise the General Council with the sharpness demanded by the circumstances.

### **Rupture with Russia Campaign.**

The party has all the time kept to the front the defence of Soviet Russia against the attacks of the Baldwin Government. On the rupture of relations with the U.S.S.R. the party immediately renewed the agitation for Hands Off Russia Committees, and this campaign was extended further, to include agitation for the establishment of councils of action in preparation for decisive action against the Baldwin Government's preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

### **Sacco and Vanzetti Campaign.**

A big campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was conducted in Great Britain under the auspices of the official Labour movement in which the Communist Party took an active part. The party, however, was practically alone in pointing out the skilful use to which British imperialism was putting the

hostility roused to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in its own anti-American policy and in drawing attention to the acts of judicial murder of fighters for liberty in the British Empire.

### **Parliament and Elections.**

The party has only one member in the present Parliament, Comrade Saklatvala, who has voiced the workers' protest against the acts of oppression of the British Government, both at home and abroad, but not always in complete line with Communist policy.

A number of party members occupy seats on local government bodies in London and in the provinces. Since the Labour Party bureaucracy adopted the tactics of expelling Communists, the party has put up candidates for public bodies in conjunction with the disaffiliated local Labour Parties against official Labour Party candidates. This was practised in the London County Councils elections in March, 1927, when the Communist and Left wing polled a fair vote, and in one case polled a higher vote than the official Labour candidate. The elections to the local public bodies in the provinces in April showed better results, and in a number of cases our comrades were elected.

### **International and Colonial Work.**

The party has kept the struggles of the workers and the oppressed peoples in the colonies well to the front in its press and general propaganda. It has kept contact with the Communist Parties in these countries, and has on various occasions sent its representatives to Ireland, China, India, Egypt and Palestine to obtain first-hand information and to render assistance.

The party was instrumental in getting a large delegation fully representative of the rank and file of the British Labour movement to visit Soviet Russia on the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. On the return of the delegation to England an interesting report was published in two large editions. In addition, a number of other pamphlets were published dealing with special subjects concerning Soviet Russia. The delegates travelled over the country addressing large meetings of workers. A National Society of Friends of Soviet Russia was formed, and local branches were established in a large number of districts throughout the country. A national conference of local Friends of Soviet Russia Societies was called at the end of April.

### **Agitation and Propaganda Work.**

The agitation and propaganda work of the party centre has been widely developed in the period under review, but proper

organisation has not yet been achieved in the districts, and measures have been taken to remove this defect. The party centre now issues an Agitprop Bulletin containing information on the important campaigns that are conducted and material to aid the party agitators and propagandists in a closer study of the questions of the day.

A system of party training has been introduced, consisting of the following grades: (a) Elementary party training classes in the locals; (b) party workers' classes in the districts; and (c) central party school. A party training manual has also been published, and, in addition, a "Self-study syllabus" is published monthly in the "Communist."

The Agitprop Department regularly issues a political letter to all the locals and factory and pit groups, which serves as a basis for the discussion of important questions and as a useful means of party training.

The party press has had to meet enemy attacks in the form of libel actions in the courts. As a result of an unfavourable verdict the "Workers' Weekly," founded at the beginning of 1923, was compelled in 1927 to go into bankruptcy. The "Workers' Life" has since been issued in its stead. The paper has been much improved in character, and consists usually of six pages, and on special occasions of eight pages. A regular feature of the paper is the "Miners' Supplement." The circulation of the paper is not as large as it should be. Lately the party has undertaken a campaign to enlarge the circulation of the paper with a fair amount of success. A gratifying feature of the paper is the fairly large corps of WORKER CORRESPONDENTS it has been able to establish, who provide valuable material directly from the factories in the localities.

The party has fairly well developed its publication work, particularly during the past two years. In this period it has published 28 books, including a number by Lenin, Bukharin, Stalin, etc. The number of pamphlets published during this period was 41, in editions ranging from 5,000 to 35,000, covering a wide range of subjects. In addition to this, 67 leaflets, manifestos, etc., were published in editions ranging from 5,000 to 285,000, the latter figure being that of a manifesto on war.

### **Work in the Trade Unions.**

The Industrial Committee of the party holds frequent consultations with party members holding responsible positions in the trade unions, discusses with them the affairs of the respective unions, and works out the lines of work to be conducted. A special feature of the work in the trade unions has been the drafting of programmes of action for various trades which now serve as the basis for rousing the trade union membership to fight against the inactivity of the leaders, and for intensifying

the struggle against the capitalists. Such programmes have been drawn up for the builders, metal workers, vehicle workers (taxi-drivers), textile workers, railwaymen, etc.

The work of the party fractions within the leading bodies as well as in the local organisations of the trade unions has improved. Particularly is this the case with the work of the fractions at national conferences of the separate unions as well as at the Trade Union Congresses, at which the party fraction helps to organise the fractions of the minority movement and works with it.

The fraction work in the Trades Councils is also improving. At the second conference of the Trades Councils, two party members were elected to the Joint Consultative Committee of the Trades Councils and Trade Union Congress, nine party members were elected as delegates to the Trade Union Congress, and a number of resolutions suggested by the party were placed on the agenda of the Trade Union Congress.

A number of party members now hold prominent positions in various trade unions.

### **Work Among the Women.**

Considerable progress has been made in the party's work among women. This result has been largely achieved by the systematic work carried on by the women party members, especially in the women's section of the Labour Party.

The party has also extensively developed the system of women delegate meetings and district conferences of women delegate meetings. These women delegates conferences have sent their representatives to all conferences called to discuss national issues, and have participated in campaigns initiated by the party.

Special work among women in the factories is not developed yet to the same extent, but the party's activity in the recent disputes in the textile industry has helped to stimulate this work.

A tribute to the party's work among women is the fact that International Women's Day has now become an established festival in the British Labour movement. This year a huge demonstration of women was organised in Trafalgar Square, London, consisting, in addition to London working women, of numerous delegations of working women from the provinces, particularly from the mining and textile districts. Besides the London demonstration special women's meetings were organised in numerous provincial towns.

A monthly women's paper is published, which now has a circulation of about 4,500, and which is increasing. In addition special literature for women is published.



**Work Among the Unemployed.**

Notwithstanding the large army of unemployed and the attacks made by the Government upon the relief of unemployed workers, the unemployed movement as such has tended to drop into the background in the face of the big struggles that have taken place in the movement generally. Nevertheless, the party has carried on work in conjunction with the National Unemployed Workers' Committee movement to organise the unemployed and to press forward their demands. An important feature of the party's work in this sphere have been its efforts to get the unemployed movement recognised as an integral part of the general Labour movement, but so far this has been successfully sabotaged by the trade union leadership. Nevertheless, the organisations of the unemployed have obtained right of affiliation to a number of local organisations. Numerous demonstrations of unemployed have been organised in London and in the provincial towns, especially in connection with the Blanesborough report and the Local Authorities' Act. The most striking of these was the organisation of the miners' march from South Wales to London, which was carried out in spite of the sabotage of the Labour bureaucracy, both in the centre and in the localities.

**Work in the Co-operatives.**

The party's work in the co-operative movement still lacks development, although greater attention is now being devoted to it.

During the strikes in 1926 the party initiated the campaign in favour of material aid being rendered by the co-operative societies to the workers on strike, and in many districts this was effected.

On the eve of the Congress of the Co-operative Union in Cheltenham, in May, 1927, the party published an open letter, explaining its attitude towards the co-operative movement, which was distributed to all the delegates at the Congress. The London party Committee also called a special conference to discuss work in the co-operative movement. This resulted in the work of the Communists and left wingers being better organised, and a small fraction was formed.

The party's campaign for sending a delegation of co-operators to the U.S.S.R. on the Tenth Anniversary was successful. Several of the delegates joined the party.

**Party Organisation.**

It is to be regretted that the party has not managed to build up its organisation numerically, commensurate with its activities and the wide sphere of its influence. Moreover, the

party has not yet acquired the organisational methods for retaining permanently the members that join the organisation. During the period under review the party membership has undergone considerable fluctuation. It had a large influx of members during the period of the big industrial struggles in 1926, but since then it has lost a considerable number of the new members. The fluctuation in membership is partly to be explained by the severe victimisation to which active workers in the Labour movement are being subjected at the present time, the brunt of which, of course, falls upon the members of the Communist party.

In 1924 the party membership numbered about 4,000, and the party was entirely organised on the basis of local groups. Since then the party has undergone re-organisation, and a portion of the membership, although not very large, is now organised on the basis of factory nuclei.

By April, 1926, the membership increased to 6,000, and there were already 161 nuclei, with an aggregate membership, however, of only 947. Between that period and September, 1926—the period of the General and the Miners' Strike—the party had an influx of nearly 5,000 new members. Of the 10,730 members, 1,763 were then organised in 316 factory nuclei.

The great bulk of the new members were miners who came in under the influence of the militant spirit prevailing during a period of the industrial struggles, but the majority of whom drifted out of the party in the course of the next year.

By the beginning of 1927 the party membership had dropped to 9,000. Of these 1,315 were organised in 149 nuclei.

At the time of the Ninth Congress of the Party held in October, 1927, the membership of the Party, the form of organisation and the number of factory papers published was reported as follows :—

South Wales	...	...	2,300	43	38	11
Scotland	...	...	1,500	11	45	11*
London	...	...	1,321	13	37	7
Tyneside	...	...	737	12	22	7
Manchester	...	...	534	5	31	2
Sheffield	...	...	420	10	21	7
Birmingham	...	...	180	—	13	4
Liverpool	...	...	104	3	4	2
Cumberland Area	...	...	55	3	4	3
Unattached Locals	...	...	196	—	12	—
National Group	...	...	30	—	—	—
Total	...	...	7,377	100	227	54

---

\* Eight of these are local papers covering several pits.

The total number of women members is approximately 1,700, of whom, however, only 272 are factory working women.

Of the total membership 5,800 belong to trade unions. Making allowances for those not eligible for trade union membership, the percentage of those unorganised in trade unions is still fairly large, i.e., about 15 per cent.

In regard to the activity of the Party membership, 1,455 members are active in local Labour Parties, 252 are delegates to local Labour Parties, and 690 are delegates to trades councils, 898 members are active individual members of the minority movement.

# IRELAND

## ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**N**O improvement is to be observed in the economic situation in Ireland since the Fifth Congress. The principal industry in the country, dairy farming and stock breeding, is hard pressed by foreign competition, and moreover, the agrarian policy of the government, which is intended to assist the big farmers rather than the mass of poor peasants, is retarding the process of generally uplifting the agricultural industry.

The poor farmers find it impossible to obtain a livelihood on their holdings and so they abandon their farms to go into the cities or emigrate, with the result that the area under cultivation has declined still further in the last few years. For example, in 1927 there was a reduction in the area of cultivation of all crops—not including hay—of 65,073 acres as compared with 1926, and including hay the decline was 185,423 acres. As compared with 1913, the decline in area of cultivation of all crops other than hay has been 173,000 acres out of a total area of 1,488,050 acres in 1913.

In the North of Ireland the shipbuilding industry was severely affected by the closing down of the Workman Clark Shipbuilding Yard in Belfast, which employed 10,000 men, and there is depression also in the linen industry. In the South of Ireland only those industries producing for immediate consumption are at all developed, and here, too, except for breweries and distilleries, depression prevails.

Unemployment is now very severe. It is estimated that there are about 120,000 unemployed workers out of an estimated total of 400,000 industrial workers.

With the prevailing economic depression emigration has increased considerably from year to year, and since 1924 over 106,000 persons left the country out of a population of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

## POLITICAL SITUATION.

The outstanding feature of the political situation in the Irish Free State in the period under review has been the abandonment of the revolutionary national struggle even by that section of the bourgeoisie which still stood out after the signing of the treaty with Great Britain, and by the urban and a section of the rural petty bourgeoisie.

In 1926 the Sinn Fein Party split up and the overwhelming majority of the party, led by De Valera, broke away and formed the Fianna Fail, ostensibly to continue the struggle against England by PEACEFUL means. For about 12 months the Fianna Fail continued the policy of boycotting the Dail (Parliament)—although it participated in the general elections in June, 1927, and obtained over 40 seats—on the grounds that it was impossible to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown. In the autumn of 1927, however, it abandoned this position in fear of government terrorism and its deputies entered Parliament.

The policy of Cumann na nGaedheal (the Government Party led by Cosgrave), serves the interests of British imperialism as well as those of the big Irish capitalists. The currency reform scheme by which the Irish currency is secured by British securities has made the Irish Free State financially more dependent upon England. The Government has introduced a land distribution scheme which was supposed to relieve the congested districts and provide the small farmers with land. Actually the land fund is being distributed among the rich farmers in large lots. The Government has also introduced a farmers' credit scheme which is so devised that it is practically available only to the well-to-do farmers.

In the past few years the political struggle has been assuming more and more the character of a bitter agrarian struggle. This finds expression in attacks upon the rich farmers. Recently, it has taken the form, in a more or less organised manner, of the refusal of the farmers to pay the land annuities. These annuities, amounting to 3 million pounds a year, which have to be paid by the farmers in repayment of the loan obtained from England by which the land was brought out from the English landowners. The Government endeavours to force payment by seizing the property of the farmers which leads to conflicts and further acts of repression.

Thus, the political atmosphere in Ireland is in a constant state of tension which from time to time results in acts of revolutionary terror. In the summer of 1927 the Minister of Justice, O'Higgins, who was notorious for his cruel acts of repression against the revolutionary movement, was assassinated. The Government retaliated by passing coercion Acts which practically outlawed all organisations fighting the Free State and made affiliation with such organisations a criminal offence liable to the penalty of death.

When these Acts threatened to deprive the Fianna Fail of legal existence, the leadership declared that the taking of the oath of allegiance was "merely an empty formula" and instructed its deputies to enter the Dail.

The entry of the Fianna Fail deputies into the Dail deprived the Government of its majority, and resulted in the dissolution

of Parliament in August and another general election—only three months after the last general election—in which the Fianna Fail won a still larger number of seats and polled one-third of the total vote. The Government party was returned with a bare majority of six. The Parliamentary situation is therefore unstable.

The Parliament of the North of Ireland is but a local edition of the English Parliament which automatically passes the same Acts that are passed in London. Among these Acts was the Anti-Trade Union Act.

### THE POLITICAL PARTIES.

#### Fianna Fail.

The Fianna Fail obtained its support in the main from the petty bourgeois elements, which are only interested in the peaceful pursuit of their business. It still has a large working class and poor peasant following, however, which believes that the Party is fighting against British imperialism. The party leaders have given public assurances that if they come into office they will carry through the present treaty and strive for its amendment by peaceful negotiations. While formerly it proclaimed the slogan: "No payment of annuities," it now declares that financial obligations to England must be met.

#### Sinn Fein.

After the split the Sinn Fein Party was reduced to a small group of petty bourgeois nationalists completely out of touch with the masses. Its only slogan is Irish independence. It has no programme of economic demands and is hostile to the class struggle. At the June elections in 1927 it obtained an insignificant vote, and at the second elections in the autumn it put up no candidates at all. The Sinn Fein Party has ceased to be a political factor in Ireland.

#### The Irish Republican Army.

The I.R.A. continues to maintain its underground military organisation, but its numbers are dwindling. The leadership stands close to Sinn Fein. Among proletarian and poor farmer elements of the rank and file, however, there is a growing recognition of the need for a revolutionary class party and of the necessary objective conditions.

#### The Labour Party.

The Irish Labour Party avowedly stands for maintaining the bonds between British imperialism and Ireland, and sabotages the struggle of the workers and peasants. The principal aim and ambition of the leaders is to get into office. To gain this end they stopped at nothing. At the time of the assassination of

O'Higgins, Johnson, the leader of the party, proposed to Prime Minister Cosgrave that the seats of the Fianna Fail deputies be declared vacant and offered to join in a coalition government with the Cosgrave Party. This offer, however, was rejected, and later the party leaders turned to the Fianna Fail, with the offer to form a coalition with them. These tactics have thoroughly discredited the Labour Party, and at the last general election it suffered a severe defeat, a number of the leaders, including Johnson, being defeated.

### **The Irish Workers' League.**

The economic and political situation in Ireland has created favourable ground for the development of a revolutionary workers' mass party. In 1924 the Irish Workers' League was formed, but it displayed little activity as an organisation and moreover, it had to contend against a group that called itself the Workers' Party of Ireland, and claimed to represent the Comintern. However, in 1927, steps were taken to reorganise the League as a definite Party, and as such it took part in the general election in August, 1927.

The League came out actively during the crisis caused by the assassination of O'Higgins and the passing of the coercion Acts. It organised mass worker demonstrations in Dublin and called for a united front of all labour and nationalist organisations against the Government. On the initiative of the League the Fianna Fail called a conference of representatives of the Fianna Fail, the Irish Workers' League, the Irish Labour Party, and Sinn Fein, but only the two first named organisations sent their representatives and the scheme fell through. The League then challenged the Fianna Fail to take action, and this served as one of the stimuli that induced the Fianna Fail to abandon the boycott tactics.

The League took part in the elections in 1927, and put up three candidates in Dublin and Dublin County and polled a good vote, our Comrade Larkin being elected. His election, however, was annulled on formal grounds, and in the by-election that followed in February, Comrade Larkin failed to get returned although he polled an even bigger vote.

The League was instrumental in organising a representative delegation of Irish workers and peasants to the U.S.S.R. on the Tenth Anniversary. On their return the delegates toured the country addressing large meetings, which received considerable publicity in the Press.

### **THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.**

The Labour movement in Ireland is in a relatively weak state. The severe economic depression as well as the decline of the National Revolutionary movement has affected the union member-

ship and all unions have suffered a decline. Of the organised workers about one-third are organised in unions having their headquarters in England. These unions are entirely under the control of the English reformist leadership.

The majority of the Irish unions are also under the control of reformists who have entered into a tacit understanding with the Government and the employers to maintain industrial peace. Nevertheless a number of the Irish unions, like the Shop Assistants' Union, for example, have put up good fights against the attacks of the employers.

The most militant union in Ireland is the Workers' Union of Ireland, which was formed as a result of a split in the Irish Transport Workers' Union. It is affiliated to the Red International of Trade Unions. It is important to mention that the Workers' Union is the only union that endeavoured to carry out the coal embargo during the British miners' strike. The Workers' Union has suffered a decrease in membership, but owing to its militancy it has been able to carry on a number of victorious struggles. As a result of this there is a growing tendency among the members of the English unions to look to the Workers' Union for support. The Workers' Union successfully took up the claims of the discharged railwaymen with the result that a considerable number joined the Workers' Union.

In the middle of March, a Unity Conference was convened in Dublin on the initiative of the Dublin Trades Council, at which over 40 unions were represented. As a result of this conference a Unity Committee was established of which the General Secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union, an active worker in the Revolutionary National and Labour Movement was elected chairman. The Workers' Union of Ireland did not take part in this conference.



# FRANCE

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION. FRANCE.

**W**HILE the national economy of France (particularly as regards industry) has undergone a rapid development since 1921, except during the first years of the occupation of the Ruhr, it is, nevertheless, true that there have been difficult, if not critical, periods. Already at the beginning of 1926 there were symptoms of coming difficulties, and new international and national conditions arose which placed obstacles in the way of "facile development," such as had been artificially stimulated in the preceding years. Development was slowing down. The keynote of the period which followed the war, and which went on until after 1921, was expansion of finance capital, appropriation of the industries of Alsace Lorraine, Luxemburg, and the Saar, enormous investments in Central and Eastern Europe. It was also a period of spoliation of State possessions and public funds, of continuous growth of fixed capital invested in enterprises, of repairs and renewals of plant, and of the starting of fresh concerns. The reconstruction of the devastated regions and the modernisation of enterprises in the rest of France brought an enormous growth in the productive capacity of the industries.

The policy of the Government, inspired and directed by the central committees of the big industries and the big banks, the interests of which had finally become identical, was one of encouraging this fever of expansion. By means of internal loans and of partition of the "damages" to the capitalists of the regions under reconstruction, finance capital succeeded in pressing into its service the possessions and the money of the great majority of the population, particularly of the peasantry.

This formidable growth of the industrial apparatus created immediately three urgent necessities: the securing or conquering of markets and outlets; the finding of money in order to set enterprises going; the provision of the necessary labour power. For the special and provisional "national outlet" (the reconstruction of the devastated regions) was nearing its end, and would soon disappear. The internal loans had exhausted the resources of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, and the national supply of labour power was insufficient.

Thus it became necessary to introduce foreign labour en masse, to occupy the Ruhr, to instigate wars in Morocco and Syria, and to adopt the policy of inflation. The policy of inflation enabled finance capital to appropriate the remaining pecuniary resources of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. It enabled

it to camouflage the low real wage of the workers and thus to compete easily on the world market. It enabled it artificially to increase industrial production. But this did not last long. At the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926 important changes took place in the situation on the international market. American and British finance capital had already decided to demand the "monetary stabilisation" of France, because French inflation was becoming more and more harmful to American and British interests. In France itself, inflation was beginning to create difficulties and social-economic trouble, it was prejudicial even to several categories of capitalists. At the end of 1925 and the beginning of 1926 the campaign for the "stabilisation" of the franc and of the finances of the State was at its height.

From then onwards the question was not: is "stabilisation" necessary, but what class, what Government, what party shall operate this "stabilisation," and in what manner? The series of Ministerial crises during 1925 and in the first half of 1926, all of them provoked by the fierce struggles around the question of inflation and "stabilisation," were, in fact, nothing but the consequence of the stubborn determination of the big bourgeoisie to solve these questions entirely in its own class interests.

While the politicians of the "Left" bloc looked upon the financial problem as a "technical problem," the big bourgeoisie looked upon it as a political problem, and made of it a political issue, leaving it to the Banque de France and the other banks to pull the strings and exhaust, compromise, ridicule, and finally drive out the bloc governments. At the end of June, 1926, a committee of financial experts, consisting of representatives of the big banks and big industries, was already functioning side by side with the official Government, acting as the real Government. This committee worked out the conditions and methods of "stabilisation." The report of the Financiers' Committee became the credo of the general politics of the National Union Government under the Presidency of Poincaré. The main problem was solved: the big bourgeoisie obtained the political conditions which it stipulated for the "stabilisation" of the franc and of the State finances. From July, 1926, and during the whole of 1927 the "National Union" Government did nothing but apply step by step, successively, the prescriptions and directions formulated by the Financiers' Committee.

The *de facto* stabilisation of the franc, already almost realised towards the end of 1926, revealed the existence of a state of economic crisis. Unemployment set in in November, 1926, it increased in December, and again in the beginning of 1927. A general industrial and commercial retrogression set in. This state of slow, chronic, non-catastrophic crisis, which, by the by, is not yet overcome, has ushered in a new stage in the orientation of the development of the national economy of France and in the policy of the bourgeoisie and the Government.

The most characteristic features of this new stage are :

The rationalisation of industrial enterprises inspired and directed by finance capital and effected mainly through the centralisation of concerns and the elimination of the less profitable, and through worsening the position of the workers (lower wages, longer working hours, intensification of the productivity of labour); strengthening the constitution of the cartels and trusts and of their monopolist spheres; free export of French capital and its investment in foreign enterprises as well as in the form of State loans; free investment in France of foreign capital; reinforcement of protective tariffs, particularly import duties on coal, metal, manufactured articles, and even on agricultural produce. The big metal and chemical industries are indirectly protected by their position of absolute monopoly in the French market and by their international entente (respectively European) with regard to the foreign market.

Another characteristic of this situation is the increased cost of living (high prices in the interior of France), accompanied by very low real wages owing to the offensive of the employers. At the same time more and more symptoms appear of a worsening of the position of the small peasants and a considerable section of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Gradually, and as a result of the changes which took place in the national economy, there arose also more or less serious changes in the correlation of the class forces. We witness an objective economic and political reinforcement of the big bourgeoisie which is now better organised nationally and less disrupted than before by group antagonisms. This class, as its imperialist aspirations increase, having been taught a lesson by the revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe since 1917, has pursued, and is still pursuing, the policy of an excessive reinforcement of the State apparatus to serve its own purposes; it is also gradually repealing all the reforms which it was formerly compelled to concede to the workers and their organisations.

Forseeing inevitable struggles in the near future by the proletariat and the dissatisfaction of the toiling masses (particularly the peasantry), as well as the possibility of another world crisis, of another imperialist war, of a fresh wave of the struggles among the colonial peoples, the French capitalists and their successive Governments are taking political and administrative measures in order to strengthen their control over the army, to purge the political machine of petty bourgeoisie elements and to disorganise, if not destroy, the class organisations of the proletariat and the Communist Party. But parallel with this policy and in order to make it more effective, the capitalists continue their work of methodical corruption among the working class by making use of leaders of the reformist C.G.T. and of the Socialist Party, as well as of the leaders of all the so-called "Left" political parties and groups in order to induce a section of the toiling

masses and of the workers to collaborate in the capitalist "rationalisation," in the strengthening of military forces, in the popularisation of nationalist and colonialist ideologies and in serving the imperialist policy of belittling and libelling the Soviet Union and the Communist movement.

The attitude of the so-called "Left" parties, including the Socialist Party, since May, 1924; that is to say, since the coming into power of the "Left" bloc which, in regard to all the problems which concern the working class, continues the policy of the preceding "national bloc," became once more manifest at the time of the recent elections (April, 1928). This attitude is thoroughly anti-Labour and anti-Communist. The "Left" parties were only too pleased to identify themselves with the policy pursued by Poincaré. The fact that a Poincaré National Union Cabinet, that is to say, an entirely bourgeois and thoroughly reactionary Cabinet has been able to retain power since July, 1926, owing to a "Left" bloc Parliamentary majority, and owing also to the fact that it was precisely the "Left" members of this Cabinet who, at the command of big capital, ordered the prosecution and repression of the workers and the Communists; these facts show clearly how intensified the antagonism and the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has become. For its part, the working class, becoming more and more concentrated in big concerns, baffled and taken by surprise for a time when the period of unemployment set in, is beginning to come to pull itself together and to resist the endeavour of the employers to lower wages. It is beginning to struggle, and is preparing to assume the offensive. The imposing demonstrations in the summer and autumn of 1927, and the strike wave in the winter of 1927 and at the beginning of 1928, show this clearly. The working class is gradually getting rid of the influence of petty bourgeois and bourgeois politicians, it is visibly moving to the "Left," and is sympathising more and more with the Communists.

While during the preceding period the class struggle was mainly concentrated around financial questions (inflation, stabilisation), around the general economic policy of the Governments and around the question of "putting the State apparatus on a healthy basis," at present the "social question," that is to say, the direct energetic and fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is once more becoming the centre of political life. "Class against class," merciless, hard and relentless struggle, such is the characteristic feature of the present period.

As to the international position of French capitalism and of French policy, the following facts are characteristic:—

Having tried immediately after the war and particularly at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr to secure economic hegemony over Europe, French imperialism suffered a defeat owing to the rival pressure of the British and North American imperialisms. Since then it has been manœuvring alternatively or

simultaneously in the colonies, in Asia Minor, in North Africa, in the Far East, in Central and Eastern Europe, in the Balkans, and in South America. On the industrial field, as an exporter, France is coming more and more into collisions, particularly with German and North American competition. The antagonisms between French and Italian imperialism with regard to the colonies in North Africa and Asia Minor are very strong, and also with regard to their aspirations and interests in the Balkans. The antagonism between British and French imperialism is on the increase on the European continent, because of Germany and of the countries bordering on the Soviet Union; also with regard to Asia Minor and Tangiers, as well as with regard to armaments. These antagonisms made themselves continually felt at the various sessions of the League of Nations; although an improvement has taken place in Franco-German relations and several attempts have been made at an economic and even political rapprochement, the constitution of an entente and of a Franco-German bloc is still problematic. On the other hand, a very pronounced evolution is noticeable in the imperialist policy of France with regard to the U.S.S.R. and the colonial movements. This evolution takes the form that in this sphere French imperialism is becoming more and more the auxiliary and loyal collaborator of British imperialism. The financial, industrial and administrative circles and their press are working more and more for an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. The new Chamber with its majority of the representatives of the big industrial capitalists—even if it does not create the basis, since that existed already—will at least provide the formal facilities for increasing the aggressiveness of French imperialist policy. Thus we witness the reinforcement of political and police reaction within the country, the open or concealed destruction of the last vestiges of the former democratic traditions, the extreme development of militarism, the accentuation of the aggressiveness of foreign policy. Such are the main features characterising the present attitude of French imperialism, showing that the antagonisms in the class struggle are on the increase.

### **The Socialist Party, S.F.I.O.**

The Socialist Party has played an important and active role in the development of the imperialist France of the post-war period by giving support to the efforts of the big industrial and finance capitalists to stabilise and consolidate their regime. As a component part of the Left bloc, which came into power in May 1924 owing to the opposition of the mass of workers, peasants and petty bourgeois elements to the imperialist policy of big capital represented by Poincare, the Socialist Party shared responsibility for the whole policy of the bloc.

Its participation was effective although it decided not to form part of the Government. Its policy of "support" was not only a passive participation in the policy of bloc Governments; it was

active collaboration with the Government, it was manifest in the acceptance, on the part of some of the elected socialists, of important State posts (Varenne, governor of Indo-China, Boncour, representative of France in the League of Nations); in votes for the budgets, etc.

During the four years of office the Socialist Party never ceased being the active agent of capitalist stabilisation; it never ceased supporting, defending and being at the service of the imperialist policy of big capital. It became colonialist: it opposed the action of the Communist Party which demanded the evacuation of the colonies; it voted credits for the predatory war in Morocco; it took an active part in the work connected with the military reorganisation of French imperialism; it was Paul Boncour, instructed and supported by the C.A.P. and the Socialist fraction in the Chamber, who was the author of the Bill which lays the foundation of the new French military power and organises the complete militarisation of the country, including women and children, old men and trade unions, under the direction of the professional military cadres, specially recruited for internal police duty against the working class. The Socialist Party has expressed itself in favour of capitalist rationalisation and helps in its application. After accepting recognition of the U.S.S.R. when this was dictated by the interests of the big capitalists, and because it helped to deceive the masses who demanded this recognition; it shamelessly fostered the campaign of the British oil kings and of the venal French press for the severance of relations with the U.S.S.R. by pouring on the Soviet Union a flood of gross insults and calumnies, even trying at the time of the elections, to emulate the British conservatives with their Zinoviev Letter by the story of the alleged intervention of Litvinov in the French elections.

The Socialist Party played an active part in the anti-Communist repression. It dared not, in the face of the working class vote for the imprisonment of Communists, but it voted for the secret funds of the political police, thus allowing the development of the network of detectives and agents provocateurs and the intensification of repression; it voted for the reform of the electoral system which openly aimed at depriving the Communist Party, in favour of the reactionaries of the parliamentary representation to which it had a right. Thereby the Communist group which should have had 65 members was reduced to 14; finally it supported the Painlevé Government which initiated the prosecution of Communists at the time of the Moroccan war.

In Alsace Lorraine the S.P. was the most active agent of French imperialism and chauvinism in stifling all aspirations of the national minorities towards autonomy. This consistent and active collaboration with the bourgeoisie showed itself in systematic refusals to establish a united front with the Communist Party for the campaigns directed against colonialism, militarism and the wars in Morocco and Syria, for the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese revolution.

At the second ballot in the parliamentary elections, socialists preferred alliance with the bourgeoisie and with Poincare, and contemptuously refused to form a proletarian bloc.

Their policy of "active support" during the first years of the bloc became a policy of "passive support" and of seeming opposition when Poincare came again into power and governed in the name of big capital. But their greatest concern was a policy of "laissez faire" with regard to Poincare, who congratulated them on this loyal opposition which was the most adequate form of support which the socialists could give him. Without obstructing in any way the policy of the government by their seeming opposition, they carried on frantic campaigns in order to prevent the mass of the workers and peasants coming entirely under Communist influence.

What was the repercussion of this policy within the socialist party and in its relations with the masses?

The question which dominated the internal life of the Socialist Party was that of participation in the government. The Right wing—Renaudel-Boncour—endeavoured to secure the effective participation of the S.F.I.O. Party in the government.

Although they continually gained ground within the party, Blum's policy with regard to the government remained the official policy. It allowed him to enjoy the advantages of participation and at the same time to discard the responsibilities in the eyes of the masses. Another question which dominated the internal life of the Socialist Party was that of relations between it and the other parties—Communist to the Left, radical Socialists to the Right—in connection with the election tactic. The Right expressed itself openly in favour of a systematic alliance with the radical socialists and "all honest republicans" against the Communists, "class against class"! The extreme Left, with the "Etincelle" group was for the united front—as a prelude to organisational unity with the Communist Party. The centre (Blum, Paul Faure), and the "Left" (Brake) with the wobblers on the Right and on the Left demanded that the Socialist Party should stay sitting on the fence, in order not to lose its influence with the working class on the one hand, and to be able to continue its policy of class collaboration on the other.

The extreme Left allows itself to be used in this game by talking of a possible organisational unity between the Socialist and the Communist Party, and by keeping alive among the Socialist masses the illusion of a possible rectification of the Party.

This demagogy, intended to deceive the masses, has only partly succeeded. The results of the April elections, 1928, show that in the most important working class districts which remained strongholds of the Socialist Party Nord, Pas-de-Calais, Haute-Vienne, Loire, Saone et Loire) an evident and important change has taken place, many working class socialists voting for the Communist Party.

Probably the result of such a loss of influence will be shown in increased demagoguery. Without in the least relinquishing its policy of class collaboration, the Socialist Party will try to have recourse to revolutionary phraseology and oppositional gestures in order to deceive the masses and to prevent them from coming under the influence of the Communist Party.

The entire internal life of the party consists of questions of parliamentary and electoral tactics.

### **The Reformist C.G.T.**

The policy of class collaboration and of active support of imperialism which is a characteristic feature of the Socialist Party is also the main feature of the line taken by the reformist C.G.T. There is a difference not of character, but only of degree.

The reformist C.G.T. carries out the policy of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party; it does not endeavour to maintain an equilibrium between two extreme wings; It combats the unitarian Left without mercy and expels it; it practises class collaboration openly and cynically. Jouhaux is, side by side with Boncour, the representative of French imperialism in the League of Nations and in the various farces which it organises (disarmament commission, economic conference, etc.), just as he is the representative of French imperialism on the Executive of the Amsterdam International. His policy of collaboration with the employers and the State finds expression in the National Economic Council, an official ministerial organisation. Presided over by Poincare, controlled by big financiers with whom Jouhaux is connected, the National Economic Council forms the permanent organ of "industrial peace," of "class solidarity" in France.

The programme of the C.G.T. is one of effective and active participation by the reformist trade unions in the capitalist attempt at rationalisation and mobilisation; the C.G.T. has expressed itself clearly and openly in favour of rationalisation. In order to establish close collaboration with the capitalists, the machinery of collaboration must be created. That is why the C.G.T. is in favour of introducing and generalising in France the system of collective agreements between the reformist trade unions and the employers, compulsory arbitration, factory councils and workers' participation in the technical management of the enterprises, which the C.G.T. calls "workers' control." This general plan implies of course, in a country where the trade union movement is divided and where 90 per cent. of the workers are unorganised, official recognition of the reformist trade unions by the State, and recognition of the bourgeois State by the reformist trade unions. Thus the C.G.T. is endeavouring to secure the integration of the reformist trade unions into the imperialist State, the extension of the National Economic Council into an economic parliament by a special article of the constitution.

This tendency towards the incorporation of the reformist trade



unions in the state machine must inevitably lead to the destruction of the revolutionary trade unions. The reformist C.G.T. is itself directly interested in repressive measures against the C.G.T.U. and the Communist Party. It has managed to induce Government organisations to refuse to have any dealings with the unitary trade unions and has thereby secured for itself a clear field among functionaries, state employees and the petty bourgeoisie in general. Its membership has grown in the last year,—it has over 600,000 members,—but its social composition is taking more and more the form of an organisation of the petty bourgeois sections of the population.

A Left tendency, ideologically and organisationally weak, has developed in opposition to this policy, the general programme of which, issued prior to the elections, has been accepted by the parties which represent the big French bourgeoisie and by Poincaré himself. The "Friends of Unity" with their small organ "L'Unité" succeeded in grouping around themselves a number of trade unions, and in developing fairly intensive propaganda in favour of trade union unity. But the platform of this opposition was a formal and sentimental unity, lacking serious opposition to the entire collaboration policy of the C.G.T.

The Congress of the C.G.T. in 1927 showed the weakness and inadequacy of this platform. The Executive of the C.G.T. is endeavouring moreover to break up and expel this unitary minority.

Although Jouhaux denies it, the general orientation of the C.G.T. has a strange resemblance to the programme of Mussolini's corporations. He will no doubt evolve more and more in this direction if the big French capitalists find it profitable.

### **General Activity of the C.P.F**

In the course of its activity in the last few years, in spite of errors and weaknesses, the Party has progressed with its Bolshevisation by means of severe and repeated self-criticism, with the help and under the direction of the C.I.

Three main periods can be distinguished in the evolution and internal struggle carried on by the Party in connection with its general activity :

#### **I.—The Period of Struggle Against Opportunist and Social Democratic Survivals.**

The courageous and politically correct campaign of the C.P.F. in the Moroccan war had a positive and decisive result in the internal life of the Party. It allowed the exposure of the group of opportunist elements represented by Paz and Lorient, who, together with the counter-revolutionary Souvarine, attacked the essential principles of Leninism in the fundamental questions of revolutionary defeatism, of support of the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, and who at the same time advocated as a sort of organisational outcome of their social democratic political con-

ceptions, a reversal of the basis of the Party to the old form of local sections. In the course of this big ideological struggle the whole Party gained much experience with regard to the essential questions of Bolshevik struggle against war and imperialism, as well as with regard to the role, the conception and organisation of a genuinely Communist Party.

## **II.—The Struggle Against Ultra-Left Tendencies.**

The grouping around the opportunist elements of a certain stratum of discontented workers, the internal condition of the Party characterised by a regime of absolute centralisation and mechanical discipline, erroneous political slogans too far in advance of the situation and of the masses, the isolation of the trade union cadres from the Party executive,—these factors induced the latter to engage in a struggle for the liquidation of this situation against those members of the executive who represented this policy. It was in the course of a conference held on December 1st and 2nd, 1925, that the Party began to liquidate this situation by correct but rather incomplete self criticism.

The Lille Congress of the C.P.F. was to be a still more important milestone along this path.

## **III.—The Struggle Against Trotskyism.**

While the opportunist elements expelled from the Party were organising themselves outside in order to struggle against the Party, the old "Leftist" leaders, condemned by the Lille Congress, were organising themselves within the Party on the basis of the political platform of the opposition in the C.P.S.U. This struggle the primary object of which was to prevent the Party taking up a definite position, developed rapidly into a systematically organised fractional struggle headed by Suzanne Girault and Treint.

These facts brought the whole Party membership into the discussion in order to eliminate the agents of Trotskyism and their ideology from the Party. The characteristic feature of this discussion which was carried on in the sphere of international questions concerning the U.S.S.R. as well as in the sphere of the political problems confronting the French Party, was that it allowed the whole Party to see and establish the true opportunist nature of those who endeavoured to disguise their fractional struggles by "Left" phraseology. This discussion was concluded at the national Conference in January, 1928, and Treint and Suzanne Girault were expelled from the Party.

These political struggles within the Party constitute one of the most positive results of the activity of the C.P.F. during the last years. The Party certainly progressed, but throughout this period, it committed many political and tactical errors and showed its weakness in many respects in the course of its general activity.

The Lille Congress in 1926 recognised the effort at political rectification undertaken in the Open Letter of December 1st and 2nd, 1925, which was directed towards remedying the Leftest errors of the Executive. But subsequently, in the face of the political failure of the Left bloc, of the regrouping of bourgeois forces in the National Union, of the support given by the Socialist Party and the reformist C.G.T. to the programme of the capitalists, the Party should have accentuated its tactics by strengthening its attack against these political formations, and by showing more clearly its revolutionary aspect. But throughout this period the C.P.F. made serious mistakes in its appreciation of the character of events and of the policy of the bourgeoisie; it was unable to adapt its tactics rapidly to the changed political situation.

It was this criticism on the part of the International, made repeatedly in the course of 1927, which the Party was induced to examine and express in the Open Letter of November, 1927. The determination to rectify the policy of the Party and to remedy a whole series of opportunist mistakes was carried to a conclusion at the National Conference in January 1928, and at the Plenum which followed it; decisions were made on both these occasions, which the Party proceeded to carry out.

### The Big Party Campaigns.

The general activity of the C.P.F. has taken in the last few years the form of a series of big campaigns conducted against the Left bloc, its financial, economic and imperialist policy, and against its main support—the Socialist Party; against the National Union and its policy of capitalist rationalisation and preparation of new imperialist wars; for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and particularly for the Tenth Anniversary of October; against imperialist intervention in China and the danger of war; against imperialist repression; for Sacco and Vanzetti; for an amnesty; for developing the trade unions (trade union month of the Party); for international proletarian solidarity (campaign for the British strikers); finally, the election campaign against the National Union and its Socialist supporters.

Among all these campaigns one must single out the energetic struggle correctly carried on by the Party against the war in Morocco. For the first time the Communist Party drew workers, soldiers and sailors into an important mass movement (the Bolshevik struggle against war). The general strike on October 12, 1927, which roused nearly one million workers, the protests inside the army and navy, numerous cases of fraternisation between French soldiers and the insurgent Rifis, are the most important features of the best campaign carried on by the Party.

The agitational and recruiting campaign in the Autumn of 1926 which was directed also against the Left bloc of fraudulent bankrupts, roused tens of thousands of workers and added several

thousand members to the Party. This campaign too can be considered a great success.

The Party's campaign against the imperialist army Bill and particularly its struggle against the re-institution of the reserve periods roused enormous numbers of workers and peasants and the great bulk of the reservists who held demonstrations inside the army ranks under the slogans of the Communist Party. But, notwithstanding these positive results, the campaigns of the Party all have one common defect. Nearly all of them are campaigns conducted from above, by the central organ of the Party "L'Humanité," by the Parliamentary fraction, with but a feeble participation of the basic organisations of the Party. As a rule they are excellent from the agitational point of view, but show great weaknesses in that the whole Party is not involved in the work of making full use of them by steady organisational efforts which would strengthen its ranks.

The recent big election campaign of the Party was certainly an enormous success. Taking into consideration the fact that it was fighting against all the other bourgeois and Socialist parties, that it was basing itself on a programme of proletarian demands closely connected with our fundamental revolutionary aims; taking into consideration its new tactic which was breaking for the first time with the old tradition of bourgeois republican discipline, the repression and the formidable weapons used against it, the success of the C.P.F. (a gain of 200,000 votes compared with the election in May 1924) must not be underestimated. This success is all the more important as it was achieved in the big industrial centres which had hitherto been under the influence of the Social Democrats. After this campaign the C.P.F. set itself the task of consolidating its success by systematic recruiting work for the Party and the trade unions, particularly in the big workshops of the basic industrial centres of the country.

### Propaganda.

Apart from the subjects for propaganda with which political events and agitation campaigns supplied the Party, which the latter endeavoured to popularise among all its adherents, systematic propaganda was organised in the Party.

It is carried on in schools, circles and lately by means of self-education.

The Party circles can be divided into three main categories:

The central national schools (there have been none since January, 1926, but there will be again in the Autumn of 1928). These last two months. They teach the essential theoretical, political and practical doctrines of Marxism and Leninism.

Regional schools.—They last from 8 days to one month when they are full-time, which is very seldom. They last from 3-4 months when they are only in the nature of evening classes. They give

systematic instruction in elementary Leninism; they are middle-grade schools.

District schools, which are always evening schools in Paris, and some times full-time schools lasting from one to three days in the provinces. They deal only with questions of principle connected with current events. For instance, the subjects recently dealt with have been as follows: Leninism and War; The Communist Attitude to Elections and the Bourgeois Parliament. But they always include a general elementary outline of our doctrine.

They are schools of the elementary type. Courses intended for exhaustive study of some special question are still in the experimental stage. The same may be said of self-education.

### **The Press.**

The Central organ of the Party, "Humanité," has a circulation of 220,000 which on certain occasions amounts to 350,000. On April 30, the day after the elections, "l'Humanite" issued 415,000 copies. ("Le Populaire," the organ of the Socialists, has a circulation of only 60-80,000.

"l'Humanite," because of its big circulation, plays an important role in spreading the Slogans of the C.P.F. among the masses. However, it has frequently been guilty of distorting the political line of the Party, of which certain of its contributors have an erroneous conception.

Side by side with "l'Humanite" the Party has two other dailies with a rather restricted circulation; "l'Humanite" of Alsace Lorraine (15,000) and the "Depeche de l'Aube" (8-10,000.)

Generally speaking our provincial press is very inferior to that of the Social Democrats both in regard to circulation and technically.

We have at our disposal 25 weekly organs with an average circulation of from 2 to 6,000, and a weekly organ, "l'En-Chaine du Nord," with a circulation of 32,000.

A weekly "Press Bulletin" edited by the central Agitprop gives them their orientation with regard to current events and the campaigns in which the Party is engaged.

Socialist and quasi-Socialist papers have a big circulation in the provinces. They have on an average five to ten times more readers than our press.

### **Factory Newspapers and Worker Correspondents.**

We have in France several hundred factory newspapers. Unfortunately most of them are edited directly by the regions or the districts, as our nuclei have not the necessary political and technical equipment.

Five months ago, at the tenth anniversary of October, "l'Humanite" launched the workers Correspondents' movement which had not existed previously. It is steadily developing;

every week a whole page of "L'Humanite" is devoted to it.

Our provincial papers are following suit, but hitherto with very small results.

### **" Cahiers Du Bolchevisme."**

The "Cahiers du Bolchévisme" is the theoretical organ of the Party. Its circulation (3,600 in January, 1926) as been steadily decreasing (2,750 to-day.)

It has lately undergone a change, and has become a monthly instead of a fortnightly. This is all to the good, because it shows the determination of the Executive of the C.P.F. to make the "Cahiers du Bolchévisme" a genuine Communist review, which is very much needed by the Party.

### **Trade Union Activity of the C.P.F. and the C.G.T.U.**

In view of the role played in the revolutionary trade union movement in France by active Communists, one cannot study the activity of the trade union organisation, the C.G.T.U., without at the same time taking stock of the trade union work of the Communist Party.

The trade union activity of the C.G.T.U. of the last few years can be divided into two big periods: the first, that of struggle against the consequences of the inflation policy of the Left bloc, which depreciated wages and worsened the economic position of the workers. The second, against the consequences of the currency stabilisation, the economic crisis, complete and partial unemployment, and the policy of capitalist rationalisation with, as its consequence, the employers' vicious attacks on wages, on the 8-hour day and the general conditions of the workers.

During these two main periods, in all the movements connected with the class struggle of the workers, in the period of accentuated unemployment, at the end of 1926, in all the strike movements in which it took the lead, in its action of international solidarity support for the British miners), also by its steady struggle against the imperialist policy of France (struggle against the war in Morocco and the intervention in China, etc.), its campaign in defence of the U.S.S.R., etc., the C.G.T.U. showed itself clearly in the eyes of the masses as the only militant trade union organisation of the workers which refuses to enter into any agreements either with the bourgeois state or with the employers.

By its steady action for trade union unity, contrasted with the treachery and surrenders of the reformist leaders whom it continually denounces, the C.G.T.U. has placed itself at the head of the trade union movement.

And now, above all, when the class struggle is becoming more accentuated and the offensive of the employers and the whole bourgeoisie intensified, the C.G.T.U. must become more and more the centre of active and energetic resistance on the part of the working

class. This is the situation which is at the bottom of the fierce capitalist campaign for the destruction of the unitarian trade unions, and of the increased repression of active trade unionists.

Nevertheless errors have taken place. They showed themselves very clearly recently, when the membership of the C.G.T.U., which had kept up round about 500,000, decreased considerably. This retrogression is particularly felt in the Metal Workers' Federation which has lost over 10,000 members. Is this the consequence of a diminution of the influence of the Red trade union organisation? We do not think so, because we can see side by side with this diminution of the membership, a series of incidents showing on the contrary that the general influence of the Red trade unions is growing. There is, for instance, the case of the elections to the Supreme Council of Railwaymen, when unitarian delegates were elected who polled over 150,000 votes; that is to say 50 per cent. more votes than the total membership of the unitarian trade unions. The same was the case in the elections of the miners' delegates in the East of France where 41 unitarian delegates were elected; finally, there were numerous successes in connection with the establishment of the united front (in almost all strikes, among railwaymen, on May Day.)

The causes of this abnormal situation in the unitarian trade union movement came to light at the recent meetings of the C.P.F., at the recent Plenum of the C.I. and also at the last Congress of the R.I.L.U. These are, first and foremost, the predominance of agitation over organisational work; inadequate connection between the leading organs and the basic organisations and industrial enterprises; feeble work among the masses and absence of organisation of basic trade union sections. There is also a lack of direct objective in the work and inadequate concentration of forces in the basic industrial regions of the capitalists, as well as a certain underestimation of the repression of the employers and government, all of which has greatly weakened the struggle for trade union rights. Finally, there is a too theoretical manner of approach to the question of unity, and a failure to give it the character of a struggle for the workers' demands. To these causes must be added the remains of reformist and anarcho-syndicalist survivals and, latterly, in certain cases, a spirit of passivity in the struggle against the employers' offensive. The latter facts have had their practical repercussion in the very bad leadership of certain workers' movements and in a habit of acting as a brake on the workers' struggle.

These weak points in the trade union movement are closely connected with an inadequate realisation on the part of the C.P.F. as a whole, of the importance of trade union work, which is reflected in the errors and mistakes which have been committed, and also in the organisational work of the Communist fractions within the unitarian and reformist trade union movements. Thus, according to a recent census (which is far from complete as it does not

include the Paris region) there are 349 Communist fractions in the unitary trade unions, 54 in the C.G.T. union, and 6 in the autonomous unions.

These weak points in the unitary trade union movement were already partly remedied at the time of the last national congress of the C.G.T.U. in Bordeaux. Since then the C.P.F. has been more critical of its trade union activity. The question is to be discussed by the whole Party and also by all the members of the trade unions. There is no doubt whatever that, provided the C.P.F. applies properly the directions given by its last national conference, by the Executive of the C.I. and by the Congress of the R.I.L.U., it will be able to improve the trade union activity of all its forces, and to increase thereby the influence and, above all, the organisational strength of the C.G.T.U., in order to draw the whole working class into the struggle against the capitalist rationalisation of the employers and the government of France, and into the fight for trade union unity. This is one of the most important tasks of the C.P.F. in its policy of rectification.

### **The Peasant Work of the C.P.F.**

The activity of the C.P.F. in the countryside for the capture and organisation of large sections of the peasantry and agricultural labourers is very inadequate indeed.

Very little has been done with regard to propaganda inside the Party in order to explain the tasks of Communists in the countryside, as well as in general agitational and organisational work.

The result has been an almost complete absence of activity by the Party as a whole, confusion and theoretical errors among many militants, and complete failure to understand the importance of the agrarian question and of the practical tasks of the C.P. in the rural districts.

The Party looked upon work among the peasantry as a matter for a few "specialists" and for the French Peasant Council. Owing to Communist inactivity, the latter is a feeble organisation more inclined towards co-operative forms than to the broad organisation of an energetic peasant struggle against the big landowners and for unity with the working class.

Quite lately, the Executive of the C.P.F. has realised that this makes a serious gap in its work. It has decided to bring the agrarian question—Communist work among the peasantry—before the Party, and to open a broad discussion on the subject which will be concluded at the Party conference in June, 1928.

The aims of this discussion which the C.P.F. has decided to initiate can be summed up thus: to make the whole Party realise that peasant work must be carried on collectively by the whole Party in order to:

- (1) Get the peasants away from bourgeois influence.
- (2) Organise the defence of the interests of the various cate-



gories, of rural workers against their direct exploiters, against the bourgeois state and the whole capitalist régime, and to arouse the rural districts on the basis for the class struggle.

- (3) Work for a genuine alliance between the workers and peasants, emphasising the fact that this alliance is an indispensable condition of their complete emancipation.
- (4) Systematically intensify propaganda in the rural districts against the war danger.
- (5) Demonstrate that the peasants of all countries are interested in defending the Soviet Union which is threatened by the bourgeoisie, because the peasants there have seized the land and have definitely emancipated themselves from the yoke of the big landowners.

To achieve these aims, "at the bottom of which is the development of the class struggle in the rural districts," the Executive of the C.P.F. points out the necessity to combat the error which makes militant members of the Party look upon the Peasant Council as the peasant organisation of the Party. To develop the Peasant Council into a genuine fighting mass organisation, this is the task which the C.P.F. has set itself in the present period.

### **Work of the C.P. Among Women.**

The practical work of the Women's Department has been carried on mainly in two very important spheres where considerable success has been achieved.

Although the numbers are very weak, intensive work has been carried on in the Trade Unions (C.G.T.U.) for the organisation of women's commissions in all important trade unions, including local branches and workshops, for the elaboration of a concrete programme-of-action for the various sections, for the organisation of the struggle for the workers' demands, and in order to get working women to take on trade union duties and to elect the trade union and political education of large masses by means of working women's conferences. After intensive preparation in the trade unions for two months the national women's trade union conference took place in October in Bordeaux. It was attended by seventy women delegates properly elected in the trade unions. They discussed in a practical manner the effects of rationalisation on woman-labour and the organisation of the working women's struggle. The women's department has begun to organise such conferences locally and according to industries, drawing in women delegates who are not in trade unions or who are members of the reformist unions. These conferences must be transformed—as far as this is possible—into periodical delegate meetings.

In order to carry on the campaign against imperialist wars, and particularly in order to oppose the Boncour Law,

which militarises the whole population, including women and children, the Party established in 1927 the Women's Fraternal Union Against War. Within a year the Party was able to organise about 3,000 proletarian women in 200 local groups. Most of them are non-party, with a sprinkling of Socialists, and over half of the women are factory workers. Owing to inadequate ideological clarity inside the Party and to the numerical weakness of the leading Communist fractions in this organisation, its central committee surrendered too much from the beginning to the pacifist mentality of the women masses, and failed to point out the class character and the conclusions of the struggle against imperialist war. (According to its statutes the aim of this union is: Struggle against war and its consequences). This work can be considered successful in so far as it has for the first time organised the forces of the proletarian women and drawn them into activity under the leadership of the Party; that these women are beginning to give up their pacifist illusions and can become the framework for the mobilisation of big masses of women for the Class Struggle and for struggle against Imperialist Wars.

The Party has not been able to re-issue "L'Ouvrière," which was suppressed a year ago.

The Executive and the Party give very little support to agitational and organisational work among women masses. The idea still prevails that this is the work of a department and not of the Party as a whole.

### **The Co-operative Work of the C.P.F.**

The work of the C.P.F. in the co-operative sphere during the last two years has helped to clear up the question of our tactics in the co-operative movement.

A conference of active co-operators was convened in Paris in May, 1927. It laid down in its resolutions in a very concrete manner the tasks of Communists in the co-operative movement and the organisational measures to be taken.

Communist fractions are already functioning in a certain number of co-operatives. But it must be admitted that up till now these fractions have not carried on real mass work, but have limited themselves to considering and discussing the internal questions of their societies.

Co-operators' circles have been reorganised on a new basis, but they are not very active.

Although our work in the co-operative movement is inadequate, a certain amount of success has been achieved which shows that our influence is growing. However, we cannot be satisfied with these results.

In the course of last year the first steps were taken to establish regular collaboration with the C.G.T.U. The Bordeaux Congress passed for the first time a resolution on work in the co-operative movement.

In the propaganda sphere the central Co-operative Commission took advantage of all opportunities to carry on a campaign amongst the members of co-operatives. The Congress of the F.N.C., the international congress of the A.I.C., and International Co-operators' Day are always occasions for agitation.

The "Co-opérateur," the organ of the circles, which contains varied and interesting material has already a considerable circulation. When special numbers have been published it has happened that as many as 20,000 copies have been sold.

Co-operators' delegations have visited the U.S.S.R. The only delegation which was sent for the October celebrations was entirely composed of Communists and could not produce the desired effect. The composition of the delegation was not only due to inadequate preparation, it was the result of the smallness of our influence in the movement. For the same reason the meetings of co-operators convened on the return of the delegation were, with a few exceptions, not very well attended.

### The Organisational Position of the Party.

The membership of the Party in no way corresponds with its influence among the masses. According to the last organisational conference the Party has 56,000 members, 17,448 (31.15 per cent.) of whom are organised in 898 factory groups and 38,502 in 2,110 area and street groups. With regard to the 898 factory groups one must distinguish: (1) administrative groups including 218 railwaymen's groups with 4,467 members (7.9 per cent.) and 137 other groups (postal, customs, tramways, municipal employees, etc.) with 2,503 members (4.5 per cent.); (2) factory groups pure and simple existing in private enterprises: mines (122 groups with 1,808 members—3.2 per cent.); metallurgic (212 groups with 3,300 members—5.6 per cent.); textile (56 groups with 1,083 members—1.9 per cent.) and others (153 groups with 4,288 members—7.6 per cent.).

This organisational weakness is due to a series of weak points in the work of the Party. Neither can it be separated from the political mistakes of the Party, subsequently remedied by the Party and the International, political mistakes and errors which were bound to have repercussions on organisation.

The last organisational conference had very positive results for the Party, it summed up past weaknesses completely and severely, and proposed a series of drastic measures for their elimination. This is how the conference described the organisational position of the Party: "Apart from the errors committed by the Party in the political sphere, the inadequate organisational work of the Party from the bottom to the top is one of the most important causes of our lack of success. The error committed was the exact opposite of those of the last two years. At that time there was an inclination to judge all party actions from the organisational

viewpoint, whereas to-day there is a tendency to deal exclusively with political questions instead of carrying on, parallel with our political work, the organisational work which is so necessary for the consolidation of our influence. We wish to point out the survival in many cases of mechanical work, of a lack of initiative, a tendency to await orders from above, and an absence of collective work. Generally speaking, our committees have proved unable to make the groups into the real basis of the Party. When dealing with the causes of lack of support of factory groups by the workers we allotted a big place to repression and the economic crisis. These two important facts, however, cannot explain completely the lack of success of our work, the reasons for which we must seek in opportunist mistakes and weakness in the internal work of the Party." A certain amount of progress has been made during the last period, notably in the reorganisation of the regions, the readjustment of the Party districts within administrative limits, and the creation of departmental committees. Progress must also be reported with regard to initiative at the base, notably in the struggle against repression, with regard to regular payment of membership dues and to a general improvement in the political activity of the groups.

# ITALY

## I. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION:

**G**REAT changes have taken place in the last few years in the economic life of Italy. Italy experienced a big industrial boom in 1924 and 1925, owing mainly to the development of the export industry. Although the very low wages of the workers and the low rate of exchange had resulted in a shrinkage of the home market, they gave, on the other hand, an opportunity to the export industry to capture good positions on the foreign market where at that time Germany had not yet appeared as a competitor. The rapid industrial development was furthered by the fascist government by its protectionist and taxation policy, and also by its policy in regard to the working class. An important factor in the development of the Italian industry was also the strong influx of foreign, and above all of American capital, which was concentrated mainly in the electrical industry.

However, in the beginning of 1926, there were already signs of an economic crisis. The crisis, which has been developing slowly but surely, and which has not yet been overcome in spite of all the measures of the government, is being accentuated by the continuous shrinkage of the home market—a result of the growing destitution of the petty bourgeoisie, the miserable position of the proletariat and the agrarian crisis.

The restoration and subsequent stabilisation of the lira which was effected mainly at the instance of America had also a detrimental effect on industry which is organised mainly with a view to export; this is shown by another increase in the deficit of the trade balance for 1927.

All the industries are affected by the crisis. The motor car industry, which can no longer compete with the other countries, is compelled to reduce its production considerably. Within two years the number of workers employed in the Fiat motor car works has been reduced to one-third (from 35,000 to 12,000). In the textile industry work has been carried on for a long time only three to four days a week. The raw silk industry, one of the most successful export industries in Italy, has also lost its favourable position on the foreign market in the course of last year. Even the shipbuilding industry, which is strongly subsidised by the government, and is one of the most developed industries in the world, reduced its production in 1927, compared with 1926. The electrical industry has gone through a big process of concentration in the last few years. But even here

a state of crisis exists, because of the crisis in industries which use electrical power, and also because the big works which have to pay interest to America in deflated currency can supply electrical power no cheaper than the small works with their old non-rationalised equipment.

Typical of the industrial crisis is the enormous number of insolvencies. While the stronger industrial enterprises and banks are endeavouring to overcome the crisis by amalgamation of enterprises, the small firms are doomed to bankruptcy. The average number of bankruptcies per month was: 474 in 1924, 607 in 1925, 654 in 1926, and has risen to about 950 in 1927. The new investments of the joint stock companies have been decreasing since 1925. In 1924 the amount of new investments was 4,800,000,000 lire; in 1925, 8,000,000,000 lire; in 1926, 3,900,000,000 lire; and in 1927, only 1,800,000,000 lire. Deposits in the savings banks are also decreasing steadily.

At the end of December, 1927, the Italian Government, which was again compelled to look for capital abroad, had to stabilise the lira. It was hoped that this measure, which could only be carried out with help from abroad, would put the economy of the country on a sound basis, but as yet there are not many signs of this. Retail prices are accommodating themselves only very slowly to the restoration of the lira owing to the fierce resistance of retail traders who are over-burdened with heavy taxes. Compared with 1926, the cost of living has been reduced only by 15 per cent., and the wholesale prices by 29 per cent.

The efforts at rationalisation of the Italian bourgeoisie did not aim at an improvement of the technical apparatus, but at a better utilisation of labour power and wage reductions. These rationalisation methods have made the already miserable position of the working class still worse. Wages, which have fallen 30 per cent. in one year, are again being reduced, and these reductions legally sanctioned through the collective agreements concluded by the fascist trade unions. Typical of this is the recently concluded agreement with the metal workers which empowers employers "to introduce changes in wage-rates in such a manner that the enterprise should not suffer by it in any way."

The hopeless position of the working class is made still worse by extensive unemployment. According to official statistics there were in December, 1927, 414,283 completely unemployed and 140,121 partly employed workers. However, statistics cover only part of the unemployed, and in reality the number of unemployed and partly employed workers must have already reached one million.

The crisis in industry is accompanied by a crisis in agriculture. The restoration of the lira, which led to approximately a 40 per cent. reduction in the prices for agricultural produce,

the shrinkage of the home market, owing to the impoverishment of the population, the fall of prices for agricultural produce on the foreign market, and, finally, a 15 per cent. smaller harvest than in 1926—such are the factors which have led to a serious crisis in agriculture, by which small and middle peasants and agricultural labourers are particularly hard hit. Moreover, taxes which are ruthlessly collected, have led to a regular expropriation of these strata of the rural population.

The Italian Government hopes to be able to overcome the crisis by an ever-increasing exploitation of the working class and import of capital from abroad. However, the economic crisis in Italy is due only partly to the economic policy of the fascist government; it is mainly due to the structure of Italian capitalism and to the international economic situation. Italy is a poor country, particularly poor in raw material; and as it has received foreign loans for which high interest must be paid, an extension of the home market is not to be thought of, because the position of industry and finance does not admit of higher wages and smaller taxes in the near future; rationalisation of industry through improvement of the technical apparatus is only possible with the help of still greater indebtedness to foreign countries; finally, the stabilisation of agriculture requires amounts not at the disposal of the government. Thus a complete liquidation of the crisis is out of the question, although a temporary improvement of the situation is possible.

## 2. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Lack of outlets for goods and superfluous labour power and lack of raw material compel Italy to look out for new colonies, since the present Italian colonies offer no opportunities to imperialist aspirations. This explains the increasingly aggressive foreign policy of the fascist government which is steadily developing into a war factor.

The foreign policy of the fascist government is mainly directed against France, whose positions in the Mediterranean Italy covets. Italy desires to secure supremacy in the Balkans; the political and economic penetration of Albania, which approximates to a protectorate, serves this purpose, also the encirclement policy towards Yugo-Slavia through *rapprochement* with Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and, lately, also Greece.

In the last few years the main feature in the internal position of the country has been an accentuation of the fascist dictatorship. Four years ago there was a certain limited possibility for the expression of public opinion. After the assassination of Matteotti it threatened to turn against fascism. But all formal democratic liberties were gradually suppressed until finally, in November, 1926, a new wave of terrorism set in which swept

away all opposition parties and opposition newspapers, and did away even with any semblance of democracy.

The new election reform is eloquent testimony of this. Lists of candidates are examined by the Fascist Council, which has the right to endorse the lists and to withdraw from them those of whose disposition it does not approve. A clear "yes" or "no" must be given when voting for this list.

An organic change has taken place in the structure of fascism in these years. The petty bourgeoisie, which was at first its social basis, sees its hopes frustrated, and is gradually turning away from fascism, whereas the big bourgeoisie, which at first did not quite trust fascism and used it mainly as a weapon in the struggle against the proletariat, has now completely fused with it.

A process of differentiation is also going on among the peasantry; poor and middle peasants, who were formerly in sympathy with fascism, are gradually turning away from it because they see in the economic and taxation policy of the fascist government the cause of their impoverishment. Thus, the social basis of fascism, in the rural districts, is veering towards the landowners.

To-day, fascism in Italy does not only dominate the entire state apparatus, it intervenes also in all the spheres of the national economy, it is dictator in the economic life which it is trying to regulate by decrees and laws. Thus capitalism and fascism in Italy are welded together, they cannot be separated, and the overthrow of fascism will also signalise the beginning of the collapse of capitalism.

The process of differentiation which is taking place in all strata of the population because of the economic crisis is making itself felt also in the fascist camp. Lately, the differences between the official tendency and the representatives of the orthodox fascists, the fascists of the "first hour," who are mainly recruited from the petty bourgeoisie, found an expression in a discussion on the Labour Charter when the representatives of the latter tendency accused the government of doing nothing to compel employers to show respect for the Labour Code.

The differences within fascism, which have a class character—they reflect the differences between the big and the petty bourgeoisie—have even frequently led to armed conflicts. However, Mussolini endeavours to maintain harmony between the two tendencies by diverting their attention to the common enemy—the working class.

### 3. THE PARTIES.

It was already evident at the end of 1924 that the bloc of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic opposition parties which was formed after the assassination of Matteotti would collapse,



because its heterogeneous composition and the antagonisms arising from it prevented the adoption of a clear political attitude. The exit of the Maximalists from this bloc was the signal for its complete dissolution. The repeated attempts of the opposition parties (which were already divided into two camps) to create new blocs were a failure. Thus, the opposition parties, persecuted by the government, and neither desirous nor capable of leading a serious struggle against it, were relegated to a position of complete stagnation till the terrorist wave in November, 1926, swept them away altogether. Those of their leaders who took refuge abroad constituted in 1927 a bloc which calls itself "democratic concentration," to which republicans, reformists, Maximalists, the Paris Bureau of the Labour Federation, and the League for the Rights of Man are affiliated. The "democratic concentration" offers no active opposition to fascism. It sets its hopes on the collapse of fascism from within and over-estimates, therefore, any differences which arise in the fascist camp or within the capitalist groups. The activity of the "democratic concentration" organisation is limited to an anti-fascist campaign abroad.

The reformists who belong to the "democratic concentration" (the Socialist Unity Party of the Italian workers) have hitherto renounced not only an independent policy but also the publication of an organ of their own in favour of the "democratic concentration." A Congress of the Italian reformists held at the end of December, 1927, decided to publish an organ of their own, and also to take other steps towards making themselves more independent of the other parties and groups of the "democratic concentration." The Congress also resolved to work for the fusion of the two Socialist parties.

The Maximalists, too (Socialist Party of Italy), held a conference at the beginning of January, 1928, at which the resolution in favour of the re-establishment of Socialist unity was passed by an overwhelming majority. The left wing of the Maximalists, which is still a minority, protested at the conference against affiliation to the "democratic concentration." This proletarian section of the Maximalists has not affiliated to the "democratic concentration," it has, on the contrary, adhered to the proletarian anti-fascist committees formed at the initiative of the Communists, and which were opposed to the "democratic concentration." For this reason the Central Committee of the Maximalist Party dissolved two sections, including the Paris section, for infringement of discipline. There are also differences within the Reformist Party between the rank and file and the leaders, which have already led to several expulsions. Several Maximalist leaders domiciled in Italy are opposed to the fusion of the Maximalists with the Reformists. This standpoint is also

maintained by Angelica Balabanova, who has been elected secretary of the Maximalist Party.

Although the Socialist Parties limit their activity entirely to foreign countries and do nothing in Italy, one should not ignore the fact that reformist ideology is still strong among the workers, and that Social-Democratic traditions, which it is difficult to eradicate, still prevail.

#### 4. TRADE UNIONS.

##### (a) Class Trade Unions.

The class trade unions were never formally dissolved by the fascist government. However, as a result of the monopoly position of the fascist corporation, they were deprived of the possibility of representing legally the interests of the workers. Subsequently, particularly after November, 1926, their legal existence became impossible. A section of the Reformist trade union leaders who had already been negotiating with Mussolini have accepted the accomplished fact, and declare the General Confederation of Labour dissolved; another section, headed by Buoizzi, emigrated and established abroad the foreign bureau of the General Confederation of Labour.

A trade union conference, convened at the initiative of the Communists in February, 1927, decided to take up trade union work within Italy, and to make the factories, etc., the organisational basis of the Confederation of Labour, as a better means of capturing the workers. The following slogans were issued. Re-organisation of the masses, and Resumption of the struggle. In the course of ten months (from February to December, 1927) over 200 meetings were held, at which factory trade union sections and industrial committees were elected; also 25 provincial conferences which led to the re-organisation of the labour exchanges (provincial trade union federations). Altogether over 12,000 workers joined this illegal trade union organisation. The former organ of the trade unions, "Battaglie Sindicali," is being published again illegally, and is very popular among the workers. The General Confederation of Labour has frequently played a leading rôle in the struggles of the working class which has been resumed. The number of strikes and other conflicts which took place under its influence, and which could be registered, is 82, about 200,000 workers and peasants participating in them.

The General Confederation of Labour has again tried to re-establish relations with the Amsterdam International, at first by correspondence and subsequently by despatching a delegation to the Paris Congress of the Amsterdammers. Their last conference devoted to the Italian question, to which the representatives of the trade unions functioning in Italy were not invited, decided

to recognise only Buozzi's Paris Bureau as the representative of the Italian trade union movement.

**(b) Fascist Trade Unions.**

In spite of their ruthless struggle against the workers, the fascists endeavoured from the very beginning of their régime to secure a basis among the workers. Frequent attempts were made to convince the workers by demagogic means that the fascist trade unions were standing for their interests. Fascist trade union functionaries occasionally support workers against the employers, and in 1925, during the metal workers' strike in Lombardy, the impression was that the fascist trade unions had sanctioned the strike. Thereby they wanted to win the confidence of the workers and also to prevent the movement developing into a revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the real representatives of the workers. However, the fascists did not succeed in establishing a basis among the workers. A clear proof of this is the fact that in all the elections of "internal commissions" (factory councils) which they wanted to capture they suffered defeat. The result was accentuated struggle against the workers, dissolution of the "internal commissions" in October, 1925, and proclamation of the fascist trade unions as the only legal trade unions in April, 1926. Finally, in 1927, the Labour Charter was promulgated, which rests on class collaboration. The Labour Charter gives only fascist trade unions the right to conclude labour agreements with the employers, it prohibits "actions likely to disturb the normal course in the enterprise," i.e., strikes; it declares unemployment, production and labour conditions statistics the monopoly of the State; it enjoins employers to see to the improvement of production and to the reduction of the cost of production, which, under Italian conditions, means nothing more but permission to the employers to reduce wages at their will. The collective agreements concluded lately by the fascist trade unions bear this out.

The fascist trade unions have not taken root among the masses, because they are devoid of any democratic basis; functionaries are not elected, but appointed by the governmental authorities; workers do not participate at all in the life of the trade unions; to pay membership dues is all that is expected of them. One contribution which is obligatory for all workers is in the nature of a tax payable to the State; the second contribution which makes workers members of the fascist unions is frequently enforced by a threat of dismissal; hence the big number of workers organised in the fascist corporations, as mentioned in the fascist reports.

### 5. WORKERS' STRUGGLES.

Although in Italy all wage movements of the workers are suppressed with the help of the fascist trade unions, the number of strikes and demonstrations has been growing lately. Frequently, spontaneously, despair finds vent here and there, and although stoppages of work are mostly of short duration, they are a sign that the passivity of the workers (the result of the terrorist fascist régime) has been overcome. Particularly significant was the strike of the women employed in the rice fields in the Novara and Vercelli provinces which was carried out with perfect unanimity and order, and led to a partial victory. In Pordenone (Udine province) a women textile workers' strike lasted over a month, and a sympathetic strike in an adjoining place led to the closing of the enterprise.

The Fiat works, the biggest motor car works in Italy, closed the enterprise for 18 days in the beginning of 1927 because of the crisis in the motor car industry. When work was resumed the workers were offered a much reduced wage. They immediately organised a protest strike, which was carried out unanimously and lasted till the management was compelled to make a satisfactory promise. A strike which broke out lately in a department of the Fiat works against wage reductions, which had not even been previously announced, compelled the management to make promises of certain concessions which, however, have not yet been kept.

The hopeless condition of the metal workers has led to various protest actions, and even the organ of the fascist trade unions, "*Lavoro d'Italia*," could not ignore this fact. In connection with a strike in the Breda works, the organ declared that this was not an isolated case, that similar episodes are taking place all over Italy. In the illegal "*Unità*," worker correspondents describe the situation in their enterprises. These descriptions show everywhere the same picture: reduced working week and reduced wages. This situation has led to numerous small strikes and protest demonstrations. Several small textile workers' strikes have taken place in Leghorn; workers left the factories shouting, "Down with Mussolini, long live Lenin!" In Gravina and Bagnacavallo (Romagna) collisions have taken place with the police and militia, during which there were killed and injured. A tobacco workers' strike took place in Venice; there were serious disorders in Campofornio; and a demonstration took place in Rome, the workers parading in front of the Palazzo Chigi with their pockets inside-out, shouting, "Long live *Mussolini*!"

Side by side with the protest demonstrations against wage reductions there are rebellions of unemployed. In many places (Bologna, Vincenza, in the province of Venice, etc.) bakers' shops were raided and a free distribution of bread was enforced.

Lately the despair of the peasants has also found vent in disorders directed against the Podestats. In some cases red banners were displayed, revolutionary songs were sung, fascist premises were attacked, etc.

The illegal Confederation of Labour does its utmost to co-ordinate these movements, to link them up with the political struggle against fascism, and experience has shown that workers are willing to adopt its slogans and to accept its leadership whenever it is possible to exercise it.

Although all these struggles are still very sporadic and frequently of short duration, their importance should not be under-estimated because they show that the class struggle in Italy is reviving, they bear testimony of the revolutionisation of the working class and the peasantry who have taken up the struggle against fascism in spite of brutal persecution.

## 6 THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY UP TO THE END OF 1926.

In the period intervening between the Fifth World Congress and the Sixth Plenum of the Enlarged Executive objective conditions were favourable for the development of the party. The crisis which ensued after the assassination of Matteotti in the ranks of fascism drove enormous masses into the camp of the opposition. But the bourgeois and Social-Democratic opposition parties which were afraid that the movement would go beyond them, and would develop into a proletarian revolution, did nothing to mobilise these masses for active struggle against fascism. The Communist Party, which, since its secession from the Socialist Party, has been compelled to lead a semi-legal existence, was still too weak for the capture of the masses, either agitationally or organisationally. However, a considerable growth of the party was noticeable in this period. The reorganisation of Communist organisations on a nucleus basis was carried out; this enabled the party to be in closer contact with workers in enterprises and to defend itself against the fascist attacks. The elections of the "internal commissions" (factory councils) showed that the sympathy of the working masses for the party is much stronger than could be expressed organisationally.

Fusion with the "Group of the Third International," the left wing of the Maximalists, in the autumn of 1926 brought into the party about 2,500 new members from the Socialist camp. Its correct tactics in the period following the assassination of Matteotti—counter-parliament proposals, united front tactics through the creation of workers' and peasants' committees, defence of the class trade unions, and, finally, the slogans of the convocation of a Republican Constituent Assembly on the

basis of workers' and peasants' committees, workers' control and distribution of land to the peasants—brought thousands of non-party workers into the ranks of the Communist Party.

It is also in this period that the party carried on energetic work in the direction of bringing clarity into the inner party divergencies of opinion and of combating the Bordiga opposition. The discussion, which started several months before the Party Congress and continued under extremely difficult conditions, clearly demonstrated the ultra-Left errors of Bordiga and his followers, and prepared thereby the dissociation of the rank and file of the party from the ultra-Left wing, which came about at the Party Congress.

It is this clarification of the ideology of the party which makes the Third Party Congress so important. At this Congress the inner party struggles were brought to an end. The expulsion of several leading comrades of the ultra-Left opposition for infringement of discipline, in the summer of 1926, found no echo among their adherents. After November, 1926, the party was the only opposition party which continued the struggle against fascism, most of the followers of the Bordiga opposition abandoned their erroneous standpoint and began to participate in the work of the party with the strict observance of discipline; only a few comrades scattered abroad continue their anti-party activity.

After the Third Party Congress the party continued with increased vigour, in accordance with the decisions of this Congress, its work for the united front of the working class. The AGITATION COMMITTEES, the great importance of which the Party Congress has emphasised, became the main instruments of the united front tactic and acquired special importance when the government dissolved the "internal commissions" and prohibited their re-election. The agitation committees which were elected at illegal factory conferences\* were to be the centre for the united action of the working class against fascism; they initiated many campaigns: for the 8-hour day, against war danger, for the British miners on strike, for Sacco and Vanzetti, for the despatch of workers' delegations to Russia, etc. When, in November, 1926, these organs of the working class succumbed to the attacks of the reaction, over 100 agitation committees had been formed in the industrial centres of Italy.

One of the main tasks of the agitation committees was defence of the CLASS TRADE UNIONS against the fascist offensive and the sabotage and opportunism of the reformist leaders. After the promulgation of the Trade Union Act, the C.C. of the C.P. approached the reformists and Maximalists repeatedly with the proposal of joint action in defence of the trade unions. But when these parties showed their unwillingness

---

\* Conferences took place in all the bigger industrial towns. Fifty per cent. of the delegates were Communists.

to defend the trade union organisations, the C.P. concentrated its efforts on the formation of a united front from below. That this tactic was successful is shown by the composition of the agitation committees and the way in which they function.

At all factory conferences and meetings of the agitation committees, the trade union question was the centre of discussion, and this activity of the Communists in the trade union sphere finally compelled the reformists to constitute advisory committees as a last remnant of democracy in the trade unions.

The party also developed an energetic activity **AMONG THE PEASANTS**. The slogan issued by the party for agricultural labourers was, "Join the Agricultural Labourers' Union," whereas the poor peasants were organised in the "Association for the protection of Peasants," founded in 1924. This association was of considerable importance to the agrarian south of Italy, where peasants were not organised at all. The party also established connection with the already existing peasants' organisations. The slogan of the peasant organisation was: "United front with the Working Class for the Struggle against Fascism and Capitalism." In many parts of Italy peasant conferences were held, which led to the formation of peasant committees, and which affiliated to the association. In addition to an illegally published bulletin, the peasant association distributed many leaflets and pamphlets. The programme of the Peasant International served as the political basis for work within the association. The work among the peasantry very soon produced satisfactory results which scared even the fascists. In a series of articles, the fascist newspapers pointed out the danger of Communist propaganda among the peasants.

Within the Communist Party this work met with some obstacles because many comrades had not realised its necessity—ultra-Left comrades particularly would have nothing to do with it.

With the help of the agitation committees the party succeeded in carrying out a series of campaigns and in participating in international campaigns. In this connection the Agitprop Department of the party developed considerable activity, particularly in regard to the distribution of leaflets and pamphlets. Collections were taken up for the British miners on strike, many leaflets and handbills were distributed in connection with the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Propaganda for the despatch of a workers' delegation to Russia was very popular among the workers, and it was finally possible to make the journey of adult and young workers to Russia a reality. Many pamphlets and leaflets were distributed for May Day, against a longer working day and wage reductions, as well as against the growing war danger; the "Unità" devoted to these problems educational and agitational articles, which were very successful. For instance, it was possible to organise on May 1st, 1926, small May Day celebrations in many places, and in some places to

make May Day even a day of rest, in spite of the negative attitude of the Socialists. In June, 1926, the Agitprop Department of the party organised a propaganda week in all countries where there were a considerable number of Italian immigrants. A weekly bulletin was published to inform the Communist Press abroad about events in Italy. Although the publishing department was greatly hampered in its activity by its illegality, it succeeded in publishing a series of works and pamphlets.

Numerous and very well got up factory newspapers appeared regularly for a long time and dealt with all questions. The factory newspapers also published correspondence from the enterprises, and thus a staff of worker correspondents was organised, whose contributions were also published by the "Unità." Apart from the "Unità," which had a legal existence up to November, 1926, and had a circulation of 22,000, a whole series of illegal organs were published—the "Verità" (Truth), the "Gioventù Comunista" (Communist Youth), which replaced the "Avanguardia," suppressed in the middle of 1925; "Fronte Unico" (United Front), the organ of the agitation committees, and occasionally a number of the women's newspaper, "Compagna." The Red Aid (I.C.W.P.A.), which has been very active, published its own bulletin (also illegal). For the Slav workers of the annexed provinces an organ in the Slav language, "Delo," was published which was at first a legal and subsequently an illegal organ.

As to the parliamentary activity of the party, we have already pointed out that after the assassination of Matteotti, the C.P. left Parliament, together with the other opposition parties. After the repeated proposal to form a counter-parliament had been rejected by all the opposition parties, the party decided to make a declaration in Parliament as soon as it re-assembled. A Communist Deputy explained, in a very courageous speech, the standpoint of the C.P., and this speech met with response among the masses, who showed more understanding for this step of the Communists than did the Socialists. In November, 1926, the members of the Communist parliamentary fraction were, with a few exceptions, arrested and banished; they were also driven out of parliament, together with the other opposition.

Much attention was paid in the Italian party to work among women. Although the party has not many women members, it was possible to establish a permanent contact with working women through a well organised connection with enterprises. A proof of this is the circulation of the women's newspaper, "Compagna," its 6,000 copies being always sold very quickly. Its interesting and well arranged contents is one of the reasons of the popularity of the newspaper among working women: it deals with all questions of the labour movement, paying special attention to problems of interest to working women; it also publishes women workers' correspondence.

After November, 1926, when there was a certain lull in the



work of the party, work among women was also temporarily interrupted, but this did not last long. That the educational work among women workers has been successful is shown by the big number of women who participated in the recent strikes. One of the most important strikes in 1927 was that of the women employed in the rice fields in the North of Italy, in which over 10,000 women participated, and which was conducted with such complete unanimity and efficiency that it ended in partial victory. Women were very active in the movements against wage reductions. Many women are in prison for their illegal political work, either in the party or in the trade unions. The time has now passed in Italy when working women stood outside the political life of the country, because neither they nor the men had confidence in their capacity for political work.

The Young Communist League of Italy was at the time of the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International in opposition to its Executive, being under Bordiga's influence. But very soon after the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I., the Young Communist League of Italy began to accept the directions of the Comintern. After the assassination of Matteotti the tactic of the C.P. of Italy was against Bordiga—fully endorsed by the Y.C.L.; and at the Fifth Plenum of the Enlarged Executive the delegates of the Y.C.L. voted without reservations for the theses of the E.C.C.I. The Y.C.L. participated actively in the struggle of the party against the ultra-Left, and at the Congress of the Y.C.L. in February, 1926, only 5 per cent. of the votes went to the Bordiga fraction.

Immediately after the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International, the Young Socialist League fused with the Y.C.L.

After the ruthless reaction in November, 1926, the Y.C.L. was the only oppositional youth organisation which continued the struggle against fascism. The majority of the young Maximalist League, whose ranks were considerably depleted by then, joined the Young Communist League. Between November, 1926, and November, 1927, the Young Communist League succeeded in circulating about 100,000 copies of newspapers (local newspapers, factory newspapers and the central organ "Avanguardia," which has an edition of 12,000) and 150,000 leaflets.

The Y.C.L. took an active part in the reconstruction work in the trade unions and in the recent strike movements.

The losses suffered by the Y.C.L. are severe; about 800 Leaguers are now in prison or banished. Many have been sentenced to very long terms of imprisonment.

As to the organisational work of the party, we have already mentioned that between the Fifth World Congress and the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the reorganisation of the party on a nucleus basis was completed. In the Secretariat of the Central Committee itself, a certain decentralisation of the

work was taken in hand. Up till then leadership was concentrated in the hands of a few comrades, but special agitprop departments and an organisation department have been established. Another indication of the organisational work of this period is a broader democracy within the party, which was made possible by the relaxed pressure of the reaction, the necessity of discussing political questions (decision of the Fifth World Congress), and of carrying out the fusion with the group of the Third International.

In January, 1925, persecutions again commenced, from which various party organisations suffered considerably. But on the whole, the foundation of the party was strong enough to resist these attacks of the reaction. The slogan issued by the party aimed at defending itself against the reaction by the establishment of close contact with the masses. The influence of the party was growing, although the organisational work had to be temporarily interrupted in some places.

#### **THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY SINCE THE END OF 1926.**

November, 1926, ushered in a new stage in the activity of the C.P. of Italy. The official dissolution of the party had not caused any substantial changes in its structure; it merely drove it deeper into illegality. The numerous arrests and banishments, however, did the party great harm, particularly in the weaker organisations, where work had to be temporarily interrupted owing to the arrest of leading comrades. On the other hand, organisational work was not interrupted in the bigger and stronger organisations, and within a short space of time it was possible to re-establish connection between the Central Committee (the majority of whom are under lock and key, which makes work rather difficult) and all district secretaries.

The membership of the party has been, of course, reduced, which is always the case in times of increased reaction. On the other hand, its influence has increased, because it is the only opposition party which carries on the struggle against fascism. Not only non-party workers, but also Maximalists, reformists and republicans follow the slogans of the party, circulate its literature, etc. This makes it incumbent on the party to capture these workers also ideologically, to eradicate the still very strong social democratic traditions, etc.

In spite of all police difficulties, the party succeeded in developing intensive propaganda activity even in this period. Its illegal press, the only labour press in Italy, finds a ready sale, and every number goes through many hands. The following newspapers are published: "Unità," the youth organ "Avanguardia" and "Delo" in the Croatian language. In addition, a number of the "Compagna" and also several numbers of the

children's newspaper, "Il Fanciullo Proletario," a political comic paper, "Galletto Rosso," and many factory newspapers were published. Lately, because of the measures of the government, which has mobilised its huge police apparatus against the Communists, and also because of the monstrous penalties imposed for the possession of even a single leaflet, the printing and circulation of literature are becoming more and more difficult, with the result that newspapers appear rarely and in reduced numbers.

The newspapers "Unità" and "Verità," which were published in succession in Paris, have been suppressed by the French Government. However, the theoretical organ of the party, "Stato Operaio," which is devoted to Italian and international problems of the labour movement, appears regularly.

The party and trade unions have played a leading rôle in the strike movement of the last year. While at first our comrades, particularly in the provinces, were frequently taken by surprise by the wage movements of the workers and did not always hit on the right slogans and the correct relations between the industrial struggles and the general political struggle against fascism, with the result that their influence on the movement was but small, subsequently the influence of the party and of the General Confederation of Labour was considerable in all strikes and demonstrations.

Also, in the countryside, where an even stronger movement is going on against fascism than in the towns owing to the economic crisis and less police pressure, the influence of the party is on the increase. Many peasants who formerly were actively opposed to the Communists are beginning to show interest in the party and its slogans. On the other hand, the activity of the party is very weak in the South of Italy, where, in spite of all its efforts, it has not yet succeeded in re-establishing regular relations. The party is aware of this gap and is endeavouring to remedy it, above all through the resumption and development of work among the peasants.

The party is particularly active in the trade union sphere. We have already reported on the reconstruction of the General Confederation of Labour. The party has succeeded in drawing into trade union work non-party workers and workers of other political tendencies, so that the basis of the trade unions differs from that of the party and is much broader. The General Confederation of Labour has an illegal organ, "Battaglie Sindicali."

The political slogans of the party in the present period aim at capturing not only workers and peasants, but also the urban petty bourgeoisie for the struggle against fascism. The struggle for democratic liberties for the working class and the peasantry—freedom of place of meeting, of association and of the Press, representation of workers and peasants not in a bourgeois parliament, but in a body based on workers' and peasant committees—

is at present a revolutionary struggle in Italy. The party has included the demand for these democratic liberties for the working masses into its programme, and for this struggle it works for the formation of workers' and peasants' committees which will be the organs of the revolutionary anti-fascist movement. The slogans, "A Constituent Assembly on the Basis of Workers' and Peasant Committees," "Control of Production" and "Distribution of Land to the Peasantry," which were issued already in 1924, are also to-day the slogans of the party around which it is mobilising the Italian masses. These slogans make it more easy for the party's propaganda for the workers' and peasants' government.

At the beginning of 1928, the second conference of the C.P. of Italy was held illegally. For the first time since the Third Party Congress (January, 1926) and since the beginning of increased terrorism against the party, it was possible for a considerable number of representatives of party organisations to come together. The conference had no decisive functions, it was rather of an informatory character. The conference expressed the indomitable vitality of the C.P. of Italy and its growing influence on the Italian workers. The further consolidation of Communist influence on the working masses was declared to be most important for the work of the party. The conference warned the party against the dangers of the present situation, i.e., the tendency to isolate itself and to limit the tasks of the party to physical defence pure and simple. On the other hand, there is, in connection with the whole situation in Italy, also the danger of a terrorist deviation which must be fought with the utmost energy. In regard to the "democratic concentration," there was a consensus of opinion among the comrades that, although the parties which constitute the "concentration" are not to-day developing much activity in Italy, they still had some influence, and that it was therefore necessary to combat these parties in order to win the working masses from what little influence the parties of the "concentration" still possessed. This required first and foremost intensive activity in the trade unions. The conference also received full reports on the international situation and the situation in the Soviet Union; the question of the Russian Opposition received much attention and the attitude of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. was approved.

The organisational problem of the party was very fully discussed. In connection with this, the conference declared that the question of short intensive training courses and education of good party workers is one of the most important problems with which the party has to deal.

A special organisational commission dealt with the organisational problem and studied methods of guaranteeing better contact with the masses and a better connection between the centre and the provinces.

In conclusion, it was decided to address a manifesto to the Italian workers and peasants. This manifesto describes the economic and political situation, the destitution of the working masses, unemployment and the passivity and treachery of the Socialist parties. The workers and peasants of Italy are invited to join the class trade unions in order to make common cause against fascism and capitalism.

## BELGIUM

THE present situation in Belgium is the result of the stabilisation of the franc, which was carried out at the expense of the masses by the Jaspar-Vandervelde government, i.e., by the alliance of industrial and finance magnates and their supporters, the Social Democratic and Christian Socialist leaders. This stabilisation marked the culmination of a crisis which had lasted since 1920, when the economic crisis began. The elections of January, 1925, resulted in an increase in the Social Democratic vote and that of the Flemish Nationalists and the Communists: the Liberals lost eleven seats, the Catholic two. But it was impossible to form a National Government of the "Union Sacrée" with a view to stabilising the franc. After a ministerial crisis of 73 days a Socialist-Catholic ministry was formed of the "Belgium Democracy," which was to save the franc and introduce democratic reforms. But matters turned out differently. The Poulet-Vandervelde government was not able to realise any of the promised reforms; the Belgium bankers torpedoed the attempt at stabilisation and the value of the franc fell still lower. Thus the Poulet-Vandervelde government was only able to make the necessary preparations for a "National" government, which would accomplish stabilisation at the expense of the masses.

In May, 1926, the "Democratic Government" retired and a "National" government was formed composed of four Catholics two Liberals, and four Socialists. The "Union Sacrée" was resurrected on this occasion to save the franc. Jaspar, a prominent representative of bank capital, became Prime Minister, the banker Franki and later Baron Hautart, one of the leading forces in the Banque Nationale, became Finance Minister, de Brocqueville, who has considerable interests in the iron industry, Minister of War; in this ministry of bank magnates Vandervelde, Huysmans, Wauters and Anseela were destined to play the role of pacifying the masses. On July 15th Parliament passed the law giving the ministry full powers to undertake all the necessary measures to "save the franc." The Labour Party Council acknowledged this dictatorship of the banks by a vote of 30 to 10. Vandervelde made the pathetic declaration in Parliament that, "there are moments in the history of a country when action is necessary. The present is such a moment. Have confidence in us and we shall do all that the situation demands, as we did ten years ago."

The stabilisation of the franc finally became an accomplished fact with the help of a 150 million dollar loan from American and British Banks under very difficult conditions. The railways were

handed over to a private company and mass dismissals of the employees ensued. Taxes were imposed which were to bring in a revenue amounting to hundreds of millions. The stabilisation crisis was succeeded by a rise in the cost of living and consequently by demands on the part of the workers for increased wages. The State and municipal workers demonstrated early in 1927 for wage increases. Discontent grew and with it the distrust of the masses in the Social Democratic ministers and also in the reformist Trade Union leaders. The Labour Party took a vote on whether the Party should continue to participate in the government, with the result that 26 per cent. voted against it. The opponents to participation in the government got the majority in the Brussels and Antwerp Labour Party branches. From this it became clear that the Social Democrats could no longer remain in the banker-government without greatly undermining the prestige of the leaders. Therefore, in view of the approaching elections the Social Democrats considered it advisable to make a temporary change in their role and become a parliamentary opposition. With this in view a dispute was staged on the military question, a question which was outside the government programme.

The Social Democrats set about the revival of their old demand for six months military service and before the parliamentary recess they introduced a draft proposal to this effect. The Social Democratic press started a campaign in support of this demand. But it should be pointed out that the Social Democrats had never attempted to carry through this demand whilst they were in the government, because they knew quite well that their demand was in complete contradiction to the secret military agreement which Vandervelde made with France in 1921; an agreement which the defenders of the Fatherland would never jeopardize. The "Echo de Paris" came out immediately with an attack on the Belgium Social Democrats and accused them of "disarming Belgium, betraying France, and selling their country to Germany," although the reduction of the military service to six months would not weaken the military strength of Belgium. The leaders of the Labour Party attained what they wanted and broke with the coalition government and retired from office in November. Then Jaspar formed a new ministry composed of Catholics and Liberals in which two catholic democrats participated.

A survey of the activity of the Social Democrats in the interests of the bourgeoisie gives the following picture :

(1) Beginning with the "Union Sacrée" in August, 1914, until the "Union Sacrée" in May, 1926, to "save the franc," they continuously sacrificed their own programme, betrayed and sabotaged every attempt at opposition on the part of the workers, delivered up the petty bourgeoisie, the small peasantry and the workers to the tender mercies of finance capital; furthermore, there was the rationalisation of industry, the handing over of the

State railways to private capital, suppression and imprisonment of the Flemish Nationalists, sabotage of the Nationalist and Communist amnesty campaigns.

(2) Complete support of the foreign policy of the Belgian capitalists, of the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations, the invasion of the Ruhr, the Belgian-Dutch agreement, of the joint work with French Imperialism, the interests of Belgian capital in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, China, and in other countries, the Belgian Colonial policy and the exploitation of the Congo together with the constant agitational campaigns against the Soviet Union.

(3) Surrender of the military programme and the demand for the six months period of service; agreement to the state of war and "defence of the Fatherland" even in the post-war years. The advancement and conclusion of the Franco-Belgian secret military agreement and support of the disarmament swindle.

(4) Simultaneously, ruthless struggle against the opposition in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, a policy of expulsions and splits (Mertens resolution), veto on membership of the I.R.A. and the I.W.A.

And yet notwithstanding all this betrayal of the interests of the workers the Belgian Labour Party, thanks to the Trade Unions and the strongly developed co-operatives, has still strong roots amongst the masses of the workers. This fact may be explained by the inadequate influence both of the Flemish Nationalists and the Communist Party, which are not equal to the task of taking over the leadership of the masses of the workers and the poor peasants. Neither has the increasing discontent in the ranks of the reformist workers developed sufficiently to form a definite opposition to the social traitors within the Labour Party. The development of a Left wing is still only in its infancy. In December, 1926, the first number of the "Bataille Socialiste" was published and in January, 1927, the Flemish paper ("Sozialistische Strijd"); these weeklies are published by the opposition. The "Bataille Socialiste" is published by some members of the Brussels Federation (Mathieu), who also work in the I.R.A. and the I.W.A. The "Bataille Socialiste" does not adopt any definite policy or organised opposition to the Vandervelde-Wautiers regime. The editorial board of the "Bataille Socialiste," composed of intellectuals, gave way to the party executive when threatened with expulsion at the end of 1927. The paper ceased publication, but the editors of the Flemish "Sozialistische Strijd" refused to submit and were therefore expelled from the Party in April, 1928.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

In Belgium there are 1,800,000 industrial workers, 300,000 employees, and 200,000 agricultural workers; in 1927 about 520,000 of these were organised in the reformist "Commission Syndicate,"



200,000 in the Catholic unions, 45,000 in neutral organisations and 5,000 in the "Chevaliers du Travail," which is affiliated to the Profintern. In 1924 there were 129,000 workers in the reformist unions and in 1920 (when the membership was at its height) there were 718,000 workers organised. But in spite of the decline in membership, Trade Unions of the heavy industry and the transport trade continue to be mass unions.

The Left wing movement is still very weak; this is particularly the case in the miners', metal workers', textile workers' and civil servants' unions where the reformists employ the most severe measures against the revolutionary elements. The position is much better in the clothing industry and amongst the employees and tram workers in Brussels. Generally speaking the opposition in Flanders enjoys greater freedom than in other parts of Belgium. This state of affairs may be explained by the contrast that exists between the reformist leaders of the Flemish local organisations, who have to take into consideration the Nationalist tendencies of the membership, and the majority of the Belgian Nationalist bureaucrats of the "Commission Syndicale." This difference showed itself at the congresses of the "Commission Syndicale" in the mutual hostile demonstrations of the Flemish and Walloon delegates and in the opposition of the Flemish and Walloon Provincial Federation of the Metal Workers, etc.) to the demand of the Commission Syndicate to expel the Communists. Already, in 1924, the Commission Syndicate adopted a resolution of the chairman Mertens to the effect that Communists should have no leading positions of any sort in the unions or in the local branches, and, if at the time they held any such official positions, they should be removed from them. After the elections the matter was developed further: in Brussels and in the Walloon districts several Communists were expelled for being in the Communist candidate lists at the municipal elections. Our comrades, mainly in the Flemish districts, were able to put up a fairly successful opposition to these expulsions. The Commission Syndicale thought that it would now be possible to annihilate the Communists by making a general attack. Early in April of this year the Commission Syndicale convened an extraordinary session, which decided that the Clerks' Union must be forced to expel our comrades Jaquemotte and Van den Heuvel. Should the union fail to do so within two months then the Commission Syndicate would consider the clerks' union as automatically expelled. It was also decided that the Mertens resolution should be carried out to the letter. All unions were to be warned that it was their duty to ensure that their locals obeyed the instructions in the resolution. Even Liebaers, the leader of the clothing workers' union, was in agreement with this decision. This lapse on the part of the former apostle of unity must undoubtedly have made it easier for the reformists to carry out their attack. Since November, 1926, the conflict within the "Unité" group has been acute; this organisation was originally

intended to become the basis of the Left wing within the reformist unions, but now the editors, Liebaers and Geerts, came out openly as the declared enemies of Communism and became the accomplices of the reformists. This change was effected on account of the Trotsky opposition. In September, 1927, Liebaerts and Geerts began to publish all the documents of the Trotsky opposition in the "Unité" and got into close contact with the Dutch renegades Sneevliet, the chairman of the N.A.S., and Roland-Holst.

The Chevaliers du Travail, a revolutionary organisation formed by a group of miners who were expelled or seceded from the reformist miners' union and the metal workers' union after the 1923 strike, has suffered from too great decentralisation and is consequently greatly handicapped in the performance of its main task; the struggle for the revolutionisation of the miners and the re-establishment of the unity of the Trade Unions. At a congress held last March it was decided to centralise this organisation by May 1st.

### THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The fact that the C.P.B. was able to secure about 70,000 votes at the elections in 1925-1926 proves that the Party could extend its influence. But the Party has never gone beyond the stage of being a purely propaganda organisation. The leadership of the Party was obliged to admit at the Fourth Party Congress in September, 1926, that "there were great shortcomings in the political leadership of the Party from top to bottom, the relations between the various Party organs, the general organisation, the re-organisation of the old sections on the basis of groups, Trade Union work, the Party activity in the I.R.A. and I.W.A., the attitude towards the youth and the control of their work, the penetration into the Flemish Nationalist movement, the ideological training of the Party, all organisational work, and the establishment of a lasting, daily contact with the masses in the factories and the Trade Unions and the other organisations of the working class." The Congress report further points out that the Party leadership is weak and inadequate, that the work of the centre suffers on this account, that discussions are badly prepared, that the analyses of the political situation are made in a superficial manner and consequently the directions issued by the centre are weak and inadequate. The report goes on to enumerate the flaws in Party work in the Trade Unions, in the Flemish movement, in respect of the contact with the opposition in the Labour Party, in mass organisations and in anti-Fascist activity. It further points out:—

"Several tasks laid down at the Fourth World Congress and at our Third Congress have either not been carried out at all or only in an inadequate manner. This especially applies to Co-operative work, which is of exceptional importance in Belgium.

The preparatory commission for this work has done nothing. The activity amongst the peasantry has been restricted to rather negligible work in the Huy Warene district. The work in respect to the Colonies has also been very weak, only the press campaign on this subject was of any importance. The establishment of contact with the Congo colony was limited to the despatch of a small quantity of literature, the "Drapeau Rouge," and the "Roode Vaan," which resulted in having this latter paper banned in the colony. Attention must also be drawn to the weakness of our educational work. The Party has no paper for the study of the problems of revolutionary doctrine, tactic and strategy or the analysis of current political questions. The organisation of courses and educational conferences is weak and practically negligible."

In reviewing the work of 1927 it must be admitted that almost all the weaknesses enumerated in the 1926 report still exist. The Trade Union movement alone shows that the Party has been able to put up an active fight against the reformist offensive. In Flanders the Party was successful in the amnesty campaign and increased its membership; at the same time the subscribers to the weekly organ "de Roode Vaan" were increased to 4,000. The Parliamentary fraction has been active and has helped to unmask the reformist leaders. But otherwise the old errors and weaknesses remain as before. Demands for a practical programme of action formulated by the Party were made a few times in the paper, but then disappeared; a similar lack of stability was displayed in respect to the China campaign and the protest against intervention in Soviet Russia.

### The Internal Situation.

A serious fractional struggle began in the C.P.B. at the same time as the struggles in the C.P.S.U. In 1926 Van Overstraaten began active fraction work. At the end of November, 1927, he succeeded in having a resolution passed protesting against the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the C.P.S.U. The resolution stated that the Party leadership did not adhere to the views of the Opposition, and that it would observe the discipline of the Comintern and of the Party. This resolution was adopted by 15 to three votes. Early in January the voting on a resolution of the Van Overstraaten supporters, in which they "conditionally" adopted the Trotsky Opposition plank, resulted in a tie: 13 votes for and 13 for a resolution of solidarity with the C.I. and the C.P.S.U. It was then decided to launch a widespread discussion both in the press and the Party organisations, including the groups, in preparation for a final decision to be made at a Party Conference. During this discussion Van Overstraaten's supporters openly declared themselves Trotskyites. District conferences at which the delegates were elected for the Party conference were

held after the discussion. The result of these conferences was : 70 per cent. of the votes for the C.I. and 30 per cent. for the Opposition. The Opposition suffered the greatest defeat in the large districts ; in Brussels it secured 7 delegates as compared with 20 for the Executive ; in Luetlich 3 as compared with 15 ; in Borinage 1 as compared to 12, and in the country taken as a whole 33 as compared with 75 for the Executive. When the Party conference met in the middle of March, the leaders of the Opposition decided to provoke their expulsion from the Party by declaring their complete solidarity with the Trotsky group. They thought that they would thus rally their supporters and by means of a split form a new Party. The Party conference, however, avoided this and declared that although circumstances fully justified the expulsion of the opposition leaders, it deemed it advisable for every Party member to get to know the nature of the Opposition and consequently suspended the leaders, with Van Overstraaten at the head, for six months from any position of responsibility and made the special demand that Van Overstraaten resign his seat in Parliament. At the same time the resolution called on the new Party executive and the Polit-Bureau to proceed with the greatest severity against all branches of Party discipline and if necessary to expel the delinquents. While the conference was in session an incident took place which quickly showed up the nature of the Opposition leaders. The Party headquarters were broken into and important material and Party property stolen. Three days after the Conference the Polit-Bureau decided to expel Van Overstraaten from the Party because he refused to resign his seat in Parliament. One day later three Party members, including the former Organising Secretary, Hennaut, were expelled as a result of the investigating commission's findings. They were found guilty of direct participation in the robbery at the Party headquarters.

The leaders of the Opposition formed an " Opposition Group " outside the Party. This group publishes a weekly paper, " The Communist," in French and Flemish. Since Van Overstraaten's plan to split the Party failed this group will shortly lose all significance. Only the typical opportunists directly connected with Van Overstraaten will remain, and it is these elements that have always impeded the Party work in every respect.

The chief task of the new Party Executive is to overcome the organisational weaknesses of the Party. Before the Party conflict the membership was about 1,500. The re-organisation of the Party in districts, wards and factory groups has only taken place on paper, no really active factory groups exist as yet ; street groups have taken the place of the former local organisations. The circulation of the daily paper " Le Drapeau Rouge " is about 5,000, and that of the Flemish weekly " de Roode Vaan " about 4,000. The general contents of these papers has greatly improved during the past year.

# HOLLAND

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**S**INCE 1924, Dutch capitalism has overcome the consequence of the economic crisis of the post-war years. The budget has been balanced and the gold standard re-introduced. Owing to the growing concentration of finance and industrial capital, and to the hundreds of millions which flow into the pockets of the Dutch bourgeoisie from the colonies, it has been possible to remove the unfavourable outside influences which had a detrimental effect on the Dutch economy, and also to establish new branches of industry (blast-furnace industry in North Holland, artificial silk enterprises in the central districts). Other industries have been extended and rationalised and progress has been made with the electrification of railways and the country side. The drainage of the Zuyder Zee is being carried forward with greater rapidity; this means the acquisition of a new province. Dutch capitalists have been also participating to an ever-increasing degree in German, Czech and Polish industry.

The economic crisis was not overcome at once. There were partial crises in 1925-26 in various industries, such as the metal, electrical and chemical industries, which considerably undermined the position of several big banks (such as the Rotterdam Bank Association in 1925) that participated in the extension of industry in the post-war years. The government had to intervene to save the banks.

Since 1920, there has been chronic unemployment in Holland. According to the official figures, the number of unemployed fluctuates between 50,000 and 80,000; but according to the figures of the trade unions it fluctuates between 100,000 and 120,000 (including about 25,000 in Amsterdam). However, since the beginning of 1927, when the economic position in the leading industries began to improve, unemployment gradually decreased. This decrease, however, has of late been counteracted by rationalisation.

In the post-war years the Dutch bourgeoisie allied itself to British imperialism in order to safeguard its big colonial interests (rubber and oil, the Royal Dutch-Shell Oil Company). There are signs, however, that this alliance is not as firm as it was, and that a rapprochement with the United States is being prepared. (Appointment of the former Dutch Ambassador in Washington, de Graef, as Governor-General of Indonesia; oil concessions to the Standard Oil in Indonesia, whereas in 1921 the Royal Dutch-Shell was given the monopoly for Sumatra, etc.).

The unscrupulous stabilisation policy of the Colyn Cabinet since 1921 has caused much discontent in working class and petty bourgeois circles. At the elections in 1925 a section of the Catholic electors voted for the social democrats. This led to a crisis in the Catholic state party, which resulted eventually in the breakup of the "Christian" coalition, the "Christian" party being dissatisfied with the extremely pro-English policy of the Colyn Cabinet. A government crisis which lasted four months led to the formation of a non-parliamentary "national" Cabinet which took over the programme of the Colyn Cabinet (with modifications), which it has been applying for the last two years. A scheme for the reduction of social insurance and unemployment grants has been prepared, and the war-time rent restriction legislation has been repealed. The rejection of the Dutch-Belgian Agreement by the First Chamber, which led to the resignation of van Karnebeek, the Minister for Foreign Affairs (who had also filled this post in the Colyn Cabinet), has not weakened the position of the de Geer Cabinet; it has, on the contrary, strengthened it. The resignation of this Minister (who represented Collaboration with British Imperialism) gave an impetus to the tendency, which made its appearance in Dutch capitalist circles after the fall of the Colyn Cabinet, to replace close collaboration with British imperialism by a rapprochement with the United States. The Javanese insurrection has brought the bourgeois parties even closer together and has temporarily upset any prospect of a government coalition of the Catholic State Party with the Social Democratic Party.

### THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The Executive of the "Christian" Party is composed of Amsterdam bankers, heads of Indonesian enterprises and of old merchant families. The clergy of the former State Church exercise a considerable influence on some sections of the Protestant petty bourgeoisie and artisans, and also on the peasantry, because of their anti-Catholic ideology.

The Anti-Revolutionary Party (the leading group of this party consists of people who have interests in the colonies) is deeply interested in the exploitation of Indonesia. Its leader (the former Finance Minister Colyn) is one of the leading figures in the Royal Dutch-Shell Oil Co. This Party still holds sway over the mass of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the backward workers.

The Catholic State Party embraces, just as the German centre party, all strata of the population: capitalists, agrarians, small peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and considerable numbers of industrial and rural workers, particularly in the southern provinces. There are acute differences in this Party which have led to the formation of a democratic wing. This Party has to reckon with the Catholic masses, and, because of

this, it allows the Left wing to indulge in very democratic phraseology and to declare itself in favour of collaboration with the social democrats. The serious economic and political differences, which existed in the 25 years prior to the war, between the leading groups of the Christian coalition and the liberal grouping (Liberal Party: trade and industrial capital, part of the civil servants and intellectuals; Radical Democratic Party: anti-clerical petty bourgeoisie, a section of the middle peasantry, a section of the minor civil servants and intellectuals) no longer exist.

### THE POSITION OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Social Democratic Labour Party (S.D.A.P.) during the stabilisation policy of the Colyn Cabinet limited itself to parliamentary opposition, and in the elections of 1925 placed its hopes in a government coalition with the Radical-Democratic Party and the Catholic State Party. It increased its vote considerably at these elections—from 507,700 votes in 1921 to 713,000. But the hoped-for coalition did not materialise; the leader of the Catholics, Dr. Nolens, declared: "The urgent necessity for this has not yet arisen." The abortive experiment of collaboration with the Catholics, the passivity of the S.D.A.P. in the government crisis, and its inability to resist the capitalist offensive, gave rise to an oppositional tendency within the S.D.A.P. Although this opposition had not yet assumed an organisational form, the trade union leader Stenhuis, at the Party Congress in 1926, voiced the feeling of the opposition in an unexpectedly sharp attack. The Right Wing leaders, and a number of trade unionists defended themselves against Stenhuis' criticism most energetically. Stenhuis found little support at the Party Congress, only a few delegates defending his standpoint. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that this Left tendency in Holland would develop any fundamental differences between the S.D.A.P. and the reformist unions. On the contrary, the collaboration between the two bodies is becoming closer and closer. The split will take place in both bodies. During 1927, the oppositional tendency in the ranks of the S.D.A.P. gained in strength and influence owing to the inactivity and treachery of the leaders in regard to the British strike, the events in China, the Indonesian insurrection and the Sacco and Vanzetti movement. The S.D.A.P. committee endeavoured to allay the discontent of the masses by initiating a big campaign for disarmament and industrial democracy.

The Social Democratic Labour Party not only approved the suppression of the Indonesian insurrection, but even advised the Governor-General, through its members in Indonesia, to punish the rebels severely. During 1927 it did nothing against the terror in Indonesia and would have nothing to do with the

Communist amnesty proposals. Moreover, it supports openly the present policy of the Governor-General, which aims at isolating the intelligentsia from the revolutionary people's movement. It was for this purpose that it endeavoured to utilise the trial of the Indonesian students in Holland. The leaders of the S.D.A.P. have expressed themselves openly against the independence of Indonesia. Although the discontent among the members increased in 1927, no organised Left opposition has as yet been formed. However, about 350 well-known members addressed an Open Letter to all Party members, criticising the leadership from the Left.

In the period 1925-28 the S.D.A.P. has raised its membership from 33,000 to 52,000.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Dutch trade union movement is very much split up. The seven central organisations had on January 1st, 1928, the following membership: Reformist central organisation (N.V.V.), 205,061; Catholic central organisation, 105,673; Calvinistic central organisation, 53,036; neutral central organisation, 11,000; central organisation of brain workers, 15,742; national labour secretariat (N.A.S.), 14,465; anarcho-syndicalist central organisation (N.S.V.), 4,200.

The Left Wing in the reformist unions is still weak; organisationally, it is represented only by the as yet weak Communist fractions. The "Unity Committees," which were formed in 1926 in a number of towns, were originally intended by Fimmen and Schmidt (the then editors of the "Eenheid") to be a loose organisation for the circulation of this organ. However, the influence of the British Miners' lock-out and the rapid move to the right in the Social Democratic Party and among reformist leaders transformed the Unity committees into fighting organs of a minority movement in the reformist unions. The reformist press made a fierce attack on the unity committees; "de Strijd," the organ of the N.V.V., demanded that Fimmen and Schmidt should liquidate the unity committees and discontinue the publication of "de Eenheid." The latter while declaring that neither the organ nor the committees would be liquidated, at the same time made a sharp attack on the Communist Party of Holland and its fractional activity in the reformist unions and justified the expulsion of Communists from reformist unions. On October 3, a conference of the unity committees took place in Amsterdam, convened by Fimmen and Schmidt. The intention of the conveners of the conference was complete dissociation from the C.P.H.; Schmidt in his speech made an attack on the Communists, declaring that there was no necessity in Holland for the existence of a Communist Party. The resolution which was brought forward, and which was intended to provoke both the C.P.H. and the N.A.S., was passed only by a very small ma-



jority. It spoke in favour of the support for the "modern" labour movement (i.e., the reformist unions and Social Democracy) and of unconditional fusion of the N.A.S. with the N.V.V. In February, 1927, Schmidt resigned from the Editorial Board of "de Eenheid" and at the end of the year Fimmen followed his example.

Since the formation in 1893 of the trade union central organisation N.A.S., a peculiar ideology has developed in the course of the prolonged struggle against the reformist and Christian trade unions. Although strongly influenced by the incidents of the Russian revolution and the revolutionary struggles in Central Europe, these unions have placed many obstacles in the way of the adoption of a Communist trade union policy in Holland. The struggle against anarcho-syndicalism within the N.A.S. resulted in 1923 in bona fide anarcho-syndicalists leaving the ranks of the organisation and establishing a central organisation of their own (N.S.V.). It was another two years before the Communists succeeded in diminishing anarcho-syndicalist influence in the N.A.S. and in getting it to affiliate to the R.I.L.U. At the Congress held in Amsterdam at the end of 1925 a resolution in favour of a united front tactic and collaboration with the opposition in the reformist unions, was adopted against only a few votes. But adherence to this tactic and collaboration with the C.P.H. were not of long duration. The N.A.S. leaders, and especially the chairman, Sneevliet, who had indulged in exaggerated hopes of the Left Wing in Great Britain (Purcell), reverted after the British strike to their old anarcho-syndicalist and ultra-Left conceptions. They used the resolution of the Seventh Enlarged Executive of the C.I. on the Dutch trade union movement, which dealt with the development of the Left opposition in the reformist unions and of the N.A.S., as a pretext for incitement against the C.P.H. and the R.I.L.U. N.A.S. leaders put up candidates in the provincial council elections and in the municipal elections in April and May. The N.A.S. Executive began to support quite openly the Schumacher-tactic (Germany) of 1924. When the R.I.L.U. endeavoured to counteract this policy of the N.A.S. leaders by means of an Open Letter to the N.A.S. workers, they refused to place these questions before the membership for discussion. A session of the managing committees of the federations and local trades councils of the N.A.S. was held on June 19 in Amsterdam, at which the breach with the R.I.L.U. was definitely effected. Communists and followers of the R.I.L.U. were threatened with expulsion from the N.A.S., and some of them were actually expelled. "De Arbeid" became the organ of the Russian opposition and published its various platforms. At the same time unity negotiations were carried on with the anarcho-syndicalist Lausink group. An agreement was arrived at for the fusion of the two organisations on April 1, 1928. The N.A.S. left the

R.I.L.U., and the Lausink group left the Berlin International. For two years all mention of international connections was excluded in the unified N.A.S. The followers of the R.I.L.U. formed a committee of action which has contacts in most towns, publishes an organ and carries on a campaign against the N.A.S. leaders. However, this committee could not prevent the last Executive meeting of N.A.S. getting the disaffiliation from the R.I.L.U. and unification with the Lausink group endorsed (without a congress) through "the vote of a general meeting." In the meantime the extra elements of the Lausink group had left the organisation and had formed a new "pure" anarcho-syndicalist central organisation; finally, the N.S.V. broke off further negotiations with the N.A.S., when the vote at the general meeting failed to produce a majority for fusion with the N.A.S. Sneevliet's policy, too, has suffered a crushing defeat.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The prolonged crisis in the Communist Party of Holland, which led at the Party Congress (May 21-24, 1926) to the expulsion of the Right leaders, Wynkoop and Ravesteyn, and in 1927 to the withdrawal of the ultra-Left elements (Sneevliet and a number of N.A.S. leaders), can be described as a crisis of Bolshevisation, of transition from a Left Social Democratic Party to a Communist Party. It was a difficult process: the crystallisation of a Communist Executive from among leaders who were still under the influence of the conceptions of the old "Dutch-Marxist" school. Even after its expulsion, the Wynkoop group endeavoured to follow its former equivocal policy, and declared that its platform was that of the C.I. The Wynkoop group, however, failed to attract any appreciable number of workers away from the Party. Apart from the majority of the Rotterdam local group, only a few elements from the North have followed this group. After nearly two years' existence the group has about 400 members. The withdrawal of the N.A.S. leaders from the C.P.H. has not resulted in Party members, who are also members of the N.A.S., leaving the Party; it was merely an exit of paid N.A.S. functionaries.

The Party Congress held in April, 1928, can be considered a consolidation congress; it marked the end of the Party crisis and the beginning of a new development. Right and Left deviations and passivity which characterised the Party during the Wynkoop leadership in 1921-1925 have been overcome with the help of the E.C.C.I. The mistakes made by the Central Committee during the Indonesian insurrection, when it failed to grasp immediately the importance of that insurrection, have also been recognised, and all vacillations in the trade union policy have been overcome. The Party has recognised the importance of work in the reformist unions and has already achieved some

successes in this sphere. The political resolution, and also the resolution on the trade union question (which refer to the results of the last Plenum of the C.I. and the last congress of the R.I.L.U.), as well as the Indonesian resolution (which deals fully with the situation in Indonesia and lays down the tasks of the Party) were adopted unanimously. Within recent years a new element has been growing up within the Party free from ultra-Left and Right deviations, and therefore able to develop the Party into a real Communist Party.

The political resolution passed by the Congress contains a paragraph which enables members of the Wynkoop group to return to the ranks of the Party. The paragraph says, among other things, that anyone accepting the decisions of the Congress, the discipline of the Party, and of the C.I., can be reinstated in the Party.

The campaigns conducted by the Party in the last two years are proof that the inactivity of the former years (confined to election campaigns) is now overcome. Anti-militarist propaganda among soldiers and sailors, which was formerly neglected, is now carried on energetically by the Party. In connection with the disorders during the autumn manoeuvres in 1926, the Party carried on a campaign among the reservists which was continued even after a number of reservists received sentences of imprisonment. During the events in China the Party carried on agitation among the sailors; manifestoes were circulated and a campaign was conducted, in which the Party demanded the recall of the Dutch cruiser "Sumatra" from Shanghai. During the British General Strike the Party developed considerable activity and endeavoured (through its trade union fractions) to induce the Dutch workers to come out in sympathy with the British workers. However, it was impossible to do much in this direction owing to the resistance of the reformist leaders. In 1927 the Party carried on a systematic campaign *in favour of the Indonesian movement*, which it still continues, and which has resulted in a certain amount of success. The Party is now openly advocating the separation of Indonesia from Holland, and its activity (street demonstrations) has caused the S.D.A.P. to convene big public meetings in recent months, both during and after the trial of the Indonesian students. However, the aim of these meetings was to dissociate the Indonesian intellectuals from the revolutionary people's movement in Indonesia. The Party has also carried on a systematic campaign against the disarmament swindle of the Dutch Social Democrats, both in Parliament and through a series of mass meetings, which have given an impetus to the present Left mood of the Social Democratic workers. There have been no big industrial struggles in Holland in the last two years. Through its fractions, the Party is carrying on a campaign in the metal and textile industries for increased wages.

A year ago the Central Committee organised an Agitprop Department, which directs the educational work of the Party. There is a central Party school in Amsterdam which functions regularly; there are also Party schools in Rotterdam and Delft with two courses—one for beginners, and one for advanced pupils. Since October, 1927, the Party organ has become a 6-page daily (8 pages on Saturday). Its contents have greatly improved in the last year. It has a circulation of 4,000, and 5,500 on Saturday. The "Tribune" has organised a strong group of workers' correspondents; several workers' correspondence conferences have also been held.

Work in the Trade Unions is only in its initial stage. However, an improvement in this direction is noticeable. In Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the industrial district of North Holland (Saan), and in the East (textile), the Party has fractions in the reformist unions, and their work is beginning to have an effect. Several comrades were elected delegates in Rotterdam and Amsterdam; while the Party gained control of a local trade council in the industrial district of North Holland. In the N.A.S. organisation there are fractions in the transport workers, textile workers, builders' and metal workers' unions.

Work among peasants is still very weak. Since October the "Tribune" publishes once a week a page dealing with practical questions concerning the peasants. The Party exercises a certain amount of influence among the small peasantry in the North.

The Party has been very active in the I.W.R. (I.C.W.P.A.), which is very popular among the revolutionary workers of Holland. The I.W.R. has had several successful campaigns; it works systematically for an amnesty for the imprisoned and interned Indonesian revolutionaries. At the end of 1927 the membership of the I.W.R. was 3,500.

Work in the I.W.R. was less successful, because the Party neglected this work from the beginning, leaving it to the Wynkoop group. This group has a majority in the I.W.R., and it is endeavouring to use this organisation for its own purposes. The Party has lately been trying to strengthen its work in this organisation. The Party Congress in May, 1926, instructed the Central Committee to reorganise the Party on a factory group basis, first and foremost in big towns. It must be admitted, however, that this work of reorganisation is not yet fully carried out. The Amsterdam local group has organised nuclei in several of the big metal enterprises. These nuclei are functioning, and are also publishing factory newspapers. Some of the nuclei in municipal enterprises also publish factory newspapers. In Rotterdam and in the industrial districts of North Holland the task of setting up factory nuclei was begun only a few months ago.

At the end of 1927 the membership of the Party was about 1,400.

## SWEDEN

### THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**I**N Sweden steps towards capitalist rationalisation are still in progress. Sweden was the first country to reorganise its currency in the post-war period, bringing it back to the pre-war standard by deflation in hundreds of millions, by considerable reductions in wages, and an increased burden of taxation. At the same time big capital has managed to emerge unscathed by means of concentration and rationalisation. Concentration and trustification of capital went on at a rapid pace. Four big banks control over three-fourths of the industry. Rationalisation was particularly carried out in export industry. Industries such as those of paper, food pulp, engineering, etc., are far more productive to-day than they were before the war. On the other hand, the iron industry has been lagging behind, even the section which caters for the home markets showing no technical progress, and having to rely on the protection of tariffs. Nevertheless the year 1927 should be considered as an economically prosperous year. At the same time there was a distinct improvement in the textile industry, whilst ship-building has even passed through a flourishing period.

Co-operation with foreign capital is developing rapidly. Through the Kreuger concern, Swedish economy has become connected with world finance, and in particular with British and American finance (the big international Match Trust, the Swedish-American Investment Corporation, etc.). The paper pulp industry has formed a selling syndicate and reached an agreement with the Finns and the Norwegians for a curtailment of production to the extent of 500,000 tons. Concentration has been carried out also in the woollen industry. The amount of money invested is also high, but since there is not sufficient scope for capital investments within the country, the surplus capital has been flowing abroad (the export of capital has, in 1927, reached the amount of over 200 million kroner).

1927 was a record year for foreign trade. The balance of trade has become favourable since 1922, amounting in 1927 to 63.5 million kroner. The value of exports has increased by 13.5 per cent., though imports showed a smaller increase. The volume of foreign trade has extended by 40 per cent. since 1923.

Agriculture continues depressed. Mortgages have increased since 1921 from 41.7 per cent. to 48.8 per cent. of the assessed value of the land. Prices are low, and there has been a corresponding drop in profits (in many places 2 per cent. and less).

The rate of unemployment is still high, involving 19.1 per cent. of the total membership of the trade unions.

Sweden's foreign policy is following more and more in the wake of England. The efforts towards rapprochement with Finland and the Baltic countries are being energetically pursued.

### THE SITUATION IN THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The Conservative Party (the "Rights") is still the leading bourgeois party (44 deputies in the 1st Chamber and 65 in the 2nd Chamber). This Party has managed to adapt itself to the new "democratic" order ever since the upheaval of 1918; it is still supported by the votes of the petty bourgeois, and partly also of the proletarian electors. In Parliament it acts with remarkable unanimity. Lately, however, there was to be observed a certain estrangement between the representatives of high finance and those of other bourgeois groups. The emergence of an anti-democratic policy, which aims at "desocialisation" and the right of unbridled spoliation is becoming more and more in evidence. In recent years this Party did not succeed in securing power.

The Liberal Party now forms a minority party in the government. It represents the petty bourgeoisie of the lowlands, the middle peasants, the petty officials, and kindred elements. It used to be identified with a certain radicalism, forming the majority party of the bourgeoisie, but it has since developed into a reactionary party. It took over "governmental responsibility" from the Social Democratic Government in June, 1926. This marked the first attempt at the consolidation of the bourgeoisie, an arrangement which was found satisfactory by the other bourgeois parties. Preparations for further co-operation by the bourgeois elements were made by the Government, to take place in the course of the parliamentary elections this year. An increasingly reactionary attitude is being taken by this party towards the working class, which finds its present expression in the projected anti-strike legislation and other attempted repressive legislation.

The Liberal Concentration (Radical) Party, having only four deputies in the 2nd Chamber, is a partner in the coalition government formed by the Liberals. Together they have thirty-three deputies in the 1st and thirty-five in the 2nd Chamber. This Party, which represents the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, after the split in the Left Wing of the bourgeoisie, may be considered as a dwindling party.

The Peasants' Union ("Bondeforbundet") has eighteen deputies in the 1st and twenty-three in the 2nd Chamber. This Party is led by professors and big landowners who, as a rule, content themselves with serving as the mouthpiece of the reactionary Right Wing. Naturally, the socially heterogeneous elements—the big landowners and the small peasants whom the

Party represent—cannot form any basis for an independent peasant policy. Lately there have been signs of a certain “flirting” with the Social Democratic Party.

### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Social democracy has played, without interruption, a dominant role in the labour movement, and in Swedish politics generally. The Social Democratic Party has about 170,000 members, of whom about 85 per cent. are affiliated through the trade unions. In the course of the last ten years it has on five occasions taken part in forming a government, on three of these occasions the government having been headed by the Social Democrats. In June, 1926, when the last Social Democratic government was ousted by the Liberal Ekman government, it did not make the least attempt to put up a fight; nevertheless it endeavoured to create the impression among the large masses that it had been defeated because it had fought for the cause of the working class. The apparent reason was that of a difference of opinion with the bourgeois elements on the question of unemployment relief measures. The S.D.P. managed to make good use of its being in the “opposition,” and made considerable gains in the municipal the parliamentary elections in the autumn of the same year.

This party is now trying to advertise its “oppositional stand” by means of noisy criticisms levelled at the anti-trade union legislation sponsored by the government. Without in any way giving up its allegiance to the principle of “industrial peace,” it tries by means of carrying on a “fight” against the Bill to create the impression among the workers that it was really opposed to this anti-strike measures. In actual fact, however, legislation of this kind was already prepared by the social-democratic minister Moeller in 1925. The leaders of the party gave their support in 1927 to the leaders of the Right on the naval building programme which caused particularly animated discussions among the workers and resulted in emancipating a good many workers from social-democratic illusions.

The Party has 105 deputies in the 2nd Chamber of the Riksdag and 52 in the 1st Chamber, and is now endeavouring to gain in the autumn elections (at least, together with the Communists) the majority in the 2nd Chamber. Yet even now it is announced by prominent leaders of the party that in the event of a “labour majority,” the party would not in any way depart from its present policies. The proclamation of “class conciliation” by the Social Democratic leaders, coupled with the vigorous offensive started by the capitalists, has resulted in the appearance of a Left tendency among a section of the party, which found its most striking expression in the course of the 1927 municipal elections at Stockholm and elsewhere, as well as in the labour disputes of 1928. This Left tendency is also reflected in a so-called

"radical opposition" to the leading elements of the party by some parliamentary deputies and newspaper editors from the industrial districts. This "opposition" has nevertheless no programme of its own, and amounts merely to a struggle for power among the different groups of leaders (Hansson, Engberg-Höglund, etc.).

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

The industrial workers of Sweden are exceptionally well organised. The workers in the various branches of industry (paper mills, mines) are all members of the unions. The national trade union federation has about 400,000 members. It is affiliated to the Amsterdam International and has most reactionary leaders. The transformation of craft unions into industrial unions, decided upon twenty years ago, has not yet been carried out. The leadership of the trade unions is thoroughly reformist and openly advocates the need of "collaboration between the two essential factors of production." The trade union leaders take an active part in the activity of the Labour Office, of the League of Nations, and subscribes more and more openly to the industrial policies pursued by the big financial interests. All strike movements meet with energetic resistance on the part of the central leadership.

No repressive measures have hitherto been taken against the Communists. Nevertheless, the backward elements among the workers have been mobilised in order to prevent the Communists from developing and consolidating their rapidly growing influence. A campaign of innuendo and falsehoods has been commenced, and the reformist leaders are taking the preliminary steps to a vigorous fight against the Communists in the trade unions. Since 1925, after the split in the Party, was of the greatest importance for the movement extending over the whole country. Nevertheless, there were numerous local strikes of considerable proportions, e.g., at Kalmar and Sundsvall (municipal workers). A feature of these strikes was the appearance of organised and armed gangs of blacklegs who were protected by the police companies sent by the Social Democratic Minister. These events afforded an opportunity to the Communist Party to mobilise the workers for the struggle against strike-breaking and Fascism. The Party succeeded in getting about 80,000 oppositional trade unionists to send their representative to the Goteborg Conference in January, 1926.

In 1927 there were no big industrial conflicts, though in December a big lock-out was announced in the mining and paper pulp industries, which started on January 2nd, 1928, and involved 60,000 workers.

### DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

After the set-back experienced by the Party in connection with the Höglund crisis and the split of 1924, the situation within the



Party has steadily improved. Although there are still defects in the Party with regard to firmness and clearness of policy increased unity on the general policy and activity of the Party has been achieved. The attempts at creating sympathy for the Trotskyist opposition have met with no response among the membership, and may be now considered as completely disposed of.

### **The General Activity and Campaigns of the Party.**

Numerous successful campaigns were carried out for the purpose of broadening the basis of the Party among the masses. The general Party mobilisation in the autumn of 1924, shortly after the split in the Party, was of the greatest importance for the development of the Party and was carried out with marked effect. At the same time, chiefly on the initiative of the Y.C.L., an anti-militarist campaign was organised in connection with the autumn manœuvres, when leaflets were distributed among the soldiers, urging them to take no part in any war against Soviet Russia. In connection with the visit of the Finnish President Relander to Stockholm in 1925 a demonstration was organised against the Finnish White Guards.

In the summer of 1925, on the Party's initiative, a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union was organised, consisting of 300 delegates, of whom two-thirds were either Social Democrats or non-Party workers. The delegation was of tremendous importance, and a considerable number of its members were utilised for giving reports throughout the country on their experiences in Soviet Russia. In this manner closer ties were established between the Party and the masses of the workers, as well as between the Swedish working class and the Russian Revolution. In the autumn of the same year a campaign was organised under the slogan of "Establish the Party among the masses," the purpose of which was to strengthen the activity of the members and to carry out the reorganisation of the Party.

After the change of government in 1926 the Party organised a campaign under the slogan of "Labour Front against Bourgeois Front," with the object of forming a united front with the Social Democratic workers from below, in the fight against the "Black-leg Government." At Stockholm the Party won nine seats, increasing its number of representatives by four, and doubling the number of votes received (16,000). Progress was also made by the Party in other towns and industrial centres. In the Riksdag the Party has four deputies in the Second Chamber and one in the First Chamber. The Party is confidently anticipating further progress in the coming autumn elections.

A vigorous part was taken by the Party in the Sacco and Vanzetti campaign. The Party was represented on the Committee, together with the central organisations of the syndicalists and the anarchists. In some places trade union locals and Social Demo-

cratic organisations also participated, and demonstrations were organised of the most imposing kind that had ever been held. There were also organised 24-hour protest strikes, and a lawyer for the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, George Branting (a Social Democrat), was sent to America.

In 1927 the Party celebrated the tenth anniversary of its existence by a campaign under the slogans: Against Imperialism and the War Danger, Against the Employers' Offensive, and for the Interests of the Unemployed. The campaign brought the Party 3,600 new subscribers to the Party Press, and 2,500 new members. In the anti-war campaign the Party attempted to form a united front, but it was joined only by the syndicalists, the anarchists, and some trade unions. In this connection the Party committed the mistake of issuing a manifesto, the contents of which were strongly pacifist. Subsequently, after the intervention of the E.C.C.I., this mistake was put right by the Party.

### **The Activity of the Party in the most Important Industrial Struggles.**

In the autumn of 1924 an attempt was made by the Party to mobilise the working class for a fight around a programme of action (the Oerebro-Programm). The programme, however, was not happily formulated; for instance, it contained the slogan of a 30 per cent. increase in wages at a time when the workers were fighting against most drastic wage reductions. At the close of 1925 the employers strated a vast offensive for bringing down wages, and on February 15th the Employers' Association announced a lock-out of 130,000 workers. The Party urged the Central Executive of the trade unions to proclaim a general strike; but the slogan met with the response of only the most radical workers. The Social Democratic government was able, with the help of the trade union bureaucracy, to settle the conflict in favour of the employers.

In the beginning of 1928 conflicts broke out in the mining and paper pulp industries, in which the Unions were under Communist influence. The conflicts involved about 100 industrial enterprises. In about one-half of these enterprises there were Communist Party organisations. In the paper pulp industry the situation was as follows: the employers had given notice of the expiration of the agreement in order to reduce the wages, which were higher on the average than in the other essential industries. About 4,000 out of the 175,000 workers were to be affected by the wage reductions. The leadership of the union was entirely in the hands of the reformists, who were completely opposed to a fight. The Party laid down the following tactical line: rejection of any arbitration proposal involving any worsening of the working conditions. In the course of the second week of the strike the Central Executive of the union voted in favour of an arbitration

proposal involving a reduction in wages. Nevertheless the Party succeeded in stirring up the masses to activity, and on a vote being taken, the proposal was rejected by 7,000 against 3,000. On February 11, representatives of the workers and of the employers were asked by the government commission to obtain the power necessary to sign an agreement. The reformists did their utmost to secure these powers, but the workers rejected this proposal by 8,000 votes against 2,500. This was described by the bourgeois press as a "Bolshevik triumph."

The Swedish Employers' Association retaliated by declaring a lock-out in the saw-mills on January 30, and after the voting on the question of power to sign an agreement a further lock-out was announced in the paper mills on March 15, 60,000 workers becoming involved in the conflict. The dispute in the paper industry was finally settled on April 8 in favour of the workers.

In the *mining industry* the situation was as follows: the Miners' Federation had given notice of the expiration of the wages agreement concerning the poorly paid workers in the mines of Central Sweden, and demanded a rise in the wages. In the export mines of Norbotten, where the workers were better paid, a sympathetic strike was declared, under the leadership of the Party. On January 23, all the workers at the mines of the Grängesberg Trust came out on strike. The miners were in a fighting mood, which was encouraged in no small degree by the treaty which had been signed between the Russian and the Swedish miners concerning mutual support. The Russian Miners' Union supported the Swedish fight with considerable sums. The influence of the Communist Party in the Swedish miners' unions is very great.

#### **Activity of the Agitprop Department.**

The activity of the Agitprop Department of the Party was weak. After the Höglund split the Party conference in 1924 declared that it was necessary to establish a theoretical review in order to raise the ideological level of the membership, but the financial condition of the Party prevented the realisation of this plan. The last Party conference (1927) again urged the need for the publication of a theoretical review. Similarly the question of a central Party school was repeatedly discussed, but so far only local Party courses have been organised.

The publishing activity of the Party, which was carried on by means of a special publishing department, jointly with the Y.C.L., has been very brisk. A number of minor works by Lenin, as well as by Mark and Engels, and current Communist literature, was published. A special "Socialist Library" in 11 volumes was compiled and widely circulated. A "Popular Calendar" is published yearly, but it bears too much the stamp of a general book of reference, neglected in a certain sense the propaganda for Marxism and Leninism. May Day and Christmas newspapers are also published.

The Party publishes five newspapers, including two dailies. The central organ, "Folkets Dagblad," has been steadily increasing its circulation in the past two years, having now reached 20,000 copies (27,000 on Saturdays), whilst "Norrskensflamman" has an issue of 7,000 copies. The circulation of all the newspapers is constantly growing.

The number of worker-correspondents has increased, but is still insufficient. In some places there are no factory newspapers. The women's paper "Röda Röster" has a circulation of about 5,000 copies. The Party has an influence over the "Faklig Enhet" (organ of the trade union committee) and "Jordfolket" (organ of the peasants' union). The "Partarbetaran" (an organ of information for Party officials) is published monthly. In connection with important events and activities (the military question, workers' delegations to the U.S.S.R., etc.) special brochures and leaflets were published.

### **The Trade Union Activity.**

After the split in 1924 the Party was looked upon with mistrust by the workers organised in the trade unions. Nevertheless the Party has succeeded in playing a big role in the development of an opposition in the trade unions upon a united platform against strike-breaking and Fascism (the Goteberg programme) as well as for the "Kiruna line": trade union unity on a national and international scale, and the fusion of the trade union federation and the syndicalist organisation. At the Goteberg conference (January 23-24, 1926) there were represented about 80,000 trade union members. With a view to the further development of the movement, a Unity Committee of nineteen members was formed, which has been publishing its organ, "Faklig Enhet" (Trade Union Unity) since May, 1925. Although the opposition movement is rather weakly organised as yet, nevertheless the Unity Committee succeeded in carrying through several good campaigns (the collection for the locked-out coal miners in England, relief for the striking raftsmen at Gimo, etc.). The Party took an active part in this work, but apart from these successes the organisational activity of the Party in the trade unions has been weak, and did not correspond to the ideological influence of the Party. It was only in December, 1927, that the trade union department of the C.C. of the Party, with a permanent secretary, was organised. In January, 1928, it was ascertained that among the 1,100 trade unions registered, out of a total of about 5,000, there were 222 fractions with 740 Communist executive members and 11 salaried officials.

### **Activity in the Co-operatives.**

In the co-operative movement the Party does not possess any influence worth mentioning. In some places there are or-

ganised Party fractions active in the consumers' societies, but no appreciable results have been achieved.

### **Work Among the Peasants.**

Work among the peasants has been much neglected owing to the lack of the necessary members. Nevertheless, the "Jord-folkets Förbund," which is under Communist influence, has developed a certain amount of activity, and its organ is published monthly (5,000 copies). The peasants' delegation to the Soviet Union on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary Celebration has done some good educational work among the peasants.

### **Activity in the Mass Organisations.**

Activities have been carried out by the Party during the past year in the non-Party mass organisations (International Working Relief, International Red Aid, workers' sports, workers' culture). The workers' sports movement, which is under Communist influence, is growing at a rapid pace. The I.W.R. has carried out some successful actions, e.g., the collection for China in 1927 and the collection for the lock-out victims in 1928.

### **Work Among the Women.**

The Party has not yet succeeded in attracting to its ranks the women who are working in the factories. It was decided by the last Party conference to instruct the C.C. to take the necessary measures for this, and to organise *women's delegate meetings*. This instruction has not yet been carried out. The Party membership includes 1,800 women (13 per cent.), but the greater majority of these are housewives. The women's paper of the Party is published monthly (5,000 copies).

### **The Activity Among the Youth.**

The activity of the Youth movement has increased during the past year. The Y.L. is progressing, and now numbers about 13,000 members. Its organ, "Stormklockan," appears weekly (150,000 copies).

### **Organisational Situation in the Party.**

Reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei has not yet been carried out. In the last quarter of 1923 there were 9,763 members in 270 local organisations, and in 1926 there were 11,578 members. In 1926 the Party had 638 factory and residential nuclei. In the third quarter of 1927 there were 13,950 Party members paying dues. They were organised in 815 nuclei.

Since that time the membership has grown without interruption. At the present time the Party numbers about 17,000 mem-

pers. The largest group is the metal workers (25 per cent.), followed by the saw-mill workers and the transport workers. There are not more than 100 intellectuals.

The Party is doing its utmost to make the entire Party organisation function better. The most important questions are those of enlivening the "politicalising" the factory nuclei. The district and local committees also cannot as yet be considered as organisations which would be able to lead the organisation properly. This is one of the main reasons why the factory nuclei do not function as they should. Lately the work of the central apparatus has considerably improved.

# NORWAY

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

THE most prominent features of the economic development of Norway in the last few years are: the stabilisation of currency, the growing power of foreign capital, the increasing absorption of industry by the international trusts and the beginning of rationalisation.

The stabilisation of the currency was carried out under enormous difficulties and had a very detrimental effect on industry, agriculture, and particularly on fishing. The gold value of the internal debt which amounted to about 3.5 billion kronen in 1924, is now double that amount, and the interest on it has also doubled.

Of the public debt one third is chargeable to the State and two-thirds to the municipalities, which use 30-50 per cent. of their budgets for interest and repayments. Two hundred and forty-four municipalities now levy higher taxes than the legal maximum (20 per cent.), and several municipalities have been placed under State administration.

Foreign capital is dominant in the chemical industry (aluminium, saltpetre, dyes, etc.), the match industry, and to a considerable extent in the mining industry. The paper and celluloid industry belongs to a Swedo-Finnish Syndicate. Unemployment figures fluctuate between 20,000 and 40,000. In 1927 the number of unemployed workers was 25-30 per cent. of their total number; among those organised in trade unions—20-25 per cent. Wages have been reduced by about 30 per cent. in the last two years.

The keynote of home politics is: accentuated reaction (arbitration-court and penal legislation, control of the municipalities, repeal of Social reforms).

The Storthing elections in 1927 showed that the working class and also a section of the peasantry are beginning to desert the bourgeois camp. The parliamentary position created by the election results, as well as the desire of a section of the bourgeoisie to put the "governmental capacity" of the Norwegian Social Democracy to the test, led to the formation of a government of the Labour Party at the end of January, 1928. But this government existed only 12 days, for the power of finance capital caused its downfall. In regard to foreign politics a growing dependence on Great Britain is noticeable. This was particularly evident in the summer of 1927 when the Party and the Young Communist League distributed a manifesto among the British sailors inviting them

to defend the Soviet Union and to resist intervention in China. At the instigation of the British Government, several leading comrades were arrested and domiciliary searches were made.

### THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES

The three leading bourgeois parties in Norway are: the "Right Liberal Party," the Peasant Party, and the Left Party (Venstre). Of a whole series of petty bourgeois parties (Christian and suchlike) only one, the radical people's party, is represented in the Storting by one deputy. The purely Fascist Party (National Legion) plays hardly any rôle for the time being.

The Conservative Party (Right Liberal) was the government party from 1921. It suffered a serious defeat in the elections of 1927. The Right group is the strongest in the party, and in the last elections the Liberals who represent Fascist tendencies, managed to get their leader, Thommesen, into the Storting. The Party represents the big bourgeoisie and the urban industrialists.

The Liberal Party, "the Left," has been retrogressing since 1912, when it had an absolute majority in the Storting. It exercises considerable influence among peasants, small farmers, and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The Peasant Party is the most reactionary party, and has the support of the peasantry. At the last elections it was the only bourgeois party which increased the number of its representatives in the Storting. It was the first to include struggle against Communism into its programme; it also gave energetic support to anti-labour legislation.

### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Norwegian Social Democratic Party belonged to the Second International till January, 1927; it disaffiliated from it at its fusion with the Centrist Norwegian Labour Party (Tranmaelite), but only provisionally in agreement with the Executive of the Second International. It had no particular influence on the workers. The fusion of the two parties as "Norwegian Labour Party" meant organisational consolidation but without a uniform ideological basis. In the Central Executive of the new amalgamated Labour Party, as well as in the local organisations, friction is continually taking place between the two wings. At the Unity Congress in January, 1927, these differences were noticeable, and even more so at the 1st Trade Union Congress (December, 1927), the purely Social Democratic tendency being able to increase its influence. However, there are strong tendencies in the ranks of the Party against Cabinet-Socialism and trade union reformism. These



tendencies were expressed, for instance, in the collaboration between Communists and the Left tendency in the Labour Party at the recent Congress of the trade unions.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS

The keynote of the situation in the trade union organisations was, and is still, struggle between revolutionary and reformist trade union policy. This struggle found vent in divergence of opinion concerning international relations and in the struggle for trade union unity. The Trade Union Congress in 1925 showed that the Norwegian working class will have nothing to do with Amsterdam. The efforts of the reformists to induce the Norwegian trade unions to affiliate to Amsterdam harmonised with the efforts of the Second International to bring the political labour movement in Norway under its leadership. The appearance of the Norwegian trade union leaders at the various trade union conferences which were directed against the reactionary trade union movement, but particularly against the trade union movement of the Soviet Union, means a decisive break with the decisions of the Congress of 1925.

At the Congress of 1927, at which the C.P.N. had 30 per cent. of the votes at its disposal, the question of international relations was the centre of the discussions. Ideologically, Communists together with Left elements dominated the Trade Union Congress. Nevertheless, reformists were victorious in the elections. The C.P.N. brought two representatives into the new Secretariat.

The results of the Congress show that the isolation of Communists in trade unions has come to an end. They are at the same time a proof of an orientation to the Left. In this respect the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union were also of considerable importance.

At the Unity Conference of the Russian, Norwegian and Finnish national organisations, which took place in Copenhagen, February, 1928, an agreement for joint work with the Soviet trade unions was decided upon against the votes of the Norwegian and Finnish Amsterdammers, and resolutions to this effect were passed. Although the reformist majority of the Secretariat of the Norwegian national organisation is sabotaging the ratification of the Copenhagen agreement, an overwhelming majority of organised workers is for its endorsement.

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE C.P. OF NORWAY

The Party split in 1923, when the fraction of the International left the Norwegian Labour Party and formed the Communist Party, was not a clean split between the revolu-

tionary and the reformist wing. Reformist and vacillating elements (Halvard, Olsen, Olav Scheffö and others) also came into the Communist Party, and this considerably influenced the internal situation in the Party. At the Second Party Congress in May, 1925, the Party succeeded in overcoming trade union reformism in its ranks through the expulsion of Halvard Olsen, who is to-day a leader of the Norwegian Amsterdammers. Then came the struggle with Tranmael.

Tranmael's slogan in 1926, "organisational union of the working class," found an echo among the opportunist elements who had remained in the Party. With Scheffö, Monssen and Støestad at the head, a fraction was organised in the Party for the purpose of amalgamating with the Norwegian Labour Party and the Norwegian Social Democratic Party. This compelled the Party to expel some of these elements. Not a single member followed them. Against this union on a Social Democratic basis the C.P. made an attempt to bring about a real class union, without much success however.

The reformist elements in the Party Executive, headed by Scheffö, came gradually into collision with the Party because of their Social-Democratic orientation. This was particularly evident at the formation of the government in January, when the small reformist group headed by Scheffö openly supported the Social-Democratic Government. Events also took the Party Executive by surprise, and it was not able to re-act immediately and energetically to the "Labour Government" and to Scheffö's support of it. But these shortcomings were soon remedied. As a result of this Scheffö, Stand and Jeanette Olsen left the Party. By getting rid of the reformist ballast which was paralysing the executive, the Party was given a new lease of life. It made a clear stand and the whole Party rallied round it. It is now on the way to becoming a strong and healthy Party. The Students group, "Mot Dag," which a few years ago was admitted to the Party on trial, has now left the Party (30-40 students), but continues to be in sympathy with it. Part of the intellectuals have remained in the Party and are now doing good Party work.

At the Parliamentary Elections in the autumn of 1927, when the Party did not put up candidates everywhere, the Communist Party polled 40,000 votes and secured three seats. This is a setback compared with the two previous elections. However, the subsequent successes of the Party in the trade unions show that the reduced poll at the elections has not weakened the trade union positions of the Party.

Apart from the election campaigns, the most important campaigns of the Party in the last two years were: in support of the British General Strike, against penal legislation (and the trade union legislation), against the war danger,

and the campaign carried on in connection with the "Union Congress of the working class."

At the elections to the Union Congress we secured 400 representatives on a free basis against 800 reformist representatives. The struggle of the Party for trade union unity was always linked up with any industrial struggle.

### INDUSTRIAL WORK

The last two years brought many industrial struggles which, both in 1926 and 1927, affected the majority of organised workers. Employers demanded a 15 per cent. wage reduction, 2-years wage agreements to be regulated twice according to the index. The Party energetically took up the struggle against the demands of the employers. Although it was not possible to prevent the wage reduction altogether, one year wage agreements without index regulations were arrived at. Among the industrial struggles of the last two years the struggles of the agricultural labourers and foresters which were carried on for the right of association and for better wages and labour conditions deserve special mention. In these struggles also our comrades took a leading part. In connection with these struggles, a new feature was the participation of a section of the peasantry.

Fraction work in the trade unions is far from adequate. One must, however, admit that work in the trade unions before and during the last trade union congress was good. The formation of trade union fractions on a national scale is also progressing slowly but surely.

### PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

The Agitprop has been very active, but its work has still many defects. Agitprop work is mainly limited to the centre, whereas local agitprop departments, with a few exceptions (Bergen, Drontheim), are doing nothing. Moreover, the work is certainly not systematic enough. One of the immediate tasks is the creation of a well-functioning apparatus.

In regard to the activity of the agitprop, special mention should be made of the organisation of a series of campaigns (anti-war, election, trade union unity campaigns, and others), and also the organisation of a series of courses which dealt with present political and trade union questions.

The Party has now five dailies with a circulation of 30,000, nucleus newspapers which are published once or twice a week, and about twenty factory newspapers. The newspapers are now controlled from the centre and are much better made up. The publishing department of the Party, which has to work under adverse financial conditions, has nevertheless published

a considerable number of books and pamphlets of a theoretical, political and trade union character.

The Workers' Correspondence Movement is not very developed. However, an improvement has taken place also in this sphere: several newspapers have co-ordinated their worker correspondents.

### WORK IN OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Work in Co-operatives, which have about 100,000 members and cater for about one-sixth of the population, has not been very great. In connection with the trade union struggles, the Party has advocated full utilisation of co-operatives during strikes. The Central Board of the co-operatives is decidedly Social-Democratic.

The Workers' Sports Movement in Norway, which has greatly developed in the last few years, has now about 30,000 members. Our positions in the sports league are now so strong that the Social-Democrats threaten to split the league.

The Second Party Conference in 1925 laid down the lines for our work among the working peasant population and among the agricultural labourers and foresters. At the initiative of our Party which was opposed by the reformists, the agricultural labourers' and foresters' union was organised in the summer of 1927. It has now already over 5,000 members and several of our comrades are on the executive.

The position of the small peasantry is very difficult. The Party has taken the initiative in the organisation of the small peasants for a joint struggle for debt reduction or for a two years' moratorium. A series of municipal conferences were also organised, and on several occasions it has been possible to act jointly with the local organisations of the Norwegian Labour Party in spite of the opposition of the Social-Democratic leaders.

Also in regard to the fishermen, the Communist Party brought forward a series of demands to ease the hard lot of this class of workers; it has also taken steps towards the organisation of the fishermen for a defensive. There are prospects of successful work among peasants and fishermen.

Work Among Women.—Very little has been done to capture women in industry and in the trade unions, the social composition of the women members being a great obstacle. Although women constitute 19.7 per cent. of the 8,000 strong Party membership, 90 per cent. of them are housewives.

Communist work among women is limited to activity in the so-called Comrade Clubs, in Oslo and Bergen and in the Housewives' League. It goes without saying that women workers in enterprises cannot be captured by this activity.

Mostly owing to internal dissensions, the Party has not succeeded in starting women delegate meetings. Another obstacle in the way of work among women is the exit of the head of the women's department in the C.P., Jeanette Olsen, from the Party. Since the International Women's Day in 1926, the Party has been publishing a monthly women's organ "Gnisten."

In regard to organisation work, the C.P. of Norway has much to its credit during the report period. At the time of the Fifth Congress the C.P. of Norway had 7,000 members. By July 1, 1927, it had already 8,000. The registration carried out by the Party in the middle of 1927 has produced the following data *re* the social composition of 3,947 members: 59.9 per cent. manual workers, 12.4 per cent. agricultural labourers and foresters, 17.4 per cent. housewives, 4 per cent. artisans and 6.3 per cent. civil servants and intellectuals. The distribution of these 3,947 members in nuclei was as follows: 21 per cent. in factory nuclei, 19 per cent. in street nuclei, and 60 per cent. in local organisations. 52.8 of the registered 3,947 Party members belonged to trade unions. Of these 52.8 per cent.—13 per cent. (or every fifth member of the Party) held responsible posts in the trade union movement. One of the weak points in the organisation work of the C.P. of Norway was the inadequate work of district and local committees. The circulation of the Party press reached 26,000 by January, 1928 (the Party has 13 newspapers). The development of factory newspapers is inadequate. The C.C. mentions 14 factory newspapers with a circulation of 1,200. As a rule factory newspapers are published very irregularly.

# DENMARK

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**W**HEN in 1924 a social democratic government came into power in Denmark the stabilisation of capitalist economy was taken in hand systematically. This process can be divided into three parts: 1.—*Stabilisation of the Money Standard.* With American help and by means of a rigorous taxation policy the krone was soon brought from 50 per cent. to par. 2.—*Radical Limitation of Expenditure for Social Purposes,* a task carried out to the full by the large-farmer government which succeeded the social democratic government. This was done firstly through the reduction of civil servants' salaries, as well as through the discontinuance of extended unemployment benefit; also by the reduction of contributions to the unemployment funds and by stopping the benefit for the unemployed in occupations where strikes took place. This marked anti-labour legislation was carried without serious resistance on the part of the social democrats. But other means were also used to deal the working class a blow, as, for instance, the law "for the defence of industrial peace," a penal law which restricts the freedom of action of the trade unions. 3.—*A Protectionist Tariff Policy in favour of Industries Unable to Compete with Imported Goods.* The process of rationalisation and the attack on wages were linked up with this measure. Although Danish industry is technically backward and divided into many small and medium enterprises, it is fairly centralised in regard to its capital. About 25 big capitalists control three-quarters of the entire share capital.

In 1927 the unfavourable trade balance was on the increase. The increase of imports is mainly made up of coal, pig iron, semi-manufactured metal and textile goods. The percentage of unemployment is very high: in 1920-26, 20 per cent., in 1926, 29.8 per cent., and in 1927 31.6 per cent. of the workers were unemployed. The following industries are particularly affected by unemployment:—Textiles, boot-making, tobacco and wood-working.

In agriculture, which forms the basis of the Danish economy, net profits are small in spite of increased gross-turnover. The explanation for this is: (1) the fact that the value of the krone was raised to par; (2) higher rates and taxes and loan interest; (3) reduction in the price of bacon and butter; (4) decreased profitability of pig rearing (low selling price of pigs and high price of forage). In the fishing industry there is talk of increasing difficulties caused by permitting Norwegian competition

to the Greenland fishing area, and there is a demand for State support.

The enormous dependence of Denmark on American capital is very noticeable. However, economic connection with Great Britain is even closer because she is the main purchaser of Danish agricultural produce.

Also in regard to foreign policy Denmark's orientation is towards Great Britain. There is continual serious friction with the Faroe Islands and with Iceland because of the strong aspirations there for autonomy. These questions and the freedom of the waters around Greenland (a Danish preserve) give continuous cause for chauvinist conflicts between Norwegians and Danes.

The present Madsen-Mygdal large-farmer government is a minority government. It has, however, the support of all the bourgeois parties because of its reactionary and anti-labour programme. There are in point of fact understandings existing between all the bourgeois parties, including the social democrats. This harmony is at times disturbed by the Conservative demand for more effective tariffs, to which the agrarians are opposed because this would raise the prices of articles which peasants need most. These tariff-demands also have the support of the social democrats. Sönderjylland (Northern Schleswig) is a cause of considerable worry to the Danish bourgeoisie. This is also the sphere of action of the autonomist, fascist peasant leader Cornelius Petersen.

### THE SITUATION IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party is moving more and more to the Right and is a faithful ally of the bourgeoisie. With its big staff of paid functionaries, in good positions, it becomes more and more alienated from the real proletariat. Although it proclaims itself a friend of labour, it is currying favour with the petty bourgeoisie, who constitute a considerable part of its electors. In the Second International it belongs to the ultra-Right wing. Its attitude towards the working class is reflected in the activities of the "Socialist" government, from which just one example may be given. During the big industrial struggle in 1925 it even obtained the king's sanction to an emergency law against the workers on strike, which did not come into force only because the strike was called off. The Party Congress in Vejle, 1927, unanimously endorsed the policy of the social democratic leaders. The Congress also approved "rationalisation as a means against unemployment," and pointed out that factory councils must act as an "institution of common collaboration and peace within industry." In regard to the Soviet Union the extremely strong social democratic press (60 dailies) is a worthy branch of the Berlin "Vorwärts" and frequently surpasses the latter. In

order to sabotage the class struggle, the social democrats endeavour also to divide the trade unions into groups and sections and to keep alive the craft spirit.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Almost 96 per cent. of the industrial workers are organised in trade unions, but only 5 per cent. of agricultural labourers. The remainder consist of those who cannot be organised and those who have stopped paying membership dues. In order not to lose their influence over the masses, the reformists and opportunists have split the trade union movement. By means of conciliation boards and compulsory arbitration, the reformists have impaired the fighting strength of the unions. As to the question of international unity, the Executive of the Trade Union Federation belongs to the Right wing of Amsterdam. But this is certainly not true of all trade union executives. One of the biggest wage struggles broke out in 1925; it was led by the unskilled workers' union, which is represented in all industries and is the biggest trade union in Denmark, having 85,000 members. The then social democratic government showed its true colours when, after an eleven weeks' struggle, the Union drew the transport workers' group into the strike. This affected export capital, and immediately the famous emergency legislation was passed. The inactivity of the bureaucrats of the federation during the whole struggle and the hostility of the social democrats induced the unskilled workers' union to leave the ranks of the Trade Union Federation, so that the latter embraces now only a minority of the trade unions.

### LEFT TENDENCIES IN THE WORKING CLASS.

While organised political opposition is not yet noticeable within the Social Democratic Party, and is no more than a discordant note, the growth of an opposition has made much more headway in the trade union movement. For instance, three Danish trade union organisations have already sent delegations to the Soviet Union. On their return they published a manifesto in defence of the U.S.S.R. and the necessity for trade union unity. Also several unions and delegates to the congresses of the brother trade unions in Soviet Russia. The demand of the Communists for effective measures against the social policy of the government met with such response that the Trade Union Federation was compelled in 1927 to convene the first National Trade Union Conference for the discussion of these questions. Another sign of left orientation is the formation in the capital a year ago of a cartel of the oppositional trade union clubs. This cartel, which publishes a monthly organ, embraces at present 15 clubs, one of which in the provinces has a membership



of 1,085. The cartel holds 53 leading offices in the trade unions and is developing rapidly.

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

#### (a) The Situation Within the Party.

The Enlarged Party Plenum of July, 1927, which removed, after a brief but thorough discussion, the Helbach Executive, which was sabotaging all real Communist work, appointed a provisional executive and began in all seriousness to consolidate the movement in accordance with the advice and instructions of the E.C.C.I. The Congress in August put an end to the prolonged and almost chronic Party dispute between the social democratic Left, and its tendency in the former executive and the Party majority which was on the side of the Comintern. Since then the Party has been developing. It has become more active, its influence is spreading and there is a new spirit in the ranks of the membership. The Party has also begun to improve its organisation by drawing into its ranks purely proletarian sections of industrial workers.

#### (b) General Activity and Campaigns.

The Party did good work in the campaign against the imperialist attack on the Soviet Union. It organised mass meetings in the capital and fraternisation meetings with the German and Swedish workers. It was the leader in the Sacco and Vanzetti campaign, and was for weeks the centre of the attention and sympathy of the workers in spite of the open sabotage of the social democrats and the trade union bureaucrats. The Party and the Young Communist League did splendid educational work among the crews of the British, Polish, Italian and Dutch fleets. A very successful campaign was carried on against the reactionary measures of the government in regard to the unemployed. Unity committees were formed in the trade unions. Effective mass propaganda was carried on against the white terror, class justice and the assassination of Comrade Voikov.

#### (c) Agitation and Propaganda Activity.

Systematic work in this sphere began only in August, 1927. A sub-department for agitprop and literature has been formed in the C.C. The literature committee has been very successful with Norwegian, Swedish, and also German revolutionary literature, and has lately also published a whole series of books. A central evening school in Copenhagen is now in its second winter. Short winter courses dealing with Marxist-Leninist subjects were organised in some of the provincial branches. The central agitprop sends information and instruction material to all departments and nuclei every fortnight.

The Party has only a weekly organ, to which a relatively

big number of workers' correspondents contribute. Within eight months its circulation has increased over 2,000 copies. The following newspapers are to a great extent under Communist editorship: "The Lantern," monthly organ of the Seamen's Club, circulation about 2,000; "Trade Union Struggle," monthly organ of the Cartel of trade union clubs, circulation 1,500; "Working Woman's Educational Bulletin," monthly organ of the "Women's Education League," circulation about 2,000; "Struggle," a youth newspaper published irregularly, and the "Trumpet," an irregular publication of the Young Pioneers. Factory newspapers do not as yet exist. Printed branch newspapers had to be discontinued.

#### **(d) Work in Trade Unions.**

This work is now carried on according to the decisions of the II. International Org. Conference. A central trade union committee has initiated the organisation of local committees, it has carried out a registration of all trade union members, and has already amalgamated the most important groups into fractions which are instructed and controlled by it, as are also the leaders of the branch fractions. Thus, work is being given a definite form in all spheres (departments, cartels, unions, clubs, enterprises); it has greatly helped to increase the influence of the Party among the masses.

#### **(e) Work Among the Rural Population.**

This work was almost entirely neglected or carried on in an abstract fashion up to August, 1927. The Party is elaborating at present an agrarian programme and has already worked out provisional directions for work among agricultural labourers (particularly organising them in a trade union), and work within Cornelius Petersen's (Sønderjylland) separatist-fascist movement. Generally speaking, the Party is endeavouring to link up the struggle of the cottagers and small peasants against their oppressors with the struggle of the industrial workers.

#### **(f) Work in the Non-Party Mass Organisations.**

The decisions made in this direction by the Congress have not yet been carried out. Among the few exceptions are several sport leagues in the south of the country and also the Workers' Wireless League.

#### **(g) Work Among Women.**

Systematic work among women has been only possible since the Party Congress. The theses on this work dealt with the task of driving the working women into the class struggle and

the manner in which it is to be done. There is still within the Party a certain amount of Conservative resistance in this sphere which has to be overcome, and this is now being done. The party has a certain influence in the union of Women Industrial Workers, on the one hand in the strong metal workers' section of this union, and on the other hand through the women's Educational League.

The organisational work of the Communist Party of Denmark has, until recently, been very weak, and only since the latter half of 1927, as a result of direct assistance given by the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I., have more or less considerable changes been effected. At the time of the Fifth Congress it had 750 members; on March 1st, 1928, its membership had increased to 1,341. According to the figures of May, 1927, the membership being 969, we have the following social composition of the Party members: workers 69 per cent., office employees, etc., 13.2 per cent., housewives 9.7 per cent., semi-proletarians 4.9 per cent., agricultural labourers 1.7 per cent., intellectuals 1.2 per cent., bourgeois elements 0.3 per cent. (3 members). According to the same data 36 per cent. of the Party members were employed in factories and 13.7 per cent. in factories employing more than 50 workers each. The reorganisation of the Communist Party of Denmark on the factory nuclei basis began systematically in January, 1928. Up to that date the Party had only 2 real factory nuclei. Until lately, the Party had no factory newspapers whatever. The trade union fractions also began to organise in January, 1928, on the basis of the decisions of the Second Organisation Conference. Systematic construction in the entire Party apparatus has begun since January, 1928. The circulation of the press, which in January, 1928, was 6,500 copies, indicates the connection of the Party with the masses.

# CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**T**HE general character of the economic situation of Czecho-Slovakia is that of capitalist stabilisation, with a particularly good position. In the most important basic industries production in 1927 exceeded pre-war figures. Agriculture in 1927, with the exception of oats, records an increase in the total harvest and also in the harvest per acre: wheat, corn and barley consequently furnished a new surplus of one and a quarter billion kronen, due to the new corn taxes. (A Czecho-Slovakian krone equals  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

The Economist of the Communist Party, L. Freund, in a survey of profits on capital, estimates the variable capital of Czecho-Slovakian economy at 24.2 billion kronen, and the surplus value at 49.2 billion, which is tantamount to a surplus value rate of 200 per cent. Of this surplus value, 37.3 billion remained in the country for purposes of consumption and accumulation. With a national wealth of 400 billions, this means profits at the rate of 10 per cent.

Investments in industry and agriculture have increased tremendously. The concentration of capital has made great progress (cartels and syndicates, amalgamation of banks). Czecho-Slovakian capital also has a big share in international cartels, while a marked feature is the progressive linking up of Czecho-Slovakian and German industries.

Despite the favourable economic situation and rationalisation, wages did not go up in 1927; they are to-day even lower than in 1924. The wage index, in comparison with 1913, is 825 at the most favourable estimate, as against a retail price index of 920. To this must be added the rise in rents which followed upon the repeal of the rent protection law, and also the increase in mass taxes. The result is that to-day, in comparison with pre-war times, the average consumption of meat has declined by 29 per cent., of smoked meats, etc., by 49 per cent., and of bakery goods, milk and eggs by 27 per cent.; to make up for this, much more black bread and potatoes are being consumed. Thus we see on the one hand the increase of profits, and on the other the worsening of the conditions of the working classes.

### The Domestic Policy.

This is characterised by the political co-ordination of the Czech and German bourgeoisie under the leadership of the agrarians and clericals, and by the government of this bourgeois bloc. This government bloc is conducting a stabilisation policy

with relentless brutality. It has raised the agrarian tariffs and increased the burden of taxes on the masses, while it has greatly reduced the taxes for the capitalists. The revenue of the local governments (village, district and rural) was considerably reduced, thereby further diminishing their social services. Through the introduction of an "administration reform" municipal social insurance has been almost completely wiped out and all public administration turned over to the State bureaucracy. The suffrage was restricted; the police and passport regulations were made more stringent. The donations of the State to the Church were raised and a new Education law is now being planned which will place the schools under the supervision of the priests even more than at present. The latest act of the government majority is the worsening of the already miserable social insurance laws of 1924.

### Foreign Policy.

The outstanding factors are: the conclusion of a concordat with the Vatican; the defeats which rapidly succeeded one another in the Little Entente Policy (the Rothermere Campaign, patronising of Hungary by Mussolini, and defeat in the Hungarian arms smuggling affair); and the sabotage of the establishment of normal political and economic relations with the Soviet Union. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Benes, who, backed by Masaryk, is tolerated as a "Socialist" in the bourgeois bloc government, is alternately the puppet of England and France.

The bourgeois bloc government is protected against the growing resistance of the working class only by the reformists, who circumvent every serious struggle of the masses against this regime, and who endeavour to avoid all united front mass actions against the worsening of social insurance, which they were compelled to join under the pressure of the masses. The policy of the reformists is directed solely to participation in a new coalition government.

The basis tendency of domestic policy is expressed in the determined endeavour of the bourgeoisie to push forward their stabilisation measures. The so-called Left Bloc parties (Masaryk-Benes tendency) are endeavouring to widen and consolidate the basis of the Bourgeois Bloc Government for this purpose, by drawing the reformist parties into it. As to foreign policy, the government oscillates between Britain and France.

### THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The strongest and the leading party of the Bourgeois Bloc is the Czech-Agrarian Party. Although it includes the predominant masses of rural Czechs and is also fairly strong in the towns, its leadership and policy are exclusively big agrarian and

capitalist. The Agrarian Party is at the same time the strongest capitalist party, dominating a large part of the State as well as of the military apparatus.

Then comes the National Democracy, the party of Kramars, which has, owing to its numerical strength, and as the party of industrial and banking capital, moved practically into second place. This party was organised in 1925 as a result of the secession of those sections of the intelligentsia and employees who supported Masaryk and sympathised with him (foundation of the "National Labour Party"). It was weakened in 1927 by the political separation of the Fascists, who split into a Bohemian and a Moravian wing.

The Czech Clericals, who gained heavily in 1925, are now experiencing an internal struggle with their labour supporters and have as a result of this suffered losses in the recent municipal elections.

The Slovakian Clericals lost a certain amount of support during the elections, owing to the disillusionment of their autonomously inclined supporters, as a result of the policy of the Government. This forced them to sharpen their relations with the other government parties.

All bourgeois Czech parties are vigorously strengthening and arming their fighting organisations (Peasant Cavalry, Nationalist "Sokol" and Clerical "Orel"—gymnasts—and Slovakian "Home Guards"), for the further suppression of the working classes.

The German Agrarians have been weakened by a nationalist secession which was led by two of their deputies who have been deprived of their mandates, but the extent of this secession cannot yet be estimated. The German Clericals seem to be better able to cope with their tasks. Although both German government parties are suffering losses owing to both their social and national policy, these have not undermined their position or changed their policy. Neither the German Nationalists (a party of the urban bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and employees under capitalist leadership), nor the German National Socialists (Hakenkreuzler) who have support among the small peasants, employees and also sections of the workers, derive any real strength from it. The opposition in both of these parties is in no way radical or of a determined national character.

In Slovakia the Magyar Agrarians and Christian-Socialists, after flirting with the bourgeois bloc, have become a "loyal" opposition. The Czech Agrarians are trying to win support among the Magyar farmers in Southern Slovakia. Among the Slovakian population the Czech Agrarians, as well as the Czech Clericals, are competing with the Slovakian Nationalists and Clericals. In Carpathian-Ukraine the Czech Agrarians dominate the bourgeois political life by means of the bureaucratic apparatus of the State.

**THE SOCIALIST (REFORMIST) PARTIES.**

The Czech Social-Democrats, upon withdrawing from the government, were able to regain their working class support and also gained ground among the petty bourgeoisie. They have again organised meetings and demonstrations and have been in sharp opposition in parliament. As great as is their satisfaction over the consolidation of their party, is their fear that the mass movement may grow over their heads and result in their not being able to participate in the government majority. They therefore flatly refuse to join the workers' united front, and even when they are forced by the masses into joint action, they immediately make plans to sabotage it. Apart from this, they are seeking to find new combinations for a government majority in which they also would have a place.

The German Social-Democrats, owing to the withdrawal of their Czech comrades from the Government, have again consolidated their forces among the workers, and as a result of the government policy of the German bourgeois parties, they have won back a part of their post-war petty bourgeois support which they lost after 1920. A factor of the greatest significance is that in the Reichenberg district they can in no way make a stand against the Communists, while in their stronghold, West Bohemia, and also in North-West Bohemia, they are constantly losing working class support, which is passing to the Communists.

In order to strengthen their position among the workers, and also among the bourgeoisie, as the future coalition party, the two parties held in the beginning of 1928 a "unity congress," which, however, only expressed a desire to unite, without bringing about real unification on any political question. While the German Social-Democrats have completely surrendered the right of national self-determination and have adopted the position of loyal opposition, the Czech Social-Democrats cling to the idea of an all-national Czech government coalition against the Germans. The only positive result of this Social-Democratic "unity" is an intensified struggle against the Communists and against the Soviet State.

The Czech National Socialists, who in 1927 were conspicuous mostly in connection with bribery trials, suffered a loss in the secession of a Fascist wing, which was, however, not of any special significance. Through the Minister Benes they are bound up with the government, hence they are an even more loyal opposition than the Social-Democrats. They also are trying to exceed the latter in the race for Ministerial seats.

**STATUS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN  
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.**

According to the figures of the State Statistical Bureau in

Prague, the number of workers organised in trade unions on January 1st, 1927, totalled 1,671,250. Compared with January 1st, 1926, this represents a decline of 37,348, viz., 2.2 per cent. This decline is to be accounted for to a large extent by the reformist trade union policy, which is extremely injurious to the interests of the workers.

The trade union movement in Czecho-Slovakia is appallingly split up. It is not only split nationally, but also according to religious beliefs, and inside the various nationalities also according to the workers' parties.

On January 1st, 1923, there were 1,346,615 members organised in eleven central trade union bodies. On January 1st, 1927, there were 1,451,410 members organised in 13 central union bodies. In addition, 322,033 and 219,840 respectively were organised in unions not affiliated with any central body. The International General Trade Union Federation (affiliated with the R.I.L.U.) has 196,509 members. Its membership fluctuates to an extraordinary extent.

The endeavours of the Amsterdam International to bring about unity between the two Amsterdam central bodies of Czecho-Slovakia have thus far been entirely futile. It is only quite lately that a so-called "superstructure" was created in the form of a joint commission: This commission, known as the German Trade Union Commission of Reichenberg, sends its representatives to the Executive of the Prague Czech Trade Union Federation, and pays certain dues to the latter, in return for which the Czech union transmits to the Amsterdam International the membership dues for the German Union. These two unions have a membership of about 540,000. This sort of unity is, of course, only a very transparent manœuvre for the purpose of holding back the workers by offering in its place a sham unity from real trade union unity.

### DIFFERENTIATION IN THE WORKING CLASS.

The Leftward development in the Czecho-Slovakian working class stands out clearly in the important campaigns of the C.P. and in practically all elections (parliament, municipal, factory committee). The mobilisation of large masses of workers by the C.P. in its various campaigns is a definite indication of the Leftward development. But the various elections show still more clearly, even numerically, the Leftward swerve of the workers. Since the parliamentary elections in 1927, where, notwithstanding the severe inner party crisis, which has only just been overcome, the C.P. obtained almost a million votes and stood out as the strongest workers' party and the second strongest political party. The rapidly growing differentiation among the working class was also shown in the recent general municipal elections (October, 1927). The bourgeois parties, especially the reactionary government parties of the national minorities, almost all lost votes,



whereas the C.P. and the reformist parties—the latter to a greater extent than the C.P.—increased their votes practically everywhere.

In Prague, for example, the relationship of forces is the following:—

Workers' Parties ... 215,467 votes, 52 mandates.

Bourgeois Parties ... 205,194 votes, 48 mandates.

The election returns in the provinces present a similar picture.

The losses of the bourgeois parties in the municipal elections tend to show that fairly large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and also workers, are leaving the organisations of the bourgeoisie because they are disillusioned by the reactionary course of the Bourgeois Bloc government, and are going over to Social-Democracy, which, thanks to its sham opposition, is still able to create illusions among these elements. Apart from this, Social-Democracy naturally also attracts sections of new voters, but here also more from among petty bourgeois elements than workers. Thus, Social-Democracy in the municipal elections won over to its side the petty bourgeois elements who are deserting the petty bourgeois organisations and some workers who are petty bourgeois inclined, and new voters. The C.P., on the other hand, gained factory workers who either came over from Social-Democracy or else were exercising a vote for the first time in this election, viz., the youth. Even more than in the municipal elections, this was shown by a whole series of factory committee elections, particularly in the most important industrial district of Czecho-Slovakia, in Ostrau, where Fascism had taken root in the factories. Here we saw the Leftward development, the swerving of the workers away from the Fascists, Christian, and other reformist organisations towards the Communist Party.

## DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE C.P.

### The Inner Party Development.

After the Fifth World Congress and the Second Congress of the C.P.C.-S. (1924-25) the Party went through a serious crisis caused by a Right opposition (the so-called Bubnik Opposition), which vigorously resisted the decisions of the Supreme authorities of the C.I. and the C.P.C.-S., being encouraged and supported in this by the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats. These inner-party struggles continued for several months, but after a bloc of the Left wing and the Centre had been formed to fight the Right danger and carry out the decisions of the Fifth World Congress, the atmosphere was cleared in the Party and it was possible to overcome the crisis in a comparatively short time. Bubnik's main positions were soon destroyed and he and his friends were removed from the party. Shortly after the parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1925, when the Bubniks polled 7,000 votes against almost 1,000,000 polled by the

C.P.C.-S., they liquidated the independent C.P. and its organ and joined the Social-Democratic Party.

The Third Party Congress of the C.P.C.-S., (autumn, 1925) voted unanimously in favour of the bloc and also for the decisions of the Fifth Enlarged Executive. In the discussion, the delegates (80 per cent. of whom were factory workers) demanded increased activity, complete break with Social-Democratic traditions, and a thorough bolshevisation of the party. The Third Party Congress was able to deal thoroughly with the burning question of the trade unions, and to pass a fairly clear resolution thereon. It was also at this Party Congress that the fusion of the Independent Socialist Labour Party (Vrbensky Group) with the C.P. was effected.

The period between the Second and the Fourth Party Congresses can be considered a period of consolidation in the C.P.C.-S. While the period between the Second and Third Party Congress was a period of vigorous fractional struggles in which the party endeavoured to free itself under considerable difficulties and at the price of enormous sacrifices, from the remnants of its Social-Democratic past, the period between the Third and Fourth Party Congress was marked by a more active political life, successful campaigns (see section on Campaigns) and organisational activity (reorganisation of the party on a factory nucleus basis). The bolshevisation of the party is making slow but sure progress in all spheres.

Thus the Fourth Party Conference of the C.P.C.-S. (March, 1927) met under the slogan of the consolidation and entrenchment of the party. All decisions were passed with complete unanimity. The party was able to record that the membership, which had declined to 72,000 between the Second and Third Party Congresses, had now once more risen to 138,000. The Fourth Party Congress showed marked progress in that the comrades did not allow themselves to be dazzled by the successes achieved; they recognised the shortcomings of the party, took part in self-criticism and showed an earnest endeavour to work for the elimination of its deficiencies.

During the period after the Fourth Party Congress, a still more noticeable increase in party work has taken place.

To summarise, it may be said that the C.P.C.-S. has in general consolidated its position. But this, of course, does not mean that in the further course of the Bolshevisation of the party deviations will not take place. Recent events have shown that we must reckon with the possibility of Right as well as ultra-Left tendencies: the Right Opposition which is to be found in the co-operatives (Kovanda and Dr. Eder) raised its head in Brünn, and after its expulsion from the party organised its own executive and Press for a struggle against the party; in the Kladno organisation and in some O.B.U. groups a Right tendency, and

in the German districts ultra-Left moods became noticeable. But there are no immediate dangers in the C.P.C.-S.

The party is now confronted by the concrete task of capturing in the immediate future a position of leadership in all fields of the labour movement of Czecho-Slovakia. The fulfilment of this task depends to a great extent upon the correct solution of the trade union question.

### **The Trotskyist Opposition.**

In connection with the activity of the Opposition in the C.P.S.U. two oppositional tendencies became apparent in the C.P.C.-S., the ultra-Left group (Neurath, Michalec, and Dr. Pollak), and the opportunists (Hula, Görlich and Co.). The former criticised the party and the Comintern from the Left, the latter from the Right. After their expulsion from the party these two small groups combined into a joint bloc in order—as they declared—to fight more effectively against their common foe: the C.P.C.-S., the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. They have announced their intention to work jointly until this struggle has been fought to a finish, until they are victorious—only then will they deal with their own differences. This combined Trotskyist Opposition in Czecho-Slovakia has also founded a joint weekly paper under the title of “Rudy Prapor” (Red Flag), which appears in a German and a Czech edition.

The Communist Party has weathered these struggles without being shaken. The Opposition had and still has no support worth mentioning apart from a few intellectuals and some functionaries. In the German district where—mostly for sentimental reasons—a certain interest was to be observed in the Trotskyist opposition, the oppositional moods and vacillations have, to a great degree, been overcome by an educational campaign extending to the lowest nuclei. When the question of the Opposition was raised, when the expulsion of Zinoviev and Trotsky became known, not only the members of the C.C., but also indifferent and sympathetic workers decisively took a stand against the Opposition.

Comrade Neurath has taken up a special position on the question of the Opposition. After a long period of vacillation, hesitation and various reservations, he finally made a declaration on March 27th, 1928, in response to the direct questions of the Central Committee of the Party, that the proceedings of the C.P.S.U. Party Congress have shown in a manner which excludes all doubt, that the Opposition is directed against the principles of the party, viz., against Leninism, that it must therefore have an objectively counter-revolutionary effect, and that consequently his friendly leanings towards the Opposition was a mistake.

The Trotskyist opposition in Czecho-Slovakia is now confined to a small clique: the united ultra-Leftists and Opportunists, who are outside the party.

**The General Activities of the Party. (Campaigns.)**

The last two years were occupied with serious social and political struggles. The government—at first the All-National Coalition Government, and after its downfall in 1926, the bourgeois Bloc Government—exerted all its power on behalf of the economic and political stabilisation measures which it had planned.

The party replied to all measures and actions of the bourgeoisie with carefully prepared parliamentary and extra-parliamentary campaigns. These were executed as united front campaigns and frequently were vigorously carried out in all parts of the republic. The factory councils participated in all these campaigns. Of late the factory nuclei have also been taking an active part, especially in the most important industrial centres. The slogans directed against the actions of the Government were usually linked up with slogans for the vital everyday interests of the toilers, e.g., the slogan against the persecution of the party was linked up with the slogan against the high cost of living and for the combating of unemployment, against tax reform at the expense of the toiling masses, for higher wages, etc.

By means of the generally correct application of the united front tactics from above and below, by combining parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action, by means of contact with the factories and the utilisation of the factory committee and councils, by the ever-greater activities of the factory nuclei, and by combining fundamental slogans with the slogans involving the immediate everyday questions concerning the workers, the C.P. succeeded in mobilising big masses of industrial workers and also sections of the middle class (civil servants and employees) and small peasants. The C.P. succeeded in forming unity committees and in organising such a powerful pressure from below that the Czech Social-Democrats and the Czech Socialists were forced to withdraw from the government and to put up a sham opposition, which resulted in the overthrow of the All-National Coalition. The main campaigns were against higher taxation, against the persecution of the party, against the municipal administration reform, the municipal election campaign, against the worsening and for the improvement of social insurance, against the repeal of the Rent Protection Act. In the course of the campaign against the Administration Reform Law, the governmental parties of the minority nations (German bourgeois parties and the Slovakian Peoples' Party of Hlinka) gave evidence of such powerful oppositional tendencies, that these parties were forced to demand considerable changes in the government Administrative Reform Bill.

Among the most important recent campaigns of the party, we must include that against the worsening of social insurance, in which, owing again to powerful pressure from below, joint demonstrations were made by Communist, Social-Democratic and

Czech Socialist workers in Prague and other centres. The workers of Prague, who demonstrated on two occasions to the number of about 100,000, won their right to the streets despite the tremendous mobilisation of police and gendarmerie, which acted in the most brutal manner. It is important to note that the party appears as the ideological and organisational leader of the demonstrations in the eyes of all workers. The broadest masses outside the C.P. have responded to its fighting slogans.

Apart from the above-mentioned political campaigns which grew out of the economic and political conditions, the party took a stand on practically all important events and tried to utilise them for the extension of its influence. Nevertheless, the party has so far not succeeded to a sufficient extent in consolidating its influence among the masses organisationally, and in co-ordinating the unity committees that are being formed. There sometimes appeared to be a lack of clarity in the aim of the party campaigns. This resulted in some of the campaigns being abruptly terminated; the successful mass mobilisation thus found no expression in a commensurate numerical organisational success, and the unity committees which arose often disappeared soon after their formation.

Noticeable shortcomings were apparent in the campaign in connection with the Vienna uprising and in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign—incorrect application of united front tactics in certain districts, inactivity of certain organisations, refusal of the Kladno organisation to participate in a demonstration strike on behalf of the Vienna uprising and in a solidarity strike on the occasion of the British strike.

### **Agitprop Work of the C.P.**

Agitprop work in the C.P. has of late shown a decided improvement. There is good contact with the Agitprop Department of the E.C.C.I. But the connections between the central Agitprop Departments and the lower departments is still deficient. Agitprop work in the nuclei is still in its early stages.

Last year the party conducted valuable educational work. In the winter of 1926 and the spring of 1927 not less than about 400 first grade and 150 second grade courses were conducted, in which about 8,000 participated. In the autumn of 1927 there was a series of one-day courses (for functionaries) on such themes as "Ten Years of Soviet Russia," "The War Danger," etc. The elementary second grade schools organised and started in January-February, 1928, were suppressed by the police. Central schools in the Czecho-Slovakian, German and Hungarian languages are planned for the period from April 15th to May 15th, 1928. The Party devotes much attention to self-education work: in the daily Press as well as in the "Communist Review" space is given to self-educational courses, which are, however, partly

deleted by the censor. The "Communist Review" was reorganised and considerably improved last year. During the past year the party developed an extensive publishing activity and has issued a whole series of agitational and propagandist pamphlets and books.

The party Press is developing well, and is gradually shedding its provincialism, but ideological mistakes, especially in the central organ, "Rudo Pravo," still occur. The workers' correspondent movement is also making good progress, although this work is left almost entirely to the editors. According to the report delivered at the Fourth Party Congress, the number of worker correspondents at that time was over 1,300, and that of the peasant correspondents over 200.

### **Activity of the Party in the Trade Unions.**

In all industrial struggles the party has intervened effectively by means of the application of the united front. The party supported in every way the wage movements of the Prague and North Bohemian textile workers; the movement among the railwaymen against the worsening of service conditions, and later against the injury inflicted upon them by the so-called systematisation of the State employees; the big movement of the glass workers in Isergebirge against the so-called Smirgel system, which would worsen the already bad conditions of the glass workers; the movement among glass smelters against the collective agreement proposed by the employers which, under the threat of a lock-out, forbids strikes; the wage struggles of the glass workers of North-East and North-West Bohemia; and the big wage struggle of the 30,000 North-West Bohemian brown coal workers. The C.P. won a very notable success in the last-mentioned strike, where it succeeded, by mobilising the entire working class, in organising such a powerful pressure from below that the reformist leaders were unable to suppress the struggle by a miserable compromise, viz., on the basis of a premium system proposed by the employers (premiums for high production). The result was that the mineowners had to retreat; they discarded the premium system and had to grant instead higher wages and a special gratuity.

But in spite of these successes and the growing influence of the C.P. among the workers, its work in the trade unions, particularly in the Red Unions, is still inadequate during industrial struggles. The party has not formed any fractions in the lower organisations of the Red Unions; the fractions in the executives of Central Organisation and in committees of the sections of the O.B.U. (I.A.V.) are very remiss in dealing with the decisions of the party on the trade union question. In most cases they do not carry out these decisions because pressure from below is lacking.

The International General Trade Union Federation (I.A.V.) is a strictly centralised organisation with industrial sections which have, however, only a very modest organisational life of their own. The finances of the I.A.V. are also strictly centralised; in industrial struggles, the executive of the I.A.V. is guided by careful consideration of the material position of its organisation. This excessive centralism leads to bureaucratic abnormalities in the central organs, to an erroneous interpretation of trade union democracy, lack of collective leadership, elimination of non-party workers from leadership, and to complete neglect of educational trade union work.

The abnormal fluctuation in the membership of the I.A.V. is due mainly to the errors of the Red Federation.

The party endeavours to remedy the errors of the I.A.V. by struggling for more self-reliance in the industrial sections—tending to transform them into industrial unions—for an increased participation of non-party workers into trade union activity, for fusion of the independent Red Unions and the I.A.V. and for the carrying out of party decisions in the central fractions of the I.A.V. Fractions in the lower organisations of the I.A.V. are still to be formed, which would enable the decisions of the party on I.A.V. questions to be carried out through pressure by the lower fractions.

With respect to the work of the C.P. in the reformist trade unions, we are able to record a slight improvement. The fraction machinery in these unions was developed in such a way that not only fraction delegates were entrusted with this work, as heretofore, but as many party members as possible were drawn into it. Central fraction committees have been formed for the majority of the reformist trade unions. They are entrusted with the direction of the work of the subordinate fractions in the respective unions. In certain branches of industry there have already been joint conferences between the central fractions of the I.A.V. sections and the central fractions of the parallel reformist unions.

This improved fraction work has already resulted in certain successes. In some of the split reformist unions, in which, after the split, the party lost the positions it formerly held, it has again brought some large groups under its leadership, and has succeeded in getting Communists elected members of district executives and of other leading organs in these unions. Thus, at the Congress of the Sdruzeni Horniku (former miners' federation of the Vrbansky group) we succeeded in wresting the leadership from the hands of avowed reformists.

Out of a total of 3,219 nuclei which reported on their activity, 465 (14.4 per cent.) have appointed commissions for work in the trade unions. There are 1,027 Communist fractions in the trade union groups.

These are the results of the beginning of systematic fraction

activities. It is impossible to speak as yet of a basic transformation here. While in many cases the factory council elections show that the C.P.C.-S. and the I.A.V. are constantly increasing their influence as against the Reformists, Christian-Socials and Fascists, and in not a few cases are actually outstripping them, the influence of the party in the reformist unions is nevertheless still weak. A proof of this is given in the fact that the reformists could venture, for example, to break up unity committees (glass workers, railwaymen, metal workers), and to expel individual Communists and also whole oppositional local groups from reformist unions.

### **Work in the Co-operatives.**

The co-operative movement in Czecho-Slovakia is split both nationally and politically. There are in Czecho-Slovakia three independent consumers' organisations—the German Union of Economic Co-operatives with more than 238,000 members, the Czech Union of Co-operatives with more than 465,000 members, and the Union of Czecho-Slovakian Co-operatives with more than 120,000 members. While in the first two of these organisations the Communist Party has a very considerable influence among the membership (the Communist influence in the German Union is estimated approximately at one-third of the membership, and in the Czech Union at about one-half), the directing organs of this movement are almost exclusively in the hands of the German and Czech Social-Democrats.

Although in the German as well as in the Czech Union Communist fractions have been formally organised in the consumers' societies and district central boards, there is not yet any systematic fraction work in these organisations. The Co-operative Commissions attached to the district committees of the party for the purpose of directing the work of the fractions are not sufficiently active.

The lack of a centralised direction was reflected in the activity of the party in the co-operative movement during the past year. During the period under review the initiative for the development of any big activity in the co-operative movement was in the hands of the Social-Democratic leadership. They invariably gave from above the signal for a protest movement in the co-operatives by passing the necessary resolutions in the executive organs of the movement. Only in isolated cases did Communist fractions display a little more activity in order to draw the co-operatives into the general struggle of the workers to maintain their standard of living.

The party can claim a good deal of the credit for the organisation of the large official co-operative delegation to the Soviet Union and of the delegation of the Consumers' Co-operatives to the October celebrations. The subsequent campaign of these two delegations on their visits to the Soviet Union is of great



importance for the strengthening of the sympathies of the Czech workers towards the Soviet Union, and for organising their opposition to the encirclement policy of the bourgeois States against the Soviet Union. This campaign has helped to strengthen the influence of the party among the co-operative membership and also among those sections of workers who are outside the Co-operatives. The lack of a central directing force in the work on the co-operative field was most clearly expressed in the case of Brünn, where the heads of the largest Consumers' Co-operative in Czecho-Slovakia succeeded in surrounding themselves with a solid group of elements who are systematically working against the party not only on the co-operative field itself, but in general.

### **Work Among the Peasants.**

Work in rural districts is carried on by the respective department of the I.A.V. Through this work considerable influence is also gained over the proletarian elements of the countryside. Lately the party has begun systematically to win over the cottagers and small peasants, at the same time drawing the middle peasantry to its side. Certain districts are already doing good work in the village; in other districts, however, such work is only just commencing.

With regard to general activities, it should be pointed out that in all Czech districts, as a result of a campaign organised by a farmer of the name of Vaclav Cech, local, district and regional conferences of the poor peasantry were held. Successful worker and peasant festivals were also organised which took the form of fraternisation between workers and peasants.

The peasant organ, "SPSR" (Sickle) is published once a week in the Czech language and once a month in the German language. Peasant supplements are produced by the Slovakian party organ, "Pravda" under the title "Cossack," and by the Hungarian party organ under the title "Sarlo." Apart from newspapers and pamphlets, the daily and weekly Press of the party is well supplied with agitation and propaganda material for work in the countryside.

During the period of this report organisational activity was still weak. Although the Moravian-Silesian cottagers' and small peasants' union in Brünn was imbued with new life, it suffered considerably through continuous persecution. Unions were formed in Bohemia (Pilsen and Laun). The Nimburg union, which was controlled during the party crisis of 1925 by Bubnik elements, was recaptured at the last general meeting and placed in charge of reliable comrades. A district cottagers' and small peasants' union was also established in Prague. But none of these unions were able to develop the necessary activity owing to lack of funds and capable comrades.

**Work in the Non-Party Organisations.**

(a) In the sports movement the building of fractions is proceeding very slowly, and are still very few in existence. In Mährisch Ostrau the organisation of fractions is the most advanced, followed by several German-speaking districts. There is also a well organised national fraction in the German sport movement. It must be pointed out, however, that many of these fractions function on their own initiative, and have no contacts with the Sports Commission of the Central Committee, as there are no district sports commissions in existence in these places. The fusion of sports organisations in sympathy with the Red Sport International was effected without any undue friction.

(b) In the tenants' organisations, the C.P., by means of intensive fractional work, has achieved remarkable results. It was mainly due to the activity of the C.P. that a national conference of householders' organisations was organised in November, 1926. This conference decided to establish *one* householders' organisation under the official title: Central Organisation of Householders' Unions, Leagues and Associations of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic. The small central committee of this amalgamated householders' organisation is under Communist control. Seven different householders' associations have affiliated to the newly-formed central organisation; they have altogether 15,000 members, and five of them are under Communist control. Fraction work is developing satisfactorily. In Brünn, where 22 groups exist, Communist fractions have been formed everywhere; they have a central fraction-executive which is in close contact with the district executive of the C.P. Fraction work is also carried on in other districts, such as Asch and Reichenberg. On the other hand, in Prague and also in other localities, the fraction system is not yet developed.

(c) The situation is not so favourable in the ex-service men's organisations. Only the "Slovakian Union of War Ex-Service Men" is dominated by the Communists. The Congress of this union, which was held in Bratislava in March, 1926, was also under Communist influence. The Committee of the union consists of four Communists, one sympathiser, two Social-Democrats, and one member of the Magyar People's Party.

An utterly different situation exists in the historic countries, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Czech Social-Democrats control the Executive of the Czech Ex-Service Men's Union (Druzina), which has 120,000 members and 900 groups. Apart from the representative of the Slovakian Ex-Service Men's Union there is not a single Communist in the Central Committee. The German Ex-Service Men's Association in Reichenberg is under the control of German nationalists and fascists. Apart from these

associations, there are small organisations which are so weak that they do not count in the whole movement.

### THE WORK OF THE PARTY AMONG THE NATIONAL MINORITIES.

After the Fifth World Congress the party undertook to overcome all vacillations on the national question. The extent to which it succeeded in establishing the Leninist position on the national question is reflected in the considerable progress it has made in its work among the national minorities. The first opportunity for a campaign was in connection with the Language Order, which was exploited by the party among the national minorities for the struggle against the then All-National Coalition Government. The party's campaign against the municipal administration reform was also of great importance for the work among the national minorities. The law governing municipal finances was also exploited by the party in the same sense, since the municipalities represent the last remnant of national self-administration by the minorities, and the very existence of municipal administration was menaced by that law as far as its finances are concerned. In its position on all these questions, the party proceeded from decisive emphasis of the right of self-determination to the point of separation, and also put forth far-reaching demands which have inevitably had a disintegrating effect upon the bourgeois State. At the same time the real character of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic campaign for national economy was exposed and combated. In support of its work among the national minorities the party also arranged special party conferences for the national minority districts. The party is closely connected organisationally with all national minorities, which is clearly shown in its parliamentary representation, which includes all nations living in Czecho-Slovakia.

### WORK AMONG THE WOMEN.

From the autumn of 1925 a breach was made in the party's Social-Democratic traditions in regard to activity among the masses of working women. Since then the work is carried on by new methods and on the basis of the reorganisation of the party. Women's agitation commissions were replaced by women's departments which are no longer elected by women members of the C.P., but are appointed by the political-executive organs of the party. This means a centralisation and strengthening of the work.

The women's department in the Central Committee endeavoured to carry out all the party campaigns, to utilise them for agitation among women to educate a solid body of women functionaries in the districts, and at the same time to pay special

attention to women factory workers in order to win them over, if not for the Communist Party, at least for joint action. The successes so far obtained are, however, still far from satisfactory, and the progress made with the new methods (delegates system) is still very small. The social composition of the women membership of the C.P. is still unsatisfactory; of the 17,685 women members of the C.P. at the end of 1926, there were 72.7 per cent. housewives, and only 27.3 per cent. factory workers.

The women's Press has been re-organised. The German organ, "The Working Woman," is developing quite well, and its large number of working women correspondents well equip it for the factories. But the Czech illustrated women's organ, "Rozsevaccka," frequently bears an utterly petty-bourgeois character. In particular, its illustrations, and to some extent also its contents, appear to bear little or very weak connection with the life of the working women.

Generally speaking, work among women has certainly progressed. It has been possible to build up a women's movement in places where it was hitherto a thing unknown. An impetus has been given to women's activity in all party organisations, and particularly in non-party mass organisations (in the co-operative movement, in sport organisations, in the Red Aid, etc.). In strikes and in the struggle against high prices, the women often acted with remarkable courage.

### THE ORGANISATIONAL SITUATION.

Between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses the C.P.C.-S. made considerable progress in the sphere of organisation work. Nevertheless, the situation in the C.P. is certainly not commensurate with the growth of the ideological influence of the party in wide proletarian circles. The table below shows the numerical growth of the C.P.C.-S. in the period between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses:—

1924—138,996 members	1925— 93,220 members
1926— 92,818     ,,	1927—138,000     ,,

The figures on the social composition of the party show, firstly, that proletarian elements predominate in its ranks, and, secondly, that it has not a strong organisational footing in the most important branches of industry. On the other hand, one must admit that, contrary to other European Communist Parties, the C.P.C.-S. has strong positions in big enterprises. This is shown by the following figures taken from the reports of the District Executives for the Fourth Party Congress. In 18 districts there are in 2,743 small enterprises employing about 50 workers each, 240 factory nuclei (8.2 per cent.). At the same time there are in 19 districts, in 180 enterprises employing from

500 to 1,000 workers each 122 factory nuclei (67.78 per cent.), and in 128 enterprises employing over 1,000 workers each 113 factory nuclei (88.28 per cent.).

The reorganisation of the C.P.C.-S. on a factory nucleus basis did not begin till after the Fifth World Congress. At the time of the Second Party Congress, which preceded the Fifth World Congress, there was not a single factory nucleus in the party. The following table illustrates the development of factory nuclei in the C.P.C. :—

	1922	1926	1927
Factory nuclei ... ..	1,300	1,049	1,178
Street and village nuclei ...	2,500	3,485	3,630

These figures show that the re-organisation of the C.P.C.-S. is moving but slowly, and meets with considerable internal opposition. The main reason for this is a lack of understanding and traditions of Social-Democratic methods of organisation. Nevertheless the party completed its re-organisation on a factory nucleus basis towards the end of 1927. In 1927 it adopted new statutes drawn up with the direct participation of the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I. However, the party has not yet re-organised itself in accordance with this new statute, and has still many Social-Democratic forms in its present structure. For instance, regional executives still have direct connection with the nuclei over and above the heads of the local and district executives, and control their work directly; then, again, delegates to the Party Congress are not elected at regional party conferences, but by nuclei and local organisations.

Factory newspapers have developed considerably. In 1925 there were on the C.C. register 60 factory newspapers, whereas in 1926 their number had already reached 806 with a total circulation of 83,312. Later information is not to hand.

# AUSTRIA

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE economic situation in Austria has somewhat improved in the course of last year as a result of the trade revival in Germany. But this improvement has been rather slight, bringing no real relief to the industrial crisis in Austria, which has practically existed ever since the war, and has assumed an acute character since the Geneva Protocol of 1922. That there has been hardly any noticeable improvement may be seen from the almost unchanged high figures of unemployment :—

In 1925—241,997; in 1926—283,750; and in 1927—274,542.

The currency remains stable. The national budget (with the aid of some loans and the attraction of foreign credits) has been balanced. [The cost of living index (including house rent) has risen, according to official data, to 104 in January, 1926, and to 107 in December, 1927 (taking the first half of 1914 as equal to 100).]

The average real wages of the workers are far below those of the industrial countries of the West. According to the well-known statistician Walter Schiff—taking into account the relatively low rate of house rent (due to tenants' protection)—the real wages of workers in Vienna are so low that only the wages of workers in a Latvian town can claim to be lower. In view of this fact, and of the tremendous rate of unemployment which has been going on for years, the condition of the Austrian proletariat is deplorable.

The bourgeoisie, backed by foreign capital, exerted all efforts to put upon a sound basis not only the national budget, but also the economy of the country. The efforts at industrial rationalisation, owing to the lack of capital, are carried on not so much on the line of technical re-equipment, as on the line of increased intensity of labour. This causes the resentment of the proletariat against the increased exploitation to become stronger and more stubborn.

The *electoral campaign* in April 1927, brought a new accentuation of the antagonisms. The Christian Socialist Party, the Pan-Germans, a section of the Democrats, and a section of the National Socialists joined forces on a united ticket of bourgeois candidates. A bitter electoral campaign was fought, in which the Socialist Party of Austria gained some votes.

The election results were as follows :

	Votes.	Seats.
The Coalition	1,753,346	85*
Socialist Party	1,539,088	77
Landbund**	229,977	9
Communist Party	16,181	0

After the elections there was no change whatsoever in the policy of the government. The government coalition, hitherto composed of Christian Socialists and Pan Germans, was reinforced by the Landbund. Thus, all the bourgeois parties were in the government, with the Socialist Party as the only "opposition." Nevertheless, there was a growing process of radicalisation within the ranks of the workers owing to the attacks of the bourgeoisie. This process of radicalisation went on within the Socialist Party, but it was suppressed by the Party apparatus, only to burst out suddenly, consequent upon an act of provocation by the government. Thus came about the spontaneous July insurrection in Vienna. Although the proletariat of Vienna was defeated, it was only a temporary defeat, and the day of July 15th, far from being the end of a period of struggle, was, on the contrary, the first clash of the class forces in a new period of struggle.

In its *foreign policy* the Seipel Government approached more and more the Franco-Czecho-Yugoslavian front. An indication of this was furnished by the conflict with Hungary (St. Gotthardt), by Seipel's journey to Prague, and by the conflict with Italy (over Southern Tyrol). This, however, by no means indicates the final decision of the Austrian bourgeoisie to range itself on the side of France.

### THE SITUATION IN THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The leading bourgeois party is that of the *Christian Socialists*, whose main followers are among the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. By their tactics they more and more become the Party of big capital. The Seipel wing, which predominates within the Christian Socialist Party, has frequently taken up and supported this trend in the Party, and has also given full support to the fascist guards. The pro-coalition wing in the Christian Socialist Party relies chiefly upon the support of peasant circles. Immediately after the 15th of July, this group was completely submerged, but lately it has been slowly regaining its influence.

The *Pan-German* Party still forms an appendix to the Christian Socialists. In the last election it would have lost about one-half of the mandates which it then possessed, had it not been for the unity ticket with the Christian Socialists. Its only strength

\* Including 73 Christian Socialists and 12 Pan Germans.

\*\* The Peasants Party, which subsequently joined the government coalition.

consists in the fact that the Christian Socialists in Parliament have to count on its votes. The Pan-Germans have capitalised this by obtaining two portfolios in the Cabinet.

The *Landbund*, which came out in the last election as the only independent party among the leading bourgeois parties, is led by big peasants, and is a completely reactionary organisation with strong fascist leanings. It chiefly represents the interests of the big agrarians. Since its success in the last election it has joined the government coalition.

### THE SITUATION IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Until the 15th of July, the Social Democratic Party was compact and united. It is true that a certain process of radicalisation and differentiation had been going on within the S.P., but it had in no way been expressed. After the 15th of July a distinct change took place. The process of radicalisation now really began, but it still lacked any clear-cut proletarian expression. At the present time, however, there are signs of this process taking place. Thus, we have witnessed recently the outbreak of strikes, frequently in defiance of the trade union leaders, and an influx of social democratic workers into the Red Front Fighters. Another important factor is the discussion which has been going on for several months in "Kampf" and the appearance of the weekly review "The Left Social Democrat" conducted by the group of intellectuals led by Max Adler. The discussion in "Kampf" revolves in effect around the question as to what means should be employed to check the further radicalisation of the workers.

The Trade Unions in recent years have been steadily losing membership. At the close of 1922 they had a total of 1,049,949 members, and at the close of 1926 they had only 756,392 members, which means a loss of 293,557 members in the course of 4 years. This loss is the consequence of unemployment in some parts of the country, and of the reformist tactics of the trade union leaders. Nevertheless, as regards the state of organisation among the working class, the Austrian trade union movement still holds a relatively leading position.

### THE DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

In the period between the Fifth and Sixth World Congress, the situation within the Party became consolidated after the liquidation of the factional strife which continued for years.

The C.C. elected at the Eighth Party Conference (September 1925), the majority of whom are working men, tried at first to get the Opposition formed from the Frey and Toman factions to co-operate. When this failed, and this group again resumed the



factional strife, the C.C. waged a determined fight against it, and the Opposition was completely routed. Frey and some of his close followers were expelled from the Party, whilst Toman submitted to Party discipline.

After the July insurrection, Frey joined the Opposition in the C.P.S.U. on the grounds that in their attitude towards the July insurrection, the Communists had taken up an ultra-Left standpoint." †

At the present time Frey exercises no influence in the political life of Australia. His paper (*Arbeiterstimme*), which used to be published weekly, is now issued only monthly, and has hardly any circulation.

With regard to the attitude towards the July events in Vienna and the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. thereon, differences arose in the Party, concerning chiefly the evaluation of the events, and the question of the workers' councils. The different opinions were thrashed out in comradely fashion, and the resolution of the Presidium was finally carried unanimously at the Party Conference in December, 1927. Elsewhere we publish the full text of the resolution that was carried.

There are no supporters of the C.P.S.U. Opposition within the Party. The Vienna Conference of Party workers in November, 1927, attended by 440 Party workers, approved the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev with only 6 votes against, whilst the Party Conference voted as one unit against the Opposition.

The outstanding campaigns of the Party since the beginning of 1927 were: the campaign against reaction and fascism (*Schattendorf*, *Arsenalwaffen*), the electoral campaign, the amnesty campaign after July 15, the campaign for proletarian militancy (founding the Red Front Fighters), the Party membership campaign, and the tenants' protection campaign.

The C.P. of Austria, as already noted in the above-mentioned resolution of the E.C.C.I. Presidium, has taken a correct attitude towards the events of July, but it has also committed mistakes, particularly on the question of workers' councils. Since the revolt the general line of the Party has been correct, but the mistake was made of re-issuing the old slogan, "Municipalisation of the Police," instead of agitating for the slogan of "Arming the Proletariat." The great setback to the Party in the factory council election at Donauwitz should be attributed not only to local conditions and difficulties, but also to the mistakes and shortcomings of the Party.

The activity in the Trade Unions still remains an unsatisfactory feature in the Party's work. In spite of all efforts, the Party has made no progress in this respect, and has even suffered some setbacks. In many places there are no fractions, while the

---

† As is known, the Opposition in the C.P.S.U. at the time took up precisely the opposite standpoint in criticising the Comintern.

existing ones are only partly functioning. Owing to its weakness the Party was rarely able to take a timely, active and leading part in industrial disputes.

The Party is now endeavouring to systematise its agitprop activity, which was hitherto of a more or less casual character. The central agitprop department is composed of three E.C. members and several Viennese comrades. The apparatus in the provinces is in the course of development. During the period from September, 1926, to March, 1927, i.e., during a period of six months, a Trade Union School was conducted, which had about eighty regular students and visitors. Over eighty per cent. of the students attended the school regularly until the close of the term. In view of the good results achieved, the Party intends to continue this school upon a broader basis. In connection with the October celebration last year a series of lectures was organised by the Party. It now contemplates the opening of educational courses and membership campaigns, as well as a school for Party officials.

The worker correspondents and the factory newspapers have been successfully organised, and are generally upon a higher level than the rest of the agitprop activity.

The work about the peasants is only just beginning. The last Party Conference received for the first time a report on the agrarian question and decided to take up systematic activity among the peasants in conformity with the available forces in the Party.

In the *Co-operatives* the Party has not yet developed any regular activity.

In the non-Party organisations, considerable activity is carried on only in the I.R.A. and in the Red Front Fighters. In the I.R.A. the Communists are very active. The movement has made particular progress since the 15th of July. Its membership has grown to about 10,000, and its popularity has considerably increased among the masses. On January 21, 1928, the Red Front Fighters' League and the Red Youth League were formed. The new organisation has roused tremendous enthusiasm among the revolutionary workers. In the course of a few weeks several thousand workers in Vienna joined the organisation. At the present time a membership campaign is in progress, which has already yielded some results. Among other non-Party organisations mention ought to be made of the Tenants' Association and the Free Thinkers. While in the latter organisation the work is progressing, the activity in the Tenants' Association is only at the initial stage. The activity of the Party in the Sports Movement has also made some progress.

As to work among women, the following facts should be noted: According to the report submitted to the International May Conference of Communist women in 1926, there were 700 women members, while the circulation of the women's paper had increased from 2,000 to 4,000, showing that the influence of

the paper is far larger than the numerical strength of the membership. The influence of the Party is limited chiefly to housewives and unemployed women, notwithstanding the great efforts made to attract the factory women.

One of the tasks taken up by the Party in recent years was the mobilisation of the unemployed. In this the women did some active and successful work. Some demands were won, e.g., the supply of milk to babies of the unemployed. The women also took an active part in the other campaigns of the Party.

The Youth League has done some good work in Vienna. Its chief field of activity was in the economic struggle, in the Socialist Youth Organisation, and lately also in the Red Youth organisation. Within the Socialist Youth Organisation a new opposition emerged after the 15th July, which published its own paper. The leadership of the Socialist Youth Organisation expelled the opposition leaders, who have since joined the Communist youth together with a number of their followers. The working youth organisation in the provinces is very weak. The Youth League publishes a monthly paper, "Proletarierjugend" (3-4,000 copies). Within the Party the youth supports the standpoint of the C.C. of the Party:

The organisational situation within the Party has considerably improved. Though there may still be a good many defects in the Party, a beginning has been made of planned, systematic work. The formation of the Vienna committee † has on the one hand relieved the C.C. of some work while, on the other hand, it has attracted good fresh forces to the Party. The reorganisation of the Party upon the nuclei basis has been completed. Nevertheless, the street nuclei still prevail, and the chief efforts of the Party are now directed to making the existing factory nuclei active and also to form new factory nuclei. The fluctuation in the membership is relatively slight. Nevertheless the Party has not yet succeeded in making its political and agitational successes organisationally effective. The increase of membership since July 15th has been rather slight. The local leading organs, while properly organised, are, owing to the insufficient training of most of the officials, not functioning very satisfactorily, frequently lacking self-reliance and displaying no initiative. The Party has now founded an organ for the Party officials, "Die Parteiarbeit," which deals chiefly with organisational problems.

---

† The C.C. used to take charge previously also of the business of the Vienna Committee.

# HUNGARY

## 1.—THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

THE economic situation in Hungary has been somewhat stabilised in the last four years. With foreign help a new gold currency standard was introduced. Considerable foreign capital was attracted in the form of loans and participation in joint stock companies, so that Hungary is very dependent on foreign countries. At the same time, concentration and formation of monopolies proceeded on a large scale. A few big banks dominate the whole of industry, which, protected by high tariffs, exploit the home market. This leads to differences between the industrial bourgeoisie and the big agrarians, which have become very acute in the last months.

Agrarians and the bourgeoisie dominate the country. The middle class, peasants and artisans, in whose name the dictatorship was overthrown, were subsequently deprived of any participation in the government. The promised agrarian reform was only partly carried out. Land was given not to poor peasants, but to well-to-do peasants and the political proteges of the government. As before, Hungary is a country of big landowners. Formally, the rule of the bourgeoisie and the agrarians is based on the parliamentary system, but the system of open voting (excepting in a few towns) and with unscrupulous terrorism is reducing the elections to a mere appointment of deputies by the government. Apart from the Social-Democratic Party there is no opposition in parliament, except small groups of a few deputies. The antagonism between peasants and big landowners is making itself felt sometimes within the big governmental party, but the power of the ruling class is firmly enough established to suppress anything of this kind.

The mass of the peasantry is in a very difficult position. A bitter feeling has been created by the sabotage of the agrarian reform, but this feeling cannot be given expression because of the pressure of the ruling classes.

## 2.—THE PARTIES.

The Social-Democratic Party goes on with its corrupt betrayal of the working class. In 1925 the well-known pact between the Social-Democrats and the Government was made public, through which the Social-Democrats renounced the organisation of agricultural labourers and workers in the main enterprises, being given in return an opportunity to introduce a certain number of

deputies into parliament. The publication of the pact gave rise to a strong oppositional movement of the workers within the party; part of the opposition was expelled. Re-unification, through the conciliation commission of the Second International in Vienna, failed. Following this, the Independent Socialist Labour Party of Hungary was formed. It appealed in vain against its expulsion to the Marseilles Congress of the Second International.

The I.S.L.P. led for a time a legal or semi-legal existence. It was strongest in Budapest, where it succeeded in collecting 20,000 signatures for its list of candidates at the election in the autumn of 1926, which was, however, not sufficient—according to election rules—to nominate a candidate. On the occasion of the opening of Parliament (end of January, 1927), it organised a big demonstration in Budapest, but in the course of that year it was driven almost entirely into illegality. The Social-Democratic Party worked together with the Horthy Government for the suppression of the I.S.L.P. The collaboration between the S.D.P. and the Government became even closer within recent months. This party identified itself completely with the foreign policy of the government, which aimed at the recapture of its former territory; in return the government allowed street sales of the party's central organ and made concessions in regard to the sickness funds (of personal importance to the reformist leaders' clique as a source of income), amnesty for Social-Democrats, etc. The treachery of the reformist leaders gave rise to new oppositional tendencies within the Social-Democratic Party which are partly under the influence of the Austro-Marxist Hungarian *émigrés* and partly under the ideological influence of the illegal Communist Party of Hungary. On the whole, the influence of the reformists in the working class is waning, the membership is decreasing, and the circulation of the central daily organ has been reduced to 12,000.

### THE TRADE UNIONS.

In Hungary the position of the proletariat is probably worse than in any other European country. Wages are about one-fifth lower than before the war, whereas the cost of living has increased by 40 per cent. The real wage of the workers is probably half that of the pre-war period. To this must be added unemployment (except during the boom in the summer of 1927), the utterly helpless position of the workers, and the lack of social-political protection.

Trade Union leaders have adapted the tactic of trade union struggle to the requirements of the capitalists. They are, theoretically and practically, against all strike movements. This has secured for them a certain amount of protection on the part of the Horthy Government, which has abandoned the idea of

forming fascist trade unions since the old trade unions are practically doing its bidding. There are no Red trade unions in Hungary, and in regard to any oppositional movement within the trade unions, the union leaders can always depend on police support, which is willingly given.

A shrinking process is also going on in the trade unions, the dissatisfaction of the members finding expression in the formation of Left fractions. In the autumn of 1925 there were mass expulsions of revolutionary workers from the trade unions: the leather workers' union in Budapest, which had come entirely under the leadership of the opposition, was suspended. Big secessions took place in the course of 1926. The miners in the biggest mining district, Salgotarjan, were so incensed at the treachery of the leaders that they left the union and formed a local organisation, which, however, subsequently collapsed. The metal turners, of whom there are several thousands in Budapest, also left the trade union and formed an independent local organisation. Many workers left the trade unions both singly and in groups. The C.P.H. issued the slogan of trade union unity, re-entry into the unions and to capture the unions in order to make them the loyal organisations of the working class. The improved industrial situation in 1927 gave rise to a wave of industrial struggles and led to a temporary consolidation of the trade unions. However, the number of those who entered the unions did not make up for the number that had left. Although of the 450,000 industrial workers about 125,000 participated in trade union struggles in 1927, the results achieved were insignificant owing to the continuous treachery of the trade union leaders, and no increases in wages took place. For example, as a result of the pact between the reformists and the government, the Agricultural Labourers' Union (there are over one million agricultural labourers in Hungary) exists only on paper and has a few hundred members.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The social conditions provide favourable ground for the work of the party because of the destitution and great discontent which prevail in wide circles of workers, peasants and artisans.

The growing discontent of all class-conscious workers with the continuous treachery of the reformists enables the C.P.H., in spite of its complete illegality and brutal persecutions, to keep alive and gradually to extend its influence among the workers, first and foremost ideologically and also organisationally. The form of organisation is adapted to the complete illegality of the party, which consists of small loosely co-ordinated groups. Apart from educating its own members into becoming class-conscious Communists, the party aims at the extension of its influence over the workers through the circulation of illegal leaflets and through

linking up with the oppositional movement within the proletariat. In spite of continuous persecutions, the party has succeeded in holding conferences at regular intervals, in organising party schools, and in spreading its illegal literature. The party has its fractions in all labour organisations, which issue slogans for the opposition in these organisations and carry on the struggle against the reformist leaders. In 1925 the main slogans of the party were: Republic, Eight-hour Day, and Distribution of Land. These slogans were given a more concrete form in one of the recent numbers of the central organ which is published in Vienna: For a Republic headed by a government of workers and peasants; Confiscation of Church and secular landed property without compensation and its free distribution among the poor sections of the rural population.

The party is all the time carrying on a struggle for its legalisation, so as to be able to popularise its views among the workers. Unfortunately, this struggle has not yet been successful. Only at the trial of party members has it an opportunity to express its views legally in public. In Hungary the illegality of the party is complete. Although White terror of a personal, unorganised kind no longer exists, the system of bourgeois terrorism has been artfully developed. The fact that a victorious proletarian dictatorship has existed in Hungary induces the Hungarian ruling classes to suppress systematically not only all Communist, but also any oppositional tendency in the labour movement. As most of the people who constituted the State "Law and Order" apparatus in the territories which were annexed at the end of the war, have returned to the present Hungary, the ruling class has a big "oppression-apparatus" at its disposal. There are many more policemen, gendarmes, etc., in the present than in the pre-war Hungary, which was three times larger. The reign of terror against the Communists is largely due to the desire of the Hungarian bourgeoisie to be considered a champion in the struggle against Bolshevism, in order to win thereby the sympathy of the Western Powers and to make political capital out of this sympathy.

The struggle of the party within recent years has exacted great sacrifices. On September 22nd, 1925, Comrade Rakosi and 41 other comrades were arrested. His arrest and trial (January, 1926) afforded an opportunity for wide public propaganda for the idea of Communism, owing to the publicity given by the bourgeois Press to this trial; advantage was taken of this event to launch an international campaign against the Horthy regime and for the legalisation of the C.P.H.; it was demonstrated to the Hungarian proletariat that the Communist leaders who had emigrated to other countries and had been, on innumerable occasions, accused by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic Press of betrayal of the cause of the Hungarian workers, were willing to risk their life in Hungary itself for the Communist cause.

In February, 1927, Comrade Soltan Szanto and 70 other comrades (Communists and members of the I.S.L.P.) were arrested. The first trial (October, 1927) also gave an opportunity for public propaganda on a large scale; it also exposed the methods of the bourgeois terrorism of the Horthy Government. A young comrade was so tortured by the police that he betrayed his comrades, which will be probably not the first nor the last case in the struggle of the C.P.H.

Mass arrests of leading comrades have, of course, given a setback to the work of our Hungarian party, but this was only temporary and did not impede the development of the party.

That certain liquidatory tendencies should make their appearance from time to time among the members under these conditions, is not a matter for surprise. These tendencies aimed at liquidating the C.P.H. as such and at working only as an opposition within the trade union movement or the S.D.P.; or in another form, they aimed at suspending our politico-agitational work and limiting ourselves to self-education and cultural work.



## YUGO-SLAVIA

**I**N 1925 the ruling Serbian bourgeoisie succeeded in overcoming the acute government crisis and consolidated its position. This was done with the help of the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie by forcing the republican peasant party of Croatia to capitulate and by inciting the other movements of oppressed nationalities against each other. Since then Yugo-Slavia has been in the grip of a general economic crisis, which has been reflected in the growing impoverishment of the the peasantry with famine in several districts, systematic preparations for the establishment of a military Fascist dictatorship, and an ever-growing danger of war.

The relative stabilisation of currency and the good world harvest in 1925 brought about a serious agricultural crisis (a fall in prices of farm products, which averaged 38-40 per cent., whilst prices of manufactured goods decreased only 5 per cent.). As a result, the indebtedness of the peasants has risen to about 4 billion dinars.

In 1927 Yugo-Slavia suffered from a disastrous drought, which reduced the harvest by about 35 per cent.; in some districts 70 per cent. of the harvest was destroyed. This reduction in the crops, as compared with 1925, rendered the supply insufficient even for home consumption. But as a failure to export cereals would depreciate the currency, it was decided to export even though it operated to the detriment of the peasantry of those districts which buy grain even in normal years, thus bringing hunger and many cases of death from starvation to many districts (Montenegro, Dalmatia, and, especially, Herzegovina). In spite of this the 1927 grain exports were still 70 per cent. short. Although imports have also decreased by 11 per cent., Yugo-Slavia has now an unfavourable balance of trade after three years of favourable balance.

Simultaneously, there is also a slump in industry with the exception of those industries which cater for the army. The crisis in the handicraft industry is still greater even than that in large-scale industry, having regard to the fact that the former depends mostly on the buying capacity of the peasantry. At the same time the State Budget is now more than 12 billion dinars, or 990 million Swiss francs, which is three times as high as the Budget of 1920-21, the period of inflation.

Impoverished Yugo-Slavia is now exploited more than ever by foreign capital. From America it received a loan of 62,250,000 dollars (receiving 86 dollars out of each 100, by which the nominal rate of interest of 7 per cent. was raised to 8.6 per

cent.), and 25 million francs from Switzerland for the construction of railways for military purposes. Foreign loans also enabled it to cover the deficit in the budget and to make possible the stabilisation of its currency.

The Serbian bourgeoisie, headed by the royal Camarilla and the military chiefs, are seeking a way out of the government and economic crisis by means of the establishment of a military-fascist dictatorship. The rights of Parliament are constantly being restricted, and the liquidation of Parliament advocated among the masses. Generals and leading officers are given high positions in the administration. By increased national oppression the existing régime hopes to overcome the resistance of the oppressed nationalities, and to force the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the peasant parties of these nationalities to support its policy.

The Yugo-Slavian conflict with Albania last year and the two open clashes with Bulgaria, arising out of the Macedonian incident, and also the constantly strained relations with Italy, show the acuteness of the war danger in Yugo-Slavia. To counteract the ambitions of Italian imperialism in the Balkans and its policy of surrounding Yugo-Slavia by countries under the influence of Anglo-Italian imperialism (Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary) the Franco-Yugo-Slavian Pact has been concluded, which makes this danger even more acute. Through its policy of national oppression, particularly in Macedonia, the existing régime still further increases the war danger owing to the fact that all the border States of Yugo-Slavia have designs on Yugo-Slavian territory. Thus, in the event of war the State of Yugo-Slavia would probably be divided up.

The policy pursued by the ruling class has led to a re-alignment of forces in all the bourgeois and peasant parties. The royal Camarilla wants to establish one Serbian bourgeois party under its direct leadership by means of coalition between the two existing bourgeois parties—the Radicals and the Democrats. With this object in view the petty bourgeois Pashitsh majority has been driven out of the Radical Party, which has now become the obedient servant of the Camarilla. Similarly, the vacillating petty bourgeois Davidovitch wing of the Democratic Party, which was opposed to the Camarilla and to the Marinovitch banking interests, which, together with the Radicals, form the present government, has also suffered the same fate.

The bloc of the Serbian bourgeoisie embodied in the Vukicevic-Marinkovic coalition succeeded in taking further steps towards the organisation of a bloc of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie under the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie and the leadership of the Camarilla. The Slovenian Clerical Party (Koroshetz), which derives its strength from the struggle for

Slovenian autonomy, entered the bloc with a view to safeguarding the economic interests of the native bourgeoisie. The Musselmén of Bosnia (Spako) followed the same course on behalf of the Bosnian "Beks."

To complete the dominant bourgeois bloc, the present régime seeks to organise a Croatian bourgeois Camarilla Party of the big bourgeoisie of the various Croatian parties, so as to create thereby a broad basis for itself.

This policy is opposed not only by the Croatian petty bourgeoisie but also by the Serbian peasantry. It has led to an ever-growing discontent among the peasants of these provinces, which has found expression in the organisation of the "Precanski-front," i.e., "a front built from without" (outside of Serbia), and which organises the struggle of the peasantry of these provinces against the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie. This "front" of the peasant Democratic coalition consists of two parties—Raditch's Croatian Peasant Party and the Serbian Party of these provinces and the Independent Democrats under Privicevic's leadership. The struggle of these two parties against the present régime and their desire to be allied with the working class has led to an attempt by the Zagreb capitalists to minimise this struggle by corrupting their leaders and directing them along purely Parliamentary lines.

The discontent of the Serbian peasants, especially those of Serbia, is taken advantage of by the Peasant League. Radical tendencies within the Peasant League are so strong that its leaders were forced to agree to the slogans of an alliance with the working class, distribution of the land, and unification of Yugo-Slavia with the Soviet Union—while, in reality, they pursued an outspoken opportunist policy, supporting the imperialist policy of the Government, and showing their readiness to enter into a coalition government.

The Socialist Party of Yugo-Slavia enjoys the full support of the Government, but, in spite of this, it received only 23,500 votes in the last Parliamentary elections. It pursues a very reactionary policy, favouring the splitting of the trade union movement, the suppression of the peasant movements, and supporting Serbian imperialism and its preparation for war, and participating in the campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Trade Unions.—There are about 1,200,000 wage workers in Yugo-Slavia, of whom only a small section is organised in six different trade union organisations. There are the Independent trade unions with 22,000 members, the Autonomous unions with 10,000 members, the Amsterdam unions with 23,000 members, the Croatian Workers' Union with 2,000 members, and the Christian Socialist Unions of Slovenia with about 3,000 members.

The Red Trade Unions, which had in 1920 about 250,000

members, have since then been twice entirely dissolved, and even now the Independent trade unions cannot exist legally in some provinces. In recent years, however, they have re-appeared despite the terror. The reason for their slow development, although there is a favourable situation for the organisation of a wide revolutionary trade union movement, is primarily of a subjective nature, and is due, mainly, to the differences existing among the leading circles of the followers of the R.I.L.U., their sectarian and craft tendencies, and the inadequate and frequently wrong application of the united front tactic.

The Autonomous Trade Unions consist of the United Printing Workers' Unions of Yugo-Slavia (5,000 members), to which are affiliated the followers of the R.I.L.U. and those of the Amsterdam International (both of which have about the same strength), and the four unions of bank and civil-servant employees of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina (a total of about 5,000 members), the R.I.L.U. being the strongest in the Serbian organisation. The autonomous trade unions work jointly with the independent unions for trade union unity, which was only frustrated as a result of the sabotage of the Amsterdam Unions.

The Amsterdam unions are decidedly opposed to any attempt at establishing a united front, and play the rôle of open blacklegs by throttling the strikes of the revolutionary workers.

Last year symptoms of a move to the Left and of greater activity of the working class made their appearance. This found expression, first of all, in a series of stubborn economic struggles, some of which lasted from two to three months. The movement of the unemployed has lately embraced broad sections, organised in unemployed committees. Mass meetings have been held notwithstanding government prohibition, resulting in mass demonstrations and clashes with the police.

The united front activities of the tenants' movement, railway workers, State employees and factory workers, the organisation of a joint committee of action, etc., are symptoms of the same process.

Lately we have for the first time witnessed labour protest demonstrations in the factories against the torture of Communists in prison. This leftward tendency is also reflected in the results of the elections of workers' delegates in which, for the first time since the suppression in 1921 of the legal Communist Party and the Red trade unions, the tickets of the independent trade unions were almost everywhere successful. The municipal, district and parliamentary elections show similar results. The four general elections which have taken place in Yugo-Slavia have given the following results:—

Party.	1920.	1923.	1925.	1927.
Socialist ... ..	47,150	47,480	24,510	23,540
Communist ... ..	197,140	—	—	—
Independent Labour ...	—	24,320	18,440	—
Republican Workers and Peasants ... ..	—	—	—	42,860

In addition, there are important towns and districts where the Republican Workers' and Peasants' League received about as many votes or even more than the legal Communist Party in 1920.

The evidence of this move to the Left and the greater activity of the working class can also be seen from the following events:—

In 1927 4,842 comrades were arrested in Yugo-Slavia, and many of them were sentenced to terms of imprisonment; a number of the comrades declared hunger-strikes. In the same year 50 national revolutionaries were killed, among them being several Macedonian comrades and one comrade each in Serbia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia.

With regard to the Press, a number of papers advocate the platform of revolutionary class struggle, an alliance of the working class and the peasantry; self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, sponsored by the revolutionary workers of Yugo-Slavia, through their Republican Workers' and Peasants' League, which conducted several political and economic campaigns. The revolutionary papers are: "Borba," in Zagreb (Croatia), with a circulation of 5,000, which will henceforward appear twice weekly; "Retch Radnika i Selyaka," in Liubliana, a Slovenian weekly, with a circulation of 3,000 copies; "Radni Narod," in Podgovitch (Serbia), with 1,500 copies, a fortnightly; and "Nivi Pokret," in Belgrade (Serbia), a fortnightly, with 2,200 copies.

The Republican Workers' and Peasants' League has succeeded in securing a firm footing in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slovenia, especially among the peasants, which is seen from the numerous peasant conferences and the relatively high percentage of peasant votes it received. In Dalmatia the Left wing of the Croatian Peasant Party adopted its political platform.

There is an inner struggle going on in the Communist Party of Yugo-Slavia on vital fundamental and tactical questions. There are differences in the estimation of the political situation, of the national and peasant problems, on the question of the tasks of the trade union movement, and the organisational questions of the party.

The struggle among the party leaders has shown that the party has not yet been able to eliminate entirely the remnants of right deviations and unhealthy forms of fractional struggles. In order to put an end to fractionalism, which hampered the

development of the C.P.Y.S. and its activity among the broad masses of workers and peasants, the E.C.C.I. sent an open letter in April of this year to the party membership, prior to the Party Congress. The letter points out the most important mistakes of the party and of both fractions, and how to bring about consolidation of organisation by promoting new leaders from among the rank and file workers, and by overcoming the fractional and sectarian spirit.

The party publishes two illegal organs: "Klasna Borba" (Class Struggle) and "Sop i Celcic" (Hammer and Sickle). Apart from this the party issued several illegal pamphlets, among which were Stalin's work on Leninism, and various Lenin writings, etc. The party has over 3,000 members.

# RUMANIA

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE general economic and political situation in Rumania is likely to cause great unrest, not only among the industrial workers, but also amongst the peasants and the population of the nationally oppressed territories (Bessarabia, Dobrudja, Siebenbuergen, Bukovina), which have been betrayed by the bourgeois parties. The leadership of the Communist Party did not show to advantage, nor has it been sufficiently active under the prevailing favourable conditions. If the indisputable shortcomings in the leadership and organisation of the Party are overcome without delay, there are great possibilities for the development of the Party in revolutionary work in the countryside.

The present political unrest amongst the masses of the population, especially amongst the peasantry, is closely bound up with the economic position of the country. Rumania was the last country to enter the war, and later than any other country has it been able to recover from the consequences of the war. There was a certain development in economic affairs in 1921-25 and also in the early part of 1926, but during the past two years the economic crisis has become more acute.

The following are the general and social characteristics of this crisis: impoverishment of the masses of the population—the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie—decline in the purchasing capacity of these masses, unemployment in industry, impossibility of raising the level of agriculture to that of pre-war, inability to compete with other countries in the most important articles of export, lack of capital, impossibility of securing foreign credits, high rents in the country, steady increase in the number of bankruptcies, etc.

The following is the state of agriculture:

Area under Cultivation	Production		Export of Corn	
	pre-war mill.	1926 hectares	pre-war mill.	1926 cwt.
Wheat	4.2	3.3	23.9	30.2
Maize	4.1	4.0	27.3	60.8
			9.9	6.9

Total area cultivated: 11.1—10.4.

These figures show that after ten years it has not yet been possible to bring the standard of cultivation up to that of pre-war; the production of wheat has only been increased by one-third, although the population has increased from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 17 millions. Export has not yet attained the dimensions of pre-war Rumania.

The "agrarian reform" diminished the amount of land distributed amongst the peasantry and provided no agricultural implements to till their 1—3 hectares, so that the amount of production per hectare has declined :

			1909-1913	1919-1926
Wheat	...	...	12.9	8.9
Maize	...	...	13.1	11.4

In 1926, 6,196 million lei (165 lei=1 dollar) were invested in new companies and in those already existing, but in 1927 only 3,131 millions were invested.

In old Rumania the per capita export amounted to 17 dollars, in 1925 it was only 5½ dollars, despite the big drop in the purchasing value of the dollar.

The national budget for 1927-28 was 38 million lei, 7.2 millions of which were from direct taxes. The main items of expenditure are: Financial matters, 14.7; army, 7.8; domestic affairs, 2.1, and agriculture 1.4 billion lei. At the beginning of 1928 there were 100,000 unemployed out of the 300,000 workers engaged in heavy industry.

The general economic crisis has brought about the concentration of capital in the hands of the big banks, which are becoming more and more the direct owners of industry; this has also led to the trustification of industry. Various attempts have been made to improve the position of agriculture, trade and industry by protective tariffs, customs and rationalisation. In spite of the "Nationalist" policy of the Government many concessions have been made to foreign capital during the past few years, and it has been able to gain a footing in the country.

The resistance put up by the Liberal Government (which controls national finance, capital, and the greater part of industry) to the attempt of foreign capital to gain control of the country has had a considerable effect on the foreign policy of Rumania. The partially realised attempt of British imperialism to get to Rumania through Rome was rejected by Bratianu. This fact was responsible for the failure of Rumania at the League of Nations; a loan could not be secured and consequently attempts were made through France to obtain a loan from the United States.

In the matter of internal policy tension arose in the bourgeois camp, the two main groups of which, the Liberal Party and the national peasant party, are engaged in a bitter struggle. The peasant party represents a section of the rich and middle bourgeoisie, which is suffering from the Liberal finance monopoly. It is utilising the bad economic position to secure the support of the masses. During this struggle the dynastic crisis has been made use of and the question of the monarchy has been raised more or less acutely, whilst the revolutionary policy of the "Left" wing of the National Peasant Party has proclaimed its revolutionary phrases at every street corner. The demonstra-



tions brought the masses into the streets. But now a lull has set in; the president of the National Peasant Party, Maniu, declared in the middle of April: "The Liberals are trying to drive us to revolution, but we do not want that." It is now a question whether the betrayal of the National Peasant Party will be carried out to the full: submission to the Liberal policy and participation in power. Already there is a tendency amongst the peasant masses and a section of the petty bourgeoisie to found a new peasant or "radical" party.

The Bratianu Government secured five-sixths of the seats in Parliament at the last elections; this government came into power in 1927 on the overthrow of the Averescu Government. The only other parties which have representatives in parliament are the National Peasant Party and the Hungarian-German parties.

### **The Social Democratic Party.**

The Rumanian Social Democratic Party is beginning to combine theory and practice more and more in the course of its treacherous policy. At its conference in 1926 the draft programme stated that it is the duty of the workers to help Rumania to develop into a capitalist state, and now this is being carried out in practice. The S.D.P. joined up with the National Peasant Party in its anti-Liberal campaign unconditionally, and helped to strengthen bourgeois democratic illusions in the masses and waged war on the Communist Party, together with the bourgeoisie. The S.D.P. enjoys full liberty and is being recommended as a future member of the coalition government. The circle of workers under its influence is small, but that of the petty bourgeoisie somewhat larger, mainly owing to the Trade Union bureaucracy and the S.D. press.

### **The Situation in the Trade Unions.**

The terror which was used to support the employers' offensive has undermined the position of the Trade Unions generally; during the past two years the membership has been reduced by half (11,000 in the unitary Trade Unions, and 14,000 in the reformists). The unitary Trade Unions have been partially closed down. No advance has been made in the question of unity, and amongst the leaders of the unitary unions opportunist deviations have arisen. The government and the employers give every possible support to the reformist unions (subsidies, advertisement, etc.). The eight-hour day law, which was passed in the Rumanian parliament early in 1928, is nothing but a swindle; it was welcomed by the reformists, but not attacked by the unitary unions and awakened no interest whatsoever amongst the masses.

Yet a certain radicalisation of the working class has taken

place. There were, for example, the street demonstrations of the unemployed, the Labour demonstration (1927) when Cachin arrived in Bukharest, the participation of the workers in the meetings and demonstrations of the bourgeois opposition, the circle of readers of the unitary "Viata Muncitoare," the "reception" given to Sassanbach in Bukharest, the sympathy shown to the imprisoned Communists, etc. Furthermore, in spite of the terror and the bloody conflicts between the peasants and the bourgeoisie, 30,000 voted for the workers' and peasants' bloc at the 1927 elections (in 1926 40,000 votes were polled).

### **The Activity of the Communist Party in Rumania.**

The Rumanian Party is now going through a critical period as a result of the years of terror, which prevented the Party from becoming strengthened in an ideological sense and caused a temporary disorganisation in its ranks. Under such circumstances the Party has no means of approach to the masses either in connection with political or economic matters, the Party has no illegal press (the "Lupta de Clasa" appears once in six months). During the past two years the Party did not issue even one illegal manifesto, nor did any of the Party organisations show any initiative in this respect, therefore it is clear that it is not only the terror that is to blame, but the cause is much more fundamental and is connected with the process of the Bolshevisation of the Party. For two years attempts to convene a conference have been made without any success. There have been not only the treachery of Kristesku (who was expelled, and is now a pillar of the S.D.P.) and the treachery and betrayal of others, but passivity and demoralisation in the groups and amongst the leaders. The inactivity of the Party was especially noticeable after the murder of Skatschenko, the arrest of Stefanov and others, and the emigration of certain leaders.

The S.D.P. publishes two daily papers which have a circulation of 6-7,000, and four weeklies with a circulation of 5-6,000. The Communist Party was able to influence certain legal papers such as "Inainte," "Desteptarea" and others, and in this way popularised the Party slogans to a certain extent; but as a result of the terror these papers were short-lived.

The illegal theoretical organ "Lupta de Clasa" is published both in the Rumanian and Hungarian languages, but has a very small circulation on account of the terror; it is published irregularly, and therefore develops very slowly. Attempts at reorganisation early in 1928 had to cease because of the numerous arrests which were made, but still the objective position of the workers is very favourable for the revolutionary activity of the workers' organisations generally, and for a Communist mass Party. The masses do not fear the terror, and the capitalist offensive meets with the opposition both of workers and peasants. This is

proved by the protest strikes of the workers of Temesvar and Oradea against the last mass arrests. The Communist Party of Rumania must make every endeavour to become the leading party of the workers.

With conditions as they are it is natural that there can be no great systematic Communist Party work carried out in the Trade Unions. Fractions do not exist, or if they do they are only on paper. During the past two years strong opportunist deviations in connection with the question of unity have been noticeable amongst the Party leaders. Unity was understood as an aim in itself and some leaders feared the terror. Thanks to the intervention of the E.C.C.I. and the C.C. of the Party, which had the large majority of the Trade Union workers on their side, there is an improvement in the situation, though it cannot be said that all the deviations have been eradicated. Left deviations in Trade Union work have also existed, and generally speaking the Party has too little grasp of what practical work in the Trade Unions means. The political influence of the Party and of the unitary Trade Unions is much greater than their organisational power.

No work is carried on in the various co-operatives, which have a membership of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Neither is any work being carried on now amongst women, the youth organisation is badly supported and the Party takes no prominent part in the national question although the national revolutionary movement still exists. The Party made no statement on the question of the Optants (a classic example of the connection between the national question and the peasant question), "the minority bloc" or on the educational laws, etc

The ideological and organisational work which was begun amongst the peasants years ago has practically ceased to exist, the agrarian reform was carried out, but it did not solve the peasant question. On the contrary the decision which the government made in the early part of 1928, to authorise the big "Banca Romaneasca" to raise loans on the land which had been shared out through the agrarian reform, points to a fresh expropriation of the peasantry and a concentration of the land in the hands of the capitalists.

In spite of the fact that the workers' and peasants' bloc has only been active at election times, and the various opportunist errors that have been made, it has the support of the working masses, but chiefly of the peasants and the national minorities. The bourgeoisie and the S.D.P. have every reason to talk of the "Communist workers' and peasant bloc," for the masses fully understand the significance of the workers' and peasants' bloc.

## BULGARIA

### THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE ACTIVITY OF THE C.P.

THE Civil War in Bulgaria which began with the coup d'état of June 9th, 1923, ended in the victory of the Fascist bourgeoisie, which was assisted by international imperialism. This victory brought about a certain transitory stabilisation in the economic and political situation. But the general economic crisis was not overcome, on the contrary the policy of the bourgeoisie has rather helped to intensify this. The policy of exploiting and ruining the small peasant producers and urban artisans for the benefit of big capitalist speculation and the increasing taxes imposed on the masses, has intensified the economic crisis, due mainly, to the primitive nature of agriculture and the declining purchasing capacity of the masses. The foreign policy of the Fascist Government is directed towards delivering up the country, both economically and politically, to international imperialism, thereby increasing the antagonisms and conflicts with the neighbouring Balkan countries and intensifying the crisis.

The attempts of the Fascist Government to overcome the economic crisis by foreign loans and concessions have had a contrary effect. These concessions, especially the agricultural ones, are merely a means of absorbing the national wealth by foreign capital. The new loan which is now expected delivers up to foreign capital all the points of vantage in the economic life of the country, and will only be a temporary solution for the financial difficulties of the State.

The whole situation and the uncertainty at home and abroad has increased discontent amongst the workers, peasants and urban handicraft workers, and even amongst certain sections of the bourgeoisie, on account of the privileges which the big capitalists enjoy. Under such circumstances a political re-grouping is taking place. On the one hand there is extensive concentration of the forces of the bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the strongest and best organised group of big capitalists, whilst there is also a concentration of the forces of the working masses into a labour bloc under the leadership of the revolutionary workers. The main characteristic of this regrouping process is the splitting up of the peasantry and the bourgeoisie; we see the leading middle peasants and petty bourgeois elements going to the right, whilst the masses of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie show an increasing tendency to join up with the left,

and prepare jointly with the proletariat for the struggle against big capital and the Fascist dictatorship.

### **Sections of the Bourgeois Parties.**

The results of this process are already making themselves felt in both bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. In the chief party, the party of the so-called Democratic League, a continuous struggle is raging between its "stems" (the political groups of which it is composed) which threatens to smash up the party. The National Liberal Party has split in three; the Radical Party is going through its second split. The Democratic Party of Malinov has two wings; one favours a reapproachment with the Liaptchev wing in the democratic league, and the other advocates a government combination with the National-Liberals and the agricultural league.

The Social Democratic Party, which is isolated from the labouring peasants and workers is also split. The newly-formed Socialist Federation openly supports the Liaptchev wing in the democratic league, but the old Social Democratic Party is seeking an opportunity to enter some sort of bourgeois government combination, and at the same time keep in with the Agricultural League. The leaders of the Agricultural League, after the split of the extreme Right Wing (Tomov-Omartchevski), have also made a decided attempt to form a coalition with the bourgeoisie against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the members of the League, who support the Left. This leading body is also split up into two sections; one, with Markov at the head, advocates a government coalition with the Liaptchev wing in the Democratic League, and the other, under the leadership of the ex-"Left" Yurdanov and Gitchev, favours a coalition with Malinov and even with the National-Liberals, now based on military circles and the court. The leaders of the Agricultural League are waging a fierce campaign against the Left elements in the League (expulsion from the League, etc.), but at the same time are opening wide their doors to the various bourgeois and military elements who may strengthen contact with the bourgeoisie and the court.

Even in the military organisation, especially in the organisation of the reserve officers, who constitute the backbone of the Democratic League, regrouping is also taking place with a view to joining up in the bloc of the entire Bulgarian bourgeoisie which is in preparation. The political regrouping which is now taking place throughout the country is rendered more complicated by the intervention of the imperialist powers such as Great Britain, Italy, and France, which support first one party and then another as it suits their purpose.

The present government of the Democratic League will have to make way for a new political combination in view of the great

economic and internal political difficulties and the influence exercised by the rival powers. The bourgeoisie is carefully seeking some solution of the problem of a government combination and is concentrating all its forces, establishing connections between the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie, and has a much more comprehensive social basis than the present Democratic League, which has already been shattered by internal differences. But whatever government combination takes the place of the Democratic League, it cannot be created without and against the wishes of big bank capital, which is the biggest and best organised force of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. Neither can it take place without the support of the militarists who control the armed forces in the country.

Hence any such change of government will not undermine the existing Fascist dictatorship in the country, without which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie cannot maintain its rule.

### THE TRADE UNIONS.

The swing to the Left and the increasing activity of the workers are specially noticeable in the determination and discipline of the Trade Union movement. Despite the continuous persecution of the Fascist Government, the Independent Trade Unions still continue to serve as the only economic class organisation of the Bulgarian workers. They demonstrated their sympathy for this organisation at the last congress of the Independent Trade Unions, and also when a mass campaign was carried out throughout the country in defence of the legal existence of the Trade Unions. The Independent Trade Unions have great influence, although they are very weak, both from the organisational and numerical standpoint (8,000 members). All wage campaigns are conducted exclusively under the leadership of the Independent Trade Unions.

The Reformist "Free" Trade Union Federation now enjoys complete freedom and the protection of the Fascist Government, as also during the whole period of the Civil War. It was not able to win over even the most insignificant group of workers from the disbanded Communist Trade Union Federation, but during that period lost a part of its former supporters on account of its counter-revolutionary and treacherous behaviour. This federation is merely the agent of the Social Democratic Party. Its activity consists in supporting the campaign of the Fascist Government and the bourgeoisie against the Independent Trade Unions. At its last congress, composed chiefly of "delegates" of the social democratic co-operative organisation "Napred" it revealed its complete insignificance.

The autonomous organisations of the railwaymen, post and telegraph clerks, teachers, sanitary workers, and other civil servants are of great importance; these are special organisations

comprising some supporters of the Profintern, who had their Red Trade Unions until the coup d'état. These autonomous organisations are under a bourgeois-reformist or purely bourgeois leadership, and their leading organs are becoming fascist. Still the masses organised in them are tending towards the Left and supporting more and more the platform of the revolutionary Trade Unions. The weakness and inadequate organisation of the work of the supporters of Profintern in the autonomous organisations of civil servants and clerks are the main cause of the delay in the formation of a Left opposition, and consequently their affiliation to the revolutionary Trade Unions.

The Fascists are making increased efforts to penetrate into the Trade Unions movement and entrench themselves there. But so far they have had no success with the masses. They are making progress, however, amongst the leaders of the civil servants and the upper stratum of skilled workers and privileged employees in certain enterprises, thanks to the direct or indirect support of the reformists.

The Independent Trade Unions are fighting energetically against the fascist efforts to penetrate into the Trade Unions. They are faced with the task of winning over the masses of unorganised workers, and establishing contact between the masses and the autonomous unions of the Civil Servants and clerks. In this task they must function as the rallying point that will unite the entire Trade Union movement throughout the country into one general Trade Union Federation, based on the class struggle.

The Independent Trade Unions succeeded in defeating the attempt of the Amsterdam International to split the movement by convening the Balkan Trade Union Conference in Sofia last year. Instead, this conference became a splendid demonstration of the Bulgarian proletariat for the unity of the Trade Union movement, and now the Independent Unions are carrying on an agitation for unity amongst the masses in the factories, and preparing for the convention of a general Trade Union Congress with representatives from the factories. The agitation and struggle for this congress constitute a new and decisive stage on the path towards the establishment of real unity in the Bulgarian Trade Union movement.

During the past two years the increased enthusiasm of the workers and the peasant masses was demonstrated in the mass campaigns for complete and unconditional political amnesty, and in protest against the State defence law and the Fascist dictatorship. Those campaigns were carried out in all parts of the country, and hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, artisans, intellectuals, etc., participated in them. A similar picture was to be seen in connection with the movement on behalf of the Labour bloc—a militant body of peasants and workers against big capital and the Fascist dictatorship. By correcting the errors made in the tactics of the united front in respect of the Agricul-

tural League the development of the Left in the League has been greatly assisted, and consequently it has collaborated in the work on behalf of the Labour bloc. The development and strengthening of this mass movement is being guaranteed by overcoming the mistakes made in using the Labour bloc as a coalition between the various parties at election time, instead of mobilising the working masses to carry on an independent struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The fight for the existence of a legal Labour Party and Labour Press is a proof of the increase in the enthusiasm and activity of the masses. The "Noviny" (Independent Labour Gazette) is published and circulates in all parts of the country, in spite of the persecution and continual confiscations; this is due to the moral and material support of the working masses in town and country. It has a circulation of 8 to 10,000, and a large body of worker and peasant correspondents contribute to it. The Labour Party organ, "Rabotnitschesko Delo," continues as usual. The weekly literary paper "Nakovalnya" is very popular amongst the masses. Its transformation into a social-literary paper will doubtless help it to fulfil its special task more successfully.

The liquidatory elements of the type of Zekarov, Todor Danilov, Sider Todorov, Manov, etc., attempted to utilise the mass desire for legal political activity to form an opportunist Labour Party. This attempt was, however, rejected by the masses themselves, and these traitors to the Labour movement were forced to withdraw and close down their organ, "Nov Puty."

Liquidatory tendencies have also made their appearance in the class movement, in the workers' press, the election campaigns, the activity of the workers' group in Parliament, etc. These tendencies met with decisive opposition, and they are now in process of being finally overcome all along the line.

The International Red Aid, which is also illegal like the Party, is more in the nature of an apparatus than an organisation in contact with the masses. Both the Party organisation and the I.R.A. are particularly weak in the countryside.

### THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

In the Young Communist League of the Communist Party of Bulgaria possesses a valuable collaborator. In spite of organisational weakness it works incessantly for the fulfilment of its own tasks, and at the same time helps the Party in its struggle against liquidatory tendencies and both Left and Right deviations.



Since the illegal Party conference, the so-called Vitoshka (it was held on Mount Vitoshka, near Sofia, in 1924), the Communist Party of Bulgaria has been unable to convene a proper Party conference until this year. The Party Conference which substituted a Congress, was merciless in its criticism of the entire previous Party activity. It cleared up all the vagueness, doubts and vacillations which existed in the ranks of the Party in this connection. The Conference gave prominence to the basic political decisions of the Comintern and the Party in respect to the June 9th and September risings, the revolutionary activity of the Party after the September and April events, etc. It explained a number of special questions connected with the Party activity during the period under review, and decided on the necessary changes to be made in the former decisions on social questions. The Party Conference made a categorical declaration that supporters of the "9th of June" outlook and opponents of the September rising could not remain in the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The Conference also made an analysis of the position in the country, and mapped out the political and tactical policy and the immediate tasks of the Party in the spirit of the general policy of the Comintern. Furthermore, it recognised the necessity of strengthening the Balkan Communist Federation for campaigns for the Balkans as a whole, and also for the struggle of the Balkan Communist Parties. The Conference definitely opposed the Trotsky Opposition in the C.P.S.U. and in the Comintern, approved the decisions made to liquidate the Opposition and declared that the Trotsky Opposition had found no support whatsoever in the Bulgarian Party.

# GREECE

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**F**OR almost ten years Greece has been in the throes of an economic crisis. The trade balance sheet has a standing deficit of at least 50 per cent. (in 1926 a deficit of £15,000,000 on imports amounting to £27,800,000). The national budget of 1922 of nine billion drachma had a deficit of three billion (70 drachma = 1 dol.). Seventy-four per cent. of the budget was raised by indirect taxation. The chief items of expenditure are: 26 per cent. to meet the national debt, 20.5 per cent. for the army and navy, 13.86 per cent. for the Government machine, and only 4.4 per cent. for the 1,400,000 refugees who are living in misery.

The refugees constitute 22 per cent. of the population, and almost half of them (650,000) are engaged in agriculture, but for lack of machinery and cheap credit they cannot cultivate the land, with the result that the agricultural output is not yet up to pre-war standards.

Taxes have been greatly increased. From 48.40 pre-war drachmas per capita in 1914 they have increased to 100 drachmas in 1927. The cost of living rises continuously: 17.97 at the end of 1926 to 19.38 at the end of 1927. Wages remain stationary or are reduced, whilst the working day is prolonged.

In the attempt to overcome this crisis loans are sought, economic concessions are granted to foreign capitalists (chiefly British), and the League of Nations has become the real master in Greece. A short time ago there was a quarrel in the International Refugees Commission, because the enormous sum of £10,000,000 was spent without even providing adequate housing and means of living for more than a quarter of the refugees.

The Greek bourgeoisie has used the system of the Coalition Cabinet for the past two years. Immediately after the fall of Pangalos (August, 1926) all parties from the "Left" republicans to the Right monarchists united. The present Government is composed only of representatives of finance and industrial capital and big business.

In matters of foreign policy during the past two years all Greek Governments have favoured Great Britain, despite all the attempts France has made to gain a footing there. Beginning with 1926, a certain rapprochement with Italy was noticeable. The Guarantee Treaty between Greece and Roumania concluded in 1928 is aimed at the isolation of Yugoslavia and of France. Recently relations with the Soviet Union have become more

strained. Under the pressure of Great Britain and in connection with the increased activity of the workers, the bourgeoisie started a violent campaign against the Soviet embassy, accusing it of interference in the internal affairs of Greece.

### **The Situation in the Trade Unions.**

About 100,000 of the 400,000 Greek workers are organised in Trade Unions. Until March, 1926, "The General Federation of Labour" was in the hands of the Lefts, but in consequence of the fierce terror employed by General Pangalos, and with his direct support, the reformists regained control at the Third Congress of the Federation in March, 1926. In reality, however, the majority of the organised workers, about 60,000, continue to support the Left as hitherto.

Powerful unions belong to the Left wing, such as the tobacco workers (30,000 members), the workers in the food industry (8,000 members), the electricians (5,000 members), the building workers (8,000 members), and the workers in the book printing trade, metal industries, leather industry, etc. The reformists control the following unions: the railway workers (5,000 members)—though in this union there is a strong revolutionary minority—the dock workers (7,500 members), the seamen, clerks, etc.

Since the terror has been increased against the revolutionary Trade Unions the reformists have begun preparations for the Fourth Congress. The tobacco workers, who are the most important amongst the revolutionary unions, have been expelled from the Federation and also some other unions, so as to ensure a reformist majority at the Congress. In this manner the reformists are working hand in hand with the terror against the Trade Unions, and preparing a split in the Greek Trade Union movement.

### **The Mass of the Workers Become Radical.**

Radical tendencies have increased amongst the workers as a result of increased exploitation. This was first expressed in the opposition of the workers to the bourgeois attempts at stabilisation and in their struggle for an improvement in their position. The greatest number of political manifestoes was issued in 1927. The militant slogans of the Communist Party awakened a lively response among the workers. In May and June, 1927, the big lock-out of the tobacco workers took place, and also a number of lesser strikes. At the close of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 great unrest began to be manifested amongst the Civil Servants. The big increase in taxation also had its effect in stirring up other categories of workers. In March, 1927, a general strike of artisans occurred, which ended in a bloody

encounter in Athens, and in Crete armed peasant risings took place which lasted for several weeks.

### Activity and Development of the Communist Party.

During the past two years the Party has had considerable successes and become strengthened both ideologically and organisationally. It was forced into illegality by the Pangalos dictatorship, but after his overthrow it regained liberty of action, and utilised this chance to entrench itself in the masses. Now since the anti-Communist law is being discussed in Parliament there is every possibility of the Party being forced underground again.

The most important event of inner political significance was the Third Party Congress, which took place in Athens in March/April, 1927. With the assistance of the E.C.C.I. the way was prepared for further work. The Congress condemned the political errors made during the Kondilis putsch and the other mistakes which threatened to turn the Party into a sect. The Opposition question played an important role at the Congress; it had developed into a Menshevist-Trotsky opposition, and attempted to split the Party. This opposition gave the Government and the entire bourgeoisie weapons against the Party and the Communist International, carried on a fractional struggle, infringed Party discipline and refused to do any sort of practical work. The Party was greatly hampered in its activity by this fractional struggle, but it succeeded in isolating this opposition of petty bourgeois elements from the masses, and in so doing greatly enhanced the ideological level of the Party. The liquidatory Trotsky opposition issued its own pamphlets and papers, and also attempted to gain supporters amongst the youth.

The Party parliamentary group consisting of ten has not been of much use to the Party. One section turned out to be opportunists, and others were of the Opposition and refused to follow Party instructions. Now the immunity of all members of Parliament, with the exception of Maximos, has been cancelled, some have been arrested and others continue their work illegally. The Party took a prominent part in an all-important political and economic struggle and issued the slogan "A Committee of Action in every Village" as a counter-attack to the bourgeois offensive.

The peasant rising in Crete was supported by press campaigns and meetings, and the slogan was "Establish the workers' and peasants' bloc—joint rising of the Greek workers and peasants." The other campaigns were against the coalition government, against the cancellation of the immunity of Communist members of Parliament, in support of a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union, against the lock-out of the tobacco workers in Macedonia. Street demonstrations were organised, and these

often ended in bloodshed since the police and military intervened and arrested the active elements.

During the discussion in Parliament on the outlawry of the Communist Party (April, 1928), the Party called on the masses to demonstrate and issued the following slogans: "Hands off the Party of the workers, hands off the Trade Unions, down with the government of foreign imperialists, long live the workers' and peasants' government!" These slogans were circulated throughout the whole country, special manifestoes being issued for this purpose.

The Agit-Prop work of the Party suffers from want of a Party cadre. The intellectual group continually sabotaged the work, and the Party Executive was forced to get on as best it could with workers less trained and qualified. The only campaigns that were really well carried out were the dispatch of a delegation to the Soviet Union, and that in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Proletarian State. Otherwise the work is weak. At present the Agit-Prop department is issuing a bulletin with instructions on every-day work. The executive formed special groups to discuss the opposition question in order to conduct the struggle against the opposition more effectively. A pamphlet was published on the Russian Opposition, and also one on the opposition in the Greek Party.

### Party Press.

The Party Press consists of "Risopestis," the central organ, which is a daily and has a circulation of 4,500—5,000; the "Avanti," published in Jewish-Spanish, and "Foni tu Ergato" are published weekly in Salonika. The following papers are under the influence of the Party: "Syndicalists," for work in the Trade Unions, and "Agrotiki Enosi," for work amongst the peasants. This latter is a weekly with a circulation of 4,500, mainly amongst peasants. These papers are improving, and more concrete questions are brought under discussion. There is also an increase in the number of worker correspondents.

The Party publishing house is poor, though in a better position than it was two or three years ago. Several books are being published dealing with fundamental and propaganda questions. There exist translations of Marx and Engels, so that for the elementary theoretical basis the workers are provided with books.

### Trade Union Work.

Little progress has been made in the Trade Union work of the Party. The transfer of the leadership of the C.G.T. to the reformists was brought about by the terror and the joint work of the reformists with the Government and the employers, but also because the Communist Party understood little about Trade Union work until about two years ago.

There is a permanent Trade Union commission in connection with the Party central executive and local Trade Union sections exist. The work, however, is so badly organised that there is no connection between the Trade Union commission and the Trade Union sections. There are few fractions; the Communist fraction in the C.G.T. was reorganised recently and is now active, and there are also fractions in the executives of two unions. Generally speaking, the fractions in the reformist Trade Unions and in the revolutionary Trade Unions are of little importance.

The government is now launching out on a systematic offensive which is inspired by the reformists; entire local executives are arrested, active revolutionaries are banished and Trade Unions are dissolved under the pretext that they have deviated from their main purpose.

#### Other Activities.

No Party work is being carried on in the Co-operatives; this movement has a membership of 250,000, composed of peasants who belong to the credit co-operatives.

Work amongst the peasants has gained in importance. The special peasant newspaper rallies large numbers of peasants, and the peasant membership of the Party has increased from 22.7 per cent. in July, 1927, to 32.2 per cent. in December, 1927. The Party policy is closely connected with the daily questions which face the peasantry. All the peasant movements and risings receive the energetic support of the Party and the urban workers. The main Party slogans issued are: abolition of the land tax; a single income tax; cheap long term credits; co-operative banks; trade monopoly of agricultural products for the co-operatives, etc., etc.

The only other non-Party mass organisation where the Communist Party is active is the Red Aid; this organisation works well, and its membership runs into thousands.

The Communist Party is not specially active in connection with the question of nationalities. The Government announced that it would take measures against the "autonomists" in respect to the Macedonian question by way of justifying its terror. The Communist deputy, Maximos, spoke on this question in Parliament and fresh Right deviations were made in this connection. The Party central committee had to declare that the slogan "self-determination even to separation" still continued to be the Party slogan.

Practical work is being carried on amongst the Jews, Turks and Bulgarians, though not on a very large scale.

Work amongst women is carried on by means of a special newspaper, "Ergatria," and women's groups. This newspaper appears weekly and has a circulation of 1,000. "Risospastis" has now a permanent Women's Section.

Party work amongst the youth has recently greatly improved. The contact between the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. is now better, there are mutual representatives and the Party executive helps to organise youth sections in the Trade Unions, and concentrates much more on work amongst the youth than was hitherto the case. This explains why the opposition did not succeed in gaining more than from twenty to twenty-five supporters in the Y.C.L. In December, 1927, 170 members of the Y.C.L., mainly workers, joined the Communist Party of Greece.

Organisation in the Greek Communist Party.—The organisation of the Party has greatly improved. There are street nuclei, factory nuclei and also groups. The membership of the Party at the end of December, 1927, compared with that of July of the same year was:—

Workers: 1,189 (July, 1,040), peasants 418 (July, 292), others 238 (July, 260). December total, 1,845, and July, 1,592.

During the past two years the E.C.C.I. helped the Communist Party of Greece on several occasions, and this help has greatly facilitated the development of the Party.

## SWITZERLAND

### THE ECONOMIC, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF SWITZERLAND.

**B**Y stubborn and successful efforts capitalism has certainly consolidated its position in the Swiss national economy during the last few years. The number of unemployed, which reached its highest point in the spring of 1921, has permanently decreased (except for a few fluctuations); in 1921 the total number of unemployed was 150,000 (with a similar number of part-time workers); at present unemployment is only slightly higher than the standard which was considered, prior to the war, "normal" or seasonal. Of course this is not the same in all industries. The engineering industry, and above all its electrical section, is in a particularly strong position. The electrification of the railways has given a great impetus to this industry. Two powerful groups of banks, in both of which American capital is invested, are endeavouring to develop the export of electrical machinery.

The position of bank capital has been particularly strengthened in the last few years. The big Swiss banks have managed to secure considerable influence and to make profits in connection with the stabilisation of the French and Belgian money standard and in financing the reconstruction of Belgian and French railways.

Swiss agriculture is still in a bad way. The permanent cause of this is the exorbitant mortgage indebtedness, and the extraordinary high investment of capital. With land at a very high price the small and middle peasants, if much in debt, find it increasingly difficult to exist unless prices for agricultural produce are raised. But this is opposed by both the workers and the export industry, the latter being afraid of renewed wage struggles. The leaders of the peasants, however, persist in their policy of demanding higher tariffs and prohibition of the import of meat, cattle, etc.

In the last two years the internal political situation was determined by the struggle for the federal wages law and the corn monopoly. The social democrats did not have the courage to oppose the former, in spite of its reactionary character, and even defended it against the referendum demanded by the Communists; this meant, objectively, a heavy political defeat for Social Democracy. The promulgation of this law means consolidation of the bourgeois position; that the bourgeoisie feels its strength after this struggle on the question of a referendum is



shown by the reactionary measures of the Federal Council in connection with the application of the law.

The struggle for the corn monopoly imperilled the bourgeois united front. The peasants, in spite of the "loyal" declarations of their leaders, cannot be expected to show much enthusiasm for the new solution of the Federal Council: free monopoly. The cultivation of cereals cannot be maintained at its present standard without protectionist measures by the State; the idea still prevails that after the rejection of free monopoly by a referendum, the present monopoly regime will be maintained "provisionally." Then the difference within the bourgeois parties, which were patched up somehow by the "corn peace," will break out anew.

Owing to its traditional neutrality, foreign politics play a very subordinate role in Switzerland. In 1927 there were many incidents on the Tessino frontier owing to the aggressive attitude of the Fascist press. The Federal Council is seriously concerned about the Fascist claims to the Tessino and with the greatest forbearance is endeavouring to settle all conflicts by some compromise.

Relations with France became rather strained by the conflict concerning the Geneva zones and also at the time of the last trade agreement with that country. Hence, the proposed union which came from certain bourgeois circles that Swiss citizens should not be allowed to accept foreign orders (French Legion of Honour). Hostility to the Soviets still prevails; the majority of the bourgeoisie is still against the recognition of the Soviet Government or the resumption of diplomatic or trade relations with it.

### THE SITUATION IN THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

From the political viewpoint, the former differences between the Liberal-Radicals who predominate and the Catholic Conservatives have been smoothed down. At present the struggle between those two bourgeois groups is only a struggle for predominance in the Catholic-peasant cantons of central Switzerland. The federal policy and the policy of the most important cantons consists in an almost united front of the various bourgeois parties against the working class, whose power is growing. The struggle between the two so-called "historic" parties is only for dominant influence among the peasant parties. Such parties do not as yet exist in all cantons. During the last three years the break between the peasants and the historic parties has not made further progress.

### THE SITUATION IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Since its affiliation to the Second International, this party is rapidly veering to the Right. It does everything to avoid dis-

cussions on questions of principle and to eradicate all memories of its own still "revolutionary" programme (it includes proletarian dictatorship), in order to secure votes in petty bourgeois circles. It appears that hitherto this tactic has not been successful; however, the Party benefits by the discontent of big circles of the population, particularly at election time. But its entire policy is determined to a greater extent than in other countries by local (cantonal or municipal) interests. There are also several tendencies within the Party, but the "Left" opposition has no definite policy, it is swayed by sentiment, and therefore its influence is on the decrease, whereas the influence of a religious-social group is steadily increasing.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Three facts are characteristic of the situation in the Swiss trade union movement: (1) General passivity and indifference; (2) decided inclination of the leaders to class collaboration; (3) accentuated offensive of the reformists against Communists and revolutionary trade unionists.

No important struggles take place, and a fighting spirit is conspicuous by its absence. The trade union officials do not make serious efforts to induce the workers to defend what they gained in former years. For instance, the legally established 8-hour day is continually infringed without any resistance being organised to this lengthening of the working day. In the last few years no trade union struggles have taken place involving any organisation larger than a local trade union section.

Complete veering to the Right and agreement with the policy of the Amsterdam International was expressed in the acceptance of the wages law for the Federal employees, which is an infringement of the right to strike and the right of association, and carries in its wake a considerable reduction of salaries for the lower categories.

At the Congress in Interlaken, which was held in September, 1927, all decisions re class struggle, solidarity and strike movements were deleted from the statutes, the leaders desiring to remove from the statutes everything which might hamper collaboration of the bourgeoisie, so as to enable officials and employees in the bourgeois camp to join the Trade Union Federation.

The accentuated offensive against the Communists and revolutionary trade unionists was also inaugurated in Interlaken by the refusal to recognise the Basle Trades Council. The Basle Trades Council was a solid bloc organised within the Trade Union Confederation. In all important questions of national and international trade union policy, the Basle trade unions were opposed to the policy of the Committee of the Confederation.

The struggle against the Basle Trades Council was intended at the same time to crush the Communist Party in its stronghold. The action of the reformists met with stronger resistance among Basle workers than they had expected.

When the workers refused to obey the dictates of the reformists, they had recourse to all sorts of illegal measures against the Basle trade unions.

A Trade Union Cartel, in the spirit of the Trade Union Confederation, has been formed, and the Central trade union organisations encourage the Basle Sections to affiliate to it.

The situation is such that if the reformists pursue their policy, the trade union movement will be split. The majority of the workers are against arbitrary rulings by the bureaucracy, and do not want to give up their trade union rights.

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY.

#### (a) Situation in the Party.

As to the situation within the Party, one can say that it has a collective policy. In the last few years there have been neither Right nor ultra-Left tendencies of any importance. The activity of the International opposition was not reflected in the Party. The conduct of the Opposition was unanimously condemned at two Party Conferences. Neither was anyone in the Central Committee inclined to defend the policy of the Opposition. There were comrades who did not quite agree with all the steps of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., but the action of the Opposition, as well as its platform, were unanimously condemned.

#### (b) Campaigns.

The two most important campaigns conducted by the Party in the course of the last two years were: defence of the corn monopoly and opposition to the wages law for the Federal civil servants. Whereas organised workers were solid in their defence of the corn monopoly and had the peasant association on their side, our Party was alone in the fight against the law. On this occasion the Social Democrats and trade union authorities identified themselves with the stand taken by the Federal Chambers, the bourgeois parties and the economic societies.

Our attitude was the signal for an offensive against the revolutionary trade unions. Since the Trade Union Congress the main task of the Party has been the campaign against trade union disruption.

The Party developed considerable activity during the General Strike and the Coal Strike in Great Britain. When the Executive of the Swiss Trade Union Confederation stopped the collections after the calling off of the General Strike, the Party issued the slogan "Continuation of the Campaign in Aid of the Strikers," and achieved very satisfactory results. We had fac-

tory nuclei which succeeded in arousing among the workers so much interest in the miners' struggle that when the collections came to an end, it was ascertained that on an average every worker had subscribed 10 francs for the British miners.

In the summer of 1927 the Party carried on a vigorous campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. A one-hour protest strike was declared in Basle in which many workers participated. The most important enterprises came to a standstill. There were collisions with the police in Geneva.

The dispatch of a workers' delegation to the Soviet Union was possible only after an energetic struggle against the bureaucrats of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party.

The Party is carrying on a steady struggle against Fascism. There is a comparatively big number of Italian workers in Switzerland. But there are also organisations of Italian Fascists in the most important Swiss towns. Events in Italy always find an echo in Switzerland. In a number of places anti-Fascist committees were formed—always against the will of the leaders—in which the various labour corporations are represented.

Other campaigns of the Party were: For the revolutionary movement in China, for the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, against the affiliation of the Social Democratic Party to the Second International, and for May Day.

### (c) Agitprop.

In connection with all these campaigns many leaflets and pamphlets were sold and distributed.

The Party has five newspapers. Three of them are dailies in German Switzerland, whereas the "Drapeau Rouge" (in the French language) and the "Falce e Martello" (in the Italian language) are fortnightly publications. From May Day the Italian newspaper will be a weekly organ. It is also proposed to make the French paper a weekly organ from July 1.

The circulation of the newspapers has not undergone much change. The number of subscribers to the "Drapeau Rouge" and the "Kämpfer" in Zurich has remained stable. The circulation of the other three newspapers has somewhat increased.

### (d) Work in the Trade Unions.

The work of the Party within the trade unions has certainly improved in the last year. All Party members have joined trade unions. In all big centres where the Party has branches, trade union fractions have been formed. This improvement in fraction work is due to the heated discussions which have taken place with the reformists. There is a central fraction executive in all the central organisations of the federations. In the two most important places—Zürich and Basle, the trade union departments of the Party are doing satisfactory work.

**(e) In the Co-operatives.**

Work in co-operatives is limited mainly to Zürich, Schaffhausen and Basle. In Schaffhausen the Co-operatives are under our leadership. In Zürich we have representatives on the Central Board. In Basle, in the strongest Consumers' Co-operative Society in Switzerland, which has 44,000 members, there are 29 Communists out of 130 members on the Central Board.

**(f) Among the Peasants.**

Work among the peasants is only in its initial stage. In the last years the Party published three numbers of a Bulletin called "Der freie Schweizerische Bauer" (The Free Swiss Peasant). The provisional agrarian programme, adopted by the Party Congress in April, 1927, formed the theoretical basis for a vigorous agitation among the peasants. Such agitation is made difficult by the fact that every peasant belongs to two or three peasant organisations (Party, co-operative, dairy produce association, etc.); the very close relations which exist in Switzerland between the urban and rural population (the "industrial village" type) are, on the other hand, a no less important factor.

**(g) In the Mass Organisations.**

Party members are also under the obligation of becoming members of the Red Aid (I.C.W.P.A.). Broad sections of workers belong to the Red Aid and support it, but, as a rule, do not want to have anything to do with the Party. The reformist leaders do their utmost to discredit the Red Aid and to prevent the workers supporting it.

In the course of last year a beginning was made with the formation of a workers' self-defence force (Red Front). Strong groups exist already in Basle and Zürich, and their members wear uniforms. In some other places preparations are already being made for the formation of such groups.

**(h) The Organisational Position of the Party.**

The reorganisation of the Party on a factory and street nucleus basis is limited to Basle, Zürich and Winterthür. Factory nucleus work, on the whole, is good, and many of the nuclei have done very well. It is much more difficult to make street nuclei politically active. However, one can say that a considerable number of street nuclei are doing good work worthy of imitation. The number of factory newspapers appearing regularly is very small. However, more factory newspapers are published on special occasions; they play a fairly important organisational and also political role.

# SPAIN

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**T**HERE has been a certain improvement in the economic situation in Spain in recent years. Primo de Rivera's government has succeeded in reducing the budget deficit and in improving means of transport.

Protective tariffs on a large scale have been introduced in order to maintain the industries which were developed under war conditions. Import duties on industrial products have been raised and export duty abolished in many instances. During the war the trade balance sheet was favourable, but since that time it has always shown a deficit, though the amount of the deficit has varied: 1919, 408 million; 1923, 1,400 and 1926, 915 million pesetas.

There is considerable unemployment in the textile and metal industries and also in coal mining districts.

Under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera the rather insignificant attempts at technical rationalisation are supplemented by wage cuts and increased taxation of the masses. For instance, the new income-tax regulations mean an increased burden on the workers, and general protests have been made in consequence. In some provinces these protests took the form of strikes, in others of passive resistance, and in January, 1928, there was a general strike in Barcelona, which compelled the united forces of the government and the employers to capitulate. Now the tax on wages is paid by the employers and there is no longer any question of shelving the responsibility. For twenty years there has been a national deficit, which was 246 million pesetas in 1916, and rose to 605 million pesetas in 1926. The interest on the National Debt swallows up 28.45 per cent. of the budget and the expenditure on the army 33.45 per cent.; these constitute the largest items of national expenditure.

## THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The overthrow of the García Prieto government by Primo de Rivera (1923) was equivalent to the declaration of a military dictatorship. The big industrialists looked to this government to put up an effective fight against the labour movement which was growing steadily.

The Primo de Rivera government suppressed strikes and the revolutionary separatist movement of the population of Catalonia and Biscay. The Communist Party, the revolutionary Trade Unions, the Republican Party, and the Catalanian revolutionary organisation were all driven underground.

The "National Advisory Assembly," which was formed in September, 1927, in order to regulate the tension between classes, gave no positive results. In this body the Dictator's party played the chief role. The members of the Assembly, personally appointed by Primo de Rivera, caused dissatisfaction even amongst the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the reformist Trade Unions who were generally in full agreement with the government. The pressure brought to bear by the masses was responsible for this dissatisfaction and they, together with a section of the petty-bourgeois co-operatives, forbade their supporters to have anything to do with the "National Advisory Assembly."

The Spanish petty bourgeoisie expressed its discontent by organising plots. A strong separatist movement sprang up in Catalonia and Biscay, which was supported by the workers, but met with increased terror on the part of the government.

### • Foreign Policy.

Spain is nothing but the tool of Great Britain. The Spanish-Italian agreement, concluded at the end of 1926 is a proof of this, as also the present negotiations in reference to Tangiers. The fact of the Spanish army in Morocco is not only of interest to the big industrialists in the Basque, but also to Great Britain, which cannot allow France to gain a footing beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

The Social Democratic Party. This party, in spite of its "loyal" attitude to the government, has only an individual membership of 5,000 and 3,000 members on a collective basis. The S.D.P. controls the Trade Unions which have a membership of 200,000. The Party has a daily official organ, "El Socialista," with a circulation of 3,500, and also publishes several weekly papers. Unlike the Communist Party the S.D.P. can work quite legally; the "neutrality" of the government towards the S.D.P. is a great asset. Various government institutions choose their officials from the ranks of the S.D.P., thus giving it unpaid propagandists. The direct support of the S.D.P. by the government, such as the visit of the Minister of War to the People's Palace, the public praise of the party leaders by Primo de Rivera, the appointment of Socialists to positions of honour by the King, etc., tends to widen the breach between the leaders and the working masses. The only activity in which the S.D.P. has recently participated is that of the parity commissions.

The employers' offensive on the one hand and the activity of the Communist Party on the other, have hastened the Left development of the working masses in Spain. A result of this was the rejection of participation in the "National Advisory Council" by the extraordinary S.D.P. Congress; this does not mean, however, that the S.P.D. leaders and their "Left" have lost their influence in the organisations.

**Trade Union Work.** There are about 240,000 proletarians organised in the Trade Unions : 200,000 in the General Federation of Trade Unions under reformist leadership, 20,000-25,000 in the various organisations which formerly belonged to the disbanded "National Labour Federation," about 10,000 in the autonomous Trade Unions, which are mainly composed of workers who were expelled in 1922 from the reformist unions, and a few thousand in certain scattered Trade Unions. Thus we see that the number of organised workers to-day represents but a small percentage when compared with the mass of the workers and the position of the Trade Unions immediately after the war. The "National Labour Federation" had almost 800,000 members in 1920. There is now only a very weakly organised minority movement in the Trade Unions. Since November, 1927, "El Heraldo Obrero" (banned by the government early in 1928), the Minority organ, has carried on propaganda for unity on the basis of the class struggle. The struggle for the reinstatement of the organisations expelled by the reformists has met with no success so far.

Since May, 1927, there has been a revival in the Labour Movement. Stubborn resistance is now being made to the employers' offensive on the working day, which was supported by the dictatorship, the betrayal of the S.D.P. and the passive attitude of the anarchists. The opposition takes the forms of partially spontaneous, partially organised strikes like the general strike in Barcelona, the big textile strike in June, 1927, in Catalonia, which involved 60,000 workers, the general strike of the Asturian miners, which lasted forty days and involved 20,000 workers and the purely political twenty-four hour strike against the government, which was declared in Biscay on October 10th, 1927, the day of the opening of the "National Advisory Assembly."

The Activity of the Party. There has recently been a great improvement in the activity of the illegal Party. The Party took an active part in certain economic struggles and it was the Party that organised the political strike of October 10th of last year. The Party published leaflets in which it declared its attitude to the employers' offensive, unemployment, the economic crisis, the Morocco War and the May Day celebrations. In addition many leaflets of a purely agitational nature were distributed locally. But in reference to Sacco and Vanzetti the Party took no action. The great weakness of the Party lies in its inadequate contact with the masses, especially in the industrial provinces of Catalonia, which was demonstrated by the fact that the Party took no part in the strikes in Barcelona during the past year.

The Internal Development of the Party. In 1924 the leadership of the Party was opportunist; it awaited the collapse of the dictatorship without any steps being taken to bring it about. The result was that the Party became absolutely passive in order to avoid the attacks of reaction. The comrades in the industrial districts, especially in Catalonia and Biscay, fought this leader-



ship with great energy, and with the assistance of the Comintern succeeded in changing it at the end of 1924. But the arrests that took place later prevented any systematic activity being carried on for any length of time. In January, 1925, a Plenum of the Executive was held and the ranks of the Executive were again filled, but in two months further arrests were made which weakened the Party still more. Other plenary sessions of the executive took place: the plenum in the middle of 1925 concentrated especially on organisational questions and on the question of the struggle against passivity; a plenum at the close of the same year considered the current political situation, such as the question of the dictatorship, the national question, the Trade Union question, etc.

There was a new crisis in the Party in 1926. New opposition groups arose, which wanted to justify their tendency to passivity by "Left" phrases; all these made Party work more difficult. The crisis was prolonged by the fact that old and well-known comrades participated in the fractional struggle and on account of the illegal conditions under which the Party worked. The question was dealt with at the plenum of the executive in June, 1927, and with the help of the executive the Party again undertook active work.

One of the great shortcomings of the Party lies in the fact that it cannot convene a Party Congress. This has become a vital necessity for the Party, for the last Congress took place in 1923. The June Plenum appointed working commissions for the new Party Congress.

There has been considerable success attained in the activity of the workers' correspondence: the Party central organ "La Antorcha," publishes regularly news and opinions from the workers in the factories. "La Antorcha" is published legally under censorship; it has a weekly circulation of 6,500.

Until 1927 the only illegal literature which the Party published consisted of manifestoes and leaflets. Last year the Party also published illegal pamphlets, and from September, 1926, until August, 1927, the Party issued an illegal bulletin which discussed various Party questions. Legal publications include: pamphlets, translations of Marx, Stalin, Bukharin, and Lozovsky.

The Party carries on hardly any work amongst the peasantry or in the Co-operatives in spite of the great importance of these movements and the fact that some of our comrades have great influence in a number of co-operatives. The great importance of the peasant question in Spain must force the Party to give it the attention it deserves. In addition to about three million agricultural labourers, who are not even in receipt of the pre-war real wage standard, there are in Spain almost half a million peasants who have not sufficient land to supply the wants of their families.

Work amongst women is only beginning, although there are many women occupied in the most important branches of industry

The Party organ "La Antorcha" devoted a page monthly to the women's movement.

Work amongst the youth is more successful, especially since this organisation was reorganised in 1926. In one year the membership doubled. At the beginning of 1928 the circulation of the youth paper "El Joven Obrero" was over 4,000.

The organisational side of the Party has improved in accordance as the Party has progressed ideologically and in general activity. The social composition of the Party is absolutely proletarian. There are practically no intellectuals and very few business employees. The history of the members is as follows: Almost half the members were formerly in the S.D.P., a good proportion were anarcho-syndicalists and quite a small percentage had not hitherto been in any political organisation. During the past few years there has been no increase in membership. A large number of the members are workers in the metal industry and miners. There are very few Party members who are not organised in the Trade Unions.

Two years ago the work of reorganising the C.P.S. on the basis of factory nuclei was begun. Only in one district, Biscay, are there any tangible results to be observed. The Party is unfortunately, very weak in such an important district as Catalonia.

# PORTUGAL

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**P**ORTUGAL'S economic situation, already sufficiently grave under the domination of the bourgeois-republican parties, became considerably more difficult after the victory of the military dictatorship on May 28th, 1926. The situation in the labour market may be generally described as a serious one. Regardless of the weak development of industry, there are already several thousand employed people who are receiving no benefits whatever from the State. In addition to unemployment, short time is worked in the factories. The economic depression is further aggravated by the growing burden of State taxes. The burden is further increased by the financial demands of the body of army officers on which the Dictatorship relies. The maintenance of the dictatorship and social perference for the army officers are two inter-dependent factors.

The economic depression leads to a situation under which the military dictatorship does not even enjoy the confidence of the bourgeoisie. Its manifest administrative and political incapacity, coupled with the uncertainty of its retaining power, have caused the leaders of banking capital to hold back, which has been shown by the reserved attitude of the banks in the course of their mutual negotiations.

In the political field, the dictatorship is continuing an openly reactionary course. Parliament has been dissolved, the labour and republican press has been persecuted and banned, premises occupied by labour and republican organisations have been raided and shut down, and numerous workers, as well as active elements in the republican party, have been imprisoned and deported to the African colonies.

The right to strike, as well as the freedom of the press and of public meeting, have been withdrawn, and a rigid censorship introduced. State officials have been denied the right of combination. Labour leaders have been exiled to the African colonies.

The revolt in May 1926, led by General Gomez da Costa, put the petty-bourgeoisie "democratic" government out of office. Costa relied essentially upon the agrarians. Nevertheless it was the desire of British capital invested in Portugal that a government should be in power which would be dependent on British finance. Thus it was that in the course of a few weeks the Costa government was overthrown and the government of General Carmona took its place. This government managed to consolidate

its power. Thus, in the course of the last insurrection in February, 1927, it was in a position to rout the insurgents without mercy, aided by the government troops. In the last insurrection the casualties amounted to 300 killed and 900 wounded, although the area of the insurrection was limited to Lisbon and Oporto.

The insurrection was started by the liberal-democratic groups of the middle bourgeoisie, but it involved also a section of the army, viz., some of the higher officers; nevertheless, it had not been properly prepared. Armed citizens and workers took part, whilst the labour organisations sympathised with the revolt. The transport workers' strike, which broke out about the same time, should have been of assistance to the insurrection.

The slogan of the insurrection was: Restoration of the republican constitution and the formation of a government upon that basis. At all events, these demands were insufficient to induce the masses of the people to support the insurrection.

The dictatorship swings, pendulum-like, in its orientation between England and United States. This oscillation was demonstrated in the course of the attempt at floating a foreign loan. The British conditions (made over the head of the League of Nations) were so exacting that the Portuguese Government saw itself forced to apply to the United States on the security of its colonies, thus withdrawing from the proposal to float a loan in England.

The growing influence of the United States is particularly revealed in the colonial territories of Portugal. Here we refer only to the abolition of the English pound sterling as the means of currency in Portuguese East Africa. A fresh attack on Portugal was then started in England, and in March, 1928, it was declared in "The Times" that the National Party in Portugal had been split and that the most important section of the Party had refused to give further support to the government's policy of favouring the United States. Thus, the rivalry between Great Britain and United States for the control of Portugal is going on.

### **THE SITUATION IN THE BOURGEOIS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.**

In spite of the persecution and of the defeat sustained on February 7th, the Republican Party is now becoming very active in the hope of being able to overthrow the dictatorship. Illegal papers are appearing everywhere, in which the dictatorship is scathingly assailed. Although the Republicans are not in the position to regain their lost prestige among the masses of the population, nevertheless it is still believed—but such belief is fostered rather by despair than by conviction—that they will succeed in overthrowing the Fascist dictatorship, which, accepted by the population without any enthusiasm, is already becoming the object of popular hatred.

The political influence of the reactionary, monarchist and Catholic parties which support the dictatorship is nil. They are making no headway whatever, and are equally detested by the population.

The "Partido Socialista Portugues" (Socialist Party) embraces no masses of workers, having long since forfeited the confidence of the working masses. Taking advantage of the ban of the military dictatorship against any propaganda by Communists, Anarchists and Syndicalists, the Socialists tried to win the leadership of the labour movement, and they developed some activity in this direction. Nevertheless, they soon found that the masses of the organised workers would no longer give them any support. In spite of all repressive measures, the workers are decidedly opposed, practically without exception, to the ideas of social and industrial peace and of class collaboration which are so assiduously preached by the Socialists. The Socialists managed to retain their parliamentary seats and their position in some of the bourgeois governments only by means of a deal with the bourgeois Republican Party.

The Socialist Party Press is represented by the little newspapers "O Protesto" and "O Trabalho" at Lisbon and "A Republica Social" at Oporto. The influence of this Press is quite insignificant.

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Lately the trade unions have been passing through a severe crisis. The Fascist dictatorship, particularly since the insurrection of February 7th, has inaugurated a régime of bitter persecution of the trade unions and the revolutionary organisations. This has brought trade union activity almost to a standstill. The great majority of the trade unions, with very few exceptions, *e.g.*, the Union of Army Arsenal Workers, the Union of Naval Arsenal Workers, the Federation of Commercial Employers at Lisbon, and the Union of the Railwaymen employed by the "Companha Portuguesa," have therefore experienced a large falling off in the membership.

Trade Union and other meetings may be held only by permission of the military authorities, which send police agents to supervise such meetings.

Among the workers a certain, although very feeble and little expressed, tendency toward radicalism is to be observed. This tendency is partly the result of the failures of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, but it is also partly due to the activity of the adherents of the R.I.L.U. This process has also been helped by the dictatorship itself, since the government policy causes many workers to begin to realise their position as the exploited class who have nothing to expect from the bourgeois parties. It is largely owing to the lack of sympathetic activity by our Party

and by the R.I.L.U. adherents—which is also due to objective difficulties—as well as to the lack of good Marxian-Leninist and revolutionary literature, that this process is going on so slowly.

### DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE C.P.

The Central Committee of the C.P. of Portugal, elected at the Lisbon Congress at the end of May, 1926, was confronted with a situation that was difficult in every way, which was the result of the illegality of the Party, the numerous mistakes of the previous Central Committee, the lack of discipline, the state of disorganisation, and other factors.

Even the composition of the new C.C. was by no means so homogeneous as would be desirable for such a leading organ, and the little questions, which had hampered any extensive activity by the previous Central Committees, began to manifest themselves already at the first meetings of the new C.C.

Owing to these circumstances, and, above all, owing to the difficulties due to illegality, the C.C. could do very little to further the development of the Party. During that period the C.C. confined itself to the task of bringing the organisation into shape, and of securing the control of the Party membership which appeared to be necessary.

The outstanding success in the general activity consisted in the fact that the C.C. elected at the Second Congress succeeded in having its representative admitted into the "Comites de Defesa Proletaria," an organisation directed against the military dictatorship and formed by delegates of all the Red and Anarcho-Syndicalist trade unions. It was the first and only time that the C.P. succeeded in gaining admission into such an organisation controlled by anarchists as a revolutionary and proletarian body. The resolution adopted at the public meeting of the organisation at Lisbon on June 9th had been drawn up by our comrades.

The Trotsky Opposition has met with no support whatever in the C.P. of Portugal, and the members paid no attention whatever to this question.

The Party was prevented from undertaking any general propaganda by means of newspapers and leaflets, both by the rigours of the censorship and by the lack of financial means.

As regards activity in the trade unions, the Party has no great successes to record. The inactivity of the major part of the Party membership rendered almost impossible any progress in this important domain. Only a few fractions have been active at Lisbon, but even these have been rather deficient. In most of the trade unions there are either no fractions at all, or they are not active. Among the Red trade unions there is a Communist fraction only in one organisation, namely, in the Federation of Commercial Employees at Lisbon.

As to the activity in the co-operatives, the Communist Party

in 1926-27, backed by the R.I.L.U. adherents, took up a fight for winning the "Caixa Economica Operaria" (the Workers' Economic Fund). It is an old-established co-operative credit and consumers' organisation which, after a certain period of favourable development, during which it gained considerable popularity, began to lose a good deal of its influence among the workers owing to negligence and abuse on the part of many of its leaders.

The Communists gained great influence in the organisation, but shortly afterwards, owing to insufficient activity by the Party and to aggressive action by the Anarchists, this influence began to wane. Thus this organisation, which might be used with some success for our activities under the repressive military dictatorship, is slipping from the hands of the Communists.

The Party finds itself in a difficult position, having only fifty members at Lisbon and twenty at Oporto. Lately, the C.C. has carried out successful efforts for a reconstruction of the Party, for a cleansing of the Party ranks and the introduction of the necessary discipline. The few factory nuclei which have hitherto existed have failed to show the activity that was expected of them.

To sum up, the situation may be described as follows :

The far-reaching misapprehension of the essence of Communism, the lack of activity of the majority of the membership, the lack of unity in the leading organs of the Party, its illegal condition and rigorous persecution, as well as the lack of financial means—these are the chief obstacles to progress in the C.P. of Portugal.

# POLAND

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE present period of partial capitalist stabilisation was preceded by an acute economic crisis beginning with the early part of 1924. The main causes of the crisis were the absence of markets, the inadequate economic merging of the three districts (Posen, Galicia, and Poland Proper), the post-war exhaustion of the country and the discrepancy between the capacity of the productive apparatus and the power of consumption. Poland had open foreign markets so long as her products were cheaper than those of other countries owing to the inflation of her currency. The home market became greatly contracted owing to the general impoverishment of the great masses of the population caused chiefly by the inflation, the failure of the Government to stimulate the development of agriculture, and the excessive State budget. Grabsky's stabilisation of the currency at the beginning of 1924 deprived Poland of her export advantages and Polish industry could no longer compete on the foreign market. The following figures of unemployment illustrate clearly the growing economic crisis :—

January, 1924	...	85,000	January, 1925	...	170,000
April, 1924	.....	102,000	April, 1925	.....	180,000
July, 1924	.....	145,000	July, 1925	.....	172,000
October, 1924	...	150,000	October, 1925	...	202,000
January, 1926—350,000.					

The stagnation in industry, the continued unfavourable trade balance, the acute customs war with Germany, and the deficit in the budget which had to be covered with the help of new issues and foreign loans, shattered Polish currency. The undermining of her currency caused a withdrawal of foreign credit which made the crisis still worse. The beginning of 1926 marked the culminating point of the crisis. In February the number of unemployed was 363,000, and one-third of the workers employed were working part time.

The output of coal dropped from 3,008,000 tons in 1923 (88 per cent. of pre-war) to 2,300,000 tons in the first quarter of 1926 (68 per cent. of pre-war). The output of steel decreased from 70 per cent. of the pre-war level in 1923 to 37.5 per cent. The number of hours each machine worked in the textile industry was 51 per cent. of the pre-war level in January, 1926, while in 1923 the level was 110 per cent. of pre-war. In the other industries the situation was about the same.



Grabsky's non-parliamentary Government, having stabilised its finances, eventually lost the confidence not only of the broad masses but also of the bourgeoisie, and had to make way in the autumn of 1925 for Skrzhinsky's parliamentary coalition Government. The coalition included representatives of the bourgeoisie—the national and Christian democrats, representatives of the well-to-do farmers—the Piasta Party—and the compromising labour parties—the Polish Socialist Party and the National Labour Party. The aim of the coalition Government was to set the country's finances in order and to secure a foreign loan, since only by means of this could the stabilisation of capitalism be achieved. In addition, a foreign loan was necessary for armaments, for new industrial investments, for agriculture, railways, etc. But so long as Poland continued to be the tool of France and to maintain her traditional anti-German policy, the hope of receiving a loan from abroad remained remote. The Government secured economies in the budget by means of extortionate taxes, pressure on the workers, reduction of salaries of State employees, and wholesale dismissals. This general crisis in the economic and political situation of Poland gave rise to great discontent not only among the workers and peasants, but also among the intellectuals and petty-bourgeoisie. On the other hand, discontent spread also among the propertied classes, and made itself felt in the compromising parties. Apart from the several groups which broke away from the "Vysvolenie" without however any serious conflicts, seven Left deputies also withdrew from the "Vysvolenie" club and organised the Independent Peasant Party, whose programme demands the taking over of land without compensation, an alliance between the workers and peasants, and a Workers' and Peasants' Government. At that time, the national White Russian Club also broke up and two deputies who had withdrawn from that club organised in the summer of 1925 the White Russian Workers' and Peasants' Gromada, with practically the same platform as that of the Independent Peasant Party. Among the workers, too, a Leftward trend began to develop. The discontent in the P.P.S., which found expression at first in the formation of an oppositional fraction within that party, and later in the organisation of the party known as the Left P.P.S., also dates back to that period.

An economic crisis, great unrest among the masses, complications in the sphere of foreign policy—such were the circumstances in which the Fascist coup d'état took place.

The growing Anglo-Soviet conflict enhanced the importance of Poland in the eyes of Great Britain. On the other hand, Poland's foreign policy, with its French orientation and its hostility to Germany blocked the way to foreign loans. French patronage, in view of the weakening of that country, became less valuable to Poland. All this created conditions for a

change of Polish foreign policy away from France and in favour of Great Britain and for the inclusion of Poland in the general European scheme of stabilisation. Great Britain saw in Pilsudsky the best tool for carrying out her hostile plans with regard to the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, shortly before the coup d'etat, representatives of the propertied classes were vociferous about the necessity for a strong Government which would be able to snatch away from the working classes all post-war conquests and intensify the rate of exploitation. Pilsudsky, who was quite popular among the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and among some sections of the proletariat, was best able to exploit the unrest of the masses so as to realise the bourgeois programme of capitalist stabilisation by means of a Fascist dictatorship.

The chronic economic crisis could be overcome only by a change in the economic policy. The policy of the preceding Governments far from consolidating the bourgeoisie, actually succeeded in disrupting them. The landed interests and a section of the financial and industrial bourgeoisie rallied around Pilsudsky even before his coup d'etat. "Pilsudsky"—as the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Poland stated—"was most suitable for the role which the big bourgeoisie, the landed interests, and the British imperialists assigned to him. Under the cover of a struggle against Fascism he established a Fascist dictatorship. Deceiving the workers, the poor peasants, and the urban petty-bourgeoisie, he united all classes of exploiters and oppressors and became an agent of British anti-Soviet policy in preparing Poland for an attack on the U.S.S.R. whenever the signal was given by Great Britain."

Polish Fascism has made it its business to stabilise Polish capitalism at the expense of the working class. Pilsudsky's Government, which is the expression of a bloc of the big bourgeoisie and landlords, adopted the following principles for its economic programme: (1) the support of capitalist development in agriculture; (2) a striving towards collaboration with foreign capital with a British orientation; (3) capitalist rationalisation of industry by attacks on the conditions and the wages of the working class. By intensifying the exploitation of the labouring classes, by the granting of the "Stolypin" agrarian reform to capitalists' agriculture, and through the influx of a certain amount of foreign capital, especially in connection with military preparations, the Pilsudsky Government temporarily succeeded in overcoming the crisis, stabilised the budget and the Zloty, augmented the gold reserve in the Polish bank, reduced the rates of interest, somewhat extended the home market, increased the output of industry and agriculture, stopped the growth of unemployment, and even reduced it. The situation improved in all the most important branches of industry. This is evident from the increase in the number of workers in the

mining and manufacturing industries and of the municipal employees from 527,000 in January, 1926, to 759,000 in September, 1927. There is not a single industry which cannot record an increase in the number of its workers during that period. The number of unemployed dropped from 314,000 in January, 1926, to 116,000 in September, 1927. The Fourth Congress of the Party pointed out that "the most important factor in the relative stabilisation of Polish capitalism is the extension of the home market which has recently been attained by the manipulation of the favourable conditions on the home market, the war orders, and the Government stimulation of capitalist development in agriculture."

The extension of the home market, as has already been pointed out, is due to the growing buying capacity of the well-to-do peasantry and the upper strata of the middle peasantry, and also to the war orders and the revival of construction. But a necessary condition for the realisation of Pilsudsky's stabilisation programme is an increase in the pressure on the working class by means of reducing wages, and by the raising of the productivity of labour. The developing rationalisation throws many workers out of employment, and although there is now a considerably smaller number of unemployed than a year and a half ago, is largely the cause of the present unemployment.

The political expression of partial capitalist stabilisation is the consolidation of various groups of the Polish bourgeoisie and agrarian interests around Pilsudsky's Government. As far as the working class and the poor peasantry are concerned, the Fascist Government has issued a series of new 'Decrees directed against them. With regard to the revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Parties, the Government resorts to ever more and more ruthless methods of terror, which are directed primarily against the C.P.P. The peasant organisations, such as the Peasant Party and the Gromada, which developed into mass revolutionary peasant parties, have been smashed by the Government. With regard to the bourgeois elements of the national minorities, the Government adopts towards them a policy of bribery. In general, Pilsudsky's entire home policy is subordinated to his preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.

Fascism has consolidated its position on the basis of this policy and on the success of partial stabilisation. On the other hand, there is a profound process of radicalisation of the masses and a growing influence of the C.P.P. on the basis of the sharpening class antagonism. A vivid example of this can be seen in the recent Sejm elections. It is perfectly clear that the pressure of the Government machine, and the terror and violence employed against the toiling masses, had their effect on the election returns; but even the official results show that a change has lately occurred in Poland.

Pilsudsky received in direct support 2,739,301 votes. The

capitalists, the landlords, and the well-to-do peasantry, and also some of the petty-bourgeoisie were on his side. The results in Warsaw and in some other industrial centres show that Pilsudsky has even gained some following in some of the working-class districts. The bourgeois parties, such as the National and Christian Democrats on the other hand, were badly defeated. The P.P.S. lost ground in several industrial centres, but secured some of the former followers of the Christian and National Democratic Parties and also some of the rural votes. The Communist Party, at the head of the anti-Fascist bloc, came out of the elections triumphantly. The fact that the anti-Fascist bloc received over 800,000 votes, a considerable number of which were given for annulled lists, shows that the influence of the Communist Party has increased among the working class, in the villages, and among the national minorities. The C.P.P. has become a political force in Poland, not only as a party of the urban proletariat, but as an actual leader of the entire revolutionary working class, the poor peasants, and the subject peoples.

### ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

#### The Internal Situation.

The activity of the Communist Party of Poland was based on the general situation. On the whole it can be said that, notwithstanding all the difficulties—the illegal status of the party and the terror which grew more intense after the Fascist coup d'état—the party has increased its influence among the masses and actually was the leader in several mass actions.

The struggle for a correct Bolshevik policy was accompanied by an inner party struggle and severe crisis, which the party finally overcame.

The Fifth Congress of the C.I., which came out resolutely against Right deviations in various Sections of the Comintern, laid the foundation for the liquidation of the Right deviations in the Polish Party. The period between the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the Third Congress of the C.P.P. (the beginning of 1925) was devoted to the liquidation of the Right blunders of the party. But at the same time, certain ultra-Left tendencies revealed themselves in the Party Executive, which were a result of the general political situation, and which became greatly intensified during the struggle against the Right deviations which was waged too mechanically and on a weak theoretical level. The Third Congress, the object of which was to liquidate the Right Wing crisis in the party, and to broaden the decisions of the Second Congress, revealed certain ultra-Left tendencies. After the Third Congress the ultra-Left tendencies gained ascendancy, and a number of serious errors were committed by the Party Executive. The most important of these were:—

1. The relegation of political campaigns to a secondary position and the restriction of party activities chiefly to economic questions (the absence of campaigns during the Government attempt to curtail the rights of suffrage, in connection with the Locarno Pact, on the occasion of Chicherin's arrival in Warsaw, in connection with the customs struggle in Germany, etc.).

2. The wrong conception of the united front tactics (the Central Committee ordered the organisation of independent demonstrations on May 1, 1925, without reference to united front tactics).

3. The under-estimation of the role of the trade unions.

4. The advocacy of terrorist methods by some comrades of the party executive, who endeavoured to prove that acts of individual terror are a means of rousing the activity of the masses.

In the sphere of international questions the ultra-Left deviation found expression in the support of the international ultra-Lefts in opposition to the E.C.C.I. In June, 1925, the C.C. C.P.P. passed a resolution condemning the tactics of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, and Bulgaria as a turn to the Right. By this act the C.C., C.P.P. came into conflict with the Comintern. The resolution adopted by the E.C.C.I. on this question and also the letter of July 31, 1926, did not immediately have the required effect on the party. A struggle was going on within the organisation between the ultra-Lefts, headed by Dorsky and Ossinskaya, and the party which upheld the position taken by the Comintern. The ultra-Left deviation was liquidated at the Fourth Party Conference (January, 1926), which condemned the political line of the C.C. In view of the fact that the ultra-Left errors resulted in a certain alienation of the party from the masses, the Fourth Party Conference raised the question of going back to the masses. The period subsequent to the fourth conference showed that the party was being directed along this line. However, soon after that conference, the Party Executive committed very serious blunders in connection with the Pilsudsky putsch. The Party Executive did not fully realise the Fascist nature of the putsch, which was aided and facilitated by the erroneous attitude of the party leaders. The Party Executive appealed for "moral and material" aid to Pilsudsky's army with the only reservation that "the aims of the Communist Party go much further than those of Pilsudsky." Some members of the Executive even considered the May coup d'etat as a revolution. They maintained that that revolution must be consolidated, that the P.P.S. was sabotaging the revolution, etc. A resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Party revealed that not only had the party leaders failed to show the Pilsudsky danger, but that they themselves fell under the influence of petty-bourgeois elements, and instead of mobilising the toiling masses for a

struggle against Fascism at the time of the coup d'état, they helped the latter to rally the masses to its side.

The E.C.C.I., in a letter to the party of August, 1926, and later the Fourth Party Congress, declared that "all leading representatives of the various tendencies in the party constituting the present C.C." were guilty of this serious political error.

The first serious step towards the rectification of the May blunders was taken in the June theses of the C.C., although these theses did not eliminate the erroneous position of May on many questions. A group of four comrades submitted a thesis in opposition to the C.C., denying the Fascist nature of the coup d'état, estimating it as a movement of the petty-bourgeoisie against the Hieno-Piasta Capitalist Government, i.e., adhering to the mistaken Right position of the party in May. The thesis of this quartet thus continued the Right errors of the party in May.

The first step in the process of a radical reorientation of the Party was the open letter of the E.C.C.I. of August, 1926. At the September and November Plenums in 1926 and the February Plenum of 1927, the Party Executive made continuous progress towards the rectification of the old erroneous views, but at the September Plenum the resolution on the most important question—the present situation and the task of the party—was not accepted unanimously. The Minority of the C.C. presented its own draft theses, which were also backed by the "quartette," but later recognised that these theses were hampering the struggle of the party against Fascism. The difference between the resolutions of the Minority and the Majority found expression in the formulation of a whole series of questions of a theoretical and tactical nature. The minority minimised the significance of the errors of the "quartette," maintaining that the greatest danger came from the majority which represented the Right Wing and which pursued a consistently opportunist policy. The Majority, however, was of the opinion that it was precisely the Minority, together with the "quartette," which represented a Right deviation, having regard to the fact that they refused to abandon the Right mistakes of the party committed in May.

At the subsequent plenums and in the daily activities, the struggle between the Majority and the Opposition became more and more acute and raised the question of starting a broad inner party discussion. This discussion, in accordance with instructions from the E.C.C.I., was carried on among the rank and file members of the party, in the groups and in the local committees, but took the form of a fierce factional struggle.

The Fourth Congress of the Party (summer of 1927), the object of which was to liquidate the inner party struggle and to consolidate the organisation, summarised the results of the discussion on the most important questions as follows :

^ The representatives of the majority made a serious study of, and, on the whole, have correctly interpreted, the

facts and achievements of the relative stabilisation of Polish capitalism under the Fascist regime. The representatives of the Minority were inclined to deny these facts, especially in the sphere of the manufacturing industries. Some of them either exaggerated the backwardness of industry or ignored for a long time the process of unification of the entire bourgeoisie around Pilsudsky. . . . In appraising the nature of Polish Fascism, both the Majority and the Minority have shown during the discussion a certain inclination to concentrate all attention only on one side of the question. The Minority laid stress on the basic (i.e., capitalist) class character of the Fascist dictatorship, primarily as a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie. It under-estimated, however, the degree of consolidation of its various sections and insufficiently analysed the inner mechanism of the coup d'etat (the utilisation of the petty-bourgeoisie and some sections of the proletariat, etc.). The Majority, on the other hand, recognised the capitalist nature of the Fascist dictatorship but endeavoured to establish the special forms and methods by which it was accomplished, it weakened its thesis on the big capitalist character of Fascism by incorrectly over-estimating the role of the petty-bourgeoisie. . . . The Majority of the C.C. correctly analysed the role of the petty-bourgeois and compromising parties under Fascism. . . . But, on the whole, the correct analysis of the petty-bourgeois parties made by the Majority did not exclude the fact that some members of the Majority erred by regarding the social-democratic and democratic parties as being apart from Fascism. To advance the slogan of withdrawing the mandate given by the Sejm to Pilsudsky, as proposed by the Minority, would have strengthened and confirmed the erroneous view of the masses that the petty-bourgeois and compromising parties were really able seriously to counteract Pilsudsky's fascist dictatorship by means of 'parliamentary democracy' . . . . The majority of the C.C. acted correctly in emphasising the great importance and revolutionary significance of big economic strikes in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship. The Opposition endeavoured to interpret the viewpoint of the majority of the C.C. on the basis of various expressions in the September theses as 'opportunism economism, propagandism and spontaneity' . . . . The opinion of the Majority of the C.C. that under the Fascist dictatorship no partial demands of a general democratic nature can be advanced was wrong . . . ."

In pointing out the errors and defects in the work of the C.C. of the Party, the Fourth Congress declared that "the C.C. did not take into account the development of an extremely dangerous opportunism in the leadership of the C.P.W.U. and did not start a timely struggle against it," that the head of the Trade Union Department committed an opportunist error in connection with

the amalgamation of the Chemical Workers' Unions, that there were defects in the rural work and in the activities in the army. The Congress recorded the absence of fundamental differences in the main Party issues, recognised that the line of the C.C. and that of the opposition have lately been on the whole correct, and insisted on the consolidation of the Party.

Calling attention to the greatest successes and achievements in the work of the Central Committee the Congress pointed out :—  
“a) the increase of the Party membership which had almost doubled . . . . a considerable extension of the network of factory groups and the increase in the percentage of industrial workers in the Party . . . . the restoration of several district organisations destroyed in the foregoing period . . . . b) the growing influence of the Party and the greater confidence in it which found direct expression in the results of the elections in the sick benefit organisations and in the municipal elections :—c) the Party attained certain results in the trade union movement, particularly in Poland proper, and captured several trade union branches of the railway workers, miners, metal workers and even some entire trade unions, and organised a broad trade union opposition : d) the Party has greatly increased its influence among the White Russian peasants : e) it has created and utilised many cultural and educational mass organisations in extending its influence among the broad masses : f) it has made progress in the sphere of its periodical press :—g) it was successful in the Young Communist organisations.”

Further, the Party recorded that :—“a) Many big strikes were lately organised and led by the Party . . . . b) in the May Day demonstrations of 1927 the broad masses of workers marched for the first time since 1919 under the banner of the C.P.P., the demonstrations being numerically greater than those of former years, especially in the Dombrov Basin, in Lvov and in Western White Russia . . . . c) The Party had the undivided leadership of the powerful revolutionary movement of White Russia, involving hundreds of thousands of peasants.”

The achievements of the Party have increased owing to the well-organised election campaign during the Sejm elections, but at the same time dangers have arisen which were pointed out even by the Fourth Congress. A group of intellectuals headed by a section of the former leadership of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (see part dealing with C.P.W.U.) left the Party.

In creating the political pre-requisites necessary for the consolidation of the Party, the Fourth Congress decided to dissolve the factions. But despite the Congress decision, the inner Party struggle did not cease after the Congress. The struggle is still in progress both in the Central Committee and in some local organisations. However, the practical work of the Party creates a basis for its consolidation. As a proof of this may serve the fact that throughout the period since the Congress there have been



no serious differences on the most important issues, and those differences which did exist have on the whole been liquidated.

There is no formal Trotskyist group in the Party. Certain Trotskyist sentiments were expressed in some districts, but these the Party was quite successful in overcoming. The Domskey-Ossinskaya group abroad, which has become alienated from the masses and was expelled from the Party, holds Trotskyist views.

### **Political Campaigns of the Party.**

Among the minor political campaigns between the Fifth Congress of the C.I. and the Third Congress of the party, the most conspicuous one was the widespread campaign for the release of political prisoners. The campaign was carried on in the towns and in the countryside and was linked up with the international campaign. The period between the Third Congress and Fourth Conference was marked by insufficient Party activity in political campaigns. Of the more important political campaigns of that period, the struggle against the land reform scheme of the Sejm should be mentioned. The party succeeded in rallying to its side not only the revolutionary peasants, but even some of the representatives of the vacillating parties, such as the "Vysvolenie" and the national White Russian and Ukrainian clubs. Many meetings were held, leaflets and proclamations distributed, and the Congress of agricultural labourers and poor peasants, which was convened by followers of the P.P.S., was utilised. Another campaign which assumed wide dimensions was the struggle against the white terror.

Notwithstanding the fierce inner party struggle since the Fourth Conference, that period witnessed many political campaigns. Since Pilsudsky's coming to power the Anti-War Campaign stands in the foreground of all those conducted by the party. The question of the war danger was raised by the party in connection with the Government's attack on the White Russian Gromada, and other legal mass organisations, in connection with Comrade Voikov's assassination, in connection with the Chinese Revolution, etc. A great shortcoming of the campaign was that it did not, at the start, reach the masses. It assumed the form of a mass campaign after the assassination of Comrade Voikov and during the Lodz strike in March. The question of the strike was linked up with the Anti-War Campaign and the campaign against an attack on the U.S.S.R., while that strike was still in preparation. May 1st, 1927, and the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, were celebrated under the slogan of the Anti-War Campaign. The Fourth Congress once again called for greater attention to the Anti-War Campaign, while this question was in the forefront throughout the election campaign.

Of the other campaigns of the party, the following should

be mentioned: the campaign in aid of the British miners which, although it did not result in a sympathetic strike, was of a mass character in the coal districts; the campaign for the release of political prisoners, which attracted the broad masses of workers and peasants (this campaign was particularly effective in Upper Silesia, the Dombrov Basin and in White Russia); the campaign for a property tax on the bourgeoisie, estimated to yield 700 million zloty (the Left peasant parties were drawn into that campaign; it did not, however, assume a mass character, being interrupted by the May events); the protest campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the campaign against the destruction of the Gromada and the Independent Peasant Party, which assumed an independent character only in Western White Russia. One of the most important campaigns, and one well organised by the party, was the Election Campaign.

The party achieved a number of successes in the municipal elections. In Warsaw, the Workers' Unity Ticket, which was annulled, received 75,000 votes, i.e., 90 per cent. of the total; in Lodz it received 48,600, in Zegresh 24.3 per cent., and in Zavertsi 19.1 per cent. of the votes. It secured in the rural areas of Poland proper about 100 seats on the village councils; in Western White Russia it secured over 350, and in Western Ukraine about 50 per cent. of all the votes.

In the Sejm elections, the anti-Fascist bloc, led by "Workers' and Peasants' Unity," received about 830,000 votes. The election results show that the C.P.P. has become a powerful factor in the industrial centres. The Workers' and Peasants' Unity Ticket in the Dombrov Basin received the highest number of votes—67,169; in Warsaw it received 65,800, and in Lodz 49,000. The party mobilised the broad masses of workers and peasants in a united front for a systematic struggle against Fascism during the Sejm and the municipal election campaigns. The main slogan was the struggle against the menace of war against the U.S.S.R. and against the preparations of Polish Facism for that war.

The Party put up its own lists, the radical revolutionary labour and peasant organisations also having their lists. The task before the Party was of a highly complicated nature. It had to carry on its agitation in such a manner as to make the masses understand that there exists one revolutionary bloc opposed to the Fascist bloc, advancing separate candidate lists with common slogans; it has to prevent a splitting up of the votes. In order to achieve this in places where several anti-Fascist tickets of the bloc were in the field, the Party agitated only for one ticket. The Party turned the entire election campaign into a mass campaign. The first step in this direction was the collection of signatures for the list of candidates. The Party received a considerably greater number of signatures than required by the electoral laws. Another form of mass work was the organisa-

tion of mass electoral committees. There were about 300 such committees set up. The Party organisation of the Dombrov Basin, where the idea of such committees was first advanced, was very active in this work. Each committee in Dombrov consisted of one Party member and two sympathisers. There were 237 such committees set up in that district. Also, house election committees were very widespread in Warsaw. A third form of mass work was that of mass meetings which frequently turned into demonstrations. Other forms of mass activity of a specifically local character were organised in the various districts.

The tactics of the Party during the elections were very well understood by the masses and showed that the Party knew how to manoeuvre. All anti-Fascist elements rallied to the slogans and banner of the Party.

Of the campaigns during the last few months, the following should be mentioned; the campaign to send a delegation to the U.S.S.R. and the campaign in connection with the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution. Both campaigns, which were of a mass character, were interrelated, and many meetings were held which elected delegates for the visit to the U.S.S.R. and to the Congress of Friends of the Soviet Union. More than seventy delegates were elected in the factories and the trade unions, among whom were followers of Scheidemann, members of the P.P.S. and non-Party workers. At the same time, an educational campaign was carried on within the Party and among the masses in connection with the Trotskyist Question.

### **Activities of the Communist Sejm Fraction.**

Notwithstanding the great difficulties, the Communist fraction established close contact with the working masses and became useful in the mobilisation of the broad masses of workers and toilers of town and country. The activities of the Communist Party, which was weakened by the imprisonment and removal of deputies Lantzutsky and Krulikovsky, became more intensive after Comrade Varsky and Sokhatsky were elected to the Sejm. During the period between the Fourth Conference and Fourth Congress of the Party, there were 110 meetings held, called by our deputies, in which about 200,000 people participated. The Communist fraction in the Sejm played a most active role in all political campaigns of the Party, particularly in the Anti-War Campaign. Since Pilsudsky's coup d'etat, the Communist fraction has constantly brought the war danger to the fore, both in the Sejm and at mass meetings. Among the errors of the Communist fraction in the Sejm we can mention certain opportunist statements in the speeches of the deputies, statements which were particularly dangerous uttered on the tribune of the Sejm. The Fourth Congress recognised that "the activity of the Sejm fraction was very little under the control of the C.C."

### **The Party and the Economic Struggle of the Working Class.**

Notwithstanding the mistakes committed by the Party during the various economic struggles of the proletariat, notwithstanding the fact that there were instances when various Party organisations under-estimated the importance of now one and now another economic struggle, the Party on the whole took a correct position in the economic struggle of the workers. The Party conducted an intensive campaign in organising the masses for a struggle against the attack on wages and the eight-hour day, against so-called rationalisation and against the arbitration policy. Practically all the most important strikes since the Fifth Congress of the Comintern up to 1927 inclusive, were organised and led by the Party.

The strike in Upper Silesia in 1924 assumed wide dimensions. In that campaign, the Party, which had the leadership entirely in its hands, succeeded in coming closer to the masses, inspiring the workers throughout Poland and developing a broad mass campaign. The Party's mistake in that campaign was that it did not sufficiently link it up with the struggle for the trade unions.

In the Metal Workers' Strike in 1925 in Warsaw, the Communists played a most active and decisive role. The strike was disrupted by the members of the P.P.S., who were soon followed by the national and Christian unions, and the workers had the opportunity to see once again that the Communists alone are fighting in defence of their interests.

The period prior to the May coup d'etat in 1926 was characterised by a slow but steadily developing strike movement in all industries. Minor local campaigns, mostly of a defensive character, were launched by the workers in various industries. The chief strikes at that time were those of the tram and telephone workers in Warsaw. The Party organisation, although at first caught unawares, became very energetic during the campaign. Many proclamations were issued and attempts were made to unite the two strikes, etc.

Side by side with this developing strike movement, arising from the profound and acute economic crisis, there was also a powerful movement among the unemployed. Numbers of unemployed demonstrations ended in bloodshed. An unemployed demonstration in Kalish turned into an armed battle. There were bloody demonstrations in Zaventzi, Warsaw, Lublin, and Stryi. The Party led the unemployed movement, while the reformists sabotaged it. The Party tried to link up this movement with the struggle of the working class and with the trade unions.

The May coup d'etat at first led to a considerable increase in the activity of the working masses and to a wave of strikes. But this wave soon subsided, and the general tendency during this period was for local and partial campaigns. In connection with the Fascist endeavours to settle all conflicts by means of

arbitration, and to introduce capitalist rationalisation at the expense of increasing exploitation of the working masses, the Party had to pay ever-greater attention to the struggle against arbitration and rationalisation. Almost all strikes and conflicts of that time were settled by arbitration. The strikes against the growing exploitation in Ezerne and Zhiradov ended in failure. The woodworkers' strike in Podkarpatia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was practically the only victorious strike. One of the largest strikes after the Fascist coup d'etat was that of the textile workers in Lodz in March, 1927. The Party organised this, and led it under the slogan "Down with Government arbitration." Having regard to the fact that the Lodz Party organisation linked up this struggle against arbitration with the Anti-War Campaign, the strike assumed a political character. During the strike the Party organisation of Lodz displayed the maximum of activity. It issued numerous proclamations and a newspaper, it organised a strikers' demonstration, Party comrades spoke at all assemblies and meetings called in connection with the strike, etc.

In the summer of 1927 the Party led a strike of building and woodworkers in Warsaw, Lodz, Lvov, and Cracow, a metal workers' strike in the Dombrov Basin, and several other minor strikes.

### **The Organisational Situation of the Party.**

Ethnographical Poland.—At the Fourth Party Conference eight functioning district organisations were represented. By the Fourth Congress there were fifteen district organisations. The membership increased during that period 100 per cent. The Party increased its membership particularly after the May events.

The organisational structure of the nuclei assumes various forms. The Party's policy is to base the organisation on factory groups; but in some districts, even in proletarian centres, the percentage of factory groups is small. The highest percentage is to be found in Upper Silesia, reaching 82 per cent. In Warsaw the factory groups constitute 68 per cent. of all nuclei. In the Dombrov Basin the percentage is about the same. Apart from factory groups, there are craft groups (organising the workers on the trade principle), mixed groups, rural, women's, and unemployed groups.

The situation in some of the most important organisations of Ethnographical Poland.—The Warsaw organisation enjoys the best conditions, as it has, to a considerably larger extent than any other Party unit, the support of the Central Committee and particularly the support of the Sejm fraction and the Secretariat of the C.C. It has greatly increased its membership recently.

The Lodz organisation purged itself of its agents provocateurs during the period between the Fourth Conference and the Fourth Congress and has commenced systematic work. A weakness in

intellectual forces produces a corresponding weakness in propagandist activity in the Lodz organisation. In all large factories where there are no groups there are individual comrades who belong to mixed groups.

Dombrov Basin.—The Party has strong organisations in five out of nine districts, and has considerably strengthened itself during the last few months.

Upper Silesia.—The organisation is very young and the traditions of illegal work comparatively small. While the Party officials are not sufficiently developed in one respect, they have experience in extensive legal activity. For that reason the organisation conducts fairly successful mass campaigns which are of a semi-legal character. Work among the German workers is weak. Here, too, there is a scarcity of intellectual forces.

Warsaw Suburb.—The greatest shortcoming is the small number of factory groups. Out of 30,000 industrial workers in the district, which contains such a large industrial centre as Zhirdov, there are only four.

Western White Russia.—Notwithstanding the white terror and the frequent raids, the White Russian organisation shows great vitality, which is the more significant in view of the fact that the organisation is young and poor in organisational forces.

The White Russian district committees display a good deal of initiative. The White Russian organisation and some of its district committees do a good deal of publishing work.

There is close contact and collaboration between the C.C., C.P.P. and the C.C., C.P.W.W.R.

Western Ukraine.—The Communist Party of Western Ukraine has experienced a profound internal crisis (which is referred to in the section dealing with that district) which could not fail to leave some traces. Almost the whole of the former leading group left the Party, but all the district organisations have declared almost unanimously in favour of the Comintern. Owing to the withdrawal of the former leaders the Party had to reorganise the whole of its machinery and of the organisation which formerly found expression chiefly in the Party machinery.

### **Agitprop Work of the Party.**

The Agitprop Department of the C.C. has been in existence throughout the period under report. In the big centres such as Lodz and Warsaw, for instance, there have also been district agitprop departments.

The agitprop work in Western Ukraine and Western White Russia is carried on by the Central Committees of the respective parties through their agitprop departments. During the period of this report many general and national Party schools and short-term courses have been organised under the leadership of the Central Committee.

**Party Publicity.**—During the period between the Fourth Conference and Fourth Congress, the Party greatly developed and extended its publicity work, particularly in Western White Russia. The total number of illegal publications is close on 500, with a circulation of about 3,500,000; it should be emphasised that the illegal press has been greatly developed. Between the Fourth Conference and the Fourth Congress thirteen issues of the Central Party organ, the "Red Banner," have appeared. Six numbers (with a circulation of 3,000) have appeared during the first four months of 1928. The theoretical organ of the Party, the "New Review," appeared in eight issues between the Fourth Conference and Fourth Congress. The "Discussion Bulletin," published during the Party discussion, appeared in six issues. The C.P.W.W.R. issues the following illegal publications: "The Bolshevik," a monthly with a circulation of 1,500 copies—two issues appeared in 1928; the "Red Banner," a monthly with a circulation of 2,000; the "Bulletin of the C.C.," with a circulation of 1,000 and "Under the Communist Banner," a theoretical organ with a circulation of 500.

The C.P.W.U. publishes a theoretical organ, "Our Truth"; a journal, "Land and Freedom"; and, for the Polish comrades, the "Red Banner," etc. Before the split the C.P.W.U. issued a legal organ entitled "Light"—a trade union journal. A legal organ, "Der Kampf," and several illegal papers are being published in the Jewish language. From time to time irregular legal publications are issued in the Polish language.

### **Party Work in the Trade Unions.**

**The Organisation Question.**—The last few months have witnessed a certain change in the fact that the trade union apparatus of the Party has been revived. Hitherto the local trade union departments and fractions were, with few exceptions, in their initial stages. Now there are trade union departments in all the important proletarian centres.

The policy of the Party is to establish Red fractions, both local and central, in all industries and trade unions. It has not yet succeeded, however, in organising central fractions in the main industries such as the textile, mining and metallurgical industries. There are centralized fractions in the railway workers', chemists', food-workers', leather workers', woodworkers', and builders' unions, etc. There are district fractions in the most important branches of industry.

**Trade Union Achievements.**—The Party was very successful in the trade union movement during the period between the Fourth Conference and Fourth Congress. It succeeded in penetrating new territories (Galicia), and in securing control of trade unions in the border districts, including the chemical and glass-workers' unions and many branches of the railway, mining and metal-workers' unions, and several trade union branches in White

Russia. During the last few months the Reds have secured a majority in the No. 2 Branch of the Food-Workers' Union in Warsaw, the Painters' Branch of the Building Workers' Union of Warsaw, and the Lodz Branch of the Clothing Workers' Union. Notwithstanding all these gains, the Party has, in an organisational respect, lagged considerably behind the growth of its political influence in the trade unions.

One great achievement of the Party in the trade union movement was the creation of a broad trade-union opposition in 1926. Thanks to that opposition, the Party was able to make headway in the trade unions beyond the limits of the Communist and Red Fractions.

A positive achievement in the work of our Party during the period between the Fourth Conference and the Fourth Congress may also be considered the appreciable strengthening of the trade-union press.

Shortcomings and Defects in Our Trade-Union Work.—The main shortcoming in the work of the local Party organisations in this sphere, manifested in one way or another during the period under review, is the insufficient attention devoted to trade-union work in general. This shortcoming made itself particularly felt during the ultra-Left crisis in the Party, when a tendency asserted itself in favour of setting up factory committees against the trade unions.

A great defect was the Party's failure to influence the movement for the creation of a wide trade-union opposition in definite legal organisational forms. No attempts were made to centralise the oppositional movement, which was mainly confined to several districts: Cracow, the Cracow district, Silesia.

Another defect in our trade union work was the great falling-off of activity among the agricultural labourers.

In the sphere of tactics a serious error was committed with regard to the slogan of the impartiality of the trade unions, which was not publicly criticised in many districts, notwithstanding the instructions of the Central Committee and the R.I.L.U.

The biggest mistake of the Party was its opportunist tactics in connection with the amalgamation of the Red and reformist chemical workers' unions. In the first place, the negotiations prior to the amalgamation were carried on in secret, and later the amalgamation took place on the basis of a clearly reformist platform to which our comrades agreed. This happened without the knowledge of the C.C., which was unable later to rectify the mistake of the Trade Union Department.

Notwithstanding the resolutions passed by several congresses and conferences, the Party does not yet work in the national and peasant trade unions, although there are appreciable numbers of workers within them, and although there is a real danger of



their coming under Fascist control owing to the ideology and traditions of their backward members and the complete absence of revolutionary elements.

### **Party Work in the Countryside.**

The Third Congress brought before the Party the task of organising a mass movement under the banner of struggle for the land and on the basis of championing the daily interests of the peasantry. The Congress brought to the fore such burning peasant issues as the partitioning of land, forced labour, rational distribution of land, emigration, taxes, schools, credit, democratic liberties, and police terror. With regard to the agricultural labourers, the Congress decided to organise local committees and to launch a campaign among them advocating trade-union organisation with the object of removing the compromisers from the trade union leadership.

The Fourth Conference of the C.P.P. advanced as the chief Party task the freeing of the poor and middle peasants from the influence of the landlords and rich peasants, and of bringing them closer to the proletariat. With the object of intensifying its work among the peasantry, the Party has taken steps towards the strengthening of its rural apparatus and the creation of mass revolutionary peasant organisations. Notwithstanding the great difficulties arising from the growing white terror, several district rural organisations have been restored. The Party succeeded in calling two conferences of restored rural organisations and in issuing several numbers of the "Gromada," an illegal rural Party organ. The following figures indicate the growth of the rural Party organisations: before the Fascist putsch there were over 100 rural groups with about 700 members. In addition to that the Party had contracts in several hundred localities. At the same time it endeavoured to organise Communist and Red fractions in the agricultural and foresters' union. There were fractions in eighteen branches of the union in March—April, 1926.

In March, 1926, the Party launched a campaign in connection with the Congress of the agricultural and forest workers' union, which was linked up with the struggle against the collective agreement. The Red fraction had twenty delegates at that congress.

The rural Party organisations take part in all important campaigns of the Party. Some of these campaigns affect big masses of peasants as, for instance, the unity campaign. Among the defects of the Party work in this respect should be mentioned the absence of activity among the agricultural labourers and inadequate publication work.

### **Party Work in Western White Russia and Western Ukraine.**

In Western White Russia and the Ukraine, Party work is conducted by autonomous parties—the Communist Party of

Western Ukraine and the Communist Party of White Russia. At the head of these two parties there are Central Committees elected by their respective congresses and conferences.

### **The Communist Party of Western White Russia.**

During the period since the Fifth Congress of the Comintern the C.P.W.W.R. has experienced a powerful development of revolutionary sentiment among the broad masses of White Russian peasants, which culminated in 1924 and the beginning of 1925 in broad guerilla warfare against the Government of occupation. As a result of the high pressure of the revolutionary peasants and of the national liberation struggle, the Second Conference of the C.P.W.W.R. of October, 1924, decided "to organise and to make political preparations for an armed insurrection." The tactics of the Party, such as the refusal to pay taxes, the boycott of the Polish schools, etc. were based on this main line.

There is no doubt that the Party succeeded during that period in organising powerful mass campaigns among the peasants (the anti-tax and anti-school campaigns). The Party was able rapidly to develop and to consolidate its influence organisationally. But in view of the weakness of the revolutionary movement in the towns, the passivity of the proletariat and the absence of a direct revolutionary situation in Poland, the Party orientation towards an immediate armed uprising was erroneous.

The Third Congress of the C.P. placed on record the erroneousness of that policy, and pointed out the necessity of linking up the entire revolutionary movement in Western White Russia with the revolutionary movement throughout Poland and the movement of the proletarian masses. This change in tactics revealed certain weaknesses in the work of the Party, certain dangerous deviations, such as: (a) an under-estimation of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution; (b) a blurring of the class differentiation of the peasantry; (c) an over-estimation of the independent role of the peasantry; (d) terrorist tendencies in the Party.

On the background of these deviations a small group of nationalist-minded elements broke away from the Party, being known as the "Secession," adopting S.R. ideas and going over to the other side of the barricades. The Party successfully and speedily coped with the ideological and organisational attack of the "Secessionists," smashed them, and isolated them from the proletarian and toiling masses in general.

The Third Conference of the C.P.W.W.R. (at the beginning of 1926), on the basis of the decisions of the Third Congress and Fourth Conference of the C.P.P., acknowledged the incorrectness of the policy of an armed uprising adopted by the Second Conference; and in a summary of its work, in which was recorded a

number of big mass campaigns of the Party, the Conference recorded "that this appreciable political work of the Party among the masses was greatly hampered by a series of errors of the C.C. which were a result of the general ultra-Left course of the C.P.P."

The Conference advanced as the "main general task the spreading of the influence of the Party among the workers of White Russia, and the drawing in of the advance-guard of the proletariat" into the Party. At the same time, the Party proclaimed the task of spreading its influence among the masses of peasants, the consolidation of that influence, the creation of broad revolutionary peasant organisations, the "drawing into its ranks of the most revolutionary class-conscious elements of the rural proletariat and poor peasants." The decision of the Third Conference of the C.P.W.W.R. to concentrate on mass work gave good results. At the beginning of 1926 the Party began rapidly to restore its ranks, which had been broken up at the end of 1925. The Party developed extensive political work among the masses. That work was considerably hampered by the errors which the leaders committed, as well as by the erroneous policy of the C.P.P. in general at the time of the Pilsudsky coup d'état. The work was considerably weakened also by the errors of the leaders of the C.P.W.W.R. during the 1926 May Day campaign in the sphere of national policy (the advancement of the slogan of national equality for White Russians) and the united front tactics. These errors were corrected by the subsequent plenums (June and September, 1926), and the Party set itself the task of organising the broad toiling masses of Western White Russia and launching several mass campaigns. Under the leadership of the Party a militant peasant and national liberation movement developed, called forth by the growing revolutionary sentiments of 1926 and the accentuation of the class struggle.

The Party took the lead in this growing movement and consolidated its influence by means of several big campaigns, directing the movement along the channels of an organised mass struggle against the Fascist dictatorship, and linking it up with the proletarian movement in White Russia and throughout Poland.\* The campaign for the release of political prisoners was particularly successful. Throughout the country big militant demonstrations were organised, tens of thousands of signatures were collected, etc. With the active participation of the masses, the Party launched an anti-war campaign, a campaign for native schools, a campaign against forced labour, a campaign against taxes, etc.

At the beginning of 1927 the Government broke up the radical peasant movement (the Gromada). The Party then organised a mass campaign against the white terror, numbers of protest demonstrations (in Gossov, Slonim and other towns demonstrations of thousands of people ended in bloodshed), numbers of mass

meetings. The Party launched a mass campaign in defence of Gromada and against its destruction.

During that period the Party also improved somewhat its positions in the towns. In the summer of 1927 the Party conducted a municipal election campaign, during which it secured big victories, both in the rural and urban districts. The Seventh and Eight Plenums of the C.C. (October, 1927, and January, 1928) dealt with the errors of the Party leaders during that period (the attitude to the urban petty bourgeoisie, the united front tactics, the municipal election campaign, the attitude to the rich peasants). Based on the new situation in Western White Russia—the greater Fascist influence among the masses, the deflection of the White Russian rich peasants to the side of the Fascist dictatorship, the numerous vacillations among the leaders of the militant peasant movement and, parallel with this, the consolidation and strengthening of the anti-Fascist bloc—the Plenum placed a series of new tasks before the Party. During the recent Sejm election campaign, notwithstanding the ferocious Fascist terror, the Party obtained a brilliant victory (the workers' and peasants' bloc received 350,000 votes in Western White Russia). The elections have shown that the Party is very influential among the poor and middle peasants and that there is irrefutably a process of radicalisation going on within the working class. The Ninth Plenum of the C.C., C.P.W.W.R. (April, 1927) summarised the results of the election campaign and advanced a series of new immediate tasks. These tasks are: to intensify Party activity with the object of winning over the majority of workers; to consolidate the Party influence among the masses in organisational form; to fight against the penetration of Fascist influence among the masses of the workers and peasants, to intensify the struggle against the Polish and White Russian compromisers, and to continue the struggle against all vacillations in the national liberation, and militant peasant movement.

### **The Communist Party of Western Ukraine.**

At the beginning of 1928, a split took place in the Communist Party of Western Ukraine. The former leaders of the Party came over for a time to the proletarian camp from the camp of counter-revolutionary bourgeois democracy, succumbed to the influence of the well-to-do peasants and vacillating petty bourgeois elements, and adopted an erroneous nationalist and opportunist policy. The C.C., C.P.W.U. passed a resolution as early as the beginning of 1927 substituting the slogan of "land to the peasants without compensation" by "land at a price fixed by the peasant committees" in connection with the partitioning of landed estates. This substitute slogan was similar to the Stolypin land "reform" passed by Pilsudski. At the beginning of 1927 the Vasilkiv-Turianski group attacked the C.C., C.P. of Soviet Ukraine for

condemning Comrade Shumski's nationalist ideas, which were the result of growing pressure of the bourgeois and kulak elements, who are striving to adapt the economic and cultural development of Soviet Ukraine to the standards of the bourgeois West, and thus build a bridge for Polish Fascism. Under the pressure of the E.C.C.I., the C.P.P. and the C.P. of Soviet Ukraine, the Vasilkiv-Turianski group renounced its errors, but only in form. In actual fact it even increased its attacks on the C.P. of Soviet Ukraine. The policy of the Vasilkiv-Turianski group was also opposed to the E.C.C.I. with regard to the broad workers' and peasants' organisations. It made no attempt to influence in good times the Selsoyous deputies to withdraw from the national Ukrainian deputy club. Later, it came out resolutely against the errors of the Volya Naroda-ites in the Selrob (an organisation uniting the Selsoyus and Volya Naroda), but failed to fight against the opportunist mistakes of the Selsoyous elements, thus helping to sharpen their nationalist tendencies. After the split in the Selrob (September, 1927) it continued to give ideological support to the former Selsoyous elements in opposition to the former Volya Naroda-ites. The E.C.C.I. and C.P.P. (at the April Plenum 1927, the Fourth Congress and the November Plenum of the same year) passed several resolutions on the Ukrainian question, trying to preserve the Vasilkiv-Turianski group within the Comintern, but that group was sinking ever deeper in the mire of opportunism and nationalism, departing further and further from the Comintern, and finally publicly attacked the Comintern, the C.C., C.P.P. and C.P. of Soviet Ukraine. At its anti-Party and anti-Comintern Conference, that group founded its own party and usurped the name of the C.P.W.U.; it put forward its own candidates during the Sejm elections. The overwhelming majority of members and locals of the C.P.W.U. declared against the disruptive group. The C.C., C.P.P. expelled all leaders responsible for the split and passed over the leadership of the C.P.W.U. to comrades who remained loyal to the C.P.P. and the Comintern. The Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. confirmed that decision of the C.C., C.P.P.

During the period covered by this report the C.P.W.U. conducted a number of successful campaigns:—the municipal election campaigns, the general strike of the wood and oil workers connected with the shootings in Zvina and Nadvirna, the agricultural labourers' strike, and several political strikes. The main shortcoming of the Party emerging after the split is the isolation of its leaders from the rank and file.

### Work Among Germans and Jews.

Work among the Germans is very poorly organised and is confined to inadequate agitational and propaganda activity.

The Central Committee has a Central Jewish Bureau for work among the Jews. This bureau is elected by delegates of

district bureaux. In the chief centres of Jewish workers there are district bureaux. The task of the Central and District Bureaux is to draw up plans of work among the Jewish workers (these plans are confirmed by the district and central committees), to carry on propaganda and agitation among the Jews. Up to 1926, the work was chiefly of a propagandist nature; since 1926 it has assumed the character of mass work.

Apart from the general Party campaigns conducted by the Jewish Bureaux in 1926, the following deserve mention: (1) against the Government's extermination policy; (2) for uniting the Jewish with the general trade unions; (3) a school campaign; (4); an anti-religious campaign; (5) a struggle against Zionism and Poale-Zionism.

The Party fought the reformists in the Jewish settlements also. For the first time after the Fourth Conference it undertook a struggle against the bourgeois and clerical organisations. (Prior to the Fourth Conference the Party confined itself to the struggle against Socialist Nationalism, leaving the daily struggle against Zionism and clericalism almost entirely in the hands of the Bund).

### **Party Work in the Broad Revolutionary Organisations and Societies.**

In the campaigns against the white terror, for an amnesty and against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Party was greatly assisted by the I.R.A. The latter supports about 6,000 political prisoners and their families. Of the big mass trials which took place recently, the following should be mentioned: the trial of 151 workers in Vladimirovinsk, the trial of 333 in Ludsk, and the Gromada trial of about 500, including five deputies, now going on in Vilna.

The Freethinkers' Society is now under the influence of revolutionary elements. It is engaged in extensive cultural and educational work and publishes a journal.

Work in the Co-operative Movement is very weak. During the last two years the co-operative department has not shown any signs of life at all.

Work in the Municipal Councils. We secured over 150 seats at the last elections. There is a municipal department connected with the C.C. of the Party and departments connected with some district committees to guide the activity of our fractions in the municipal councils. The oldest red fraction is the Bendjin Workers' Solidarity Club (five deputies). At first the club was guilty of some opportunist errors, but it later rectified its position. Now, together with the club of the Cheldasi Dombrov Basin, which has lately been dispersed, it can serve as an example for the other fractions because, owing to its intensive work and frequent reports, owing to its sincere defence of the workers and poor peasants' interests, it enjoys the sympathy of the broad masses

of workers. The work in the fractions in many other localities is of the same character. In some councils, particularly in the villages, the activities of the fractions are very poor.

### **Party Work Among the Youth.**

During the period beginning with the Third Congress and ending with the Fourth Conference, the work of the Y.C.L. weakened as a result of the ultra-Left tendencies which were were much stronger in that organisation than in the Party. The Fourth Conference pointed out the necessity of overcoming the ultra-Left tendencies, combating sectarianism, creating juvenile sections in the trade unions, etc. After that Conference, the Y.C.L. strengthened its organisation and took a most active part in all Party campaigns. The numerical strength of the Y.C.L. is shown by the following figures: in 1926 its membership was 3,700; by the Fourth Congress it was 5,200. Fifty-four per cent. of all members reside in Poland proper, 40 per cent. in Western White Russia and 6 per cent. in the Ukraine. The Y.C.L. took a very active part in the general Party campaigns, in the struggle against unemployment and against militarism. The following were the most important Y.C.L. campaigns: against the Fascist industrial law directed against the entire working class, and particularly against the youth; the campaign in connection with the Youth Congress, which was carried on on a mass scale, although the Congress was never held; Children's Week; against military and clerical teaching in the schools; the Fifth Anniversary of the Y.C.L. organisation; International Youth Day. The Y.C.L. also conducted a campaign during the last months of 1927 and the beginning of 1928 against the opposition in the C.P.S.U. and simultaneously continued its campaign against the industrial law.

### **Work Among Women.**

The C.C. has a Women's Department. Women constitute 8 per cent. of the Party membership. The Women's Department organised a school to train women leaders. The Party has no women's journal, but all Party newspapers and the press of the sympathising organisations deal with questions of interest to women. The March campaigns are being conducted by means of mass meetings, by impromptu gatherings and by issuing legal and illegal circulars.

# FINLAND

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

**P**RODUCTION in the most important branches of industry (woodworking, paper and cellulose) has risen continuously during the last two years. Export of timber broke the record in 1927 amounting to more than 80 per cent. of the total exports. Food products, which in the main supply the domestic market, also show an increase. On the other hand, certain branches of industry (*e.g.* the metal and textile industries) show but slow progress.

In agricultural production there is likewise a tendency towards an increase of productivity. For instance, the increase in the grain crop, and in dairy produce (butter and cheese), although this has not yet reached the pre-war level.

The relatively successful development of capitalist industry, apart from the favourable market conditions, can be accounted for by the policy of rationalisation, low wages, and the lengthening of the working day by legal and illegal means.

The political power of the bourgeoisie has been definitely consolidated. During the period covered by this report, they felt themselves strong enough to allow the revolutionary movement freedom of expression, without adopting any particularly extreme measures of persecution. Signs of disintegration within their own camp influenced them in this direction. This factor, together with the activity of the working class, has led the bourgeoisie to tolerate a purely Social Democratic Government ever since the end of 1926. Up till the end of 1927, the Social Democrats governed in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and entered into a practical working bloc with the Swedish Party, the representative of the big industrial capitalists. The bourgeois policy of economic and political stabilisation was so successfully carried on by the Social Democratic Government that the entire industrial and agricultural bourgeoisie expressed their gratitude and gave them support on all main questions. The Social Democratic Government, among other things, lengthened the working day, smashed the strike of the paper-factory workers, prevented the victory of the locked-out metal workers, and with the aid of the political police, initiated the persecution of the Communists in a manner that even the earlier bourgeois government had deemed unnecessary. This was continued by the new big-peasant government with great intensity. The latter owes its existence to the differences between the bourgeois parties, but the growing discontent among the masses of



the peasantry also played a part in its formation.

"Stabilised" White Finland is coming more and more under the domination of the foreign policy of Great Britain. The most important steps taken in this direction in recent years were made during the term of office of the Social Democratic Government. Apart from the organisational disintegration of the Party, and the decline in membership, which followed the earlier temporary increase in 1926, the policy pursued by the Social Democratic Government led also to an internal split. Thus at the Plenary Party Council held at the beginning of April, 1926, 58 members who were described by the Plenum as "Communitistic foreign elements" were expelled from the Party. Under the conditions prevailing in Finland this event is of great importance. The situation in the Party has induced the leaders, among whom are members of the Government responsible for the policy referred to above, to play with "Left radicalism," to defend "Marxist Communism," to "adopt" the platform of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," to speak about the "unity of the labour movement," while at the same time collaborating with the bourgeoisie in the most treacherous way.

### THE LEGAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

The situation within the trade union movement presents the following characteristics: (1) a big increase in membership; (2) a militancy and readiness for struggle, expressed in the successful strikes organised by the various organisations; (3) the growth of the influence of the Left and revolutionary elements, and the increasing striving for unity; (4) the revival of the splitting policy on the part of the Social Democratic and reformist leaders with the support of the bourgeoisie, and, arising therefrom, the growing danger of the consolidation of opportunism and reformism. The membership of the trade union federation, which includes 17 trade unions, has increased in two years by 50 per cent. On December 31, 1925, it numbered 50,000 members, in 1925/26 it numbered 62,000, and in 1927 it had grown to 76,000.

A strike of the transport and saw-mill workers took place in 1926 affecting approximately 25,000 workers, and ended with an incomplete victory. In addition, dozens of minor strikes have occurred in different branches of industry. In 1927 there were numerous small strikes in the handicraft and building industries which, on the whole, ended in victories for the workers. The sawmill workers and the transport workers made preparations to participate in a big strike, which had already been begun by a section of the metal workers. The capitalists, however, retaliated by a lockout of 20,000 metal workers which lasted seven months. The lockout ended with wage increases

in the metal industry averaging 9 per cent. This year there were a number of successful strikes among the building workers.

The influence of the Left Wing in the trade union movement shows an increase. In 1926, the Left captured the leadership in the administration of the central organisation and at the Congress had 75 per cent. of the mandates. In those trade unions which are in the hands of Social Democratic leaders, *e.g.*, the textile workers' union and the paper mill workers, Left wing influence had also increased, especially among the latter. At the same time a very powerful campaign for unity is making itself felt among the masses, both in the national and international trade union movement. The Norwegian-Finnish-Russian agreement for unity found strong support among the organised trade union masses.

The development shown by these facts has forced the Social Democratic politicians and reformist leaders to renew their offensive against the unity of the trade union movement, the bourgeoisie coming to their aid with the state apparatus.

### THE LEFTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES

In the last two years the activity of the masses has shown a marked tendency towards the Left. As evidence of this we see: (1) the powerful movement among the organised workers in the spring of 1926 for the unity of the trade union movement, which proved a serious menace to the Social Democrats; this movement is gaining strength and the struggle against the new splitting activity of the Social Democratic leaders is extending; (2) the unbroken two years of strikes for the pressing needs of the workers; (3) the support rendered by the bloc of the Social Democratic workers and small farmers in the 1927 parliamentary election; the loss of proletarian adherents by the Social Democrats, for which, however, they were able to compensate by petty-bourgeois support, thus more and more isolating themselves and transforming themselves into a petty-bourgeois clique; (4) a new stream of proletarian masses pouring into the trade union organisations: the membership of trade unions in Finland is to-day greater than ever with the exception of the revolutionary years of 1917-18; (5) the open opposition of the workers and peasants to a new imperialist war and in particular to an attack upon the U.S.S.R.; (6) the general strengthening of the Left mass movement and its ideological consolidation.

The leftward movement of the worker and peasant youth is extremely important, owing both to the number of youth in this movement, and to its activity. There is no central organisation covering the whole country which directs the legal political activity of the worker and peasant youth, owing to the fact that these organisations were dissolved. Of especial importance as centres of mass work are the self-

educational societies which organise clubs where the working youth is able to occupy itself with primary social questions.

The trade union and economic struggle of the working youth shows some revival. In this connection the organising of trade union youth sections in connection with the trade union organisations represents a big achievement.

On the Co-operative field, two special features must be emphasised: (1) the extension of the organisational strongholds of the Left, and (2) the growth of its ideological influence among the masses, mainly on the basis of everyday questions. During 1926-27, the Left Wing played a more determined part in the basic organisations of the co-operative movement (the co-operative shops), than hitherto. It was the decisive factor in the elections to the co-operative management committees, and despite the resistance of the Social Democrats, the Left gained a majority on the management in many towns. In the central bodies of the Progressive Co-operatives, however, the Social Democrats still hold a dominant position. The relationship of forces in the elections to the congress of the Progressive Co-operative Federation (Z.S.P.K.) gives the Left approximately only one-third, but its influence in the congress is nevertheless a marked one. The question of a rapprochement between the co-operative and trade union movements still remains to be achieved.

The Workers' Sports Society, which has organisations all over the country, has 30,000 members. It is affiliated to the Lucerne International, but, under the influence of the Left Wing of the labour movement, it is all the time striving to base its activity on the class struggle. The attempts of the bourgeoisie, supported by the Social Democrats, to win over the society for joint sport events have ended in complete failure. The society has established mutual relations with the corresponding organisations of the Soviet Union, and is developing them.

The workers' sports movement is, however, at present in a critical position. The Social Democratic clique which has forced its way into the central body by unconstitutional methods is trying to split the society, but so far has not been able to achieve the expulsion of Left Wingers and Communists from the society. The majority of the members are for unity and for activity based upon the proletarian class struggle.

The Winning of Masses of Working Women for the Class Struggle.—During the recent years, the recruiting of broad masses of working women for the class struggle has proceeded mainly through the medium of women's delegate meetings.

At first this new form of activity met with only relative success. Not until last year did the movement show any signs of development; at the present time it includes all the larger

towns and the most important centres in the industrial districts, as well as the provincial centres. At the same time the movement has entrenched itself more and more in the factories.

**Struggle for the Improvement of the Situation of the Political Prisoners.**—The membership of the aid society is still composed of the various organisations that are collectively affiliated and of individual members. Its factory connections are poor; its membership at present is 6,500. The aid society arranges various general and special campaigns for the benefit of the political prisoners. An uninterrupted struggle is waged for the liberation of the political prisoners, among whom are still some of those sentenced in connection with the events of 1918.

The Parliamentary Fraction of Socialist Workers and Small Farmers, which represents the interests of the Left Socialist workers and the toiling population of the villages, consisted of 18 members in the session of 1924/26, and in the 1927 elections won 20 seats.

The activity of this fraction in general has great political importance. It carries on first and foremost a struggle in defence of the economic and social rights of the working-class. In this connection special attention is drawn to the plans and policy of the fraction with respect to the small taxpayers, exemption from tax-burdens (municipal taxation), opposition to tariffs, the allotment of funds for the struggle against unemployment (100 million marks in 1925-1926), the improvement of the conditions of recruits (especially the raising of wages from 1 to 5 marks), labour protection and unemployment and old age insurance, protection for children and youth, abolition of bad housing conditions, no taxation of co-operatives, no high wages for officials and better pay for the lower employees. The fraction has formulated a series of corresponding demands for the improvement of the situation of the toiling farmers and the remainder of the rural population.

In formulating and advocating the measures which it introduced, the fraction had to fight alone, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic workers, for their part, support the activity of the fraction outside of Parliament in the many meetings which are held when questions of vital interest to the working class are on the agenda in Parliament. Such meetings were called during the debates on the state budget, the question of taxation, amnesty, etc.

**Campaigns and Agitprop Work.**—Agitprop work was carried on mainly in connection with various campaigns. The most widespread annual campaigns which constantly take on a greater and greater mass character are the following: Lenin Week in January, Paris Commune Day in March, May Day, Anniversary of the October Revolution, and

Trade Union Week (in 1926, during Trade Union Week, 6,000 new members entered into the unions, in 1927 about 5,500). In addition, the first week in December was observed as Political Prisoners' Week, while the rest of December was observed as a Red Month. During the Red Month attention was mainly devoted in all organisations and in general to increasing the circulation of the labour press and proletarian literature, and to obtaining every kind of support for the newspapers of the workers. The struggle against the war danger, as well as the exposure of the Social Democratic "labour" government, has been carried on uninterruptedly for more than a year, the fruits of this work being evident in the elections. From the point of view of agitprop work the results were satisfactory. During the past year there was also conducted the political campaign against the State of Martial Law, the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti and the campaign in connection with the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution and for the sending of delegations to the Soviet Union.

The protest meetings organised on the occasion of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti were the greatest ever known in connection with a purely international event. A mistake was committed, however, in organising demonstration parades in a few towns only. In Jacobstadt there was a one hour protest strike which was successful in every way; all work ceased in the factories, the shops were closed and even the cab drivers stopped working.

Among the campaigns of the past year special emphasis must be placed on the campaign commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Civil War. As early as December, all the Left Wing Labour papers began to publish reviews of the events that had happened ten years before. The ruling class was beside itself with rage. Newspapers were suppressed and numbers of workers were arrested and thrown into prison. A special campaign was conducted against these repressions and is still being carried on.

Educational work was carried on in various forms in the Unions, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist programme and according to a definite plan. A short programme was worked out for Swedish speaking workers. In order to give the educational work and its direction a uniform line, short-term courses were organised and participation in these was very large. The trade unions are developing extensive activity in the organisation of courses.

The following workers' newspapers are published:

Daily papers: "Työväenjärjestöjen Tiedonantaja" in Helsingfors with a circulation of 14,000 (prohibited for two months); "Pohjam Voima" in Uleaborg, with a circulation of 10,000 (prohibited for three months).

Other papers (three times a week): "Työn Aäni" in Vasa (5,000); "Savon Työ" in Kuopio (4,000); "Työväenlehti" in Tammerfors (4,000); "Työ" in Wiborg (3,500); "Folkbladet" in Vasa, appearing once a week (2,000); "Liekki" in Helsingfors, a popular weekly publication for the youth (10,000); "Revontulet" in Uleaborg, a popular weekly paper (11,000); "Itä ja Länsi" in Helsingfors, an illustrated fortnightly (3,500); "Työläis—ja Talonpoikaisnaisten Lehti," a monthly women's paper in Helsingfors (4,000).

In addition there is also a political-humorous journal "Tuisku" in Helsingfors.

Most of the trade unions publish periodicals. The factory paper is not yet widespread in Finland, but wall papers have met with big success. There are worker-correspondents in all big factories and a certain amount of collaboration has developed. In some towns instruction courses for worker-correspondents have been established.

With respect to work among the peasants we may record that the slogan for the alliance of workers and peasants on the basis of the day to day struggle has been almost realised in practice. The slogans for peasant work were selected according to the conditions under which the peasants live and the work is directed in conformity with these conditions. The exposure of Social Democracy and of the treacherous character of their slogans is becoming a more and more important phase of activity in the village, as is also the struggle against the reactionary agrarian party and against the Agrarian League.

#### **ACTIVITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

The Communist Party is completely illegal. Nevertheless the Party is constantly endeavouring to gain a firm influence on the masses, and to make that influence felt throughout the labour movement in all legal mass organisations and in the day to day class struggle. The Fifth Party Congress of the C.P. of Finland declared, in laying down the tasks of the political Party, that in addition to following a correct revolutionary political line, the Party must penetrate organisationally into the broad masses, and that its most urgent political task consists in preparing with every step, no matter how small, the basis for the future victory of the proletariat and the successful seizure of power, and that it should pay particular attention to the necessity for a revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants.

#### **THE ORGANISATIONAL TASKS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY**

At the end of 1927, the active registered membership had increased by 88 per cent. in comparison with the end of 1925.

In addition, the Party can claim at least two to three times as large a number of sympathisers who help the Party in its work. The number of nuclei has grown by only 4 per cent. Taking into consideration, however, the contacts of Party members with factories and villages, the number of centres of Party support has been increased by 26 per cent. The number of territorial groups has declined by 24 per cent., and has remained stationary in the rural districts. The Party has not yet succeeded in overcoming one defect in its structure, namely, of having penetrated less into the big factories than into the small enterprises.

During this period we have succeeded in penetrating also into the Swedish speaking section of the proletariat, whereby we have achieved some influence over the Swedish national minority. The number of fractions has risen by 70 per cent.; 40 per cent. in the trade union organisations and the rest in other organisations. The Party influence is actually stronger in the mass organisations and among the sympathisers than indicated in the figures regarding the fractions. There are probably few mass organisations in which the influence of the Party is not felt in some way or other. The number of local Party committees has increased by 47 per cent. In Finland we have a total of 575 towns and villages; at the end of December 1927 the Party had local Party committees or permanent contact through Party members in 193 towns and village communities, viz.: in 33 per cent. of the total. But the ideological influence of the Party has a greater extent; its development goes further, especially with respect to the establishment of strong connections.

Among the Party members, 86 per cent. are wage workers and 14 per cent. peasants. Women constitute 14 per cent. of the Party members and candidates, an increase of 50 per cent. As to a systematic Bolshevik lead by Party organs, there are very many shortcomings, but it cannot be doubted that in this respect a great step forward has been made. This is concretely expressed in influence on the masses of the labour movement, and in the position held by the Party, which would be impossible if the Party organs and members did not continually uphold the Party position among the masses. In the leading organisations of the Party all questions are worked out collectively in the meetings.

The awakening of the masses to activity was actually the most important general task of the Party. It was all the more important because, owing to governmental persecutions, the legal mass movement could not develop sufficient activity in the parliamentary election in 1924 and in the presidential elections in 1925. For this reason, the movement suffered a defeat, which the illegal Party at that time was not able to prevent.

During the period of the Social Democratic government, certain weaknesses and mistakes were revealed by the Leftist

movement against which the Party congress gave timely warning and to which the C.C. Plenum in the beginning of 1927 also pointed. Certain functionaries of the legal movement came to look upon the Social Democratic government only as a White Guard government and did not take into consideration its character as a whole; they did not devote sufficient attention to the mobilisation of the masses, and in this manner lost themselves in the maze of "ultra-Left" passivity. Other comrades, on the other hand, lost sight of the White Guardist character of the Social Democratic government, which gave rise to illusions of pacifism and legality. Consequently they were opposed to the exposure of the Social Democratic government and advocated the defence of that government against the Right bourgeoisie and extreme Fascists, a position which might have led to consistent support of the Social Democratic government. In connection with this there arose anew the idea of an "independent labour Party," of the "influence of outside forces," viz.: of separation from the influence of the Communist Party. It is satisfactory to note that this last-mentioned deviation found no echo in our Party, although it must be admitted that at the beginning of the period of the Social Democratic government, there were in the Party isolated cases of "ultra-Left" indifference towards the Social Democratic government. The Party, it is true, recognised its shortcomings, but it was not in a position to educate the masses with sufficient speed and force concerning the dangers of these weaknesses and mistakes, and to help them to overcome them.

The Party has not only gained influence in the Swedish National Minority by means of penetrating its proletarian strata, but it has won this influence by its Leninist attitude towards the demands of this minority: recognition of the right of national self-determination to the point of separation, and by its support of its demands on this basis.

With respect to the internal situation in the Party it must be said that politically the Party is consolidated and united. The Trotskyist opposition found no support in the C.P. of Finland. From the beginning, the Party and the Party leadership absolutely condemned the opposition at the various conferences, and enlightened the rank and file members of the Party, and the masses outside the Party, concerning the Social Democratic and counter-revolutionary character of the Trotskyist opposition, as far as was possible under the illegal status of the Party and the difficulties arising therefrom. Owing to the Party laying down its viewpoint clearly, Trotskyism was not able to penetrate the Left movement, although undoubtedly here and there individuals sympathise with it.

#### **THE PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE PARTY**

Among the illegal periodicals the "Proletarier" is most widely circulated. It has a circulation of 3,500 copies. The



Party has now succeeded in publishing it almost regularly once a month with from 24-56 pages. Furthermore, there appears the monthly "Nuori Kommunisti" (youth organ) and the "Punasotilas" (soldiers' organ), which are turned out on a duplicator. The thesis of the E.C.C.I. Plenum on War and the War Danger was printed in an edition of 3,000 copies and studied with special attention in the nuclei.

The conferences and enlarged plenums of the C.C. were called in 1926 as well as in 1927 and delegates from the most important districts participated. District conferences also took place. There was complete unanimity in all meetings and conferences on all basic questions.

### THE PARTY APPARATUS

The leading organs of the Party, down to the district committees, have their agitprop departments, rural departments and women's departments.

The relations between the Party and the Young Communist League are on a good basis. Simultaneously with organisational development there has been an unceasing growth in the influence of the Young Communist League upon the working-class and peasant youth. The work in the various fields of activity of the Young Communist League has developed successfully. The Young Communist League of Finland has become the leader of the toiling youth of Finland.

# ESTHONIA

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF ESTHONIA.

**D**URING the first five years following the formation of the Esthonian State the Esthonian bourgeoisie were able to maintain their economic position with the aid of the gold which they received from the Soviet Union in accordance with the peace treaty, augmented by the yield from transit traffic and orders for locomotive repairs in 1921-22. But already in 1924 a severe crisis set in. This economic crisis, which severely shook Esthonia, was somewhat alleviated at the end of the year by the restriction of imports, by high protective tariffs, by the restriction of credit to industry and trade, by the reduction of the number of State employees and by wage cuts.

In 1925 there developed a partial stability, which, based mainly upon the development of agriculture, lasted until the end of 1927. Since then serious signs of crisis have made themselves evident in agriculture, but thanks to the loans granted by England an acute crisis has not yet broken out.

The large-scale industries, which were adapted to the requirements of old Russia, have been destroyed almost entirely in the metal industry and to some extent in the textile industry. There only remained the woodworking and paper industries, which mainly supply the U.S.S.R. The number of industrial workers is about 29-30,000.

The increase in textile production by about 70 per cent. between 1922 and 1926 is chiefly to be accounted for by the development of petty handicraft working almost exclusively for domestic consumption.

The rationalisation of industry on the one hand led to the closing down of less profitable enterprises, and on the other hand to a trustification of the larger plants. Thus, for example, the match industry is entirely in the hands of the Swedish Match Trust. At the present time negotiations are under way regarding the trustification of the tobacco industry with the aid of foreign capital.

## AGRICULTURE.

After the crisis of 1924 the Esthonian bourgeoisie firmly set itself the task of the agrarianisation of the country. Certain positive results have been attained, especially in the export of the products of cattle farming. This is also responsible for the favourable trade balance of the last three years.

On the other hand, land cultivation has no particular future,

as is clearly shown by the stagnation of this branch of agricultural production since 1923, the total value of whose products has remained practically unchanged since this time. The result is a rising land indebtedness.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

During the ten years of "independence" there has prevailed in the field of foreign policy a leaning toward Great Britain on the part of the Esthonian bourgeoisie. Among all the bourgeois parties, from the Fascist Peasant League to the Social Democrats, not a single group opposes this orientation towards Britain. For the last three years the Esthonian bourgeoisie, with the full support of the Social Democrats, is working for the establishment of an alliance of the Balkan States headed by Poland. The loan of one and a half million pounds sterling by England in 1928 still further strengthens British influence in Esthonia. In recent months the government has conducted negotiations with the Swedish bourgeoisie for a short-term loan for railway building, mainly for military purposes. The Esthonian government sold to the Swedish Match Trust on extremely favourable terms the entire Esthonian match industry, and used the proceeds for the building of railways for military purposes.

The Esthonian bourgeoisie follows a hostile policy towards the Soviet Union. Negotiations for the conclusion of the trade treaty with the U.S.S.R. were dragged out by Esthonia.

As to domestic policy, the ruling circles have more than once considered the possibility of a coup d'etat. At present, however, there seems to be no immediate danger in this direction as the Fascist Parties hope to get the same results in a "legal" way, viz.: by the restriction of the suffrage and the introduction of a president. On the latter question, however, most of the bourgeois parties still consider it advisable for the time being to maintain the status quo, since, as the bourgeois Press writes, "there is no objective need for a change in the constitution." As regards the suppression of the revolutionary movement there is full unanimity between all parties, including the Social Democracy.

The Social Democracy ("Esthonian Socialist Labour Party") has succeeded in strengthening its position, thanks to the white terror which is directed against Communist workers. It has about 2,300 members. Inside this Party there is a so-called "Left" group which confines itself solely to Left phrases but which has little influence. At the present time a considerable section of the workers are under the influence of the Social Democrats.

The second Socialist Party—the "Esthonian Labour Party"—is a really Left party, but it is weak and its membership is small. Its leaders consist of radical intellectuals who have

attached themselves to the revolutionary movement but who fail to understand the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle.

### TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

Already since the end of 1926 there has been a noticeable revival of the Labour movement. The tempo of development is slow, however, which is explained both by the economic situation and by the white terror.

The feeling of discontent among the industrial workers is again beginning to express itself, which can be observed in the efforts to organise class trade unions. In 1927, against the will of the Social Democrats, the trade unions organised two workers' delegations to the U.S.S.R., which, upon their return, contributed considerably to the quickening of the labour movement (the Social Democrat Rukki was threatened with expulsion from the Party by the Social Democratic C.C. because of his objective statements in regard to the U.S.S.R.).

In 1926-27 a number of small strikes occurred owing to failure to pay wages on time. In April, 1928, a dispute in the book printing trade led to a complete strike throughout the trade, which has already lasted almost two months. The employers are trying to break the resistance of the strikers with the aid of strike-breakers. Another strike, the results of which are not yet known, has broken out in the clothing industry.

The situation in the Esthonian trade union movement is a peculiar one. The workers who were adherents of the revolutionary trade union movement were at first hostile to the trade unions as re-established by the Social Democracy. Furthermore, the leaders of the Esthonian Labour Party believed that it was correct to support such Left tendencies among the workers. The Social Democracy exploited this hostile attitude on the part of the workers and organised new trade unions, mainly among the land and forest workers, and secured the leadership for itself. The Social Democrats are able to carry out this organisational work, especially in the agricultural districts, as they are favoured by the authorities, whereas the Left are constantly persecuted and arrested or forbidden to hold meetings.

With the support of the police and with the aid of blatant forgeries the Social Democrats, in January, 1928, organised the third Trade Union Congress (the first regular congress after the smashing of the trade union movement in 1924). The subservient majority of the Congress decided in favour of affiliation of the Esthonian trade unions to the Amsterdam International.

The temporary victory of the Social Democrats was facilitated by the attitude of the leaders of the Labour Party, who, prior to the Congress and during its preparatory campaigns, followed a wrong policy by advocating the workers to boycott the reformist unions, while at the same time, through their clumsy

manœuvring, fostering the work of splitting the unions. Against the "radicalism" of the Labour Party leaders and also against the distortion of the trade union policy, our Party waged a determined struggle, and was able to win important successes on this field. The "radical" moods of the masses of workers were gradually overcome. The great majority of the Reval trade unions is under revolutionary leadership, and is affiliated to the Reval Trade Union Council. The Party resolution on the tactics of trade union work which was confirmed by the Comintern is being carried out in all trade unions. The number of workers joining the unions is increasing, both as a result of a certain revival in the labour movement and in consequence of educational work based on Party decisions. The struggle for the leadership of the reformist trade unions is becoming more acute. In the struggle against our growing influence the reformists are resorting to the dissolution of such departments of the trade unions as are under the leadership of Left workers (e.g., in the land and forest workers' unions).

#### DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Until 1924 practically all labour organisations were under our influence. Also among the toiling rural population, among the poor peasants, our Party had considerable sympathy. On December 1, 1924, when the complete political and economic ruin of the country was obvious to all, our Party decided unanimously on an uprising to overthrow the bourgeois regime. The uprising ended in defeat. A ruthless white terror began. In the course of 1925 and the first half of 1926 about twenty trials took place in the military courts, in addition to the proceedings in field courts martial. About 300 people were shot and 500 imprisoned for various terms for participation in the uprising. The most prominent illegal functionaries of the Party were murdered either by the verdict of the field court martial (e.g., Comrade Reysmann in 1926) or whilst under arrest (e.g., Comrade Leiner in 1927). The terror continues up to the present time, only the methods of persecution of the revolutionary workers have changed somewhat: the secret police are making the greatest efforts to recruit spies in order to get a foothold in the legal organisations, so as to support the Social Democrats on the one hand, and on the other to get on the track of Communist workers. Prior to May 1 numerous arrests were made among the workers as well as among the leaders of the Labour Party. Nevertheless, the Communist Party of Esthonia has recovered, and its influence among the masses of workers has extended. The best proof of this is its influence in the trade unions, and the demonstrations on May 1, 1928.

In the period between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses

of the Communist International there were held two Party conferences and one conference of participants in the armed uprising. The conference which took place at the end of 1926 recognised that in Esthonia partial stabilisation had been attained, with the support of British imperialism, after the uprising, and that this required a corresponding tactic to be adopted by the Communist Party of Esthonia. In the Party itself there are no ideological differences of opinion. While the Trotskyist opposition did make an attempt to carry a factional struggle into the illegal organisations, it met with decided resistance and gained no ground among the Esthonian workers.

The work among the peasantry was expressed mainly in the agitation among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, and in the utilisation of legal forms for the organisation of broad masses of peasantry. A series of campaigns was organised (against the war danger, for the organisation of trade unions, in connection with unemployment, for economic rapprochement between Esthonia and the U.S.S.R., for the sending of a workers' delegation to the U.S.S.R., etc.).

### PRESS.

The publication of Communist literature is forbidden. In Reval there is published a legal Labour weekly of a Left tendency, "Kiir" (The Ray), with a circulation of 5,000, plus a bi-monthly periodical for the toiling youth, "Struggle," with a circulation of 3,000, and a monthly of the Railwaymen's Union, "The Railwayman." From the publishing house of the "Labour Party" a series of pamphlets has appeared (report of the workers' delegation to Russia, letters from prison, and some contributions in a more popular form).

From the publishing house of the Communist Party there appears illegally the newspaper "Communist" (once every two months, with a circulation of 1,000 to 1,500 copies), and an organ of the Young Communist League, "The Young Proletarian" (appearing monthly in an edition of 1,500 copies). Furthermore, during the period of this report about 65,000 copies of illegal manifestoes, leaflets, etc., were distributed.

The main shortcomings in the activity of the Communist Party of Esthonia are its small numerical strength and the weakness of the lower and leading cadres, in certain cases lack of timely reaction to questions of the day, weak propagandist work, insufficient training of Party functionaries (which is accounted for by the severe illegal conditions and by the lack of strength), and, finally, insufficient work in the countryside.

# LATVIA

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

The Economic Situation of Latvia is determined by two conditions: firstly, its present development is cut off from its natural historic basis, i.e., the U.S.S.R.; secondly, it is between the imperialist states and the U.S.S.R.

The War and the separation of Latvia from Russia destroyed a big basic section of industry, and consequently caused an essential change in the class composition of the population of Latvia.

Agriculture is also experiencing certain difficulties. The sale of the agricultural products of Latvia constitutes a difficult problem, especially on the European markets. The demand of the home market has greatly decreased because of the industrial crisis. Latgale, which constitutes about a third of the country, used to send great masses of workers to the industrial centres of what are now the North East provinces of the U.S.S.R., and now the industrial enterprises of Latvia are unable to absorb this reserve army.

In 1920 79.5 per cent. of the population was occupied in agriculture, in 1926, 63.3 per cent. Generally speaking, agriculture has reached the level of 1913, if we take into consideration the change in population.

The shortage of production of recent years can be explained by the following: (1) bad harvest; (2) change from corn growing to dairy farming. The export of butter has been continuously growing during the past six years and has increased more than tenfold. The position of agricultural products in relation to general exports improves from year to year (in 1923—41.8 per cent.; in 1926—55.7 per cent.)

Industry is far from obtaining the pre-war level: in 1910 there were about 115,000 industrial workers in Latvia and now there are only 59,000. The change in the size of the various industrial concerns is extremely marked; in 1910 no branch of industry employed less than an average of 100 workers (119 in heavy industry), whereas in 1927 the average has fallen to 17 workers.

There are only two ways out of this situation for Latvia: to become an agrarian vassal state under any of the existing imperialist countries, or to establish union with the U.S.S.R.

In 1927, under pressure from the workers, a trade agreement was concluded with the Soviet Union; the social democratic leaders sabotaged it for a long time and the present Right government is still sabotaging it in a more forcible and open manner. During the first months after the agreement came into

operation it already exerted fruitful influence on the development of the economic life of Latvia. Even the Minister of Labour, Rublis, has to acknowledge that as a result of the first order received from Soviet Russia work was provided for 2,000 unemployed.

These contradictions between the economic and political demands of the ruling class are typical of the entire policy of the country. On the one hand we meet with the slow, but spontaneous trend of economic life towards the U.S.S.R., and on the other the open political attacks of the bourgeois leaders and the bourgeois press on the U.S.S.R., even going so far as to demand the termination of trade relations. Still the bourgeois would hardly contemplate a breach with the Soviet Union without great pressure being brought to bear by the imperialist powers.

The Position of Bourgeois Parties.—There is a strongly marked tendency to consolidate the class forces of the bourgeois around two fascist party groups: the peasant union (the agrarian bourgeoisie) and the nationalists. The petty bourgeois electors in the towns are leaving the democratic centre for the Social Democrats. In the countryside the peasant union is reaping the benefit of the decay of the petty bourgeois group. The leaders of the nationalist group are making tremendous efforts to establish a bourgeois united front.

The Social Democrats during their year in power showed themselves to be the true servants of the bourgeoisie (court-martial and the so-called progressive regime of punishment, ordering "incorrigible" political offenders to be flogged, arresting Left workers and carrying on the most bitter persecution of the Left workers' press, etc).

The Social Democratic Party is clearly losing its influence amongst the workers. The local municipal elections in 1928 prove this; everywhere where the Left workers were able to put forward their own candidates the S.D. lost the majority of the workers' votes: Holdingen, Mitau, Tuksum, etc.). Even in Riga, despite the support of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, the Social Democratic bloc (the S.D., Mensheviks and Bund) lost about 600 votes at the elections, whereas the Left Trade Unions polled 20,649 votes, in comparison with 13,434 at the previous elections.

This brought about a big crisis in the S.D. party. The first sign of this was the secession of the Latgalian district organisation from the S.D. in 1926; it became the independent S.D. Workers' and Democrats' party. This departure was followed by the formation of a S.D. group of leaders who openly supported a rapprochement and even union with the U.S.S.R. In the beginning this Left group, which did not go further than Austro-Marxism, succeeded in averting splits in the S.D. party, but when the Independent Socialist Party was formed in February this became more difficult and the real Left elements began to desert



the S.D. individually or in groups, and at times in whole organisations. However, it would be rash to conclude that the S.D. is falling to pieces, for the S.D. still has influence over a large group of workers.

The swing to the left of the working masses is reflected in the mass organisations of the workers, especially in the Trade Unions. There is a split in the Latvian Trade Union movement, and so the process of Left development goes on in two ways: the strengthening of the Left Trade Unions and the growth of the Left opposition in the reformist Trade Unions.

The incessant persecution to which the Left unions are subjected prevents their organisational growth from corresponding with their influence, but all the same, during the past year some of the unions have almost doubled their membership, e.g., the metal workers, furriers, woodworkers, the Vindavsky union, etc. In the reformist section of the Trade Union movement the swing to the Left is most noticeable in the workers' unions.

In the railway union, which has a membership of over 5,000 workers and clerks, the Left wing has developed to such an extent during the past eighteen months that at the last Congress in April it secured almost half the mandates. The Congress proved that this Left wing is not yet sufficiently strong, but it is interesting to note that it is composed of representatives from the most important points: Riga, Dvinsk Libau, etc. There were eighteen representatives from Riga at the Congress and of these eleven were Left wing.

The agricultural workers' union has a membership of about 2,000, and at its last Congress in March there were 56 delegates, 24-26 of whom were Left-wingers. The Left opposition was able to secure the support of half the Congress for its proposal respecting democracy in the Trade Union movement. The reformists have now begun to have recourse to individual and mass expulsions and the disbandment of entire sections in their fight against the Left wing.

In the general workers' union, composed of workers of various trades and formed by the Social Democrats as a kind of lever against the revolutionary unions the membership is 4,000, but the Left wing has not been able to strengthen its position, although its growth within the union is considerable. The reformists, in their struggle with the Left wing in this union, disband local sections, within one year seven locals were disbanded: (Rejitzky, Kreslavsky, Lutzinsky, Livansky, Sakkelnsky, Gazenpoysky and Valksky). In other reformist bodies, such as the tramway workers' union and that of the post and telegraph workers', there is also a Left wing movement.

The correlation of forces in the Latvian Trade Union movement at present is roughly as follows: membership of the Left Trade Unions is about 10,000, reformists about 20,000. The Left

opposition in the reformist unions constitutes about one-fourth of the total membership.

The swing to the Left of the mass of the workers is fairly marked in the Health Insurance Societies. In the Riga Central Society with 15,000 workers, the Left wing polled 10 per cent. of the votes in 1925 and 23 per cent. in 1927; in the Riga General Society with 20,000 workers, the Left wing polled 16.5 per cent. of the votes in 1925 and 35 per cent. in 1927. In the Libau General Society, in 1927 the Left wing polled 37 per cent., in 1925, a very small percentage; in the Tuksum General Society, 70 per cent. in 1927 and considerably less in 1925.

Other mass organisations with a marked Left tendency include the reservists with a membership of over 6,000. Several of the local and central organisations of this body are completely under the influence of the Left wing. There is also a Left wing in the social democratic sport organisation, with a membership of over 4,000, but it has not had any great success so far.

There is no doubt that this body of Left workers seeks to find political expression. The first attempt to meet this tendency was the formation of the Latgalian Social Democratic Workers' and Peasants' Party under the leadership of the Sejm deputy, the adventurer Opintzan. This party developed quickly and secured a membership of 1,000 in Latgal. The organiser of the party, Opintzan, soon became afraid of the real Left elements within the party and resigned the leadership. Shortly after this a congress was held in the autumn of 1927, when a split took place; the Left were subjected to fierce persecution. The Left had the majority at the Congress and it was therefore declared illegal; a group of Opintzan's followers, about fifteen in all, convened its Congress and elected its executive committee. This was the end of this party as a mass organisation of the workers and peasants.

The second attempt to organise a Left political party was the formation of the Independent Socialist Party in February, 1928. This party was founded by a group of radical intellectuals, the majority of whom were in close touch with the work of the Left Trade Union movement. Its actual political course has not yet been definitely put to the test, but the treacherous leaders of the S.D. Party are fighting it ruthlessly.

### **WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LATVIA.**

The Communist Party of Latvia has been illegal and subjected to the severest persecution ever since the Fifth Congress. One-third of the Party membership is in prison. The bourgeois press has repeatedly declared that the C.P. has been finally disbanded, but of late the most reactionary have had to acknowledge that the Party has grown both in number and quality and that its influence on the masses has increased.

Campaigns. The main task of the Party in the period just

elapsed has been the struggle against Fascism and intervention and on behalf of a rapprochement with the U.S.S.R. In addition to this there have been campaigns against the prison regime and against unemployment. The Left Trade Unions took the most active part in all these campaigns. In connection with the Fascist danger the Trade Unions held 53 meetings, some of which were attended by several thousands. The Left unions held twelve meetings against the war danger, which were also well attended.

Twenty-six meetings were held demanding a rapprochement with the U.S.S.R., and in connection with these there was a campaign for the despatch of a delegation to the U.S.S.R. Three fairly large delegations were sent to the October celebrations from the Health Societies, Trade Unions, and Co-operatives. Some Social Democrats also participated and were victimised by their treacherous leaders on their return.

One of the biggest campaigns was the campaign against the prison regime with which was combined a protest against the introduction by the Social Democratic government of the so called progressive system of punishment, which would create the most intolerable conditions for those imprisoned. The signal for this campaign was the declaration of a hunger strike by the political prisoners which lasted twelve days. The Left Trade Unions organised 41 meetings in aid of the hunger-strikers; in several instances the attendance at these meetings varied from 2,000 to 4,000. Demonstrations were held in Riga, Windau and Dvinsk. The masses were so stirred that in this campaign against the Social Democratic government many Social Democratic workers also participated; some county conferences also passed protest resolutions (Wolmar, Libau and others). The result of this extensive campaign was that the "progressive system of punishment" was suspended in respect of political prisoners, but now the government is again attempting to introduce it.

An important campaign was conducted in connection with unemployment; the Left Trade Unions held 21 meetings. Demonstrations of the unemployed took place in Windau and Dvinsk, inaugurated and led by the Left Trade Unions. It should be pointed out that demonstrations about current questions were never held hitherto in Latvia. The slogan for this year's May Day demonstrations was "Down with Fascism," but the price paid was an intolerable political concession to the Social Democrats not to criticise them during the demonstration. The demonstration was very imposing.

The Party still continues to take a very active part in the economic struggles of the workers, which of late have been fairly widespread. Big strikes continue to take place under the leadership of the Left Trade Unions. The most important strikes, led by the Left Trade Unions, were the dock workers' strike in Riga and Libau involving about 2,000 workers; the wood workers' strike in Riga and Mitau involving about 2,000, the shoemakers'

strike in Riga, Libau, and Holdingen and several other strikes in various institutions. With the exception of the dockers' strike they all ended in a partial victory.

The shortcomings of the Party mainly arise from the difficulties in the way of influencing the Left Trade Unions in an adequate manner, which difficulties were increased by the errors and vacillations in the ranks of the Party. The manner of carrying out the united front policy gives a crass example of these shortcomings. It should be pointed out that the Party maintained an attitude of indifference to the mass movement in connection with the murder of Social Democratic sportsmen in 1925 by Fascists and the exodus of the Left Trade Unions from the reformist' federations in Libau in 1928. The Party was also remiss and vacillating on the occasion of the formation of the Social Democratic government in 1926-27. When the new cabinet was being formed after the fall of the Social Democratic government the Party adopted a correct attitude, but did not succeed in having its policy carried out everywhere. The Party delayed too long in taking action against the Riga Left opposition group, though this was, of course, rendered difficult by the illegal position of the Party. This opposition has now been liquidated and the leaders expelled.

Party agitprop work is developing along two lines, printed and oral. Oral propaganda does not give any special results as the most active workers are continually being arrested. In the largest organisations propaganda groups are active, but there has been no decision made so far on the formation of a central propaganda collegiate. Theoretical circles are conducted in all organisations in accordance with a specified programme. Printed propaganda work is developing quite successfully. During 1927 315,800 copies of 35 manifestoes were published. The following papers are published: "Tsindja," which appears regularly once a month "Kommunist," "Bolshevik" (in Russian), "The Young Communist," "The Flame," "On the Barricades," Three journals are published abroad: "Tsinjas Biedrs," the leading theoretical journal in the Lett language; the mass journal in Russian, "Tovarisch," and a similar journal, "Latgalischy Tsaynja" in the Latgalian language. Pamphlets are published on important questions relating to the international or Latvian situation. During the first three months of this year ten such pamphlets, with an average of 80 pages, were published in the series entitled the "Propaganda Library." The Party has neither legal papers nor journals. The Left Trade Unions publish three weekly papers in Lettish, one in Yiddish and one in Russian. The centre for the youth section of the Left Trade Unions publishes its own monthly organ and the Left educational workers also issue their own journal on educational questions.

Fraction work in the Trade Unions is confined to the Left organisations and is only carried on on a local scale. In the reformist Trade Unions fractions are active only where there are

no parallel Left unions. One of the sections of the Central Executive used to conduct fraction work, but recently a special Trade Union section has been formed. Steps are being taken to organise fractions throughout the country, to extend those that already exist and to form new ones in the reformist unions.

In the Co-operative movement the Party has little influence and the activity of the Left is undeveloped. The workers' co-operative movement has not been able to recover since the destruction of the powerful co-operative organisation "Product" in 1922 (membership over 10,000). At present only a few provincial co-operatives are working well under the leadership of the Left.

Work amongst the peasantry. In this respect the Party has done little, it has not yet been able to determine the methods of approach to the peasantry. In the provincial Party organisations the percentage of peasants varies up to thirty.

Work amongst the National Minorities is most successful amongst the Jewish workers. It is less successful amongst the Lettish, Russian, and White Russian population, although the Latgalian peasantry shows a tendency to join the Party. The Party has issued the slogan of self-determination even to separation for Latgale.

Work amongst women is not carried on systematically. In the Riga branch there are about 40 per cent. women in the Party, in the provincial branches about 20 per cent. In Riga in the Left Trade Unions there are two women's sections which carry on systematic work.

Work amongst the youth is under the control of the Young Communist League. During the past two years the membership of the Y.C.L. has doubled and the League has had considerable success amongst the young peasantry.

The Party organisation has greatly improved during the past year and the Party has grown numerically by an average of 20 per cent., and in some organisations by as much as 100 per cent. Progress is very slow in respect of reorganisation on the basis of factory groups of which there are only a few. The Riga organisation is formed on a Trade Union basis, the others on a territorial basis.

# LITHUANIA

## I.—BRIEF SURVEY ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

**T**HE economic and political situation of Lithuania was stabilised in 1925 as a result of the intensive exploitation and oppression of the working class and the poor peasants. Towards the end of 1924 the productivity of agriculture had increased, and the production of cattle was on an average higher than before the war. Thus relative stabilisation had been established in Lithuania, although the situation in industry remained unfavourable. Industry had not been restored to its pre-war level and was making little progress in that direction.

This situation gave rise to growing discontent in the country. The masses were becoming disillusioned with the Christian Democrats, who came into power in the beginning of 1925 (at first jointly with the Narodniki).

In the 1926 elections to the Sejm the Christian Democrats suffered defeat, and had to give way to the Narodniki and the Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic and Narodniki Government gave full freedom of action to the Facists. The workers began to desert the Social Democrats, and the discontent of the peasants with the unsatisfactory policy of the Government grew, while the influence of the Communists also grew stronger and their activity more energetic.

Finally the Fascists, who championed the interests of the rich peasants, the landowners, and the urban bourgeoisie, became strong enough to bring about the coup d'état on December 17, 1926. In this they met with no resistance from the Narodniki Social Democratic government. After the Fascist coup d'état all the political and economic gains of the working class were nullified. In the course of one year over 800 workers were arrested and several of them shot (among them being two prominent members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.)

The Fascist dictatorship was at first a coalition of three Fascist parties—Nationalists, Christian Democrats, and land-owners. Having secured a firm footing, the Nationalists dissolved the Sejm and threw the Christian Democrats and the land-owners out of the Government. The Nationalists, as the clearest expression of the interests of the rich peasants and land-owners, became the centre of gravity for Lithuanian Fascism.

In her foreign policy Lithuania was invariably hostile to the U.S.S.R., and was always hoping to effect an agreement with

Poland. However, the Narodniki and Social Democratic Government concluded a non-aggression agreement with the U.S.S.R. in 1926 under pressure of the masses. At the present time the Fascist Government is subservient to Poland and is working for an agreement against the U.S.S.R.

### **The Situation in the Bourgeois Parties.**

The bourgeois parties (Nationalists, Christian Democrats, and land-owners) are Fascist parties, although the Christian Democrats, being in opposition to the ruling Nationalist Party, pretend to stand for bourgeois democracy and for the Sejm, etc. The petty bourgeois parties (the Narodniki and the Social Democrats) vacillate between Fascism and bourgeois democracy, but they are becoming more and more inclined towards Fascism. The most influential leaders of these Fascist Parties are prepared to make an alliance with Polish Fascism hoping thereby to achieve power. The Narodniki have the same political platform as the Fascist Christian Democrats, differing only on some minor questions. The rich peasants are gradually deserting the Narodniki, and are beginning openly to support the Nationalist Government. The leaders of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are all seeking an alliance with Poland. The rank and file of these parties, however, especially of the petty bourgeois parties, are entirely against Poland. Among the rank and file Narodniki there are anti-Fascist tendencies to be observed.

### **The Situation in the Social Democratic Party.**

Some of the Social Democratic leaders in Lithuania, headed by Plechkaitis, have concluded an open alliance with Polish Fascism. Some of them at first submitted to the Fascist regime in Lithuania, but now, together with the so-called "Lefts," they have turned towards Polish Fascism, although not openly admitting it. Among the rank and file discontent with the leaders' policy is increasing, and many are deserting the Party.

### **Radicalisation of the Working Class.**

After the Fascist coup d'état the working class organisations were all destroyed by the White Terror and, as a result, a period of inactivity set in among the Lithuanian workers. This passivity has not yet been overcome. There are, however, some signs of a revival during the last six months, as witnessed by several small strikes, meetings of unemployed, the organisation of non-Party circles, the birth of underground trade unions.

## **II.—THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.**

### **(a) The Situation in the Party, Party Congresses, the Work of the Opposition.**

The Communist Party and its Central Committee committed many blunders at the time of the Social Democratic and Narodniki

Government. They held an incorrect view of the petty bourgeois Government, and they did not make sufficient preparations for a struggle against the Fascist putsch; they pursued a wrong policy in connection with demonstrations and strikes; they employed wrong methods in their trade union activity; they neglected their work in the army and underground work in general, etc. The E.C.C.I. qualified this as a Right deviation. These blunders were largely responsible for the fact that, at the moment of the Fascist coup d'état, notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the workers, peasants and even soldiers towards Fascism, the Communist Party was unable to marshal the masses for a struggle against Fascism. However, notwithstanding all these and many other mistakes, the Party gained in strength in 1926, increased its influence among the masses, and established closer contact with them. This made the destruction of the Party impossible, notwithstanding the Fascist terror which then raged (people were sentenced to death merely for belonging to the Communist Party or the Y.C.L., or for distributing anti-Fascist proclamations). The Party recovered from the first Fascist blows fairly rapidly, and in many respects became more active than hitherto (it began to work in the army and to organise underground circles among non-Party workers).

During the period under review one Congress and two Conferences were held. The Fourth Conference summed up the achievements of 1926, carefully analysed the mistakes committed and mapped out the line to be followed in the future.

The Trotskyist opposition had until recently no followers in the Lithuanian Party, with the exception of a few individuals who withdrew from the Party on the ground of their Trotskyist convictions. In the second half of 1927 an opposition was formed in the Kovno prison, whose ideas approximated to those responsible for the mistakes of the Central Committee in 1926—an over-estimation of the role of the Social Democrat and the Narodniki. At the Fourth Conference, the Party acknowledged its mistakes, but a small group of former leaders maintained that Lithuania was facing an immediate revolutionary situation which the Communist Party was not taking into account, and that the C.C. was hampering the overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship by the Social Democrats and the Narodniki. The opposition drew up its own platform and sought to gain followers outside of the prison walls. However, their efforts ended in failure (with two or three exceptions). They succeeded in gaining some followers in the Young Communist League, who joined the counter-revolutionary camp, actually supported the campaign against the U.S.S.R., and partly adopted the platform of the Trotskyist opposition and the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group. The Central Committees of the Party and the League took steps to liquidate this opposition.

### **(b) Work in the Trade Unions.**

In 1926 the Party took advantage of the revival of the labour



movement in general to review its work in the trade unions and to extend its influence among them.

The Fascist dictatorship at first liquidated nearly all the trade unions, prevented the organisation of new unions, and organised their own unions instead. The Party thereupon issued the slogan of organisation of illegal unions. But in view of the conditions imposed by the Fascist régime, work in the illegal trade union groups made but slow progress. The Communists play a leading part at the illegal conferences of non-Party trade union leaders.

### (c) Campaigns.

In 1926 our Party conducted the following campaigns: an election campaign, a 1st of May campaign, a campaign for trade union unity, a campaign in support of the British strike, an anti-Fascist campaign, a press campaign, a campaign against Pilsudski's adventures, a campaign for a trade union congress, a campaign for a workers' delegation to the U.S.S.R. In 1927 there were the May Day campaign, the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, the campaign in commemoration of the four executed Communists, a campaign against Polish annexation of Lithuania, etc. The last campaign was carried on under the slogans; "Defend Lithuanian independence from Polish imperialism." "Down with Fascist dictatorship in Lithuania," and in favour of a "Workers' and Peasants' Government."

### (d) Agitprop. and Publicity Work.

The Agitprop. Department is not working satisfactorily owing to the lack of agitators. A number of political educational circles have been formed, and in 1926 courses were organised.

Publicity work is in a somewhat better condition, as is also the distribution of literature. The following underground organs are now being issued: "Truth," in the Lithuanian language, a mass paper; "Soldiers' Truth," a mass paper appearing twice monthly; "The Communist," a monthly journal, and one also in the Jewish language, which, however, does not appear regularly. Their circulation is about 1,000—1,500 copies. In addition, there is a bi-weekly, popular journal with a circulation of 2,000 copies. From two to five leaflets are issued monthly in the Lithuanian, Jewish, Russian, and Polish languages, to the extent of about 3,000 to 10,000 copies.

During the period dealt within this report sixteen volumes of Lenin's collected works have been published with a circulation of 1,500 to 3,000 copies, and about thirty pamphlets. In 1926 a Radical legal labour press was established in the Lithuanian and Jewish languages. The Fascist dictatorship destroyed the legal press. Attempts were made in 1927 to start a legal Radical newspaper, which ended in failure.

**(e) Rural Work.**

Work among the peasantry cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Communist and Young Communist groups and non-Party circles have been organised by the Party and Y.C.L. organisations in the villages. During 1926 meetings were held and literature distributed. Work is being carried on in several rural co-operatives and peasant organisations hostile to Communism, but no mass work is being done, although the Party influence in some rural districts is quite considerable.

**(f) Work in Mass Organisations.**

In general work in the mass organisations is far from satisfactory; the best results are being achieved in the sport organisations. After the coup d'état, on the initiative of the Party, illegal anti-Fascist committees were organised as a united anti-Fascist front. These committees have an underground organ entitled "Down with Fascism," in the Lithuanian language.

**(g) Work Among the National Minorities.**

This work is satisfactory only among the Jews. Practically no work is being done among the Poles, with the exception of the occasional distribution of leaflets. The work in the Memel district is also unsatisfactory. Prior to its occupation by Lithuania at the beginning of 1923, that district had a Social Democratic Government.

**(h) Work Among Women.**

The Party started its systematic work among women in 1926. In January, 1926, the first illegal conference on work among women was held. Commissions were set up in the C.C. and the local committees for work among women, and the Party papers devote special columns to the question, entitled "Working Women and Women Peasants." In 1926 delegate conferences were held and women's commissions were organised in the trade unions. There are now illegal women circles in existence.

**(i) The Composition of the Party. The Nuclei.**

Most of the Party members are workers. They cannot be considered, however, as genuine industrial workers, most of them being handicraftsmen or agriculture labourers. The second largest group consists of peasants. There is a small percentage of employees and students.

The Party recognises the principle of factory nuclei, but in view of the absence of more or less large enterprises, and owing to the fact that the Party members are scattered in small workshops, most of the nuclei are organised on the residential basis. Here and there the local organisations are organising nuclei on the basis of nationality. The Central Committee combats this type of

organisation. There have been some cases of the merging of Party with the Y.C.L. nuclei in view of the smallness of either the party or the Y.C.L. groups. The Party is, however, opposed to this.

**(j) The Party Cadres.**

The Party cadres have suffered greatly from the Fascist coup d'état. Some were shot, imprisoned, and others had to leave the country. Owing to the absence of industrial centres and a more or less wide labour movement, new Party cadres come forward very slowly, and there are not enough of them to cope with all the work and to consolidate the influence of the Party in organised forms.

# AMERICA

## UNITED STATES

### The Workers' (Communist) Party of America

#### GENERAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**A**T the time of the Fifth World Congress here was a turn in the economic situation in America. The period of "good times" had lasted until the summer of 1927, when a steady and serious depression set in that is now tending towards a crisis. Since this time the United States has witnessed a continual decline in production in basic industries (iron, steel, coal, oil, etc.), a fall in profits, especially of industrial corporations, and a record in the number of commercial failures.

There was an absolute fall in total production of 15 per cent. in 1927 as compared with 1926, and of 8 per cent. as compared with 1925. Steel production was 9 per cent. less than in 1926 and 4 per cent. less than in 1925.

The size of the unemployed army in the United States at present is estimated between three and a half and four million. The worst sufferers are those employed in the basic industries, the decline in the number employed being, e.g., steel 11.2 per cent., railroad shops 12 per cent., electrical apparatus 9 per cent.

This severe shrinkage in the purchasing capacity of the home market (which had been artificially inflated for several years by extensive instalment selling), coupled with a constantly swelling productive apparatus, forces the American imperialists to fight more and more sharply for a bigger share of the world market, especially in Latin America and in the East.

Since the outbreak of the war (1914) over fourteen and a half billion dollars have been exported as capital to almost every country on earth, in 1927 the total export of capital being over a billion and a half dollars, an increase of 8.4 per cent. over the preceding year.

In order to maintain this position against a partially stabilised Europe and the colonies and semi-colonies, Yankee imperialism is intensifying its aggressive policy. Hence the big clash between America and Great Britain. United States investments of capital in South America increased 150 per cent. since before the war, while those of Great Britain have remained stationary. The Pan-American Conference at Havana was the scene of a complete rout of British efforts to challenge the hegemony of the United States in Latin America, as well as the splitting of the resistance of Latin America to the penetration of Yankee imperialism.

At home we see an increasing integration of state and capital. The real head of the president's cabinet is Andrew Mellon, one of the three richest men in the United States; Herbert Hoover, a multi-millionaire, is Secretary of Commerce. A partner of the House of Morgan is sent as ambassador to Mexico. State power is used more and more nakedly against every large scale mass strike. In practically every labour struggle court injunctions against picketing, strike relief, or any other pro-strike activity are issued to hamstring the workers' organisations. Vicious new anti-labour legislation is in preparation; a law sponsored by the American Bar Association (lawyers) in co-operation with the leaders of the American Federation of Labour provides for compulsory arbitration and the illegality of strikes. Exception laws are also pending for registering (finger-printing) and deporting foreign-born workers. Direct judicial terrorism against individual workers, the "frame-up" system, is being increasingly resorted to (Sacco and Vanzetti, Zeigler Miners, etc.).

### BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The "republican" and "democratic" parties represent essentially the same big financial and industrial interests. Their petty the petty bourgeoisie and large sections of the workers in the cities, mainly from the northern and western farmers, that of the Democrats from the southern farmers, while both draw heavily from the petty bourgeoisie and large sections of the workers in the cities. Although maintaining the Gompers' "non-partisan" policy, the official A.F. of L. leadership tends generally to continue to support the democratic party, while powerful leaders (Lewis of the miners and Hutcheson of the carpenters, the two biggest unions in the A.F. of L.) are just as closely bound up with the Republican party.

Not a single major issue at present distinguishes one party from the other. There are differences, however, within both old parties—the new industrialisation is tending to shake up the hitherto "solid south" of the democrats, and there is still some unrest among the Republican farmers of the north-west. The Norris-Borah Bloc constitutes only a mild safety-valve for the releasing of some of the agrarian discontent which still prevails and to prevent its developing into Farmer Labour Party sentiment.

### THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

The Socialist Party has some locally concentrated membership among better paid workers, chiefly in Milwaukee and New York; in Milwaukee it consists of a local third party election machine that holds certain municipal positions (including the mayor and minority of the City Council) on an extremely limited reformist local programme. In New York it is composed of the reactionary bureaucrats of the Jewish unions, the conservative workers and

middle class elements centred around the Jewish "Daily Forward," and a fringe of liberals of the Rev. Norman Thomas type. It is estimated that the present membership is not over 5,000, but the Party's name on the ballot is still sufficient to draw hundreds of thousands of votes of workers, farmers and middle class elements.

The leadership of the Socialist Party is rushing headlong to the Right. Although the Party professes to favour Russian recognition it does nothing whatever to help bring it about, but attacks the Soviet Government on every pretext. Some local leaders enter into general united front actions with Communists despite the prohibition from headquarters.

The Socialist Labour Party, the oldest social democratic organisation in America, claims about 2,000 members and continues a precarious existence as a purely propaganda sect. It has one weekly organ in English, a large part of its space being devoted to vicious attacks on the Communists.

The Proletarian Party is a small local propagandist group, engaged mainly in study classes of an academic character. It professes to support the principles of the C.I., but attacks the American Communists viciously.

### THE POSITION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

During 1924-27, the period of prosperity, not only did the A.F. of L. register no gains, but it lost considerably in membership. Out of three and a half million members the A.F. of L. barely has two and a half million left.

The dominant trade union bureaucracy has become integrally bound up with the bourgeoisie. The A.F. of L. supports the internal and external policy of American imperialism. Green, Woll and Co. are for "industrial peace," "rationalisation" and "efficiency."

In this period whatever resistance was made by the workers to the capitalists was under the leadership of the workers (Communist) Party and the Left Wing. The Party and the Trade Union Education League were the only agencies in the U.S. that fought the class collaboration policy of the trade unions.

The growing success of the Communists was responsible for the war conducted by the reactionary bureaucracy upon the Communists and the Left Wing in the trade unions. In attempting to exterminate them from the trade unions the bureaucracy has on its side the Socialist Party, the employers and the State. The new offensive of American imperialism which has brought our trade union movement to the crisis of its life, is being conducted with the connivance and support of the reactionary trade union officials. The objective of the new offensive is to smash all trade unions, particularly those with a mass base (miners, building trades, etc.). The outstanding events which depict the present situation in the trade unions are (1) the war of the reactionary bureaucracy

upon the Communists and Left wing in the miners union and the needle trades. (2) The new wage policy of the A.F. of L. and the union management co-operation schemes. (3) The United States Supreme Court decision in the Bedford Stone case denying workers the right to refuse to handle scab products. (4) The nation-wide use of sweeping injunctions against workers. (5) The lockout of the bituminous miners and the attempt of the mineowners to smash the union as well as the treacherous betrayal of the miners' interests by the Lewis machine (partial settlements, refusal to organise the unorganised, submission to injunctions, failure to organise relief, etc.).

### LEFT DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING CLASS.

There are increasing signs of resistance to the attacks of the employers. The Colorado Strike, the militancy of the 150,000 locked out miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio, the needle trade fights, the strike of 30,000 textile workers against wage cuts in New England, the national conference of the T.U.E.L. in New York, attended by 297 delegates, the Save the Union Conference of miners in Pittsburgh, April 1, 1928, attended by 1,128 delegates, the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations and strikes, Passaic strike, traction workers strike, trade union delegations to the Soviet Union, etc., are evidence of this fact.

### THE INNER PARTY SITUATION.

The resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the American question, July 1, 1927, declared :

“ The objective difficulties, the weakness of the Workers (Communist) Party and its inadequate contact with the masses of native workers are factors complicating the inner situation of the Workers (Communist) Party. An insufficiently strong Party life, as a result of an insufficient mass basis, and the inadequate contact of many members of the former language groups with the specific problems of the class struggle in the United States favour the development of groups and fractional struggles, the existence and intensity of which we seek in vain to explain by serious differences of principle.”

since the Fifth Congress the inner-Party situation has been dealt with in special American commissions in the Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Enlarged E.C.C.I. Sessions, and two conventions of the American Party have been held (the Fourth, August, 1925, and the Fifth, September, 1927).

At the Fifth Enlarged Executive the main question at issue was the continuation of the Labour Party campaign which the then majority of the C.E.C. of the American Party had decided to discard. The E.C.C.I. decided that while this proposal was wrong, the minority put the slogan too narrowly :

"The majority . . . drew the conclusion that the former chief slogan of the Party, 'For the formation of a Farmer-Labour Party,' had to be abandoned as useless . . . This conclusion was incorrect . . .

"The minority . . . was right in having confidence in the vitality and future of the Labour Party movement . . .

"The Communists need not demand nor even expect that the Labour Party will immediately be a revolutionary, radical party of workers, in which the Communists will have to take the lead. In this respect the slogan has been put somewhat too narrowly by the Minority of the C.E.C."

As to the slogan, the resolution states :

"Our slogan itself should now be revised in so far that we no longer agitate for a 'Farmer Labour Party,' but only for a 'Labour Party,' since in the changed conditions the premises for the formation of a joint party of workers and small farmers are lacking."

Other points of this decision provided for the calling of a Party Convention to decide the question of leadership.

After the sudden death of Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, the General Secretary of the Party, in March, 1927, new differences came to a crisis. Three groups arose within the Central Committee which rendered it impossible for any one of these groupings to muster a majority on any question of policy. The situation was dealt with by a special commission of the C.I. immediately after the Eighth Plenum. The resolution adopted stated :

" . . . The Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. very emphatically declared : 'that the Comintern demands the complete and unreserved cessation of fractional struggle.'"

"It must be placed on record that this demand was not carried out seriously enough and that an untenable position of fraction formation within the Communist Party still exists, that alongside of the general party meetings, each of the existing fractions holds meetings only for its supporters arriving at binding group decisions."

The resolution further stated :

"The majority of the Party executive did not sufficiently understand how to create such a condition of affairs as to bring about an amalgamation with the forces which are to-day in opposition . . .

"The Opposition groups must cease their fractional methods. They must endeavour by their attitude to facilitate unity with the majority of the Political Committee before and at the Party convention. All proposals, all criticism of the Party work and its leadership must be made in this spirit.

"During the work of the American Commission it became clear that the differences regarding the important political questions have recently been much reduced."



The Fifth Convention met in September, 1927, and had a majority of supporters for the tendency of the late Comrade Ruthenberg. A wide Central Committee was chosen, many new and proletarian elements being added (majority 22, combined minority groups 15); a Political Commission of seven to four, and a Secretariat of two to one was subsequently elected pursuant to the decision of the Eighth E.C.C.I.

The last (February, 1928) meeting of the C.E. adopted a unanimous thesis on the general situation in the Party, stating that while there are "lingering remnants of old fractional groupings," it must be recorded that:

"Great headway has been made by the Party in consolidating its forces and unifying its ranks on the basis of the resolutions of the last Party Convention."

The Political Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., in reviewing the accomplishments of the February 1928 Plenum of the American Party, again discussed the inner-Party situation. The resolution (April, 1928) referring to the "remnants of old fractional groups," states:

"The session of the C.E.C. (February, 1928) itself was a convincing proof of definite achievements of the Party towards political consolidation of its ranks. The complete organisational unification of the Party will become possible only if the Party succeeds in creating an atmosphere of full confidence which will lead to the joint harmonious work of all members of the Party.

"It is the opinion of the E.C.C.I. that the main problem of the Party in the field of organisation is to kill all remnants of fractionalism."

On the question of the united front the inner Party work was based on the rooting out from the membership of the last lingering remnants of the idea that mass activity on a united front basis intensifies with the building of the Communist Party, and to demonstrate that on the contrary only a mass work would enable the Party to fulfill its Communist functions. The specifically American expression of the fight against opportunism was the struggle against the Lore viewpoint.

### **The Campaign Against the Opposition in the C.P.S.U.**

In the final voting, after an intensive educational campaign and membership meetings throughout all sections of the Party, less than one per cent. of the membership registered its support of the Opposition within the C.P.S.U. Most of the support given to Trotsky was to be found outside the Party.

The Party waged an energetic struggle against such renegades as Max Eastman. He was forced to resign from the monthly magazine the "New Masses."

The most important result of this struggle has been the com-

plete rout of the Opposition forces and the lifting of the ideological level of the American Party membership, as well as of considerable numbers of sympathising workers.

### **The Death of Comrade Ruthenberg.**

The American Party suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the General Secretary, Comrade Charles E. Ruthenberg. He died on March 2, 1927, literally in the harness of Party work, after an illness of only a few days. Ever since its organisation in 1919, Ruthenberg was secretary of the American Communist Party, except during the periods when he was in prison for his Communist activity.

### **General Activities and Campaigns.**

The main campaigns of general political character were as follows :

Campaign against the war danger, for the defence and recognition of the Soviet Union. Hundreds of mass meetings were held and large quantities of literature were distributed. On the Tenth Anniversary 156 meetings were held. Two workers delegations were sent to the Soviet Union despite the most vicious attacks of the reactionary bureaucrats. The first consisted of a group of progressive trade union leaders, accompanied by a number of liberal economists. The second group, which attended the Tenth Anniversary Celebration, consisted of 25 rank and file trade union members. Both delegations wrote favourable reports on their visit, which received widespread circulation.

Anti-imperialist Campaigns, China, Nicaragua. Under the slogan of "Hands off China" the Party launched a united front campaign against the intervention of United States against the Chinese revolution. Committees and conferences were organised in many cities, in one case 60 local unions being affiliated with the "Hands off China" conference. In this work contact was made with the "Kuomintang in America," a Left wing was organised, control of an organ secured and, after the Chiang Kai-shek betrayal, a split was originated. When American troops began to be sent to China, demonstrations were organised in front of the navy yards in New York, Philadelphia and Seattle, leaflets were distributed to the embarking marines, and inside the military camps (Fort Slocum).

A vigorous campaign was launched against the American war on Nicaragua, under defeatist slogans, in which for the first time in American labour history the marines were appealed to on the necessity to fight against their own government. Attempts were made to reach the forces in the Navy Yards, and a number of Party and W.Y.L. comrades were arrested.

The Party supports the efforts of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, a united front organisation with its head-

quarters in Mexico City and a branch in the United States as well as in the chief Latin American countries. This organisation is concentrating its efforts on fighting the spread of the influence of the Pan-American Federation of Labour, and is mobilising anti-imperialistic sentiment throughout Latin America to resist the encroachment of Yankee imperialism.

The Labour Party † movement is at a low ebb nationally but in a number of localities (Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and California) there are signs of considerable sentiment for a Labour Party. The reason for the ebb in this movement, as compared with 1921-24, is to be found in the objective situation prevailing since 1924, and also in the fact that American capitalism is strong enough to bribe a considerable labour aristocracy with living conditions superior to those enjoyed by the great unskilled and unorganised mass.

There is a very slight prospect of either a Labour Party ticket or a United Labour ticket nationally in the 1928 elections. The Workers' Party has nominated its own national ticket—Foster and Gitlow. This will not mean the discontinuance of agitation for the Labour Party.

In the scattered local elections in the autumn of 1927 the Workers' Party had its own ticket in a number of cities. In New York 10,000 votes were cast, double that of the previous election. In San Francisco the Party vote outstripped that of the Socialist.

The campaign against injunctions has been waged by having Communist and Left wing trade union leaders and masses openly violate the injunctions, and then organising broad united front bodies to fight for those who are arrested for "contempt of court." A number of workers now face terms of imprisonment in such cases.

The fight against judicial frame-ups. In the Sacco-Vanzetti case the Communists led in establishing a united front and fought to preserve it from the splitting tactics and sabotage of the bourgeois liberals, socialists, anarchists and labour bureaucrats. The three successive political strikes, July 7, August 9, and August 22 brought hundreds of thousands of workers upon the streets. In New York vast crowds staged friendly demonstrations before the Communist newspapers and hostile demonstrations in front of the Socialist and fascist headquarters despite police attacks.

The campaign for the protection of the foreign-born is conducted by a large nation-wide front organisation in which the Party plays an important role. Its aim is to fight all exceptional laws directed against the foreign-born workers. At the Second National Conference of this organisation, held at Washington, D.C. delegates were present representing 400,000 workers—the

† See E.C.C.I. resolution on American question, April 13, 1928.

Party has a special department for work among the foreign-born, in the central apparatus as well as in every district.

The Anti-Fascist campaign has been of great importance in checkmating the attempts of Fascism in Europe and its agents in America, to organise an extensive Fascist movement there. The workers' Party plays an important role in the "Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America," a united front organisation representing 200,000 workers, which has been instrumental in effectively counteracting attempted pro-Fascist demonstrations, in blocking subscriptions to the Italian Fascist loan, etc. The work of this organisation is of a consistently proletarian character. The Grecco-Garillo frame-up was one of the counter-measures of the Fascists against this organisation.

The unemployment now so widespread in America is the subject of a special Party campaign. "Unemployed Councils" have been formed in a number of towns, notably New York, where open air demonstrations have been held and relief kitchens established; in Cleveland, where the unemployed invaded the meeting of the City Council and demanded work of relief; and the same was true in San Francisco, Denver, etc. The unemployed are being drawn into the trade union organisation campaigns, and since its last convention in December, 1927, also into the organ of the Trade Union Educational League.

## **ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLES.**

### **The Anthracite Strike.**

The anthracite coal strike was confined to the hard coal regions of the State of Pennsylvania and involved 150,000 workers. The Party entered the struggle and worked out a programme of Left wing demands. Over 200,000 leaflets were distributed amongst the miners.

Resolutions were presented and fought for in the miners' and railroad workers' locals. Members of the C.E.C., special organisers, and foreign language organisers were sent into the strike fields. Special editions of the "Daily Worker" were printed and distributed among the strikers. Scores of meetings were held throughout the strike area which were attended by thousands of miners. Later, during the course of the strike, the Party was able to organise resistance to the Lewis machine in the General Grievance Boards made up of rank and file representatives from the miners' locals.

### **The Passaic Strike.**

This strike, which was the result of wage cuts, involved 16,000 textile workers who were totally unorganised and was led by Communists. The officialdom of the A.F. of L. opposed the

strike and fought it. Despite this, through the relief organisation that was built up, not only was over 600,000 dollars raised but the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the trade unions was won for the support of the strike. The pressure from below forced President Green and the A.F. of L. to come out in favour of the strike after they had denounced it. Affiliation was secured with the A.F. of L. as a step towards the settlement of the strike. The withdrawal of Weisbord, the leader of the strike, when the Passaic Union joined the A.F. of L. was, however, not accompanied by the elimination of the leadership of the Communists. They remained in full control of the organisation. The strike lasted thirteen months. It was settled by the winning of the main demands. Unlike all other textile strikes an organisation remains with about 700 members fully under Communist and Left wing leadership.

### **The Furriers' Strike.**

The Furriers' Strike involved 10,000 workers. The Right wing Social Democratic leadership, which pursued a policy of scabbing and disruption, was so completely discredited that they were entirely eliminated from the activities of the strike. Green, President of the A.F. of L., intervened in the strike, attempting to sell it and bring back the Right wing leadership; but in this he was defeated. The demand for the 40-hour week was made a national issue for the American Labour Movement by the Furriers' Strike, and the convention of the A.F. of L. was compelled to recognise it as such. The strike lasted seventeen weeks and ended in a victory for the union and a crushing defeat for the Right wing and the A.F. of L. bureaucracy.

### **The Cloakmakers' Strike.**

The Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York, comprising 50,000 workers, was the largest union in the needle trades. It was the second important union of that industry to come under Communist and Left wing leadership. The General Strike of the Cloakmakers, which took place in the middle of 1926, involved 35,000 workers. The strike was caused by the decision of the Governor's Commission, which had been appointed two years previously at the request of the Right wing Socialist leaders then in control of the union. The Right wing leadership in control of the national organisation favoured the acceptance of the decision. The Communists and Left wing leadership, through the N.Y. Joint Board, exposed the decision and the strike followed. The Socialist press carried on a vicious campaign against the strike. The A.F. of L. sabotaged the strike and opposed it. The strike ended in important gains for the workers.

### **The Bituminous Strike.**

On April, 1927, 250,000 miners were locked out. In the Pennsylvania and Ohio coal fields, 140,000 workers are still out on strike, continuing one of the most important struggles now going on in the United States. The lockout was clearly a move to destroy the miners' union, which had already been weakened by the reactionary policies and corrupt practices of the Lewis machine. The extent to which the union was weakened is shown by the fact that 70 per cent of the bituminous coal is now being mined by non-union miners.

The failure of the Lewis machine to provide adequate relief was utilised by the Left wing to establish a National Relief Committee of its own. This committee not only provides relief, but also conducts a wide agitation and propaganda for Left wing issues. The Party and the Left wing succeeded in mobilising the workers for mass picketing, demonstrations and violation of the sweeping injunctions issued against the miners. In all the mining districts the slogans are "Win the Pennsylvania and Ohio Strike" and "Lewis Must Go."

The Party factions played an important part in the calling of the local conferences in all important coal districts—Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and the anthracite district. Over 750 delegates were present at these conferences. A bi-weekly paper was established, "The Coal Digger," which in a few weeks reached a circulation of over 15,000. Organisers were sent into all the districts to organise the "Save the Union Committee" and mobilise the miners for the support of the strike and for the fight against the Lewis machine.

The Save the Union Committee National Conference, held in Pittsburgh on April 1st, 1928, was attended by 1,128 delegates from every district of the country. The Conference decided to take over the leadership of the strike, to organise the unorganised, to oust the Lewis machine and take over the unions.

### **The Colorado Strike.**

The strike of the 10,000 Colorado miners was a strike for organisation, and for the Jacksonville scale. The hitherto unorganised miners were under the leadership of the I.W.W. As soon as the strike broke out the Party sent in organisers, as well as youth relief representatives. Every effort was made to co-operate with the I.W.W. leadership. Close contact was made by the Communists with a section of the I.W.W., but the timid and conservative policies of the I.W.W. leadership threatened and finally accomplished the defeat of the strike. The I.W.W. spread illusions of the "fairness" of the State officials, and abandoned mass picketing, and put the settlement into the hands of the State Industrial Commission, in the face of the cold-blooded murder of a number of strikers and sweeping anti-picketing

injunctions. The strike ended in defeat under I.W.W. advice, the men went back to work with nothing gained except the promise of an investigation by the State Industrial Commission.

### **The Haverhill Shoe Workers' Strike.**

This, involving 6,000 to 7,000 workers, was another strike where the Party took the leadership. After twelve days, this strike resulted in a complete victory for the workers.

## **OTHER WORK.**

### **The Activity of the Agitprop.**

The last four years have witnessed a remarkable progress in the work of the Agitprop Department. An Agitprop apparatus has been built up in every district of the Party.

### **Workers' Schools.**

The same period witnessed a rapid rise in the opportunities for education offered by the Workers' Party for both members and sympathisers. Four years ago there were not more than 200 students divided between the New York and Chicago Party schools. To-day, there are schools established in 12 cities with a student personnel of close to 4,000.

All important street nuclei in New York, for example, have from one to four neighbourhood courses as have also various outlying districts. This is also true of other centres.

### **Nuclei Discussions.**

For this purpose outlines and bulletins are prepared by the Agitprop Department.

### **Circuit Schools.**

This is a recent innovation calculated to eliminate the great difficulties confronting the Party in keeping in touch with small localities and seeing that they function. In the Buffalo district (upper New York) a travelling instructor was furnished for 6 study classes which have an attendance of 108 students. In some of these cities there have never been any form of educational activity before. The excellent results from this experiment will be utilised in covering other similar districts.

### **National Training School.**

The Agitprop Department has just established a National Party School consisting of a full-time three-months course. It has 30 students, three of whom are from the Canadian Party.

### **The Press.**

The Party has 11 dailies in 9 different languages and 12 weekly publications, besides a number of papers and magazines over which the Party has a big influence. The total circulation of the Party press is estimated at over 170,000. There are also the following publications, 8 trade union papers, 3 co-operative, 3 farmers', 4 women's, 3 youth and 4 organs of auxiliaries, that are under our influence. The central organ of the Party is the Daily Worker (New York). It has a circulation of 18,000.

The Freiheit (Jewish, New York) with nearly 40,000 readers has the largest circulation. It has considerable mass influence among the workers in the needle trades. Dailies and weeklies in Hungarian, Ukrainian, Russian, Yuko-Slav, Slovenian, Polish, Lithuanian and Italian, have great influence among the workers in the basic industries (coal, steel, etc.). Three dailies in the Finnish language practically dominate the field. The Italian Communist weekly "Il Lavoratore" is the successor to the daily that was forced to suspend by financial difficulties.

### **Factory Newspapers.**

There were in January 1928 shop papers with a total circulation of 45,000. Most of these papers are closely bound up with factory life. There are, however, slight weaknesses occasionally in connecting factory issues with the general political situation: One of the best papers is "The Ford Worker" issued in the Detroit Ford Plant. This paper has been appearing regularly for the past two years and has a circulation of 10,000 semi-monthly. Special efforts have been made to develop effective shop papers especially in heavy industries.

### **Worker Correspondents.**

The organisation of worker correspondence groups is receiving considerable stimulus from the classes for worker writers in the Party's schools. The Party press, especially the Daily Worker, gives considerable space to worker correspondents.

### **Work in the Trade Unions.**

A national trade union fraction secretary directs this work from the centre. The number of Party members belonging to the trade union fractions has increased steadily (see report on organisation).

Fractions are organised in the unions of all important industries, coal mining, metal, building transport, needle trades, etc.

In the machinists' union, the carpenters, painters, railroad workers, seamen, steel, and food workers, our fractions are very active and doing important work as is evidenced by the election campaign in the machinists' union, where the Left wing received a large number of votes. The railroad workers' fraction succeeded



in having the switchmen's union of the north-west district adopt a Left wing programme at its conference. In the carpenters' union the leadership of important locals was won against the Hutcheson machine, one of the most reactionary and powerful machines in the A.F. of L. In a number of locals Hutcheson was compelled to reinstate Left wing workers who had been expelled from their activities. In the Painters' Union the Party's fractions, together with the progressive group, succeeded in defeating the Social Democratic Zauser machine in New York City. In the Food Industry the Left wing fractions control the leadership of a number of important A.F. of L. locals as well as the independent union, the Amalgamated Food Workers of America.

The fractions in the I.W.W. have done good work. Many of the best elements in the I.W.W. had been won for the Party.

### **Work in the Co-operatives.**

The Co-operative League of North America, with 150,000 members, contains considerable Left wing elements. In the 1926 convention the Left wing succeeded in defeating the attack of the Right. Five delegates were elected to attend the Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance at Stockholm. At the November 1926 convention of the Co-operative more than one-third of the delegates were left-wing supporters. Of the Executive Board elected one-third are left wingers. The Central Cooperative Exchange (Superior, Wisconsin) serving 100 retail stores, is a Left wing organisation.

The Left wingers in the co-operatives have succeeded in securing some relief for the striking coal miners, and recently called a conference to extend this work. In New York City is the United Workers' Co-operative Association, which is controlled by the Left wing. This co-operative has spread recently to other cities, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. It is building a series of houses, controls a number of camps for workers, conducts cultural work on a Communist basis, etc.

### **Work Among Farmers.**

The Party has aided in the formation of the United Farmers Educational League. Its monthly newspaper, the "United Farmer" was transformed into a weekly in the autumn of 1927. This newspaper, which has a circulation of approximately 6,000 has steadily improved its contact with the working farmers and now publishes regular farmer correspondence from a score of states. The U.F.E.L. works with non-partisan farm organisations, holds conference of progressive farmers, works for the affiliation of farm organisations to the Farmer Labour Parties, for the organisation of the agricultural workers and their alliance with the city workers and for the extension of cooperatives of working farmers. The

progressive farmers of Iowa, a political economic organisation strong enough to hold mass meetings of 3,000, has adopted the "United Farmer" as its official organ.

### **Work in United Front Organisations.**

The International Labour Defence is the American section of the International Red Aid. It publishes a monthly organ, the "Labour Defender" with a circulation of 16,000. It is a broad organisation in which Communists take a leading part.

The Workers International Relief, is a united front organisation, without an individual membership basis. It carried on collection activity for the British strike, victims of the Nanking bombardment, Passaic, and coal strike, etc.

The Workers' Sports Federation has a membership of 5,000 of which 5 per cent. are Communists, who are organised in factions. During the two years of its existence it has developed an influence far beyond its present organisational strength. Some locals have youth and children's sections.

### **Work in Other Non-Party Mass Organisations.**

The Party participates in work among a number of mass organisations, fraternal societies, sick and death benefit societies, etc. These organisations consist mainly of foreign-born workers in basic industries and have several hundred thousand members. The Party carries on in these organisations systematic campaigns for all its slogans. In a number of these, especially amongst the Jewish, Lithuanian, Ukranian, Yugo-Slav, and Hungarian, the Party factions exert considerable influence.

### **National Race Minorities.**

The Party has eighteen language faction bureaux which carry on work among the various nationalities. These direct the faction work in the mass fraternal, benefit, and other organisations, workers' clubs, etc. The Party has a total of eleven dailies, twelve weekly, and two monthlies which it controls directly, and a number of organs which are controlled through sympathetic organisations. In practically every one of these national minorities there is a continual struggle against the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie. Our position varies widely. Among the Finns we clearly have the leadership, while among the Poles we have very little influence.

### **Negro Work in America.**

The most numerous minority in America are the Negroes, forming about 13,000,000 of the American population.

The Party has made a number of attempts to develop this work, but has not always met with any significant success. It

supported the African Blood Brotherhood, that was liquidated with the organisation of the American Negro Labour Congress. Intensive efforts were put forth, in the North and in the South, for the building of the A.N.L.C. on as broad a scale as possible. Many timid elements, however, were frightened by the vicious attack launched against the Congress by the American Federation of Labour officialdom. This and other reasons resulted in a too narrow gathering. An official organ, the "Negro Champion," was established, speakers and organisers were sent on tour, and special committees for development of the work among Negroes were set up. Campaigns were developed in connection with the Sanhedrin (Chicago, 1924), the various congresses of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Garvey); the Fourth Pan-African Congress (New York, 1927), and other Negro organisations. The Party was also a driving force in campaigns incidental to the Sweet Case (Detroit), school fights (Gary, Indiana, and in New Jersey), imprisonment of Garvey, housing (Chicago), and placing of Negro comrades as candidates in election campaigns. The greatest success in the trade union field was achieved in drawing Negro coal miners into the "Save the Union" movement in the united mineworkers of America, Negro miners being conspicuous at the Pittsburgh Conference (April 1st, 1928). They were successfully drawn into the campaigns to "organise the unorganised" in the rubber (Akron) and automobile (Detroit) industries. A successful strike of Negro workers (Date and Fig Packers, Chicago) was carried on.

The Party, nevertheless, showed little initiative in the organisation of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters. Industrial disasters (Gary Steel Mills), in which many Negro workers lost their lives, have been taken advantage of to point out the necessity of organisations. At the present time the Party and the A.N.L.C. in Chicago are aiding in the building of a Negro Central Labour body which seems to be developing successfully. Propaganda is being carried on continuously for the breaking down of prejudice and the abolition of constitutional bars against the admission of Negro workers to the regular trade unions. Negro workers are drawn into the various Party schools in as large numbers as possible. In the South, where the larger part of the thirteen million American Negroes live, in the worse conditions of any section of the population, the efforts of the Party and A.N.L.C. to make effective contacts have not met with any considerable success. The Party has established a national Negro department and has also committees for work among Negroes in all districts. Work among the Negroes remains one of the most important tasks of the Party. The experience of the past shows that new ways and new methods must be found to approach the Negro masses and to carry on among them a more successful campaign than hitherto.

**Work in the Colonies.**

The Phillippines are the most important colony of American Imperialism. Good connections have been established with the workers' and peasants' movement in the island. The appearance of annual Phillippine commissions in the United States have been utilised for propaganda purposes.

The arrest and imprisonment of the two Communists, Walter Trumbull, and Paul Crouch, soldiers in the American forces in the Hawaiian Islands, had a considerable repercussion in the organised trade union movement of the Islands. The island workers got their first news of the imprisonment of the two soldiers from the "Daily Worker." The Party has not yet been able to establish any connections here. Some contacts have been established with revolutionary elements in the Virgin Islands.

**Work Among Women.**

After the Fifth National Convention of the Party the C.E.C. organised a Women's Department. However, prior to the convention the seven major districts had already built up functioning women's departments. The Party now influences some tens of thousands of women in sympathetic working class women's organisations. These organisations have rendered valuable services in mobilising the support of the masses of women in connection with the textile workers' strike in Passaic, in various strikes in New York and in the coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania and Colorado.

For work among women in the factories and in the trade unions, the shop nuclei and Party fractions in Detroit were mobilised for systematic work. In New York a local of 1,500 previously unorganised women millinery workers was organised. The first delegate meetings with representatives from factories, trade unions and sympathetic women's organisations, were held in New York in 1927. This was a beginning in the direction of calling periodical women's delegate meetings. Through these delegate meetings the Party was able to make connections with numerous factories which provide a source of worker correspondents to the "Working Woman," a bulletin published by these women's delegate conferences.

In Chicago, Negro women working in a date and fig factory were organised into a trade union for the first time and led in a successful strike. In Detroit, the delegates from the "Federation of Working Class Women" attended an organisation conference recently called by the automobile workers' union. The delegate succeeded in introducing two specifically women's demands into the general programme drawn up by the conference. The "Daily Worker" publishes considerable material about work among women, but in a rather unsystematic manner.

One of the most successful campaigns in mobilising masses

of women was the International Women's Day Campaign of 1928.

### **Party Activities in Work Among the Youth.**

The Party conducts youth columns and children's columns in all its press. This brings in a considerable number of letters mainly from American-born children of foreign-born parents and gives the Young Workers' League continual contacts.

For the last two years the Party has helped the League to raise funds to conduct its five district and one national six week's full time summer schools. The Party also supplied instructors for these schools. Several places were reserved for Young Workers League members in the Party's national training school.

The Party, through its various sections, districts, etc., has helped to build up the children's summer camps and children's groups and given other support to this work.

### **The Party Organisation.**

Three months after the 4th Convention the reorganisation was declared to be 70 per cent. complete; in New York alone there were 207 shop nuclei and 46 street nuclei; in Chicago 27 shop nuclei and 38 street nuclei, in Detroit 15 shop nuclei, etc.

In the two years prior to the reorganisation the language federation membership had remained stationary while that of the English branches had doubled. A large section of the federation membership did not immediately come into the reorganised Party, but they were all organised in the new "Workers Clubs," which under the control of our Party fractions, carry on all the social and cultural work formerly done by the old federation branches. Freed from these tasks the new language bureaux (which replaced the old federation executives) now give all their attention to spreading our influence in the big mass fraternal organisations of the foreign-born workers and to the development of the Communist press and especially to the support of the general campaigns of the Party, e.g., organising the unorganised, etc. We lack complete figures of the work of all the language fractions, but taking the small Scandinavian fraction we find that the 211 members before the reorganisation there are now 150,, but these are organised into fractions controlling 21 clubs with 1,000 members, and through these clubs last year a united front "Workers Educational League" with 2,000 members was formed. In the Yugo-Slav fractions 815 Party members (1,000 before reorganisation, work in 30 workers clubs with 2,500 members, have an Int. Red Aid organisation with 2,000 members and lead a Left wing of 14,000 in mass fraternal organisations having over 100,000 members. In a single district the Finnish comrades have 54 Women's Clubs, (20 of them organised within the past year). Most important is the great increase of forces released by the reorganisation for regular Party work; hundreds of comrades have

been surprised to find that they have a sufficient command of English to take on active functions in the regular units, and this has strengthened the ranks of lower unit functionaries. The record breaking attendance at classes in the English language conducted in every Party school, the holding of teachers' conferences, etc., is the main factor in the "Americanisation" process now going on in the Party.

There have been certain changes in the occupational composition of our Party membership. Due to the reorganisation, the percentage of metal workers has also declined from 15 per cent. challenged the metal workers for first place with 15 per cent. of the total, has declined to fifth place with 9 per cent. But the percentage of metal workers has also declined from 15 per cent. to 10.7 per cent. (including auto workers), dropping from first place to fourth. First place is now occupied by the needle trades workers with 21 per cent of those registered in the last registration, as compared with 9 per cent. (4th place) in 1924. There are gains also in the percentage of labourers, shoe and leather workers, printers, railroad workers. The very considerable increase in the proportion of workers from the light industries of the eastern state is due to the big strikes led by the Communists during the past two years. Similar results are looked for from the Party work are now being concentrated on the heavy industries.

In February 1928 the Workers' Party had 12,000 dues-paying members, and about 14,000 members on the lists. At the time of the Fifth World Congress its membership was likewise 14,000. In this connection it should be mentioned that in 1925 the Party had no accurate membership statistics and that among the 14,000 members at that time, a considerable number were housewives who were considered as members in view of the then prevailing family membership principle.

The reorganisation of the Party on the factory nuclei basis, which began in 1925, eliminated the family membership principle and laid down the foundation for a more accurate membership calculation. The membership in October, 1925, immediately after the reorganisation of the Party, was altogether 7,215. This figure shows how inaccurate the previous statistics of the Workers Party had been, as it is not to be conceived that the Party actually lost 5,000 members in the process of its reorganisation.

During the first 3 months of 1928 the Party conducted a membership drive under the slogan "build the Party" and obtained 1,300 new members. Many hundreds of new members, however, have not paid their initiation fee in view of their being unemployed. During the first quarter of 1928, 20 new factory nuclei have been formed. The subscribers to the "Daily Worker" increased by 2,000 and an additional 11 factory newspapers have appeared in the key industries with a total circulation of over 20,000

# CANADA

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**T**HE rapid development of Canadian industry during the past ten years has finally changed Canada from an agrarian country to an industrial country in which somewhat over 50 per cent. of the population is urban. The industrial exports exceed the industrial imports at the present time. Trade in Canada has experienced an enormous increase, although it is noticeable that the favourable trade balance has a tendency to decline. During the last year the production of all basic industries has increased. Foreign investments in Canada have reached a total of \$5,300,000,000, and the investment of Canadian capital abroad now totals \$1,200,000,000.

The development of the political situation since the election crisis in 1928 has brought about the liquidation of all of the secessionist tendencies and phrases of the Liberal Party. On the one hand the King Government has extended its policy of representatives to foreign governments, in this way intensifying the development of Canada's independence from the British Government, and on the other hand King has repeatedly avowed his continued loyalty and support of the British Government. He has established diplomatic relations with the French and Japanese Governments, following upon disappointment of an ambassador in Washington. The breaking of relations with the U.S.S.R. immediately following the break of the British Government indicated King's alliance with the British Government.

In contrast to the vacillating attitude of the King Government, the Conservative Party has declared itself to be openly in favour of the British Minister of Colonial Affairs and Amery's scheme for empire trade, which provides for preference considerations in inter-trade relations between Britain and the Colonies and Dominions. The Conservative Party Convention last summer appointed R. B. Bennet, one of the most powerful Canadian financiers, as its leader and adopted a policy of empire economic unity in opposition to the liberal, so-called secessionist sentiments. Great contradictions exist in both of these capitalist parties. That the Conservative Party, which represents Canadian large industrial capitalism, should be the exponent of British Empire preference schemes and at the same time have Bennet, a large financier, closely connected with American capital, as its leader, appears to be an irreconcilable contradiction. This situation is to be explained by the fact that Canadian industry finds large markets within the Empire and only a section of the Canadian bourgeoisie

suffers from the preference tariff for English goods. On the other hand, Canadian capital has much to fear from competition with American goods on the Canadian market. The Liberal Party's policy is to be explained by the fact that it represents that section of the Canadian bourgeoisie closely bound up with American capital and also the masses of the petty bourgeois French and Western farmers. In opposition to Amery's scheme, the farmers take up their position because of the fact that their market is an international market and preference tariffs mean higher prices for the farmer.

### **THE POSITION OF THE I.L.P. AND C.L.P.**

The Independent Labour Party of Winnipeg, which has a membership of only 150, has broadened out its influence to the East of Canada. The Right Wing of the Canadian Labour Party in Ontario, under the leadership of the reactionary trade unionists (Simpson and Co.), carried through a split in the Toronto Council of the Labour Party and are making efforts to consolidate an I.L.P. in Ontario with the aim in view of finally building up a dominion-wide Social-Democratic Party under the name of the Independent Labour Party.

The split of the Right Wing in the Ontario section (the largest section of the Canadian Labour Party) is the culminating point of the campaign for the expulsion of the Communist Party from the Labour Party.

### **POSITION IN THE TRADE UNIONS.**

The position in the trade unions since the great mining struggles of 1925 has been one of passivity. In spite of the great industrial activity and intensified exploitation that is apparent in Canada during the past two years, the workers have entered upon no large wage offensives and have not been faced with any severe attacks on the part of the capitalist class. The number of strikes during 1927 remained on the low level of 1926. The most significant event during this period was the formation of the new All-Canadian Congress of Labour in April, 1927. The Congress secured affiliations from national trade unions representing 46,000 workers, including the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the One Big Union, the Electrical Trades of Canada, the Association of Canadian Enginemen, the Mine Workers' Union of Canada, the Bricklayers' and Masons' Federation of Canada, the Independent Union of Street Railway-men of Toronto, the Electrical Communication Workers, etc. The Congress endorsed the policy of industrial organisation, independent political class action, and the programme of immediate demands. The composition as a whole is that of elements that have at some time split away from the A.F. of L., and they contain much of the old bitter opposition to the American Federation of Labour.



The Congresses of the Trades and Labour Congress (A.F. of L.) during the past two years have shown a continued turn to the Right and the almost complete liquidation of any consolidated Left Wing representation within the Congress, and the continued weakening of Communist Party strength therein. Following upon the Congress in September, 1927, the A.F. of L. commenced an offensive against the Left Wing in Toronto, but was unable to carry out any organised attack, and in so far as the national unions were concerned, it commenced a disruptive policy. The A.F. of L. unions experienced a slight increase in membership in 1927 and the national unions remained practically of the same strength. The total number of organised workers in Canada is 304,000 out of a total of 905,000 workers employed in Canadian industries.

At the last Convention of the Communist Party the slogan of opening the doors of the Trades and Labour Congress to all unions was changed to that of national unity through the amalgamation of the two congresses. The party took the position that the objective basis of the A.F. of L. in Canada is narrowing and that the objective conditions offer a basis for the development of the All-Canadian Trade Union Congress and national unionism.

The formation of the New Congress undoubtedly indicated a crystallisation of the tendency towards independent unionism, and marks a step forward in the development of the national trade union movement. It cannot, however, in any sense be looked upon as a move to the Left on the part of the masses of the Canadian workers. Its composition is, of course, much more heterogeneous than that of the A.F. of L. Congress, and in general is more flexible, but its leadership is by no means a Left leadership, and the Left Wing within the New Congress is in the same position as within the A.F. of L. Congress.

## **DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA.**

### **Inner Party Development.**

The party held two congresses in the period under consideration, one in the autumn of 1925 and in the summer of 1927. Neither of these congresses registered any radical changes in the inner party situation. The membership of the party remains stable at approximately 4,000—4,500. The 1925 Convention of the party, which mapped out its work on the basis of the C.I. decisions in regard to the Canadian party, decided on six principal tasks: Intensive Marxist-Leninist education of the party, re-organisation on the basis of factory and street nuclei, the building up of an organised Left Wing trade union movement, building of a Labour Party as a mass movement based on the trade unions and under the leadership of the Communist Party, alliance of the

poor farmers and workers through the propagation of the idea of farmer labour government, and intensive political activity through the propagation of a programme of action demanding nationalisation of the basic industries without compensation and with workers' control, a workers' and farmers' government and complete Canadian independence with the repudiation of the British North American Act. At the Convention of 1927 the party registered progress in most of these fields.

### **Agitprop.**

The party issued during 1926 a course for inner party training on the basis of Stalin's "Theory and Practice of Leninism." This course was not very successful, very few of the party groups were actually carrying through a systematic study of the course, and during the winter of 1927 the party instructed the groups to commence the study of the "A.B.C. of Communism." In 1928 the party commenced the publication of special bulletins and syllabuses for party training and renewed its instructions to organise week-end courses on special questions of current interest. The party's plan for a national party school was not realised, but several district schools were organised.

### **Party Press.**

During the period under consideration the central party organ has experienced a considerable growth. Its circulation has risen from between 4,000 and 4,500 to approximately 6,500. The party conducted very successful drives and organised a specially successful campaign on International Press Day, 1926. In spite of the successes in raising the individual subscription circulation, the sales and bundle orders for the paper have decreased. While the amount of material dealing with the actual struggles of the workers has increased, no systematic workers' correspondence has been organised. It is necessary to state that the tone of the paper has been greatly influenced by non-worker journalistic contributions, and the party has even allowed nationalist and reactionary non-Communist writers to contribute to the paper. The attitude of the party was that the "Worker" must develop into a broad mass organ (such as the "Sunday Worker" in England), but at the same time fulfil the work of a party organ. It is possible to state that, in spite of all the deficiencies of the paper, it is the most influential working-class paper in Canada at the present time. The other party organs (Finnish and Ukrainian, Jewish, etc.) have remained in the same position. The commencement of the publication of "Der Kampf" (Jewish party organ) in 1925 has greatly consolidated the influence of the party among the Jewish workers. Its circulation has reached 2,500. The "Ukrainian Labour News," issued three times a week, has 7,000 readers; the "Ukrainian Working Woman"

has 6,000, and the "Ukrainian Youth World" has 2,000. The most significant progress in the party Press has been the commencement of the publication of a monthly theoretical magazine, the "Canadian Labour Monthly." The Party Convention in 1927 registered the great deficiency in the party work that the party had issued no pamphlets or similar publications.

### Trade Union Work.

The trade union work of the party for the period under consideration has been the least fruitful in party experience. Following upon the mining struggles of 1925 the party strength in the mining centres has continually declined owing to the exhaustion of the workers. In the Nova Scotia mining fields the party has been almost liquidated. In the North Ontario mining centres the party, through its influence in the Canadian Mine Workers' Union in Alberta, made an organisation drive, but without any success. However, the party has succeeded in maintaining its position in the Canadian Mine Workers' Union, and through this medium has conducted organisational campaigns on the Vancouver Island and British Columbia mining centres.

In spite of the fact that the work in the railway unions slackened somewhat in 1927, the party carried through consistent agitation against the B. & O. Plan and for the convention of the railway unions (district 4) issued a Left Wing programme of demands with a large Left Wing support. The central points of the programme were: no splitting of the district, district negotiating agreements, 40-hour week, amalgamation, two weeks' holiday and a wage offensive. Under party leadership the Lumber Workers' Union of Canada was organised in Northern Ontario and conducted several large strike movements. This union represents one of the most important successes of the party in the trade union field. In the needle trades the party has suffered a series of defeats which liquidated the Left Wing leadership that existed in these unions. The reactionaries conducted a vicious campaign of expulsion against the party and the Left Wing, but the party was able to maintain considerable hold upon the masses of the membership.

The chief slogans of the party issued by the 1927 Convention for trade union work were: "Organisation of the unorganised workers," "One all-inclusive trade union centre for Canada," "Amalgamation of the two congresses," and "Organisation of the Left Wing." The Party Convention in 1927 decided that it was necessary to draw up programmes of demands for each industry, upon which basis the party must throw all its energy into the organisation of consistent fraction work. The tendency apparent in 1926 of the slackening of fraction work was severely criticised by the party as a spontaneous reflection of the general conditions of the Canadian trade union movement. While the party had repeatedly decided upon the organisation of a Left

Wing Minority Movement, nothing had been achieved in this field. The party did not succeed in setting up a central office for such a Left Wing movement, but during 1925 published "The Left Wing," the official organ of the I.U.E.L.; the T.U.E.L. also published a pamphlet in 1925, "The Next Step."

Commencing with the great mining struggles of 1925, during which the party took the leadership in the formation of the Canadian Mine Workers' Union, through the lumber and needle trades struggles of 1926, and the mining and building trades struggles of 1927, the party has played an active rôle in all the outstanding conflicts during the period. The influence that the party has exerted in the trade unions, however, was in spite of its weakness, by an organised fractional activity. Only in a few trades councils, the needle trades and in a few miners' and railwaymen's localities has the party conducted any systematic fractional activity.

### **Work in the Farmers' Organisations.**

The party has quite a number of rural branches in Western Canada that are, however, confronted with very great organisational difficulties. These branches have conducted agitational work both directly and through the Progressive Farmers' Educational League.

Up to 1927 the Left Wing caucus within the conventions and congresses of the United Farmers of Canada, particularly in the Western Provinces, was very small, consisting of a handful of Left Wingers. In the 1927 convention of the Saskatchewan section (the largest section), the Left Wing caucus consisted of 200 delegates, which advanced a Left Wing programme in the Convention. At the Alberta Convention the Left Wing caucus achieved several important successes, among which was the passing of a resolution condemning the break with the Soviet Union and demanding re-establishment of relationships with the Soviet Government. The party influence among the farmers is steadily increasing, and these successes indicate very great progress over the situation of three years ago, although, generally speaking, the economic situation of the farmers has considerably improved in this period. The party publishes a Left Wing farmers' paper, "The Furrow," which has gained marked influence among the farmers.

### **General Activities and Campaigns.**

The party conducted a wide mass campaign in connection with the British general strike, distributing some 25,000 leaflets. The party conducted a campaign against the Criminal Code, that makes picketing illegal, bringing the question before the masses of the Canadian trade unions. The party succeeded in rousing a wide HANDS OFF CHINA movement, resulting in the estab-

lishment of special councils in all the important centres, with close connection with the Canadian Kuomintang, and the establishment of the National Council in Montreal, which issued literature for the campaign. The party independently organised several large street demonstrations against intervention in China, demanding that the Canadian Government repudiate the actions of the British Government. In connection with the break of the British Government with the Soviet Union and the murder of Voikov, the party conducted a campaign throughout the whole labour movement under the slogan, "Down with Canada's subordination to British policy."

The most important campaign conducted by the party in the period under consideration was in connection with the election crisis of 1926, when the Governor-General removed the Liberal Government from office and instated a Conservative Government, with the purpose of giving the Conservatives the election machinery. The party issued at that time three leaflets: The Party Manifesto, the Constitutional Issue and Independence, and the Senate and Social Legislation.

In the municipal elections during the past three years the party has achieved great successes. The first Communist City Council member on the North American Continent was elected in Winnipeg in 1926-27.

#### **Work in the Canadian Labour Defence League.**

At the end of 1927 the Canadian Labour Defence League had 50 individual membership branches with a total membership, including affiliations, of from ten to twelve thousand. The party carried on persistent work in support of the C.L.D.L., and succeeded in securing the endorsement of the Canadian Labour Party and the affiliation of numerous trade unions, including large locals of railwaymen in Winnipeg. In the autumn of 1927 the C.L.D.L. held a national convention and appointed a national organiser.

Important campaigns conducted by the C.L.D.L. were in connection with the imprisonment of Kid Burns and Renners, following the Alberta miners' struggle; the shooting and imprisonment in Nova Scotia; against the anti-picketing law; on the Sacco and Vanzetti case; and the Chinese revolution. While the party succeeded in drawing many Left radical non-party elements into the leadership of the C.L.D.L., the leadership has been retained in the hands of the party members, and all the work is conducted under the direction of the C.E.C. of the party through the party fractions in the Executive of the C.L.D.L.

#### **Work Among National Minorities.**

The party set itself the task of building up a mass non-party organisation of French-Canadian workers, with the several radical groups at present in existence as a basis. These groups publish a small paper, "L'Ouvrier Canadien," over which the party

exercises extensive control. The turn to the Left of the Catholic unions, indicated by the decision to establish a strike fund and the demand for the right to picket, caused the party to give sharper attention to the question of the French workers. Through the Lumber Workers' Union the party has made efforts to commence a campaign for the organisation of the French lumber workers, and has met with partial success.

The party is in control of the Finnish organisation of Canada (consisting of 50 locals with some \$300,000 in property). Through the daily Press of this organisation, which is entirely in the hands of the party, the party reaches the masses of the Finnish population of Canada (35,000).

Through its fraction work the party controls all of the mass organisations of the Ukrainian workers connected with the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, including co-operatives, benevolent societies, youths' and women's organisations and a large Ukrainian press published by these organisations.

After the split of the Jewish workmen's circle in 1925, the party took the leadership in the formation of the Canadian Workmen's Circle, which embraced all of the Left elements of the old organisation; this organisation is under the control of the party fraction.

### **Work Among Women.**

The work of the Women's Bureau of the Party Executive has been conducted chiefly through the Women's Labour Leagues, which number 45 at the present time.

The leagues commenced the publication of the "Woman Worker," the monthly magazine, with elementary material suitable to the work among women. The magazine has a circulation of 1,200. A similar magazine is published in Finnish and Ukrainian. The leagues conducted several noteworthy campaigns in connection with economic struggles in large factories mainly employing women.

### **Work Among the Youth.**

The youth question was given considerable attention by the party during the period under consideration, because of differences arising on the question of the organisation of the youth section of the Ukrainian Temple Association, which met with opposition from the Y.C.L. With the assistance of the party the Y.C.L. has been built up to a membership of approximately one thousand. Its Press has a circulation of four thousand.

### **Organisational Position of the Party.**

The membership of the party is 4,400, with the following national composition: Finnish, 2,640; Ukrainian, 500; Jewish, 200; and the remainder Anglo-Saxon and other nationalities.

After the 1925 Convention, the party carried through reorganisation on the basis of factory and street groups. The federations were abolished and the work among the national minorities given over to national propaganda committees subordinate to the C.E.C. The same committees were established on a district and city scale. The language branches in all the large centres were completely reorganised, and, for example, in Toronto, 34 street and factory groups established. In the rural districts the reorganisation caused no language difficulties, since most of the members of the given locality speak the same language. In the cities, however, the vast majority of the groups established as a result of the reorganisation were street and not factory groups. The Executive report to the 1927 Convention stated that there were actually very few factory groups functioning in the party. In general, it was reported great difficulties were being felt by the new groups, and although some of the factory groups had at the beginning commenced the publication of factory papers, these had been discontinued. The party, however, suffered no great loss of membership through the reorganisation.

The city committees of the party were not reorganised and remain delegate bodies, in some cases so large as to be impracticable. The district committees greatly slackened their activity during 1926-27, and the 1927 Convention of the party was forced to adopt the policy of maintaining an organiser in each district. This, however, has not been carried out, and the district committees still remain in a weak situation.

### **The Canadian Party and the Trotskyist Opposition.**

The Fifth Convention of the party and the subsequent Plenum of the Executive corrected the mistake of the party of 1924-25, when it failed to understand the importance of the struggle against Trotskyism in the Communist International. The Congress made a thorough study of the question on the basis of a lengthy report of the delegates to the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern, and adopted a strong resolution against the Trotskyist fraction in the C.P.S.U. The party conducted a campaign in the Press against the Trotskyist Opposition and a special course throughout the party on the question.

# MEXICO

## I

THE social structure of Mexico is based on the following groupings: (1) National landownership connected with American and British oil capital; (2) the national capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie; (3) the worker and peasant masses. The main characteristic of the economic position of Mexico is that three-quarters of the raw material industry are in the hands of foreign capital. Apart from the textile industry, Mexico has at present no manufacturing industry worth mentioning. There are about 300,000 industrial workers in Mexico.

The present Calles Government made it its first and foremost task to undermine the economic supremacy of the United States through the creation of a national industry, and to carry through the agrarian revolution to a successful conclusion. It was quite obvious that this programme could not be carried out in the way proposed by the Calles Government, and that United States supremacy would again prevail in Mexico in the near future.

An analysis of the general situation in Mexico reveals a series of fundamental conflicts of interest, which can be summarised as follows:—

1. The conflict between the petty bourgeoisie and the survivors of feudalism.
2. The conflict between the national capitalists and the economically-predominant foreign imperialism.
3. The conflict between national and foreign capital on the one hand, and the workers and peasants on the other.
4. The conflict between the various groups of foreign capitalists.
5. The conflict between the central government and the provincial governments, which is particularly accentuated by the fact that the Central Government lacks the necessary courage and determination to carry out the agrarian reform. This, in its turn, led to a continuous civil war, which has been going on intermittently waxing and waning for the last 15 years.

The attempts to solve these conflicts lead continually to new ones, which keep the country in a state of ferment and unrest. The main struggle is for the re-establishment of the power of the old feudal regime and for securing the unlimited dictatorship of foreign capital, whose position has been somewhat undermined in the last few years



## II

It is a well-known fact that the Calles Government came into power in 1924, after the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary rebellion of the landowners and the reactionary soldiery led by De la Huerta, and supported by British and American imperialism. Calles drew the most important leaders of the reformist labour movement into his government. This petty bourgeois government immediately revealed the limitations of its revolutionary will which did not go further than the overcoming of feudalism. This was clearly shown in the class differences, which found their expression under the guise of religious struggles. These struggles, led by the Catholic Church, and supported by the old landowners and the American imperialists, broke out with renewed violence in the beginning of 1926. The attack of the counter-revolutionary forces was directed against the Mexican Constitution of 1917, which decreed the destruction of the power of the church and its closely connected allies, the big landowners. The moment of the attack was certainly well chosen, because the Mexican Government was at that time in difficulties with the United States in connection with the promulgation of the oil laws. The efforts of the Catholics were brought to a standstill for the time being through the accentuated struggle of the Calles Government against this counter-revolutionary attack. But the Catholics resumed the struggle in the middle of 1926, whereupon the Government decreed strict administration of the church laws and introduced even more drastic measures against the feudal-church reaction.

In complete contrast to this struggle against feudalism was the attitude taken up by the Calles Government towards the workers and peasants, with whose help it had assumed power. The efforts of the workers and peasants to continue the revolution and to carry through the agrarian programme to a successful conclusion were met by the Government with the suppression of the workers' and peasants' struggles for land and for better wages and labour conditions, which it called extremist and unlawful. One of the first blows directed against the working class was the establishment of a national arbitration court, without whose sanction no strike could be declared. If, however, strikes occurred in spite of it, the leaders of the reformist trade union organisations C.R.O.M. (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana) sent strike-breaking gangs to defeat the workers.

With regard to internal politics, another of the main tasks which the Government set itself was the abolition of the powers of the provincial governments and their concentration in the Central Government.

Thus the Government, split up through provincial separatism, is at present fighting for power which it can only maintain with the support of the workers and peasants. At the same

time, it represents more and more the interests of agrarian capital, without relinquishing, however, the popularisation of its petty-bourgeois programme for demagogic reasons. (Development of a native industry, organisation of agricultural producers' and consumers' co-operatives, establishment of agricultural credit co-operatives, installation of irrigation works on a large scale, an improved transport service, etc.).

Although the Government has been victorious in the struggle against feudalism, which is closely connected with the church, it is continually on the defensive with regard to American imperialism. Continual backsliding to the Right is an illustration of the insecurity of the Government and of the political role of the bourgeoisie in general.

The whole plan of the Government is, on the whole, nothing but the industrialisation of the country under cover of a reformist, petty-bourgeois ideology, which will ultimately lead to the consolidation of the capitalist regime. This explains also the fact that the struggle of the workers against the employers and the struggle of the peasants for the accomplishment of the agrarian revolution has been going on with renewed vigour, even after the coming into power of the petty-bourgeoisie. Although the mass of the workers and peasants have been on the defensive since 1924—nearly all the movements of the workers in the towns came to nought—the struggles for economic demands are growing in number from year to year, and the peasant movements against the attitude of the Government to the agrarian question are also developing.

Thus, the entire fate of the Mexican Revolution depends on the extent to which the workers and peasants succeed in exercising a decisive influence on the political life of the country through the organisation of their resistance to the petty-bourgeois government.

### III

The activity of the bourgeois and Social Democratic parties is dominated by the coming presidential election, which has in fact been already decided through the removal of the most important opponent. The election campaign, which cannot to any extent influence the election result, is being carried on at present by the three biggest parties. First of all should be mentioned the National Revolutionary Party, which was, in fact, created in preparation for the presidential election. It is composed of a military clique and is partly under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Then comes the national anti-election party: it carries on its agitation under the slogan that a president can be elected only once. Politically, it is thoroughly reactionary, and wants to reinstate the Catholic Church with all its former powers. It represents mainly the interests of the big landowners and of

the American magnates whose financial support it enjoys. Its candidate was General Gomez, who was shot.

The third group in the election is that of General Obregon. His programme is the creation of a strong native bourgeoisie, and in this he has the support of the petty-bourgeoisie. He has considerable influence over the army and will win a formal victory in the coming election. The party of the reformist trade union leaders is the Partido Laborista (Labour Party). It is so to speak the other face of the C.R.O.M. : the same leaders and the same policy. It has neither organisation nor a press.

The Partido Marionale Agrarista (Agrarian Party) is the real Government party with whose help Calles came into power, but with whom he has already severed connection. It is, above all, an election party, and has considerable influence in North Mexico; it is supporting Obregon. Most of its leaders are lawyers who use the party to secure governmental posts.

Formerly the agrarian party collaborated closely with the C.R.O.M., but in 1924 it severed connection with it and has been retrogressing ever since. In its place agrarian committees sprang up throughout the country; they consist of urban and rural representatives who obtained common land after the revolution. These agrarian committees are mostly economic associations with about 500,000 members, most of whom are under Communist influence, particularly in the States of Veracruz, Michoacan, Halisco.

The best peasant organisations are in South Mexico, and the most important of them is that in the Veracruz State. It has about 30,000 members, controls nearly all the village communes in the State and is under Communist influence. It also adheres to the Peasant International. Apart from these peasant organisations there are the armed organisations of the peasants, the Guerillas, who frequently give armed support to the struggle for land.

#### IV

The Situation in the Trade Unions.—The reformist trade unions give their membership as 800,000 in round figures, but this is probably an exaggeration. According to the statistics of the C.R.O.M., 75 trade union federations are affiliated to it, which comprise 105 trade unions in the capital, 1,000 trade unions in the provinces, and 1,500 agricultural labourers' unions. They are most influential in the small industries, but embrace only a small section of the workers in the shipbuilding, textile and mining industries, and also a small number of employees and civil servants. The reformist trade unions are the main support of the Government. With regard to their policy they allow themselves to be guided by the political lines laid down in 1919, which advocate a cautious and moderate policy. Their programme

states that by means of this policy satisfactory relations with the existing government are to be maintained. In their attitude towards the employers they advocate a class collaboration policy. Trade union organisation is confined almost exclusively to the labour aristocracy. It holds the opinion that the revolution in Mexico has come to a conclusion, that the construction period is setting in and that the trade unions too must be guided by this. The objective it pursues is some kind of co-operative republic based on the middle class, the peasantry and small industry.

Since 1926 the Amsterdamers have been trying to get the C.R.O.M. to affiliate to the Amsterdam International.

Independent Trade Unions.—The most important independent trade unions are those of the oilfield workers and railwaymen. They are violently opposed to the C.R.O.M. Apart from these two, there is the Trade Union Federation of Tampico with about 35 trade unions.

The action of the Government in restoring the railways to the private owners, which was followed by many dismissals among the railwaymen, resulted in recent years in a strong orientation to the Left. The oilfield workers constitute the best and most revolutionary section, and together with the textile workers they are a fruitful field for Communist propaganda and organisation.

Anarcho-Syndicalist Trade Unions.—This is the Mexican section of the I.W.W.; it embraces mainly the textile workers of the capital and has about 25-30,000 members.

## V

Communist influence is strongest among railwaymen in the capital, oilfield workers in Tampico and textile workers in Orizaba. Among the peasants the influence of the Communist Party is strongest in the peasant movement of the Veracruz State. While generally speaking the Party is doing satisfactory agitational work, particularly on special occasions, although not always with the necessary clarity, it has not yet been able to make proper organisational use of its activity. Neither can it boast of a uniform ideology.

A central organ is published fortnightly under the title "El Mechete." In the period between the V and VI World Congresses, three Party Congresses took place, the third in April, 1925. This dealt mainly with the struggle against American imperialism, the measures for the Bolshevisation of the Party, the activity of the Party in the trade unions and among the peasants. Up to this period the Party manifested strong opportunist tendencies, the main reasons for which were: the peculiar trend of the Mexican revolution, the absence of a Social Democratic Party capable of absorbing the opportunist elements, the corruption policy of the government, as well

as weak Party leadership. The Party Executive was relieved of its office (or resigned with one exception) at the Third Party Congress. Under the leadership of the former Central Committee the Party was divided into several sections, it failed to take up a decisive Communist attitude to the rebellion of De la Huerta; it had no press, no membership contributions and its influence among the workers had decreased considerably. Only its influence among the peasants in the Veracruz State was maintained.

In the theses on the political situation adopted by the III Party Congress, it was incorrectly stated that the Calles Government was the left hand of American imperialism. With regard to the peasant question, the demand for the formation of a federation of the already existing peasant associations was adopted; whilst it was emphasised that struggle against the expulsion and disruption tactics of the reformist leaders in the trade unions must be carried on by the application of the united front tactic. Other important items discussed at this Party Congress were: the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory and estate groups and of agrarian communities, the development of the press, the establishment of an education department and recruiting of new members.

The Fourth Party Congress was held at the end of May, 1926. In the period between the III and IV Party Congresses the membership of the Party, already small, suffered another decrease. On the other hand, the Party became more united during this period. The most important problems discussed at the IV Party Congress were the internal Party regime, Party tactics and organisation. Theses were adopted on the economic and political situation and the immediate tasks of the Party.

The errors made in the period intervening between the III and IV Party Congresses were remedied and also admitted by the responsible comrades. A resolution on the internal political situation and the Calles Government declared that the latter is not merely the obedient servant of American imperialism, but that it is also struggling for the formation of a national capitalism and of a national capitalist class. It was also pointed out that the development of national capitalism is slower than the development of North American imperialism. The latter could only be overcome through joint action by the united workers and peasants. These theses give a different estimation of the Calles Government than the estimation given before the III Party Congress.

On the question of the united front tactic it was stated that formerly this tactic was not always correctly applied. It was decided that the Party should do its utmost to counteract the Left tendencies, which advocated that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions. With regard to the peasant question, the main slogan was to be "land for the peasants." In connec-

tion with the political divergencies of opinion between workers and peasants, the Party issued the following slogan :—" Above all divergencies is the unity between workers and peasants which must be effected."

It was also decided that the organisational plan for the reorganisation of the Party on a factory and street group basis must be carried out more energetically than before. The results of the IV Party Congress can be summed up as follows :—

Alteration of united front tactics as proposed by the E.C.C.I. ; organisation and systematic leadership of the trade union fraction ; reorganisation of the already existing unity committee of the trade unions on a broader basis ; organisation of agricultural labourers, workers and peasants. With regard to the land question : endorsement of the decision of the III Party Congress, struggle against the disarming of the peasantry. Other decisions were : Increased activity in the co-operative movement, reorganisation of the youth movement, work among women and in the Red Aid. The V Party Congress took place in April, 1927, during the offensive of the reaction and the foreign capitalists against the government. This Congress greatly contributed to the unification and clarification of the Party policy. The discussion on the role of the petty bourgeoisie, the importance of the agrarian movement, the tactic in the trade question, stirred up the whole Party and made the Central Committee adopt a new course.

The VI Party Congress took place at the beginning of April, 1928. The most important discussions were : the agrarian question, the war danger question (war against the Soviet Union, was between imperialist countries and war between the colonial countries and the various imperialist countries as well as struggle against imperialism).

### **The Present Tasks of the C.P.**

● The most important task of the C.P. of Mexico at the present juncture is the elaboration of a programme of its own. In this connection the revolutionary activity which was impeded by the present government must be renewed, until the demands brought forward in the earlier revolutionary period have been granted. In these struggles the Party must be the leader of the working and peasant classes. It must unite the masses into a workers' and peasants' bloc, whose aim shall be defence of the gains of the revolution and their further development. It is under this slogan also that the Party must carry on the coming election campaign. This workers' and peasants' bloc must struggle for the immediate introduction of the agrarian reforms, for the complete expropriation of big landowners, for the distribution of the land amongst the agricultural communes, for the abolition of the agrarian debt of the central and the provincial governments, for the full application of Article 123 of the Consti-

tution concerning labour legislation, for the elimination of all counter-revolutionary elements from the administration of the State and of all reactionary officers from the army, for the legally-sanctioned formation of defence organisations of the workers and peasants.

To create the conditions necessary for this bloc, the Party must give first place to the economic demands of the workers and peasants. The programme as a whole must be linked up with the political every-day struggle and with systematic penetration of and work in municipalities, co-operatives and other organisations, in order to get into closer touch with the workers and peasants, and also in order to increase the influence of the Party. The latter most emphatically declare that only a genuine workers' and peasants' government will be able to overcome reaction in the country. In this manner Mexico can become the centre of an anti-imperialist revolutionary movement throughout all Latin America which will shake off the yoke of the imperialistic powers and particularly that of North American imperialism. If the Party is to carry on a proper struggle for these demands it must overcome the sectarian spirit within its ranks and must develop into a mass Party. It is only by becoming a mass Party that the C.P. of Mexico will be able to solve the tasks imposed on it by the country itself.

In 1927, the Party almost doubled its membership. On January 1, 1928, it had 1,000 members, including 600 manual workers, 50 peasants, the remainder being artisans, intellectuals, etc. In the big industrial centres, particularly in the oil, coal and other districts, the Party organisations consist almost entirely of manual workers. Agricultural labourers, who form a large part of the population in Mexico, are barely represented at all in the Party. In 1926 the C.P. of Mexico had not a single factory group; at the end of 1927 it had already 54. A beginning has been made with the organisation of trade union fractions. But up to quite recently Party influence in the trade unions was limited to the personal influence of individual officials. Generally speaking, the Communist Party of Mexico is still very weak organisationally.

# CUBA

## The Political and Economic Situation.

**T**HE political and economic situation in Cuba, both as regards domestic and foreign relations, is determined by its absolute dependence on the United States. In the economic field the investment of American capital is so immense, being one-third of the total of American capital investments in Latin America—1,000,000,000 dollars—that Yankee capital has absolute control over the entire economic life of the country. The Platt Amendment ensures Cuba's dependence on the United States in both home and foreign policy, and the prevailing political dictatorship also acts as a faithful advocate of American imperialism. American supremacy is further ensured by the tactics of the present President, whose reign of power has been prolonged by the help of the United States.

## The Bourgeois Parties.

The bourgeois parties constitute the permanent ruling parties. The present government is composed of three such parties: the Conservative, the Liberal and the Cuban National Party, which in no way differ from one another. These parties have no permanent organisations and no labour programme, and are active only at election time when they use extremely demagogic methods. This explains the bloody encounters during election campaigns, which occur even amongst the bourgeois parties themselves. The actual programme of these parties is corruption.

The Nationalist Party, which was founded in 1926, is a real Mass party. It has the support not only of the small and middle peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also of considerable sections of the urban workers. This party meets with the hostility of the entire bourgeoisie, and like the Communist Party of Cuba, must work illegally; it is the only party which leads the masses in the struggle against American imperialism. There is much to be desired in this struggle as the party is definitely petty bourgeois, but for the present it is the only mass party. At the time of the peasant strike the Nationalist Party succeeded in ranging the peasant masses against the government.

A Social Democratic Party was unable to gain any footing amongst the Cuban workers. Years ago there was a "Socialist Club" and a "Socialist Group," and the attempt was made to found a Labour Party. But the attempt failed, which, of course, does not prove that no reformist-opportunist dangers exist amongst certain Trade Union leaders.



### **The Trade Union Movement.**

The Trade Union movement has been in existence for years, but has never developed into a strong, organised movement because of the prevailing syndicalist-anarchist tendencies. One reason is the too frequent use of the General Strike, in the years immediately after the War, which served as an excuse for the intervention of the armies of American imperialism. Big strikes also took place in 1923-24, many of which were very successful. In 1926 there was the transport workers' strike which involved 25,000 workers; it lasted 45 days, but was crushed by the extreme Government terror. In 1927 only smaller strikes occurred in spite of the fact that the economic position of the workers had not improved. The Government social legislation is merely on paper; it includes the eight hour day, minimum wage and accident insurance, and was only drawn up to undermine the fighting spirit of the masses. The laws are so formulated that the employers can never be compelled to respect them.

In the summer of 1925 the first national workers congress was held; it was convened on the initiative of the Havana Workers' Federation. It was attended by 150,000 workers and Communist influence was apparent. Immediately Government terror was directed against this new centralised class organisation, the general secretary was assassinated, and other leading comrades in the movement were threatened with death. Although the Government did not succeed in destroying this organisation, still it was greatly weakened.

As a result of this general terror against any kind of real revolutionary labour movement, the anarcho-syndicalists, at the Havana T.U. Congress in November, 1927, were able to carry a decision that the Trade Unions should reject all collaboration with political parties. But we must not omit to point out that the yellow reformist American Federation of Labour, the instrument of imperialism, quite openly carries on active propaganda in the Cuban Trade Unions.

The swing to the Left of the workers in Cuba is marked by the prevalence of the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants, but especially by the organising methods in the Trade Union movement. This is proved by the foundation of the "Unity Trade Union Committee" and the election of Communists to the leading Trade Union bodies.

### **The Communist Party.**

In 1925 the Communist Party was founded, based on the Communist groups which have existed for years. After a few weeks arrests were made, and the terror was directed both against the Trade Unions and the Communist Party, which was forced to work illegally. But in spite of this and the tendencies

towards individualistic anarcho-syndicalism and intellectualism, the Party was able to fight the sectarian spirit and get into touch with the masses. The Party has also made quite considerable progress organisationally.

The Party is still weak, both in respect of numbers and ideology. This weakness is seen in the most marked degree in the appraisal of the role of the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism and in the question of the Nationalist Party. Here the Communist Party did not stand on its own, but acted as an adjunct of the Nationalist Party. During the past year, or year and a half, the Party has met with success, because it has been developed into a mass party.

### General Activity.

The Party took part in all the important economic struggles. American imperialism, which continues to seize more land and conducts the whole political life of the country has forced both the small and middle peasant into a blind alley. Various laws compel the middle peasant to sell his land to the big companies, and the small peasant cannot even pay the taxes and so his land is simply taken away from him. In 1924 the small peasants went on strike. During this strike the Communist Party issued manifestoes and carried on oral propaganda for Communist slogans amongst the peasants, whilst the urban workers were called upon to support the peasants. The peasants were organised into an "agricultural bloc" during the strike. Practically all economic struggles of the industrial workers are under the leadership of the Party, either through the Communist influence in the Trade Unions or through direct contact with the masses.

Through the influence of the Communist Party several legal political papers were issued, which supported the Party policy, but these have now been stopped by the Government. Now only the Trade Union papers represent and defend the workers' interests.

In the field of international policy the Party propaganda was directed chiefly against Yankee imperialism, intervention in Nicaragua, the Pan-American Conference, etc. During this Conference 150 active workers were turned out for participation in manifestoes against imperialism and two members of the Communist Party were murdered in the military prison in Cabana.

In connection with the Trotsky Opposition the Party published in its illegal organ the most important document which it received from the International. Furthermore, the Party passed a resolution condemning the activity of the Opposition. This resolution was sent to the various nuclei.

The only Party organ is "El Comunista," which is published illegally. Its circulation varies from 1,000 to 1,500; it is published weekly.

The main work is Trade Union work and the Party has concentrated on this side of its activity. There are organised Trade Union fractions in the revolutionary organisations, but especially in the yellow unions such as the "Railroad-brotherhood," where the fraction and Unity Committee are fairly strong. The position in the weavers' union and the tobacco workers' union is equally favourable. At the recent Trade Union Re-organisation Congresses in Sguia, Havana, Cienfuegos, Cardenas, etc., the Communist fractions dominated and carried all resolutions.

### **Work Amongst the Peasantry.**

This is not adequate, considering the importance of the peasant question there. Besides the 400,000 agricultural labourers there are 150,000 small peasants, who are scandalously exploited by American imperialism. Those small peasants who have not enough land, and those who rent land must either pay very high rents or taxes, or else give up part of their products. The agricultural labourer works only six months in the year and not less than twelve hours a day. The annual wage of an agricultural labourer or small peasant is about 60 or 80 dollars, which is, of course, absolutely inadequate. For all these reasons the country side is much more anti-imperialist than the towns.

As already pointed out, the Communist Party has not organised the peasantry. A section—something like 5,000—is organised in the catholic Trade Unions, but the Nationalist Party has the greatest influence on both the small and middle peasants. The Communist International has recently been able to convince the Communist Party of Cuba that independent work amongst the peasantry must be carried out henceforth in a more organised manner and on a larger scale.

### **The National Question.**

This is closely connected with the peasant question in Cuba. The majority of the peasantry is composed of Spaniards and the native negroes, who are for the most part agricultural labourers. Besides these there are immigrant Negroes who undercut the natives, with the result that there are often Negro revolts which end in bloody encounters.

### **Work Amongst Women.**

This has been given a certain amount of attention by the Party; especially in the case of those Trade Unions where women are in the majority, such as the cigarette workers and the "Federacion de Desplatilladoras." But much still remains to be done in this respect.

**Non-Party Organisations.**

The Non-Party Mass Organisations in which the Communist Party works and has influence, include the "Anti-Imperialist League," sports clubs and Trade Unions, students' organisations and the Youth Sports League. The Anti-Imperialist League has become illegal, co-operatives do not exist, and neither is there a section of the International Red Aid.

When the difficult position of the Party is taken into consideration, it must be admitted that the present activity of the Party promises well for the future.

## COLOMBIA

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

**T**HE natural wealth of the country has made possible a certain industrial development during recent years, which has attracted foreign capital, primarily that of American Imperialism, and to an extent, of British Imperialism. The chief interest is centred in the oil wells, the output of which has increased from 66,480 barrels in 1921 to 6,443,000 barrels in 1926, whilst the 1927 output is estimated at over 14 million barrels. Ninety per cent. of the output is exported, most of which goes to the United States of America.

Almost all the capital invested in the oil industry comes from North America.

The whole of the production of platinum is controlled by two foreign firms, one British and one American. The total output of this precious metal for 1926 was 39,983 ounces. The railways are mostly in the hands of British capital.

It is anticipated that the construction of roads in Colombia would create a market for the American automobile industry. For this purpose a loan has already been guaranteed by the United States Government.

### POLITICAL SITUATION

The whole of the bourgeois political life of the country is closely connected with this upward economic development. The existing Bourgeois parties—the Clerical Conservative Party and the Liberal Party—are composed of bankers, merchants, and partly of big landowners, who are eager to increase their wealth, with the result that leaders of these parties are quite frequently bribed by foreign Imperialism. The big landowners exercise the greatest influence in the country.

A very large section of the bourgeoisie recently seceded from the Liberal Party and joined the Conservative Party which has formed the government for a number of years. Since this secession the Liberal Party consists mainly of intellectuals, petty-bourgeoisie and students, who from time to time come out with the slogan of "Fight Against Clericalism." There is also a certain section in the Liberal Party which raises its voice against foreign Imperialism.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The modern Labour movement emerged only in the post-

war period. The trade unions, which number about 75,000 members, consist mostly of agricultural workers, and are of a revolutionary character. The Government has recently introduced methods of terrorism, an instance of which was the dispersal by the police of the Trade Union Congress in 1927. The methods adopted by North American "democracy" in dealing with strikes have also been adopted in Colombia; in 1927, strikers in the oil fields were shot down by the police at the order of the management. Nevertheless, the favourable economic situation has led to the emigration of peasants from the rural districts to the towns, to a marked increase in the wages of agricultural labourers, to a still higher increase in the cost of living, and to a revival in the Labour movement.

### THE C.P. AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Socialist (Communist) Party in Colombia, which has been affiliated as a sympathising section of the C.P. since the Fourth World Congress, exercises great influence among the workers both in town and country.

Organisationally, the Party is still very weak, which can be attributed to the erroneous policy pursued by the Party in many fields of activity. To take first the parliamentary tactic the Colombian Parliament is elected not upon the basis of universal suffrage, but on the basis of a limited suffrage which gives the vote only to those able to read and write, and who pay a certain amount of taxes. The policy of the Party is in the first place to take no part in elections; and secondly, to oppose universal suffrage, instead of fighting for it. The argument advanced by the Party leaders is to the effect that the masses have become convinced that Parliament is made up of elements opposed to the working class and that it cannot look after the interests of the working class; that since the masses do not take part in the elections we should therefore have nothing to do with them; we should not run counter to the sentiment of the masses!

In pursuance of this policy the Party took no part in the parliamentary elections of 1926, and Parliament consists exclusively of members of the Conservative Party. On the other hand, the Party does not even advocate "direct action." Although the May Day celebration is more or less "legalised" in Colombia, the May Day demonstration in 1927 was forbidden by the government. But, in order to avoid a clash with the authorities, the Party gave up the May Day celebration!

Another strange position taken by the Communist Party is in connection with the trade unions. The stand taken by the Party is that as the adult workers are not yet well organised and trained, and since the Party is not yet strong enough, "the

organisation of the young workers and students cannot be taken up."

### PARTY ORGANISATION

The Party organisations are built on the basis of local groups, which do not, however, function properly. The Party has two daily newspapers, but with a circulation of only 1,500-2,000 copies, whereas the circulations of bourgeois newspapers reach at least 10,000. The Party publishes also a number of weeklies. Many other smaller Party newspapers and reviews are published in the provinces, but they are mostly owned and controlled by some individual Party member. Although the Party is legal, there are no books or pamphlets published. Very little work is done among the working women and in the co-operatives.

The conclusion to be drawn from a survey of the situation in Colombia is that there is a wide revolutionary Labour movement which has the following of large masses of the people, and which has close sympathies with the C.I. and with the Soviet Union. But this movement, and especially the C.P., are still in the initial stages and groping for the proper way. This largely accounts for the weakness and lack of organisation in this movement.

# ECUADOR

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**E**CONOMICALLY and politically Ecuador is entirely under the domination of the United States.

Agriculture is the economic basis of the country, although barely 2 per cent. of arable land is under cultivation. Hence the backward development of the country as shown by the existing traffic facilities. With an area of 300,000 square kilometres, the State has only 680 kilometres of railway. The main industry is the production of Panama hats, which the Indians make in their homes. There are also a few textile factories which work mostly for the home market. Mining has also developed in the last years. This industry employs at present about 300,000 workers.

Agriculture has gone through a serious crisis in the last years caused by capitalist exploitation, lack of capital, and also by the competition of the Gold Coast in the production of cocoa. Formerly Ecuador occupied first place as producer of cocoa—it has now definitely lost this position. Big landownership prevails in agriculture—latifundia controlled by the British and the Germans. Indians provide the labour power and work under very bad conditions.

The agricultural and financial crisis of 1924-25 has been overcome. Unemployment exists in reality only in the harbour towns, which are at the same time the biggest industrial towns.

The characteristic feature of the political situation of Ecuador is the further consolidation of Ayora's military dictatorship. He came into power in the summer of 1925. The security of his regime depends on the military machine, which is so enormous that 20 per cent. of the State expenditure is absorbed by the army. The Ayora government endeavoured first of all to improve the shattered finances of the country with the help of the United States. For this purpose an American expert was appointed, who proposed to the government measures for the liquidation of the financial crisis with the help of the government of the United States. First of all a new Neutral Emission Bank (Caja de Emisión y Amortización) was established, which was put in charge of the entire issue of bank notes. As long as the American Commission worked under the control of the expert Kemmerer there was comparative political calm, but as soon as the first notices appeared concerning the plan favoured by the American financiers, the Conservatives



started an opposition under the slogan "the great disillusionment." They endeavoured first of all to gain ground in the army because it is the main support of the president Ayora. This led in the beginning of 1927 to the mutiny of several regiments in Quito, which was, however, badly organised and collapsed on the first day.

On the strength of the existing situation the question of the reduction of the army is the centre of the political discussion. Although the American Commission has drawn up certain plans concerning the future form of the army, the present government is careful not to take any steps which might lead to the reduction of the army, because this would no doubt lead to an officers' rebellion, which, in its turn, would be fraught with new changes in the correlation of forces in Ecuador. The acceptance of the expert's plans seals the fate of Ecuador, which is now entirely dependent on the United States. The United States exercises decisive control over the Central Bank, and it has also the right to control the business of all the private banks. If a private bank refuses to recognise this control, it is simply closed. The taxation system, as well as Customs legislation and all the railways, will be henceforth under the supervision of the United States.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Since 1920 a modern labour movement has existed in the big towns, for instance in Quito and Guayaquil, which is co-ordinated in the "Labour Federation of Ecuador." There are few organisations in the interior of the country, and agricultural labourers are very badly organised. At the end of 1925 there were two peasant unions with 4,500 members, and one in Cachagua with 1,000 members which is affiliated to the Socialist Party. Till then the trade unions were entirely under reformist control, and only very small revolutionary trade unions were formed, for instance in Guayaquil.

Wages and labour conditions are very bad in Ecuador. For instance, the wage of an agricultural labourer is half an Ecuador dollar, whereas semi-peasants must work for 30 cents per day because they are given land on lease.

The Socialist Party has its organisations in 14 of the 15 civilised provinces, whereas it has no organisations at all in the countryside. The membership of the S.P., which is swelled by collective adherences, can be estimated at 12,000. The Socialist press organs are: "Justizia" (circulation 15,000) and "Germinal" (circulation 1,000). They are weekly organs.

At its Party Congress in 1926 it affiliated to the C.I. It has a good Communist nucleus which has considerable influence, particularly in two industrial centres, and is furthering the trans-

formation of the S.P. into a real Communist Party. This Communist nucleus within the S.P. has its own weekly organ "La Fragna," which has a circulation of 1,000. The propaganda work of the Party is still very weak, and in the countryside it is limited to oral agitation.

Influence is growing in the trade unions and also in the workers' sports leagues and aid societies. No youth work has as yet been organised.

# URUGUAY

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

URUGUAY'S economic basis is agriculture (chiefly cattle-raising). Out of 16,300,000 hectares of arable land approximately 11,160,000 hectares, i.e., nearly 70 per cent., are utilised as cattle farms, and only 1,085,000, or about 6 per cent., are under crops. The products of cattle-raising form about 95 per cent. of the total of Uruguay's exports, and the rest of the agricultural produce forms only 2.4 per cent. Uruguay's cattle farms are distinguished by a high degree of concentration, by a high technical level, and by a high technical standard of industrial conversion of the products of cattle-raising. Foreign capital investments play a big part in the cattle-raising enterprises. The rest of the agriculture is poorly developed and technically backward. The principal forms of land tenure in Uruguay are as follows :—Relatively feeble development of large landownership, which plays a slight economic role; small holdings, constituting the basic form of landownership in Uruguay, and farms leased to peasants either by the State or by private owners, whilst the tenants pay the rent either in money or in kind. Out of the total body of landholders 38 per cent. are tenant peasant farmers, whilst 12 per cent. are metayeur peasant farmers, i.e., cultivators who give 50 per cent. of the harvest to the landowner as rent for the use of the land.

*Industry* is as yet feebly developed in Uruguay, except those branches which have to do with the conversion of animal products (cold storage of meat, packing houses, etc.). Uruguay's cold storage and packing enterprises, which are carried on upon a large scale, employ thousands of workers and are owned to a large extent by American capital. Purely Uruguayan industrial enterprises comprise small textile mills, tobacco and shoe factories, cement works, and so on. Altogether there are about 100,000 workers employed in industry, of whose number about 25,000 are employed in American and British packing works.

All the key positions in the economy of Uruguay are occupied by foreigners, and chiefly by American and British capital. Nearly the whole of the railway system in Uruguay, as well as the city tramways, the telephones, the water-supply, the drainage system, and most of the electrical power plants, are owned by Britishers.

The penetration of American capital into Uruguay has been going on at a rapid pace in late years, and is already constituting a serious menace to British capital.

The penetration of foreign capital has also fostered to a tremendous extent the process of social differentiation in the ownership of the cattle-farms. The big American meat-packers, who have monopolised the meat-packing industry, have ruined the small men, and are buying out the big cattle farms. The situation is further aggravated by the existing depression in the cattle-raising business, which has grown into a general economic crisis.

The economic crisis and the growing rivalry of American imperialism as against that of Great Britain for the possession of Uruguay, have also accentuated the antagonism within the bourgeois camp. The small and middle cattle farmers, and some sections of the industrial bourgeoisie, are coming more and more into conflict with the big bourgeoisie backed by foreign capital. To this should be added the struggle of the bourgeoisie as a whole against the masses of the workers in order to shift to the latter's shoulders all the consequences of the economic crisis.

The acute clash of interests in the camp of the possessing classes finds its political expression in the unsettled character of the political situation.

### THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

The two traditional *bourgeois parties*—the Party of the Whites and the Party of the Reds—are beginning to become divided into different groups according to class lines. The Party of the Reds—the classical party which represents the interests of the middle cattle farmers and the agrarian bourgeoisie, as well as the industrial bourgeoisie—is splitting up into three parties:

1. The *Party of the Red Rivalists*, which has the support of the big cattle farmers, has gone over to the Whites on the important political issues. It rules the country in the interests of the big capitalist cattle farmers who are associated with foreign capital.

2. The *Party of the Red Radicals* (Vinerists), which is predominantly composed of officials and bureaucratic elements, speculates on selling its political influence, now to the Reds and now to the Whites, whilst steadily inclining more and more towards the Whites.

3. Finally, the proper *Party of the Reds* (Battlists), which has lost the support of the big capitalist elements owing to the withdrawal of the Rivalists, and of the officialdom and bureaucracy owing to the withdrawal of the Vinerists, has thus become moulded into a homogeneous party of the industrial bourgeoisie, including the elements of the middle and small cattle-farmers which are faced with ruin. The correlation of forces as between the two bourgeois camps is about evenly balanced, and in the presidential election the party of the Whites, in a bloc with the

Party of the Radical Rivalists, secured a united majority of 1,600 votes. This instability of the correlation of forces between both rival camps of the bourgeoisie causes them to bid at any price for the support of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, and certain strata of the working class. Hence, the utterly demagogical politics pursued by all the bourgeoisie parties. This accounts also for the fact that the S.D. Party in Uruguay is playing no political rule whatsoever. It is true, it has a "leader" (Frugoni), but it has neither a functioning organisation nor a newspaper. In the parliamentary election of 1925 the S.D. Party obtained 1,794 votes out of a total of 285,000, and did not get a single candidate elected.

The trade union organisations of Uruguay are exceedingly weak. Out of 300,000 wage-earners, including 100,000 industrial workers, there are at present slightly over 7,000 workers organised in the trade unions. Out of this number there are 3,500 belonging to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union (U.S.A.), and about 2,000 to the Anarchist District Labour Federation (F.O.R.U.), and the remainder belong to the autonomous trade unions. The Anarcho-Syndicalists, who have the leadership of the trade unions, boast of the "political neutrality" of the trade unions, using this as a cloak for their profound indifference towards the political struggle of the proletariat, and for their total inability to protect the daily economic interests of the workers. The Anarcho-Syndicalists take no steps whatever to organise either the agricultural labourers or the immigrant workers.

The working class, in view of the bourgeois offensive against their few legal and economic gains, are beginning to look for ways towards the restoration of the unity and fighting ability of the workers, and in this respect they are leaning more and more towards the Communist Party. Already nearly one half of the trade unions in Uruguay support the platform of the R.I.L.U. In the Uruguay Syndicalist Union (U.S.A.), too, the majority of the trades unions subscribes to the platform of the R.I.L.U., and only the roguery and tricks of the leaders of this trade unionist organisation, who either deprive the Red trade unions of voting powers or deliberately withhold affiliation from the Red trade unions, have so far enabled them to hold their own in the organisation.

### POSITION AND ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Such being the situation, the *Communist Party of Uruguay* is able quite rapidly to increase its political influence over the masses, and to strengthen its organisation.

Lately the Party has succeeded in overcoming both the ultra-Left sentiments, as well as the Right opportunist tendencies, whose spokesman was the ex-Deputy Mibelli. A wide discussion

of the opportunist errors of Mibelli was carried out by the Party in the rank and file organisations, and at the Tenth Conference of the Party that was held on June 24-27, 1927, Mibelli was expelled from the Party for his systematic refusal to bow to Party discipline. The Tenth Conference of the Party has been of tremendous importance in the sense of straightening out the political line of the Party, and of strengthening its organisational and practical activities. At the present time the Communist Party of Uruguay has about 700 members (at the time of the Tenth Conference there were 546 members), of whom about one-half are residents of the capital city of Montevideo. The social basis of the Party is fairly proletarian, as it is composed to the extent of 53 per cent. of industrial workers, and about 25 per cent. agricultural labourers and unskilled workers. At the last parliamentary elections in November, 1925, the Communist Party polled 4,838 votes and had two candidates elected.

The most important campaigns of the Party were: the campaign in connection with the Saccho-Vanzetti case, the campaign against the war menace, the campaign for the recognition of the Soviet Union which led to the official recognition of the Soviet

Union by Uruguay, the campaign in connection with the arrival of the Soviet schooner "Tovarisch," the electoral campaign of the Party that was waged upon the Communist platform, and a series of campaigns in connection with economic questions. In all the important economic actions of the Uruguayan working class the Party has exercised a leading rôle.

The chief agitational and propagandist instrument of the Party is its newspaper "Justicia," which is the only labour newspaper in the country and the only Communist daily newspaper in Latin America. "Justicia" has a circulation of 4,500 copies, being third in the country in point of circulation. The newspaper, backed by worker and village correspondents, is well conducted. Among the existing worker correspondents there are a great many from the factories and workshops, but the majority are village correspondents--peons or poor peasants from the most outlying country districts, as well as correspondents from the Communist nuclei in the factories. The majority of these correspondents are non-Party people. The Party has published a small number of popular books and booklets for the workers and the peasants. The activity in regard to factory newspapers has been hitherto rather weak.

The most intensive activity of the Party is carried on in the trade unions. In nearly all the trade unions the Party has factions and unity groups, and in a number of the largest trade unions the Communists are at the head. The Party also carries on successful work in the sports organisations. Under its lead there were formed 29 sports organisations with a total of 2,000 members who are affiliated to the "Red Sports Association." Three language groups are active among the immigrants (Italian,

Jewish and Hungarian). The International Red Aid (I.C.W.P.A.) organisation is still in its infancy, but it has already carried out several successful campaigns. In Uruguay there are no peasant organisations. The Communist Party carries on agitation among the peasants with the aid of the Peasant Commission of the C.C. At the last Conference the Party decided, as the immediate task, to take the initiative in the formation of a Peasant League in Uruguay. The Party is active in the organisation of the agricultural labourers, in the so-called "Unions of Mixed Occupations" (Sindicatos de oficios varios). The Party has given extensive support to the attempts made towards the beginning of 1928 at the organisation of a section of the Anti-Imperialist League in Uruguay. Activity among the women is carried on with the aid of the Women's Commission of the C.C., but the practical results of this activity are not large. In the whole Party there are only a few women. This fact is explained by the peculiar position of the woman in Latin American countries.

In 1925 the Communist Party started the reconstruction on the basis of factory nuclei. At the Tenth Conference the Party had 53 nuclei at Montevideo, including 9 factory nuclei and 14 street nuclei, but none in the provinces. About 17.5 per cent. of the members are organised in the factory nuclei. There are five factory nuclei in the large industries.

# CHILE

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**W**ITH the "settlement" of the political crisis by means of a military dictatorship, the native bourgeoisie as well as the Anglo-American interests hoped to overcome the economic crisis.

The economic crisis reached its climax in 1926-27, and was felt above all in the saltpetre industry, which is the most important industry of the country. The output of that industry in 1926 was 40,340,000 cwt., as compared with 50,520,000 cwt. in 1925. The crisis is even more clearly expressed in the export figures. In 1925 practically the whole output of the saltpetre industry was exported (50,340,000 cwt.), while the 1926 export was only 32,240,000 cwt., or 80 per cent. On the other hand, the stock of saltpetre increased from 17,620,000 cwt. at the end of 1925 to 25,580,000 cwt. at the end of 1926. As a result of this crisis, 69 out of 93 plants had to close down. Unemployment was constantly increasing, and at the end of 1926, 35,122 workers with their families left the country.

The crisis in the saltpetre industry was closely connected with the crisis in the coasting trade, which also affected other branches of economic life, being particularly acute in the coal industry, which only recovered during the coal strike in Great Britain. In 1926 the government had a deficit of 201 million paper pesos, and a considerable deficit is estimated also for 1927.

The prolonged crisis in Chile produced among the bourgeoisie a demand for a "strong hand," and that strong hand they see in General Ibanez. Ibanez organised two coup d'états, and, after his victory, he launched a general attack on the Communist Party and the revolutionary labour movement. The bourgeoisie took advantage of this attack to worsen the economic conditions of the workers. The government introduced certain measures of economy which increased unemployment; it also raised new sources of taxation, and thereby caused a rapid impoverishment of the workers and the petty bourgeois sections of the population.

The law permitting the free sale of saltpetre revived industry somewhat in 1927, but the military dictatorship did not succeed in overcoming the economic crisis. This led to the emergence of a bourgeois opposition to the dictatorship, against which the latter was forced to take measures, as a result of which the ex-President, Alessandri, was exiled at the end of 1927.

The acute situation in Chile as utilised by Anglo-American imperialist interests to strengthen their position there. The capital invested by the United States increased from 35 million dollars in 1908 to 360 millions in 1927. At the same time the



British investments increased only from £46,400,000 in 1914 to £61,600,000. In addition, America granted a loan of 85 million dollars to the government, and to several states.

In general, there is no industry in Chile which is not either wholly or partly financed by foreign capital. In the copper, saltpetre, textile, sugar and explosive industries, in commerce and in transport, everywhere can be seen British or American interests and domination. French capital plays a considerable role in the leather industry alone (50 per cent. of the 80 million pesos in that industry are controlled by French capital).

United States imperialism is directed not only against the native bourgeoisie (in which connection Pablo Ramirez, the spokesman of native capitalism, had to resign his post as Finance Minister), but also against British imperialism, which is constantly losing ground. This intensifies the struggle between the two imperialistic powers.

General Ibanez is nothing but a tool of North American imperialism. American finance capital secured a victory by the "free sale of saltpetre" law, for which it had been fighting for many years.

British imperialism has on its side the urban and rural landowners who constitute the only bourgeois political opposition.

### POLITICAL SITUATION.

The border conflicts instigated by American imperialism play a considerable role in the politics of Chile. In these conflicts the United States plays the part of "arbitrator." Border conflicts broke out a few years ago between Chile, Bolivia and Peru on the question of the Tacna-Arica territory. The U.S. Government wanted Tacna to be given over to Bolivia, and Arica to become a free port. Although the American Government insisted on an agreement, the conflict has not yet been settled. With the help of these same imperialists all these countries are arming for war.

Ibanez's dictatorship has succeeded in subduing all other bourgeois parties within the country, not one of which dares to come out openly against the government. There is only one bourgeois opposition paper, which represents the interests of the landowners, and it is under strict censorship. The nationalist "Avanguardia" and the "Party of Wage Workers" are not parties, but small groups of corrupt elements, the tools of Ibanez's dictatorship.

The Communist Party, as well as the entire revolutionary movement of Chile, made good progress in the course of 1925-26. The Party and the Federation of Labour (revolutionary unions) succeeded in winning over the broad masses, and in addition influenced the struggle against the native bourgeoisie and against Anglo-American imperialism. This development of the revolutionary labour movement caused the bourgeoisie, with the help

of foreign imperialism, to launch an attack against the Communist Party and its sympathetic organisations.

In the middle of 1925 came the first big provocation. It began in the North, in the provinces of Tarapaca, Antofagasta and Iquique, where the closing down of several enterprises, which refused to pay the workers what was due to them, resulted in a general strike under the leadership of the Communist Party. The movement spread like wildfire, and the workers took possession of the factories. Within a few days they obtained control of the situation in the northern district. The armies of General Ibanez, which came from the South, surrounded the factory dwellings and set them on fire, whilst the workers and their families, who tried to save themselves, were shot down by the troops, about 800 being killed and several hundred wounded. Over 10,000 were arrested and deported to the Mas-Afuera Island. The bourgeoisie was, however, still weak at that time; and the Party was strong enough to recover immediately, and replied to this terror by increased activity. At the end of the same year, in November, 1925, the Party, despite the terror, elected seven deputies and two senators to parliament. Even in places where the terror was fiercest (Tarapaca and Antofagasta), and in the semi-agrarian districts, the Party succeeded in securing the election of its candidates.

The Seventh Party Congress took place in Santiago at the beginning of 1927. At this Congress measures were taken to revise the Party. General Ibanez (who became Minister-President in 1927 and later proclaimed himself President of the Republic) outlawed the Communist Party, thereby driving it underground. Several hundred Communists and trade union leaders were again arrested and banished. Government hirelings smashed the Party printing office. Many trade unions were closed down and were unable to continue their work. This wave of terror resulted in surrender on the part of the vacillating and opportunist elements. Some of them went over directly to the service of the bourgeoisie and the government. With the help of these traitors, "Government trade unions" were organised. Some of the old trade unions also fell into their hands, as, by means of demagogic tricks, they succeeded in winning over some sections of the working class. Some of these traitors joined the "Party of Wage Workers," which advocated harmony between capital and labour, the persecution of the revolutionary labour movement, and which, together with the bourgeoisie, supported General Ibanez's candidature for the presidency.

The Communist Party of Chile was the only organisation which put up an opposition candidate, the General Secretary of the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation, Comrade Lafertte, who was then banished to the Mas-Afuera Island. Despite the terror, and notwithstanding the fact that the votes given for

Lafertte were in many cases not even counted, the bourgeois press had to admit that the labour candidate received 10,000 votes.

The various phases of Party development can be summarised as follows :—

In 1924-25, certain opportunist deviations were to be observed on the part of the majority of the C.C. Those who led this opportunist fraction are now the leaders of the Nationalist Avant-garde.

With the formation of a new Central Committee in 1926, the Party undertook the work of revolutionising its organisation. But during the period of 1926-27 the Party suffered through lack of a sufficiently strong leadership.

Before the period of illegality, the Party had five papers : "Justicia," "La Reveil des Travailleurs," "El Comunista," "La Jornada Comunista" and "La Defensa Obrero." It also published several weeklies and magazines. Since it has been underground the Party has only issued a bulletin.

The present period of illegality confronts the Communist Party with new tasks and calls for greater activity among the Party members. The opportunities for revolutionary activity are as great as ever before. The economic crisis, particularly in the two most important branches of national economy (in the saltpetre and mining industries) still continues. The poverty of the masses increases. Since Dictator Ibanez has been recognised by American imperialism, British imperialism is trying to incite the agrarian bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie against his regime. It is even organising coups d'etat which, naturally, will not in any way improve the workers' conditions.

The government's labour policy only succeeded in discrediting certain labour leaders, and gave rise to a revival of the mass labour movement.

It is the task of the Communist Party of Chile to build up its illegal organisation, to organise the nuclei in the big factories, to fight both the government policy and the treachery of the social democrats, and thus to win over the masses of workers and peasants to its side. The Communist Party must know how to fight for the daily economic demand of the workers and how to link this fight up with the struggle for political freedom. Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the policy of enslaving the working masses by means of Anglo-American imperialism, the Party can only advance the slogan of a Workers' and Peasants' government.

Work inside the independent trade unions, as well as in the unions organised by the government, is still one of the chief tasks of the Party.

In order to make further progress the Party must reorganise the Young Communist League and take over its political leadership.

# ARGENTINE

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**W**HILE it is true that during and since the World War the development of industry in the Argentine has shown marked progress, and that a continual increase can be observed in the number and extent of factories and equipment—in short, a continuation in the increase of the productive capacity of the industries—it is, however, also true that national economy in the Argentine has had to undergo, and is undergoing, serious difficulties, which will continue in the future. The fundamental causes of these recent, present, and future difficulties, are of two natures: the peculiarities pertaining to the national economy of the Argentine on the one hand, and on the other the penetration of Yankee and British finance capital.

Agricultural production and stock raising, that is to say production of raw materials and articles of consumption, characterise the national economy of the Argentine. The progress realised in the development of light metal and textile industries, etc., has not modified the economic aspects of the country. The most far-reaching changes which have taken place and which are still taking place consist in a rapid development of refrigerating and similar industries, that is to say of the industries which handle the products of agriculture and of stock raising. Nevertheless this development, rapid and widespread as it has been during the past years, has naturally not been, and will not be able to do away with or alleviate the chronic agricultural crisis which still exists. Because, in spite of the progress in the utilisation of agricultural machinery and other modern agronomic and technical methods, the dominant method of agricultural production is still old-fashioned. The forms of landed property are also out of date; it is still the agricultural land-owners and stock raisers who control the greater part of national economy.

On the other hand, the penetration of foreign capital is continually spreading. British capital controls the railways. It is also behind the big landed proprietors. Yankee capital for its part controls the commercial trusts, the trusts of agricultural products and stock raising, and also patronises the development of the refrigerating industry. Consequently, the dominant classes in the Argentine are aligned as follows: (1) The big landed proprietors on the side of British imperialism. (2) The agricultural and industrial capitalists and part of the petty bourgeoisie on the side of North American imperialism. Thus in addition to the conflicts of interests existing between the two

dominant classes in the Argentine, there are also the antagonisms between North American and British imperialism. The immense majority of the rural population, the small farmers and tenants (approximately 1,400,000) live under material conditions which are absolutely wretched, and are in a perpetual state of discontent. The armed strike of tenant farmers in Tucuman involving 30,000 people in 1927, and other similar movements and insurrections are the striking demonstration of this discontent, and indicate its social character. On the other hand, in industry, counting approximately 61,000 enterprises, approximately 1,100,000 workers are employed, these being scattered and belonging to many varied races as a result of continual immigration. This circumstance enables the landed proprietor and industrial capitalists to carry the exploitation of these working masses to the very last degree.

This objective situation provides the basis, and creates the conditions for an ever-growing struggle against the landed proprietors and against the national bourgeoisie. At the same time this struggle has a direct effect upon the interests of North American and British imperialism, etc. This is all the more true because of the fact that the latter are at every moment, directly, openly and cynically intervening into the life and political struggles of the Argentine.

Thus the class struggle of the proletariat and the great masses of workers in the Argentine against the big landed proprietors and against the agricultural and industrial capitalists takes the form of a struggle against North American and British imperialism. With the increase of penetration of foreign imperialism, which at the same time is intensifying its direct and indirect political pressure on political parties and on the Government, there is bound to be a growth in the anti-imperialist movement under the leadership of the proletariat of the Argentine, involving a large part of the petty bourgeoisie and rural working masses.

### **The State of the Bourgeois Political Parties.**

With the industrialisation of the country there has come about not only a polarisation of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also within the bourgeoisie itself. The rising national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are represented by the Radical Civil Union Party, headed by the former President of the Republic, Hipolito Irigoyen. This party is bound up with United States imperialism, in so far as this imperialism contributes to the industrialisation of the country with its system of penetration, of investing its capital in industry for the sake of obtaining semi-finished products. On the other hand, throughout the various provinces, there are several Conservative parties of various denominations which represent the interests of the land holders and the big stock raisers of the country. At a conference of Right elements, these various Conservative parties decided to support in the Presidential elections (held in the month of April of this

year), a fraction which had broken off from the Radical C.U. known as the Anti-personal Radical Civil Union, led by the present President of the Republic, Alvear, who also represents the interests of big stock raisers and landholders. This fraction of the bourgeoisie is closely bound up with British imperialism, and its slogan is: "Buy from those who buy from us," that is to say; buy industrial articles in England which was and still is one of the most important buyers of Argentine agricultural products and stock. This April the elections took place for the Presidency of the Republic, and according to the reports concerning the latest elections by the governors of the provinces, the largest success was obtained by the Radical Civil Union Party, led by the former President of the Republic Hipolito Irigoyen.

### **The Socialist Party of Argentine.**

This party has approximately 7,000 members, recruited almost entirely among office employees, the aristocratic elements of the proletariat, and the petty bourgeoisie. Last year there was a split in the Socialist Party, led by a group of leaders who wanted the Party to adopt a policy of more open collaboration with the bourgeoisie. This fraction formed a new Party; the Independent Socialist Party of Tomasists, a national petty bourgeoisie party.

The old Socialist Party controls the strongest national trade union organisation in the country, the Confederacion Nacional Obrera, formed in 1926.

### **Situation in the Trade Unions.**

The trade union movement in the Argentine has been up to the present almost entirely under the leadership of the anarchists and syndicalists, but thanks to their sectarianism and their lack of understanding of trade union problems—sectarianism, and lack of understanding which led to the mania for strikes and exaggeration of boycotts—the proletariat has become imbued with distrust of trade union organisation. If we add to this lack of understanding by the anarchists and syndicalists of general political problems and the problems of the immigrants who reach the country in very large numbers, almost always to play the part of strike-breakers because no propaganda is carried on among them, we can understand the confusion and division prevailing in the trade union movement of Argentine.

At the present time there are in Argentine three national trade union organisations: the Federacion Obrera Regional d'Argentina, the Unione Syndicale d'Argentina, and the Confederacion Obrera d'Argentina. There are also several autonomous trade unions.

*F.O.R.A.*—This organisation is controlled by the anarchists and affiliated to the Berlin International. It has two to three

thousand members, mostly artisans. It is safe to say that this organisation has no influence on the proletariat.

*U.S.A.*—This organisation used to be under the control of the anarcho-syndicalists supported by the Amsterdam syndicalists but recently we can say that the leadership is exclusively in the hands of the latter. A united front of these two groups was formed to fight the Communists who formed the largest fraction within this organisation. The struggle of the "non-politicals" and the "anti-politicals" against the Communists led to the disruption of the U.S.A., the membership of which dropped from 45,000 dues-paying members which it had at the time of its formation in 1922, to 7,000 at the present time.

*C.O.A.*—This body was organised by the Socialists, and has at the present time 90,000 dues-paying members, approximately 75,000, of which are railway workers. The Argentine proletariat is aligning itself little by little around this organisation, tired as it is of the "revolutionary gymnastics" of the anarchists.

### **Autonomous Trade Unions.**

The autonomous trade unions throughout the country comprise approximately 7,000 dues-paying members. A number of these trade unions broke away from the F.O.R.A. and organised a committee of autonomous trade unions, which is without influence. In national movements, these isolated trade unions follow the policy of whichever national organisation is closest to them ideologically.

### **The Internal Situation in the Party.**

The Party has recently undergone a split, led by one of its leaders, Jose F. Penelon. The causes which led to this split are as follows:—

*Trade Union Question.*—In this sphere as in others, the C.C. was divided into two fractions. Both were agreed that, in view of the impossibility of continuing work within the U.S.A. because of the expulsion policy adopted by the leaders of this national organisation, who provoked disruption in the U.S.A., and in view also of the formation of the C.O.A., which had all the necessary conditions for becoming the national organisation of the Argentine proletariat, it was necessary to concentrate all our forces in the C.O.A. But differences arose concerning the tactical methods of taking this step. The majority was in favour of drawing together the trade unions under our influence, the red groups and the unity groups of the various industries, in a National Unity Committee. Once this work of concentration was carried out and explanations given to the proletariat regarding the causes of our step in relation to the C.O.A., we could have demanded favourable conditions for our reinstatement. On the other hand, the minority, led by Penelon, considered that it was not possible to wait long, and that it was necessary to take advantage of the

danger that threatened the Socialists—the infiltration of elements from the bourgeois party, the Radical Civil Union, into the organisations of railway workers—to demand favourable conditions for the reinstatement of the trade unions which were led by Communists.

The majority position, which is fundamentally correct, was not sufficiently precise on the desirability of avoiding the formation of a fourth national trade union organisation—while the minority position declared itself clearly liquidational in connection with Communist influence in the trade union organisations.

### **Organisations of Foreign Language Propaganda Groups Among Immigrants and in the Party.**

In view of the necessity of working among the great mass of immigrants who come to the country, the Party organised several propaganda groups, but there were differences regarding the forms of organisation of these groups and their proper functions. In the majority project the danger of the transformation of the Party into a federation of racial groups is not definitely avoided. On the other hand, the minority project, while coming closer to the scheme of organisation adopted by the C.I., did not take into sufficient consideration the special interests of the non-Spanish-Argentine racial elements.

### **Parliamentary Question.**

The work of the representative of the C.P. of Argentine, José F. Penelon, on the municipal council of the city of Buenos Aires, has led to a considerable discussion. The majority considered that it was one-sided, for it was limited to the defence of the poor districts, that is to say, to purely municipal work with the possibility of immediate achievement, and the majority considered that he should have devoted greater activity to the factories and also to political questions and general problems. The municipal councillor, also, did not submit his policy to the control of the Party. The minority fully defended his activity. The Comintern resolution criticises Penelon's activity and the position of the majority in this matter.

### **Danger of War Against the Soviet Union.**

The majority of the C.C. took this war danger seriously and issued the slogan: "Not a kilo of meat, not a bag of grain for countries carrying on war against the Soviet Union and against revolutionary China."

The minority, under-estimating the war danger and under-estimating the role of the Argentine on the side of the imperialists, under-estimated also the possibility and necessity of organised action against the imperialists on the part of the proletariat and the broad working masses of the Argentine.



On the basis of these differences within the C.C. a fractional struggle began which led to the split in the Party. The minority fraction, led by Penelon, left the C.P. of Argentine and soon founded an organisation of its own. The Presidium of the Comintern has already dealt with this question, and has worked out in a political resolution the policy to be followed. On the basis of this resolution an effort will be made to reconstruct the unity of the Argentine Section of the C.I.

### **Trotskyist Question.**

There is no need in our Party to speak of a Trotskyist opposition; the C.C. of the Party unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Trotskyism and supporting the C.C. of the Party of the U.S.S.R.

### **General Work of the Party.**

With the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of nuclei, carried out after the last Party Congress, a new stimulus was given to the general work of the Party, and we can say that this marked the beginning of the penetration of the Party into the factories. The party has gained in influence with the proletariat. This is proved among other things by the success of recent campaigns, by the widespread support of activities organised by the Party, by the election of a municipal councillor in Buenos Aires and two municipal councillors in the province of Cordova, and by our consolidation in the leadership of the provincial Workers' Union of Cordova. In spite of many defects in organisation, the trade union work is being carried on with definite success.

The propaganda work among the immigrants is being conducted with sufficient regularity, and has produced very good results for the Party: Our influence is strong among the proletariats of the two countries which supply the greatest quota of immigrants: Italy and Poland. Through language groups the Party controls approximately twenty cultural organisations; schools, relief committees, Jewish sections in the trade unions, etc.

To sum up: in relation to previous periods, our work has improved and our influence has increased.

### **Agitprop Work.**

The agitprop work on a national scale has been inadequate. Although this work has been more regular in the city of Buenos Aires, it has not been as extensive as it should. Generally speaking, the agitprop work is based on agitation of current national and international questions and on propaganda in the factories. The internal education of the Party, which should be one of the fundamental tasks of agitprop, has been neglected, and the publication and distribution of Marxist literature in popular form has also been neglected. Propaganda is carried on by meetings,

manifestoes, posters, and factory papers published by the groups. The Communist Press of the Country is as follows: "La Internacional," the central organ of the Party, "Bandera Comunista," a fortnightly, published in Cordova, "Ordine Nuovo" the organ of the Italian groups, "Reiter Stern," the organ of the Jewish groups, the two latter being weeklies, "Juventud Comunista," the organ of the Federation of Communist Youth, and a whole series of papers of other language groups and Communist centres in the provinces, as well as factory publications in the capital. The circulation of our press increases in proportion to the influence of the Party.

### **Factory Papers and Worker Correspondents.**

In the capital and suburbs there are approximately thirty-one factory papers, but in view of the inexperience prevailing in this field they have many defects, which are being corrected little by little, as the make-up and editing improves. One of the most evident defects, which is, however, being combatted, is that these papers deal very little with the internal affairs of the enterprises for which they are published, and too much with questions of a general nature. In spite of everything, these papers are better received every day, and now they are published regularly, which was not the case in the beginning.

Worker correspondents are very few, and it is one of the shortcomings of our press that a section for "Letters from Workers and Peasants" is not published regularly.

### **Trade Union Work.**

This work is being carried on through trade union fractions, and it must be said that mistakes have been made, chiefly because of the mechanisation of the work of the fraction, which limited the struggle against the reformist and anarchist leaders, attempting to get control of the trade unions by the application of a sort of "trade union Parliamentarism," for the struggle developed largely inside meetings without carrying on consistent work for winning over the working masses in industry. The trade union work, in the local as well as in the national field, has been concentrated in a few hands. Attention was drawn to this fact at the last regional conference in the capital.

### **Co-operatives.**

There are a number of agricultural co-operatives under the control of the Argentine Agricultural Federation. We have not yet carried on any work in these bodies owing to lack of comrades. There are very few consumers' co-operatives in the towns, and we have already begun work among them, and control one of them in Rosario.

### **Work Among the Peasants.**

Owing to the character of agriculture, agitation work among the peasants is very difficult, because of the great size of the country and the special forms of labour. Agricultural workers get together in large numbers only during the sowing and harvest seasons—they are scattered throughout the country after this work is over. In regions where the forms of labour are different, as on the sugar plantations, we have begun work with a certain amount of success. Now a discussion has been launched in the Party press on agricultural questions in order to arouse the interest of our members, and this question is one of the most important points on the agenda of the coming Party Congress.

### **Voluntary Mass Organisations.**

The Argentine Section of M.O.P.R. has been in existence since 1925. At the present time it has 4,500 members, and is gaining influence over the proletariat by the correctness of its activity in its own sphere, which has even enabled it to win the sympathy of many anarchists. The section of the Workers' International Relief is going through a period of passivity. The Party is carrying on work also in the Workers' Sports Federation, which has 3,000 members. The Party must still further intensify its work in this organisation. The attention of the Party is devoted, moreover, to an organisation which is becoming more important each day, namely, the anti-Imperialist League (Left group), and finally, the Party has its fractions in organisations of a different nature, such as the anti-Fascist alliance, and the committee to assist Jews to go to the U.S.S.R. to participate in agricultural work.

### **Work Among Women.**

There is a growing concentration of women in the factories in Argentine, a fact which calls for closer attention of the Party to this field which has hitherto been neglected. There is a Women's Department which has not been able to accomplish very much owing to the lack of suitable comrades, and also because of the limited assistance offered by the Party.

### **Party Organisation.**

The organisation of the Party on the basis of groups began in the capital in 1925. In the beginning the following mistakes were made: (1) The organisation of groups was begun without adequate explanation to the comrades of the functions and nature of the new basis of organisation, which created confusion in the ranks of the Party. In this way the Party lost a number of members, although the total membership did not decrease because new members were gained, thanks to subsequent work. (2) Another defect was the organisation of mixed groups, that is

to say, groups which were neither factory groups nor street groups. Each group was composed of comrades who worked at different factories, which interfered with the work and resulted in confusing the members still further. At the present time these defects have been largely corrected, and we have in Buenos Aires ninety-five groups—twenty-four factory groups, thirty-three mixed groups, and thirty-eight street groups. (3) As for factory papers, these were at first published in a mechanical fashion, and several of them were edited not by group members, but by the regional committee, with the result that they did not reflect the life of the factories. These defects have been to a large extent corrected, and groups are now being organised in the provinces on the basis of the experiences in the capital.

Party membership, 2,000. In Buenos Aires, 900.

Social composition in Buenos Aires :

Skilled workers	...	...	...	72.37 per cent.
Unskilled workers	...	...	...	4.24    "
Artisans	...	...	...	3.07    "
Office workers	...	...	...	13.47   "
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	6.87    "

As a general rule the work of the Communist fraction is very weak. To the number of other weaknesses in the organisational work of the C.P. of Argentine, we have to add the absence of collective spirit on the work of the controlling bodies and the lack of activity and initiative in the local organisations.

## BRAZIL

**T**HE economic basis of Brazil is agriculture (coffee). The industry is young and not very developed.

Economically and politically, Brazil is a colony of Anglo-American imperialism. Till 1927 Brazil's debt to Great Britain amounted to £157,000,000, and its debt to the United States was \$191,000,000.

The biggest enterprises of the country (banks, railways, mines, tramways, electricity, gas, etc.) are owned either by the British or the Americans.

Till 1914 British imperialism predominated. Then began the penetration of American imperialism, and with it the struggle for control which is gradually developing in favour of the United States. The growing influence of the United States is making itself also felt in foreign politics: Brazil's exit from the League of Nations, Brazil's active participation in the Havana Conference on the side of North America, etc.

### POLITICAL PARTIES.

Until 1920 the ruling party was the **Republican Party** (big landowners), which is under direct British influence and to which there was no opposition. Then the industrial bourgeoisie began to take action, at times even in the form of an armed rising (the insurrection of 1922 in Rio de Janeiro, and the insurrection of 1924 in Sao Paulo), and parties of the industrial bourgeoisie sprang up: the Democratic Party in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

The Republican Party, which has been in power since the proclamation of the republic (November 15th, 1889), is the only party in the full sense of the word. The **National-Democratic Party**, which was created through the fusion of the Democratic Party in Sao Paulo and the **Liberation-Alliance** of Rio Grande do Sul is a young party with a big membership. It embraces big and petty bourgeois elements, professional soldiers, liberal intellectuals, civil servants, etc., and even a certain number of workers.

The **Democratic Party** of the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro) has no programme and no definite standpoint, but is full of democratic and liberal phraseology. Its leaders are petty bourgeois intellectuals and small industrialists. Most of its members are of the civil servant and professional type.

### TRADE UNIONS.

The general position of the **trade unions** is satisfactory. After a period during which the trade unions were almost entirely

deserted their re-organisation was taken in hand. Since the beginning of 1927, when the Communist Party carried on a legal existence for six months, it accomplished a great deal of trade union work. For instance, a regional federation was formed in Rio de Janeiro, which embraces at present 20 trade unions with 30,000 members. A C.G.T. (General Labour Federation) group is still working for the establishment of a central national trade union federation. Two new national industrial unions (printers and food workers) were formed, and several small trade unions were fused. A relentless struggle was also carried on against the "yellow" leaders, who have the support of the police. It sometimes happens that these yellow leaders get our candidates arrested just before the trade union elections, because they would otherwise lose their trade union posts, or they expel Communists from the trade unions, etc. In this work the yellow elements have the support of Anarchists and even Socialists. In spite of this Communist influence in the trade unions is growing.

### THE PARTY'S WORK.

Work in the trade unions is controlled through the trade union commissions of the Central Committee of the C.P. and through the trade union commissions of the regional committees. There are at present 35 trade union fractions in the biggest labour organisations of the country.

The **Communist Party** has thus become a political factor in the country. In 1927 a Labour bloc was formed, and a successful election campaign was carried out, the bloc securing one deputy. The Labour bloc continued its activity also in the subsequent municipal elections, and it is hoped that in this year's elections it will be possible to get two or three municipal councillors through. Other campaigns were: May Day, Lenin Memorial Day, Sacco and Vanzetti campaign, and campaigns on the danger of war against Soviet Russia and against imperialist intervention in China.

The main activity of the party in connection with the most important industrial conflicts was as follows: Campaigns against the proposed currency reform, struggle for the retention of the Leave of Absence Act and struggle for the prolongation of the Rent Protection Act, etc. Other campaigns carried out by the Agitprop Department, apart from the regular campaigns for the eight-hour day, higher wages during strikes, etc., were as follows: Campaign against the Penal Act, against the despatch of former Anarchist workers to the International Conference in Geneva, against Fascism, for trade union unity, for the release of political prisoners in Brazil and all other countries, for the de jure recognition of the Soviet Union, against the occupation of Nicaragua, etc. The activity of the Agitprop Department was, of course, greatly hampered by the illegality of the Party.

In the second half of 1926, when the reaction prohibited the publication of newspapers and public meetings, illegal theoretical courses were organised which were attended by 100 comrades.

The party newspaper had on an average a daily circulation of 5,000. A series of elementary pamphlets were also published.

Work in the rural districts is still in its initial stage. Although there are about 9,000,000 agricultural labourers, they are not yet organised owing to the enormous size of the area, their backward mentality and also owing to negligence of this work. It is only quite recently that the party has begun to organise small landowners, and there are already three agricultural trade unions.

An I.R.A. (I.C.W.P.A.) organisation was started, but the reactionary government and the lack of comrades capable of leading it compelled the party to give up this work for a time. The same can be said in regard to the Friends of Russia Society.

Work among women is also in its initial stage. Brazilian women are not very active in the revolutionary movement.

In regard to the internal life of the party, there have been no big political divergences, and there is no opposition.

Although the party apparatus is not perfect, it works fairly well, and has been able to resist all reactionary attacks. The party has about 1,200 members, 98 per cent. of whom are manual workers. The remainder are petty bourgeois elements and intellectuals. According to its national composition, the party has among its membership 70 per cent. Brazilians and 30 per cent. foreign immigrants. The party is organised on a factory nucleus basis. There are 24 factory nuclei with 180 members, and 31 street nuclei with 420 members in Rio de Janeiro. Including the organisation in Rio de Janeiro, there are altogether 40 local organisations throughout the country. Characteristic of the influence of the Communist Party among the masses are the elections, in 1927, to the mutual aid organisations of the railwaymen, at which the party polled 8,000 votes of the total poll (20,000). Two factory newspapers are published in Rio de Janeiro.

In spite of all its weak points, the party is progressing and is becoming stronger and more efficient.

# NEAR EAST

## TURKEY

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**A**MONG the countries of the Near East, Turkey has undoubtedly experienced during the last few years the greatest industrial development. The young Turkish bourgeoisie has been greatly supported by the government in its industrial development. Of the existing 1,900 factories, about 400 are subsidised by the government. Many others have been directly established by the government. Simultaneously, the Kemal government is engaged in intensive railway construction, having laid down about 500 kilometres of railways.

The country, however, has not itself sufficient resources to carry out its scheme of industrialisation. The government has, therefore, during the last few years, endeavoured to secure foreign capital through the following measures: (1) drawing in of foreign concessionaires, (2) granting some concessions to the non-Turkish bourgeoisie of Constantinople.

Capitalist development of Turkey proceeds, as everywhere else, at the expense of the toiling masses. Although the Kemalist revolution was successful (owing only to the support given by the peasantry to the bourgeoisie), the situation of the former has not improved. In the Eastern districts political and economic power is still, as formerly, in the hands of the feudalists, the beys and the sheiks. Even the well-known counter-revolutionary rebellion of Turkestan (1925) could not induce the Kemalist government to liquidate feudal landownership in those districts, and it limited itself, as in the rest of Turkey, to punishing some of the feudal elements opposed to the Kemal government.

In the less backward central districts and in South Anatolia the Kemalist agrarian reform (the most important of which is the abolition of the "Ashar," i.e., the tithes, and its substitution by money-taxes), accelerates differentiation among the peasants, creating on the one hand a class of rich farmers, and on the other impoverishing and pauperising the broad masses of the peasantry. The urban bourgeoisie purchases land from the poor peasants and organises "rational" capitalist farms. Thus, for instance, Mustapha Kemal received from the "grateful" parliament a present of several thousand hectares of land and organised a "model farm."



The following figures will give an idea of the nature of differentiation now going on in Turkey\*: 837,000 peasants, possessing less than 5 hectares of land each, have a total of 1,715,000 hectares, viz., only 7.32 per cent. of the total arable soil, whereas 230,000 rich farmers have 7,350,000 hectares or 30.62 per cent. and 33,000 big landowners have 8,650,000 hectares or 36 per cent. and the church possesses 6,285,000 hectares or 26.12 per cent. of the arable land. The landless peasants comprise a vast army of agrarian labourers numbering at least 450,000 families.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The economic policy of the Kemalists, who aim at the establishment of a strong bourgeois State, is in line with their general home and foreign policy. The "People's Party" has unlimited power in the country. All other opposition parties, both Right and Left, are broken up or illegal. In the last parliamentary elections of 1927 only candidates of the People's Party were elected. The population largely abstained at the elections. With regard to the separation of the church from the State, as well as the struggle against religious prejudices, much has been done.

Nevertheless, the secularisation of the church still remains incomplete. The emancipation of women finds expression in several reforms (the removal of the chadra, prohibition of polygamy, etc.), but the women do not yet enjoy full political equality. As far as the national minorities (Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Arabians) are concerned, a chauvinist policy is pursued. Their political rights are limited and they are being forcibly Turkified. The same is true of the Kurds who inhabit the Eastern territories.

State support of industry, the creation of a strong army and a large State apparatus, the extensive public works (construction of railways, building up of a new residential district in Angora), the payments of the old Ottoman debts, lead to ever higher taxes on the peasants, the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. In this connection it is of interest to note the State budget. In 1928 the State budget amounted to £260,000,000 of which £80,000,000 was spent upon the army, the navy, the gendarmerie and the police, constituting 34 per cent. of the budget. For public works £33,000,000 were spent, payments of interest amounted to £18,000,000, while on education only £6,500,000, and on agriculture only £4,000,000 was spent. Most characteristic is also the distribution of the sources of State revenue. Indirect taxes amounted to £71,500,000, direct taxes to £47,800,000, State monopoly (tobacco, salt, liquor, sugar, petroleum, benzin, matches,

---

\* The material of the 1927 census has not yet been elaborated; we therefore take the figures from Comrade Ferdi's article in the *Communist International* No. 16, 1927.

post, radio, etc.) gave £52,000,000, railways, State land and various industrial enterprises gave £6,500,000.

The foreign policy of Kemalist Turkey is that of manœuvring between friendship with Soviet Russia and a Western orientation which is recently becoming the more generally accepted policy. As far as the Eastern countries are concerned, it has an agreement with Afghanistan and with Persia which, however, has not prevented border conflicts with Persia in 1927, which were largely fomented by Great Britain. The relations with Greece and Iraq were also tense.

### THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

In the course of the last few years the number of town workers has considerably increased and is now over 300,000 (the number of agricultural labourers is at least 450,000); real wages have decreased with the growing cost of living; in some cases also nominal wages have declined. The working day lasts from 12-15 hours; long hours prevail, particularly in the textile and tobacco industries. There are no trade unions in the true sense of the word. The existing labour organisations are of a mutual aid character. Many of them are organisations to which both workers and employers belong, the leaders of which are almost all members of the Kemalist Party. Lately, workers are being forced to join these organisations. All labour organisations are under strict government control and are subjected to the fiercest persecution at the least attempt to arouse the workers. There is no organisation on a national scale. The "Amele-Tead-Shimi," a trade union body to which were affiliated the most progressive sections of the working class, under the influence of the Communist Party, has been forced to close down by the government.

Despite these persecutions of the labour movement, a stubborn strike movement took place in 1925-27, being strongest among the transport and communication workers (railwaymen, sailors, telegraph workers, loaders, drivers) and the tobacco workers. It is of interest to note that the labour conflicts in the foreign firms, as for instance in the Adana-Nisibia railway, a French company, had the sympathy and support of the petty bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the government persecutions. However, all labour struggles in the native enterprises are being ruthlessly crushed.

### THE ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The illegal young Turkish Communist Party is exposed to fierce persecutions. Nevertheless, in 1924 the influence of the Party among the workers was very great, and the leadership of the strikes was in its hands. In connection with the counter-revolutionary plot in 1924, the Kemalists launched an attack also on the Communist Party, and in 1925 they arrested all known officials of the Party and brought them to trial. Eighteen people were

sentenced to an aggregate of 177 years imprisonment. The entire legal press was prohibited and the printing establishments closed. The Party then issued a legal theoretical organ entitled "Eidinlyk" (1,500 copies); a labour organ of the same name (3,000 copies); a weekly paper "Orak-Tshekitsh" (3,000 copies); an illegal organ and five legal pamphlets (a total of 15,000 copies), and several illegal pamphlets. The Party, overestimating the value of Kemalist freedom, legalised its entire apparatus in 1924, and was greatly weakened and disintegrated as a result of this trial.

The persecutions and the ruthless terror which continued also after the trial, together with the weakness of the Party, gave rise to certain Menshevik liquidatory deviations among some of the members of the C.C. The spokesmen of this tendency maintained that, instead of rallying the workers for a political struggle, it is Party, at the end of 1927, about 200 comrades were arrested in Constantinople and other towns. After months of maltreatment in the prisons, 57 were brought to trial, of whom 26 have been sentenced from 2 to 18 months' imprisonment. At this trial, some members of the C.C. advanced the theory that an illegal necessary to limit ourselves to giving them a "Marxian training." A best they were in favour of the economic struggle. But also in the economic struggle these comrades showed great apathy. In the greatest strikes as, for instance, the strike of the tobacco workers, the Party played no part whatever. In the struggle of the Constantinople Boatmen against the monopolist Kemalist stock company, which resulted in an armed clash with the police, these party leaders adopted the absolutely inadmissible position of support to the Kemalists on the ground that the boatsmen represent the proletarianised petty-bourgeoisie and that it is the task of the Communist Party to accelerate their proletarianisation. The C.C. sabotaged the instructions of the Comintern and the decisions of the conference of 1926. It came out still more openly in favour of the opportunist viewpoint and even insisted on independence from the Comintern. The Comintern was, therefore, compelled to take other measures, as a result of which the situation in the party has improved. All sound elements recognised the line of the Comintern as correct and decided to work jointly for the new line. As a result, Party activity has revived since 1927. Illegal literature has been issued, greater trade union activity has been undertaken, the workers are being drawn into the political struggle (parliamentary elections and election campaigns). Further, a campaign has been launched against compulsory contributions for the Kemalist navy, etc. This campaign was quite successful, about 25,000 workers refusing to make their contributions. The police, however, became aware of the growing influence of the Party and began to make new arrests. In connection with the growing activity of the political fighting party is unnecessary in Turkey in view of the fact that Turkey has a national democratic government. The

ex-Secretary of the C.C. was chief witness for the State against the illegal activity of the Party.

On the other hand, the attitude of several other comrades greatly increased the influence of the Party among the workers. Several workers' demonstrations were organised in front of the court-house which were dispersed by the police.

Despite the cruel imprisonments and persecutions, the comrades who remained free immediately organised with their own forces, a new leading organ, issued several leaflets and continued their work in the spirit of the Comintern.

Since the conference of 1926 the Party has been reorganised. Factory, street, section and district committees have been organised. The nuclei are working quite regularly. Their meetings deal with current political questions and perform propaganda work.

## PERSIA

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

PERSIA is a purely agrarian country, dependent for its resources on the extent of the harvest and the export of agricultural products. The manufacture of carpets is the only industry of any importance. In 1927 the export of carpets was 27 per cent. of the general exports; the following were the most important agricultural products exported: opium, cotton, fruit, wool, rice. The attempts that are being made to industrialise the country are almost negligible. The first step in this direction was made recently with the installation of a blast furnace for the exploitation of the ore in Simnan. A small quantity of machinery is being imported, which in 1927 amounted to 3.7 per cent. of the gross imports. Transport machinery, motor-cars, etc., are being imported which indicates the re-organisation of the means of transport. Motor lorries are taking the place of the camel caravans. A German-American firm has secured a concession to build the Trans-Persian Railway to connect up the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. This railway has a certain strategic importance.

The subdivision of the land in Persia provides a picture of its social-economic structure:—

Sixty-six per cent. of the land suitable for tillage belongs to the big estate owners (Arabs).

Fourteen per cent. belongs to the heads of the tribes.

Ten per cent. to the clergy.

Four per cent. to the State ("Chalisse").

Six per cent. to the peasants (private and communal ownership).

The peasants often possess such a small piece of land that there only is just enough space to build a hut.

The peasants are little more than serfs, although feudalism has been abolished. They must pay about 50 per cent. of the proceeds from their land to the clergy and landlords who have given them the land to till, besides the toll on water, cattle, and seed.

The position of the large mass of the peasants who do not receive their land from the clergy is still worse; they receive their land from the landlords and must pay them for the land, water, cattle, and seed, and in addition undertake to put their services at the landlords' disposal. The peasants who are thus forced to give up four-fifths of their harvest have also to pay taxes to the State, including very heavy military taxes.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the feudal lords

owned the land. Later the decline of feudal ownership set in with the change from agricultural production to commodities. Then the commercial bourgeoisie, the bankers in the towns, and also officials began to invest their money in land and in this way the capital of traders and money-lenders combined with whatever feudal forces still remained. This marked the beginnings of a new type of landowner, whose methods of exploitation resembled a wholesale extermination of the peasantry. These new landowners made use of all the old methods of exploitation in vogue in feudal times and brought back feudal conditions to the countryside, thus giving new strength to the feudal regime.

There is no industry to absorb the capital amassed by the commercial and money-lending bourgeoisie, the peasants are robbed almost entirely of their earnings, which makes it impossible for the home market to develop and consequently agrarian conditions are extremely backward. The majority of the peasants live in the greatest misery and robbed of their land are entirely at the mercy of the big land-owners. The various sporadic attempts which the peasants make to try to improve their intolerable position have hitherto failed, or merely ended in the formation of insurgent bands, so that these terrible conditions have made the problem of the agrarian revolution imminent.

The only big industrial centre in Persia is the South Persian oil fields, which belong to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and employ about 25,000 workers (Persians, Indians, Arabians, Armenians and about 1,000 European employees). The working conditions are bad and the majority of the workers do not earn more than 8-9 tuman (1 tuman=one dollar) a month; whilst the annual profit of this company is over 35 million dollars.

Besides the workers in the oil fields there are also in Persia a few thousand workers engaged in fishing on the coast of the Caspian Sea, and in the towns there is a small number of textile workers, leather workers, builders, etc. The twelve-hour day is the rule, only the printers have been able to secure the eight-hour day after repeated strikes. The monthly wage of a skilled worker is from 10-15 tuman, with the exception of the printers, who get from 20-30 tuman. Women and children are employed in all branches of work; children begin to work at the age of ten and get on an average 10-20 kran monthly (1 kran=10 cents). Women are mostly employed in manufacturing concerns and carpet weaving and earn an average of from 30-40 kran monthly.

The position of artisans is not over brilliant for the import of cheap foreign goods ruins their trade. Their working day is from 15-16 hours.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Persia is to all appearances an independent state, but in reality it is a semi-colonial country. The British own practically all Persia; all public bodies in South Persia are controlled by the

Anglo-Persian Oil Company and are absolutely dependent on it. The company, in order to be able to be in a better position to defend its interests, actually has its own police and safety service. The "Security Office" has 1,000 paid agents, who are distributed throughout all the southern towns and among the Arabian, Luristan, and Bakhtiarian tribes.

The main object of the British is to get Riza Khan under their influence and to this end have assisted him in every possible way to crush the revolutionary movement which arose recently in the Cilan Republic.

Riza Khan's attempts to avoid getting into the clutches of the British brought to light the great hold British Imperialism has on Persia. In order to strengthen its position Britain brought pressure to bear through their controlling interests in the State Bank, and encouraged the attempts of the non-Persian peoples in the Persian border lands to break loose from Persia. For this purpose the British agents developed great activity amongst the Arabs and Kurbs, the Persian-Arabians were invited to join up with Irak, though Britain's chief aim is to secure the Province of Arabistan and the southern ports of Persia.

The British pursue similar tactics in respect of the Kurds, who live in the border territory of Persia and Turkey and also in Irak. The slogan to amalgamate all the sections of Kurdistan into a united Kurd state is very popular amongst the Kurds, the British Imperialists make use of this fact and promise the Kurds autonomy in Irak, and at the same time encourage the Persian and Turkish Kurds to rise against the government. Should the British plan to create an autonomous Kurd state under the protectorate of England succeed, it will serve to ensure a "peaceful" exploitation of the Mosul oil fields to a still greater extent than at present. Whenever Riza Khan's government rejects any British proposal unrest and risings ensue amongst the Arabs and Kurds.

Vital economic interests drive Persia towards Soviet Russia. In 1927 Riza Khan decided to conclude a trade agreement with the Soviet Union and neutrality agreements with Turkey and Afghanistan.

### THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Up to the time when Riza Khan took power into his hands through overcoming the old Kad Khan Dynasty and certain sections of the old feudal lords, especially in the north, internal policy was marked by loud-sounding phrases about democracy aimed at the neutralisation of the peasantry. But when the peasants attempted to realise this democracy and tried to shake off their oppressive bonds of slavery, Riza Khan crushed the movement mercilessly with the help of the feudal elements and the British Imperialists.

The social force which supports Riza Khan consists of the new landowners—this peculiar mixture of former feudal lords and trading bourgeoisie. This class, unlike the former feudal

owners, carries on an economy based on the supply of the world market with raw material, but at the same time, continues the methods of the feudal lords in respect to the exploitation of the peasantry—if anything in a more intensified form. It is this class which helps Riza Khan to entrench his power and he in his turn extends to them the protection of his armed forces.

1. In this manner the Riza Khan coup d'etat worked in with the national movement and was also assisted by the British Imperialists, who considered Riza Khan a new and effective tool in strengthening their influence in Persia.

2. The social basis of Schah's government is essentially like the Kad Khan Dynasty: the big feudal lords, the old officials, the leaders of the national bourgeoisie. Recently Riza Khah has made certain concessions to the Mahommedan clergy in order to win their support.

3. The few political liberties, which Riza Khah granted before the coup, as a result of joint work with the national revolutionary elements, the trade unions, etc., have since been abolished and the present political regime of Persia is absolutely devoid of the slightest political freedom.

The only organised political party in Persia is the illegal Communist Party. The democratic party which at one time played a great role has fallen completely into decay. Attempts were made during the elections to organise parties, but these parties disappeared again after the elections. In 1926 one of Riza Khah's ministers formed a party, "Iran-i-Niu" (The New Persia), composed mainly of members of parliament and officials. The programme of this party contains the following points: (1) The defence of the Riza Khah Dynasty; (2) the introduction of reforms. There were about 400 members in this party, but it is now dying out.

In the countryside there are still traces of the Socialist Party, which at one time had a membership of 700. It was really a democratic party for the name was all it had in common with Socialism. Only about twenty members remained in this party after the destruction and persecution of all opposition organisations by Rizha Schah.

Trade Unions in the real sense of the word hardly exists, the majority of the unions are more on guild lines. In 1920 the tendency to organise became more pronounced amongst the Persian workers; this was a result of the October Revolution. In 1923-25 certain new attempts at organisation were made and new Trade Unions and a central council were formed. The task which the latter undertook was the centralisation of all worker's Trade Unions and artisan guilds in Persia. At that time these organisations were strongly influenced by the Communists.

When Riza Khah was engaged in the struggle with the Kadscher Dynasty he made advances to the Trade Unions and pretended to be a Republican, intent on improving the economic



situation and the position of the workers. But when he came into power he had the Trade Union leaders imprisoned at the end of 1925, and closed down all workers' organisations under the pretext of a state of war; he forbade any new Trade Unions being formed. Not until 1927 was it possible to found new unions in Teheran and in provincial towns, but all these Trade Unions carry on their work illegally. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the political situation they succeeded in organising the majority of the workers in several trades, viz., the printers. The newly-formed Trade Union central bureau, which also works illegally, is engaged in uniting all existing Trade Unions and forming new ones. So far there is no Trade Union for the workers in the southern oil fields, though in spite of this a strike broke out in 1927, and large numbers of the workers were dismissed.

The Iran Communist Party began to recover in 1927 from the wholesale arrests that were made in 1925-26 following on the revolts against British and their agents, the Kadschers and Rizha-Schah; these arrests deprived the Party of some of the best members.

The second Party Congress was held at the end of 1927, it condemned the opportunist point of view of certain comrades who declared that the Riza Khah regime denoted progress and that the Party could not undertake his downfall, because the Party was too weak, and such action would therefore be equivalent to assisting reaction. The Congress decided on the organisation of the masses of the workers, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie for the struggle against Riza Khah and on behalf of the peoples republic, the establishment of revolutionary, democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants.

The new C.C. has succeeded in rallying all comrades during the few months that have elapsed since its election and the Party has already been able to carry out some of the Congress decisions successfully.

# SYRIA

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

THE French mandated territory of Syria is experiencing a serious economic decline. The country is cut off from other Near Eastern countries and divided up into four separate "states" (Lebanon, Syria, Alaouite, Jebel Druze). Hardly one-fifth of the land suitable for tillage is cultivated. Lebanon is unable to produce sufficient corn for itself and the surrounding districts. It is not possible to develop cotton-growing because capital would be required for irrigation and would provide only a poor return. Silk is only produced in small quantities, providing a very small supply of raw material for the French silk industry.

Native industry (textile, oil, tobacco, etc.) is also on the decline as it is not able to compete with cheap imported goods and the output of foreign concessionaires.

Trade with other Near Eastern countries used to be the most important factor of the economic life of Syria, but that, too, is dying. England obstructs in every possible way the development of trade between Syria and the neighbouring British mandated countries: vetoing railway building to connect up Syria with Palestine and Irak, customs, etc. Syria's trade balance sheet always shows a deficit, whilst the exports are scarcely one-fifth of the imports. It is interesting to note that Great Britain takes first place amongst the countries importing into Syria.

The peasantry, largely landless, is becoming pauperised and forced to pay incredibly high rents and taxes. There is great unemployment in the towns which is being continually increased by the ruin of small traders and artisans. In pre-war times the rate of emigration annually from Syria was not more than a few hundred, and these were mainly from Lebanon villages; but since the French occupation Syrian emigration increases every year, and has now reached an average of 20,000 annually.

French policy in Syria is based on dividing up the country into separate "states" and "autonomous" districts; there are now four, but previously there were actually six. It also endeavours to sow discord amongst the various religious groups and to kindle religious and race hatreds. Lebanon, where the population is mainly Christian, enjoys the special protection of France, and purely Moslem districts have been added to it (the fertile valley of Bekan and southern Lebanon

with the coast line), which causes continual friction. The Lebanon budget is balanced at the expense of the other parts of Syria.

The French have the support not only of the army of occupation, but also of the big native landowners, the bourgeois traders in the port towns, the large body of Christian clergy and the intellectual elements connected with these groups. From amongst the ranks of the native intelligentsia a large number of parasitic State officials are being recruited. Some idea of the growth in the number of officials may be gained from the following figures: In Lebanon, under Turkish rule, there were 350 officials for a population of 400,000; now when the population is 600,000 the number has increased to 3,800. Every "independent State" has its own puppet "national" government, and Lebanon has actually its own Republican President and an Upper and Lower House of Parliament. Over all these governments there is the Supreme Commissariat with its "advisers" and governors.

In addition to the constant struggle with Great Britain, the situation for France in Syria is rendered more difficult by the struggle with Italy. Italy has her own pretensions to the Syrian mandate; and the increasing influence of American Imperialism on the one hand, and of Turkey on the other, help to complicate the situation. Great discontent with the French occupation is growing up amongst the working class. Since the beginning of 1925 incessant agitation and revolts have occurred. These disturbances spread rapidly to the neighbouring districts, as in the case of the Jebel-Druze trouble, and soon develop into a general Syrian rising. The French themselves caused the spread of the revolt by shooting thousands of completely innocent people, destroying towns and villages and ruining the country. The slogan during the revolt was: An independent and united Syria. The All-Arabian revolutionary national organisation, "Istiklal," led the revolt, and was supported mainly by Drusian and Bedouin tribes on the basis of a Republican-Democratic platform. The pressure brought to bear by the masses caused the bourgeois-national Syrian People's Party, which had previously sought an agreement with the French, and also those active in the rather opportunist Syrio-Palestine Committee in Egypt, to join in the revolt.

The revolt was provoked by the incredible number of the armed forces of the French (the local forces were never more than 20,000, badly armed and equipped and without resources, while the French had an army of occupation of 80,000 whose equipment was the last word in technique), by the fierce terror and the disintegration of the "leadership" of the national movement which the French had succeeded in causing. After about two years of relentless struggle, when the survivors of

the revolutionary forces had been driven with the help of the British into the territory of the Arabian independent state Nejd, the French began to make certain "concessions"; an amnesty for the insurgents (but the real leaders of the revolt were not included), the Francophile Government of Nami Bey to be replaced by the "National" Government of Sheik Tajedin, the convention of the Constituent Assembly, a promise of a "rapprochement" between the various parts of Syria, a promise to invest French capital and to collaborate with native capital.

But in spite of the promise to introduce "a new policy," the political regime remains as it was. The restrictions on the liberty of the Press and public meetings continue, the elections to the Constituent Assembly are conducted under the control of the French and the "national" government. To a great extent these elections have been boycotted at the instigation of the Left Nationalists and big protest demonstrations were held during the elections.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND COMMUNIST PARTY

The organisation of the Trade Union movement began in Syria immediately after the war. The French wanted to control the movement, and for this purpose founded the Lebanon Labour Party in 1921, which had for its main task the organisation of unions which were to comprise both employers and employed. The honorary president of this "Labour" party was one of the biggest bankers in Beirut. The party had also its own official organ. In 1924 the Lebanon People's Party was founded by a group of revolutionary workers for the purpose of organising class Trade Unions. The work of this party was carried on mainly amongst agricultural labourers and workers in the tobacco trade. In 1925 this party organised a big May-Day demonstration in Beirut. The Francophile "Labour Party" was smashed and an Organisation Committee was formed to organise Trade Unions. This committee was most successful, but the most active members of the People's Party and of the Organisation Committee were arrested at the end of 1925, and of accused of being implicated in a Bolshevik plot. Yet in spite of this, several big strikes took place in 1926 (railway workers in Aleppo, and the textile workers of practically all Syria, etc.). In the summer of 1926 the strike wave spread throughout the textile, tobacco, tram, printing-trade workers and others, which resulted in further arrests. But this did not deter the workers, and in 1927 further big strikes took place, and the organisation of Trade Unions continued (printers, tobacco workers, etc.).

At the end of 1927 the active workers in the People's Party

and the Organisation Committee were liberated under the general amnesty, and immediately these organisations resumed their work. In the Spring of 1928 a big campaign was organised for the liberty of the Press, whilst in some of the smaller towns the workers put up their own candidates at the municipal elections, and certain Trade Unions were legalised.

The Communist Party was formed at the end of 1924, but with the development of the Labour movement the leaders, mainly intellectuals, left the Party and it broke up. A small group of the Labour Party was reorganised into a Communist party in the summer of 1925. A strong Young Communist League was also formed which gave much assistance to the work of the C.P. During the rising much work was done both amongst the civil population and in the army. Groups and committees were formed in several towns. At the end of 1925 the Party held its first Congress, at which the chief discussion centred around organisation, Trade Unions and the National Revolutionary movement. Notwithstanding the split in the Party, which occurred immediately after the Congress, the work of the Party still goes on, though on a very small scale.

In 1925 the Party started its own paper, "Al-Insaniat," and when this was suppressed another Labour paper was published which kept going until the middle of 1926. An illegal cyclostyled paper was also issued in Armenian, and there were several others issued in Arabian, Armenian, and French (for the French soldiers). Use was also made of the legal press of the National Revolutionary movement. Educational work has also been carried on in illegal clubs and circles.

The main attention of the Party is directed towards work in the Trade Union over which it exerts a certain influence, and occasionally the leadership in the existing Trade Unions is in the hands of Party members.

# PALESTINE

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**D**ESPITE all the obstacles which British imperialism is putting in the way, the capitalist development of Palestine is nevertheless making progress. The nature of agriculture is changing slowly but surely, the number of plantations is increasing. The following figures will give an idea of the extent of this development :—In the Jewish colonies alone there were, in 1923, about 10,000 dunams (a dunam equals 0.1 hectares) of orange plantations; by 1928 the number of plantations has increased to 30,000 dunams. Capitalist development of agriculture has led to a considerable increase in the number of agricultural labourers.

In the towns, the numerous enterprises organised by the Zionists are undergoing acute crises, the result of which has been, instead of an immigration of Jewish workers, a growing emigration. Unemployment among Jewish workers has assumed such dimensions that even amongst the Zionists themselves declarations are made to the effect that the only way out of the have not been able to adapt themselves."

Of the 32,000 registered Jewish workers in the census, the official statistics classified 8,000 as totally unemployed and 4,000 as partly employed in 1926-27. Wages in 1925 were considerably reduced and the working day lengthened to fourteen hours (even for children).

Palestine was the only part of the former Ottoman Empire to retain the tithes taxation system on farm products, which actually amounts to 25 per cent., and which is a heavy burden on the farmers; the abolition of this is resisted by the big landowners.

Notwithstanding the economic depression in the country, the British continue to tighten the pressure of taxation. While the Turks succeeded in extracting from Palestine only a few hundred thousand pounds sterling, the state revenue of Palestine under British domination constantly increases.

Notwithstanding the big army of expensive British officials, a numerous police force and gendarmerie (absorbing a quarter of the budget), the payments on old Turkish loans, the payment for the Jerusalem-Jaffa Railway, and the laying of roads which are mostly of military importance—the British were able to create a reserve fund of 1½ million pounds sterling. In addition to this a loan of 4½ million pounds has been forced on Palestine, the major part of which remains with the British Exchequer, in pay-

ment for railroads built by the British during the war; while only one million goes to Palestine itself, and most of this is allocated for the building of the Haifa port, which is to become a British base on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea.

During the last few years, the British have been feverishly consolidating their forces in Palestine and preparing the latter as a base for the protection of the Suez Canal and the Arabian countries. In addition to measures of a purely military character, such as the building of roads, aerodromes, barracks and the creation of a native army, characteristic of the significance attached to Palestine by the British Government is the appointment of Field-Marshal Lord Plumer as the High Commissioner. Side by side with military preparation, the country is also being prepared politically. Transjordan has definitely been separated from Palestine, and the British Government has recently concluded an agreement with the Emir, according to which the former can freely use Transjordanian territory for military purposes, and is organising the defence of the Emir (at the cost of the Palestinian budget). In return, Transjordan is obliged to maintain the British Residency and officials out of its own budget, to the amount of 300,000 pounds; (101,000 pounds is used for the police and military forces, 33,000 pounds for the upkeep of the Emir and the Residency, 36,000 pounds for the upkeep of the Government).

In Palestine proper the agents of British imperialism are doing their utmost to split the Arabian national movement. During the last few years that movement has caused considerable trouble to British imperialism and its Zionist agency, by organising various elements of the Arabian people, including feudal landowning groups and the urban bourgeoisie, as well as the broad masses of the workers and peasants. But in view of the weakness of the Arabian national bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, the backwardness and the lack of organisation of the Arabian proletariat and peasantry, the most influential factor in the nationalist Arabian movement in Palestine has hitherto been a conglomeration of various feudal and landowning groups. With a view to demoralising the Nationalist movement, the agents of British imperialism are making all kinds of minor concessions. They set up elected municipal governments (with great property restrictions for the electorate) and also promised to convene a parliament, etc. Another method adopted by the British is to bribe various influential leaders of the Arabian Nationalist movement. An openly pro-mandate Liberal party has recently been organised to fight against the Executive Committee of the Arabian Congress, which formerly embraced the entire movement, with the result that it has not been found possible to convene the Seventh Arabian Congress for the last four years. While, on the other hand, the feudal and bourgeois elements are leading

a movement to desert the Nationalist cause and to come to terms with imperialism, the Left radical elements of the native intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie are becoming more definitely organised into a Left democratic wing of the movement, and are seeking contact with the mass organisations of the proletariat.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The only mass trade union organisation has hitherto been the Histadruth (an organisation of the Jewish workers in Palestine), with a membership of 25,000, under the leadership of the Jewish Nationalist Socialist Party, Achduth Haaboda (a Zionist organisation), which is affiliated to the Second International, as is also the Histadruth itself. Owing to its connection with Zionism and being guided by its policy, the Histadruth endeavours, "for the sake of National Interests," to settle every class conflict "peacefully" and to avoid a struggle against British imperialism. During the last few years, owing to the growing economic crisis and the chronic mass unemployment connected therewith, the workers are tending to break away from Zionism.

Recovering from the effects of the Zionist opium, the Jewish workers are becoming radical and staunch fighters in the class struggle. Economic conflicts are becoming more fierce, in many cases developing into political fights and being accompanied by serious clashes with the police. One strike in the match factory, Nur, lasted six months, during which most of the strikers were frequently beaten up and arrested. There were clashes with the police also in the Rishone, Sichrone, and Pethach-Tikve plantations, etc.

Strikes of Arabian workers have also taken place (in Nazareth, Haifa, Jaffa), which gave rise to a movement in favour of joining the trade unions. This movement is exploited by the imperialist agents in the Arabian Nationalist Movement (the Liberal party and other groups), who are trying to organise the workers in Arabian unions on the ground that it is necessary to organise them to counteract the Jewish workers who are "infected with Bolshevism."

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party has been in existence since 1919 (formerly it existed as a Socialist Party). Since its dissolution in 1921 it has been working illegally. The terror against the Party and its sympathetic organisations is growing fiercer. During 1927 alone 300 comrades were arrested and fourteen clubs closed.

The activity of the Party is concentrated mainly in work in the trade unions. The Workers' Fraction in the Histadruth, was organised at the end of 1922 and affiliated to the R.I.L.U., was expelled from the Histadruth in 1924 (over 200 members of



the Fraction are still out of the unions). Simultaneously with its expulsion from the Histadruth, the Workers' Fraction was declared illegal, and people are now tried for being members of it, as well as for belonging to the Communist Party. In addition to expelling the militants from the trade unions, the Histadruth leaders are also resorting to the economic boycotting of radical workers. Notwithstanding all persecutions, however, the Workers' Fraction is still in existence, and has its groups in almost all unions. It also issues its own literature.

In 1925 a unity movement began in the Histadruth organisations. The platform of that movement is trade union unity on a national and international scale. This unity movement soon developed into a mass movement. The police and the Histadruth leaders wage a constant struggle against it, and all "unity clubs" have been closed.

Parallel with its work in the Histadruth, the Communist Party is also active in the new independent Arabian unions.

The agitprop activity of the Communist Party has found expression in the legal Arabian paper (issued in 1925-27), several tens of pamphlets in the Jewish and Arabian languages, and many leaflets and proclamations (most of which have been hectographed).

Agitation and propaganda are also carried on in the factories and other places of work as well as through illegal groups.

Among the most important campaigns of 1927 the following should be noted :—

- (1) Against the war danger (a big demonstration in Haifa).
- (2) Among the unemployed. Several big demonstrations under the slogan, "Bread and Work," demanding the provision of public work and assistance for the unemployed from the Government and municipal administrations.
- (3) On municipal issues : against the candidates of the pro-Mandate bloc of the Arabian groups and the Zionists.

The Party is based on the nucleus principle (primarily street nuclei). The members of the nuclei take active part in the discussion of all political and local questions.

The Young Communist organisation, the members of which are particularly active in all Party campaigns, is working very well, as is also the women's department, which is extending its activities among Moslem women workers. Among the organisations closely allied with the Communist Party, the Ira, which has a membership of over 1,000, deserves to be mentioned.

# EGYPT

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

THE serious cotton crisis which Egypt has been experiencing for the past few years is having its effect on the entire economic life of the country.

The millions of cantars of cotton that are lying unsold cause a general slump in business. Egypt had always had a favourable trade balance sheet, but as far back as in 1925 it began to show a deficit.

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
	In mill. Egyptian Pounds.					
EXPORT ...	48.7	58.4	65.7	59.2	41.8	48.3
IMPORT ...	43.3	45.3	50.7	58.4	52.4	48.7
Balance ...	5.4	13.1	15.0	1.0	-10.6	-0.4

The Egyptian Government is making desperate efforts to save the situation; it is buying up cotton from the planters in order to sell at a higher price, and it is restricting the area under cotton to one-third. The Egyptian Government cannot undertake radical measures, such as a general improvement in the methods of irrigation, on account of British interference. The shortage of water in Egypt is becoming a more urgent question daily. England, however, is transferring her orders for cotton for her textile factories to the Sudan.

1926-27 the area under cotton in the Sudan was 105,622 feddan (1 feddan = 1.038 acres); in 1927-28 this had increased to 135,000 fed.

In 1926 England bought 1,111,437 cantars (cantar = 99 lbs.) in Egypt, but in 1927 this quantity dropped to 821,754 cantars; whilst in that same year England purchased 474,738 cantars in the Sudan, or about a third more than the usual quantity.

The measures undertaken by the government, such as buying up cotton and restricting the area planted, are merely palliatives under existing conditions. The peasants are obliged to pay high rents for their land and cannot increase the area under corn as a substitute for cotton, since competition even on the home market with the cheap imported corn is out of the question. The shortage of water makes it impossible to increase the cultivation of rice. The funds in the hands of the landowners cannot be invested in industry, because the customs policy (8 per cent. duty on all imported goods) and the puppet administration hamper the development of native industry. An instance of how the present occupation hinders the development of native trade may be found in the following fact: The Ali Pasha ministry fell in 1927 because it wanted to

transfer one million pounds (from a reserve fund of 30 mill. which had been accumulated as a result of the British policy of preventing the government from using the State revenue for the economic and cultural improvement of the country) from the British Egyptian National Bank to the national bank (Bank Misa), which finances native industry.

The British occupation lies like a heavy burden over all national economy in Egypt. Notwithstanding the fact that the Egyptian Government has paid several millions to British "advisers" and specialists by way of subsidies and compensation, it is still obliged to retain them and pay them high salaries. These "advisers" swell the ranks of the native semi-parasitic State apparatus. The following figures give some idea of its dimensions: The State revenue of 1923 was 41,532,000 pounds E.; of this 13,756,000 were allotted for State officials' salaries (2,220,300 for subsidies and pensions) and 830,000 for the civil list.

The entire State revenue of this agricultural country comes from the peasantry. The usual State revenue of 37,532,000 pounds E. (on account of the cotton crisis there has been a deficit which is met by the reserve fund) accrues from the tillage of eight million feddan; thus one feddan contributes five pounds annually to the revenue. In addition to the various taxes and subsidies there is also a big rent to be paid as the following figures show: in Lower Egypt the usual rent for one feddan under cotton is 12 pounds E., whilst the income from this is only 18 pounds E. (3 cantars of cotton at 6 pounds E. per cantar).

The result of this systematic robbery of the peasantry by the landlords and the State is the increasing pauperisation of the peasants; no less than three millions (including their families) are absolutely without land. About 1.5 million holdings consist of less than one feddan, and over half a million poor farmers have holdings of from 1—5 feddan. These two categories together have a total of 1.5 million feddan tilled land. Opposed to this army of agricultural proletarians, semi-proletarians and poor peasants, there are 12,000 big landowners who possess over two million feddan (including 1,500 foreigners who have 600,000 feddan), the State, the Church, and a few tens of thousands of rich peasants and small landowners with more than half a million feddan; there are about 100,000 middle and well-to-do peasants who have one million feddan. The pauperisation of the peasantry causes an exodus to the towns or to the neighbouring Sudan, where British cotton plantations are flourishing on the basis of a still greater exploitation of agricultural workers. The censuses of 1917 and 1927 show the extent of this process; the general growth of the population during this period was 11 per cent. (12,750,918 and 14,168,716 respectively), the increase in

the towns was 27.5 per cent., and in certain towns (Port Said and others) up to 40 per cent. The town population at present is 1,932,312, or 13 per cent. of the entire population. Such an increase in the population of the towns with the slow rate of industrial development swells the ranks of the unemployed.

The usual number of manual and office workers is over half a million (of these the industrial workers constitute 50,000). Wages and working conditions have greatly deteriorated. There is no labour legislation.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The spirit of opposition has been intensified as a result of the economic crises which the country has been through. The reactionary and openly pro-British government of Enver Pasha (which succeeded the Parliamentary Government of Zaglul Pasha after the murder of the British Chief Commander Lee Stack in 1924) was forced to resign because even the constitutional Liberal Party, the party of the powerful bourgeoisie, deserted it, and the 1926 elections resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Wafd, and those parties that constituted a bloc with it: the Constitutional Liberals and the Left Nationalist Party. During these two years there were three different governments (under Ali Pasha, Sarwat Pasha and Nahas Pasha) representing a coalition of Wafds and Constitutional Liberals.

The foreign policy of these nationalist governments was marked by frequent diplomatic conflicts with Great Britain. The reasons for these conflicts were:—The British objection to any increase in the Egyptian army and the demand for its complete subservience to British instructors; the question of the foreign representation of Egypt; the British demand that Egypt should recognise the British occupation of the Sudan; interference in the internal affairs of Egypt, and the prevention of even the most elementary reforms. During the two years of the Wafd Parliament certain improvements were made including quite a considerable amount of irrigation work (the 1928 budget allotted two million pounds Egyptian for this), various measures for the development of agriculture, State support for agricultural co-operatives (comprising mainly tenant farmers), support for the development of native industry, chiefly textile, negotiations for the revision of the customs agreement, very timid attempts to reform the management of church lands, and other less drastic reforms.

But none of these measures so much as touched the basis of the British occupation; the Nationalist Government showed the same indecision and timidity in its negotiations with the British, and even on occasion completely capitulated, as in

the case of Sarwat Pasha's secret negotiations. At the same time British oppression is on the increase.

In 1928 the national movement became considerably stronger and differences began to make themselves felt within its ranks. The danger of Sarwat Pasha concluding an agreement with Great Britain caused great unrest amongst the students and big street demonstrations which ended in bloodshed. The Wafd leaders began to break with the leaders of the government and the national bourgeoisie. The opposition of this section of the national movement to British Imperialism was mainly amongst the petty traders. The Wafd leaders were definitely opposed to revolutionary forms of struggle with British Imperialism and to the development of workers' and peasants' class organisations. However, within the Wafd a Left wing developed which had contact with the Labour movement.

Watan deputies have recently made protests in Parliament against carrying on negotiations with the British and against native reaction supporting the king. The Watan Party joined the League against Imperialism. Another interesting tendency is the endeavours the Left Nationalists (both Wafds and Watans) are making to gain influence amongst the workers.

This general state of affairs forces the Wafd to try to keep in with all parties. On the one hand they allow participation in a Coalition Government, and the leaders give official support to the government (they even went so far as to support the ban on "undesirable" questions in parliament), whilst on the other hand the Wafd Press publishes articles against this government and especially against negotiations with Britain.

The Wafd has political influence in the country, though organisationally it is weak; there are only a few thousand organised in the Wafd clubs. Recently the influence of the Watan Party has been increasing; this party hitherto represented an isolated intellectual group.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Labour movement which was crushed by the Zaglul government in 1924 after the break up of the Revolutionary Labour Conference, which comprised several powerful Trade Unions, has been experiencing a certain revival during the past two years. In 1927-28 several big strikes took place (tram, rail, tobacco, textile, etc.). A considerable number of conflicts are "settled" somehow or other by the Nationalist Trade Union leaders and the government "conciliation committees." This revival occurred spontaneously, but as yet there is organisational weakness. The workers display a great desire to become organised, but the movement has not yet succeeded in producing a sufficient number of revolutionary

leaders, and the majority of the Trade Unions are under the influence of the Nationalists and all kinds of bourgeois politicians. The total number of Trade Unions is now 100, and the total number of organised workers comprises not more than a few tens of thousands; the Trade Unions are not united, and the majority of them are very weak.

The various national groups take advantage of the weakness of the revolutionary section of the Labour movement to strengthen their influence amongst the workers. Immediately after the dissolution of the Revolutionary Labour Conference in 1924 a Zaglulist General Workers' Union was formed under the leadership of a former national terrorist, Abdel-Rekmen Bey Fahni. The reactionary government of Eivar Pasha has disbanded this organisation also, despite the fact that it not only did not allow the development of the class struggle, but actually tried to suppress it in every possible manner. Since the Wafd has been in power again, the Zaglulites and the Watans are endeavouring to get control over the trade unions. In 1927 they again revived the General Workers' Union of Egypt which is as yet very weak, comprising only a few branches in Cairo.

The Nationalists, who constituted themselves as the ideological leaders of the Trade Unions, try to prevent strikes, and, when they do arise, they do their best to settle them with the help of the "conciliation committee," whilst all the time they act in such a way as to gain popularity as "the defenders of the workers' interests." The group of so-called "Labour" deputies plays this rôle in parliament. For two years it has been "introducing" labour legislation both in parliamentary and government commissions.

It is interesting to note that the executive of the Nationalist Trade Unions receives financial support from the king and sends him telegrams with greetings. It is further of interest to observe that the Amsterdam International is trying to get in touch with the Egyptian Labour movement with the help of these "leaders."

### THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Communist Party worked legally up till 1923, then it dissolved because of the successive splits in 1923-24; the active members were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. One of the members of the Executive, Antun Marun died in prison as the result of several prolonged hunger strikes. After the dissolution in 1924 the Party reorganised its forces but on absolutely illegal lines. In a comparatively short time it was able to start groups in several towns. The Party published a legal daily, "Al-Hassad" (8 issues), and an illegal weekly, "Aljam-el-Achmar." Some pamphlets and

manifestos were also published. In 1925 the police succeeded in arresting the Executive, and many of the active Party workers. A few dozen were arrested; 18 were tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from six months to three years.

But the Party has not yet been able to recover since 1925. The police exercise the greatest espionage and terror. The government has a special bureau for the struggle against Bolshevism which swallows up some thousands of pounds annually, and besides this the British Intelligence Service is fighting Bolshevism. All workers suspected of Bolshevism are arrested, dismissed from their work and hunted out of the towns. The police have on occasion been able to introduce provocateurs into the Party and have thus instilled mutual suspicion amongst the Party members.

A further reason for the weakness of the Egyptian Party is the lack of experienced leaders capable of uniting the different comrades and taking charge of the entire work. On this account our comrades are not in a position to make the best use of the recent revival of the national revolutionary movement or strengthen the Trade Unions.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties our Egyptian comrades took an active part in almost all the big strikes which occurred in 1927-8. There were also some attempts made to utilise the legal Press which were more or less successful. In connection with the rise of the National movement the Communist Party of Egypt represents the only political force capable of exposing the treacherous manœuvres of the Wafd leaders, and of uniting the broad masses of the Egyptian workers on the basis of the decisive struggle for the independence of the country. The immediate tasks of the Communist Party of Egypt are the liberation of the workers from the influence of the Wafds and the conversion of the Egyptian Trade Unions into real organs of the class struggle of the proletariat.

# FAR EAST

## JAPAN

### ECONOMIC SITUATION.

**A**FTER the great earthquake in 1923, Japanese capitalism concentrated its efforts upon the stabilisation and reconstruction of its economy. The government pursued the policy of financial retrenchment with a view to reducing the adverse balance of trade which has been a chronic feature of Japanese commerce for many years past. These efforts were largely successful. Considerable progress has been made in the concentration of important branches of industry and of banking.

In 1923, big companies with a capital of one million yen and over, representing 8 per cent. of the total number of joint stock companies in the country controlled 84 per cent. of the total capital in the country. Since then, the process of concentration has been accelerated. Cartels now exist in 20 branches of industry. Fifteen of these, completely control more than 80 per cent. of the production in their respective industries. Six big companies practically dominate Japanese economy. Formerly, a syndicate of 22 banks predominated, but this has now been reduced to 5 banks which own 42 per cent. of the total banking deposits.

A notable feature of Japanese economy is the increasing extent to which state capital is being merged with that of the big private companies. Examples of this are the plan to amalgamate the government iron works with other private iron works into one big concern and the reorganisation of the Savings Deposits Branch of the Financial Department under the joint control of the big banking syndicates, etc.

Nevertheless, the inherent problems of Japanese capitalism are far from being solved, and in fact became even more acute as a result of the revolution in China. Business depression prevails and imports continue to be far in excess of exports. The weakness of the foundations of Japanese capitalism was revealed in the financial crisis which occurred in the spring of 1927, the third since the great war. The government was able to avert a complete financial collapse by granting a huge sum of money,—more than 800 million yen—to the banks and the big concerns. But it was unable to prevent the bankruptcy of numerous enterprises, including the firm of Suzuki, one of the largest commercial houses in the country.

Taken on the whole, Japanese capitalism is still on its rising curve: the output of cotton goods, pig iron, steel, copper, raw



silk and other important products has increased from year to year. Nevertheless depression has prevailed in the last year or so and output has had to be restricted in a number of industries.

While industry on the whole is developing agriculture is declining. The inherent contradictions in the agricultural industries are becoming more acute and critical. The rural population, overburdened by higher rents, heavy taxes and militarism, is becoming completely pauperised. On the one hand, the ownership of land is becoming more concentrated in the hands of the banks in the form of mortgages, while on the other hand the landowners are tending to become local bankers or industrialists. The poor peasant class, which constitutes about 75 per cent. of the rural population is growing continuously.

Japanese capitalism continues to look to China and Manchuria as a basis for its expansion and development and in the period under review the penetration of Japan, economically as well as politically has increased. Japan regards China as the chief source of its raw materials and as its principal market. It is significant that over 28 per cent. of the total exports of Japan go to China, and over 10 per cent. of Japan's total imports come from China.

Japan is successfully competing with the western countries in China, particularly in cotton textile goods and has managed to secure a large proportion of the cotton trade formerly carried on in China by England. Moreover, Japan has large investments in loans and industrial undertakings in China and Manchuria estimated at about 2 billion yen.

While Japan has taken advantage of Great Britain's embarrassments in China to strengthen her own economic position there, nevertheless, the Chinese Revolution has also adversely affected her trade as is indicated by the decline in exports to China since 1925 by over 28 per cent.

### **POLITICAL SITUATION.**

#### **Foreign and Colonial Politics.**

At the time of the Fifth Congress, the situation in international politics was marked by Anglo-American collaboration and antagonism between Japan and the United States. Since then the situation has changed. During the victorious advance of the national revolutionary movement in China, the Japanese imperialists united with the British and Americans for military intervention in China and for preparations for war against the Soviet Union. This united front, however, has not eliminated the antagonism between them. In fact, it has become more acute.

As the situation in China became more critical for imperialism, the Japanese imperialists became dissatisfied with the manoeuvring policy of the Kenseikai government. The government was forced to resign and the Seiyukai party formed a government with General Tanaka as Premier, and an open policy of military aggression in China was then introduced. Taking advan-

tage of the state of confusion prevailing in China at the time, the Japanese imperialists occupied practically the whole region of Manchuria and inner Mongolia. The Japanese Consulates now exercise executive power and have their own police force in these territories. Plans for Japanese railway expansion in Manchuria have been vigorously pursued.

The investment of American capital in the South Manchurian Railway, the bloc between Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang and other facts are symptoms of the reapproachment between Japan and the United States and the struggle in China is now clearly becoming a struggle between the United States and Japan on the one hand, and Great Britain on the other. This does not imply, however, that the profound antagonism between Japan and the United States has been eliminated; it represents merely temporary co-operation for the pursuit of immediate interests in China.

Japan's co-operation with the United States and her manœuvring with the Chiang Kai-shek government in Nanking have led to strained relations with Chang Tso-lin which has found expression in the latter's resistance to Japan's scheme of railway expansion in Manchuria and in the threats of military action uttered by the Japanese government.

In the Japanese colonies, the old policy of forcible suppression by means of the police and the gendarmerie and the forcible expropriation of the rural population is being abandoned in favour of a policy of exploiting the population by means of industrial development with the aid of Japanese capital.

At the same time, however, ruthless measures are taken to suppress the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples and various methods are adopted to disrupt the labour and peasant movement in the colonies.

### Internal Politics.

The internal political situation since 1924 has been characterised by the predominance obtained by the bourgeoisie over the landlords of the feudal elements, by the glaring evidence of corruption among the bourgeoisie and by the brutal attacks of the government on the labour and peasant movement. On the other hand, there has been a marked political awakening of the masses and the political struggle between the toilers and the ruling class has become more sharply defined and acute.

The Kenseikai government which came into power with the slogan of "Defence of the Constitution" pursued a policy that was solely in the interests of the bourgeoisie. As a consequence of the demands of the workers and peasants it passed a Manhood Suffrage Act; but at the same time it passed the Peace Preservation Act, which was directed against the Communist and Left wing movement, as well as other anti-labour legislation. The Manhood Suffrage Act, however, served to

stimulate the desire among the masses for a legal mass proletarian party. In 1925 the Peasants and Workers' Party was formed but was suppressed by the government at its inaugural conference, but another party—the Workers' and Peasants' Party (Rodo Nominto) was formed in 1926.

The Seiukai government under Tanaka, which succeeded the Kenseikai, initiated an openly reactionary policy against the workers. It has refrained from carrying out its long promised measure of transferring the revenues from the land tax from the State Treasury to the municipal bodies, nor has it passed any measure of social reform. But it has intensified the oppression of the workers and the peasantry, dispersed mass meetings, carried out wholesale arrests of active workers and confiscated newspapers and journals. The government waged a savage campaign against the Left wing organisation during the local elections in September, 1927, and the campaign for the dissolution of the Diet, organised by the Rodo Nominto, was suppressed by the government.

The acute situation nevertheless, led to the dissolution of the Diet, and to the General Election on the basis of the Manhood Suffrage Act in February, 1928. Never in the history of the Japanese labour movement has the political enthusiasm of the masses risen to the height it did in that election campaign. This served only to rouse the government to still more ferocious acts of oppression. Even in small constituencies, hundreds of militant peasants and workers were arrested.

Notwithstanding the government's severe repression and the treacherous role played by the social reformists, the militant workers and peasants were able to put up a good fight against the reaction. The Rodo Nominto polled nearly 200,000 votes,—a higher vote than that polled by any of the reformist parties,—and obtained two seats in the Diet.

The vote of the two principal bourgeois parties was about equal and the Seiukai obtained only two seats more than the Minseito (formerly the Kenseikai) so that even with the support of some of the independent deputies, the government's vote in the Chamber is a very unstable one. To counteract the bad impression created by the results of the elections (it was practically a defeat for the government) the latter has adopted a still more aggressive policy in China and has hurled its forces with still greater ferocity against the revolutionary movement and the Communist Party. In February and March last, the government suppressed the Rodo Nominto and the Hyogikai—the Left wing Labour Federation—and has carried out wholesale arrests all over the country on the pretext of having unearthed a Communist plot.

### THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

In 1924 there were four bourgeois parties. In 1926 the Kakushin Club merged with the Seiukai and in 1927 the Seiuhonto joined with the Kenseikai so that now there are only two big

bourgeois parties. Besides these there are several independent bourgeois groups like the Jitsugyo Doshikai (the party of the textile industrialists with four members in the Diet), the Kakushinto (a radical bourgeois group with four members in the Diet), and fourteen independent deputies. These small groups are mere appendages of the big bourgeois parties.

The thesis adopted by the E.C.C.I. last July describing the bourgeois parties in Japan still holds good. The thesis states:

"At the present time two main bourgeois parties,—the Seiukai and the Kenseikai (now the Minseitō), take their place in turn in the government. Not only are both these parties closely connected with big capital, but they represent also the direct and open political agencies of the two most powerful capitalist concerns in the country—Mitsui and Mitsubishi."

However, whereas the Seiukai is more closely linked up with the nobility, the military and the court cliques, whose role in the government is a very great one, the Kenseikai acts as the representative of the quasi-liberal bourgeoisie which aims at the consolidation of the government machine of capitalist exploitation by more "liberal" methods. Thus, in 1925, the Kenseikai extended the franchise. Unlike the Seiukai, the Kenseikai also takes up a more moderate attitude towards the U.S.S.R.

There is no doubt, however, that on this point, as in the struggle against the revolutionary movement in the Japanese colonies and in Japan itself there is no essential difference between these two parties.

It must be observed that in order to quieten the demands of the peasantry, the Seiukai has planned a Stolypin type of agrarian reform the aim of which is to create a large class of small holding peasants by means of long term credits. It is also encouraging the development of auxiliary reactionary forces like the Ex-Soldiers' Association, Young Men's Association, etc.

### REFORMIST PARTIES.

Workers' and peasants' parties came into being in Japan only in 1926. The reformists desired to establish a legal party like the British Labour Party, but the masses demanded a more radical organisation. Right from the very first, therefore, the reformists strove to isolate the Left wing movement.

In December, 1926, they formed the Shakai Minshuto (Social Democratic Party) with a reformist platform and programme. This party is based on the affiliation of Right wing trade unions, like the Rodo Sodomei (General Federation of Labour), the Kangyo Rodo Sodomei (the Federation of Government Employers' Union), and other unions, having a membership of 100,000 in all, and in addition has an individual membership of 150,000. This Party is led by pure reformists like Suzuki, the chairman of the Rodo Sodomei, and by Professor Abe, the renegade Akamatsu, Nishyo,

and Matsuoka, both the latter reactionary leaders of the Rodo Sodomei.

The Party is openly identified with the class collaboration schemes of the bourgeoisie. It supports Chiang Kai-shek in China, and strives to model itself upon the policy of MacDonald in England.

In the last local election it advocated a number of petty reforms, but obtained only an insignificant number of votes. It put up a number of candidates in industrial districts during the general election on a reformist platform, and won four seats. The leaders of the Party are already striving to come to an understanding with the Government, and have given their approval to the "timely measures" taken by the Government to suppress the Left wing organisations.

The Nihon Ronoto was formed by the treacherous "Left" opportunist leaders at the same time that the Social Democratic Party was formed. This Party is based on the affiliation of the trade unions, which broke away from the Rodo Sodomei on account of the class collaboration policy of the latter, and have a membership of 50,000. It also has the affiliation of peasant organisations, having a membership of 30,000, and an individual membership of 12,000. The theoretical basis of this Party is provided by a group of intellectuals gathered around the magazine "Social Ideas." The Party leaders conceal their reformism by a screen of "Left phraseology," calculated to prevent the masses from swinging into the revolutionary camp. They have rejected the united front with the Rodo Nominto, but under the pressure of the masses were compelled to participate for a time in joint campaigns like "Hands Off China," "Dissolve the Diet," etc., but broke away from them very soon. They attempted to run campaigns on their own in rivalry with the Rodo Nominto, but without success. In the General Election only one of the Party's candidates was returned. Its press joined with the Social Democrat and Fascist press in exposing the illegal Communist Party to the Government.

The Nihon Nominto, which was formed in 1926 as a workers' and peasants' Party, is led by Right wing peasant leaders. Its membership is insignificant, and it is, in fact, united with the Nihon Ronoto.

### LEFT WING PARTIES.

The *Rodo Nominto* has stood out as the most radical legal Party of the proletariat and the peasantry. It is based on affiliation of Left wing trade unions with a membership of 80,000, and of peasant organisations with a membership of 60,000. In addition it has 20,000 individual members. The party has pursued a radical policy sympathetic towards Communism. It opposed the Geneva International Labour Office and class collaboration and came out in support of the Soviet Union. In spite

of its mistakes and shortcomings, it succeeded in rallying the masses of the workers and peasants around its banner against the ruling class.

In the summer of 1926 it commenced a mass campaign for the dissolution of the Diet. It also put up a strenuous fight against the government's plan to transfer all the burdens of the financial crisis to the shoulders of the toilers. It revealed certain democratic illusions when, for example, it convened the so-called "People's Conference," which included representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, against the reactionary government. Among other campaigns conducted by the Party was that against intervention in China and for the recognition of the Wuhan Government and the campaign for the so-called "five laws" (8-hour day with minimum wage; free speech, free press, and right of assembly and strikes; non-contributory unemployment insurance and legal recognition of trade unions and tenant farmer unions).

The Party put up a number of candidates during the last local elections with good results. In the last General Election the Party was subjected to severe repression by the Government. Thousands of its members were arrested, its meetings were broken up by the police and its literature confiscated. Nevertheless, the Party obtained a good vote and two of its candidates were elected. Soon after the election over a thousand of its most active members were arrested in connection with the distribution of Communist leaflets and the party was suppressed.

At the end of 1927, the *Rodo Nominto* attempted to unite all the proletarian and peasant parties. Failing to understand the united front tactics properly, it proposed "an unconditional amalgamation" of all the existing proletarian and peasant parties including the Social Democratic Party and the Nihon Nominto. The Social democratic leaders, however, rejected the proposal. The centrist leaders in order to pacify the rank and file who desire unity with the Left wing workers, pretended to favour the proposals, but in reality inclined to the position of the Social Democratic Party.

### THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS.

At the end of June, 1927, the number of organised workers in Japan was estimated at 316,900 out of a total of 4,576,666 industrial workers, or only 6.8 per cent. The best organised sections of the working class are the metal workers, the transport workers, the textile workers and the miners. The number women workers organised is 14,000.

The trade unions are split up into many small units. There are 337 unions of which 260 are federated in 29 organisations; the rest are independent.

The existing trade union organisations may be grouped into three sections: the Right wing, the centre, and the Left wing. The Right wing is represented by national unions and

federations like the Rodo Sodomei, the Kanyo Rodo Sodomei, the Japan Seamen's Union, the Seamen's Association, the Arsenal Workers' Federation, the Jun Kodjokai, etc. The influential organisations at the centre are the Kumiai Domei (the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions), the So-Renga (the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions), the Ship Stewards' Federation, and the Pottery Workers' Federation. The Left wing is composed of revolutionary trade union organisations like the Hyogikai (the Trade Union Council of Japan), the Salaried Workers' League, the Tokyo Municipal Workers Union, etc. Several of the national industrial federations like the Japan Transport Workers' Federation, the Kansai Electrical Workers' Union, etc., are near to the Left, or rather stand between the Left and the centre.

The Right wing unions stand for partial improvement of labour conditions to be obtained by means of class collaboration. Most of them support the Social Democratic Party. The centre identifies itself with the policy of the Nihon Ronoto, and talks about "realist" action. Its influence in the general labour movement, however, is small.

The Left wing stands for class struggle and for the emancipation of the proletariat by mass action. Influenced by the mistaken policy conducted at that time by the Communist Party, the Left wing trade unions in 1927 advocated the concentration of all forces on political action to the neglect of industrial action. However, at its third Congress held in May, the Hyogikai adopted a new policy, which properly recognised the functions of trade unions.

The outstanding activities of the Left wing trade unions were their efforts to form factory committees and factory delegate meetings, to organise support for strikes and to organise the unorganised. Early in 1927 several conferences of delegate meetings were called to demand the revision of the Health Insurance Act, and the movement of this spread to all industrial towns. The Left wing carried on agitation against the Geneva International Labour Office, carried on a successful campaign in favour of the Pan-Pacific Labour Conference, and officially elected its own delegates to it. The Trade Union Unity League, to which all Left wing trade unions are affiliated raised the slogan of: "Freedom of trade union members to belong to any party," and is fighting for real class unity.

During 1927, three national organisations of working women were formed belonging to the Right, centre and Left respectively. The activities of women workers in 1927 was most marked. Out of a total of 631 disputes which occurred up to the end of September, 23 were conducted entirely under the leadership of women.

The total number of industrial disputes in 1927 was 1,012, involving 83,617 workers. Of these disputes, 45 per cent. were due to dismissals of trade unionists or other forms of victimisation.

The number involved in any one strike have tended to grow as also has the duration of strikes. A large number of strikes have lasted for one and two months, and the big Noda strike lasted for over six months.

In regard to the peasant unions (tenant and tenant-owner unions), there were at the end of 1927, 4,320 organisations with an aggregate membership of 362,533, which marks a big increase since 1926. The representative organisations are: the Nihon Nomin Kumiai (Japan Peasant Union, 60,000 members, Left Wing); the All-Japan Peasant Union (membership 30,000 centre); the General Federation of Peasant Unions of Japan (membership 3,000, supports Social Democratic Party); the All-Japan Federation of Peasant Unions (membership 10,000, supports Right wing Peasant Party); the Middle Japan Peasants' Union (membership 7,000), etc.

All these unions, and particularly the Nomin Kumiai fought actively against the injunctions prohibiting tenants from entering the land they cultivated. The number of disputes between tenants and landlords up to the end of November, 1927, was 1,034, involving 48,558 tenants. The disputes centred around demands for reduction of rents and against the payment of taxes. In these disputes the landowners and the government mobilised the police force and on numerous occasions sanguinary conflicts took place.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY,

### Splits and Errors.

The period since the Fifth Congress has been a trying one for the Japanese Section. In 1924 a wave of liquidation tendencies swept over the Party and those who are in control turned renegades and fled to the enemy camp. A group of comrades who remained loyal to Communism set to work to rebuild the Party. The conference was convened in January, 1925, at which it was decided to form a Communist group. Although this group represented the most revolutionary section of the labour movement, it nevertheless bore a sectarian character. In essence, the theory and policy of the leading comrades was idealistic and as a consequence the group became involved in many serious errors. Its inherent weakness was completely exposed at the time when the antagonism between the Left and Right wings in the labour movement reached its climax. Not only did it reveal the old liquidatory, sectarian tendencies in a new form, but it committed other grave political mistakes which, in the more advanced state of the movement, were more profound than those committed previously. The gravest of these errors was the advocacy of the so-called "split and unity" tactics which aimed to split the trade unions and the political parties. This was the policy that prevailed at the Inaugural Convention of the Communist Party in December, 1926.



The year 1927 presented a good opportunity for the Party to make progress. The most advanced section of the workers realised the necessity for a Communist Party and eagerly looked forward for its establishment. On the outbreak of the financial crisis in the spring of 1927, the Japanese Communists realised the necessity of carrying on (as a Party, not as a group), the work among the masses and establishing the basis for its activities in the factories. Later on it began to form factory groups and the need was recognised for opening the Party's ranks to wider circles of the militant workers and to public proclaim the existence of the Party to the masses.

### **The Comintern and the Japanese Question.**

Meanwhile the E.C.C.I drafted theses and a resolution on the Japanese question containing an analysis of the international and internal situation in Japan and characterising the coming revolution as a bourgeois democratic revolution because the bourgeoisie is the driving force of that revolution and in the end determines the strategical lines of the Japanese Communists. The thesis emphasised the need for establishing an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, and for building up a mass Communist Party. It severely condemned the two main deviations in the Japanese Party, namely, liquidation and sectarianism,—which were due primarily to the predominance of intellectuals in the Party, and laid down the tactics the Communists were to pursue in the trade unions and other mass organisations. In addition its clearly defined the immediate tasks and programme of action of the Japanese Party.

While the Party continuously condemned "ultra-Leftism," which was the direct product of the policy of Kuroki (one of the leaders of the Party at that time), it was unable, however, to perceive the fundamental error of Kuroki's theory and policy, but tried to attribute the mistakes committed to the "misinterpretation" of this theory, and to the "survivals" of the old leadership represented by Yamakawa in the Party and by this tried to quieten the discontent among the masses.

Finally, in the middle of 1927 the Kuroki theory emerged in the form of definite opportunism which may be described as—democratic illusion. Our comrades perceived the bourgeois democratic revolution as something totally separate from the social revolution and spoke only about "political liberty," a "democratic parliament," etc. On this basis they urged the Rodo Nominto, during the local elections to enter into a bloc with the Kokushinto,—a small radical bourgeois group, while rejecting the united front with the Social Democratic Party and Centrist Party.

On the other hand, the Party set to work to establish factory nuclei, to publish factory newspapers, and distribute secret literature, but being hampered by this opportunist policy its efforts did not meet with the desired success.

At this stage the liquidation group (Yamakawa, Arahata, Inomata, Kitaura, etc.) who dropped out of the Party and formed an oppositional group seized upon a brief report of the decision of the E.C.C.I. on the Japanese question, which was published in "Pravda" in August, 1927, to commence a bitter attack upon the Party. It claimed that the E.C.C.I. decision was a justification of their liquidatory policy. Although the Left wing workers showed their strong resentment towards this scandalous attack upon the Party, the latter took no stand towards it, but remained silent.

Soon after, however, the Party recovered from its confusion and commenced activities on the basis of the E.C.C.I. decision. The publication of the complete text of the thesis of the E.C.C.I. in Japan was welcomed with great relief and sympathy by the militant workers. The Party also published its own political thesis accompanied with an appeal addressed "to the revolutionary workers of the country," and distributed these among these masses. Work was undertaken to enlarge the Party and build it up on the basis of factory nuclei.

### **The Party and the Elections.**

The Party took the occasion of the general election to publicly proclaim its existence. In the elections it displayed great activity and immediately became the rallying point of the revolutionary forces the Japanese proletariat. Large quantities of literature stating the platform and the programme of the Party were distributed. The Party also issued the slogan: "Workers' and Peasants' Government," and as a result of its propaganda this slogan was taken up by the Rodo Nominto.

The activities of the Party and the success met with aroused the government to take still sterner action against the whole of the Communist and Left Wing movement. In the middle of March the government carried out wholesale arrests of Party members and active members of the Rodo Nominto and Left Wing trade unions, suppressed these organisations and has taken measures to prosecute these comrades on a charge of conspiracy.

### **General Activity and Campaigns.**

Apart from the activities carried out by the Party in the industrial and political movements already mentioned in this report the Party initiated and carried out through the various organisations a number of other campaigns and activities. Among these are: the campaign in defence of the Chinese revolution; the campaign for the release of the arrested Korean Communists and the campaign for the establishment of workers' defence corps against the Fascist organisations. In the trade union movement the Party succeeded in securing the representation of the Left Wing trade unions to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress.

The Party actively led the Left Wing movement in the peasant

organisations. It also successfully carried on activity in the Suiheisha (the organisation of the "Eta" outcasts) and succeeded in forming a League for the Support of the Rodo Nominto within that organisation.

Notwithstanding the persecution of the government the Party was able to devote considerable activity to publications, etc. The "Musansha Shimbun" (the Proletarian Paper), of 4 pages published six times a month, was founded in September 1925 and reached a circulation of 35,000. Last February the Party commenced the publication of an illegal organ, "The Red Flag." In addition to this, a number of legal monthly magazines and papers were published; for example, "Marxism" (5,000 circulation), the "Workers' and Peasants' Movement," "Political Criticism," the "International," etc. A number of factory newspapers have also been published.

A considerable quantity of Marxist-Leninist literature has been published. Of Lenin's works ten volumes have appeared and arrangements have been made to secure the translation and publication of Lenin's complete works. Arrangements have also been made for the publication of a Marx and Engels Library and the works of Bukharin and Stalin.

# CHINA

## ECONOMIC SITUATION IN CHINA DURING THE PERIOD OF 1925-28.

**T**OWARDS the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, Chinese economics entered a phase of acute crisis. Whereas during the imperialist war China experienced a period of industrial progress and a relative boom, which is characterised by the movement of most of the economic indices, and the importation of implements of production, the growth in the number of factories both in light and heavy industries, the increase in the output of pig and cast iron and in that of textiles, etc., a slump is to be noticed in the 'twenties, assuming the nature of economic stagnation and decline.

The main causes of this crisis are no doubt : (a) the accentuated struggle for markets between the imperialist countries which recovered from the post-war crisis ; (b) the defencelessness of the young Chinese industries against economic pressure on the part of stabilising international capitalism (no protective tariffs) ; (c) the progressing slump or, more correctly, decline in agriculture, resulting in rising prices of raw material and food ; (d) the constant internal war between the militarists, and later the civil war, which broke up all economic ties between the districts, destroyed the railways, gave rise to a financial crisis and ruined peasant economy.

As a result, the import of implements of production has been lessening from year to year, and has declined from 41.7 million American dollars in 1921 to 8.3 in 1926.

In 1923 the textile industry, which experienced a period of stormy development during the imperialist war, became stagnant.

At the same time a large percentage of spindles remained at a standstill.

About 40 per cent. of the spindles in the Chinese textile mills and about 30 per cent. in the Japanese and British mills, i.e., altogether over a million spindles, stood idle in 1927.

The *output of iron ore* has also decreased.

There is a particularly marked diminution in the home consumption of iron ore, which is a sign of a serious industrial crisis in the country.

The *output of coal, pewter, lead and antimony* has also decreased.

Many enterprises in the heavy and light industries are closing down, particularly the foundry in Hangyang. The Chinese metallurgical industry was working according to the Economic Journal No. 1928, at 30 per cent. of its capacity.

The growth of some of the light industries (tobacco, matches)

and also the continued industrial construction in Manchuria, which is actually a Japanese colony, does not in any way change the fact that there is a general industrial depression.

*Railway construction*, with the exception of Manchuria and a part of North China, has also stopped. Railway transport is being ruined by the constant civil war and military operations.

This industrial crisis is accompanied by a *devaluation of Chinese currency* issued by the numerous governments, frequent financial crises, derangement of commercial connections resulting from boycott, the militarist wars, etc.

At the same time *agriculture* has been experiencing for years, nay, decades past, a period of stagnation and decline which has been greatly accentuated during the last few revolutionary years and the subsequent reaction.

This agrarian crisis has its causes in ;

(a) The feudal forms of exploitation of the peasantry by the landlords who have in their hands at least one-half of all cultivated areas constituting the best part of the land, a system which has remained instact to this day.

(b) The exceedingly widespread forms of backward merchant and usurer's capital which has a firm grip on the peasantry.

(c) The constant desolating militarist wars and their taxation policy (the upkeep of the militarist armies alone has increased from 37 million dollars in 1907 to 200 million dollars in 1918 and about 700 million dollars in 1926, and this increase is still in progress).

(d) The ruinous influence of imperialism, which destroys domestic peasant industry while there is an insufficient intensive development of urban industries.

The economic expression of this crisis in agriculture is the curtailment of the harvests of cotton, silk and rice, the curtailment of the cultivated areas and an increase of waste land, and growing imports of agricultural products, etc.

The crisis in agriculture is reflected in the very rapid increase in prices of farm products. Thus, the Shanghai price index shows an increase of 42 per cent. in prices in 1926 as compared with 1925 ; the 1927 index shows that this tendency is still in progress.

The Canton statistics give a similar picture.

It is, however, perfectly evident that the growing prices have by no means a favourable influence on peasant agriculture. They act mainly to the advantage of the landlords and the broadly ramified trading apparatus which, together with the militarists, absorbs not only the entire surplus labour of the peasants, but also a considerable part of their necessary means of existence.

The agrarian crisis is politically reflected in the development of banditry, the formation of secret peasant societies and, finally, the peasant revolution which rages at the present time.

This industrial and agricultural crisis seriously affects the proletariat also. The high prices of food have not only neutralised the gains won during the last few years in the form of a nominal

rise in wages, but have even reduced real wages below the pre-war level, which were miserably low at that. The movement of wages, even with incessant strikes of the proletariat for increases, could not keep up by a long way with the growing prices of farm products.

Finally, the economic depression resulted in the closing down of many enterprises, both in the heavy and light industries, and growing unemployment in all the large industrial centres in the country.

All these circumstances combined caused the 1923 crisis to become a protracted and chronic disease of Chinese economy. It caused at first the accentuation of the struggle against imperialism on the part of all classes, which formed a united national front, and later the development of class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the one hand, and the landlords and peasantry on the other.

The development of the revolution itself, in its turn, was accompanied by prolonged economic and political strikes and a development of peasant uprisings and incessant civil war, which greatly deepened and accentuated the crisis.

The revolution, having suffered a series of heavy defeats in the struggle against the united forces of imperialism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie did not overcome any of the main antagonisms; it has not found a way out for the present economic crisis in the country.

True, the first quarter of 1928 shows a certain revival in Chinese foreign trade. The imports of textile and other goods to China have greatly increased, trade on the Yangtse River, which was practically dead, has revived, the money standards have recovered, several foreign loans have been secured, etc.

But the renewed war between the Mukden-Shantung and Nanking groups has again influenced the situation for the worse. While the trading and financial index for that period show a tendency to rise, industry, and particularly agriculture, show no signs of recovery.

If the revolution could not solve any of the internal contradictions it has nevertheless accomplished a whole series of economic changes, and, above all, it has weakened the economic position of British imperialism, increasing simultaneously the influence of America, and particularly of Japan.

The anti-imperialist struggle in 1925-27 was waged chiefly against Great Britain. The numerous anti-British strikes, the prolonged boycott of British goods, the defeat of the Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang militarist groups, which were largely supported by British imperialism—greatly contracted the Chinese market for British capitalism, brought trade almost to a standstill, reduced the imports, particularly the import of textile goods, etc.

True, during the last few months there is a marked change

in this respect. The rapprochement of Li Ti-sin in Kwangtung and Bai Sun-chi in Hupeh and Hunan with British imperialism, finding its expression in its recall of the anti-British boycott, and later in the loan given by British banks to Li Ti-sin, has again revived the economic relations between these countries.

### **The Decline of British Influence.**

Great Britain has, however, nevertheless lost her priority in Chinese trade to the advantage of the United States, the only country which increased its Chinese trade in 1927. It is very doubtful whether Great Britain, even if she succeeds in partly stabilising her influence in Kwangtung, Wuhan and Changsha will be able to oust America from the position she has already gained.

British imperialism can no longer cherish the idea of squeezing out Japanese capital from Chinese industry. During the war, and particularly during the post-war economic crisis of Chinese industry, Japanese manufacturers concentrated at least 40 per cent. of the textile industry and the biggest part of the coal and iron industries in their own hands. Almost the entire heavy industry of China is now in Japanese hands. The resuscitated wars between the various militarist groups are merely a reflection of the unceasing struggle between the imperialists for the Chinese market. This war contains the conditions and possibilities for the development of imperialist contradictions which may give rise to sharp conflicts between the principal imperialist countries vying for the division of the Chinese market. Storm clouds are again gathering over the Pacific shores and the vague spectre of a new imperialist war is beginning to assume an ever clearer form.

### **THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA DURING 1925-27.**

The political situation in China during the period covered by this report has undergone several sharp changes. The following tendencies have, however, come most clearly to the fore:—

(a) A tremendous mass upheaval of workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, and, up to the spring of 1927, even a considerable section of Chinese capitalists, an upheaval which, beginning in 1925, became a factor of extraordinary force, revolutionising the entire political situation in China.

(b) The great revolutionary rôle of the U.S.S.R. finding expression in cordial relations between the toilers of the Union with all national revolutionary forces really engaged in a struggle against international imperialism.

(c) A weakening of the influence of the imperialist Powers, particularly of Great Britain, till the end of 1927, when it commenced to regain strength on the basis of the

defeat of the workers' and peasants' movement and of the imperialist alliance with the Chinese bourgeoisie and the feudal elements of the country.

The political situation towards the end of 1924 was something as follows:—

In the South—Kwangtung—there existed a small but influential national liberation movement embodied in the Canton Government headed by Sun Yat-sen, constituting, from a class view point, an alliance of the national revolutionary bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and the workers united on the basis of struggle against imperialism and militarism. In Central and Northern China an incessant struggle was in progress between militarists representing, on the one hand, Japanese (Chang Tso-lin), and, on the other, Anglo-American (Wu Pei-fu) imperialism. The Anglo-American alliance, having weakened Japan's diplomatic position at the Washington Conference, endeavoured to destroy the real forces of Japanese imperialism in China.

However, at the beginning of 1925, thanks to the action of Fong Yu-Hsiang; Wu Pei-fu was smashed, and thereby the machinery of the Anglo-American imperialist domination in Central China considerably weakened. The agreement then concluded between China and the U.S.S.R. recognising the full equality of the two countries, the renunciation of the unequal agreements on the part of the Soviet Union, Sun Yat-sen's arrival in the North—all this prepared the ground for a powerful outburst of the revolutionary movement which soon involved the whole of Northern and Central China. It began with the Shanghai movement on May 30th and a series of political strikes (the Shanghai and Hongkong-Canton strikes). This strengthened the national-revolutionary government in the South, divided the military forces of the country (the formation of the Northern peoples' army) on the basis of a clear political programme—for or against imperialism.

This movement revealed the leading rôle of the Chinese working class and marked the beginning of an epoch of struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for hegemony in the revolution.

Towards the end of 1925 and at the beginning of 1926 reaction set in. Wu Pei-fu gained strength in Central China with the help of foreign imperialism, the Peoples' Armies in the North were destroyed, the Shanghai bourgeoisie, scared by the continuation and sharpness of the general strike, turned to the Right and made several concessions to imperialism, a Right Wing constituted itself in the Kuomintang (the Sishang Conference), Dai Tsi-tao, the ideologist of the National industrial bourgeoisie, founded the ideological platform of that class which soon afterwards resulted in the "peaceful" *coup d'état* on March 20th by Chiang



Kai-shek in Canton weakening the Left petty-bourgeois wing of the Kuomintang and delivering a blow to the labour and peasant movement of the Communist Party. Imperialism tried at the Customs Conference to test the ground for an agreement with the bourgeoisie, but owing to the antagonisms within its own ranks was unable to arrive at any agreement. Besides, the revolutionary rôle of the bourgeoisie had not yet ended.

### **The Northern Campaign.**

In these conditions the Northern campaign of the Canton Government played a tremendous revolutionary rôle. Its success would have been inconceivable unless the millions of the toiling masses became drawn into the struggle and roused to political life. The defeat of the Wu Pei-fu clique and the subsequent defeat of Sun Chuan-fang was accomplished largely under the influence of the great social upheaval throughout Central and Southern China. The end of 1926 and the spring of 1927 are characterised by a rapid growth of mass political organisations—the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, the trade unions, the peasant leagues. The revolution had reached the culminating point of its first phase—the phase of the anti-imperialist movement of the united national front.

At that moment the political situation was determined by two main factors:

(1) The struggle of the united national front against the Northern militarists who had united with the remains of the defeated Sun Chuan-fang and Wu-Pei-fu forces and had the support of the entire imperialist world, which had, for a moment, forgotten its internal antagonisms and united against the storm coming from the South and threatening to destroy its domination in China.

(2) The struggle within the united national front.

In reality there existed two political blocs within the framework of the united national front—the bloc of the liberal-national bourgeoisie, which had rallied to its side the middle-class landowners, the upper petty bourgeois strata, and a section of the urban intelligentsia, and the bloc of the workers and peasants and urban poor. They were still fighting together against militarism and imperialism. This fight was successful only thanks to the participation of millions of workers and peasants, thanks to the sympathy and support of the world proletariat and of the U.S.S.R.

However, the further North, and the nearer to Shanghai—simultaneously the citadel of imperialism and of the proletariat—the revolution advanced, the higher did the wave of the labour and peasant movement rise, the more sharply did the roads of these two political blocs diverge. A conflict was inevitable.

### **The Bourgeois Attack.**

The bourgeoisie, strongly supported by imperialism, which

sought alliance with them, was in a position to deliver a series of heavy blows to the revolution.

Chiang Kai-shek's, Li Ti-sin's, Wang Chin-Wei's and Tang Sen-chi's coups d'état completed the first phase of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China.

The political situation after the bourgeois counter-revolution in the spring and summer of 1927 is characterised by the following main features :

(1) Instead of the three political blocs of the first phase of the revolution, only two main forces remained on the political scene—the force of imperialism, the landowners and the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the proletariat and the peasantry on the other. The political organisations of the urban petty bourgeoisie had been demolished by the heavy grindstones of the class struggle. Illusions had faded away. The Kuomintang had been exploded by the bourgeoisie and converted into an instrument of bourgeois feudal counter-revolution. The revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces had become polarised.

(2) The bourgeoisie, having broken its ties with the labour and peasant movement, broke its relations also with the Soviet Union. The attacks on the Soviet consulates, the murder of Soviet representatives and the breaking of trade relations proceeded alongside the terror in relation to the proletarian and peasant vanguard of the country. The influence of the U.S.S.R. in the official China of Chiang Kai-shek, Li Ti-sin and Bai Sun-shi diminished. But it is powerful among the broad masses of China who still continue their heroic struggle for freedom.

(3) Imperialism, having come out victorious, has raised the question of struggle for markets still more sharply. The bourgeois landlord counter-revolution, united in the struggle against the labour and peasant movement under the leadership of the Communist Party, was unable to unite China into one State. The antagonisms between the old and new militarists based on the absence of a single market and the provincial and district division of the bourgeoisie, the antagonisms existing within the bourgeois feudal bloc, finally, the imperialist struggle for a division of China into spheres of influence—all this gave rise to insurmountable obstacles placed on the path of national unification by the forces of the bourgeois feudal reaction.

The main militarist groups of modern China and the imperialist influences standing behind them are now beginning to take definite forms.

An agreement between Great Britain and the Kwangsi group of Li Ti-sin in Canton and Bai Sun-chi in Hunan and Hupeh is beyond any doubt.

As before, Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsun-chang are supported in the North by Japanese imperialism. Japanese capital, however, having at the same time deep roots in Central China, is seeking an opportunity to come to an agreement also with other militarist

groups in China. Negotiations are now in progress with Feng Yu-hsiang in particular.

The Nanking group (Chiang Kai-shek) is most closely connected with the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and is greatly inclined to seek support in the United States. It is precisely this obviously "bourgeois" expression of the Nanking group which enables it to pursue a relatively independent policy and to keep on playing with the slogans of the Northern campaign and the national unification of China.

Compared with 1924 a growth in American activity is to be observed. The United States acts as an independent factor, not in alliance with Great Britain. The state of half-war, half-peace, between the Nanking and the Kwangtsi groups is characteristic from this viewpoint. This state of affairs has continued for several months and threatens to bring about military complications in the future. The Shantung intervention clearly proves the determination of Japanese imperialism to defend its interests by force, particularly in Northern China. The war in Shantung conceals profound antagonisms between the principal imperialist powers. It is as yet impossible to foresee the further development of the conflict. The fear of the revolutionary movement and of the U.S.S.R. may stop the imperialists from carrying the struggle still further and may prompt them to settle their differences by a compromise.

However, the struggle for markets has entered a new and more acute phrase. A series of wars in China is inevitable. They can be avoided only by revolution.

The forces of the labour and peasant movement have been weakened, but not destroyed. The proletariat which has been tempered in the struggle will find new energy to meet in fighting formation, arms in hand, the new revolutionary wave, and will be able to lead the toiling masses in the final struggle for a Soviet Government in China.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1925-28.

The history of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China in 1925-28 is essentially also the history of the Communist Party.

On the eve of the May events—the turning point in the Chinese Revolution—the Party had barely a thousand members. In substance it was a propaganda organisation, the embryo of a proletarian militant Party which had only begun to gain influence in the industrial centres. The main task of that period was that of reaching the masses, of building revolutionary trade unions, establishing Communist leadership in them, of making contact with the millions of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, and of organising a bloc of all the real forces of the Chinese people opposed to imperialism and militarism.

The Party coped correctly with this task by joining the Kuomintang, remaining at the same time an independent Party of the Chinese proletariat, with its own separate organisation, programme and tactics. This organisational and ideological independence enabled the Party before very long to become a real mass Party of the working class with undivided leadership. At the same time the affiliation to the Kuomintang helped to consolidate all anti-imperialist forces, to convert the Kuomintang from a conglomeration of political clubs into a revolutionary anti-imperialist party, a party which gave political expression to an alliance of the proletariat, the peasantry, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the nationalist capitalists (primarily industrial capitalists), which was then waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The tactics of establishing a united national front including the proletariat and the national revolutionary sections of the big and middle bourgeoisie was absolutely correct in semi-colonial China, where there could be no question of carrying on a determined struggle against imperialism at a moment when the labour and peasant movement was organisationally weak without contact with all the anti-imperialist forces of the country. The correctness of these tactics were fully confirmed after the first big successes of the Northern expedition. Prior to the Fifth Congress, the Communist Party of China had grown from a small group of 994 members in 1925 (at the time of the Fourth Congress) to an organisation of 57,967. The Party wielded its influence among 2,800,000 organised workers. The membership of the peasant leagues, working under the leadership of the Party, grew during that period, from 200,000 (chiefly in Kwangtung) to 9,720,000. The Y.C.L. membership increased from 2,365 to 35,000. Finally, the circulation of the Party weekly (organ of the C.C., C.P.C.) increased from 7,000 to 50,000. Such were the organisational and political successes of the Communist Party of China, which were no doubt the result of the tactics adopted.

It was perfectly natural that the truce in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for hegemony, which has not yet ended, could be only temporary in the national front. More correctly, the united national front, with the Kuomintang as its political expression, was in itself an arena of that constant struggle for leadership over the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie in the revolution. Sooner or later it had to break out, and result in the victory of one or the other of the two camps. The tactics of the united national front, however, bore fruits not only for the proletariat. The bourgeoisie also strengthened its positions, it extended the territory under its domination, increased and improved its army and consolidated its political power.

#### **Errors of the Chinese Communist Party.**

The organisational growth and sweep of the mass movement

of workers and peasants was greater by far than the Communist Party could handle. Owing to a wrong conception of the tasks of the united front, the leaders of the Communist Party of China committed a series of vital errors which considerably hampered the preparation of the revolutionary organisations for the fight, and which, as later experience has shown, were the beginning of a whole chain of opportunist blunders which finally resulted in the political bankruptcy of the C.P. leaders. The Communist Party in reality from the very beginning adopted a policy of pressure on the national revolutionary government from "below" instead of the policy of active participation in it. The scope of the peasant movement was narrowed down and retarded by the slogans of a coalition with the landlords and the reduction of rent to the amount of 50 per cent. of the crop. The actions of the working class and the growing strike movement very frequently had to contend with the retarding tendencies of the Communist leaders who were afraid to lose the petty bourgeoisie and the propertied sections of the towns. Very little was done towards winning over the army. Finally, the Party did not sufficiently expose the vacillations of the Kuomintang leaders which resulted in the subordination of the Party to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology—an ideology alien to the proletariat. To the extent that the Northern expedition was victorious the moment of the inevitable clash between the two camps was approaching. The capture of Shanghai by the forces of the armed proletariat increased the pressure of international imperialism on the Chinese bourgeoisie, which was already seeking a compromise.

At the same time the stormy development of the peasant revolution in Hunan and Hupeh (which of course could not be frustrated by the opportunist leaders of the C.C.) the clear manifestation of the proletarian hegemony in Shanghai, which actually revealed the social nature of revolutionary power in the towns and consequently throughout the Eastern district of China, raised before the bourgeoisie the question of destroying the workers' and peasants' movement and coming to terms with imperialism as a question of life and death for the foundations of the bourgeois order and the political domination of the bourgeoisie.

### Opposition of the C.C.

In this critical period of the Chinese Revolution the C.C. of the Communist Party had no uniform political line. Whereas the members of the C.C. in Hankow (Tziu Tziu-bo, Chan Go-tao, Li Hsiang) waged a determined struggle against Chiang Kai-shek, rallying not only the Communist followers of workers and peasants, but also the masses of the Kuomintang, to the slogan of struggle against the traitors and the betrayers of the revolution, Chen Tu-siu and Pin Shen-ji in Shanghai raised the question of breaking with Chiang Kai-shek in an entirely different way.

They believed that Chiang Kai-shek had become a national figure, that his desertion of the revolution would weaken the revolutionary movement, and that therefore concessions must be made to him, his demands must be satisfied so that he might be preserved for the revolution. Such a formulation of the question completely confused the Party and the revolutionary organisations in the large proletarian centres. The reactionaries, having better leaders, manœuvred more artfully and cleverly. The bourgeois preparations for the demolition of the proletarian organisations were carried on under the cover of defence of the Kuomintang and its basic principles from the demoralising influence of the Communists. Under this standard of bourgeois feudal reaction the latter succeeded in turning a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie against the revolution. The Communist Party in Canton could not muster strength enough to start an offensive, and in a very short period it was smashed and driven underground.

In Shanghai, after the victorious armed uprising, the opportunist influence of the Communist leaders led to the disarming of the heroic militant and revolutionary Shanghai proletariat and to the break-up of its organisations.

The bourgeois victory in Shanghai and Canton largely determined the path of the Chinese revolution in the subsequent period. The chief revolutionary centres were in the hands of reaction Wuhan, which for several months still held high the banner of the Chinese revolution, remained intact. The rise of the revolutionary movement in the provinces controlled by the Wuhan Government took place in that period. The Peasant Leagues of Hunan grew in the course of a few months from a membership of two million to five million and those of Hupeh from 600,000 to 2,500,000. The leaders of the Kuomintang organisation in Wuhan declared that the fate of the national revolution depended on the awakening of the peasants throughout China, that the land must belong to those who till it, etc. The Kuomintang organisation of Wuhan issued declarations at that time against the reaction in Canton and Shanghai, continued its struggle against the Northern militarists, passed resolutions calling for the convention of provincial conferences, empowered Communists to take the leadership in the Ministries for Home Affairs, Agriculture and Labour, held joint conferences with Communists, etc. But this honeymoon period was not for long. The worsening of the economic and financial situation in Wuhan and the flight of the bourgeoisie in connection with it, the closing down of factories and the blockade of the foreign powers, on the one hand, and the rapidly growing agrarian movement, which hit considerable sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie connected with the ownership of land, and also the officers of the army, on the other, explains the rapid transformation of the Wuhan nationalist

government and the passing over of the petty bourgeois leaders of the Left Kuomintang (Wang Chin-wei) to the bourgeois feudal reaction.

It should be stated that the opportunist leaders of the Communist Party, who, during that period, committed many blunders bordering, because of their consequences, on betrayal, were largely responsible for this change. During the rise of the mass labour and peasant movement and the existence of revolutionary initiative in the hands of the Communist Party, the petty bourgeois leaders of the Kuomintang organisation of Wuhan swore their loyalty to the Communists. Just as soon, however, as the latter lost the revolutionary initiative and began to retreat, these mad-dened petty bourgeois immediately sought succour from Nanking. Let us try to give a cursory review of the chain of political mistakes committed at that time by the C.C. of the C.P.C.

### **The Fifth Party Congress.**

The Fifth Party Congress in May, 1927, endeavoured to correct the opportunist deviation in the Central Committee which at that time already threatened the Party with a whole series of disastrous political consequences. Being directly connected with the masses and feeling behind them a firm class foundation, the rank and file Party leaders put up a strong resistance to the political line of the C.C. and criticised it severely, declaring that it was at complete variance with the decisions and instructions of the Communist International. They pointed out that the C.C. had adopted a wrong position on the question of the attitude towards the Chinese national bourgeoisie, which was expressed in the attempts to mitigate the class struggle in town and country, and to weaken or even entirely to renounce any independent class action on the part of the Chinese proletariat. The comrades further pointed out the absence of a militant agrarian programme which would strengthen the alliance with the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. Much time was devoted to a criticism of the errors during the Northern expedition when the Party did not pay sufficient attention to the necessity of deepening the social foundation of the revolution simultaneously with its territorial expansion.

The Fifth Congress, however, did not devote sufficient attention to the questions of organising mass resistance to the counter-revolutionary schemes of the Wuhan bourgeoisie, and concentrated its fire primarily against Chiang Kai-shek.

The Fifth Congress did not formulate with sufficient force the slogans of development of the labour and peasant movement. The fact that Cheng Tu-siu was re-elected as general secretary, meant as became clear later, that, notwithstanding his external loyalty at the Congress, there was a continuation of the old opportunist

policy, which soon led to the greatest defeat of the Chinese Revolution.

What was the leading idea of all the activities of the C.C. during the period when the Left Kuomintang gradually, but definitely, began to turn to the Right?

Whereas the Comintern pointed out in its instructions the necessity for :

(a) A rapid and most determined development of the peasant revolution, the confiscation of feudal lands, and the establishment of peasant governments in the rural areas;

(b) The organisation of armed mass resistance to the external (Chiang Kai-shek) and internal (Sia Do-in, Sen Kichiang, etc.) counter-revolution by arming the workers and by an influx of workers and Communists into the army;

(c) Exposure of the vacillations of the Left Kuomintang leaders, the broadening of the social basis of the Kuomintang, affiliation of the workers' and peasants' organisations to the Kuomintang, and the removal of the hesitant and treacherous Party leaders;

the C.C. of the Communist Party of China ignored these instructions.

Whereas the lower Party organisations and the masses of workers and peasants made a real revolutionary attempt to live up to the slogans of the agrarian revolution and to organise resistance to the reaction, all the instructions and decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.C. constituted a chain of retreat after retreat and nothing but retreats. They constituted an effort to prove their 100 per cent. loyalty to the Left Kuomintang, forbidding the unfurling of the Communist banner, so as not to drive the middle and petty bourgeoisie to the reactionary camp, and hamper the development of the mass revolutionary movement. This policy was pursued also in the work of the agrarian commission of the C.C. of the Kuomintang, where the Communists changed their opinions four times and finally recognised the idea of confiscation of the big landed estates only in principle, and did not demand an immediate realisation of this measure, did not even insist that the results of the work of the agrarian commission should be made public. This explains also the instructions of the Agitprop Department of the C.C., which said that we must constantly remember that in its peasant policy the Party pursues a consistent line of suppression of "excesses" against the landowners, the petty bourgeoisie and the military.

### **Betrayal by the C.C.**

Fearing that the reactionary officers would grow discontented, the C.C. decided in favour of a voluntary disarmament and dissolution of the workers' pickets of Wuhan. As a result



of this act of liquidation the trade unions were a few days later entirely destroyed.

Another objective betrayal was the dissolution by the Central Committee of the peasant detachment of about 7-8,000 in Changsha (Hunan), which had been organised in the course of a few days to crush the reactionary *coup d'état* in Changsha. Notwithstanding their absolute numerical superiority and the certainty of victory over the reactionaries, notwithstanding the militant heroic struggle of the rank and file Communists who led the mass movement of workers and peasants, the C.C. decided to give up the struggle against the reactionaries so as not to undermine the authority of the nationalist government by independent action on the part of the masses.

Naturally, this line of the C.C. was, to say the least of it, not understood by the Hunan peasants and the rank and file Communists who fought self-sacrificingly against the counter-revolution. Neither was it understood by the broad Party masses in the other districts. This was obvious from the speeches of the revolutionary delegates at the Fourth Trade Union Congress held in the last part of June.

However, these revolutionary sentiments of the masses had no effect on the line of the C.C. The latter issued a decision on July 3rd actually depriving the Communist Party of its organisational and ideological independence and handing it over to the Kuomintang, which had at that time already openly become a counter-revolutionary factor. But even this surrender could no longer influence the bourgeois reaction, and the Kuomintang of Wuhan decided to break all relations with the Communists. Had this break been effected on the initiative of the Communist Party, had the latter assumed the offensive after the break, the movement would have entered into a higher phase of development. Notwithstanding all the instructions of the Comintern, the leaders of the Communist Party did not abandon their Kuomintang illusions even after the break had been effected, still continuing to rely on the revolutionary character of the Kuomintang and promising their support and collaboration if the latter would take any revolutionary measures. Naturally, such a failure to understand the real state of affairs disorganised the masses of workers and peasants and brought grist to the mill of reaction.

The opportunism of the leaders of the Communist Party of China was not accidental. The chain of errors reveals that at the bottom of their whole outlook lay a wrong Menshevik understanding of the nature and the main tasks of the revolution. The national liberation movement was considered in contra-distinction to the class struggle. For the benefit of a misconceived idea as to the nature of a united national front, the class struggle of the workers and peasants was restricted, limited and postponed. The holders of this petty bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the Communist Party and its C.C. were the petty bourgeois intellectuals who

flooded into the Communist Party at the moment when the revolutionary movement was at its apex. Lacking in proletarian training, integrity and discipline, these petty bourgeois intellectuals found it easy systematically to violate Comintern discipline, rejecting its resolutions and decisions which pointed to an absolutely correct and really revolutionary Bolshevik path of development of the Revolution. This refusal to submit to the instructions of the Comintern compelled the latter in June, 1927 to appeal to the members of the Communist Party, over the head of the C.C., calling for the convention of an emergency conference and the immediate removal of the C.C.

### **The Emergency Conference.**

The emergency Party Conference which met as a result of this appeal issued a letter to all Party members, in which it made a thorough analysis of the preceding period, and severely criticised the opportunist leaders of the C.C. The conference recognised that the opportunism of the C.C. of the C.P.C. reflected bourgeois influence on the Communists, that the line which the Party executive pursued had nothing in common with the instructions and resolutions of the Comintern, nor with the struggle of the working class.

The Conference declared that the main task of the Party is the overthrow of the bourgeois feudal domination throughout China, the bringing about of the Agrarian Revolution, an exposure of the treacherous Kuomintang petty bourgeois leaders (Wang Chin-Wei's group) and finally, the reorganisation of the Communist Party by proletarianising the composition of the C.C. and Committees, and by struggle against the old opportunist errors.

The August Conference thus marked a turning point in the development of the Communist Party and in its Bolshevisation. It gave the impulse for a new rise in the labour and peasant movement, a huge wave of peasant uprisings in Kwangtung, Hunan and Hupeh and, finally, for the insurrection in the Nanchung army and the Southern Kwangtung expedition of Yeu-Tin and Ho-Lun.

However while the Central Committee, having among others removed Cheng Tu-siu from leadership, corrected its policy, the district Party Committees, which had not yet been reorganised, continued during the next few months to a large extent along the old lines. The August Conference itself had left certain loopholes open for a repetition of the old mistakes.

The main shortcoming was the insufficiently definite formulation of the question of the Kuomintang (the hope for an emergence of a Left revolutionary Kuomintang, and for action under its banner, the vague formulation of the question of power in relation to the Kuomintang). These errors made themselves deeply felt at the time of the Southern expedition of the revolutionary armies of Ye-Tin and Ho-Lun.

The fact that Tan Pin-siang, who was known for his opportunist leadership in the old C.C., was one of the political leaders of Ye-tin's and Ho-Lun's expedition, together with its Left Kuomintang policy, estranged the broad masses of peasants. The slogan of confiscation of landlord's estates of more than 200 mou of land, or the reduction of rent to 35 per cent., could not of course rouse the enthusiasm of the peasantry. Naturally, the reactionary elements succeeded in representing this Communist Army to the peasantry as marauders, just like any other military forces, so that the peasants fled from the villages as soon as the army approached.

Apparently the Communist Party had to experience this defeat also in order definitely to overcome its Left Kuomintang illusions, in order to purge itself from its petty bourgeois camp-followers, such as Tan Pin-siang, who drew the Party into the mire of opportunism, leading it from defeat to defeat.

The November Conference finally struck the balance of the struggle against opportunism. Many C.C. members were either expelled from the Party (Tan Pin-siang) or thrown off the C.C. The Conference decided that the main task of the Party was to fight for a Soviet Government of workers' peasants' and soldiers' deputies. It formulated the demands of the agrarian revolution and the struggle for disaffection in the militarist armies. The culminating point of the new upheaval after the crushing defeats in the spring and summer was the Canton insurrection in December, and the establishment of a Soviet Government in several districts of the Kwangtung province. The Canton insurrection definitely exposed the treachery of the Left Kuomintang leaders (Wang Chin-wei and Chang Fa-Kuei). The Soviet banner became the banner of the labour and peasant movement throughout the country. It made the militant Communist Party the real and only leader of the revolutionary movement of Chinese toilers.

The Canton insurrection, however, revealed at the same time a whole series of defects in the work of the Party organisation, which had at that time already overcome its opportunist errors, but had not yet succeeded in bringing forward, in opposition to the Right opportunist deviations, a Bolshevik analysis of the situation and a sober evaluation of its own forces and of those of the enemy. Notwithstanding the existence of favourable objective conditions for a victorious insurrection, its speedy destruction by the bourgeois forces showed an insufficiency both in the material and technical as well as, and especially, in the political preparation of that outbreak. The Party had done little in preparing a mass movement of workers and peasants. There was no general political strike declared in preparation for the insurrection. The masses were thus not mobilised for the struggle. Out of the 200,000 proletarians of Canton only from 7,000-10,000 participated. The Soviet, the organ of the insurrection, was not elected. The work of demoralising the opposing army and the preparation of workers' detachments was inadequate. The Party and Y.C.L.

organisations themselves were not properly prepared for taking the lead in the movement.

Nevertheless, the Canton insurrection added brilliant pages of heroic struggle to the history of the Chinese proletariat, which is rightly fighting for the leadership in the Chinese Revolution. The mass revolutionary movement has entered a new phase of development—the Soviet phase.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CHINA AT THE PRESENT TIME.

Since the counter-revolutionary *coups d'état* in the spring and summer of 1927, the C.P.C. has entered an extremely arduous period of struggle characterised by increasing accentuation of class antagonisms, a polarisation of the forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie and landlords on the other, a period when these antagonisms assume the form of a constant civil war.

The victor in the struggle has so far been the bourgeois feudal bloc, with the exception of some districts of Kwangtung.

Under these conditions a series of symptoms threatening the danger of the Party becoming alienated from the masses have manifested themselves, side by side with the growing political consciousness of the broad sections of workers and peasants, the disappearance of all reformist illusions, the strengthening of the militant alliance of the workers and peasants, the constant bolshevisation of the Communist Party.

We have to face :

(a) A considerable weakening of the revolutionary mass organisations (trade unions, peasant leagues), which have been driven right underground and deprived of their best elements by the reign of White terror.

(b) A complication of the political situation (the appearance of Tan Pin-siang's Workers' and Peasants' Party, the strengthening of some of the Government unions).

(c) Growing despair among large sections of the working class who are thrown out of their jobs by the thousand on the slightest suspicion that they have any revolutionary leanings, and the resultant growth of Left putschist, terrorist and other tendencies, both in the Party and the League.

(d) Difficulties connected with the illegal organisation of the Party and the organisations under its influence, in face of the unprecedented mass terror of the bourgeois and feudal cliques.

Under these conditions the tendency of over-estimating the forces and organisational strength of the proletariat, and a corresponding under-estimation of the strength of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie which has allied itself with the landowners

and imperialists, constitutes a serious danger. It is precisely such tendencies that influenced the life of the Communist Party in the period immediately preceding the Canton insurrection and in the period immediately afterwards.

The most characteristic events of this kind were the numerous appointments of dates for militant action in various provinces without proper estimation of the proletarian and peasant forces and the degree of their readiness to enter a struggle, the application of methods of forcing workers to strike, and the organisation of terrorist acts in relation to government leaders of reactionary trade unions.

These tendencies found their expression in the theory denying the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class in China, in the wrong contention that the bourgeois feudal reactionary forces have become weakened and, finally, in the belief that the period of bourgeois democratic revolution has ended and that the revolution has already entered its socialist phase. The Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., in its resolution on the Chinese question, corrected the Party attitude on these questions, condemned the Left errors in the sphere of theoretical analysis of the present period of the revolution as errors similar to Trotsky's position in the 1905 revolution, and also the Putschist elements in the practical work of the Communist Party of China. The Ninth Plenum recorded the absence of a powerful revolutionary movement at the present moment, the isolated acts on the part of various sections of the revolution depression among the working class, continued peasant uprisings, the beginning of the process of demoralisation of the hired militarist armies. It declared that the main task of the Party under these conditions is to get ready for a new revolutionary upheaval and to fight for the masses. It warned it against the danger of becoming alienated from the masses. Naturally, this raised to the fore the tasks of consolidation in organisational form of the chief political successes, the organisational strengthening of the workers' and peasants' mass organisations, the preservation of the party as a mass military party.

### **Present Tasks.**

Intensification of trade union work, a maximum strengthening of the revolutionary trade unions, the organisation of rank and file trade union organisations in the form of factory committees, affiliation to the district and local unions, wherever the latter are of a mass character, leadership in the economic struggle of the proletariat and, finally, the complete abandonment of violent methods in the trade union movement—such are the present tasks of the Party in the labour movement. In the peasant movement, the main task is also the restoration and strengthening of the Peasant Leagues, the winning over of the secret peasant Societies to the side of the proletariat, a wide campaign for refusal to pay

rent and taxes, a co-ordination of the acts of the peasantry with the rising movement in the towns, a co-ordination and territorial expansion of the isolated sectional actions, when the mass movement of the peasantry and the working class again revolts.

Naturally the advancement of partial slogans in the economic sphere, for instance, and in the daily organisational work of the trade union and peasant movement are co-ordinated by the Party with the main slogans of the revolution—the overthrow of the feudal bourgeois Kuomintang government, the establishment of a Soviet government, the introduction of an 8-hour day, confiscation of land, destruction of imperialism. At the same time in the districts under Soviet rule (some districts of Kwangtung) the Party is already confiscating and distributing the landed estates, and building the organs of a revolutionary government—Soviets Revolutionary Tribunals, and a Workers' and Peasants' Army.

With the rise of the anti-imperialist movement connected with Japanese intervention, and the sharpening of the struggle for markets between the various powers, it is the task of the Party to organise independent proletarian action in the most varied forms such as demonstrations and political strikes under revolutionary slogans (the destruction of imperialism and establishment of a Soviet Government), to refuse to support Chiang Kai-shek and to expose him primarily as an agent of American capitalism, who is seeking to compromise with Japanese imperialism and to demolish the mass movement which alone is capable of solving, in a revolutionary manner, the problem of the struggle against imperialism.

Such are the main political tasks of the Communist Party.

It should be pointed out that in an organisational respect the Party has a series of big successes to its credit :

### **Successes in Organisation.**

(a) Notwithstanding the unparalleled white terror, and the physical extermination of its best cadres, the Party has been able to keep its Party apparatus intact, as well as the lower organisations (primarily workers' groups), although it has to work underground. It has now about 30,000 members concentrated in the largest proletarian centres (Shanghai, Hankow) as well as in the districts where peasant movement has reached its highest development, in the Hunan and Shansi districts and the districts of Kwangtung under Soviet rule.

(b) The Party in the process of its reorganisations and transition to illegal forms of work and under conditions of a series of armed workers' and peasants' insurrections, has conducted a resolute and successful struggle against the former opportunist Party leadership, it has radically reorganised its apparatus and eliminated the ultra-Left elements, and has largely proletarianised

the leading Party committees, advancing active workers and peasants to these posts.

(c) The social composition of the Party has improved during the last half year; the percentage of workers and especially of peasants, has increased in the Party at the expense of the descendants of middle land-owning, merchant and intellectual strata.

(d) Finally, the Party has learned to criticise its mistakes in a Bolshevik manner and to carry this criticism to the basic organisations. By this it has laid the foundation for a correct system of inner Party democracy.

Side by side with these successes there are many vital shortcomings, the chief of which are :

(a) In many organisations the principle of democratic centralism is insufficiently adhered to, and, to the detriment of the discipline and fighting capacity of the Party, demands are put forward and carried out which are particularly dangerous when the Party is illegal, namely, demands for the absolute election and recall of leaders, etc.

(b) Inefficiency in carrying on activity under illegal circumstances, often resulting in discovery on the one hand, and the weakening of connections with the masses on the other. Inability to enquire as to whether Party decisions have been carried out, and to mobilise the Party members and the masses of workers and peasants around the decisions.

(c) Insufficient activity in recruiting new members in several districts (Tientsin, Shanghai), particularly workers.

(d) The weakening of the leadership of the trade unions and the Peasant Leagues in many places, and the lingering tendency to substitute for the work of these organisations that of the respective Party committees.

(e) Inadequate struggle against "Putschist" views among the youth, and weakness in the leadership of the Young Communist organisations.

(f) Inability to prepare organisationally and politically for the mass movements (strikes, uprisings), reducing this preparation frequently to military and technical measures rather than organising of broad political mass movements of workers, peasants and soldiers.

(g) Insufficient work in demoralising the enemy forces and towards the militarisation of the Party members and the sympathising workers and peasants.

(h) Inability to organise the Government apparatus (Soviets) properly, in case of victory (Swatow, Canton).

### A Daily Paper.

The main defect in agitprop work is the absence of a daily political paper. The weekly Party organ "The Bolshevik," being

chiefly a political theoretical journal, cannot fulfil the task of mobilising the workers and peasants around the Communist Party, cannot deal day in and day out with all political events and with the vital demands of the masses.

The creation of a daily political paper is therefore an urgent task for the Communist Party.

The contemporary political situation in China, the accentuation of the struggle between imperialist powers, the continuation of the war between the various bourgeois feudal groups, the incessant peasant unrest and soldiers' rebellions, oblige the Party to have a most flexible tactic. It is hard to foretell how soon another revival of the Workers' and Peasants' movement will take place. The Party must be ready to meet it in an organised way. Under these conditions the struggle for leadership of the masses, the organisational building up of the movement, tedious daily work in rebuilding its organisations and those of the trade unions and peasants, the mobilisation of the masses around the chief slogans of the Party—all this constitutes a series of measures which will bring the new upheaval closer, and which will provide it with sound forms of organisations from the very start, and lead to the overthrow of the feudal bourgeois Kuomintang Government and the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants—a government of Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies in China.



# KOREA

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

**T**HE main characteristics that marked the economic situation during the period dealt with in the report have been: increased subjection of the entire economic life of the country, both in town and country, to Japanese finance capital; attempts at industrial development, the construction of railways and electrification under the complete control of Japanese trusts and enterprises; unlimited monopoly of credit by two Japanese banks, which are under the immediate control of the government; a further concentration of the best land in the hands of land grabbing syndicates and the utilisation by the Japanese of the irrigation systems, which they have monopolised, for the complete enslavement of peasant economy and the maintenance of feudal conditions in the village. This growing power of colonising monopoly is accompanied by a return to the fierce terror that prevailed at the time of the conquest of the country; the miserable concessions that were made after the suppression of the mass movement of 1919, are now practically con-existent. Mass organisations are being crushed, the meetings of those organisations that are still legal are broken up; mass arrests take place accompanied by torture; court trials are staged by provocateurs, with a view to future unbridled terror. The number of military and police in the country is on the increase.

The development of industry may be judged from the following brief data:

### DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY FROM 1911 TO 1924.

Year.	No. Factories.	Capital in Mill Yen.	No. of Workers.
1911	252	10.6	14,575
1918	1,700	48.3	46,749
1924	3,841	168.1	73,454

The number of factories in 1924 was fifteen times that of 1911, capital twelve times, and the number of workers five times.

The growth of share companies will convey an idea of the dominating role of Japanese capital in the most important branches of industry.

Year	Japanese Co.		Korean Co.		Jap-Korean Co.	
	No.	Capital. In million yen.	No.	Capital.	No.	Capital.
1912	158	107	34	8	19	26
1923	581	2611	135	53	67	159

Since 1926 the big Japanese enterprises, despite the financial crisis in the capital, are launching large scale building plans. Thus, in the railway section the plan is to build 65 new lines in the course of twelve years (1926—1938), which will mean an enormous increase in the present railway system. The electrification plan to be realised by 1932, comprises a supply of electric energy 35 more times than the present supply.

The policy of the rationalisation of agriculture, which is directed towards raising the production of rice and increasing the export of same, is aided by the concentration of all systems of irrigation and other improvements in the hands of a few dozen companies and artels, with a capital of more than 100 million yen; a situation which facilitates the further enslavement of the peasantry.

The enormous concentration of power in the hands of the conquerors results in the development of industry by means of trusts and companies, which crush and submerge small scale production.

The development of capital under such conditions, causes wholesale plunder in the village, where the small peasantry with little or no land, deteriorate into a state of colonial slavery. The ruin of the main body of the peasantry, who constitute 82 per cent. of the population, is bringing about the impoverishment and the ruin of the entire Korean people, whilst Japanese capital investments grow from day to day, with a view to increasing their super-profits in Korea.

Since coming under Japanese control, the policy in Korea has been to break up the Korean village and ruin the weakest inhabitants, who are in a state of slavish dependence on a technically backward agriculture.

The number of tenants and big landowners increases; the middle group of semi-tenants and small proprietors decreases: the tenants and semi-tenants constitute 77 per cent. of the peasantry and holds 17 per cent. of the entire land. The rents are as much as 60 per cent. of the harvest. The parcelling out of land, because of the excessive rents, the difficulties of the situation, the complete arbitrariness of the landlords, etc., all facilitate the speedy penetration of the Japanese plunderers into the village.

The Eastern Colonisation Society in the course of nine years, doubled the acreage of land in its possession. However, to get a real idea of the extent of the seizure of land by this Society it should be pointed out that the quantity of land under its control is a million zioby; there can be no doubt that the greater part of this land will remain in the hands of the Japanese conquerors, owing to the miserable economic position of the peasantry.

In addition to the Eastern Colonising Society there are dozens of other land grabbing Japanese enterprises, which drive the Korean peasant from the land. The peasant driven off the

land cannot find work in the towns and is forced either to starve or emigrate. In 1920 about 100,000 emigrated to Japan, Manchuria and the U.S.S.R. In 1926 the number of peasants driven from the land was about 120,000. The general impoverishment and desperation, which is expressed in the increase of the number of suicides and deaths from starvation, is a proof of the pauperisation of Korea, which even official statistics cannot possibly conceal.

### NATION-REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

During the period under review, the national-revolutionary struggle was marked by an endeavour to consolidate the forces of the scattered and dismembered national-revolutionary movement. An attempt was made to overcome the group struggles, which did not always express the real class differences, "struggles due to the comparative weakness of the industrial proletariat in the country and the tactic of fierce terror and conscious provocation employed by Japanese imperialism." But so far, the successes attained in the work of consolidating the forces of the movement have been small.

The insignificant role which the Japanese allot to the Korean bourgeoisie in the industry of the country is not sufficient to bring it over to the side of the government. On the other hand the nascent peasant movement provokes the bourgeoisie all the more since it participates in the ownership of the land and growth of the village. The first independent movement of the proletariat, was the main cause of making the bourgeoisie in Korea go over to the side of the oppressors. At the same time Japanese imperialism is dragging a section of the intelligentsia into the bureaucratic machine, and thus making them the hired agents of its actions in connection with the national movement.

As a result of this situation in 1924, the bourgeoisie organised a reformist party with a view to carrying on negotiations with Tokyo, for the autonomy of Korea within the boundaries of Japanese imperialism; some former leaders of the nationalist movement participated. This party decided not to act openly and concealed its plot with Japan; it published anonymous articles calling on the nationalist movement to break with "the criminal revolutionary tradition of the past." However, this reformist-bourgeois party declared its dissolution when its activities were exposed by the revolutionary organisations. But of course, the bourgeoisie continues its attempts to negotiate with Japanese imperialism, and is using all its forces for the disorganisation of the national-revolutionary movement.

The first really big attempt to unite the activity of the mass nationalist organisations was made in 1925. About 1000 attended the unity conference. The Japanese police did not stop at open repression, but took measures to incite the various groups against

one another through the instrumentality of provocateurs. The Congress was broken up and some of its organisers were arrested; then followed mass police arrests throughout the country, domiciliary searches amongst the Communists, who were accused of having organised the Congress. In 1926 another attempt was made, but this time on the basis of a definite programme of action for the unification of the national revolutionary organisation.

The influence of the Chinese revolution and the wide-spread campaigns on behalf of the starving in Korea, did much to rouse the masses to activity. The June events of 1926, in connection with the funeral of the former Korean emperor, gave an insight into the growth of this activity and the absence of the necessary organisational leadership. The Communist Party approached the national revolutionary organisations and proposed the creation of a united national-revolutionary front (to include not only workers, but peasantry and artisans; also intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and to a certain extent, the middle classes) on the platform of the struggle to drive the Japanese army and police out of Korea, to establish democratic freedom, to satisfy the elementary demands of the workers' and peasants' movement, etc. The Communist Party was to do the necessary work of drafting the general programme of action for all the organisations engaged in establishing the national revolutionary front and help temporarily in respect to the organisational independence of each one of them. The question of forming a united national revolutionary party was to be considered as the next stage in the work. In January, 1927, the preparatory work was begun for the organisation of the national revolutionary party. At the end of 1927, this organisation had 100 local groups; the party congress planned to take place in January, 1928, was prohibited by the government.

### THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

In spite of the increase in the number of industrial workers in connection with the growth of industry in recent years, the workers movement is badly organised and scattered. This situation is both the result and the cause of the organisational weakness of the national-revolutionary movement. The Japanese terror, which destroys the most active elements amongst the workers in Korea, prevents by every possible means, the growth of the organisation of the workers.

Trade Union organisation amongst the workers in the basic branches of industry; railway workers, miners, woodworkers, fishermen, etc., is of a poor character, the existing trade unions include also non-proletarian elements, even unemployed intellectuals. The attempts to unite workers and peasants organisations resulted in the formation of the "All-Korean Federation of Workers and Peasants Unions" in 1924, which in 1926 combined 312 organisations (140 workers and 172 peasants). However, the necessity of

an independent organisation of Trade Unions raised the question of dividing this federation into two independent sections—workers and peasants; but the congress which was to decide this question was prohibited by the police. Only in 1927, and then only by submitting a written questionnaire to the Federation members, was a decision taken to split up the federation. The Korean Workers' Federation is the first organisational centre of the Korean Union movement.

Notwithstanding the weakness of the organisation, several strikes took place during the period under review, and some of the strike leaders brought the masses nearer to the Communist movement. The most important strikes include that of the tram workers in Seoul in 1925, the miners' strike in 1927, the transport workers' strike, and a number of printers' strikes. The miners' strike lasted three months, and received the support of the entire proletariat of Korea; it coincided with a general solidarity strike of the workers in those localities situated near the mines.

The following tasks demand immediate attention in the Korean Trade Union movement; the reorganisation of the existing Trade Unions, the organisation within the basic branches of the workers, especially those engaged in the big factories and mines; sporadic workers' movements for economic purposes to be linked up with political demands.

### THE PEASANTS MOVEMENT.

It has become quite apparent that the peasant movement in the village, based on the ruin and enslavement of the peasantry is not equal to coping with the extreme weakness and disorganisation that prevails. The peasant movement has not gone beyond the struggle for the immediate demands of the peasantry, and the overwhelming majority of conflicts are connected with the renewal of the right to lease land, the arbitrary seizure of land from the peasantry by the landowners, reduction of rent, etc. The recent period has been noted for the persistence of the peasants conflicts, and what is of especial importance, the growing contact between the peasants and workers movement, which is shown by the workers' support of the peasants demands. The number of Left peasants societies has increased, but they are limited to a few tenants, so that the mass of the peasantry continues to be unorganised. There is a weakening in the influence on the masses of old, semi-religious peasant organisations of the type of Chendo-hei, but it is difficult to define in how far this is due to the growth of the influence of the Left peasant organisations, which constitute the most important factor in the development of the revolutionary movement in the Korean village.

### COMMUNIST PARTY.

One of the most important attainments of the Korean revolutionary movement during the period under review was the forma-

tion of the Communist Party in 1925 (officially recognised as a Section of the Comintern in 1926).

In spite of the mass arrests, provocation, and cruel torture the Party has been able to exist, to gain a certain contact with mass organisations and act as the bearer of the elements of leadership in the national revolutionary movement. The Party has not always been able to take as active a part as the tasks arising in the workers and peasants movement required. One of the reasons which has hampered the Party in its activity is the fractional struggle arising out of the petty bourgeois, individualistic tendencies that continued to exist within the Party. However, the growth of the workers' movement and the development of an active body of workers together with the heroism shown by certain Communists in the struggle with reaction serve as a proof that the Korean Communist Party will be able to establish its organisation under conditions of extreme terror; that it will enter into a closer alliance with the masses and become the leader of the national revolutionary movement.

## INDIA

### THE ECONOMIC POSITION.

**I**NDIA presents an enormous field of exploitation for the British capitalists. The methods of exploitation have been more or less changed from time to time in order to adapt them to the changing economic situation in India, Great Britain and the rest of the world. Till the World War, India was exploited by British imperialism mostly as a source of raw products and a market for British goods. The new situation arising with the war was met by a fundamental change of policy on the part of the British bourgeoisie. The central feature of the new policy was the industrialisation of India under the control of British finance capital, and with the co-operation (not on equal terms) of the Indian bourgeoisie, for which last purpose political reforms were introduced, giving the latter a semblance of power.

The work of the Industrial Commission set up in 1916, furthered by the introduction of a protective tariff system, laid the foundation for industrialisation. Nevertheless, the new economic policy met with redoubtable obstacles which made necessary a modification, if not a definite alteration of the original course. In the first place it was difficult to grant concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie which would not react to the detriment of British capitalism, and to the value of India as a market for British manufactured goods. Secondly, the protracted crisis of British capitalism in the home country, reaching its climax in the period immediately following the General Strike, put great difficulties in the way of providing the necessary means for the carrying out of the industrialisation of India. In the slump following the post-war boom, the immature India industries faced with intense foreign competition, suffered severely. Further, the existing state of Indian economy was not adequate for intensive industrialisation and for exploitation by British finance capital under the new conditions of British imperialism. In particular there was necessary a thorough-going overhauling of the financial system and the adoption of measures to increase agricultural production and the buying capacity of the peasants.

All these factors have combined to bring about a modification of the policy of promoting industrialisation with concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie, which fact accounts for the present conflict between the latter and the British capitalists. The steps taken by the British bourgeoisie to re-model the currency and banking system afforded sufficient proof that they were determined to serve the interests of British finance-capital at all costs.

A clear indication of the new attitude towards industrialisa-

tion with refusal of concessions to Indian capitalists is seen in relation to the tariff question. The recommendations of the special textile Tariff Board have been ignored. The Indian demand for protection for the glass and chemical industries largely in Indian hands, has not even received the consideration of the Tariff Board. At the same time a special amendment of the Steel Protection Act was hastily passed last March granting a protective duty against the import of steel railway wagons. The policy of promoting only such industries as are securely in British hands or essential for war needs, and in any case of acting so as not to damage British capitalist interests, became definite on the introduction of a preferential duty for British steel in 1927.

It is not, however, necessary to conclude that the policy of industrialisation has been abandoned. It may be noted that in spite of the central industrial depression, the protection of iron and steel in India is still rapidly expanding. It is necessary to look beyond the present deflation crisis to the period when, as in England after deflation, there will be a renewed outburst of capitalist activity and a renewed impetus to British investment in India and the development of nominally Indian industries.

Agriculture is still the basic industry of India, about 73 per cent. of the whole population depending on it. Here an acute agrarian problem is created by the penetration of capitalism into agriculture in conflict with feudal elements in village economy, intensifying exploitation and upsetting the previous character of agricultural production and the relation of the classes engaged in it. The progressive undermining of the basis of Indian agriculture is seen firstly in stagnation as regards production, secondly, in the pauperisation and proletarianisation of the peasants together with minute fragmentation of land holdings and the accumulation of a gigantic burden of debts, and thirdly, in the resulting development of revolutionary unrest among the peasants.

The situation has sufficiently alarmed British imperialism to cause the appointment of an agricultural expert as Viceroy and the sending out of a special Royal Commission on Agriculture. The proposals of British imperialism to meet the developing agricultural crisis are of two kinds, technical and organisational. The first includes schemes for the development and rationalisation of agriculture so as directly to increase the volume of production. The second includes proposals for consolidation of holdings, on the lines of the recent Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council which will involve the buying out and proletarianisation of peasants cultivating uneconomic holdings, and organisational measures such as the development of co-operation and improved methods of marketing produce.

None of these things will affect the root problem which can only be solved by an agricultural revolution. Nor can the situation be met by the reactionary proposals of the Indian petty-bourgeoisie who advocate the return to pre-capitalist forms in



their propaganda of "Charkha" (hand spinning wheel), and of so-called "village reconstruction." The perspective of inevitable agricultural revolution remains, and it is not too much to say that the agricultural revolution will be the central axis of the coming national mass revolutionary upheaval.

### POLITICAL SITUATION.

The situation in India has undergone a radical change in the period of four years since the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. The change is the expression of a re-shifting of class forces engaged in the national struggle against imperialism. At the beginning and during the earlier part of the period, the national movement was still dominated by the consequences of the collapse of its post-war phase of 1919-22. Since then, the depression hanging over the movement has been dissipated by the influence of a combination of internal and external factors (one of the chief among them being the reaction to the Chinese revolution). The national movement in India is now entering a new phase, far richer in revolutionary possibilities than any earlier one.

The fight of the Indian bourgeoisie for an increased participation in capitalist economics has been chiefly a fight for a change in the character of imperialist control which practically dominates capitalist economy. It has not been a fight for the destruction of imperialist control itself. It has not been of a revolutionary character, because of the fundamental contradiction involved in the nature of bourgeois opposition to imperialism. It is an opposition essentially on behalf of a national capitalist development of the productive forces of India; it can succeed in its logical aim of destroying foreign control, which is blocking this development, only by the revolutionary intervention of social forces hostile to capitalism.

This contradiction was at the basis of the betrayal of the mass revolutionary movement of 1919-22 by its bourgeois leadership. Since then, the same contradiction has imposed upon the national movement, so far as it is led by the bourgeoisie, a policy of compromise with imperialism. All that the bourgeoisie has done and is doing in the way of opposition to imperialism is in the nature of manoeuvres undertaken to secure the most favourable ground from which to negotiate for a *modus vivendi* with imperialist interests. It may not be possible for any *modus vivendi*, answering to the needs of the bourgeoisie, to be arrived at upon any ground whatever, more particularly in view of the latest attitude of the British government.

The essential basis of the political programme for which the bourgeoisie is fighting is nothing more than "Dominion status" for India within the British Empire. The call to "mass passive resistance" (a legacy of 1919-1922) as a means to bring pressure to bear with regard to the "national demand" was dropped by the

Swaraj Party. At the same time, the Swaraj Party changed its parliamentary policy from obstruction towards the British Government into a slightly disguised collaboration with it.

Already before the appointment of the Simon Commission the British Government had ceased its policy of economic concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie. The demand of the Bombay industrialists for a protective tariff on the import of textiles was not acceded to. At the same time, the British Government handled the Indian paper currency in a manner to create particularly favourable conditions for the recuperation of British trade in India. A little while ago an attempt was made to secure and strengthen imperialist control over Indian finances through the establishment of a federal reserve bank.

### **The Politically Bankrupt Bourgeoisie.**

In spite of this, the bourgeois opposition to the Simon Commission—although the Commission was declared to be the most impudent and insulting challenge to the Indian people—did not put the struggle on a higher revolutionary level than before. The opposition of the bourgeoisie to imperialism remains a strictly “constitutional” opposition, in spite of the “Left orientation” of the Session of the Indian National Congress of 1927. At this session the bourgeois parties which constitute the Congress were for the first time compelled—in the light of present events—to acknowledge the complete bankruptcy of the reformist leaders of the national movement. Secondly, it came to light that they are not in a position to discover a substitute for their discredited compromise policy.

The significance of that session in itself is not merely that it is a self-condemnation of the bourgeoisie as politically bankrupt. It also signifies that the national movement has reached its conscious phase, that it has become aware of its revolutionary aim, and that this aim cannot be either obscured or ignored. The change of the formulation of the aim from “Dominion status” to “complete national independence” is a change from the national movement conceived in terms of bourgeois interests, in the interests of the whole Indian people. It is a historical moment in the inner evolution of the national movement of liberation in India.

The declaratory resolution on independence has been flagrantly contradicted not only by every programmatic resolution at the very session of the Congress where it was adopted, but also by every activity of the Congress and every declaration on its behalf since then. To take two prominent examples: at the All-Parties Conference convoked in the beginning of 1928 by the Working Committee (political bureau) of the Congress, the constitution provisionally agreed upon for presentation to an ad hoc National Convention to consist mostly of the members of the All-India Committee (Central Committee) of the Congress, was based not on

"complete national independence," but on "the fullest responsible government"; in the legislative assembly the leader of the Swaraj Party affirmed that while independence was the goal, his Party would for the moment be content with "Dominion status as a half-way house," that is, as an intermediate stage. Other more or less subsidiary developments of the situation prove that the bourgeoisie had fixed upon "complete national independence" not as the revolutionary "aim of the Indian people," but as a pseudo-revolutionary formula to be used as a "threat" against the British government to extract concessions. The British Government, on its side has shown by its continued "insolence" that it is fully convinced of the utter emptiness of the "threat."

The results which the bourgeoisie expected to receive at the very cheap price of a paper resolution on independence have failed to materialise. On the contrary, the attitude of the British Government has undergone a change, in the words of the deputy leader of the Swaraj Party, from "persuasion, co-operation and compromise to its original position, that the might of the alien conquerors is their right." Having failed in its preliminary manoeuvres in the new situation, the bourgeoisie is now obliged to start a fresh political reconnaissance in order to discover a stronger position whence it can restart its policy of "persuasion, co-operation and compromise."

### **The Attempt to Control the "Left."**

For the purpose of getting nearer to the masses and utilising their revolutionary orientation for its reformist policy, the bourgeoisie has improved the methods and slogans it used in 1919-1922. It has taken into consideration the increased political development of the broad masses. In this advanced stage of development it is no longer possible for the bourgeois parties to force themselves on the masses as the leaders of the national revolutionary struggle. Neither is it possible to impress them with the revolutionary slogans of independence unless they are accompanied by an effort at revolutionary actions. With the independence slogan the bourgeoisie endeavours to keep under the influence of the bourgeois leaders the Left nationalist elements composed of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia.

By keeping the leadership over the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia in its hands, the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to establish a connection with the upper strata of the proletariat and the peasantry which it hopes to draw into its struggle.

The bourgeois leaders are now offering possibilities to the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia which were formerly withheld from them, in order to develop their "radicalism."

The Left nationalist elements were the tolerated inspirers of the independence resolution (one of them was its actual proposer). They are able now to use the apparatus of the Congress (more

particularly of its provincial organisation) to popularise their own interpretation of independence as "severance of British connection" and their ideal of "an independent democratic State" to be established in India on the "voluntary" departure of the imperialist army of occupation. Under the unofficial auspices of the Indian National Congress they were able to convene a Republican Congress, where they declared that "the sovereignty of India is vested solely and wholly in the people of India," and repudiated "any claim of the British Parliament to interfere with the Government of this country in internal or external affairs" (while the Indian National Congress itself does not abandon but keeps, so to say, in cold storage its policy of a "round table conference" with the representatives of this very British Parliament to settle the character of a negotiated (!) democratic revolution in India). As to the "revolutionary method which the Left wing would make use of to attain its republican aims, it is nothing more or less than "some form of intensive non-co-operation without violence."

What, however, is specific in the present evolution of the Left wing is not so much its republican as its "Socialist" orientation. The Left wing takes due notice of the "growth of the industrial revolution" taking place on "an international scale." In being "opposed to imperialism," it considers itself equally "opposed to capitalism as a system." "Some form of socialism" is, as a matter of fact, the only possible alternative to imperialism. That being so, the president of the Republican Congress asked: "Do you wish the future government of the country to be based more or less on the exploitation of the masses by the (exploiting) classes, or do you wish to remove this exploitation and the causes thereof, and to have social equality between the various members of the Republic?" It was also as "Socialists" that the Left wing elements put on record their disagreement in principle with the general tendencies of the draft constitution drawn up by the last session of the All-Parties Conference. Organisationally unseparated from the bourgeois political parties and politically led by them, the nationalist Left wing, with its slogans of independence, social equality and socialism, has evolved into an instrument, in the hands of the bourgeoisie, for the penetration and vicarious leadership of the broad working masses, whose development as an independent political force may make all the difference between the bourgeois and proletarian struggle against imperialism.

### THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN INDIA.

The class struggle of the Indian masses has at the present moment reached its most acute stage since the beginnings of capitalism in India in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Large and increasing masses of workers engaged in the most

important industries have recently taken recourse to strikes and are carrying them out with great determination and courage against, very often, the military and armed police forces of the British Government. In no case have the employers, either Indian or British, adequately satisfied the demands of the workers.

The big strike movement in progress in India at the present moment involves approximately a quarter of a million men and affects the State railroads, the engineering workshops, the textile and the metallurgical industries and municipal enterprises. The last big strike movement, to which the present series of strikes may be compared, took place in 1921, when the post-war national revolutionary challenge to British imperialism drew its principal driving force from widespread strikes (and peasant risings) throughout the country. The lowest point in the curve of the strike movement as regards the number of both strikes and strikers was reached in 1926, when the number of strikes had been reduced to 128 and that of strikers to 186,811, the disproportion between the number of strikes and the strikers showing the dispersal of the class struggle into local and sectional actions. From 1927 onwards, the curve begins to show an upward tendency. In the first quarter alone of 1928 the number of strikers has already reached a total—namely, a quarter of a million—which is higher than that for the whole of either 1926 or 1927.

The present strike movement is by all indications more than a passing phase, because the unbearable conditions of existence against which the industrial workers of India are revolting cannot be remedied in the present economic situation of the country. The situation is predominantly characterised by the Indo-British capitalist competition for the exploitation of the labour power of the working masses of India. Extensive and repeated recourse to strikes on the part of the workers is inevitable in the near future. The background of the strike movement is the rising disproportion between wages and prices and the consequent steady deterioration of the living conditions of the workers. The effect of this deterioration may be imagined when one remembers that the basic mass of the industrial workers of India had already been "living" far below the subsistence level.

### **The Importance of the Peasants.**

The class struggle of the industrial proletariat in the urban centres is the class struggle of the most advanced and historically the most revolutionary section of the broad working masses of India. The revolutionary perspective of the class struggle of the industrial proletariat is large in so far as it is based on and unified with the revolutionary struggle of all other sections of the broad working masses. In consideration of the numerical weakness of the industrial proletariat of India, the character and tempo of growth of the class struggle of the non-industrial overwhelming

majority of the broad working masses are matters of primary importance in judging the situation at any given moment. The industrial proletariat of India does not exceed four million out of a population of 320 million (a proportion of 1.25 per cent.). Whereas the number of agricultural proletariat—that is, all-time wage earners in the villages—is about 25,000,000, and that of the semi-proletarianised peasantry—that is, part-time wage earners—is about 50,000,000—altogether 75,000,000—thus accounting for more than half of the entire population occupied as actual cultivators.

If to this are added the large numbers of the poor and middle peasantry, subject to exploitation in one form or another, we have an idea of the overwhelming importance of the agrarian revolution in the struggle against imperialism.

The enormous growth in the number of the agricultural proletariat and the semi-proletarianised peasantry is a feature which becomes more pronounced as the capitalist development of the productive forces of India on the part of the two competing capitalist classes, one foreign and the other native, gains more momentum. Peasant economy has been penetrated by capitalist production, vast peasant masses have been gradually expropriated and turned from cultivating peasants into landless producers of commodities for the capitalist market, that is, simple wage earners selling their labour power to employers in a vast capitalist enterprise where they cannot find employment. The process has produced two important political results in opposite directions. On the one hand, a class of rich peasants, employing agricultural wage labour, has come into existence as a new potential (if not already actual) social basis for imperialist power (and native capitalist reaction); on the other hand, the organic unity of the class struggle in the village and the town has been demonstrated as a matter of practical experience on the part of the large masses of migratory workers engaged alternately in industrial and agricultural employment. In the actual disposition of class forces in India to-day, there is not other "danger" to British imperialism than that created by the practical political consequences of the tendency of the agrarian and industrial masses to unite as conscious fighters in the class struggle.

Of all the classes of the population, it was the peasant masses on whom the consequences of the collapse of the revolutionary movement of 1919-1922 weighed the most heavily. The most brutal repression by blood and iron was visited by the British Government on the insurrectionary and militant peasant movement throughout the country (the Moplah insurrection in the south, the Akali and Babar Akali militant peasant action in the north, peasant risings in central and eastern India, and finally the revolutionary episode of Chauri-Chaura in the United Provinces). The result of the repression was a certain set-back in the peasant

movement. But peasant risings of one kind or another (sometimes even armed, as in the so-called Native States) have remained endemic in India since 1919-1922.

As of the industrial workers, so of the basic mass of the peasants, it can be said that they have reached generally a higher political consciousness because of the acuteness of the class struggle and in spite of imperialist repression, their own backward cultural conditions, and their consequent susceptibility to the influence of the social reactionary propaganda of the priests. It is particularly among the peasants of the Punjab, who took so prominent a part in the movement of 1919-22, that we remark a considerable advance. The political party of the Punjab peasants, namely, the Gadr (revolt) Party, has increased its influence and is beginning to evolve towards a clearer ideology as a party of the working masses. In the organ of the Punjab peasant movement, which is the only journal of its kind in the whole of India, we find a conscious and sustained approach towards an international class orientation. At a political conference of the peasants held last year in Amritsar (one of the chief cities of the Punjab), the majority opinion expressed itself against the reformist leadership of the Indian National Congress. Similar peasant conferences in other provinces of India are frequent and are a new feature of the public life of the country. Though these conferences confine themselves as yet to the "constitutional" ventilation of partial demands and are sometimes dominated by bourgeois reformist leaders, yet they indicate a general awakening among the peasants to the need for political organisation. The economic problem created for the peasant by the fourfold exploitation by the British Government, the landlord, money-lender, and the capitalist merchant, is insoluble except by a revolutionary change in land ownership. The general political awakening among the peasant masses is thus a prelude to their revolutionary orientation, given a nation-wide political crisis such as that which happened in India in 1919-22, and towards which events in India are now again moving. There is already in some parts of the Bombay province (the same area of the of the Bombay province which was most ready in 1921-22 for revolutionary action) a mass peasant movement of "passive resistance" (somewhat in the style of 1919-22) to the demand of the British Government for increased land revenue.

In the course of development of the class struggle, the illusion has been dissipated among the broad working masses that the opposition of the bourgeois parties to imperialism is at the same time an opposition to the capitalist system of exploitation. The political influence of the bourgeoisie over the working masses is already decreasing, and the same is also true of the majority of the organised industrial workers, although the reformist leaders still have the apparatus in their hands. Moreover, conditions

have now been created for the emergence of the broad working masses as an independent political force under the leadership of the proletariat and the broad working masses. They have already appeared as such.

It was precisely the absence of these conditions—allied with the exceptionally rigorous character of imperialist repression—which militated against the growth and active functioning of mass revolutionary parties. Liberation from the influence of the reformist leaders is a matter of actual experience of the traitorous character of reformist leadership. This experience has in a great degree been available for the broad working masses of India, during the present period, so far as the bourgeois leadership both in the trade union and the national revolutionary movement is concerned. On the basis of this proletarian experience, it has been possible for the only Communist group active in India to extend its activities and lay the foundation for mass revolutionary organisations. The success which has attended the efforts of these groups has been remarkable; the latest developments of the Indian situation—the new stage of the national revolutionary movement and the new character of the strike movement—are currently ascribed by imperialist publicists to “Communist influence.”

### Communist Activity.

Communist groups have existed from the beginning as an illegal body. Their activities were conditioned by the fluctuations of the repressive policy of the British Government. The most acute period of repression was in 1924-25, when there took place a so-called “Bolshevik conspiracy case,” and when a number of active Communists were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment at the precise moment when organisational results of their activities were beginning to take shape. The government attack on the Communist movement took a more sinister form during 1924-25, when a bogus “Indian Communist Party” was founded by very questionable elements. Following a “Communist Conference” openly held at Cawnpore in December, 1925, it was possible for the Communist groups to liquidate this bogus affair and make tentative approaches towards the legal appearance of a Communist Party. Within the groups there was and remains a considerable difference of opinion as to whether it is possible for a Communist Party to exist and work legally in the actual conditions of imperialist terror and provocation in India; however, it is to be recorded that a legal Communist Party was formed in Bombay in 1926 by the Communist groups which held a general convention in 1927.

The Party has not yet been able to develop into a genuine Communist Party, first and foremost because it did not show any signs of revolutionary vitality in connection with very important



events. The problem of the organisation of a genuine Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, which must be the leader of the national revolution, is still to be solved.

Simultaneously with the attempt to form a legal Communist Party, there appeared in the various provinces a number of Workers' and Peasants' Parties, in which the Communist groups have taken a part. Growing originally as Left wing organisations within the Indian National Congress, these parties have since acquired an independent status as self-contained political parties. Of the four W.P.P.'s formed during 1925-27, those of Bengal and Bombay alone have been politically active and have given themselves a certain organisational shape. The Bengal W.P.P. (originally called the Labour Swaraj Party) was formed at the end of 1927 and has already held three annual conferences. Its policy is formulated in the report of the Executive Committee of the Bengal W.P.P. submitted to the last annual conference held in March-April, 1928.

The policy of the Bengal W.P.P. is defined in the resolution on the political situation adopted at the 1928 conference. After an analysis of the situation and a criticism of the Indian National Congress politics, the resolution concludes :—

“ The policy of the Party must be to carry forward the campaign for the boycott of the (Simon) Commission to the utmost extent in spite of any sabotage. Strikes and “ Harbals ” must be encouraged, and the masses brought into the movement by associating their demands with the national slogans. The campaign must demand complete national independence, and a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage, which will decide finally the relation of India to the Empire and solve the pressing economic problems of the masses.”

In the beginning of 1928 a meeting of the “ Enlarged Executive ” of the Bombay W.P.P. adopted a number of important theses and resolutions as a basis for its Party activities.

In its thesis on the general political situation, the Enlarged Executive of the Bombay W.P.P. says :—

“ It is, therefore, essential that working class organisations, the trade unions and T.U.C. fight and obtain freedom from bourgeois control, under which most of them now exist. They must also obtain freedom from the reactionary and confused ideas which the bourgeois cultivate amongst them. These things require an independent workers' political party to educate, organise, and lead the workers in their struggle.

“ Under the leadership of the industrial workers, the movement of the masses can go forward to abolish foreign exploitation, to establish democracy, and those elementary pre-requisites of life which 95 per cent. of the population of India still lack. By means of strikes, demonstrations, har-

tals, and the more laborious means of organisation and education, the class consciousness and the solidarity of the masses will be raised to the level necessary before its task can be achieved."

The transformation of the Left groups within the organisations of the National Congress into Workers' and Peasants' Parties as an independent political factor was one of the chief incidents in the history of 1927 (at the session of the National Congress in Gauhati, December, 1926, the Left wing was inadequately represented and badly organised; it made itself heard only once at the Congress itself; but it was only at the conference of former political prisoners—the so-called "conference of political victims," held simultaneously with the Session of the Congress, that the Left succeeded in taking leadership into its hands). The establishment of Workers' and Peasants' Parties became possible owing to the alliance of these Left groups of the Congress with Communists and proletarian elements. In this lies their importance as one of the organising factors of the national-revolutionary struggle, a factor which—given a correct policy—can develop into a party of the bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the revolutionary strata of the petty bourgeoisie, in the given stage of the struggle against imperialism. But, on the other hand, this petty bourgeois origin of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties makes itself still very much felt in the composition of the parties as well as in their programmes and activity. Thus it is pointed out in the resolution on the necessity of forming Workers' and Peasants' Parties adopted at the conference of the Bombay organisation (February, 1927), that the existing bourgeois parties do not represent the interests of the masses. It is said:—

"Therefore, the time is ripe for the creation of a political workers' and peasants' party capable of guaranteeing the social economic and political progress of these classes, of standing up for their demands in the National Congress, helping with the organisation of trade unions and emancipating them from alien influence under which they are at present, helping with the organisation of the peasants on the basis of their economic and social requirements and offering energetic and business-like opposition to the government.

"In as far as the necessary premise for the carrying-out of this programme is achievement of complete national independence from imperialism, the Party will for this purpose collaborate with other organisations which adopt the same platform and are willing to fight for its realisation."

Thus, the Party deems it necessary to limit its political activity to work within the National Congress; it attaches more importance to collaboration than to its independent role as a party.

In the address of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to the Indian National Congress in Madras (1927) no mention is made

of the independent role of the party and it is even said "If the National Congress wants to carry on the struggle for national liberation it must become the party of the people."

More than that, no definite distinction is made in it with regard to the Swaraj Party. In the last report of the Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party (March, 1928) it is said that the opposition of the Workers' and Peasants' Party to the Swaraj Party is not due to the fact that the latter is a bourgeois party, but because it is not putting up a genuine struggle for independence.

The main weak point of the Workers' and Peasants' Party is that, in practice, it is acting more as a Left wing of the Congress than as an independent political Party. The Workers' and Peasants' Party cannot develop into a party of mass national-revolutionary struggle unless it emancipates itself entirely from the influence of bourgeois politicians and becomes transformed into a bloc of the working class with all the exploited masses under the leadership of the proletariat. On the other hand, it is entirely out of the question that the Workers' and Peasants' Party should be a substitute for the Communist Party, the organisation of which is absolutely necessary.

### **The Workers' and Peasants' Party.**

The Bengal Workers' and Peasants' Party is based on individual as well as a collective membership. In connection with this report of its executive committee contains the following statement :

"In the course of the last year the individual membership of the Party increased and now totals 125 members—an approximately equal number of peasants and intellectuals with a small admixture of manual workers. A branch of the Party is to open soon in Dacca. The total membership, including members in the branches, is over 10,000. The membership, social composition, activity and political education of the members are far from satisfactory. However, considerable progress has been made in all these directions."

Unlike the Bengal organisation, the Bombay W.P.P. is based on individual membership only. The actual membership of the Bombay W.P.P. cannot be higher than the individual membership of the Bengal W.P.P. The Bombay Party has, however, succeeded in acquiring a predominant influence among the large industrial proletariat of Bombay. It was by its initiative in organisation that 30,000 workers of Bombay assembled in a separate political demonstration with revolutionary slogans on the occasion of the Simon Commission to India, and in connection with the National campaign of boycott against the Commission.

It is, however, in connection with the present strikes that both the Bengal and the Bombay W.P.P. have shown themselves to be in the closest contact with the industrial proletariat in the big centres. Both in the railway strike in Bengal and the textile strike

in Bombay, the members of the W.P.P. have not only taken the most active part in organising strike action, but have also gained the enthusiastic confidence of the workers to the extent of being chosen by them as their leaders in preference to the bourgeois reformists who have up till now led the trade union movement.

A conference is now being convoked where the existing W.P.P.'s propose to form themselves into an All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.

The development of the Left movement in the trade unions, which is opposed by the reformist leaders, has made a considerable advance in the last years. There is every reason to believe that the struggle against the reformists will become more intense in the very near future. In spite of numerous examples of heroic class solidarity among Indian workers during strikes, reformist leadership is still tolerated in the trade unions. The predominance of the reformists, who have taken the trade union apparatus into their own hands, and who have the open support of the bourgeoisie, has resulted in the Indian Congress of trade unions embracing now only 150,000 workers in all the organisations affiliated to it. During strikes reformist trade unionists openly play the role of strike-breakers, making common cause with the employers against the strikers. In all strike struggles the mass of the workers appoint from their midst an active body which forms the strike committee and leads the struggle. But real struggle against reformism has not properly started in the trade unions. There are signs that in connection with the development of the labour movement, the reformist leaders intend to adopt the course of expelling from the trade unions the real representatives of the working class, following the example and advice of the representatives of the British General Council who favoured India with their visit.

But if the reformist leaders in the Indian trade unions are identifying themselves more and more with the British reformists who are agents of imperialism, the consolidation of proletarian solidarity between the mass of the workers in India and the British working class is a fact characteristic of the new stage in the national revolutionary movement in India.

The class consciousness, good organisation and self-sacrificing spirit of the working class in India, manifest in the present strike struggle, which are directed against exploitation by British imperialism as well as by the Indian bourgeoisie, make one confident that the Indian proletariat has profited by the defeats of 1919-1921, has made the necessary deductions from the imperialist policy in India of the MacDonald Labour Government in 1924, has correctly appreciated the role of the Indian bourgeoisie which has descended to the depths of a shameful capitulation before imperialism, and has understood, particularly in the last years, its tasks as the leader of a million strong peasantry, in the new stage of the revolution. This means that the proletariat of India will build up, and has already begun to do so, its Communist Party, whose leadership will guarantee victory.

# INDONESIA

## ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

THE economic structure of the Dutch colony of Indonesia is characterised by high concentration of foreign capital and by a strongly developed State capitalism. In 1927 the capital invested in Indonesia, amounted to 6 billion Dutch florins, of which 70 per cent. was Dutch,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  billion State capital and 1 billion Chinese and Arabian capital. Out of these 6 billions 60 per cent. were invested in large scale industries, and 40 per cent. in banking, commerce, private railways, and mining. The State capital embraces coal mines, zinc mines, Djatti timber works, railways, the salt and opium monopoly, etc. Chinese and Arabian capital is invested overwhelmingly in commerce.

The greater portion of this capital is invested in Java, where the chief industry of Indonesia, namely, the sugar industry, is concentrated. Out of the whole population of Java, totalling 35 millions, about one-third are either directly or indirectly employed in the cane sugar industry, which is almost entirely in the hands of Dutch capitalists. On the rubber plantations 42 per cent. of the area is held by non-Dutch interests, including 32 per cent. British; on the tea plantations 24 per cent., including 17 per cent. British; on the coffee plantations 21 per cent., including 17 per cent. British. Besides the British, there are big Japanese, American, Belgian and French interests in Indonesia.

The economic exploitation of the Indonesian peasantry takes the following forms:—Compulsory work on the building of roads in the islands outside of Java; the renting of land by peasants in Java under slave conditions; restricted application of the irrigation system and the enslavement of the masses of emigrants from Java to other islands by means of contract labour through the employment brokers. The consumption of commodities by the native population steadily declines. According to statistics furnished by the "Van Ginkel" government commission, the average annual income of the native population stands at 48.6 florins per capita, while in some districts it has dropped to 21.16 florins; a heavy burden of taxation results in a steady impoverishment of the peasantry.

The severe economic crisis of 1921, and the measures taken by the government to overcome its effects; the successful efforts to balance the State budget; the reintroduction of the gold currency to pave the way for fresh investments of Dutch and foreign capital,—all this has worked out to the detriment of the native petty-bourgeois elements. The measures taken by the govern-

ment during the crisis, e.g., wholesale dismissals of State functionaries in 1923—led to considerable unemployment among the intellectuals, a phenomenon hitherto unknown in the country. The tremendous increase of taxation had ruined the majority of the petty-bourgeoisie, while the general discontent of the masses found its expression in 1923 in the rapid growth of the revolutionary (popular) movement, the trade unions, and the Communist Party. The impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants drove them to commit a series of bomb and arson attacks on the sugar cane plantations in Java. The rise of a militant labour movement and the development of the national liberation struggle was met by brutal suppression on the part of the Government. This suppression, and the growing impoverishment of the masses, considerably diminished the influence of the reformist tendencies in the national liberation movement and in the trade unions, whilst at the same time the influence of the Communist Party increased among the working classes and in the liberation movement as a whole. Proof of the foregoing is seen in the retrogression of the Sarekat Islam in 1923-26; the rapid growth of the revolutionary Sarekat Rajat, and the election of Communists to the leading organs of the trade unions.

### **The Insurrection and the Communists**

In the summer of 1926 the government intensified the policy of terrorism against the Communist Party, whose influence as a leader of the masses had been demonstrated in 1925 and in the beginning of 1926, in the course of strikes which took place in Java and Sumatra. Not only the Communist Party, but also the trade unions and the revolutionary people's movement of Sarekat Rajat were driven into illegality. Numerous newspapers were suppressed, wholesale arrests were made, and freedom of meeting was abolished. From the middle of 1923 till the middle of 1926 about 3,000 Communists were either arrested or deported. The government, whilst openly working for the physical destruction of the revolutionary people's movement and of the Communist Party, endeavoured at the same time to win the support of the upper strata of the people's movement and of the moderate leaders of the Sarekat Islam, the Rudi Utomo, by offering them government jobs and by making sham concessions; such as the reduction of the property qualification in municipal elections from 50 to 10 florins a month, the reform of the administrative apparatus in Java whereby the provincial councils were to have a majority of natives, with an eventual native majority in the so-called "Volksraad," and the replacement of the oppressive per capita tax in Java by indirect taxes.

The policy of imprisonment and persecution had considerably weakened the Communist Party, as well as the now illegal

trade unions which were led by Communists. Under the growing pressure of destitution and wholesale reprisals the indignation of the masses increased, whilst the popular movement was stimulated by the revolution then developing in China. The Dutch Government resorted to a combined system of provocation and suppression, deliberately in order to drive the masses to an armed insurrection, hoping in this way to drown the revolutionary movement in blood. The oppression and the growing discontent of the large masses rendered a sanguinary fight inevitable, and the Communist Party energetically and systematically prepared for it. Nevertheless the government succeeded in decidedly weakening the party before the outbreak of the conflict. The armed insurrection began on November 13, 1926. The first hours of the fight showed that while there had been certain technical preparations for the insurrection, there was a lack of serious political and organisational preparation, as subsequent events indicated. It is important to observe that the insurrection was carried on under the general slogan of opposition to Dutch imperialism, whilst no concrete political and economic demands were raised, such as might have drawn the large masses into the fight. Furthermore, no steps were taken to extend the movement among the peasantry and to bring it into line with the action of the masses of the workers. The insurrection was speedily crushed in Batavia, whilst the bloody suppression of the movement in Bantam (West Java), where the masses of the peasants took part in the insurrection, went on for a whole month. In other parts of Java no extensive fights developed. It was not until two months after the defeat of the insurrection in West Java, in January, 1927, that the armed insurrection broke out in West Sumatra, which was also led by the Communist Party. This movement, too, failed to extend beyond its local boundaries and to involve other parts of Sumatra in the fight, although the peasants there were equally oppressed by the heavy burden of taxation and restrictions. The insurrection in Sumatra was also suppressed and drowned in blood.

The fact that the Dutch authorities both in West Java and West Sumatra had to resort to strong measures to suppress the insurrection is sufficient proof that the fight arose out of the profound discontent of the masses, and that notwithstanding the bloody reprisals and terrorism against the Communist Party and the Sarekat Rajat, the revolutionary movement for independence is a serious factor in the life of Indonesia. The Dutch authorities are therefore endeavouring, whilst continuing the policy of reprisals and strengthening the police and military organisation, to bribe the leaders of the national movement by means of sham reforms and promises. In this policy they are receiving the full support of the subservient Social Democrats.

The moderate nationalists immediately changed their attitude after the insurrection. One of the chief leaders of the

nationalists, Doctor Sutomo, together with other nationalists, declared after the insurrection that the government should now try to establish closer collaboration with the Indonesian intellectuals. Tjokro, the leader of Sarekat Islam, declared that the rebels should be executed in conformity with the rules of the holy Koran. The Dutch Social Democrats in Indonesia hailed the smashing of the Communist movement, outstripping even Sutomo and Tjokro in their attacks on the Communists. The leader Stokvisch, a member of the Kolksraad, urged the Governor General to apply capital punishment to the imprisoned Communists. They did everything possible to spread the lie that the insurrection was not the consequence of the brutal actions of Dutch imperialism, but the result of "Muscovite manoeuvres." In this respect the slaves excelled their masters, since the Dutch government could not sustain the charge that the insurrection "had been financed by Moscow," as the confiscated archives of the Indonesian C.P. had clearly established the fact that the Indonesian workers and peasants had contributed from their paltry earnings the necessary funds to purchase weapons and to procure all other means to organise the revolt against their oppressors.

### **The Social Democrats**

During the insurrection and after, the Social Democrats in Holland openly played the role of advisers to Dutch imperialism in the corruption of the Indonesian intellectuals and of the nationalist movement. Not only did they denounce the insurrection as a "putsch" undertaken "on orders from Moscow," but they also declared that the Dutch government was perfectly right in suppressing the revolt in blood. The reformist trade union leaders did not lift a finger in opposition to the bloody measures of repression. They rejected all the proposals of the C.P. of Holland for protesting against the reign of terror. In Parliament the Social Democrats voted against Communist motions for the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia and for an amnesty to the thousands of the imprisoned and exiled.

### **The Terror**

The bloody terror of Dutch imperialism is still going on. During the insurrection and after, there were 800 revolutionaries killed and about 10,000 members of the C.P. and of Sarekat Rajat were imprisoned. Of the latter about 5,000 were sentenced to terms of imprisonment from 1 to 20 years, and 3,000 were deported to the Digul malaria swamps in New Guinea. Nine Communist leaders were hanged: they met their death shouting, "Long live Communism!" It should be recorded that the comrades faced their judges with great courage. The arrests are still going on. Almost every month there are press reports



about newly revealed conspiracies and the arrests of Communists and revolutionaries, e.g., new mass arrests in July, 1927, in Java, in October, 1927, in West Java, in January, 1928, in West Sumatra, and in February, 1928, in Bali.

The Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions have been entirely outlawed, and no legal Communist activity is possible. The chief task of the Communists at present is to reorganise the suppressed movement and to rally its forces. The repeated arrests indicate the fact that our comrades are continuing their activities in spite of the most brutal terror.

The nationalist movement is showing some revival. The masses, seeking for ways and means to participate in legal activity, are streaming again into the Sarekat Islam, whose corrupt leaders Tjokro, Amminoto and Hadji Salim are being forced, under pressure from the masses, to adopt Left phrases. A new nationalist party has been formed—the “National Party of Indonesia,” the intellectual leaders of which are also given to Left phraseology. In opposition to the efforts of the Dutch Government to gain the co-operation of the nationalist movement—the so-called Indonesian majority in the Volksraad—the National Party of Indonesia and the Sarekat Islam are now advocating the policy of Non-Co-operation. On the other hand, a section of the nationalists (Dr. Sutomo, Budi Utomo) has been won over to the policy of co-operation with the government. Nevertheless, there is no clear line of demarcation between the nationalists who have been corrupted by the government and the Left nationalist groups. The “National Bloc” formed in December, 1927, on the initiative of the “National Party of Indonesia” embraces the Left wing organisations as well as the Right wing nationalist groups.

### The Present Situation

The efforts of the Social Democrats to gain influence in the nationalist movement have lately been crowned with some success owing to the complete illegality of the Communist movement. The organ of Indonesian Social Democracy, “Het Indisch Volk,” has attracted some Indonesian collaborators, whilst one Indonesian has also joined the Central Committee of the Indonesian Social Democratic Party. The Social Democrats have also succeeded in gaining the leadership of the V.S.T.P. Railwayman's Union, and in rebuilding this Union, which had previously been disbanded together with the other Red Trade Unions. The failure of the “Left” social democratic leaders of the Anti-Imperialist League, Schmidt and Kies, to defend the Indonesian students arrested in Holland, has had its repercussion in Indonesia—while at the same time redounding to the credit of the Dutch Social Democrats. In this connection a meeting of the Sarekat Islam and the National Party of Indonesia at Bandmigr

sent congratulatory messages to the S.D. Party in Holland and to the social democrat Stokvisch, a member of the Indonesian Volksrat.

Thus, the C.P. of Indonesia is confronted with extraordinarily difficult tasks; not only must it organise anew its own forces and the trade unions, and direct the nationalist movement into revolutionary channels, but it must also unmask before the masses the subservient social democrats who are backed by the governmental terror, and endeavour to detach the honest nationalist elements from the social democratic influence.

# AUSTRALIA

## THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE development of Australia is proceeding along the lines of growing independence from British economy. This development is furthered and accelerated by two factors: the possibility of a monopolist exploitation of the natural resources of an entire continent with a numerically small population, and the possibility of exploitation of the constant influx of immigrants from highly developed countries, especially from Great Britain. Thus, changes have occurred during the last few years in the economic structure of Australia in favour of industry. Whereas formerly chiefly textile goods were imported, now the chief import goods are metallurgical products and machinery. Although Australia is still an agrarian country, its agrarian capitalism is on a higher stage of development from the point of view of productive forces and is bound up with a considerable industrial development. Whereas manufactured goods constitute about 5 per cent. of the exports, the value of the agricultural exports constitutes about one-third of the total. Side by side with the development of the export of agricultural produce there is also a development in the export of textile, leather and metallurgical products.

The number of industrial workers has increased since 1917 from 267,000 to 450,000 at the present time. The output of iron has increased from 40,000 tons in 1913 to 457,000 in 1926. The output of steel has increased from 181,000 tons in 1919 to 360,000 in 1926.

The rapid growth of Australian capitalism has not been able to make headway without foreign credits and loans, particularly from Great Britain. But whereas before the war Australia was in this matter entirely a British colony, at the present day it is escaping from this dependence. Its relations with British imperialism are being increasingly affected by the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie.

The inclination of the Australian states to apply to New York for loans that could not be obtained in London is characteristic of the striving for autonomy on the part of this colony. United States capital has already penetrated into Australia during the last ten years, but it has as yet been unable to get control of the key industries. Its activity has been chiefly limited to the new industries, as, for instance, the radio industry, cinema, etc. Most of the purely American enterprises are branches of the United States stock companies. On the other hand, the share of the U.S.A. in Australian imports is increasing by leaps and bounds, rising from £18.8 millions in 1921-22 to £37.2 millions

in 1925-26, or an increase of from 18.2 per cent. of the imports to 24.5 per cent. at a time when the British share has fallen over the same period from 51 per cent. to 43.4 per cent.

Unemployment is relatively high, reaching the peak of 100,000 in January, 1928) and is aggravated by state-aided mass immigration.

There are two bourgeois parties in Australia, the Nationalist Party, representing the banking and importing interests, and the big Capitalists, and generally favourable to British imperialist policy, and the Country Party, which represents the farmers and general agrarian interests.

The two parties have maintained a coalition Federal government under Bruce since the end of 1926. This policy of coalition obtains also in the states with the exception of Victoria.

The Commonwealth government (bourgeois coalition) is in close co-operation with the British Imperial government, and is bitterly anti-Trade Union. Its first act was the passing of a law ("Crimes Act") which makes the Communist Party virtually illegal. This law has not yet been fully utilised. In 1927 a bill was introduced into Parliament whose terms will cripple the power of the trade unions as militant organisations and bind them to compulsory state arbitration in industrial disputes. This bill is not yet law and is being strongly opposed by the organised working class.

The Australian Labour Party is a federal organisation composed of affiliated trade unions, and with an individual membership organised on an electoral basis, under an extremely reactionary and bureaucratic leadership. The various state Labour Party organisations have a large measure of autonomy. Labour Governments with an orthodox bourgeois policy exists in four out of six states. In Queensland, a Labour Government has been in office continuously for a period of thirteen years and has come into conflict with the organised workers with increasing frequency. As a result of its threat last year to lock out the railway employees who refused to handle scab sugar, together with its open attack on the striking building trade workers early in 1927, the Queensland Labour Government has aroused bitter and widespread antagonism among the workers.

The policy of the Australian Labour Party is one of class collaboration, nationalism, "White Australia" and high tariffs on imports. It extends partial support to British imperialism. Strong internal dissensions occur frequently, and in every state the dominant bureaucracy of the Australian Workers' Union is being challenged by other unions and Left and pseudo-Left elements combined. In New South Wales, in 1927, the Labour Party split, and new rules were set up giving more control to the Trade Unions instead of the Electoral Leagues and the monopolist A.W.U.

The Australian T.U. movement, whose membership is now

approximately 900,000, is fairly militant, but has a long tradition of arbitration in State Courts (not compulsory) in industrial disputes. This arbitration outlook has created a somewhat "legalist" ideology and provided the basis for a thoroughly reactionary and well-entrenched bureaucracy.

In May, 1927, the Australian Trade Unions established the Australian Council of Trade Unions, as a co-ordinating body. The largest union in Australia, however, the Australian Workers' Union, with 150,000 members, refuses to participate. Its leadership is the most unscrupulous and reactionary of all, and there appears to be a possibility that they will attempt to create a separate centralised Trade Union organisation. Although weak organisationally, and dominated by Right wing elements, the Australian Union of Trade Unions has affiliated to the Pan Pacific Conference. Five Trades Councils and a number of individual unions are affiliated to the Australian Council of Trade Unions, but in some cases the affiliation is purely nominal. The Trades Councils play an important role in the Australian Labour movement, centralising the Trade Union Movement in the various states. The total number is 26, but many unions remain unaffiliated.

There were four significant industrial disputes during 1927. In Queensland the building workers struck for a 40-hour week and the railway porters were locked out for refusing to handle scab sugar. In both cases the Labour government used all its forces against the unions and aroused extremely bitter resentment among the working class. The engineers engaged in a struggle against piece-work and speeding up, in which they were successful, and the waterside workers refused to work overtime as a protest against Arbitration Court delays, and were locked out by the employers as a result. This struggle was very badly led, and ended in a compromise which was virtually a defeat. These disputes may be said to indicate a certain trend to the Left among sections of the workers, but the feeling is vague as yet. The Party has latterly undertaken, with the assistance of the Communist International, the building-up of an All-Australian Left wing movement in the Trade Unions around a definite programme of class demands and the policy of the Red International of Labour Unions. The possibilities in this direction are extremely promising. Similar steps have been taken within the Labour Party as a means of rallying Left elements against the reformist policy and leadership of that body.

### COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party was formed in November, 1920, and passed through many difficulties in the first year or two, arising out of lack of unity. Since 1922, however, the Party has been unified. In 1925 the membership in Australia was 280. It is

now about 550. Numerous unsatisfactory members left or were expelled in 1925-26, including Garden and Barrachi, and the Party began to improve. Since then some progress has been made. The Party organ "Workers' Weekly" has a circulation of 4,500. The Party is weak organisationally and the theoretical level of the membership is low; although in some influences its influence is fairly strong in the Trade Unions, general contact in the unions has been poor. There has also been neglect with regard to factory and workshop organisation.

The biggest group is in Sydney (110 members). It has no local contacts, which puts the Party in a position of being isolated in a city with a population of over one million.

Ten groups were formed in Queensland in 1927, with a total membership of 200 members. If organisers are placed in the field this Queensland membership can be doubled, as the circumstances are particularly favourable for the growth of the Communist Party because of the numerous attacks on the workers by the Labour Government. A group of 32 members in Melbourne and a very active group of 14 members in Lithgow, a mining centre in New South Wales, completes the number of groups in Australia. The Party has no contact apart from the official organ and a few members at large.

In the Trade Unions the Party has registered some minor successes in fraction work. This activity is improving but still requires much attention. The Trades Councils of N.S.W. and Townsville are the only councils with an organised Communist fraction. Org. Department and Agitprop work has hitherto been lacking in serious efforts to build these up. Following the last Party Congress, however, much improvement is expected in this direction. Also the preliminary work in connection with factory nuclei is being tackled, which indicates progress in the task of making contact with the factory workers.

The crisis and factional fight in the Labour Party during 1927 demonstrated the need for an organised Left wing under the leadership of the Party, and with a clear-cut policy in regard to the question of the fight against the leadership and the class peace programme of the Labour Party. This question has been taken up by the Party and steps taken to rally the Left wing in the trade unions and A.L.P. against the reformist policy and leadership.

# SOUTH AFRICA

## ECONOMIC SITUATION.

A MARKED change is taking place in the economic development of South Africa. The production of raw material (wheat, wool, maize, gold, diamonds) for the British market is giving place to the creation of an industry of its own which is developing side by side with big capitalist production of commercial crops—cotton, wool, sugar, tobacco, fruit, etc. Although the new industries and capitalist agriculture are still working mainly with British capital, American capital is already beginning to penetrate and make itself felt in South Africa. The development of a South African industry is encouraged by the present Government by means of high protective tariffs, and the abolition of preferential treatment for British goods.

This development, which has been making rapid progress since the world war, has not only changed the old form of production—the Dutch peasants in Transvaal produced mainly for their own consumption, while the British and Dutch farms in the Cape country produced for the South African and the British market—but has driven thousands of farmers from the land, converting them into urban paupers and thereby strengthening the forces fighting for complete independence from the British Empire. It has also increased the demand for labour power for industry and agriculture to such an extent that the labour question, the problem of white and black labour, has become the main problem in South Africa.

The migration of the natives to the towns, which has deprived the farmers of their cheap labour forces, has driven thousands of poor farmers from the land. In the last 10 years about 70,000 farmers have been ruined in this manner and have swelled the army of destitute whites in the towns; in 1926 their number had reached to about 100,000. In 94 districts the population has decreased; this retrogression is strongest in the Cape country and in the Orange Free State.

## POLITICAL SITUATION.

The problem of securing an adequate supply of labour power for industry and agriculture and at the same time preserving a "white South Africa," is more and more dominating the political parties. It has led to a re-grouping within them and to the "Pact" of the Nationalist Party led by General Herzog, *with the Labour Party*, against the South African Party led by General Smuts. The Nationalist Party of Herzog is the Party of the Dutch middle and poor peasants, national industry, Dutch urban

petty bourgeoisie and poor white; while the Labour Party is based upon the British and Dutch skilled workers and a section of the British urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, built upon individual membership. The South African Party has the support of British big mining and finance capital, the Dutch and British big farmers in the Cape country and the Transvaal, and a section of the British intelligentsia and civil servants. During the world war and for several years after it, this Party had the Government in its hands; it served exclusively the interests of big capital, caring little for the preservation of a "white South Africa," attacking the white workers, brutally suppressing the strike of the Johannesburg miners in 1922, and advocating close union between South Africa and the British Empire.

After the elections in 1924, when 36 Nationalists and 18 members of the Labour Party were elected as against 53 members of the South African Party, the Pact-parties took office on the strength of a programme which stipulated preservation of a "white South Africa," industrialisation of the country, improvement of the position of the poor and middle peasantry, the white industrial workers and the poor whites, and greater independence of South Africa from British imperialism.

The Pact Government has endeavoured in the last three years to carry out this programme, endeavouring to support industry by the imposition of higher tariffs and subsidies, the establishing of steel works in Pretoria and substituting unskilled natives by poor whites on the railways. It was compelled, however, to give up part of its plans owing to pressure from outside and from the South African Party, and also owing to the growing differences between the two Pact-parties.

Although the Labour Party is a decidedly reformist-imperialist party, close collaboration between it and the Nationalists led to acute differences within the party. When, during recent months, it became evident that the nationalists did not intend to accede to the demands of the workers for the improvement of their conditions, the differences within the party became so acute that a state of disruption can be said to have existed in the Party since the beginning of March, 1928. An open conflict developed between the majority of the Parliamentary fraction and the Central Committee. The opposition, which has the majority behind it, stands for democracy within the party, and the subordination of the Parliamentary fraction to the Central Committee. However, both the opposition and the Parliamentary fraction have expressed themselves in favour of continuing the "Pact" with the Nationalist Party.

The organisation of the white trade union movement is weak, and has only about 100,000 organised workers. 20,000 of these are organised in trade unions affiliated to the "South African Trade Union Congress." Although the Communist Party exer-



cises considerable influence over the Executive Committee of the T.U.C., this organisation has not done much more than to express sympathy for the native workers. Although the last congress of the T.U.C. (April, 1927), expressed itself in principle for collaborating with the trade union of the natives, the Industrial and Commercial Union (I.C.U.), nothing has been done in this direction. Neither was a definite decision taken in regard to the labour conciliation Bill introduced by the Government. Although the majority of the Congress expressed itself against collaboration with the employers which was advocated by the Minority, the question of putting up a struggle against the labour conciliation legislation was postponed till the next congress. With regard to international affiliation it was decided unanimously that the Congress should not affiliate to any of the existing Internationals but should support the campaign for *one* Trade Union International.

The trade union of the natives, the "Industrial and Commercial Union" (I.C.U.), which had about 45,000 members at the beginning of 1927, and has carried on an energetic struggle since its formation, is now undergoing a crisis owing to the action of Kadalie, the General Secretary, in expelling three leading Communists from the Executive at the beginning of February, 1927. Kadalie is doing his utmost to transform the I.C.U. into a reformist trade union, working in harmony with the employers and the Government. At first it seemed that Kadalie would succeed, with the support of the British reformists, in carrying out his plans. The Congress of the I.C.U. confirmed the expulsion of the Communists and decided to affiliate to the Amsterdam International and to the Labour Office in Geneva. Kadalie went to Europe and conducted negotiations with the European reformists. On his return to South Africa, he declared his intention of re-organising the I.C.U. with the help of the British trade union leaders, and that it would assume a purely industrial character. However, Kadalie is meeting with strong opposition on the part of the membership in his attempts to reorganise the union.

The "African National Congress" (South African Aborigines which was hitherto a fairly loose organisation of the various South African native tribes, is developing into a general political organisation of the natives. Communist influence is steadily growing within this organisation, which was also represented at the Brussels conference of the Anti-Imperialist League. The chairman, J. V. Gumedé, attended the Congress of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and subsequently toured the U.S.S.R. in order to study the nationalities question. On his return to South Africa, Gumedé spoke at a series of meetings and urged the masses to organise themselves on the model of the people of the U.S.S.R. In Johannesburg, speaking at a well attended Party meeting,

Gumede stressed the fact that "only the Communists are on our side; they are the only people who support us."

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

At the time of its congress in January, 1927, the Communist Party of South Africa had 400 members, including about 50 natives and coloured people. The Party has not yet begun to re-organise itself on a factory basis and is still built up on the system of groups-of-ten. The Party has conducted an energetic campaign in the I.C.U. for a militant class policy and continued its activity even after the expulsion of the leading Communists. The Party has done successful work in the white trade unions and has won several positions in the Executive of the Trade Union Congress. It advocates the re-organisation of the unions into industrial unions and is working for the admission of native and coloured workers and for collaboration with the I.C.U. As a result of Communist influence, the T.U.C. has not affiliated to the Amsterdam International, and the last congress expressed itself in favour of class struggle and against the conciliation legislation. The Party Congress held in January, 1927, discussed thoroughly the anti-native legislation of the Herzog Government and organised the campaign against it, which the Party carried out energetically during 1927. Although the Party was thus able to increase its influence among the natives and to raise its prestige in the African National Congress, one must admit that up to the second half of 1927 this growing influence of the Party was not expressed organisationally. Further, the more advanced elements in the native movement did not join the Party. One of the main reasons for this was the fact that the European Party members, influenced to a certain extent by old traditions, failed fully to appreciate the necessity for the Party to develop into the vanguard of the native masses. However, the renewed persecution of the native leaders by the Government and the manner in which the masses reacted to this persecution, have helped the Party to overcome its prejudices. In the last quarter of 1927 the native masses not only flocked to the meetings and demonstrations organised by the Party, but a good many joined the Party, so that at the present time native members predominate in its ranks. The "South African Worker," of February 17th, 1928, writes as follows on this matter:—"Our Party has been continually explaining to the masses of South Africa that their liberation from oppression and exploitation can only be achieved by means of a militant policy on the part of the members of the native organisations. The reactionary leaders of the I.C.U., who are afraid of the growing fighting spirit of their members, thought that the best way of putting a stop to this was the expulsion of Communists from the organisation. The answer of the masses to this policy was the rapid growth of the Communist

Party in which at present the natives are in the majority. This growth is particularly rapid in rural districts." The same newspaper publishes a notice of a mass meeting in a rural district which was attended by 2,000 natives. At the end of the meeting several hundred natives, including 63 women joined the Communist Party. The campaign initiated by the Communist Party and the National Congress after the return of the chairman of the African National Congress and of Comrade La Guma from the U.S.S.R., will accelerate this movement.

## APPENDIX.

### THE C.P.S.U. IN FIGURES\*

#### Composition of the C.P.S.U. in the Period, 1905-1917.

**T**HERE are hardly any exact and complete data concerning the composition of Bolshevik organisation prior to the Revolution in 1917 and in the first years which followed it. We meet indications in the material of the mandate commissions of Party congresses and conferences concerning the numerical strength of the organisations represented by the delegates to these congresses and conferences. But as no proper statistics of the Party forces could be kept either in the conditions of an underground existence or in conditions created by three years' civil war, the reliability of this source—data of the mandate commissions—is not incontestible.

The first census of all Party organisations was carried out in 1922. The results of this census and also of the second Party census in 1927 not only give a definite answer to a series of very important questions concerning the composition of the Party at the time of the census, they also throw light on the process of the growth of the Party during a series of years and at the same time fill in the inevitable gaps in the data of the mandate commissions at congresses and conferences.

The impetus given to the labour movement on the eve of the first revolution did not bring in its wake the creation of a mass Bolshevik organisation. According to available statistics, there were only about 8,400 organised Bolsheviks in Russia at the beginning of 1905. But the revolution in 1905 brought before the most active and advanced workers the question of the consolidation of the Labour Party, of the establishment of a powerful vanguard of the struggling proletariat in the form of the Social Democratic Labour Party. The mandate commission of the Fifth (London) Congress of the Party in 1907 which was attended by Bolsheviks,

---

\*In view of the fact that at the Sixth World Congress the situation in the Soviet Union is dealt with as a special item of the agenda and also because lately voluminous material has been published in connection with the discussion in the C.P.S.U., we give here only this analysis of the organisational position of the C.P.S.U.

Mensheviks, members of the Bund, Polish and Lettish Social Democrats, declared the general numerical strength of the Party to be 150,000—170,000 and the numerical strength of the Bolsheviks alone 46,000.

It is just possible that this figure is an exaggeration because ten years later, at the beginning of 1917, there were, according to statistics, 23,600 members in the Party. The membership was 40,000 at the time of the first All-Russian Party Conference in April, 1917, according to the official figures of the circular letter of the C.C. of the R.C.P.(B) to the Party organisations in connection with the purging of the Party in 1921; and very near to this is the figure obtained at the census in 1922, namely 46,000. In the report of the mandate commission of the April Conference, however, the number of Bolsheviks represented was said to be 79,000.

In so far as the figure given for April, 1917, almost coincides with the figure mentioned in the circular letter of the C.C., we can take it as more reliable than that established by the mandate commission. As in January-April, 1917, many new members certainly joined the Party, we can accept for the beginning of January, 1917, the figure given, i.e., 23,600, and this establishes the fact that in the period between the first and second revolutions the Party increased approximately threefold.

Among what social classes of the population did the Party grow in this period?

This question was discussed in the columns of the Social Democratic press of that time. The Mensheviks, Martov, Axelrod and others asserted twenty years ago that our Party was not yet a proletarian Party, that it would become a proletarian Party, that something had to be done so that "Russian Social Democracy might be transformed from its politically intermediate state into something like a real proletarian Party."

Thus the Mensheviks did not consider our Party even partly proletarian; but Martov and Axelrod were emigrés, whereas the Bolsheviks, who at that time carried on much political and organisational work among the Russian working-class knew better than the Mensheviks the real nature of our Party and proved that the organisational basis of the Russian Social Democrats, who declared at their first Congress that they considered themselves a Labour Party, was the ever-developing vanguard of the Russian proletariat.

We have now all the necessary evidence to verify the correctness of the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that our Party was already a Labour Party in composition at the time of the Revolution of 1905, and to ascertain that this was also the case at the beginning of 1917.

THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE R.C.P.(B)  
IN 1905-1917.

Membership of the Party at the Beginning of the Year.

Year.	Social composition. Total membership.	Actual figures including:			Percentage figures including:			
		Workers.	Peasants.	Employees and Miscellaneous.	Total membership.	Workers.	Peasants.	Employees and Miscellaneous.
1905	8,400	5,200	400	2,800	100.0	61.9	4.8	33.3
1917	23,600	14,200	1,800	7,600	100.0	60.2	7.6	32.2

We repeat that we can establish the social composition of the Party in the past only by calculations drawn from the data of the censuses. We have not, and cannot have any other source of information regarding this question. If one accepts the figures in Table I as giving an approximately correct idea of the correlation of the social groups in the composition of the Party, one must admit that the Bolsheviks were right, and that the Mensheviks were making a mistake when they refused to recognise our Party (at the time of the Revolution in 1905) as a Labour Party in composition.

No substantial changes took place in the social composition of the Party right up to 1917. At the time of the February Revolution, at the beginning of 1917, the percentage of manual and office workers in the Party decreased, whereas the percentage of peasants increased. The peasants who had gone through the training of the agrarian movement of the preceding years, and who were suffering more than the other sections of the population from the imperialist war, provided the Party with several hundred members in the period between the two revolutions.

The change in the social composition of the Party and its accelerated growth began from the moment when, after the October Revolution, it emerged from underground and became the ruling Party.

The history of the growth of the Party is, from that time onwards, linked up with the entire internal position of the country. All the most important moments in the life of the Soviet State, in its economic development, and in the mood of the working population are invariably reflected in an influx of members to the Party, in the pace of its growth, in the dynamics of its composition.

During the first two years of the Revolution (April Conference 1917—Eighth Congress, 1919) the Party increased six to eightfold. According to calculations based on the data of the census, the membership of the Party, as represented at the April Conference, was 46,000 and at the Eighth Congress, 281,000, i.e., six times bigger. According to the data as to the numerical strength given in the circular of the C.C. to the organisations in

connection with the purging of the Party, the membership was 40,000 at the time of the April Conference. According to the data of the mandate commission of the Eighth Congress it was 314,000, which means an eightfold increase of the Party in the course of two years.

This fact—increased growth of the Party not only from among the workers—attracted the attention of the Party organisations. The Eighth Congress which took place in the spring of 1919 was the first Party Congress which dealt with the Social composition of the Party. The Congress pointed out that “the increase in numbers in the Party should on no account be obtained at the price of the qualitative deterioration of the composition of the Party,” that “the numerical growth of the Party is progressive only in so far as healthy proletarian elements from town and country flow into its ranks.” The Congress issued an instruction to open wide the door of the Party to workers and the working and peasant youth, and to be very diffident in regard to admission of other elements into Party ranks.

Mass recruiting of new members was taken up by Party organisations in September, 1919, when the life of the Soviet State was at stake owing to Denikin's advance on Moscow, and all the Communist forces had to be mobilised. Hardly any data are available however, concerning the results of the “Party week” (recruiting), during which all formal restrictions on the admission of workers, peasants, and Red Army men to the Party were abolished. A re-registration of Party members took place in the autumn of 1920. A record was kept of the results only in 38 provincial organisations, and nothing is known about the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, Siberia and Turkestan. But in spite of the inadequacy of the material, the data of the re-registration showed the personal composition of the Party at a definite historical moment—the conclusion of the three years civil war. Re-registration showed that the composition of the Party in 1920 was as follows: workers—44 per cent., peasants—24 per cent., and others—32 per cent.

In 1921 the New Economic Policy was announced. This new phase of Socialist construction was to be entered with a Party whose composition had been re-verified, purged of all elements alien to Communism, casual companions and petty-bourgeois elements who had wriggled into the Party.

The Tenth Party Congress in 1921 proposed, in the resolution as to measures for the purification of the Party, “boldly to adopt the policy of recruiting manual workers and purging the Party of non-Communist elements.”

In fulfilment of the will of the Congress, Party organisations carried out during August and September, 1921, “a revision review and purification of the Party.”

As a result of this work of the revisional commissions, 175,000

people had to leave the Party, i.e., 30.3 per cent. of the membership prior to the purging process.

The purging of the organisations and the non-admission of office workers into the Party during this operation made themselves felt in the numerical and social composition of the Party membership.

Owing to the purging process the Party effected a more satisfactory correlation of the social groups in its composition than that which existed prior to the purging, because the purging affected mostly the non-working groups. Of every 100 Communist office workers, 33 were expelled from the Party, of every 100 Communist peasants, 42 were expelled. In regard to the mixed group "Miscellaneous" the revisional commissions expelled 37.6 per cent. At the same time it was found that out of every 100 working-class Party members there were only 17 who had to leave the Party at the decision of the revisional commissions.

Nevertheless, the Ninth Congress (March 27-April 2, 1922) declared the number of manual workers in the Party inadequate and proposed to the Party organisations "to pay attention not so much to the numerical strength of their membership as to the improvement of its qualitative composition, and to put an end to a state of affairs where in big works and factory settlements, etc., our Party groups have but a few members." In order to make it more difficult for non-proletarian elements to join the Party the Eleventh Congress altered the conditions for admission.

The Twelfth Congress (April 17-25, 1923), when dealing with the problem of regulating the composition of the Party and of systematically improving it, emphasised that "work connected with the strengthening of the proletarian nucleus of the Party, must in the coming months, be one of the most important tasks for all Party organisations." The Congress demanded that the influx of new ranks of industrial workers into the Party should be facilitated.

However, there was not much opportunity for the realisation of these clear and categorical directions from the supreme Party organs until a visible improvement had taken place in the economic position of the country.

A decided change took place in the life of the industry of the Soviet Republic in 1922 and 1923. A satisfactory harvest, the development of industrial credit, increased exchange of goods and money based on a gold calculation and a stabilised currency, the organisational improvement of industry itself—all this combined led to the development of industry and the growth of the working class. Labour power increased in 1922 by 92,100 or 7.3 per cent. and in 1923 by 108,000 or 8 per cent. With the development of industry the position of the working class gradually improved, and the workers began to put forward cultural and social demands.

This favoured the growth of the Party through the influx



of industrial workers, and in the middle of January, 1924, the Central Committee, basing itself on the decisions of the January Party Conference, proposed to local organisations to draw into the Party at least 100,000 new members.

But before this instruction reached the provinces, V.I. Lenin died. His death was the signal for a mass desire to enter the Party on the part of all workers, and of manual workers in particular. The Lenin Campaign brought into the ranks of the Party over 200,000 members, nearly all of them manual workers, considerably improved the social composition of the Party. Since that campaign the curve of the Party growth has been on the ascendant. In the course of 1924 and 1925 the Party organisations, following the directions of the Thirteenth Congress as to 50 per cent. of manual workers in the composition of the Party, recruited enormous numbers into their ranks (638,000, an increase of 128.4 per cent.). At the time of the Fourteenth Congress the number of Party members and candidates exceeded one million for the first time. After such a rapid growth in 1924-25 there was a very natural diminution in the rate of increase of the Party, which was only 12.3 per cent. in 1926, and which consisted on January 1st, 1927, according to the data of the Party census, of 1,147,000 members and candidates.

The tenth anniversary of the October Revolution brought another mass influx of manual workers into the Party. A new Bolshevik detachment, 100,000 strong, entered the ranks of the C.P.S.U. The October rally was a recognition on the part of the workers of the U.S.S.R. of the enormous political and economic achievements of the ten years of struggle and construction; it was a correct appreciation of the role of the Party in the proletarian revolution, given as a direct reaction to the impudent and unsuccessful attempt of the opposition bloc to split the Leninist Party, discredit its leaders and sow discontent in the ranks of the working class and the Party.

As a result of the October campaign the membership of the C.P.S.U. reached 1,304,000 at the beginning of 1928.

### **Number of Women in the Party.**

One of the signs of the political and cultural growth of the working women of the U.S.S.R. is the number of women joining the Party. The greater their number, the stronger the tie between the Party as a whole and the enormous mass of working and peasant women and other women workers. It must be admitted that almost ten years' work by the Soviet Government, by the trade union organisations, and by the Communist Party for the organisation of a social order which emancipates women and raises the cultural level and furthers the political development of working and peasant women, has not yet produced appreciable results in the sense of creating an adequate women's

section in the C.P.S.U. Among more than a million Communists, there are only 157,000 women, constituting 12 per cent. of the whole Party. There is, however, every reason to believe that there will be a stronger influx of women into the Party in the future because a new generation is growing up which will produce women Communists. We are thinking of the Young Communist League and the Pioneer Movement. The former has already 434,000 girl members, i.e., a considerably bigger percentage (22 per cent.) than the percentage of women in the Party. 703,000 girls participate in the Pioneer movement, which constitutes 40 per cent. of the total number of the Pioneers. These are enormous reserves from which the Party will by and by replenish its ranks.

### **Number of Communists in Industrial and Agricultural Districts.**

Our Party is a Party of the working class. Therefore, its biggest organisations are concentrated in places where the manufacturing and mining industries are developed, where the proletariat congregates in big numbers. About 45 per cent. of the total number of Communists in the country are to be found in the comparatively small number of industrial centres (including the nine industrial provinces of the R.S.F.S.R., the industrial regions of Leningrad, the Urals, North Caucasus, and Ukraine), while the proportion of the population in these areas is 22 per cent. of the total population of the U.S.S.R. In these districts are to be found 73.3 per cent. of the total industrial population. In the agricultural provinces and regions, however, there are only half as many Communists representing 23 per cent. of the total membership of the Party. In these districts the industrial workers represent 39 per cent. of the population and 12.4 per cent. of the total number of industrial workers in the country.

### **Number of Communists in Towns and Villages.**

As the C.P.S.U is the vanguard of the working class and the latter is concentrated mainly in the towns, the main strength of the Communist Party is also to be found in towns and big industrial centres. Of the total number of members and candidates 73.2 per cent. are to be found in towns and only 26.8 per cent. in the villages. In so far as the peasant population constitutes an overwhelming majority of the total population of the Union (82.1 per cent.), the comparatively small number of Communists in the countryside constitutes a very small percentage which has, however, been growing during the last five years: in 1922 there were 155 Communists to every 10,000 of the urban population, in 1927—319. For the same number of the rural population, there were in 1922, 18 Party members and candidates and in 1927—25.

**Nuclei Grouped According to Types.**

With a very few exceptions all Party members and candidates are attached to the primary Party organisation—the group—in the place of their employment. At present the Party has 43,000 groups. The largest section of Party members (42.3 per cent.) are organised in workers' groups, i.e., groups in factories, works, mines, printing works, railways shops, etc. It is rather significant that during the last five years, or to be exact, from 1922 to 1927, the number of groups has increased from 4,785 to 8,450, i.e., by 76 per cent., whereas the number of Communists composing them has increased from 90,900 to 557,000 or by 512 per cent.

In regard to village groups, although their number is considerable (48.9 per cent.) they embrace only 23.1 per cent. Communists, i.e., on an average there are only 13 Party members to every village group, whereas there are about 57 Communists to one factory group.

The number of Soviet (institution) groups is comparatively small (14.6 per cent. of the total number of groups), but they embrace 19.9 per cent. of the total number of Party members and candidates and in regard to consolidation they approximate to the industrial groups.

**Social Composition of the C.P.S.U.**

The social position of a Communist is determined by his original occupation or profession before he joined the Party. If the new member was a wage earner in a factory or works, in the mines, in the transport service, or in agriculture, he remains a worker regardless of the work allotted to him by fate or rather by the will of the Party during his membership of the latter.

According to their fundamental profession or their social status Communists are divided into three fundamental groups: manual workers, peasants, and office workers.

**Social Composition of the C.P.S.U. on January 1, 1928.**

(Exclusive of Communists in the Red Army and in Soviet Institutions abroad.)

	Actual No.	Percentage.
Manual workers	706,043	57.8
Peasants	272,110	22.3
Office workers	218,244	17.9
Others	24,439	2.0
Total	1,220,836	100.0

The fundamental nucleus of the Party, its backbone, are those Communists who prior to their entry into the Party were wage earners as manual workers in industry, agriculture and the transport service. Communists who before joining the ranks of the C.P.S.U. were land-workers (not hired labourers) constitute

a somewhat bigger number than office workers and others. One should, however, bear in mind that, in the composition of the latter elements from the worst provided-for sections of workers predominate. The social composition of women in the Party differs from the composition of the Party as a whole by a bigger percentage of office workers, a relatively small number of peasant women, and a high percentage of others, i.e., chiefly housewives (prior to entering the Party).

### Social Composition of Women Communists.

	Actual No.	In per cent. to the total.
Working women	83,098	53.1
Peasant women	19,924	12.7
Office workers	43,368	27.7
Others	10,106	6.5
Total	156,496	100.0

### Occupation of Communists at the Time of Registration.

With regard to a considerable number of Communists, their original occupation prior to entering the Party does not coincide with their principal occupation when in the Party. The composition of our Party, which gives the lead to the entire political, economic and cultural life of the country, reflects the social changes which take place among the working population of the Union: Transference from the working class—and to a small extent—from the peasantry into the State apparatus for economic, co-operative, trade union, social and other work.

### Occupations of Communists in Connection with their Social Position.

Including :							
Social groups.	Total Number of Communists (in per cent.)	Workers (at the bench, in agriculture).	Peasant Tillers.	Employees and Social Workers.	Red Army Men.	Students.	Others.
Workers	100.0	50.1	1.6	28.9	6.8	4.6	8.0
Peasants	100.0	5.2	47.5	25.8	11.3	5.7	4.5
Employees	100.0	3.6	0.8	72.7	9.0	5.0	8.9

The following table illustrates the grouping of Party members and candidates according to the work they were doing at the beginning of 1928 :

	Actual No.	Percentage to Total.
Workers directly employed		
in industry and transport	459,000	35.2
Agricultural labourers	17,600	1.4
Peasant tillers	15,000	11.5
Office and social workers	411,000	31.5
Junior lower paid workers	52,700	4.0
Military people	95,500	7.3
Others	118,500	9.1
	1,304,400	100.0

Wage earners in the producing and manufacturing industries, in building, transport, and agriculture, constitute over one-third of the total membership of the Party. This, of course, does not come up to the number of manual workers in the Party (50 per cent.) mentioned as a minimum in the decisions of our congresses. But we repeat, it must be remembered that under Soviet conditions there is a continuous transference of Party members from working class groups into other groups: of employees, students, army men, etc. There is an over-growing necessity to draw active manual workers and peasants, particularly Communists, into urban and rural society. We have no exact figures concerning the extent of promotion or transference of Party members to other work or to further studies. But we can say that according to approximate figures in 1926 six members out of every hundred industrial and transport workers, and 13-14 out of every hundred agricultural labourers were promoted to Soviet, co-operative, trade union, Party and other work, and also to the universities.

The group of employees (and social workers) in the Party constitutes 31.5 per cent. and is the most heterogeneous with regard to its composition. It includes workers of all kinds, of various grades of qualifications, from all branches of labour—former manual workers, peasants and professional employees.

The percentage in the Party (11.5 per cent.) is very small of peasants who give their whole time to agriculture or who combine this with social work connected with elections. Party members who are farmers but who at the same time practice some handicraft or agricultural work for others, are entered into a corresponding group of home-industry workers or agricultural labourers, if this has been their principal occupation.

In speaking of the numerical strength of the Party we remarked that there are not enough women in its ranks. But more important is the fact that in this small women's section there are a smaller proportion of peasant women than of peasants in the total membership of the Party. We give below figures to illustrate this:—

**Women Communists Grouped According to their Occupations  
on January 1st, 1928.**

	Actual No.			Percentage to Total.		
Women workers directly employed in industry and transport	...	...	57,400	...	...	36.6
Women agricultural labourers	...	...	2,000	...	...	1.3
Peasant women	...	...	10,600	...	...	6.8
Office and social workers...	...	...	43,800	...	...	28.0
Junior lower paid workers...	...	...	4,500	...	...	9.3
Others	...	...	28,200	...	...	18.0
Total	...	...	156,500	...	...	100.0

**Labouring Section of the Party.**

It is essential to give a proper picture of that group of Party members who are directly employed in the producing and manufacturing industries, in transport, agriculture and building.

Total No. of Communist workers	...	...	459,000
	...	...	Percentage.
In industry	...	...	63.6
In transport	...	...	27.5
In agriculture	...	...	3.8
In other branches of labour (in building, trade institutions, etc.)	...	...	5.1

The Party census has established the fact that the most important group of Communist workers in industry (32 per cent.) are the metal workers, i.e., workers employed in the most concentrated branch of industry—in big engineering works, workers who were the first to join the labour movement and who are, generally speaking, the most highly qualified.

Next in the ranks of the Party come textile workers (9.8 per cent.), i.e., workers who occupy the second place in numerical strength in the ranks of the working class of the U.S.S.R.

Among Communist working women textile workers constitute the biggest group (32.4 per cent.); next come women employed in the metal and garment making industries (8 per cent. in each group).

The Party does its utmost to draw agricultural labourers into its ranks. One must, however, admit that the number in the Party is as yet very insignificant.

We have altogether 17,600 Communist agricultural labourers. They constitute 3.8 per cent. of the total number of manual workers in the Party and 1.4 per cent. of the total membership.

What is the proportion of Communist agricultural labourers to the total number of hired labourers employed in agriculture?

According to the figures of the Central Statistical Department on this question, there were in July, 1926, 2,746,000 agricultural labourers in the Soviet Republic, whereas the number of Communist agricultural labourers at the same period was 14,800. This shows that in 1926 there were only 54 Communists out of every 10,000 agricultural labourers.

This is, of course, a very low figure, and Party organisations, at least those in districts where many agricultural labourers are employed, have unlimited possibilities of recruiting these proletarian and semi-proletarian rural elements.

### **Party Organisations in the Villages.**

According to the Party census there were over 20,000 groups in the villages and settlements of the U.S.S.R in 1927. However, this comparatively big network of Party organisations in the rural districts does not mean that any very considerable section of the rural working population has been drawn in. For every group organised in the countryside there are, on an average, approximately twenty-six populated centres. If one considers that one group can cope at the utmost with five to six villages, that it can only co-ordinate the Communists within a ten to fifteen versts radius, one will realise that the number of groups of members and candidates can cater at the utmost for 126,000 villages. Consequently over three-fourths of the populated rural centres of the Union remain outside the scope of the village groups. It should, however, be pointed out that the non-existence of a village group in this or that district does not necessarily mean that Party work and Party influence among the rural population are also non-existent. Party work and influence are effected not only through village groups but also through factory, army, and other groups situated in rural district, to which village Communists are frequently attached, also through Communists in any divisions quartered in rural districts, through individual Communists who do not belong to any group because none exists in their place of residence or employment, through working class and other Communists from urban districts who spend their holidays in the villages, and finally, through the village Y.C.L., which is spreading Communist influence in rural districts to an ever-increasing extent. On January 1st, 1927, the Y.C.L., which is the main reserve of the Party, had in its ranks 1,100,000 young peasants co-ordinated in 49,000 groups. These groups can embrace about one-half of the whole population of the rural districts.

But in spite of all this the fact remains that the network of village organisations throughout the Union is still very inadequate.

According to the Party census the total number of rural Communists is 265,000, including 42.3 per cent. peasant tillers and 39.8 per cent. workers in the Soviet apparatus, in co-operatives, Party organisations, etc. In 1927 women constituted only 8.7 per cent.

of the total number of rural Party members. Most of them work in the Soviet apparatus and in other institutions. The number of peasant women directly employed in agriculture is somewhat smaller and the number of women agricultural labourers is very small indeed.

### Communist Office and Social Workers.

The following figures illustrate the social composition of Party members engaged in social and office work :—

	Actual No.		Percentage to the Total No.	
Number of Communists (according to 1927 census) in the State apparatus, in economic and social or- ganisations ... ..	440,500	...	...	100.0
Their social position before joining the Party :				
Manual workers ... ..	184,200	...	...	41.8
Peasants ... ..	56,100	...	...	12.7
Office workers and others	200,200	...	...	45.5

This table is an extremely interesting illustration of this group of Communists. It shows that 41.8 per cent. of the total Party membership who are working in Soviet institutions and social and economic organs are manual workers removed by the Party from the bench and transferred to the State apparatus, administration of industry and cultural construction. About 200,000 Communists from worker and peasant ranks were promoted by Party organisations to administrative, economic, cultural-educational and other work in order to increase the Communist and working-class element in all these institutions.

According to approximate figures Communists constitute 15 per cent. of the total number of office workers in the U.S.S.R.

### Communist Underground Workers.

Out of the total number of Bolsheviks who joined the Party during its underground existence, at the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, 8,955 were alive and still in the ranks of the Party, namely, 1 per cent. of the total membership. It is rather interesting to compare this number of underground Communists in 1927 with their number five years ago. At that time there were in the ranks of the Party 10,431 people with an underground status, which constituted 2.7 per cent. of the total membership in 1922. Consequently the old Bolshevik guard lost about 1,500 people in the course of five years. Figures concerning the social composition of Bolshevik underground workers at the beginning of 1927 show that 68.6 per cent. of the total number were manual workers, whereas office workers and others constituted



31.4 per cent. It is true that most of the underground workers have been appointed by the Party to work in State institutions and that very few of them have remained at the bench. We give below figures to illustrate this :—

	Actual No. of Underground Workers.	Percentage to Total No.
Office and social workers ...	8,180 ...	76.9
Manual workers ...	784 ...	7.4
Unemployed and invalids ...	709 ...	6.6
Army workers ...	395 ...	3.7
Students ...	390 ...	3.7
Others ...	184 ...	1.7
Occupations not stated ...	116 ...	—
	10,758* ...	100.0

The knowledge and experience accumulated by the old Bolsheviks during the long years of their revolutionary work are very much needed in the sphere of statem, economic and cultural construction. This explains the high number of former underground workers among social and office workers. The following branches of work seem to be most attractive to the members of the old Bolshevik guard ; economic work—32.2 per cent. of the total number of underground office and social workers ; Soviet work—18.6 per cent. ; trade union work—16.6 per cent. ; co-operative and commercial work—6.5 per cent. ; Party work—14.5 per cent. ; cultural-educational and press work—9.2 per cent.

It should be pointed out that over one-half (to be exact, 62.5 per cent.) of the total number of ex-underground workers who are now doing office work, are at the head of the institutions and organisations or of their various departments.

Thus about two-thirds of the ex-underground workers who are now office and social workers are in charge of leading and responsible work.

#### National Composition of the C.P.S.U.(B).

As our Party embraces in its ranks Communists of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics who belong to various nationalities, the composition of the Party as a whole shows, of course, also a variety of nationalities. In 1922 109 nationalities were represented in the R.C.P. According to the Party census the number of national representatives in the C.P.S.U. reached 132, owing to the growth of Communist organisations in the Eastern republics, in the extreme North and in the Far East.

\* This number of underground workers includes those who joined the Party prior to the February Revolution. The number mentioned higher (8,955) includes those who joined the Party prior to January 1st, 1917.

# APPENDIX

507

We give below a list of nationalities which constitute not less than one per cent. of the total Party membership :—

Name.	Actual No. of Communists.	Percentage to Total No.
Russians ... ..	743,167 ...	65.00
Ukrainians ... ..	134,030 ...	11.72
Jews ... ..	49,627 ...	4.34
White Russians ... ..	36,420 ...	3.18
Armenians ... ..	19,019 ...	1.66
Georgians ... ..	16,985 ...	1.49
Tartars ... ..	15,646 ...	1.37
Uzbeks ... ..	13,585 ...	1.19
Letts ... ..	13,336 ...	1.17
Cossacks ... ..	12,041 ...	1.05
Poles ... ..	12,181 ...	1.06
Turks ... ..	11,237 ...	0.98

In the case of other nationalities Communists do not exceed 0.5 per cent. of the total composition of the Party.

The following table shows the density of Communists among the population of the Republics and districts, and the density of Communists of the national minorities among the population belonging to those minorities :—

## Percentage of Communists to the Total Number of the Populations in the National Republics and Districts.

Name of Republics and Regions.	Total Number of Population.*	% Communists.	Actual Number to thousand inhabitants.	Number of Native Population.	Communists of Native Population.	Actual No. to thousand inhabitants of Native Population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Komi Aut. Region	207,200	1.324	64	191,000	1,151	60
Karelian Republic	269,700	2.813	104	103,300	752	73
Votsk Region	756,300	3.053	40	395,500	523	13
Marissk Region	482,100	1.157	30	247,800	681	25
Bashkir Republic	2,695,000	11.126	41	1,102,200	4,031	37
Tartar Republic	2,594,000	9.865	38	1,252,900	3,336	27
Tchuvash Republic	894,500	2.697	30	667,300	1,068	25
Kalmyk Region	141,600	1.075	76	107,000	751	70
German Volga Republic	571,900	2.156	38	379,700	687	10
Crimean Republic	714,100	7.696	108	179,200	720	42
Daghestan Republic	788,100	4.745	60	599,000	2,149	36
Cossack Republic	6,481,700	30.583	47	3,758,700	10,775	29
Kirghiz Republic	993,100	4.274	43	661,400	2,159	33
Oiratsk Region	99,600	787	79	35,200	129	37
Burato-Mongolian Republic	461,900	3.708	75	215,200	929	43
Azerbaijadian S.S.R.	2,313,200	27.090	117	1,485,100	9,633	65
Armenian Republic S.S.R.	876,800	5.202	94	742,500	7,408	100
Georgian Republic S.S.R.	2,660,900	28.322	106	1,655,100	15,489	94
Ukrainian Republic S.S.R.	27,903,800	168,341	62	21,784,100	87,185	40
White Russian Republic S.S.R.	4,983,900	25.298	51	4,009,000	13,224	33
Uzbek Republic S.S.R.	4,447,600	26.879	60	3,361,000	11,488	34

\* According to the census of the population on December 17th, 1926, published by the Central Statistical Department, "Results of Ten Years of Soviet Régime in Figures," 1917-1927, pages 54-67.

Thus in nearly all republics and districts the percentage of the native population drawn into the Communist Party is lower than the general percentage of Communists to the total number of the population.

By grouping Communists of the national minorities according to their occupations one can see that the percentage of manual workers among them is everywhere lower than the general percentage of manual workers in the C.P.S.U. While in the composition of the latter at the beginning of 1927, *i.e.*, prior to the October campaign, there were 32.3 per cent. workers employed in industry and transport, in agriculture and in other branches of labour, the corresponding percentage of Communists belonging to the primitive population of the Ukraine was 31.0 per cent., in White Russia—26.9 per cent., in Uzbekistan—17.9 per cent., in the Gossak Republic—12.2 per cent., in the German Volga Republic—13.2 per cent., in the Tchuvash Republic—4.7 per cent., etc.

The percentage of peasants of the national minorities is everywhere higher than the general percentage of peasants in the Party.

It should, however, be pointed out that the working class element among the various nationals is decidedly growing. For instance, the percentage of working class nationals to the total number of nationals—members of the C.P.S.U.—increased between 1922 and 1927 in the Ukraine from 5.4 to 34.4 per cent., in White Russia from 3.7 per cent. to 30.6 per cent., among Azerbaidjan Turks from 10.1 to 42.4 per cent., among Armenians from 6.2 to 18.4 per cent., etc.

As to the percentage of women Communists in the general composition of the Party organisations of the national regions and republics it is lower than 9.9 per cent.; the total number of women in the Party is 12 per cent. (according to the Party census in the beginning of 1927). The proportional weight of women Communists belonging to primitive nationalities is 36.2 per cent. of the total number of women in the Party organisations of the national republics and districts. In other words, for every 100 women Communists in these areas there are 36 belonging to the native population.

It should be pointed out, however, that between 1922 and 1927 successful work was done in regard to drawing into the Party women belonging to these various nationalities: all nationalities—some to a greater extent than others—have increased their women-membership in the C.P.S.U.

**Working Women Please Note !**

The Paper For  
**YOU**  
is the  
**"WORKING  
WOMAN"**

A monthly journal which pays  
particular attention to the  
problems affecting women in  
the factory, office and home

Monthly      Price 1d. per copy  
                                 1/6 per quire

A. Holland, 29 Euston Rd., N.W.1  
Sub. Rates on Application

**The Best Monthly  
Review—**

THE  
**"COMMUNIST"**

Articles and Reviews  
by Militants

**INDISPENSABLE TO  
ACTIVE WORKERS**

Price 6d. per copy      4/6 per doz.

Order from  
A. Holland, 29 Euston Rd., N.W.1  
Sub. Rates on Application

**PROVED RIGHT TIME AFTER TIME**

**"WORKERS' LIFE"**

Fights *your* fight  
Is not afraid to criticise  
Gives a clear and fearless lead  
Helps militants—hinders reactionaries  
Tells the *whole* truth  
Stands firm for Socialism

Out Every Friday

Price 1d.

Orders to

**A. HOLLAND, 29 EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1**

Sub. and quantity rates on application