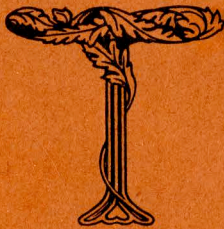


From the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress

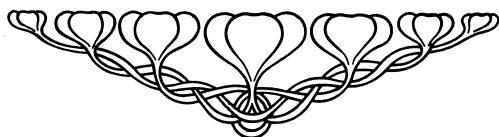


Report of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International

Published by the Communist International

—
1924

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Harry Young, Moberg.

8/7/24 ~~V~~ - Congress

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Preface

This Report has been compiled for the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International. It briefly summarises the activity of the Executive and its various sections. The questions of the United Front, the Trades Unions, the World Economic Situation, Organisation, Programme, and the National and Agrarian Questions, as well as the Lessons of the German, Bulgarian, and Italian Events (which are touched upon briefly here) will be submitted to the World Congress in the form of separate individual brochures or in the Congress Number of the "Communist International."

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE E.C.C.I.

Moscow, May 5, 1924.

From the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress

Lenin and the International

The Executive of the Communist International must begin its Report on the International Movement this year—with the death of Lenin. The international proletariat received the news of the death of the great leader of the world revolution with the feeling that its heart had ceased beating. And when the news of the death of Lenin reached the peoples of Asia, who are just awakening from the sleep of the dark middle ages, their representatives said : “ He, who has restored faith in the unity of mankind and in its common struggle for freedom, has departed this life.”

For many decades to come the fighting proletariat of the world will reverently bow their heads at the mention of the name of Lenin, and each year they will realise more clearly what his teachings mean to them.

“ Lenin is dead, but his works live.” This was the inscription on the funeral banners which were lowered on this day throughout the world. And never before was an utterance more true. As long as the proletariat is fighting its fight for freedom the teachings of Lenin will live. Karl Marx showed the proletariat the great historical path to its emancipation. He pointed out to them the direction their movement must take. He enumerated the principal stages of its struggles. But he lived during the period of the bourgeois revolution and of peaceful bourgeois development. When he died the dawn of the social revolution was not yet visible. His disciples either withheld most of his important practical revolutionary teachings from the proletariat, or they did not understand how to apply these teachings. And in its distress, in its need, in its slow progress toward a cultural life, the proletariat forgot these teachings. But Lenin grew up in the subterranean activity of a young, rapidly-developing proletariat which, exploited by Czarism, was rattling its chains and preparing to tear them asunder. In the spirit of the period of storm and stress, Lenin personified in himself the revolutionary soul of Marxism, developed it into a new power, and taught the proletarian, with

the assistance of Marxism, to recognise its revolutionary tasks. The experiences of the Revolution of 1905 taught him to understand the character of the modern revolutionary class struggle. The difficult struggle during the period of counter-revolution gave him the opportunity to realise the significance of the proletarian party in a light never before understood by the Social Democrats—the role of the proletarian party as the iron clamp which holds the masses together in the fight, and as the leader of all oppressed and enslaved peoples. The fight in a situation in which the petty-bourgeois elements outweighed the proletariat, taught him clearly to grasp the significance of opportunism as no other proletarian leader had done. In the midst of the roar of the cannon of the world war, his sensitive ear detected the tread of the battalions of the proletarian revolution; among the ruins of the Second International, which had ignominiously collapsed, his sharp eye discovered the foundation of the new world-embracing Communist International union of the proletariat. During the dark period of social-patriotic and imperialist reaction, his courage, steeled by twenty years of revolutionary activity enabled him to roll up his sleeves and pitch into the work of theoretically and practically preparing for the future revolutionary struggle. How strange that the teachings of this great prophet were familiar and intelligible only to an insignificant minority of workers. In the struggle it was a small vanishing minority. Only he who fights and wants to fight can grasp the lessons of the fight. The increasing power of the Bolsheviks during the February Revolution, their victory in October, the erection of the first proletarian state power of the world, its heroic struggle under the leadership of Lenin—they are the results of Lenin's revolutionary thinking. What the small group of agitators, the pupils of Lenin, were incapable of doing in the West, was done by the radio station in Moscow, which broadcasted its news of the heroic fight of the Bolsheviks. Lenin became the star of hope for the proletarians throughout the world. But not until the proletariat of Central Europe, in 1918, convinced itself that even a revolution can come to nothing if it does not overthrow the power of Capitalism, and not until the bankruptcy of Wilsonism—*i.e.*, the faith in social reforms, and the Capitalist offensive throughout the world showed the workers that nothing more can be expected from bourgeois democracy, did the period of the triumphal march of Lenin's teachings begin. The proletariat of the world gains understanding through need, suffering, and shedding its blood, and it stays with them for ever. Under the protection of the Soviet Republic, which is forcing itself like a wedge into the international system of the capitalist states and draining them of their strength, the fight for freedom of the peoples of the East is beginning. For the first time in a long period Turkey was able to resist the attacks of

West-European imperialism by arms, because its rear was protected by Soviet Russia under the leadership of Lenin. Persia tore asunder the chains which England fastened upon her in 1919, because it was able to use Soviet Russia as a support. Across the Himalayas the peoples of India, and across the Gold Desert the peoples of China, are looking towards Soviet Russia. The name of Lenin is a symbol of the union of the fighting proletariat of Europe and the peoples of the East enslaved by Western capital. The teachings of Lenin have already become the common possession of millions of revolutionary workers. With gnashing teeth the London "Times," the principal mouthpiece of the European counter-revolution, was forced to admit this at Lenin's bier. The further the struggle of the international proletariat spreads and takes root, the greater the experiences which it gains, the more fertile will become the ground for the teachings of Lenin. The Communist International will do everything possible to substitute for the dead teacher his living lessons, so that the proletariat of the whole world will learn from them how to guide itself in the great struggles which will confront it.

I—Activities of the Sections of the Communist International after the Fourth World Congress

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

THE fourth Congress of the Communist International took place at the moment when the international position of the Soviet Federation was changing for the better, at the moment when the economic improvement and the strengthening of the internal position of the country were definitely in evidence. The main problems that faced the R.C.P. after the Fourth World Congress were (1) to strengthen the international position of the Soviet Republics; (2) to improve industry and agriculture and to consolidate the union with the peasantry; (3) to secure the retention of the guidance of the work of the state and economic apparatus of the country in the hands of the party; (4) to realise our national policy and corresponding practical measures in this direction; and (5) further to consolidate our party internally, and raise the standard of its political and cultural status.

All the activities of the Russian Communist Party during the last year and a half have been directed towards the realisation of these fundamental tasks.

International Policy

Several months before the Fourth Congress the Genoa and Hague International conferences took place, in which the Soviet Republics took part. These conferences represented the last attempts of the capitalist powers to take the R.S.F.S.R. in a vice, return the property of foreign owners, and compel us to renounce our principles in our internal and foreign policies. After the unsuccessful termination of the Hague Conference there might have been some cause for fearing a boycott of Russian raw materials and industry by foreign capital. But just the reverse took place. The firm line of conduct of the Russian Delegation at the Hague Conference was taken as an indication of the stability of the Soviet Government. Thus, when the first efforts of the capitalist powers to take the R.S.F.S.R. in a vice proved fruitless, a stream of proposals for concessions began to pour in from single concerns, companies and capitalists, and an influx of foreign capital arranged through amalgamated companies chiefly for trade purposes.

Of the events that took place after the Hague Conference attention must be drawn to such an important fact as the fight the R.S.F.S.R. put up for the right to take part in the Lausanne Conference. In supporting the closing of the Straits for warships and developing a wide program of liberties on the Oriental question in its memorandum, the Soviet Delegation firmly supported the interests of the Turkish people against the imperialist powers of Europe. The Lausanne Conference increased the international importance of the R.S.F.S.R., and created a conviction of the firmness and stability of the Soviet rule among the population of Russia. A fact still more demonstrative of this was the wave of indignation that swept the whole country at the insolent Curzon Ultimatum and the murder of Vorovsky, our delegate to the Lausanne Conference, by Swiss Fascisti. Over the whole country demonstrations of protest against the ultimatum, in which all sections of the population took part, were organised under the leadership of our party organisations. In giving its directions on this question to members of the Party, the Central Committee urged that the demonstrations must be demonstrations of the peacefulness of the Soviet Government, of its readiness to make concessions for the sake of peace, without permitting the violation of the interests of the sovereignty of our country, to expose the imperialist character of Curzon's ultimatum, to gain the sympathy of the working-classes of Europe for Soviet Russia on this question, and to show the Imperialists of the whole world, and primarily England, that the Soviet Government is now stronger than it ever was before.

Another chain of facts in international politics on which the attention of the whole Russian Communist Party was concentrated for the last year and a half were the incidents that developed in Germany, beginning with the occupation of the Ruhr by the French and ending with the advance of the Fascisti in October and November, 1923. From the very beginning our party understood that the blows of the French imperialists directed against Germany would, if successful, be directed against the Soviet Union. Hence, the extraordinary interest evinced in our country in the Ruhr events. In all the towns and industrial districts in the Federation innumerable mass demonstrations were called, at which resolutions of protest were passed against the violence of France and promising support to the German proletariat. In action this support found expression in sending a workers' delegation, accompanying consignments of Russian corn, to the Ruhr workers. It was expressed further by the formation of various organisations to aid the German workers and in broadspread agitation and propaganda. At the moment when the revolutionary wave was at its height in Germany the party was engaged in explaining

to the working masses the great importance that the success of the proletarian revolution in Germany must have for the whole Socialist Movement, and how it will ease economic position in the Soviet Republics. Simultaneously the Soviet Diplomats were carrying on negotiations with those countries that separated us from Germany for their non-intervention in German affairs and for the continuance of their neutrality.

The Russian working-classes agreed to suspend the increase of their wages and to submit to deductions if it were necessary in the interests of the German Revolution. Those months witnessed a rare example of the manifestations of international solidarity, a rare example of class-consciousness of the Russian proletariat and its party. The retreat of the German proletariat had a marked effect upon the Russian working masses and the Russian Communist Party, which was exceptionally evidenced during the discussions inside the Party.

Events in the Far East were also of importance for the life of our Party and the Soviet Government. At the end of 1923 Japan was forced to evacuate her troops from the Russian Maritime Provinces and Vladivostok. All territories right up to the Pacific Ocean lay in the hands of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic, which was composed in the main of Party Members. As a consequence of that the necessity for the existence of the Far Eastern Republic as a democratic buffer state passed away, and under the leadership of our party a transition to the Soviet system began over all the Far East. After this the territories of the F.E.R. were included in the R.S.F.S.R. The strengthening of the influence of our Party and the Soviet rule was assisted by another circumstance. After the September earthquake Japan ceased to be a Great Power, and her pressure upon the Far Eastern part of our Republic was considerably weakened.

The last event of great importance in international politics was the recognition of the union of Soviet Republics by Great Britain, Italy, and a number of smaller European States. This circumstance essentially changed the international position of our country, and we are entering a new phase in our relations with capitalist States which impose new obligations on our Party and alters its tactics in international questions.

In all questions of international politics the R.C.P. not only guided Soviet institutions responsible for carrying out the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., but also brought in the general membership of the Russian party and the working population in the decision of these questions, in certain cases raising the whole working class to its feet. (The Ruhr, Curzon Ultimatum, the September events in Germany, and so forth.) We can say with complete justification that all the members of our

Party, and the Party as a whole, took a lively interest in all the most important international questions.

Questions of Economic Policy

The economic position of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics during the last one and a-half years has considerably improved. In 1922 we had 51 million dessiatins under cultivation, while in 1923 we had 61 millions, an increase of 10 million dessiatins land under cultivation, *i.e.*, an increase of 19 per cent. ; for 1923 the area under cultivation represented 75 per cent. of the total area of land under cultivation in 1916. In industry we have achieved 36 per cent. of pre-war production, while in 1922 we had only 20 to 23 per cent. The economic improvement is still more evident if we examine certain branches of industry separately.

Thus the output of the coal mines in 1921-1922 was 464 million poods, while in 1922-23, it was 648 millions. The output of iron ore increased two and a-half times, the production of textile fabrics was nearly doubled, the smelting of iron increased 77 per cent., and so on.

This improvement, which began in 1922, is continuing at the present time, and in the future promises fresh successes. It is probable that the coming economic year will give figures indicating an increase in the economic welfare of the country not less than those of previous years.

However, the improvement in the economic life of the country brought about a severe crisis and a marked discrepancy in the prices of agricultural and industrial products. The cause of this divergence in the prices of manufactures and agricultural products was the disproportionate development of industry as compared with agriculture. While industry during the post-war period had been restored only 30 to 35 per cent., agriculture succeeded in outstripping industry in its development, re-establishing 75 per cent. of its pre-war level. Thus, we see that there were fewer industrial products than were necessary, while agricultural produce was in excess of what could be absorbed by the town industry and more than could be exported abroad with the present state of foreign relations and international trade. However, by means of decisive measures in the direction of the State regulation of the market it was impossible to close the "scissors,"* to lower the prices of industrial products and raise those of agricultural produce to such a level that at the present time the crisis can be considered liquidated.

* The lines on the chart showing the relative movements of products of agriculture and industry crossed in the form of an open pair of "scissors." It was referred to as the "scissors" by Trotsky at the Twelfth Congress of the R.C.P. (Tr.).

The standard of living of the working class during this period have steadily risen, wages have increased, and in some branches of industry have reached pre-war level. Taking into consideration the measures taken by the State and the municipalities, and the extensive work of co-operation and social insurance, we can state definitely that the standard of living of the working class has already reached the pre-war level, and in some instances is already above it.

The questions of the economic policy, the raising of our State industry and of agriculture, and the consolidation and deepening of the union of the proletariat and peasantry during the whole of this period figured on the agenda of our party. These questions were subjected to a thorough discussion at the XI and XII Congresses, and at the thirteenth Conference. The question of work in the villages is again placed in the agenda of the XIII Congress, and is connected with the ever present questions of intensifying the work of our Party among the peasantry.

The decision of the XI Party Congress that the retreat has ended, and that the question of the day is to re-group the Party forces in order to guarantee the complete practical fulfilment of the policy accepted by the Party has been carried out by the whole Party and the Central Committee in particular. As a consequence of this the attention of the Party both in 1922 and 1923 was directed chiefly to the practical problems of economic construction.

The 12th Congress of our Party emphasised the old truth, well-known to the whole Party, that the working class can, in the last resort retain and strengthen its leading position not by means of the army but through the industry—which the proletariat itself must restore.

The Party, Trades Unions, Youth Leagues, our schools, and so forth have, as their aim, the education and training of a new generation of the working class. But all this work would be built on sand if it had not beneath it a growing foundation. Only the development of industry can create a stable foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What are the fundamental stages of this work, and what are the main successes the party can record in this direction?

The position of the heavy industry during the past period has been very difficult. The increases of production in the basic branches of industry has been in the majority of cases extremely slow, and this can be said for the output of the whole industry in general. However, a large increase in production took place in the light industry (textiles), but in the autumn of 1923 they suffered a severe crisis in the marketing of their produce. This is explained in a considerable measure, as the

resolution of the 13th Conference states, by the fact that the estimation given by the Party of the rôle and importance of the peasant economy and of the peculiarities resulting from the problems of realising the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country with a predominant peasant population, has not been taken into consideration sufficiently. The heavy industry is less closely connected with the peasantry and developed slowly, but it did not suffer from such convulsions as did the light industry.

The XII Congress of the Russian Communist Party, while giving a general appraisal of our economic achievements, at the same time drew attention to a whole series of abnormalities in the work of our economic organs, such as the lack of a uniform accountancy, for example, calculation of profit and loss, the absence of correct accountancy, extraordinary overhead charges, &c. The XIII Conference that took place in January, 1924, after the discussion while in general endorsing the principles of the XII Congress, asserted a considerable improvement in our industry had taken place, and that undoubted success had been achieved in the work of restoring our industry and transport, increasing the output of State industry, &c. At the same time it pointed out again the necessity of connecting the improvement in industry with the improvements in agriculture, as the absence of such a connection was the cause of the crisis.

The XIII Conference of the R.C.P. emphasised what had not been sufficiently emphasised at the XII Congress, *v.z.*, that peasant economy is the fundamental basis for the re-establishment of our industry, and consequently for the growth of the working class, for the peasant market is the principal market for industrial produce.

Peasant economy, on the other hand, is the chief supplier of raw material for our industry, and therefore it is not only in the interest of the Soviet rule but also in the interests of the rapid development of industry itself that the greatest possible support be given to peasant economy.

The fundamental measures which the party had advanced for the purpose of improving peasant economy were the granting of agricultural credit, the strengthening of agricultural co-operatives, the transition to the single agricultural tax, the organisation of State corn trade and the export of corn, and finally agreed on measures being taken to lower the prices of commodities consumed by the peasantry. In the industrial domain, the attention of the party was directed towards the necessity of increasing wages and paying it regularly, towards enabling the factories to intensifying the work at full capacity, the distribution of orders according to plan and to increase the participation of the Trade Unions in the management of the economic organs.

The Party and the Soviet Apparatus

The question of improving the Soviet apparatus and the Party leadership of Soviet organs has been repeatedly raised at our congresses and conferences. During the last year and a-half this question has been formulated with exceptional clearness.

It was Comrade Lenin who formulated the question in the beginning of 1923. In his articles, "How shall we re-organise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection?" and "Little but Good," Comrade Lenin writes: "Our machinery of State, with the exception of the People's Commissary for Food Supplies, is largely a relic of the past, and has never been subjected to any really serious change. It is just slightly re-decorated on the surface while in other respects it is a typical representative of our old State apparatus." As a consequence of this, Lenin proposed to the XII Congress to enlarge the Central Control Committee of the Party, combine it with the People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and that it should take up the task of improving the machinery of State and maintain a constant Party-Soviet control. The XII Congress accepted Comrade Lenin's proposal and elected fifty members to the Central Control Commission, for the most part workers and peasants with a good Party *status*, and capable of Party and Soviet control work. This work has already given enormous results in disclosing and preventing all kinds of misappropriation, and in simplifying and reducing the State apparatus and connecting it up more closely with the population.

Another Party measure directed towards improving the machinery of State was organising the selection and improving the quality of State employees. This has already given considerable results.

National Policy

The proper conduct of the national policy of our Party was secured by: (1) the decisions of the XII Congress of the R.C.P.; (2) the more concrete formulation of these decisions at the IV Conference of the representatives of the Central Committee on the national question that took place in June, 1923; and (3) the amalgamation of all independent Socialist Soviet Republics with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and formulating the relations between all these Republics.

The XII Congress of the R.C.P. recommended its members to endeavour to secure the following fundamental measures:—

(a) That in forming the central organs of the Union, all national Republics, without exception, be guaranteed equal rights and positions, and that all the needs of the nationalities be satisfied;

(b) That the executive organs be formed on a basis, guaranteeing the actual participation of representatives of the Republics in them and to satisfy the needs and necessities of the nationalities of the Union;

(c) That the Republics be given sufficiently wide budget and financial rights;

(d) That the organs of the National Republics be formed mainly of local men who know the life, morals, and customs of the respective nationalities;

(e) That special laws be published guaranteeing the use of the native language in all State organs;

(f) That educational work be intensified in the Red Army in the spirit of planting ideas of fraternity and solidarity between the nations of the Union, and that measures be taken to organise national divisions of the Army; and

(g) That a special organ representing all Republics and national areas without exception, on an equal footing, be included in the system of higher organs of State rule.

These concrete decisions carried in the midst of the fight against Great Russian chauvinism and the colonising spirit actually guaranteed an extensive improvement in all National Republics and brought all State organs nearer to the people.

The June Conference on the National Question drew up a concrete programme for Party work on this question.

The campaign to organise all the Soviet Republics into one Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, commenced in 1922, is now completed with the formation of the Central Union State organs of administration. The experience of economical reconstruction in separate Republics has shown that their re-construction is impossible without the united endeavours of the R.S.F.S.R. This is the first reason for forming the Union. Considerations of an international character, the necessity of a united front of all the Republics existing in a capitalist environment in the province of diplomacy, foreign trade and concession policies, and so on, is the second reason for forming the union. After a year's existence of the Union, it is clear to all the Republics how much the creation of the Union has increased their prestige, how much the new form of organisation assists in improving the economic well-being of each Republic.

Summarising, the results of the work of the Party in its national policy, we must state: (1) that there has been an increased attraction of workers and peasants of local nationalities to the party, and that Communists who know the working conditions and language of a given Republic have been drawn to this work; (2) that considerable success has been attained in transferring the conduct of the work of all organs of management into the local language; (3) that important support has been given to education in local languages.

The Strengthening of the Party

In turning to questions concerning the internal life of the party, the further internal strengthening of the party, and of raising its cultural and political level, we have to concentrate our attention on the following measures : (1) for the organised regulation of the composition of the R.C.P. ; (2) for the selection and improvement of the personnel of the leading workers ; (3) for the organisation of party work of agitation and propaganda ; (4) for putting into practice the principle of democracy within the party ; (5) for dealing with petty-bourgeois inclinations.

Let us begin with the last.

During the period under review the party on two occasions has had to acknowledge the presence of petty-bourgeois inclinations in its midst. The first time was when illegal groups—the “Workers’ Group” and “Workers’ Truth” Group—although numerically insignificant, were formed inside the party, and the second time when an opposition was formed within the party. This opposition submitted a memorandum signed by forty-six persons to the Central Committee and attacked the majority of the C.C. during the December-January discussions. The “Workers’ Group” and “Workers’ Truth” had no real roots in the party. It was sufficient to acquaint the party with the substance of their work and programme (support of strikes, attack in the tactics of the United Front, the statement that the Soviet rule has become opposed to the working class, an orientation towards the so-called Fourth International and so on) to deprive them of any support, for a considerable part of the workers in the so-called “Workers’ Group” should repent of their anti-party conduct and return to the path of the old bolshevik principles, and for their organisers, being outside the party, to be left absolutely deserted. The so-called Democratic opposition, however, was of considerably more significance for the life of the party. To fight it the party had to develop an extensive campaign of discussions. The substance of the differences of opinion in this discussion is well known to the Communist International and its sections. The opposition had the support chiefly of the student youth of our party, who are only slightly connected with current party work and the working masses. It had most success in Moscow where in one of the six boroughs (the Khamovnitshesky) it received a small majority in the elections to the local borough committee. At the Moscow City Conference it did not even represent a third, while at the thirteenth party conference of the Union of S.S.R. the number of votes cast for the opposition numbered only two out of a total of 128 delegates. The conference, in summarising the differences and analysing the character of the demonstration of the “opposition,” came to the conclusion “that in the present

opposition we have not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only direct divergences from Leninism, but also clearly demonstrated *petty-bourgeois tendencies*. There can be no doubt that the "opposition" is objectively a reflection of the pressure the petty bourgeoisie is bringing to bear on the position and policy of the proletarian party.

The tendencies discovered inside the party placed the question of the organised regulation of the composition of the R.C.P. more acutely in the agenda of the party. This question came up before the twelfth Congress of the R.C.P. in March, 1923, when it was decided to prolong the decision of the eleventh Congress for another year. This decision states that the non-workers were not to be transferred from candidates to full members while the conditions for accepting workers as members were rendered more easy. However, this did not bring about any noticeable difference in the social composition of the party. On January 1, 1923, out of 345,034 party members 154,920, or 44 per cent. were workers, 88,673 or 25.7 per cent. peasants, and 101,441 or 29.4 per cent. office workers and others. On January 1, 1924, out of 328,520 members of the party, 150,238 or 45 per cent. were workers, 80,633 or 24.6 per cent. were peasants, and 97,649 or 29.7 per cent. were office workers and others. On January 1, 1923, there were 93,041 candidates, of whom 34 per cent. were workers, 45.3 per cent. peasants, 20.7 per cent. office workers and others; while on January 1, 1924, out of 117,569 candidates, 39.2 per cent. were workers, 40.6 per cent. peasants, and 20.2 per cent. office workers and others.

After the thirteenth All-Union Party Conference, the party resolved to introduce 100,000 workers from the bench into its ranks. This task has been fulfilled with great success. By April 12, 1924, 268,418 applications for membership of the R.C.P. were received from workers. Up to that date 119,525 comrades were confirmed as candidates. However, this campaign, which has received the name of the Lenin enrolment, is still far from completed. More applications are still coming. This new influx of comrades of the Lenin enrolment has markedly changed the social composition of our party and brings it closer to the broad masses. In January, 1924, 54,000 or one-seventh of our members came from the factories, now one-third is occupied at the bench, while the number of workers as a whole represents three-fourths of the membership.

Simultaneously with the admission of a large number of workers into the party a sifting of the membership is taking place in the capitals where there is a large proportion of Government employees. Those who have become bureaucratic and alien to the party are being excluded. At the present time it is not yet possible to summarise the results of this work, but so far the number excluded amounts from 25

to 30 per cent. of the members examined. This increases the weight of the workers' section in the party still more and makes it more resistant to any form of deviation.

During the past one and a-half years the party has paid considerable attention to the selection of its officials: from the secretary of the gubernia committee to the nucleus secretary. A definite party status has been fixed for secretaries of organisations which made it possible to concentrate on party work better educated and firmer party comrades. The twelfth Congress approved of all these measures, "and considered it necessary to carry on further and support the work of party organisations developed in this direction."

The agitation and propaganda work of the party for this period has developed very extensively. Stability and system has been obtained in the work of the schools and elementary political study circles. The number of comrades attending these schools in twenty-two gubernias is 37,719. In fifty-five gubernias there are 119 marxist circles of an advanced type, with 2,436 students and 868 marxist circles of a normal type with 18,619 students. In the Soviet Party schools (first grade) there are 10,057 comrades, while in the second grade there are 4,553 comrades. Besides this, there are 9,055 comrades in the Communist universities. This is the normal systematic work of the party. The addition of a large mass of workers to the party in the past has made it necessary for the party to mobilise all its forces to educate these workers in the fundamental principles of the party. All the propagandist forces of the party are now engaged in this work.

In conclusion we refer to the manner in which the principles of internal party democracy have been carried out. The question was brought up at the end of the summer of 1923. At the beginning of December, the Political Bureau published its theses on which a discussion developed inside the party.

The thirteenth conference ratified all previously indicated measures and decided, in the first place, that it was essential that the principle of electing party officials be strictly carried out within the limitations recognised by the party, that all questions of party life must be discussed by the nuclei and the party masses in general, if special circumstances do not hinder this; to pay attention to the advancement of new workers, &c.

We can now say that the development of party life in the main is proceeding on these lines. Of course, it is as yet impossible to give figures on the results of this new course, but the obliteration removed of all deviations in the party in all probability will be accelerated by the firm and decisive turn towards workers' democracy.

The party has deliberately set to work to improve the social composition of its ranks, and it is carrying out serious work in

advancing tried workers to leading positions. At the same time, it is intensifying the cultural-educational work in its ranks and attracting the whole mass of party comrades to active participation in party life.

These are the methods with which the party will advance confidently to new successes, to its fundamental tasks, to Communism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

Immediately after the Fourth Congress the Communist Party of Germany found itself faced with the necessity of making important decisions. The unparalleled collapse of German currency, which began in the autumn of 1922 in connection with the reparations policy of the Entente, considerably worsened the standard of living of the proletariat. Millions of workers outside the Communist Party of Germany realised that the proletariat could successfully fight against the bourgeois-democratic State only when it set up organisations of its own. Hence the factory council movement began; the National Congress of Factory Councils in Berlin was supported by millions of workers. The Control Committee movement began in order to combat speculation in necessities of life by direct proletarian action. All these mass movements were energetically opposed by the Social-Democratic leaders and the Trade Union bureaucrats, whereas the Communists succeeded, against the will of the Reformist leaders, to rally great masses of Social-Democratic and non-party workers around the proletarian class bodies (*Factory Councils, Control Committees*). At the turn of the year the *occupation of the Ruhr* was proclaimed. This naturally caused the class antagonisms and the revolutionary situation throughout Germany to become much more acute.

These were the circumstances in which the *Leipzig Congress of the Communist Party of Germany* took place at the beginning of January, 1923. The Congress was divided into a majority (which even then was not entirely homogeneous) and a strong minority—one-third of the delegates represented the so-called left. The left delegates came mostly from Berlin-Brandenburg, Hamburg-Wasserkante, Cologne, and Frankfurt-on-the-Main. They criticised the application of the united front tactic. The majority, on the other hand, with Comrade Brandler as the leader, was of the opinion that one must first unmask the Social-Democratic leaders by applying the tactic of the *united front from above*. In the Leipzig theses, the majority was of the opinion that it was necessary to take advantage of the democratic illusions to which the working class still cling, in order gradually to wean the social-democratic workers from their leaders. The majority declared its readiness to form so-

called *Workers' Governments* in the various German States in conjunction with the social-democratics, in order to start mass movements. The minority declared that these tactics as a whole were opportunist and contrary to the Communist doctrine of the State. Spirited discussions took place at the Congress which might have led to a serious crisis had not the representative of the Executive interfered. The new Central Committee which was elected in Leipzig included eighteen members of the majority and only three of the minority.

Then ensued the *occupation of the Ruhr*. The Party issued the correct slogan—to fight both against German and French capitalism. At the *conferences at Essen and Frankfurt-on-the-Main*, the International pointed out the tasks which were imposed on the entire European proletariat by the occupation of the Ruhr. The International proposed that the Communist Party of Germany issue the slogan of the overthrow of the bourgeois Government and the establishment of a revolutionary workers' Government. But the Communist Party of Germany, in spite of its fundamentally correct standpoint, was not in a condition to kindle an active mass struggle against German and French capital. At the *Ruhr District Conference* of the Communist Party, which took place in *Essen* on the question of the Leipzig Congress, a heated controversy again ensued between the party majority and minority, for the minority demanded an active advance, such as the occupation of the factories, &c.

In order to avoid a split in the party, in the midst of the tense revolutionary situation, the Central Committee invited the representatives of the minority to a *Conciliation Congress*, which took place in Berlin. The upshoot was that the factions ceased the open conflict against one another, but the actual antagonisms were not removed by this conference.

At this point, the *Executive* interfered in the conflict and invited the most important representatives of both factions to come to *Moscow*. The Moscow decisions laid it down that to utilise the democratic illusions, as recommended by the majority theses at Leipzig, was an error; the Executive expressed its faith in the German Central Committee, gave more detailed instructions for the correct application of the united front tactics and arranged for seats in the Central Committee to be given to representatives of the Left.

In the meantime the party majority, in accordance with the Leipzig decisions, tried to apply the tactics of the Workers' Government in SAXONY. With the support of the Communists, the Zeigner Left social-democratic Government was established. This Government pledged itself to proclaim an amnesty and not to oppose the formation of proletarian hundreds and control

committees. On these conditions the Communist fraction of the Saxony Landtag supported the Zeigner Government. But it soon became evident that in the fight between Capital and Labour the Zeigner Government stood on the side of capitalism as every bourgeois or social-democratic Government does. During hunger riots in Leipzig, Dresden, Bautzen, &c., the police shot down the starving proletariat, and a number of workers were killed. The Left wing in the Communist Party new redoubled their demands for the overthrow of Zeigner; the Executive wrote to the German Party, pointing out the dangers of the Saxony situation, and warning the Communist Party of Germany that they must protect themselves against possible capture by the social democratic leaders in Saxony. In spite of this, there was no change in the official policy of the party in Saxony until October.

During the spring and summer of 1923, the economic situation in Germany became considerably more acute; the crisis which started in the Ruhr, crippled the whole of German industry; the currency approached utter annihilation; the masses began an ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT. During the GENERAL STRIKE IN THE RUHR IN MAY, successful armed fights of the workers against the German police and White Guards took place, and in Upper Silesia, Saxony, and other parts of the country, corresponding movements arose. The influence of the social democratic leaders on the masses rapidly declined; the influence of the Communist Party increased accordingly; the possibility of a victorious proletarian revolution was discussed more seriously and to a greater extent even in the ranks of the opposition.

The Communist Party began a more or less successful propaganda among the MIDDLE CLASSES. With the assistance and permission of the Executive, a special campaign against the nationalist fascist movement was instigated with the two-fold object of bringing down the fist of the proletariat on the Fascist methods of terrorism, on the one hand, and to liquidate the nationalist petty-bourgeois ideology on the other. The party was very successful with its propaganda during the summer. On ANTI-FASCIST DAY the Communist Party of Germany organised gigantic demonstrations throughout Germany, and it was felt that a revolutionary situation was at hand.

The sympathy of the small peasants, and tenant-farmers, for the Communist Party and for the International Peasant Council which had been founded in Moscow, manifested itself in various conferences, and showed how these groups were affected by the general ferment.

When the situation became still more acute in August, 1923, the Executive called a conference in Moscow of the Communist Party of Germany and the large neighbouring parties. The

Executive particularly discussed the tasks of the Communist Party of Germany in this situation.

The Executive pointed to the necessity for the party to make political and technical preparations for decisive events in OCTOBER and NOVEMBER. The International at this time rendered the German Party every possible assistance. In order to bridge over the conflict over policy in the party, at the instigation of the Executive, four new representatives of the opposition were elected to the Central Committee, and later three more, so that during this year the number of left representatives increased to 28.

The OCTOBER-NOVEMBER CRISIS indicates a serious BREAK-DOWN OF THE PARTY. It feverishly prepared itself for the decisive struggle during the last weeks in the technical field, it is true, but it was unable to lead the masses into action by a broad politically revolutionary activity. It even went so far as to prevent partial fights. The entry of the Communists in the Saxon Government, which the Executive allowed for the purpose of arming the proletariat, degenerated into constitutional co-operation. The belief prevailed that we could carry the Left Wing of the social democrats with us. The CHEMNITZ CONFERENCE showed that the hopes that were set on the Left leaders of the social democrats were vain. When the Central Committee's plan of action in Central Germany failed the party majority gave up the hope of a successful struggle. At the same time, the big bourgeoisie started a heavy offensive—there followed the military dictatorship of Seeckt, the occupation of Saxony and Thuringia by the Reichswehr, and finally the outlawing of the Communist Party. The party offered absolutely no resistance to these blows. In HAMBURG there was an isolated uprising, where the militant workers were forced to retreat after heroic combat, although the retreat was carried out in a most energetic manner.

The minority on the Central Committee demanded a general strike throughout Germany in support of Hamburg.

This OCTOBER DEFEAT not only seriously affected the German proletariat, but considerably crippled the party itself. The membership in general became embittered over the complete breakdown of the party leadership. In spite of this, the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Communist Party, which met in NOVEMBER, and was attended by the representative of the E.C.C.I. made no criticisms of the past and incorrectly analysed the situation. The Executive was unable to accept the judgment of the Central Committee, but determinedly pointed out to it the serious errors which had been committed in the political preparations for the decisive struggle, particularly in Saxony. AN OPEN SPLIT TOOK PLACE IN THE GERMAN MAJORITY. Most of the former majority in the Central Committee admitted that

the criticism of the attitude of the German Party in October and November made by the Executive, was justified, and they separated from Brandler. Thus the so-called CENTRE came into existence in the German Party along the Right (Brandler) and the Left.

In January, on the invitation of the Executive, negotiations took place in Moscow between the Presidium of the Executive and the various factions in the German Party. This conference resulted in the exclusion of the Right group from the leadership of the party. The theses which were drawn up jointly by the Executive, the Centre and the Left freely pointed out and criticised the errors of the past, went thoroughly into the tasks of the party and the tactics to be used in connection therewith, and emphasised the fact that in Germany at the present time only the UNITED FRONT FROM BELOW is applicable.

From November to March the Communist Party of Germany passed through a difficult period of ILLEGALITY. The White Terror was raging, thousands of workers were sent to prison, or into the concentration camps. Moreover, the party was crippled and politically inactive because of the internal conflicts. In spite of all this, however, the Communist Party was able to hold the mass of the membership together with small injury during the period of illegality. At the various ELECTIONS which took place during this period, the Communist Party gained great successes, for in spite of all the mistakes which the Communist Party committed in 1923, the class-conscious workers saw in it the only front-rank fighter against capitalism and reaction. In THURINGIA, where the persecution of the Communists was perhaps the worst, the votes of the Communists rose from 70,000 to 200,000; in MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN, an agricultural district, the Communist vote increased from 15,000 to 45,000. The result in the municipal elections in Saxony were similar. In many of the large factories in Berlin and throughout Germany, the management dismissed the entire Communist nucleus. In spite of this, the elections to the factory councils returned a Communist majority. In spite of the temporary stabilisation of the mark, the party is well on the way completely to defeat the social democrats in all the important working class localities, and to win over the MAJORITY OF THE PROLETARIAT.

To add to the difficulties of the period of illegality, an acute CRISIS AROSE IN THE TRADE UNIONS. The trade union bureaucrats openly proved themselves to be the yellow agents of the bourgeoisie. They sold the EIGHT-HOUR DAY to the ruling capitalists. The despair and embitterment of the masses resulted in millions of workers leaving the free unions, among them many Communists, who turned against the work in the reformist trade unions.

The reaction realised that the Communist Party could not be suppressed in Germany; on the contrary, it grew more quickly as an illegal party than as a legal one. Hence the formal PROHIBITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY WAS WITHDRAWN which did not, however, put an end to the persecutions.

The ELECTIONS OF DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, which took place in FRANKFURT ON THE MAIN, in April, in accordance with the Moscow decisions of January, resulted in the complete defeat of the Brandler Group, which was unable to return a single delegate. The Left was represented by 92 delegates, and the Centre by 34. This result shows that the party realises the October mistakes. It also indicates a strong radicalisation of the party masses. On the other hand, the members, the majority of whom had lost their employment or had left the trade unions, found here an outlet for their discontent and impatience.

The Executive sent an open letter to the Congress, in which it dealt with the most important party questions. A special letter was sent on the activity of the Communists in the trade unions. In view of Left wing deviations, which recently came to light to a greater extent in the declarations of individual comrades, the chairman of the C.I. sent a letter to the Congress, in which he requested energetic opposition to these deviations.

The Congress for the time being brought an end to the protracted party crisis; the resolutions on the situation and prospects of the party, as well as its immediate tasks, were unanimously adopted. Unanimity could not be arrived at between the Left and the Centre on the questions of tactics, since the latter could not agree with the criticisms to which it was subjected, and with the generalisation: "United Front from Below." The resolution on political tactics imposes the task on the party to organise the every day struggles of the proletariat in the spirit of the "united front from below." The resolution on the trade union question, which was unanimously adopted, decisively opposes the anarchist tendencies of individual Communists leaving the trade unions, but gives no clear slogan for trade union activity. It was emphasised that the Communists must continue to work in the free unions with greater energy, but that at the same time they must, with the assistance of the revolutionary factory councils, extend their activities to the millions of unorganised workers. The NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE was composed of 11 representatives of the majority of the Congress, 3 members of the Centre, and one comrade who inclined more to the right.

The victory in the Reichstag elections, which took place on May 4, and in which the Communists received 3,712,000 votes, shows that the party has made great progress in spite of its difficulties and errors. But the 1,900,000 votes of the Nationalist Fascists show the danger that menaces the German proletariat

from this direction. One of the most urgent tasks of the party will be systematically to combat this danger.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

The decisions of the Fourth Congress compelled all elements in the Communist Party of France, which refused to work honestly and in conformity with the principles of the Communist International, to show their true colours. Accordingly, several hundred lawyers, professors, journalists, intellectuals, freemasons, and political careerists, with Frossard at the head, left the party. They took with them several thousand workers, but in the course of events, the latter returned practically without exception to the party.

The overwhelming majority of the party, as well as the entire French proletariat, regarded the withdrawal of these elements as a relief and a great step forward in the development of the old Socialist Party into a proletarian class organisation. Immediately after this crisis, Poincaré ordered the occupation of the Ruhr, and the party was given the opportunity to prove that it knows better than ever how to protect the interests of the French and International working class. At the conference at Essen (7-1-1923), the representatives of the Communist Party of France and of the revolutionary trade unions, together with representatives from the Communist Parties directly interested in the occupation of the Ruhr, discussed measures for joint action against French imperialism and the German bourgeoisie. As a result of this conference the Communist Party of France developed a comprehensive campaign, during which it brought to the attention of the French proletariat all the consequences of the occupation of the Ruhr. The government prepared for a counter-blow, and ordered the arrest of participators in the Essen conference and the representatives of the Communist Party of Germany. These arrests simply drew the attention of the working class as a whole to the struggle of the Communist Party against imperialism. The leaders of the party and of the revolutionary trade unions, and the representatives of the Communist Party of Germany, sitting together in the same prison, became a clear symbol of the united struggle against the French bourgeoisie.

The party also energetically took part in the Frankfurt Conference which, with its fraternal parties, decided upon further steps in the struggle against imperialism. A permanent German French Commission was formed for the conduct of the common struggle in the Ruhr. Anti-militarist activity in the Ruhr and in France itself was carried on with great intensity, which naturally troubled the French bourgeoisie, and repeatedly became a subject for furious debates in the French parliament. The French and German police joined in the work of frustrating this

work, which was the most comprehensive ever done in the French army in such a connection.

Those comrades who had been arrested at the beginning of the occupation of the Ruhr were released and set about their work with redoubled energy. When the occupation of the Ruhr and its results created a tense revolutionary situation in Germany in the autumn, the Communist Party of France joined with the revolutionary trade unions for the formation of a Committee of Action for the support of the German revolution. When its representatives went to the conference at Moscow, which was to decide upon the measures to be adopted by the most important parties with reference to the ripening German revolution, the Communist Party of France was able to state with satisfaction, that the measures it had already taken were in full accord with the spirit of the Communist International. The Party had developed a comprehensive campaign for the German revolution, and made the question the centre of interest for the French workers.

With reference to the tactics of the united front, the party repeatedly turned to the other Labour organisations whenever opportunity offered. But it did not sufficiently prepare and follow up this activity; the application of the united front from below was especially deficient; on this field the party has much to do. The greatest successes were won in joining with the Socialist Party of France for the formation of a proletarian bloc in the parliamentary elections. The party was able to drive the social democrats into a corner and exercised great power of attraction by means of its slogan: "A Workers' and Peasants' Bloc." The party carried on its election campaign in the spirit of the proposals of the Executive and nine-tenths of its candidates were factory workers or peasants.

On the trade union field, the party worked during this whole period with the utmost harmony with the C.G.T.U., the French section of the Red International of Labour Unions. Second in importance to the strengthening of the C.G.T.U. is the question of the amalgamation of the trade union movement. In this difficult task, which demands careful and patient work from below, the party is still at the very beginning.

During this period, the party carried on a systematic campaign for amnesty, with the result that most of the imprisoned revolutionaries, above all the rebellious sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, were released. The party systematically continued its work in the co-operatives, in the war veterans' organisations, in proletarian sport organisations, and in the tenant leagues, and was able to obtain good results in these fields. It undertook the organisation of the foreign workers and recently tried to enlarge the organisation of the party in the colonies among the native workers.

The Youth organisation vigorously developed during the past year.

The re-organisation of the party on the basis of factory nuclei has been started, and in Paris, as well as in the north, it has made great progress.

In 1923, the party had 55,000 members, of which 60 per cent. were industrial workers, 25-30 per cent. peasants and tenant farmers, and 10 per cent. intellectuals. This year a fresh influx of workers can be observed in all the organisations. The average circulation of the central organ of the party is 200,000. During last year a new daily was founded for Southern France, which has a circulation of 25,000 and has developed very well. The party owns another French and two German dailies, and 30 weeklies, several of them in foreign languages.

The Party Congress was held in January of this year in Lyons. This was the first congress without fractional conflicts, which shows what a healthy development the party has attained since its cleansing of foreign elements. The decisions of the congress were endorsed by the Communist International. On the third day the news came of the death of Comrade Lenin. Sixty thousand workers participated in the funeral demonstration which took place several days later. This was one of the greatest demonstrations held for years, and left a great impression on the entire country.

The rapid deterioration of the economic situation of France which became manifest when, after Poincaré's "Ruhr victory," the reparation payments did not come flowing into the country, expressed itself in the fall of the franc and an accompanying increase in the cost of living. Great agitation prevailed not only among the workers, but also among the middle class and the peasantry, who were justified in fearing that they would meet with the same fate as that of the German middle class. All these groups came to the Communist Party, which was not prepared for so rapid a development. Differences of opinion arose, at first on organisational and personal questions, and then on the internal and external questions of policy. After a few weeks the party leaders prepared theses on the internal situation, on the Russian Party discussions, on the British Labour Government, on the German events, and on the question of the International. Theses were accepted by a vote of 22 to 3. and thus laid down the tasks of the party in France, and its attitude toward foreign questions. Comrade Souvarine, who was in the minority, had previously handed in his resignation as member of the Political Bureau, and had to be dismissed from the editorship of the scientific organ of the party on account of breach of discipline. Comrade Rosmer, who was also in the minority, handed in his resignation as member of the Political Bureau and as general secretary of *L'Humanité*. A

conference of the Federation secretaries, which took place early in April, expressed their solidarity with the majority in the party leadership by a vote of 59 to 2. The National Council of the party in May will probably clear up the question.

On May 11 the parliamentary elections will take place in France. Our party will be the only proletarian organisation which will enter the conflict under its own banner with the slogan: "Workers' and Peasants' Bloc." The elections will show that the party enjoys the confidence of the working masses of France.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

The Fourth Congress coincided with the victory of Fascism. The Fascist terror was, of course, directed mainly against the Communist Party of Italy, which was robbed at one blow of its three daily papers and practically all of its legal press. A systematic annihilation of the Communist local organisations, and murder or arrest of the well-known Communist leaders, was instituted. Without outlawing the party, the Fascist Government used every possible means to annihilate it. The party was taken by surprise, but gradually it rallied, and under tremendous difficulties it proceeded to adjust itself to the new situation.

Its leaders were arrested one after another, and finally, in September, 1923, the entire leadership were arrested. But in proportion as Fascism lost its popularity, our party gained the sympathy and support of the working masses. When in winter of 1923 the leaders of the party were acquitted of the charge of conspiracy, the Communist movement sprang up afresh. Several weekly papers re-appeared, and in January of this year the party succeeded in issuing a daily again. The organisations are being rebuilt, and the party is well on the way to winning its proper position in the Italian Labour movement.

One of the most important questions that confronted the Party was its attitude towards the Socialist Party of Italy. In September, 1922, the majority of the Socialist Party excluded a group of the reformists from the party and announced its readiness to affiliate with the Communist International. Many comrades in the Communist Party looked upon these developments with mistrust and feared that the union with the Socialists endangered the purity of the Communist Party. At the Fourth Congress, where this question was discussed, they submitted to the discipline of the Communist International, and accepted the decision, which demanded the union. But when the reformists still present in the Socialist Party, on the basis of the situation created by the fascist terror, violently opposed this union, the Communist Party neglected to come to the assistance of our comrades in the Socialist Party. Thus the reformists succeeded

in convening a conference at which the supporters of the International, most of whom had been either arrested or forced to take flight, were in a bare minority.

In June, 1923, the enlarged Executive took up this question and found that the leadership of our party did not act in conformity with the decisions of the Fourth Congress. Moreover, the union with the Socialist Party was considered a pre-requisite for a powerful resistance to fascism. As a guarantee for carrying out the decisions, the Enlarged Executive placed comrades in the leadership of the party, who not only adopted the decisions out of discipline, but who were also convinced of their soundness.

After the meeting of the Enlarged Executive the leaders of the Socialist Party proceeded against the followers of the Communist International by excluding them in masses. Whole Federations, in which the majority of the membership was in favour of the Communist International, were either excluded or dissolved. When the Communist Party this year approached the Socialist and Reformist Parties with the proposal to form a joint proletariat bloc against the Fascists, the proposal was rejected by the Socialist Party, but adopted by the Third International Fraction of the party, whereupon the former excluded all those organisations which favoured the proletarian election bloc.

The Communist Party entered the elections with the slogan of the proletarian bloc, together with the adherents of the International within the Socialist Party. The election results showed that the Communist Party was the only one which could hold its own against the Fascists. In spite of the fact that tens of thousands of its followers had been forced to emigrate, and that the most violent terror was instituted against it during the elections, it was able to maintain the number of votes it obtained in 1921, and it was the only party which obtained an increase of seats (19 instead of 15). The social democrats and the petty-bourgeois parties, on the other hand, lost more than half their votes and seats.

The Fascists replied to the election results with a new wave of persecutions. But it is impossible thus to conceal the fact that the fascists have long since lost their popularity, and that the Labour organisations, with the Communist Party at the head, are gathering strength again.

At the end of last year the Communist Party had 10,000 members; after the experiences of the first few months of this year, this number certainly increased to 20,000. The reorganisation of the youth is progressing on a similar scale. Besides the daily *L'Unita*, the party possesses four weeklies in Milan. The party is reorganising its local organisations on the basis of factory nuclei. Its activity in the trade unions is taking two directions. In the Amsterdam trade unions it is carrying on the

fight against the reformists, and it is combating the Fascist trade unions. A systematic fight against the fascist trade unions from within is still in the first stages of development.

In general the activity of the party is becoming stronger in every sphere of the Labour movement, and recently it gained a series of minor successes. As before, one of its most important questions is its attitude toward the Socialist Party and toward the organisations excluded by the Socialist Party; this question will most likely be taken up by the Fifth Congress.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

After the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the First Regular Congress of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia took place in Prague from the second to the fifth of February, 1923, which was attended by 250 delegates, who represented 132,000 members in approximately 3,000 local organisations. Comrades Kolarov and Genarri were present as representatives of the ECCI. After a lengthy discussion of the internal party conflict, the Congress accepted the solution proposed by the Fourth Congress and thus the PARTY CRISIS was LIQUIDATED. Since then, no recurrence of the crisis has been noticeable.

The Congress, which was preceded by a national conference of the district representatives and of the Communist women, adopted all the DECISIONS OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS, sharply opposed the occupation of the Ruhr, and defined the attitude of the party on the question of the united front, the workers' Government, work in the trade unions, and the national question. The first step was taken toward drawing up a Communist policy on the national question, which is an important one in Czecho-Slovakia. Differences of opinion arose, particularly over the trade union question, and criticism was expressed of the slow work of developing the nuclei.

In March, 1923, Parliament, with the enthusiastic support of the Czech social patriots and with the benevolent neutrality of the non-Czech social-democratic opposition, passed the DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC ACT, for which the attempted assassination of the Minister Rasin at the beginning of 1923 serves as an excuse, but which in reality means outlawing the Communist movement. Only the Communists and the Left Wing of the Czech nationalists voted against the law. The stand taken by the Left Wing of the Czech Socialists led to a split in the Czech Socialist Party.

On the occasion of the adoption of this defence law, the ECCI issued a manifesto, and the party continued its mass campaign against it with redoubled energy after the Act was passed in Parliament. In some places, such as Prague and Brünn, conflicts with the police took place. The Communist Party, to-

gether with the International Trade Union League, which is affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions, in vain called upon the other proletarian parties, the youth organisations, and the trade unions, jointly to fight against the onslaughts of reaction. On April 1, 1923, the party called an EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS as a demonstration against the defence law, which was attended by over a thousand delegates out of about 1,400 local organisations, and which demanded the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of a workers' Government. The national Congress of the Youth Section of the party took place concurrently with the Extraordinary Congress.

After the meeting of the ENLARGED EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL in June, 1923, a meeting was held of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, which declared itself in agreement with the decisions of the International, especially with reference to the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

In September the party took part in the Moscow Conference, where the details of co-operation with the Communist Party of Germany were worked out.

October 20-21, 1923, a NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE took place in Kladno, at which the situation in Germany was thoroughly discussed. It was decided to continue and increase activity in support of the German struggle, for which the party had already appealed in its manifesto of August 5, 1923. The conference adopted the following slogans on the occasion of the imminence of the German Revolution: Neutrality of the Czecho-Slovakian State; Hands Off Proletarian Germany; Maintenance of Normal Relations and Economic Co-operation with Proletarian Germany; Energetic Assistance to the German Proletariat on the part of the Czecho-Slovakian working class. In addition, together with the International Trade Union League, the Conference issued a manifesto on the preservation of trade union solidarity and against indifferentism, and discussed a number of questions of organisation, among which, the question of FACTORY NUCLEI was taken up for the first time. The Conference endorsed the organisation of factory nuclei in principle, without, however, recognising them as organisational bases of the movement. The Executive endorsed the line of the tactics adopted by the national conference; but at the same time emphasised the fact that the party must increase its activity among the youth, and especially among the Czech youth; the same applied to activity among the women. In addition, the Executive adopted a policy with reference to the agrarian question.

The National Conference of the Youth Sections of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, which was held on November 4, 1923, also concentrated its attention on the German events.

On the OCTOBER DEFEAT IN GERMANY and on the RUSSIAN PARTY DISCUSSIONS, a National Conference of Secretaries of the party adopted an information report in the middle of January, 1924. The final formulation of the position of the party with reference to both these questions was, however, held over to the National Conference which will take place at the beginning of May, 1924, for the purpose of preparing for the Fifth Congress of the Communist International. The attitude of the party toward the REORGANISATION OF THE PARTY on the basis of the factory nuclei in the spirit of the resolution of the ECCI, was also postponed to this Conference. The party leadership had declared its agreement with this resolution, but raised certain objections which retarded its execution.

The general situation in Czecho-Slovakia during the period under report was characterised by an INTENSIFICATION OF THE SOCIAL REACTION (reduction of wages; inroads on the eight-hour working day; attempts to abolish the latter; reduction of unemployment doles; ignoring, sabotaging, and abandoning of the social regulations; delaying and impairing the proposed law for social insurance; campaign against factory committees) and the SPREAD OF POLITICAL REACTION (Defence law, persecution of Communist organisations; confiscation and prohibition of Communist newspapers; persecution of the Communist youth movement and interference with the red sport leagues; dissolution of the red trade unions and district organisations with a Communist majority; withdrawal of the right of deputies to visit prisoners; prohibiting soldiers from attending Communist meetings; campaign for withdrawing the soldiers' right to vote; interfering with the progressive students; closer union with French militarism; creation of a Supreme Council for Defence on the occasion of the visit of the French General Foch in Prague).

The party took part in the spontaneous and organised MASS MOVEMENT, and in some cases it guided them itself. It was especially active in exposing the circumstances of the bankruptcy of a number of important financial institutions, and also in exposing the tremendous corruption scandals, and in showing up the causes of the permanent coalition crisis. This activity was carried on in the spirit of the TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT, and concentrated on the slogan: Formation of committees for Proletarian Solidarity. Late in the autumn of 1923 it called a national congress of factory councils. On the occasion of the events in Germany, it issued the slogan for the formation of joint committees of workers for the support of the German proletariat.

In spite of various defects and errors in their application, the tactics of the united front resulted in a considerable INCREASE IN THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE of the party. At the district elections in September, 1923, it received approximately half a million votes and proved to be the strongest proletarian party.

At the Parliamentary elections in Carpathian Ruthenia in spring, 1924, it received 100,000 votes out of 250,000. At the elections of the factory committees in the metal industry in 1923, it won 93 places out of 176, while the social patriots received only eighty. Its influence among the railway workers increased from 12 per cent. in 1923 to 20 per cent. in 1924. Over a million workers took part in the May Day demonstrations which the party held in 1923. But above all, the party was successful in bringing about the disintegration of the Czech Socialist Party, and its trade union and youth movements. The party also gained influence among large sections of the intellectuals and petty-bourgeoisie, as well as the Socialist legionary organisation (sozialistische Legionär-Organisation) and succeeded in radicalising the petty-bourgeois organisations of the agrarian party (issuing an opposition newspaper).

THE TRADE UNION QUESTION, now as before, is the most difficult problem with which the party has to deal. After the international Trade Union League was created in autumn, 1922, we were successful in rallying in it all expelled members, and in getting individual red unions to affiliate with it as industrial sections or as independent organisations. This gave rise to differences which, as noted above, could be already perceived at the February Congress. Especially difficult was the question of amalgamating the German and Czech Textile Workers' Section. To clear up these questions, the ECCI and RILU called a special conference, which took place in Prague on March 12, 1923, and which was attended by Comrade Losovsky. The Enlarged Plenum of the RILU, which took place in June, 1923, thoroughly discussed the Czecho-Slovakian question, and particularly the manner in which the two textile workers' sections are to be amalgamated. In December, 1923, the Congress of German textile workers took place, which declared itself in favour of the amalgamation on the basis of the decisions of the RILU.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

While the Fourth Congress was in session, a general election took place in England, as a result of which the Liberal parties were defeated and the Labour Party took their place. The Communist Party candidates obtained over 50,000 votes and secured two seats. For the first time in history, Communists entered the British Parliament.

One of the important questions before the British Communist Party was its attitude to the Labour Party. The Reformist leaders of the trade unions and of the Labour Party in 1923 were still able to prevent the affiliation of the Communist Party, but the number of delegates and votes cast in favour of the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party doubled as compared with 1922. The influence of the Communists

similarly increased; they were able, by mobilising the local unions, to frustrate a manoeuvre on the part of the Amsterdamers to exclude them. The party wields most influence among the unemployed. The "hunger march," which the latter organised, forced the Labour Party and the bourgeoisie to take up the question of unemployment more thoroughly.

During the Enlarged Plenum in 1923, a British Conference was held in Moscow to define and remove the causes for the slow development of the British Party. As a result of the conference, the activities of the party in the trade unions will be changed; its principal tasks in the future will be the formation of an opposition bloc by rallying all the various opposition currents and groupings in the trade unions. The inadequate and aimless application of the tactic of the united front was the subject of severe criticism, and proposals for organisation were made which will make an improvement in the activities of the party possible. In spite of the fact that the decisions of the Conference were not fully carried out, the influence of the party increased in several important unions, *i.e.*, the Miners' Union, Building Workers, Engineering and Metal Trades, &c. The party also has commenced to organise factory nuclei alongside the local organisations.

In addition to this activity, the party concerned itself with all great international questions. When Curzon's Note menaced Soviet Russia with war, the party carried on an energetic campaign against British Imperialism and in favour of Soviet Russia. When the revolutionary movement in Germany ripened in the autumn, the party formed the "Hands Off Workers' Germany" organisation and won over a considerable number of local unions and party organisations. It actively participated in all the great strikes and mobilised the British seamen to come to the aid of the striking German seamen.

On the colonial question the party has as yet accomplished practically nothing. The same is true with reference to the question of supporting the Communist Party of Ireland.

The central organ of the party, *The Communist*, was transformed at the beginning of 1923, into the *Workers' Weekly*, and issued as a popular weekly newspaper. As a result of an energetic campaign, its circulation increased to 50,000. During the elections it appeared as a daily paper printed in 10,000 copies. In addition, the party owns a monthly, *The Communist Review*, which has a circulation of 6,000.

At the parliamentary elections which took place in December, 1923, the Communist Party failed to return a representative, but it increased its vote by 25 per cent. The victory of the Labour Party marks the beginning of the period in which the British working class will learn that reformist methods are inadequate for protecting its interests.

The Executive thoroughly thrashed out the tasks of the party in connection with the Labour Government. It pointed out the reasons for the existence of this Government, exposed its real character, and decided upon the tactics by means of which the party could make the greatest use of the situation.

The activity of the Labour Government during the few months it has been in power consists in carrying on merely a bourgeois policy. Its attitude towards the strikes and the burning working-class questions is already giving rise to strong opposition among its constituents, and even among its members in Parliament. Thus the Communist Party is confronted with a favourable situation and is endeavouring to take advantage of it. The absence of a daily paper is making itself felt more and more, and one of the immediate tasks of the party is to prepare for the establishment of such a daily. In the last few months the party developed rapidly and it is to be hoped that it will finally find its way to becoming a mass party.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The Communist Party of Ireland has been unable to develop beyond its modest beginning. If the party is to make the progress it should, in view of the favourable objective situation, it must receive more material support from the British Party and do more thorough systematic work among the masses.

THE SCANDINAVIAN FEDERATION

A Congress took place in Christiana in January, at which representatives of all the Scandinavian Communist Parties prepared a programme for joint work. An Inter-Scandinavian Bureau with a permanent secretary was set up, which is doing extensive work of information and instruction on questions which demand joint activity in Scandinavia. The question of the further development of this joint work has not yet been taken up by the Executive.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

The development of the Labour movement and the Communist Party in Norway, took a DECIDED TURN since the Fourth Congress.

On December 21, 1922, Tranmael, Bull, and Falk decided to LEAVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, owing to the decision of the Fourth Congress, which demanded the formation of a centralised world party. But the storm of indignation which swept the party temporarily frustrated the carrying out of these intentions. In February the party Congress took place, at which the majority had ninety-four votes, and the minority, which was loyal to the Communist International, ninety-two

votes. Because of the decisive interference of the representative of the Executive, the secession of the party from the Communist International was once more prevented, and the Party Congress pledged itself loyally to carry out all decisions of the Communist International. But the majority utilised its two extra votes to institute a ruthless policy of force, the purpose of which was to get the whole party under its control and to annihilate the minority. Hence the conflict became more acute. The Young Communist League, by an overwhelming majority, took its stand on the side of the Communist International and the minority, whereupon it became the target of permanent attack on the part of the party majority.

In June, 1923, the Enlarged Executive took a stand on the Norwegian Question and once more did everything in its power to enable the majority to carry out the decisions of the Communist International, and to hold off the split. But the reply of the party majority was a more acute fight against the Communist International. **IT REJECTED THE DECISION OF THE CONGRESS ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. IT REFUSED TO REORGANISE THE PARTY** from a broad party of the type of the British Labour Party with collective affiliation of the trade unions, into a real Communist Party with individual membership; **IT REJECTED THE SLOGAN of the Workers' and Peasants' Government as "non-effective"; IT REFUSED TO TAKE THE STAND IN THE TRADE UNIONS IN FAVOUR OF AFFILIATION WITH THE R.I.L.U., and REJECTED THE DECISIONS OF THE ENLARGED EXECUTIVE ON THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION;** in short, it sharply opposed the Communist International on all the fundamental questions. When the party majority called an extraordinary Congress in November, without consulting the Comintern, the Communist International sent an open letter to the Norwegian Labour Party, in which the differences between the leaders of the latter and the Communist International were analysed, and in which the membership was called upon to stand for the loyal fulfilment of the decisions of the International. It announced that those who refused to do this would no longer be considered members of the Communist International. The leaders who were antagonistic to the Communist International, succeeded in provoking the majority at the Congress (169) to break with the Communist International. The minority (110) immediately organised itself as the **COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY.**

After the formation of the Communist Party of Norway, the Executive tried in every way to assist the young party in its new tasks. Close contact has been established between the N.C.P. and the E.C.C.I. The great strikes and lock-outs in Norway have made great demands on the party, and the tactics of the party were repeatedly discussed in the Executive.

The C.P.N. is at present a Communist party with a membership of fifteen to sixteen thousand. The party has sixteen dailies and the leadership of the four largest trade unions of the country. The Young Communist League decided to support it by four-fifths of its vote.

The Executive has invited the Norwegian Labour Party to send representatives to the Fifth Congress, if it wishes to revise its attitude toward the question of its relations with the International.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

The internal situation in the Communist Party of Sweden repeatedly received the attention of the Executive Committee. In view of the events which took place in Norway during December, 1922, and at the Congress in February, 1923, the majority of the party leadership, under the guidance of Comrade Höglund, took up an ambiguous position. It went so far as to support the Norwegian opportunists in its criticism of the "exaggerated centralism" of the Communist International. The Congress of the C.P.S. took place in May, where this policy of the majority of the party leadership met with an opposition which embraced one-third to one-half of the members, and which demanded the faithful carrying out of the decisions of the C.I. The policy of the majority of the party leadership also met with opposition on the part of the Young Communist League, which stands firmly on the side of the Communist International and its decisions. The differences, which thus arose within the party, became the subject of discussion within the Enlarged Executive, where the Communist International took a firm stand against the opportunist digression of Comrade Höglund on the religious question. The Congress of the Young Communist League of Sweden took place after the Enlarged Plenum. Here Comrade Höglund made an unwarranted attack on the Youth Leagues. The Executive was forced to draw the attention of the majority of the party leadership to the fact that in its tactics, the Young Communist League was simply following and carrying out the decisions of the Comintern.

The situation in the C.P.S. became more acute after the split in the Norwegian Labour Party; Comrade Höglund, because of the split in Norway, made unwarranted attacks on the Executive, and demonstratively handed in his resignation as member of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee discussed this situation in December, 1923, in the presence of the representatives of both fractions. After the majority of the party leadership, under the influence of the Executive, had materially moderated its standpoint, the Comintern was able to liquidate the conflict: Comrade Höglund promised to subordinate himself to the de-

cisions of the Communist International and withdrew his resignation. The formal conclusion of the conflict in December has not yet completely liquidated the differences that exist in Sweden. The Executive hopes that the party will quickly overcome these differences in order to be able with greater energy to fulfil the tasks that confront it.

The Executive stresses the importance of intensifying work of education in Sweden by the establishment of party courses and the publication of literature on Leninism.

The party owns two daily papers and a number of periodicals. Party activity took the form of unemployed demonstrations, the fight for a militia, and the campaign against the monarchy.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

In accordance with the decision of the Enlarged Executive in 1923, the reunion of the two Communist parties in Denmark was brought about, so that since October 1 there has existed but one Communist Party in Denmark.

In December, 1923, a Congress took place which consolidated and strengthened the party.

Shortly before the elections in April of this year, a conflict arose with a section of the Students' League which in sympathy with the party, and in which narrow-minded, intellectual elements attempted to foist an adventurous policy on the party. Measures were taken by the representative of the ECCI and the Scandinavian Federation which resulted in a cleansing of the Students' League of elements antagonistic to the Communist International, and a complete subordination of the League and its newspaper to the leadership of the Communist Party of Denmark.

The party still has an insignificant membership. The elections which took place in April resulted in the party obtaining 6,000 votes, it did not secure a single seat in Parliament, in spite of a very good campaign.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF HOLLAND

During the period under report, the factional differences within the Communist party of Holland became so acute that they nearly led to open conflict. In the summer of 1923 discussions took place in Moscow in order to unite the conflicting groups. The opposition accused the party leadership of opportunism, while the Central Committee of the party stamped the opposition elements as syndicalists. The Executive intervened, and together with the representatives of both tendencies, a basis was drawn up on which joint activity might have been possible. But the agreements which were reached were later broken by the Central Committee as well as by the opposition, and the faction conflict was renewed with increased bitterness. The oppo-

sition was already preparing the formation of its own organisation and a split seemed unavoidable. In March of this year the Executive called the representatives of the Central Committee and of the opposition to Moscow, where a second joint platform was drawn up after prolonged negotiations. The lines of activity were set forth by the Executive in a letter to the Dutch Party, in which the work and tactics of the Party with reference to the most important questions, were thoroughly discussed. The sceptical valuation of the international situation last October by the Central Committee of the party resulted in weakening the power of the party for action. In the colonial question the party must adopt the revolutionary outlook of the Communist Party without wavering. The letter was particularly thorough in its discussion of the question of the tactics of the united front and of the trade union question. The tasks of the Communist Party of Holland in the trade union and united front tactics consists not only in bringing about an organisational unity of the trade union movement, but above all in winning over the masses of the workers. In the question of organisation the necessity of developing the party on the basis of factory nuclei was emphasised; and the Central Committee was called upon to bring about democratic centralism within the party. The fractional conflicts within the party must unconditionally stop.

The Congress of the Party took place in Rotterdam on April 12-15. 688 delegates were present, representing forty-eight sections; eight of these delegates represented five opposition sections. All questions, and particularly the question of the trade union tactics, were thoroughly discussed and after prolonged and heated debates, harmony among the conflicting sections was at last reached which will make possible fruitful joint work in the future.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

Immediately after the Fourth Congress, the Communist Party of Belgium was forced to take action in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr. It participated in the Essen Conference and carried out an energetic campaign against the Ruhr occupation. When in February the miners declared a strike in Borinage and Charleroi, and were energetically supported by the Communists, the Belgian Government arrested the leaders of the Communist movement throughout the country on a charge of conspiracy, and brought them all to Brussels. These arrests was a tremendous shock to the masses of workers. The trial of the arrested comrades resulted in a tremendous defeat for the Government and a complete acquittal of the accused. Unfortunately our party was unable to utilise the wide sympathy displayed in an organised manner.

The party formed a new organisation of the miners expelled from the unions by the Amsterdammers. In January of this year it founded a daily paper in the French language after having collected 100,000 francs for this purpose.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWITZERLAND

Nothing important happened within the Communist Party of Switzerland during the period under report which materially affected the development of the party. Several social democratic trade union leaders who were swept into the Communist camp by the revolutionary wave of the years 1917 and 1918, left the party at the beginning of the year 1923. As advocates of trade union "independence" they had opposed the tactics of the formation of fractions and nuclei. Their departure did not have the effect feared by some of the comrades; they left without taking with them even an insignificant number of workers.

During the Vorovsky trial, the Communist Party was able to set the masses of workers in motion and to utilise the trial for the tactics of the united front. In all the larger cities of Switzerland, the Communists organised protest demonstrations against the infamous verdict of the Swiss justice. The referendum which rejected the demand of the industrialists for the abolition of the eight-hour day by a great majority, which lasted several months, and the strike of the lumber workers under the leadership of the Communists, which resulted in what can be designated a victory for the entire working class, demonstrated that the party can fight. But it must be admitted that the party is still far from accomplishing what the Communist International demands of every one of its sections. The every day agitational and propaganda activity, the patient work of recruiting for the party and the party press, activity in the factories, the formation of factory councils, work of education and support of the youth organisations, in short, everything that clearly characterises a Communist Party, is as yet only weakly developed. This is partly due to the mistakes the party committed in carrying out the tactics of the united front. The internal crisis in the party has as yet not been settled; the antagonisms between Basel and Zurich still exist.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Communist Party of Austria had not emerged from its prolonged and serious crisis. This was evident at the elections in October, 1923, in which it received 20,000 votes as compared with 27,000 in October, 1920. The causes of this crisis can be traced to the severe conditions imposed upon the Communist movement in Austria which hamper the carrying out of a concrete programme of action and effective activity among the masses. But the conflicts developed beyond political antagon-

isms to fractional conflicts with a personal taint. Two fractions arose—the Frey Fraction and the Tomann Fraction—which fought for the majority with varying success. The Enlarged Plenum thoroughly discussed the Austrian Question and created a basis for overcoming the antagonisms and for a definite and effective activity of the party. But neither side held to the decisions, and thus the party conflict broke out more acutely and with renewed energy. The Executive repeatedly interfered, and sent the fraction leaders out of Austria, but the Congress which took place in March, 1924, showed that the fractional conflicts had not been overcome and had assumed a more acute character. The Frey Fraction had a majority of one vote at the Congress, and a Central Committee was formed on which both fractions were equally represented. But this Committee never proceeded to fulfil its duties for a directorate was formed which took over the leadership of the party. This circumstance resulted in a more acute situation, expulsions, &c. The Executive energetically interfered and, with the direct participation of one of its representatives, compelled both sections of the party to undertake joint action and endeavour by definite POLITICAL work to overcome the antagonisms within the party. It is hoped that the crisis in the Austrian Party will be quickly overcome by a clear definition of its political and organisational task and work.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF HUNGARY

The objective conditions for the establishment of a Communist Party in Hungary have greatly improved. A series of strikes which were carried on against the will of the trade union bureaucracy; the spontaneous demonstration in March of this year which lauded the Soviet dictatorship and the Communist leaders; the violent opposition which arose in the trade unions as well as in the Social Democratic Party demonstrate that the Hungarian working class is seeking the path to the revolutionary class struggle.

The Communist Party of Hungary was unable to keep pace with this development. On the one hand it was hounded with the same ruthlessness as heretofore (800 Communists are in Hungarian prisons), on the other the Hungarian emigrant group could not bring about the harmony, without which it cannot render effective support to the Communists working in Hungary. Under these conditions the Communist Party is composed of loose nuclei which, however, in view of the more favourable situation of the past few months, will probably rapidly develop.

THE COMMUNIST BALKAN FEDERATION

Since the Fourth Congress, the Communist Balkan Federation has held three conferences. The first conference took place

immediately after the Fourth Congress, and was composed of comrades of the Communist parties of the Balkans, who took part in the Congress. Its principal task was to discuss the carrying out of the decision of the World Congress.

The second conference took place in Berlin in December, 1923, and was attended by representatives of the Bulgarian, Jugo-Slavian, Roumanian, and Greek parties.

The principal questions discussed at this conference were the valuation of the armed uprising in Bulgaria and the national and agrarian questions in the Balkans. The latter questions form the essential point of policy in the Balkans. Without a clear and correct solution of this question, and without a determined carrying out of the lines laid down, fruitful Communist activity in these countries is impossible. Accordingly these questions were discussed separately for Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Greece, and the lines of activity were laid down in resolutions which were endorsed by the Executive of the Communist International.

The Balkan Conference in Berlin elected an Executive Committee and a Presidium of the Federation.

The third conference took place in April of this year and discussed the continuation and correction of the lines which were laid down at the Conference in Berlin.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA

Up to September 12, 1923, when the Communist Party of Bulgaria was outlawed, it had 1,534 party locals (in 87 cities—*i.e.*, in every city of the country, and in 1,447 villages). There were 39,000 members, of which 14,000 were organised into 87 city locals and 25,000 in the village groups. The social composition of the party was: Wage workers, 12,000; semi-wage workers, 12,000; independent members (petty handicraft workers and peasants), 15,000; women, 652; and others, 600. The central organ of the party, "Rabotnicheski Vestnik," had a circulation of 25,000, and was the most widely distributed daily paper in the country. The party also owns a weekly, "Selski Vestnik," which is issued in 15,000 copies. In addition to these, the party issued a number of other periodicals for propaganda among the troops, the women, the emigrants, wounded soldiers, etc. Its scientific organ, "Novaya Vremya," had a circulation of 5,000, and appeared fortnightly. Altogether, the Communist party issued 12 periodicals with a combined circulation of 80,000. Moreover, during the last four years it published 160 books and brochures, with a total number of 1,600,000 copies.

The Young Communist League had a membership of 20,000, three-fourths of which was in the villages. Its organ, "Molo-

dyosh " (Youth) had a circulation of 18,000. The Workers' Trade Union League embraced 19 trade unions with a combined membership of 30,000. Organisationally and ideologically it was in close connection with the party. But in order to facilitate the establishment of a united front with all other trade unions of the country and their amalgamation into a national Workers' Federation, the Workers' Trade Union League prior to September 12, 1923, decided to break its organisational connection with the party.

The party wielded a strong influence among the General Workers' Co-operative Society, " Osvoboshdenye " (Liberation), which was founded in 1920 at the instigation of several party members, and developed rapidly. In 1923 it had approximately 70,000 members, of which 25,000 were members of our party.

The party has 60 educational groups for women, with a membership of 4,400, and an Emigration-Propaganda League (emigrants from Thrace, Dobrudja, and Macedonia), with 18 groups and 3 nuclei, and a total membership of 14,000. A Communist engineering group, with 53 members, was also founded.

The Social Democrats wielded influence only among a section of civil servants, teachers, and about 2,000 railroad workers. The Trade Unions, which are under the influence of the party, did everything possible toward establishing a united front. In August, 1923, the party attempted to create a united front with the party of the " broad " Socialists. But all these attempts were frustrated by the " Broads " and their followers in the above-mentioned workers' organisations. They prefer the united front with the fascists against the Communist party and all organisations under its influence, to a united front against the bourgeoisie. The " Broad Socialists " participated in the overthrow of June 9 and in the Tsankov Cabinet (the Minister of Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, was the " Broad " Kasasov); they also took part in the maltreatment and arrests of the fighting workers and peasants in September.

In January, 1923, directly after the Fourth International Congress, the Party Council of the Communist Party of Bulgaria decided that the party issue the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, and prepare a suitable programme, which, however, was more of a propagandist than of a political nature. The Party Council's interpretation of the tactic of the united front was that it must be established only with the masses from below, and not with the leaders of the Peasant League.

In the election of April, 1923, the party obtained 210,000 votes (out of a total of one million throughout the country) and 16 mandates, in spite of the raging terror of the Peasant Government.

When the overthrow took place on June 9, 1923, the Communist party adopted an incorrect and temporising attitude. In the military putsch against the peasant government it saw merely a struggle between the town bourgeoisie and the country bourgeoisie. This attitude was subjected to severe criticism at the Enlarged Plenum of the Ecce in June, 1923, and it was unanimously decided to issue a manifesto to the Bulgarian workers and peasants calling upon them to fight against the White Guard Coup d'Etat; it was especially declared that the Communist party must participate in the fight with the Peasant League and its leaders. Moreover, Comrade Zinoviev, on behalf of the Ecce, published an open letter to the Communist party of Bulgaria on July 2, 1923, in which he criticised the tactical policy of the Central Committee and set forth the standpoint of the Ecce.

The Party Council (July 1-7) nevertheless unanimously endorsed the tactic of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Bulgaria. Thereupon serious differences of opinion arose within the party. In the face of the menace of the White Guard reaction the party again became unified; it rectified its position with reference to the united front with the Peasant League and the Social Democratic Party, and partially reorganised its central committee. In view of the fact that the Government adopted all necessary measures for the annihilation of the Communist party, our party was compelled to prepare itself for defensive action, which was done hesitatingly at first, but later with growing energy.

On September 12 the Government started an offensive, arrested approximately 2,000 leading comrades, and wrecked some of our organisations. The party attempted to reply with a general strike. A spontaneous insurrection on the part of several of our local organisations was the response. Thus the party was compelled to enter the battle prematurely and insufficiently prepared, and it was defeated in spite of the fact that in many localities it heroically defended itself shoulder to shoulder with all sections of the working-class population.

The defeat of the September uprising, which was unavoidable in view of the provocation of the Government, resulted in the party being outlawed. It became disorganised, and lost a great number of its leaders. On the other hand, the party, because it had placed itself at the head of the uprising—which in many localities had taken the form of a spontaneous popular defence—had won back, at one stroke, its prestige among the masses. The struggle which it carried on against reaction shoulder to shoulder with the peasants resulted in a permanent bloc of workers and peasants.

The difference of opinion which still existed hindered a rapid recovery. On the one side there existed an Extreme Right

and on the other an Extreme Left, both of which were liquidators. Under pressure of the party membership both tendencies were rapidly and painlessly adjusted. But even after this, certain differences of opinion remained; whereas the Right, while recognising and defending the September uprising as a mass action, made certain reservation with reference to the correctness of the policy of the party in September, the Left was of the opinion that the uprising was the only course the party could adopt if it wanted to avoid being completely compromised in the eyes of the masses as a party which is incapable of leading the revolutionary fight of the masses.

With reference to June 9, all the comrades who had hitherto supported the tactic of the Central Committee have changed their attitude—those who previously belonged to the Right wing as well as those who belonged to the Left.

On November 8 the Government, with the consent of all bourgeois parties, including the Social Democratic Party, one of the right bourgeois parties refraining from voting, dissolved Parliament, and, amidst a raging terror, declared a general election. In this election the Communist and peasant bloc received 300,000 votes; 70,000 ballot papers were not filled in, and were cast as a mark of protest. The bloc secured the election of 40 representatives to Parliament, of which eight were Communists. In Sofia Comrade Kabaktchiev, who was in prison, was elected. Six members of the Communist Parliamentary group renounced the party, declared their independence of the Communist party and the Communist International, and assumed the name "Labour Group." These proceedings called forth a protest on the part of the membership of the party, which demanded their expulsion from the party. Only Comrades Kabaktchiev and Stoyanov remained true to their Communist mandates.

In January, 1924, the Government issued a Draconic "Law for the Defence of the State." Under the new conditions a legal workers' party was very quickly formed, but the Government also hounded this organisation in every way, and gave it no opportunity to develop its activity. Recently the Government, taking advantage of the special law, and in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court of April 2, accomplished the following:—

(a) Liquidation of the Communist Party; (b) of the Young Communist League; (c) of the Workers' Party; (d) of the General Workers' Trade Union League; (e) of the Workers' Co-operative Society "Osvoboshdeniya," and confiscated all their property.

Immediately after the September events the "Rabotnitchevski Vestnik" was transferred to Vienna, and a provisional foreign committee was organised. After three months the

paper was enabled to appear illegally in Sofia. In addition several independent legal papers existed in Bulgaria which defended the interests of the working class.

Under extremely difficult circumstances, and with the support and sympathy of the masses, the Communist Party and the Youth League are regaining their strength after these defeats, and are adjusting themselves to the new conditions.

It must be stated that, besides the White Guard bourgeoisie, the Social Democrats also took part in all the violence which has been practised on the Bulgarian workers and peasants, in June as well as in September, and that they must be held responsible. They demanded and sanctioned the liquidation and confiscation of the property of the class organisations of the workers. During this whole period they served as a screen for the counter-revolutionaries, and since June 9 they have been exerting themselves to lead working-class democracy in Europe astray.

The Balkan Conference, which took place in November, discussed the situation in Bulgaria. In February the Eccei made a re-valuation of the Bulgarian events, and adopted a special resolution, in which the following were discussed:—

- (b) The White Guard Coup d'Etat in June;
- (b) The armed uprising in September;
- (c) The difference of opinion in the party;
- (d) The united front;
- (e) The political situation and the immediate tasks of the Communist party of Bulgaria.

In this resolution the September uprising was stamped as a popular uprising; the causes of the defeat were analysed, conclusions were drawn, and the tactic of the party was sanctioned. It also formulated the tasks of the party under the new conditions.

This resolution closed the ranks of the whole party, and its leaders are now working together harmoniously. The crisis in the party has been overcome, and a new period of development and intensive activity has set in.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JUGO-SLAVIA

Since 1920 the Communist party of Jugo-Slavia has been prohibited and is illegal. The Independent Labour Party of Jugo-Slavia is functioning as the legal revolutionary workers' party.

Jugo-Slavia is typical of the new States rended by the problems of nationalities. The ruling Serbs constitute not quite 40 per cent. of the population, the Croatsians are next, then the Slovenians, the Dalmatians, Hungarians, Germans, etc.; 79 per cent. of the population live by agriculture. These two facts sufficiently demonstrate that the task of the Com-

munist party of Jugo-Slavia, in addition to winning over the industrial proletariat, must be the winning over of the peasants and the masses of oppressed nationalities.

Because of the illegality which was suddenly forced on the party in 1920, and also because of the presence of muddled and reformist elements in the party, a prolonged fractional struggle existed in it, in which the executive was compelled repeatedly to interfere. After the Fourth Congress, and with the establishment of the Independent Labour Party, these fractional conflicts diminished, and the conference of the Communist party of Jugo-Slavia, which took place in May, 1923, showed that the party is now well on the way to recovery. The executive sent a letter to the Conference, in which it analysed the tasks of the party with reference to the national and the peasant questions. In the national question the party should carry on a campaign for absolute self-determination of nationalities, even to the point of actual separation from the Jugo-Slavian State. In the agrarian question the party must do everything possible to win over the discontented peasants; it must strive to organise and establish contact with the opposition peasant organisations.

The conference of the Balkan Federation, which took place in Berlin, thoroughly discussed all questions concerning the Jugo-Slavian party, and prepared theses in connection therewith. In the spring of 1924 a referendum was taken in the party in place of a congress, as a result of which the resolutions on the most important questions were adopted in the spirit of the proposals of the Communist International and of the Balkan Federation, and the party leadership was elected.

The Independent Labour Party of Jugo-Slavia, which was founded in the spring of 1923, is not legal in all parts of Jugo-Slavia, and is often upset by waves of persecution. Its organisational development and the task of rallying its battered strength is proceeding slowly. It owns four weekly papers, of which the one in Belgrade will soon be enlarged into a daily. It is the guiding spirit of the revolutionary trade unions, which, however, are still very weak, even though they are numerically superior to the reformist unions. The establishment of contact with the peasant masses and the work of carrying on an important national and agrarian policy are still in the first stages of development.

The party took part in leading various strikes and organised demonstrations, as for instance, during the uprising of the Bulgarian workers and peasants. It took part in the elections in spring 1923, but it was still too disorganised and unstable to obtain any mandates. In the municipal elections in the autumn it put forth candidates in fourteen cities and obtained fifty-three mandates.

During the last few weeks the opposition parties in Parliament formed a coalition and obtained a majority, which resulted in a change in the political life of Jugo-Slavia, and temporarily offered the party greater freedom of action, and will allow it to regain the position it occupied in the Jugo-Slavian labour movement in 1920.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUMANIA

During this whole period the Communist Party of Rumania was in a state of semi-illegality. In Bessarabia and in other newly-conquered parts of the country it was never legal. This circumstance alone is sufficient to have a weakening effect on the organisation; but in addition there are the various forms of the individual organisations in the newly-acquired sections which do not contribute to the development of a unified Communist party.

Comparatively speaking, the party was able to develop best in Old Rumania, where it had a daily paper in Bukharest with a circulation of 10,000, a Hungarian weekly with 11,000, and a Bulgarian weekly with 2,500. Since 35 per cent. of the inhabitants are not Rumanians, and 80 per cent. are peasants, the principal problems of our party consist in the correct solution of the national and peasant questions. The Balkan Federation endeavoured to be of assistance to the Communist party of Rumania in these two questions. In view of the continual arrests and prohibitions the party was unable to carry on a systematic political activity. The party enjoys the sympathy of a large section of the toiling masses (which was evident at the Trade Union Congress in May, 1923, where the party had two-thirds of the delegates), but it has not yet been able to take advantage of it organisationally.

In the spring of 1924 the Communist Party of Rumania made its first attempt to set up an organisation with the party of the peasant opposition, and made it a united front proposal with concrete aims. After the victory of counter-revolution in Bulgaria it approached all the labour organisations for the purpose of joint action in support of the refugees.

When the Vienna Congress took place between Rumania and Soviet Russia on the question of Bessarabia our party carried on an extensive campaign for the self-determination of Bessarabia and against the Rumanian annexation. After the conference ended without result the Rumanian bourgeoisie replied to this campaign with a general attack on the party. All the newspapers of the party were prohibited, and all the leaders who did not take flight in time were arrested. This defeat momentarily crippled the party, but it increased the sympathy of the masses, and especially of the nationally-oppressed masses.

The Balkan Federation took proper measures at its conference in April of this year for assistance of our party in its state of illegality. The conference could state with satisfaction that several weeks after this defeat the Communist Party, even though illegal, resumed its activity.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

The political life of Greece is controlled by two factors. In the first place, from 1912 to 1922, Greece was involved almost continually in war; in the second place, the backbone of Greek capitalism is merchant capital, which does not rely on any heavy industry; thus the whole capitalist development is on a very unstable basis. Our Communist party is the only Labour party in the country, and the leader of the overwhelming majority of organised workers. In these circumstances it should be one of the decisive factors in the country. But it has not yet trained its own organisation for the application of a clear proletarian policy, and has not yet been able to establish contact with the masses of discontented peasants and refugees, which constitute the great majority of the population. In the national question it has not yet carried out an active Communist policy.

After the defeat of the Greek army in the autumn of 1922 the Executive gave the party detailed instructions which accurately set forth its attitude toward the bourgeois revolution. But at this time the party was too weak and too confused to carry on a consistent policy. The party attained a certain degree of stability at the meeting of the National Council which took place in April, 1923, and where, in addition to taking up positions on principle, it adopted several measures, not extensive, though against the reformist-opportunist elements in the party.

In August, 1923, a general strike was called under the leadership of the party. The strikers failed to obtain their economic demands, but, on the other hand, the Government did not dare to carry out the mass arrests of Communist leaders which it had intended.

In October, 1923, the Party Congress took place, where still more reformist elements were cleaned out. The party took an active part in the conference of the Balkan Federation. During the uprising of the Monarchist, Metaxas, the party supported the Republicans. On the occasion of the popular referendum on the question of the Republic the party voted for the Republic in accordance with directions received from the executive.

The party took part in the elections. In several districts it received 30-40 per cent. of the votes, but did not obtain a

single seat. The central organ of the party appears daily, and its circulation is increasing.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND

The period from the Fourth to the Fifth Congress is one of the most important chapters in the internal development of Poland. On November 5, 1922, the first elections to the ordinary Parliament were held. The results were as follows: the bourgeois Right Wing was strengthened (32.3 per cent. of the votes) at the expense of the urban petty-bourgeois parties. The peasantry (26.5 per cent. of the votes) polarised into a Right Wing ("Vitos") and Left Wing ("Vizvoleny," Okon Group), with a considerable strengthening of the latter. The national minorities appeared on the political horizon as a considerable power (20.5 per cent.). The parties which entered the elections as Labour parties (National Labour Party, the Polish Socialist Party, the Jewish Bund, and the Communists) received a combined vote of 1,600,000 (18.3 per cent.).

After the elections the Right Wing took up a determined offensive against the former regime of the petty-bourgeoisie (Pilsudski). The murder of Narutovich, the democratic newly-elected President of the Republic, served as the signal for this offensive. Its slogan is "A purely Polish majority."

The Left Wing can rule only with the support of the national minorities.

In May, 1923, the Right Wing obtained power on the basis of a compromise with the rich peasants on the alteration and carrying out of the agrarian reform (Vitos-Glombinski Government). Pilsudski resigned from the army and issued a call to battle directed against the Government. Very quickly the latter suffered annihilating defeats on the economic field, for during its regime the disintegration of the finances reached its most acute stage. A foreign loan miscarried. The cost of living increased from 100 to 200 per cent. every month. A wave of strikes in July, and a much greater one in October (Upper Silesia, Lodz, Galicia) shook the land. The civil servants also got into a ferment. The great railway strike in October led to the Cracow uprising on November 6, which the Socialist party immediately called off. The radicalisation of the peasantry proceeded. Gradually two groups split away from the Vitos party and went over to the opposition. The Government, which the most prominent leaders of the Right Wing, Dmowski and Korfanty, entered at the eleventh hour, fell in December, 1923. But the Left Wing did not seize power, for it feared a possible revolutionary development; a Compromise Government was established, with Grabsky at the helm. It wants to be non-party; the only programme it has is to put finances on

a firm basis; and it is supported by all the parties except the Communist, the White Russians, and the Ukrainians.

The mark has been stabilised since January, 1924. An economic crisis broke out as a result. There followed a general offensive of capitalism, decrease in wages in February and March, and fresh assaults on the eight-hour day in Upper Silesia, which resulted in an increase of one hour after a defensive strike lasting one week. The Government declared its neutrality in this question, but allowed strikers to be shot down in the Dombrov Basin. The Socialist Party of Poland constantly voted for the Government.

During this whole period the Communist Party of Poland was illegal. The regime became more severe.

The Communists took part in the elections for the first time. A "League of the Proletarians of Town and Countryside" was organised as a legal party. In many districts its lists were declared invalid. All manifestoes and all ballots with the Communist number were confiscated. Several hundred members of the election committee were arrested, several sentenced to four years' imprisonment, but most of them were freed after six to twelve months by a decision of the Court of Appeal. No election agitation was possible. In spite of all this, List No. 5 received 128,000 votes and elected two deputies to Parliament: Krolkovsky (Warsaw, 27,000 votes) and Lancucki (Dombrov Coal Basin, 33,000 votes). The former, the chief defendant in the great Lemberg trial, was freed from prison because of his election, although he still had three years to serve.

In April, 1923, the "League of Proletarians" took part in the municipal elections in Lodz. But its list was annulled and the candidates sentenced to two-three years' hard labour.

On the other hand, it was able to participate in the municipal elections in the small industrial town of Zyrardiv, near Warsaw, in April, 1924 (textile industry, where it obtained a symptomatic victory, namely, 2,200 votes out of 8,000 against 1,700 votes for the Socialist Party of Poland.

In the Trade Union movement the red opposition carried on a policy of capturing the Trade Unions. The expulsion campaign which the Central Committee of the Trade Unions carried on was perhaps a little less brutal in 1923, since the Socialist party carried on a sort of opposition against the Right Wing Government of that time, and was compelled to assume a more radical character. With the altered political situation the tendencies in the Socialist party to splits and expulsions have become more acute. The two red sections of the Metal Workers' Union (Lodz and Dombrov) which were expelled and have existed independently, have developed very little. In summer 1923 the opposition gained a great victory in the Textile Workers' Unions (160,000 workers, 70,000 members).

Out of 67 delegates at the Congress, 35 were red, including every delegate from Lodz. But the Central Committee remained in the hands of the reformists, since the old Central Committee voted for itself.

In March, 1924, after the Warsaw District Committee of the railway workers was dissolved by the Central Committee, a congress was called, to which the opposition sent 65 out of 69 delegates. In Warsaw they captured the majority of the town proletariat, but the elections were annulled by the Central Committee. They captured a number of Jewish trade unions, upon which most of these were dissolved by the Government. In general, the opposition is progressing in the Trade Union field, and determinedly stands by the former policy of capturing the Trade Unions.

The most important undertakings of the party were the strike of the metal workers in Warsaw in July, 1923, the national strike of the miners, textile workers, and railway workers in October-November, 1923, in Cracow.

The party played a leading role in the October strike in Upper Silesia, which, in this area, infected as it is with nationalism, was an epoch-making event. The Committee of Factory Councils, formed by the reds, carried on a general strike in opposition to *all the Trade Unions*, which lasted ten days, and ended in victory. The former rebels of Upper Silesia put themselves at the disposal of the committee for the purpose of protecting the demonstration. After the strike the whole committee was arrested. This strike marks a turning-point in the class-consciousness of the Upper Silesian workers.

In all other undertakings our comrades played important roles, but the party was unable to seize the leadership. In Cracow itself our organisation is extremely weak, and played no important part in the events there.

Since February, 1924, we have agitated for a workers' congress for the purpose of organising the fight against the capitalist offensive; this agitation is being conducted among the rank and file. A number of decisions of trade union sections and cartels in this connection are already at hand, but up to the present the organisation of this undertaking has not progressed.

The tactics of the united front are continually applied. In the textile strike in Lodz a Control Commission of the trade unions was organised, comprised of workers of all shades, which gave the signal for the strike, but quickly collapsed.

At the sick-fund elections in the Dombrov District we proposed to the District Committee of the Socialist Party that we put in a joint list on the basis of a definite programme of action. It looked as though we might succeed when the Government postponed the elections, and very quickly the Central Com-

mittee of the Socialist Party rescinded the decision of its committee. We took full advantage of this in our propaganda. (The elections have not yet taken place.)

With reference to the *peasant question*, the Second Congress, after lively discussion, set forth the attitude of the party on the question of relations with the peasantry. The Party Congress issued the slogan, "All land to the peasants," and decided to develop energetic activity in order to gain influence over the broad peasant masses in the interest of the workers' and peasants' alliance for the revolution, and to wean them from the influence of the bourgeois parties and rich peasantry.

The "left" opposition, which in 1922 still openly used the "Socialisation of Land" as its only slogan, tried to carry through its views at least partially at the party congress, where it tried to show how the agrarian structure of the individual provinces of Poland differed from each other; demanded socialisation for individual districts, and proposed formulas which regarded the proletarianised peasantry as a sort of appendage to the agricultural proletariat, and ignored the significance of the peasant masses as allies of the proletariat in the revolution.

With reference to the *National question*, the Second Congress adopted a basic resolution which proclaimed the right of self-determination and recognised the support of the struggle of the Ukrainians and White Russians as a task of the party. Our representatives in the Seim made several speeches against the oppression of the minorities, which made a fine impression. The new position taken up by the party enabled us to liquidate the conflict with the Communist party of East Galicia. That party remains a large district section of the Communist Party of Poland, but will assume a new name: the Communist Party of West Ukraine. At the same time we organised a Communist Party of White Russia, which soon affiliated with a national-revolutionary White Russian peasant organisation, which is also an illegal organisation. In the Ukrainian Social-Democratic party a process of radicalisation set in which led to the resignation of five Social Democratic representatives from the Ukrainian National Club. These comrades are working hand-in-hand with the Communist fraction in the Seim.

Among the Jewish proletariat we made rapid progress. In the most important Trade Unions the opposition captured the majority.

As far as the *internal situation of the Communist Party of Poland* is concerned, the Second Congress (late in summer of 1923, the first one since 1918) marked an important epoch in the development of the party. In all questions (national, peasant, and organisation questions) it adopted the standpoint of bolshevism, which was the result of a prolonged struggle in

the party with old traditions, and which gave the party a clear policy in this fundamental question.

At the Plenum of the Executive Committee in December, 1923, certain opportunist deviations in the application of the united front (especially in the Trade Union field) were indicated, and in an open resolution it drew the attention of the party to these defects. On the other hand, a weak "left" opposition exists in Warsaw, which in principle opposed the tactics of the united front, the "division of the land" and the new policy with regard to the national minorities (right of self-determination). (At the Warsaw District Conference in February, 1923, the proportion of votes was 4 to 19.)

On the German question the Polish delegation voted for the theses of the E.C. in January, but supplemented them by an explanation, in which it pointed out the following shortcomings in the decisions: (1) They failed to criticise the Left deviations; (2) They branded the old Spartacans (Zetkin, Brandler, Walcher, Thalheimer) as an opportunist Right Wing, which implies their complete elimination from ideological influence on the party.

In the Russian question the attitude of the Polish Central Committee was as follows: (1) In view of the dangers that would arise if the party conflicts were to become more acute, the Polish Central Committee directed an authoritative declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia, which was to direct the discussion into the channels suitable to the nature of the points in conflict. When the December Declaration of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party "Against the increased acuteness of the Party Discussion," was issued, the Central Committee of the Polish Party greeted it with satisfaction; (2) It stated that the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, its leadership, and the whole policy it pursued heretofore, from the point of view of the Polish Party, is a policy of the victorious Russian Revolution, and that all attempts to change or weaken it or to limit the influence of the party on the State and economic apparatus, and to carry on a disorganising fractional struggle, must be condemned by the entire Communist International.

At the Plenum of the Central Committee, which took place in April, the entire activity of the party was submitted to a thorough criticism in connection with all tactical questions, and a number of decisions of an organisational and tactical nature were adopted. Its general tendency was to increase the activity and initiative of the party on every field, and ideologically and organisationally to consolidate and stabilise the entire party. The party, as a whole, under the leadership of the Central Committee, must offer a determined front to the

dangers of "Right" deviation, which menace it especially during the present difficult period.

Recently a group of four comrades got together abroad and published theses in the Berlin "International," in which they attack the decisions of the Second Party Congress, particularly in the Agrarian and National questions, try to represent the whole party as opportunist because of its tactic of the united front, accuse the Central Committee of supporting the Russian Opposition, and demand the calling of a party congress to unseat the present Central Committee. The formulators of these theses are trying to organise a fraction from abroad.

Organisationally the party is much stronger to-day than it was a year ago (Upper Silesia, Peasant Organisations, West Ukrainian, and White Russian Parties, and the Jewish Organisations). The Central Committee is energetically working to carry out the principles of factory nuclei more earnestly than heretofore. In the *Voice of the Communist* (illegal weekly bulletin of the Central Committee) a lively discussion was carried on over the question of making the organisation more effective.

PERSECUTIONS.—Since the Fourth Congress the number of our political prisoners has greatly increased. One thousand Communists are in prison to-day as compared with 400 at that time, in addition to 3,000 Ukrainian and White Russian peasants. In October, 1923, about 2,000 comrades were under arrest for several weeks in connection with the German events. This considerably weakened the activity of the party during the intense strike period. The period is rich in great political trials.

The most well-known of these are :—

December 1, 1923. The trial of the Ukrainian Communist Conference in the St. George Cathedral in Lemberg. The principal figures were Krolikovsky, Gikhovsk, Grosser (a woman), Krilyk, and Langer, who carried on an effective Communist agitation by their behaviour. The stenographic report was widely circulated. The majority of the defendants were acquitted by the jury, although the State prosecutor demanded the death penalty.

2. Trial of nine youths, of which five were soldiers, on charge of spreading Communist propaganda in the army (April, 1923). Sentences of from three to seven years' imprisonment were pronounced.

3. Trial of thirty-one youths in April, 1924. Twenty-one defendants were sentenced to a total of sixty-nine years imprisonment.

4. Trial of fifty-one workers in Upper Silesia in connection with the October strike. Most of the defendants were acquitted.

Eight legal periodicals were shut down and practically every number of our periodicals were confiscated. Two editors were sentenced to imprisonment.

Eight union sections were dissolved, their headquarters seized, and their property confiscated. Fifteen hunger strikes were carried on in the prisons, which resulted in the death of three prisoners (seven died from the after-effects). About twenty workers were killed in the various demonstrations, and over a hundred were wounded. One woman was tortured to death while under cross-examination. The arrested comrades are systematically beaten and tortured.

THE LETTISH COMMUNIST PARTY

During the period after the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Latvia passed through a serious economic crisis caused by a bad harvest and by a diminished transit service to Soviet Russia. In the towns many large industrial concerns have to close down, and in the countryside there is a dearth of seed and fodder on small and middle farms.

Economic disintegration cause frequent Government crises. Some of the discontented join the fascisti who thus gain in strength.

On the other hand, these critical conditions have aroused the masses. In 1923, a big strike wave swept over Latvia, the strikers numbering 13,725. Most of the strikes ended, however, in complete or partial defeat for the workers. This was due to the fact that the mensheviks caused splits even in small local organisations where Communists had a majority, these splits making organised trade-union work impossible.

The Lettish working class stands in great need of a united front in the trade union movement. The Communist Party during recent years made great efforts to establish such a united front. Although the social-democrats are opposing our efforts in this direction, we have achieved a considerable amount of success. Thus for instance, at the last All Lettish Congress of the menshevik trade unions, a motion to refuse admission of the Left trade unions to the Congress was defeated by seventeen votes against fourteen.

Apart from the task of establishing a united front in the trade union movement, the Party realises the necessity of a united front also in other branches of the Labour movement, as for instance, in connection with insurance, sports, &c., and also the co-operative movement which must be completely re-organised as it has been utterly destroyed by the mensheviks.

Among other important tasks confronting the party is the necessity to bring the poor and landless peasantry under Communist influence, as a successful labour movement is impossible without the collaboration of the peasantry. The main lines of the agrarian policy of the party were laid down at the last Seventh Party Congress which emphasised the importance of

union with the peasantry. Since that Congress the party has been very active in that direction, and not without success.

The national problem occupies an important place in the work of the party. Never before was chauvinism so rampant in Latvia. The party carries on an energetic and successful struggle against nationalist aberrations. By this attitude the party gained much influence over the poor Jews and the Lettish peasantry.

The party was unable to develop its system of organisation as much as it would have liked during the last eighteen months, because of the continuous persecutions and arrests, as well as because of the general depression resulting from the economic crisis. The organisational work of the party was mainly directed towards the strengthening of the party apparatus which became depleted by the continuous arrests.

In the course of the last eighteen months the party convened two conferences and one Congress at which special attention was paid to united front tactics and to union with the peasantry. Since November 7, 1922, the following publications were issued: sixty-three manifestos (800 to 850 thousand copies), twelve numbers of the central organ *Kampf* (90 thousand copies), three numbers of the central organ of the Young Communist League *Der Junge Kommunar*, sixteen numbers of the organ of the Libau Committee *Der Kommunist* (all of them in the Latvian language), and fourteen numbers of the *Pravda Malodjoschi*, and three numbers of the *Bolshevik* in the Russian language. A few proclamations in the Jewish language were also published.

THE LITHUANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of Lithuania is a completely illegal party. There is no legal press activity and periodical arrests take place. Nevertheless, the Lithuanian Communist Party, far from being weakened, has grown in strength. The influence of the party is on the ascendant. The crisis which convulsed the party before the Fourth Congress has been overcome.

During that crisis factory nuclei were developed and an impetus was given to work in the army and in the countryside. At the same time, there has been a development of illegal press activities. The following publications appeared regularly, the Central organ *Kommunistas* (once a month), the soldiers' organ (in Lithuania). The following organs appeared irregularly:—*Das Blatt der Arbeiterinnen*, *Unsere Wahrheit* (in Jewish and Polish). Moreover, the publication of leaflets in various languages was also increased. The Central Committee also developed special activities in connection with all important events at home and abroad (Seim elections, May 1, revolutionary movement in Germany, growth of reaction in Lithuania, un-

employment, &c.). The party was particularly active in connection with the efforts of the Lithuanian Government at a rapprochement with Poland, directed against the Soviet union. This on the one hand, increased the influence of the party in the country, while on the other hand it intensified the repressive measures against the workers with radical sympathies.

Of the more important questions, the national question and the peasant question were dealt with by the party in a bolshevik spirit. Suitable slogans have already been introduced into our regular agitation and propaganda work, with satisfactory results. The slogan of the workers' united front against the bourgeoisie was applied at first from the top. Subsequently these tactics were reversed with considerable results.

Since the summer of 1923 the Lithuanian Communist Party concentrated on the improvement of the work within the Young Communist League. Work among women has improved.

On the whole, the activity of the party during this period has considerably improved. The organisation itself has grown in strength, although in some places the work is but feeble.

Since the beginning of 1923 the Lithuanian Communist Party began to extend its activities to the Memel region where hitherto no Communist Party existed. Only "Unionists" had a foothold there. But now there is already a local organisation of the Lithuanian Communist Party there, and its influence is growing.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ESTHONIA

Toward the end of the first quarter of 1924, the economic situation became catastrophic. Industry is facing a crisis, unemployment is becoming more acute than ever before, and the cost of living is increasing. Low wages and the heavy burdens of taxation are driving the masses to fight against the existing regime.

During this period the party carried on agitation and propaganda for the immediate demands of the workers and poor peasants. At the Third Party Congress, which was held in autumn, 1922, after the murder of Comrade Kingissepp and after the destruction of part of the Party apparatus, the tactics of the united front was adopted.

As a basis for the united front, twelve labour demands directed against the bourgeois Government of Esthonia were drawn up. These demands were adopted by every revolutionary Labour organisation and became the general demands of the whole working class. In the struggle for the fulfilment of these demands, the influence of the Communist Party among the masses irresistibly increased. On the basis of these demands the Communists, together with the revolutionary Labour organisations and the Left wing of the landless peasants, for the first

time put up a joint list of candidates for the elections to the national assembly, which took place in spring, 1923. The united front ticket received a considerable number of votes. During the municipal election which took place in the autumn of the same year the social democrats were defeated in practically every locality. The results given below in four important cities, plainly show how the influence of the Communist Party is growing :—

	Number of seats obtained in	
	1921	1923
Communists and groups in sympathy with them (United Labour Front) ...	41 ...	81
Social Democrats	41 ...	17

The influence of the Communist Party is increasing to the same degree among the peasants.

The bourgeoisie endeavour to combat the growing influence of the workers by measures of suppressing the Labour movement. At the end of January of this year over 250 active workers were arrested, including all the deputies representing the Communists and the Labour fraction in Parliament and on the municipal bodies. The Workers' Party, with its 105 locals, 124 trade unions, and the Workers' Sport Clubs were dissolved.

The organisational basis of the Party is the factory nucleus, and the estate and village nucleus. This type of organisational structure established close contact between the party and the non-party masses, and made possible the continuation of the fight after the raids and reprisals. At present we have 3,250 members.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

Because of its illegal status, the Communist Party of Finland (founded in 1918) is formally composed of the most active workers of the Finnish revolutionary proletariat. It has 1,000 permanent and active members.

The legal Finnish Socialist Labour Party (founded in 1920) worked parallel with the Finnish Communist Party. Without being affiliated with the Comintern, it has developed its activity on the basis of a Marxian revolutionary programme and is in close sympathy with Communism. At the beginning of 1923 it had 24,000 members, the majority of whom are industrial workers. But the party also has agricultural wage workers and a certain number of small land-owners and tenants in its ranks. The intellectual elements in both parties is numerically insignificant.

The Communist Party possesses only one periodical which appears in 1,000 to 3,000 copies, according to requirement. It

is circulated among the members of the party and among the responsible comrades in the legal movement.

The Finnish Socialist Labour Party had six periodicals, of which five were in the Finnish and one in the Swedish languages. Two of them appeared daily and three appeared four times a week. In addition, two periodicals appeared twice a month. These publications had a combined circulation of 39,000.

In August, 1923, after several months of preparatory activity, the bourgeois Government of Finland dissolved the legal party. All the leading comrades, as well as the entire Parliamentary fraction, were arrested. Simultaneously all the periodicals of the party were suppressed and the printing office and its equipment were confiscated. After August, 1923, the revolutionary workers of Finland no longer possessed a legal, nation-wide mass organisation.

The Communists took part in the Parliamentary and municipal elections. The last Parliamentary elections took place at the beginning of April, 1924, amidst unheard-of terror. Since the Socialist Labour Party was not even allowed to be mentioned, the revolutionary working class appeared at the elections under the banner of the "Socialist Workers' and Small Landowners' Election Society." This revolutionary union altogether obtained 99,000 votes—10.5 per cent. of the total number of votes cast. At the elections of the previous year, the Finnish Socialist Labour Party received 128,000 votes. This year the party obtained eighteen seats as compared with twenty-seven in the year before.

In the trade unions the Communists and the workers sympathetic to Communism have a decisive majority. The social democrats are in the majority in the Central bodies of only four trade unions (the typographical union, the weavers, the workers in the paper industry, and the railwaymen). The factory council movement has not yet been brought on the right track and hence it is impossible to estimate the influence and power of the Communists by the elections of the factory committees. The Finnish Socialist Labour Party was organisationally built up on the basis of political election districts and local territorial branches. The locals of the trade unions to a considerable degree served as the branches of the party in the provinces.

Prior to the summer of 1923, the Communist Party of Finland was organised in the same manner, but at the same time it depended for support on factory nuclei. Since the dissolution of the legal party, a complete transformation took place in the organisational structure of the party in autumn of 1923. Because of the state of production and out of consideration of class war strategy, the country was divided into districts in which district branches of the party were organised: the primary organisations were shifted entirely to the factories, and the

district division will be retained wherever this is necessary, only in the agricultural areas. The party has spread a close network of nuclei over the army.

The revolutionary workers also wield considerable influence among the Workers' Sport Club (30,000 members) and in the Workers' Teetotalers' Union.

The Communist workers in the trade union movement have done everything possible to preserve unity in the trade unions. The leaders of the social democrats, on the other hand, carried on a campaign for the purpose of splitting the unions, and were energetically supported by the bourgeoisie. There were times when the dissolution of the trade union organisations by Government decree was on the agenda; this danger has not yet diminished. Attempts were also made practically to apply the tactics of the united front. In 1923, at the instigation of the Communists, a demonstration was organised under the slogan of the united front for the liberation of the political prisoners; but the Communists, and especially the Central Committee of the legal labour organisation, did not do everything possible to unmask the sabotage of the social democrats. That clarity has yet to be introduced in this field is evidenced by the elections of 1924, when attempts were made to form an election *bloc* with the Left wing of the social democrats. The party directed particular attention to weaning the toiling peasantry from the influence of the bourgeoisie and winning them over to the revolutionary workers. For this purpose, the Enlarged Plenum of the party, which was held in summer, 1923, endorsed the programme of struggle for the agricultural workers, and formed a special organisation for carrying on this work.

The Executive Committee sent instructions to the Finnish comrades:—

(1) On the preservation of the unity of the trade union movement in spring, 1923;

(2) With reference to the organisation of Communist activity among the youth by utilising all legal possibilities; and

(3) On the organisational measures and political tactics which have become necessary in view of the dissolution of the legal party on the one hand, and of the revolutionary crisis in Germany in autumn, 1923, on the other. Moreover, as a result of measures taken by the Executive Committee in connection with differences of opinion that arose in the autumn of 1923, on various questions of organisation, the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland got on the right track again.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

The Communist Party of Spain is passing through a difficult period of police reprisals, the severity of which might become even greater than the reaction of Italian fascism. The best com-

rades and a considerable part of the party are in prisons and jails, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Of the entire press, only the Central organ of the Communist Party, the weekly *L'Antorcha* survived. *La Bandiers Rossa*, *L'Aurora Rossa*, and *L'Obrero Comunista*, have ceased to appear. But in Madrid a publishing house of the party was started, which will publish the most fundamental and necessary Marxian and Leninist literature, and thus bring greater clarity and class-consciousness into the ranks of the working masses who are at present under the influence of anarcho-syndicalism. The rabid persecutions of the Communist Party can be explained by its growing influence among the working class. The internal crisis in the party, and the tendency toward "radicalism" were overcome with the assistance of the Executive at the Party Congress, which was held at the beginning of July, 1923. At this party Congress, at which a representative of the ECCI was present, the questions of the tactics of the united front, attitude to other proletarian organisations, and activity among the trade unions were thoroughly discussed, in addition to the questions of internal party organisation and leadership. The question of the trade unions is a particularly difficult one: the reformist Workers' Federation (which has 200,000 to 250,000 members at present) has expelled practically all its members who stand on the Communist platform; the anarcho-syndicalist federation is undergoing a process of disintegration. The Communist Party is endeavouring to organise Communist fractions in all the trade unions. The party also asked the advice of the Executive with reference to its attitude on the question of the Catalonian movement for autonomy.

In general, the Spanish comrades are standing steadfastly at their posts and are carrying on active work in spite of extraordinarily difficult circumstances.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL

The Communist Party of Portugal, which was organised in 1920 out of the Maximilist Group "Fédération de Grupos Maximalistas" and certain anarcho-syndicalist elements which are in sympathy with the Russian Revolution, is in close contact with the agricultural workers of the south. In November, 1923, the first party Congress was held in Lisbon, which was attended by 129 delegates. At the Congress questions of tactics, such as the tactics of the united front, attitude toward the Socialist Party, and work in the trade unions, were discussed, as well as the internal crisis in the Party. A representative of the ECCI was present, with whose assistance the disputed questions and the internal difficulties were solved. In the trade unions important work has to be done by the party in the fight against the reformists and anarchists, whose influence is declining to

a considerable degree. In the C.G.T. there is a strong minority under the leadership of the metal workers, which is in close contact with the Communist party and which declared in favour of affiliation with the Red International of Trade Unions. The party possesses one weekly—*O Communista*.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

The Communist Party of Turkey was not created until after the Fourth Congress, when all independent Communist groups which formerly existed in Turkey were united. The party obtained a good foothold among the working masses and was thus able to send a delegation to the economic Congress in Smyrna. The Communists were practically in control of the whole labour fraction at the Congress, and secured the adoption of a comprehensive programme of labour legislation.

When, at the instigation of our comrades, a trade union federation for the whole of Turkey was about to be founded in Constantinople, the Government arrested the Central Committee of the party and a number of active members (seventeen in all). The trial became a great political demonstration and resulted in complete acquittal.

After this miscarried, the Government resorted to legal reprisals and completely disorganised the activity of the party within a few months.

Since the autumn of 1923, a wave of strikes has been rolling over Turkey, which involved about 25,000 workers. From the point of view of extent and organisation, these strikes are unexampled in Turkey.

Most of the strikes ended in victory for the workers. This gave rise to a strong movement among the masses of the workers to unite. The Government, which endeavoured to get control of this young labour movement, demanded the creation of "national" trade union leagues through its agents, and undertook a severe campaign of suppression against the Communists at the same time. The Communist Party was too weak to withstand this attack with the result that the most active Communists were expelled from a number of trade unions. In the autumn of 1923 the general Trade Union League of Turkey was created, with a membership of about 25,000 workers.

The situation in the trade unions is the greatest menace at present to the Turkish Labour movement.

It must be mentioned that several strong trade unions, in which the Communists were able to retain their connection, did not join the general Trade Union League of Turkey. These are the Railwaymen's Union, the Typographical Union, &c.

In March, 1924, the ECCI set up a commission for the Turkish Question, which prepared a number of instructions for the Turkish Communist Party.

The Commission pointed out that insufficient activity has been carried on by the Communist Party in the trade unions and that there was a danger of our becoming separated from the masses. It also pointed to the necessity of a clear stand on the national and peasant questions.

The Commission declared that a revision of the whole party activity in this direction was necessary; the same task must also be imposed upon the party press.

The numerical strength of the party diminished a little after it was wrecked, but the party was able for the first time to establish connections with a number of industrial centres such as Smyrna, Sumguldak, &c.

The principal organ of the party is still the periodical *Ajdynlik* (circulation 1,000 copies). Until very recently, the party issued a weekly *Vasivy* (in 1,500 copies). In the near future the party will issue a workers' paper in place of *Vasivy*.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERSIA

The period since the Fourth Congress in Persia is characterised by an intensification of the struggle of the national-democratic elements against feudalism and its supporter, British imperialism. The weak and numerically insignificant Communist Party took an active part in this movement and in many cases it furthered the concentration of progressive energy in the country. For instance, during the elections, the Communist Party helped to organise the national bloc, which secured thirty seats in the Medjlis.

The Communist Party, in co-operation with the national bloc, is at present carrying on an energetic campaign for the establishment of a democratic republic.

As heretofore, party activity has not spread beyond the limits of Teheran, Tauris, and a few other cities. The attempts of the Communist Party to establish connections with the South-Persian oil districts (where there are over 50,000 workers), have so far always miscarried.

The trade union movement in Persia is weak, but it is entirely under the influence of the Communist Party.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PALESTINE

The Jewish Labour movement in Palestine is assuming a distinctly class character. In the last election for the "Labour Council" of Palestine, in which hitherto the petty-bourgeois and Zionist parties have held undisputed sway, the Communist Party obtained a considerable number of votes.

The Communist groups in Palestine at the end of 1923 united into a single Communist Party and applied for affiliation to the Communist International.

The Ecce set up a commission on the Palestine question which made a thorough investigation after which it declared in favour of recognition of the Communist Party of Palestine as a section of the Communist International.

The Commission pointed out to the young Communist Party the necessity of establishing closer contact with the broad masses of Arabians in order to transform the party from an organisation of Jewish workers, into a true territorial party. It also declared that the Communist Party must support the nationalist movement for freedom of the Arabian population against the British-Zionist occupation.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF EGYPT

After the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the Egyptian Socialist Party adopted the name "Communist Party" and all the other conditions which the Fourth Congress put to it.

With the assistance of the representatives of the Executive, a cleansing of the party was undertaken, a conference was called, and measures taken to bring about a closer alliance with the trade union movement and with the native workers. The Communist Party has about 700 members, the majority of whom are immigrants.

The attempt to organise a street demonstration in connection with the strike of lamplighters in Alexandria in 1923, resulted in arrests. Several members of the Central Committee were brought to trial and the party was suppressed in view of the prevailing martial law. The comrades who had been arrested and sentenced were not freed until martial law was repealed. After the repeal of martial law the constitution was adopted and the Parliamentary elections took place. The victory of the nationalists and the transfer of power into the hands of Zaglul, changed nothing in the situation of the party; on the contrary, it became evident that the nationalist Government is inclined to suppress the Communist movement completely. The wave of strikes which arose at the beginning of 1924 in Alexandria and other cities, when the workers occupied a number of factories until their demands were granted, aroused great dissatisfaction with the nationalist Government.

As reprisals the Government instituted an inquiry, made arrests, confiscated documents and literature, and closed workers' clubs. The whole Central Committee of the party and the Central body of the General Federation of Labour were arrested.

In this connection the nationalist Government is endeavouring to take advantage of the reactionary laws against strikes and propaganda which were passed in September of last year by the old Government, and which were directed against the nationalists themselves. The trial has not yet taken place. The arrests

have greatly crippled the activity of the party for the time being, but in the last few weeks it has begun to be active again.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

One of the main problems confronting the South African Communist Party is the native question. Since the Fourth Congress contact with native workers has been initiated. The forces among the natives which aim at a class movement are increasing. The recent legislation which removes the "colour bar" and admits natives to skilled work—management of machinery, &c., as well as the growing demand of the trade unions and especially of the miners' union for joint organisation of natives with white workers, have caused the class question to take the place of the former racial question.

After the Rand strike, which was followed by brutal repressive measures, the Labour movement in South Africa developed but slowly. But even under these circumstances our party has made a good stand. Its weekly organ is flourishing, and the party takes an active part in all proletarian actions.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Communist activities in India receive an impetus from :—

(1) The disintegration of the national mass movement conducted until recently by the Indian National Congress. Within this Congress a party of the Indian bourgeoisie which sprang up severed connection with the petty-bourgeoisie and the intellectuals and aimed at an understanding with the British.

(2) The agrarian unrest in the North, especially among the Sikhs, continues.

(3) The development of a new phase in the Labour movement which came to a standstill after the collapse of the Ghandi movement and which now takes the form of a struggle for economic demands.

(4) The crisis in the trade union movement, the leadership of which was assumed by the reformist nationalists and representatives of the liberal intellectuals, who have already discredited themselves by their policy of compromise in connection with recent working class actions.

Consequently, the tasks confronting the Indian Communist Party are : restoration of the national liberation movement (abandoned by the big bourgeoisie) on a revolutionary basis; formation of a national peoples' party which is to comprise the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the pauperised intellectuals, the small clerks, the rebellious peasantry and the advanced workers; establishment of a proletarian class party.

The Indian Communist Party must bring the trade union movement under its influence. It must reorganise it on a class basis and must purge it of all alien elements.

The severe persecution by the British Government, which realises the magnitude of the Communist peril, make any activities of our young party extremely difficult. Not only are Communist organisations and publications prohibited in India, but even any kind of contact between individuals and the Communist International is a punishable offence while every expression of opinion in a Communist spirit is a crime. Not long ago legal proceedings, which made a stir throughout the country, were instigated against eight comrades accused of keeping up correspondence with the Communist International.

Nevertheless, the activity of Indian Communists is beginning to have palpable results.

The idea of the formation of a wide national party is embodied in the so-called "Peoples' Party" which already exists in some provinces.

The failure of the recent trade union Congress, which broke up at the first session because the reformist leaders quarrelled about the distribution of the official jobs, provided our comrades with splendid opportunities. For the first time in the history of the Indian trade union movement, Communists were represented at this Congress. But they were not as much concerned with the Congress, which is not in contact with the masses, as with the local unions, in many of which they carry on a successful fight against reformist leaders and organise their own minorities. Sometimes they form new unions on a class basis.

In the industrial centres Communists have an unofficial Press.

The central organ of the party, *Vanguard*, leaflets, pamphlets and books in various native languages are published illegally and find a ready sale throughout the country.

Our comrades are preparing to co-ordinate the Communist groups. This work is greatly impeded by the arrest of all officials suspected of relations with the Communist movement. Our organisation is being gradually deprived of its most active members. But their places are soon filled by others. The conditions under which the nine million industrial proletarians of India live, the fact that they are not tainted by reformist traditions, that they have gone through a long experience of sanguinary mass strikes, that they are disillusioned with the national movement, the bourgeois contingent of which has formed a class party, and that they are exposed to the unbearable two-fold exploitation of Indian and British capitalists—all this goes to prove that the Indian Communist Party rests on a solid and wide basis which will enable it to become a mass party of the Indian proletariat capable of uniting with the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle for the national emancipation of India.

DUTCH INDIES (INDONESIA)

The main feature of the position in the Dutch Indies is the absence of a big native bourgeoisie. The old aristocracy and part of the intelligentsia have been absorbed into the Dutch Civil Service, and their interests are identical with those of the foreign capitalists who control those branches of production which have a world significance (sugar, tobacco, and rubber plantations, oil fields, etc.). The development of the labour movement in the Dutch Indies has made rapid strides during the last few years. The strike wave, which set in in 1920, is not yet exhausted. The great railway strike in Java in 1923, in which about twelve thousand workers participated, was the first political strike in the Dutch Indies. This strike was caused by the arrest of the chairman of the railwaymen's unions, Comrade Semauna, and was a demonstration for Trade Union rights. In spite of a stubborn struggle the strike was crushed and 120 strike leaders (including 110 comrades) were arrested in the first days of the strike. The principal leaders were banished and the resistance of the workers was broken. In spite of this defeat the union soon recovered, and the struggle continues. At the end of the strike 50 other persons were thrown into prison.

The struggle between the revolutionary left wing and the reformist right wing of the Mass-Peoples' Party, "Sarakat-Islam," became very acute towards the end of 1922. In the beginning of 1923 this struggle caused a split, which led to the expulsion of the left wing of the party, which was under Communist influence. In opposition to the right reformist party, "Sarakat-Islam," a new mass party—the "Sarakat-Rajat"—was formed, which at present has over 50,000 members and 17 branches. Last year this party gained influence over considerable sections of the small peasantry, of the working class, and of the Radical intelligentsia, especially of the teaching profession, all of which sections were drawn into the organisations of this party. At present a stubborn struggle is being waged for the schools, with the result that a considerable number of schools is already in the hands of the left elements.

Hitherto the Social Democratic League had very little influence on the Mass-Peoples' Organisation. Now the Social-Democrats are making efforts to come into contact with the popular movement. But as the Social Democratic League is a typical organisation of European intellectuals, whose interests are identical with those of foreign capitalists, it is not to be expected that this league will have much influence on the development of the popular movement.

The Indonesian Communist Party has at present 2,000 members (in round figures). It publishes an official daily and a small

monthly paper. In addition, 12 local organs are under the control of the Party.

Lately the repressive measures of the Government against our Party have become more stringent. The most prominent members and leaders of the movement are systematically banished from the country, arrested, and sent to long terms of imprisonment. Nevertheless, the Party extends its activities among the workers, as well as among the peasantry. The Dutch Communist Party does very little for the support of the Communist Party of Java.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN.

The present economic depression which set in after the war boom of 1920 continues with increasing intensity. Before the earthquake it assumed the form of a chronic crisis.

Industrial depression, high cost of living, and the precarious existence of the Japanese middle class gave rise to profound discontent throughout the country. Anti-militarist agitation reached its climax; and insistent demands were made for a renewal of friendly relations with Russia. The Government was compelled to withdraw the troops from Siberia and to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government. Compelled to withdraw the Bill on "dangerous thoughts," the Government made up its mind to destroy the Workers' and Communist movement by police methods, and in June, 1923, arrested a large number of persons suspected of harbouring "dangerous thoughts" and many Communists. About thirty persons were arrested and kept six months in preliminary confinement during the investigation of their case. Subsequently they were released, and are now awaiting trial for conspiracy and formation of secret societies.

Such was the state of affairs at the time of the earthquake catastrophe. The Government took advantage of the confusion created by the earthquake to introduce a system of terror. It spread the rumour that Koreans were preparing a rising, and so-called "vigilance committees" were instructed to round-up and put to death all Koreans. Thousands of Koreans were killed and hundreds of Chinese were killed by "mistake." Workers and other persons suspected of Socialist tendencies were arrested and thrown into prison. In the Kameido district of Tokio a number of workers were deliberately murdered. Among them were several of the most active leaders of the Labour movement. The case of the assassination of the Anarchist Osugi and of his wife and nephew by a gendarmie officer is well known.

The economic consequences of the earthquake, which destroyed an eighth of the national wealth, are that Japan, which had already lost most of the advantages gained during the war

through the economic crisis and competition with America and Great Britain, has become dependent on foreign, and especially American, capital.

The political confusion, which reigns at present in Japan, is but the reflex of this economic upheaval. The "Reconstruction Cabinet" formed under Yanamoto and Goto in September, 1923, represented all the Parliamentary parties. But the clash of interests made it impossible for the Government to proceed with the work of reconstruction or the political reforms which it intended to introduce (manhood suffrage) in order to allay the general unrest. The attempt on the life of the Prince Regent on his way to the opening of Parliament (in itself a symptom of the extreme political tension) served as a pretext for the resignation of the Government: Viscount Kiura formed a new Government, consisting entirely of bureaucrats, which met with the opposition of all parties. The question of support for this Government caused a split in the Seiyukai Party, the leading Parliamentary party, which had been in power ten years. The majority of this Party resolved to oppose the Government, and formed a bloc with the remaining opposition parties, with the intention of defeating the Government. When the Government saw that it had lost its majority in the House of Commons it dissolved Parliament before the appointed term of office had expired (an unusual proceeding in Japan), and decided to appeal to the country in May. These events reveal the struggle of the monopolist bourgeoisie against the agrarians on the one hand, and on the other the gathering of the bourgeois Democratic forces for a struggle against the agrarian and big Capitalist classes.

During this period the workers' and peasant movement made great progress in Japan. For the first time in the history of the Japanese movement the question of the formation of a political workers' and peasant party is being considered. Negotiations for the formation of such a party have already begun, and workers' candidates will be for the first time a feature of the forthcoming election campaign. A number of important strikes took place, and there were many signs of the beginning of workers' offensive. There are also signs of development in the Japan Federation of Labour. At its last conference the Federation decided to organise a campaign for the organisation of the working masses, to form a central strike committee, to co-operate with the peasant union, and to participate in political activities. At this conference gratitude was expressed to the International Japan Workers' Aid Committee; recognition of Soviet Russia was demanded, and a resolution of condolence on the death of Comrade Lenin was adopted.

The Amsterdam International invited the Japanese Labour unions to send delegates to the Genoa Conference of the Labour

Bureau of the League of Nations. The Japanese Federation of Labour seems to be inclined to accept this invitation. On the other hand, the Syndicalist unions sent a stiff reply to the Amsterdam International, calling the latter a treacherous organisation, and branding the Genoa Conference as a capitalist manoeuvre.

The peasant movement has proved its energy and its will to struggle. Peasant strikes for reduction of rent are frequent occurrences, and are in most cases successful. Membership in the present organisations is growing, and they are decidedly inclined to collaborate with the industrial unions.

There is no doubt whatever that the Japanese Labour movement will become in the near future an important factor in the social life of the country. The activities of our Young Communist Party were greatly impeded by the terrorist and repressive acts of the Government. The Party is small, and has lost many members through the earthquake. Several of its members were murdered during the reign of terror. The Government strikes mostly at the Communists, and describes as Communists all those it desires to persecute for their political opinions, even if they are not members of the Party.

The International intervened repeatedly in the affairs of the Japanese Communist Party. It helped to eradicate the anti-Parliamentary tendencies of the Young Party. It advised the Party to take advantage of every legal opportunity, and to strain every nerve for the establishment of a legal Party. In connection with the situation after the earthquake, and the tasks of our Party arising out of it, theses were elaborated dealing with the concrete application of united front tactics, as well as with other questions. The Party exercises a strong influence on the peasant movement, and is one of the most important factors in the establishment of unity between the workers of town and country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The main features of the political life of China in the last year and a half is the strengthening and consolidation of American influence in North and Central China. The election of Tsao-Kun, who was supported by America, is the expression of this increase of the American influence, and signifies the strengthening of the great military party, the so-called Chili Clique. The struggle for the hegemony of China between America and Japan can be considered as settled for the time being, for after the earthquake Japan became dependent upon America. The entire policy of the Peking Government recently, and particularly its attitude on the question of recognition of Soviet Russia, betray American influences.

The period from the Fourth to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International shows two tendencies from the point of view of the development of the Labour and Revolutionary movement in the country : (1) Strengthening of the offensive of capital in alliance with Chinese militarism against the Young Labour movement in Central and North China on the one hand, and (2) strengthening of the unification of the national-revolutionary movement in the South on the other. The Capitalist offensive commenced in China in the middle of 1922. The previous development of the Labour movement on the one hand, and the efforts of Capital to wreck this movement on the other, led to the tremendous political strike on the Pekin-Hankow Railway in February, 1923. The workers fought stubbornly for the existence of their unions and their organisations. But the violence with which foreign capital in alliance with the subordinate Chinese bourgeoisie and militarists attacked this strike increased in proportion with the stubbornness of the workers. As a result of the suppression of this strike by military force, shootings, beheadings, mass arrests, and expulsions, the bourgeoisie succeeded in wrecking the Trade Unions and other organisations in Central China, and to hold up the Labour movement for a time.

By the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924 the Labour movement in China recovered to some extent. The Trade Unions which were forced underground have renewed their activities, and although it is too early to speak of success yet, nevertheless a considerable growth of the movement has been observed in the last three months.

In the national-revolutionary movement an important change has taken place in the " Kuomintang " Party, the Radical National-Revolutionary Party, under the leadership of Sun-Yat-Sen. This change has put the Party well on the way to a real National-Revolutionary struggle against Imperialism in all its forms ; it will now abandon its old tactics of fighting against one group of militarists with the support of another. The Party is adapting its organisation to meet the requirements of its new tactics. In the middle of January, 1924, the Congress of Kuomintang took place, the first held during the 12 or 13 years of existence of the Party. This is a great step towards a broad mass movement, which alone can realise the goal of real national independence. In taking up the fight against Imperialism in 1923 on the question of collection of customs duties ; in its declarations and manifestoes addressed to the world proletariat, and finally in calling the first Congress of the Party, the leader of the Kuomintang Party and the head of the Canton Government, decisively chose the road of revolutionary struggle against world Imperialism. This explains his approach to the Soviet Union and the honour shown the memory

of our leader, Comrade Lenin. On the death of Lenin a three-days' mourning was declared in Canton, mass meetings were held, etc.

In all this work, in the ideological and organisational transformation of the "Kuomintang," our comrades of the Communist Party of China, who formed the Kuomintang, played an extremely important part. The differences of opinion which existed in the Party in 1923 with reference to the attitude toward the Kuomintang, were thoroughly investigated by the Executive. A resolution was adopted on the question of the movement for national liberation and the attitude of the Communist Party, and was consequently carried into effect by the Party. Differences of opinion on the tactics of the liberation movement no longer exist.

Our Party, which is illegal in North and Central China, and can work openly only in South China, has considerably developed and become strengthened. It has only 600 members, but it is in a fair way of developing. There also exists the Youth League with 2,000 members, which is under the leadership of the Party. The Party published a monthly and several weeklies.

The fundamental questions confronting the Party at present, in addition to the question of the attitude toward the national-revolutionary movement, are to organise and rally the working masses, rebuild the ruined Labour organisations, and stabilise and develop the Party itself. The Congress of the Party, which was held in the middle of 1923, and the Party Conferences, show that our Party is progressing very well.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF KOREA

Korea is still groaning under the yoke of Japanese Imperialism. The economic and political subjection of the country to Japanese interests is progressing steadily, and all efforts are being made to eradicate Korean national culture and to substitute Japanese culture. After the earthquake in Japan exploitation in Korea was continued with increased intensity. The land was more thoroughly drained of food and raw materials, and in addition to the other burdens, the Japanese have introduced an earthquake relief tax, which was collected even from the peasants in Northern Korea, who themselves were suffering from a flood catastrophe in the autumn of the previous year.

The development of trade and industry has given rise to certain classes among the Korean people, who are interested in the Japanese regime, and the Japanese officials are fostering this attitude by supporting the idea of home rule. An organisation for spreading this idea has been formed with the sanction of the Governor. But all advocacy of complete independence is ruthlessly suppressed.

The Korean Nationalist movement is torn by internal conflicts. A conference which was to bring about unification with the assistance of the Communists ended in failure.

What is of much greater importance to the revolutionary movement is the fact that in proportion as the Capitalist elements are attracted towards Japanese capital, a class differentiation of the oppressed peasants and workers takes place, and the latter tend more and more to disassociate itself from the purely Nationalist movement. The scattered and weak Labour organisations are rallying, and the question of an organisation on a national scale which is to establish close contact with the Japanese Labour movement is one of the moment. Differences of opinion exist in the Young Communist Party of Korea over this new situation.

The Executive has thoroughly investigated this situation and drawn up instructions for the Communist Party of Korea. Besides strengthening the Communist Party, the chief task of our comrades in Korea should consist in furthering the formation and unification of the pure Labour organisations, and in substituting revolutionary-minded comrades for the Right Wing elements in the organisations. In the purely Nationalist movement the Communists should work for the establishment of a united front of the National-revolutionary struggle.

The necessary clarity on these questions has not yet been arrived at among the Korean Communists: the immediate task of the Party is to bring this about.

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA.

Since the Fourth Congress the Communist movement in the United States has made great progress. The Fourth Congress was obliged to discuss the question as to whether the American Communists should abandon the illegal party and concentrate its Communist activity in the Workers' Party. The Fifth Congress, however, will take up the question of how the Workers' Party can carry out complicated manœuvres within the mass movements of the workers and farmers.

The fears expressed by the comrades who considered a separate illegal Party indispensable for Communist activity in the United States, were dispelled at the Congress. Even before the decision of the Congress reached the American comrades the problem was being cleared up in America, so that at the Second Convention of the Workers' Party, which took place on Dec. 25, 1922, assurances could be given that the conflict raging within the ranks of the Party between the supporters of the illegal organisations and those of the open Party, would shortly disappear. The Central Committee of the Communist Party, which assembled directly after the Convention of the Workers'

Party, adopted a resolution for the gradual liquidation of the illegal Party. The Convention of the Communist Party, which took place on April 17, 1923, dissolved the illegal Communist Party.

With the elimination of the factional struggle it became possible to gather the half-dozen Communist groups, which had existed inside and outside the Party, into a solid centralised Party.

The united front was the basis of general policy of the Workers' Party of America. The Party succeeded in finding the special forms which the united front must assume in America and in adjusting these tactics to American conditions.

The first great campaign of the Party was the struggle for the support of the Communists who were arrested at the illegal Communist Party Convention in Bridgeman, Michigan. The Party succeeded in organising Labour Defence Councils in all the large cities and industrial centres, which rallied ten thousand workers.

A second very important activity of the Party was the fight against the exceptional laws which the American Government is planning against the foreign-born workers of America, who comprise the lowest strata of the proletariat. The Workers' Party was the only political party which concerned itself with the struggle, and the Councils for the Defence of the Foreign-born Workers, which were organised by the Party, have developed into organisations that embrace several hundred thousand workers.

In the Trade Union field the Party developed its activity in the Trade Union Educational League, which is the American section of the Red International of Labour Unions. This League, which is under the leadership of the Communists, is active in the left wing of the Trade Union movement. The principal campaign carried on in the Trade Union field was the campaign for the amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions, and the propoganda for the Farmer-Labour Party. The Labour aristocracy, at the head of which stands the Gompers clique, is fighting the Communists most bitterly, and not a Trade Union Convention goes by at which the question of "Moscow" is not brought up. It is evident from the Capitalist Press, and that of the American Federation of Labour, that the question of Communism has become the principal point of conflict within the Trade Union movement.

During the past year the Party took up the fight against American Imperialism, and strongly supported the important movement for the independence of the Philippines. It is to the

honour of our American Party that it received the openly-expressed thanks of the mass organisations of the Philippine workers and farmers for this fight. Of course the Party must enlarge and increase its activity against Imperialism.

The Workers' Party took part in the "Race Conference" of the negroes, which took place in February, 1924. This Conference was a mixture of petty-bourgeoisie, fraternal, and Labour organisations. The negro members of the Workers' Party and the "African Blood Brotherhood" submitted an extensive Labour programme, which was rejected by the petty-bourgeois elements, but the Communists succeeded in bringing up the social question among the negroes for the first time, and in getting it discussed in connection with the Workers' Party in the entire negro Press.

The most important problem for the American Communists, around which it has conducted a great campaign, is the question of the Farmer-Labour Party. The question of the form of the united front in America centres round the Labour Party and the Farmer-Labour Party. The world war, the consequent development of a strongly centralised Government power, the brutal interference of the Government in the Labour disputes, the great agricultural crisis which is driving millions of farmers from their farms, has thrown up a strong mass movement, which may split the non-capitalist classes from the two great historical bourgeois parties. This great new movement is flowing in two channels. One is the so-called Third Party movement, which wants to combine all classes whose interests clash with those of the class of big capitalists, *i.e.*, the town petty bourgeoisie with the industrial workers; the rich farmers with the exploited tenants. The other movement is flowing in the direction of a class party of the industrial workers and the exploited farmers. The Workers' Party takes part in the second—the class party; on the other hand, the Socialist Party, which is the American section of the Second International, is affiliated with the petty-bourgeois Third Party.

This complicated situation and the necessity of manœuvring in this great, and in many ways novel, mass movement, has caused differences of opinion in our American Party, and the question of the tactics to be adopted in the Farmer-Labour movement will be submitted to the Fifth Congress for decision.

The Workers' Party is a young Party, without revolutionary traditions, but in the agrarian question, in the questions of the relations between the working class and the farming class it has found the correct revolutionary orientation. The Party has set up an agricultural section, has sent organisers among the most exploited sections of the farmers who are going bankrupt, founded a paper for the farmers, and issued the slogan of the

Workers' and Farmers' Government with great success. There is still some opposition in the Workers' Party to the work among the farmers, but these old mistaken social democratic traditions will be completely eradicated. The Party is taking into its ranks only the really communistically inclined farmers, so that out of the 25,0000 members of the Party, not less than 85 per cent. are industrial workers. The non-Communist farmers who want to fight against Imperialism, finance, capital, and the trusts are being organised by our Party into the Federated Farmer-Labour Party, which was founded in Chicago July 3, 1923. At the inaugural Convention, which will have an important place in the history of the American revolutionary movement, there were over 700 delegates, who represented 600,000 industrial workers and farmers. The Socialist Party betrayed this important movement, and even the so-called "progressive" Trade Union leaders of the Fitzpatrick Group went over to Gompers at the eleventh hour, and did not take part in the founding of the Party. The formation of this Federated Farmer-Labour Party, and the break with the Fitzpatrick Group, also caused differences of opinion in the American Party. The Executive of Comintern in its letter of December 7, 1923, endorsed the founding of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party, and also sanctioned the break with the Fitzpatrick Group. The Executive at that time wrote :—

The Workers' Party has applied Communist tactics correctly in seeking a united front of all forces to fight the Capitalist system in the United States. It has sought a united front not only on the economic, but particularly on the political field. That Gompers and the reactionary Trade Union officialdom oppose it because of their antiquated, treacherous policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of Labour" in the Capitalist parties; that the Socialists, having renounced every revolutionary idea, and lined up with the reactionary forces of the country, also oppose it; and that a few so-called "progressive" Trade Union leaders of the Middle West have betrayed the workers and gone over to Gompers, that they denounce the ideas they once stood for, and, therefore, also oppose the united front—is creating the best basis for the united front policy. . . . The organisation of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party was an achievement of primary importance. The coming together of the militant farmers and workers for the attainment of political power against the control of the Capitalist parties revealed an awakening consciousness and a rising spirit no longer to tolerate political domination by the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, the Executive did not over-estimate the importance of the establishment of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party, and immediately said :—

In the Federated Farmer-Labour Party are organised only a small portion of the militant workers and farmers. The united front of all proletarian and farmers' parties and organisations for the fight against Capitalism, is the demand of the hour. The Communists must spare no effort to bring this about. This is all the more necessary in view of the presidential elections of 1924. Delegates representing 600,000 exploited workers and farmers took part in the inaugural Convention of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party, but until now the Party was unable to organise this great mass in its own organisation. The affiliated workers and farmer organisations have only 190,000 members. That is only a beginning, but it is a great achievement for a Communist Party which has only 25,000 members. The Workers' Party now has two important tasks in the Farmer-Labour movement : (1) To attend the June 17 Congress of the class party of the workers and exploited farmers, and there unite the greatest possible number of proletarians and farmers. (2) To endeavour to crystallise a Communist mass party out of all these mass movements.

Since the Fourth Congress the Workers' Party has forged a very important ideological weapon. Through the devotion and enthusiasm of its members the Party collected 100,000 dollars and founded a daily paper in the English language, "The Daily Worker," which already owns its own building and printing plant, is the first and only Communist daily in the English language. The Party has also issued Marxist literature, not only on general Communist questions, but also on the concrete conditions of America, and thus they made good that which the Social Democrats of the Second International neglected to do for decades. That the Party is actually on the road to becoming a party of the masses is excellently illustrated by the fact that not less than 30,000 workers attended the meeting which our Party held in New York in memory of Lenin.

The Party is recognised as a sympathising section of the Communist International.

THE WORKERS' PARTY OF CANADA.

An industrial and agricultural depression is reigning in Canada. The farmers are abandoning their farms and the workers are migrating in tens of thousands to the United States. In spite of this, the Workers' Party, which is functioning as a sympathising section of the Communist International, has become a decisive factor in the Canadian Labour movement by

correctly applying the tactics of the united front. It succeeded in affiliating with the Canadian Labour Party without surrendering its political character and the right of criticism. It also succeeded in uniting the scattered local and provincial Labour parties. Moreover, it organised the Women's League and affiliated it to the Labour Party, and induced many important Trade Unions to do the same. By the application of the principle of the united front the party was able to call forth a strong movement among the workers for the defence and release of our comrades who were arrested in Nova Scotia. At present it is enlarging this activity to include the defence of the foreign-born workers.

In the trade union field, the party energetically participated and in some cases was the guiding spirit in the strikes of the miners, the steel workers, and others, through its trade union organisation—the Trade Union Educational League. It organised the formerly unorganised metal workers and is endeavouring to organise the lumber workers and other unorganised branches of industry. They are successfully fighting the Gompers machine. At the recent "Trade and Labour Congress" in Canada, a third of the delegates fought energetically for our slogans and proposals.

The party is also actively participating in the organisation of the unemployed workers into unemployed councils and is conducting this campaign under the slogan "Work or Full Maintenance."

The organisational apparatus of the party is spreading from coast to coast.

The party press is pretty well organised. The party has two weeklies in the English language, two papers in the Ukrainian, and two in the Finnish language. Bearing in mind the prevailing conditions the party as a whole is working satisfactorily.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO

The year 1923 was an important period in the development of the Mexican Communist Party. For the first time the party was confronted by the task of mobilising its members for armed struggle against reaction. In conformity with united front tactics, the party joined the petty-bourgeois social-democratic Government parties and the peasant party in the struggle for the overthrow of the landowners and oil magnates. In the summer of 1923 the Executive of the Communist International addressed a letter to the Mexican Communist Party in which the tactics to be adopted at the forthcoming presidential election were fully outlined. This letter also dealt with the questions of parliamentarism, united front tactics, and struggle against United States imperialism in the Latin-American countries. In its application of united front tactics the party deviated to the right. It admitted into its ranks elements which had much more in common with petty-bourgeois anarchism than with

Communism. But the party soon made good this mistake by expelling these elements. Good work was done by the party among the peasantry. It issued the slogan: "The only guarantee for the ownership of their land for the peasant is—preparedness for an armed rising." Hence, they must fight against bourgeois militarism, for the formation of a peasant militia and for the arming of the workers in towns and industrial centres. The chairman of one of the most important peasant unions came as a delegate to the First International Peasant Congress in Moscow. The party's weakest points are—the press and work in the trade unions.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

At the Fourth Congress the Communist Party of Brazil was accepted into the Communist International as a sympathising member. Towards the end of 1923, the Party sent a delegation to Moscow with the object of arranging for its affiliation to the Communist International as a full member. For over two years the party has been working under very difficult illegal conditions. Its members always run the risk of political persecution, and its premises and printing works have been destroyed. Nevertheless, the party was able to take root in the working class, to increase its membership and even to gain influence over trade unions and co-operative societies. The Executive of the Communist International has decided to propose to the Fifth World Congress the acceptance of the Brazilian Communist Party into the Communist International as a full member. The Executive also addressed a letter to the party, dealing generally with the tasks in the everyday struggle of the working and peasant classes. The party was also provided with a plan for the elaboration of a practical programme of action.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINE

The crisis which during the years 1921-22 threatened to split the party, was finally liquidated in the course of 1923. The party has consolidated its position in the trade unions. There is still much opposition within the party against the nuclei tactics which must be overcome. Two successful actions inside and outside Parliament have gained for the party the sympathies even of the unorganised masses. The first action was directed against the proposed raising of tramway fares, and the second against the acceptance of the army and navy estimates. The Communist Party of Argentine has raised considerable sums of money for aid to Russia and Germany. The circulation of the central organ of the party, *La International*, has increased from 4,500 to 6,000. But unemployment, which is on the increase, has made it very difficult for the workers to support the paper, which will probably not be able to continue as a daily.

The party sent a delegation to Moscow to discuss with the Executive various questions concerning the development of the South-American workers' movement. The Executive appointed a South-American Commission which will collaborate with the delegation. Among other things, the Commission is engaged on a plan for a practical programme of action for the Communist Party of Argentine.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF CHILI AND URUGUAY

There is as yet no satisfactory connection with these two countries. However, nothing of moment has happened in either of these parties. Both have daily organs which appear regularly, but the contents of which are far from satisfactory from the Communist viewpoint. The Communist Party of Chili exercises considerable influence over the trade union movement of the country.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CENTRAL AMERICA

The Communist Party of Central America was formed in Guatemala in the summer of 1923, out of the "Unificacion Obrera Socialista" group, and is compelled to work under illegal conditions. The Executive in a lengthy message welcomed this youngest section of the Communist International, and indicated the tasks the party had to fulfil in its struggle against the oppression and domination of U.S. imperialism and for the co-ordination of the revolutionary workers' and peasant movement of the countries of Central America.

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In conformity with the detailed instructions sent by the ECCI after the Fourth Congress, the Communist Party of Australia increased its agitation for adherence to the Labour Party. This resulted in Comrades Garden and Howie being expelled from the Executive Committee of the Australian Labour Party toward the end of 1923. The party has been successful in its trade union activities, and a considerable number of local trade union groups and local Labour Parties have joined the Communist Party and demand the convocation of a special conference of the Australian Labour Party with the object of settling the question of the position of Communists in the Labour Party and of adherence of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

Although according to the rules of the Australian Labour Party a conference must be convened if at least twenty local groups are in favour of it, the Executive Committee has refused to convene a conference on this question. This conduct has called forth protests even from elements which formerly opposed the Communist Party's admission into the Labour Party. In spite of trade union support on this question, the party has not

taken full advantage of the agitation in connection with it. There has also been a certain confusion in the application of united front tactics. The report of the last party conference shows that united front tactics and its consequences are not yet fully understood. The party participates in every action of the working class, and as before, plays a leading role in the most important trade unions in New South Wales.

The Sydney group, which had severed connection with the party, has again joined its ranks and is working loyally and energetically.

II.—International Conferences

ENLARGED EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Two meetings of the Enlarged Executive have been held since the Fourth World Congress. The first was convened immediately after Congress was over. It was attended by the Congress delegates, and its business was to take the first steps for carrying out the decisions of the Congress and to elect the Presidium and the Secretariat of the ECCI.

The second meeting was held from June 12 to 23, 1923. It was attended by sixty-nine delegates, representing twenty-five organisations. The main questions it discussed were: the united front, the trade union question, limits of centralism in the Communist International, the international situation, problems facing the most important sections, convocation of the Fifth World Congress and election of the Presidium and Secretariat. (The Minutes of the meeting of the Enlarged Executive were published by the Communist International.)

OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

During the period under review, the Communist International and its sections participated in three International Conferences.

From December 10 to 15, 1922, an International Peace Congress was held in the Hague. It was convened by the Amsterdam International, which sent invitations to the Second and Two and a-half Internationals, and to various Pacifist organisations. Comrades Radek, Lozovsky, Rothstein, and others attended the conference as representatives of the All-Russian Central Trade Union Council and of the Co-operative societies. The proposals of our comrades were, of course, rejected, and the Congress broke up after adopting futile resolutions.

At the time of the occupation of the Ruhr, the Communist International and the Red International of Labour unions proposed to the conveners of this Congress to take joint action against the menace of war; but they received no reply.

Much more important was the Essen Conference, which was attended by representatives of the Communist parties of Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and Holland, and by representatives of Young Communist Leagues, of the Red International of Labour unions, of the C.G.T.U. of France, and of various revolutionary trade unions. The question discussed at this conference was the fight against the Versailles Peace Treaty and its consequences. A Committee of Action was set up to bring about joint action between the German and French proletariat against imperialism.

This conference became the centre of attention of the proletariat of Western Europe, and was a splendid demonstration of the co-ordination of the revolutionary activities of the Communist Parties. When Poincaré ordered the arrest of the participators in the conference, this impression became still more vivid.

The Frankfurt Conference took place from March 17 to 20, 1923. It was attended by 232 delegates from Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Bulgaria, India, and Switzerland. Representatives from the Communist International, the Young Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions and a number of workers' organisations were also present at this conference. Twenty-nine of the delegates were social-democrats or non-party workers. The main item on the agenda of the conference was the occupation of the Ruhr and the menace of war. A resolution was drawn up on this question, and an international committee of action was appointed and instructed to organise and continue the struggle against imperialism.

III.—International Organisations

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Young Communist International has made great progress since the Fourth Congress, and will steadily advance. Whereas the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International (held after the Third Congress of the Communist International!) still adhered to the policy of subordinating its sections—those important vanguard organisations—to the political control of the parties, and laid down the general principles for the formation of a young workers' mass organisation, the Third Congress of the Young Communist International (held after the Fourth Congress of the Communist International) adopted a new policy and therefore faced different tasks. The Congress gave concrete form to the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in connection with their development into mass organisations. The conclusions of this Congress were as follows : it laid down that the new course of the Young Communist

International, while involving submission to the party, does not mean abstention from political activities, and demanded an enlargement of such activities; it emphasised the necessity of the reorganisation of the Young Communist Leagues on the basis of factory nuclei as a pre-requisite to the development of these leagues into mass organisations; it laid down a practical and concrete policy for the economic trade union work and the anti-militarist activities of the Young Communist Leagues. The progress of the Young Communist International since the Fourth World Congress is due to the faithful carrying out of these decisions.

The year 1923 was a year of PROFOUND REVOLUTIONARY CRISES. Four events of this year are of extreme importance. The occupation of the RUHR, the revolutionary struggles for power and the establishment of white dictatorship in GERMANY, the Fascist victory over the uprising of the workers and peasants in BULGARIA led by the Communist Party, and the revolutionary strike wave in POLAND. In January, 1924, the Conservative Government in GREAT BRITAIN resigned, and the "Labour Government" took its place. The conflict of class interests in FRANCE is becoming more acute, and the struggles between the workers and peasants in ITALY are continuing. All these events made and are making great demands on the general and political activity of the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues. These organisations have shown that they have carried out the lines laid down by the Third Congress with relation to increased political activity. The Young Communist League was most active in the RUHR question, and in the revolutionary struggles in GERMANY and in BULGARIA. The International Leagues did excellent work last year in connection with these important questions of the workers' Government, and showed that they are prepared for all eventualities and can cope with any situation. From the very first day of the occupation of the Ruhr, the Young Communist International, with the assistance of the German and French Leagues, initiated propaganda and organisational work on a large scale in the Franco-Belgian army of occupation and among the workers of the occupied territory. In spite of the dangerous nature of this work, it has been carried on without interruption ever since January 11, 1923, and is meeting with ever growing success. Our propaganda has made a deep impression on the army of occupation and has caused such disintegration in its ranks that the French Government, headed by Poincaré and the War Minister, Maginot, repeatedly made alarmist statements in Parliament concerning the condition of the troops of occupation. When events in Germany developed into revolutionary struggles for power, the Young Communist International concentrated its attention on Germany and on gaining the support of the workers of other

countries for the struggle of the German workers. The German Communist youth increased its activity to the utmost and was always in the front ranks in all the struggles of the party. In Bulgaria the Young Communist League was among the first to see the error of the tactics of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the soundness of the point of view of the Communist International. It demanded revolutionary action to do away with the Fascist dictatorship, and when the uprising took place in September, it fought in the front ranks. In France and Italy the Young Communist League also did important political work. The Young Communist League also gave evidence of increased political activity in connection with a number of extremely important PARTY QUESTIONS, and showed that it is inspired with a truly Communist spirit. In the party crisis in Norway and Sweden the League stood firmly on the side of the Communist International, and thus maintained its prestige in those countries. In the Russian Party discussion, the Russian Young Communist League backed the party majority and the decisions of the Thirteenth Conference of the Russian Communist Party. In the German question there were, in the German Young Communist League, only a few supporters of the Right, but the overwhelming majority of the members, as well as the Young Communist International, agreed with the decisions of the Communist International. The same was the case in France. **THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AS A WHOLE MAINTAINED AND INCREASED ITS REPUTATION OF BEING THE MOST FAITHFUL SUPPORTER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

GREAT PROGRESS was made in connection with **MASS ORGANISATION** among the working class youth. The main feature of this work was the establishment of factory nuclei and the reorganisation of the League on this basis. The trade union work was centred upon this task of reorganisation. Considerable attention was paid to anti-militarist work.

It took considerable time to make the League realise the necessity of reorganisation on the basis of **FACTORY NUCLEI**. But we have overcome all these doubts, and everyone is now convinced of the correctness of this measure. The Leagues also took up the question of carrying out the decision on the factory nuclei, and our larger sections have already achieved **CONSIDERABLE RESULTS** in this direction. Although not a single League has as yet been placed completely on the basis of nuclei, we have a considerable number of factory nuclei in our German Leagues which occupy an important place in our organisation. There are also many such nuclei in the French and Czech Leagues, and new nuclei spring up continually. The centre of gravity of League work is gradually shifting on to the factory nuclei. A practical beginning has also been made in this respect

in America, Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Italy, and Austria. Everywhere, the creation of factory nuclei resulted in increased League activities, and the extension of Communist influence on the masses of the working class youth.

RESISTANCE TO THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE and **ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WORK** were adopted as our tasks. Unfortunately this line of action was not carried out with sufficient energy by some of our Leagues, which concentrated their activity on other branches of our work. Our French, British, and American Leagues were most active in this field.

In addition to the intensive work in the Ruhr, thorough and effective **ANTI-MILITARIST** work was carried on, especially by the French and Scandinavian Sections.

An energetic **UNITED FRONT CAMPAIGN** was carried on among the working class youth and among our opponents. The amalgamation of the Socialist-patriotic and Centrist Youth Internationals was countered by the Young Communist International with the slogan of the united front of the entire working class youth. This campaign was very successful.

By their indefatigable activities in all branches of Communist work, and by their efforts to carry out the decisions of the Third Congress, the Young Communist International and the Young Communist Leagues **HAVE GIVEN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL A FRESH IMPETUS**. Since the Third Congress **THE WORK OF THE LEAGUES HAS STEADILY IMPROVED**. **THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE MASSES OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH HAS INCREASED, AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP HAS GROWN**.

Whereas the Young Communist International has developed and extended its influence, the contrary must be said of the Social-Democratic Youth International. Its decline has been observed since the end of 1922. As a result of its continual treachery and its complete inability to cope with the question of the everyday demands of the working class, its influence on the non-party working class youth in the most important countries has been reduced to a minimum, and disintegration has set in in its own ranks. The merging of the two Internationals in Hamburg has been unable to arrest this disintegration. On the contrary, this fusion has increased disintegration in the ranks of the social-democratic youth movement and has accelerated its collapse. This process of disintegration is progressing steadily. There is a steady influx of young social-democrats into the Young Communist Leagues, and the Right Wing of the movement is developing into a wing of Fascism.

The Young Communist International is **MAKING PROGRESS** everywhere, as is shown by the position which its most important sections (Russia, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, America, Italy, and the East) occupy in the working class movement. Another sign of progress is the growing membership of

the most important Leagues. Since the Fourth Congress of the Communist International the membership of some of the sections increased as follows :—

Young Communist League of Russia, from 400,000 to 500,000.

Young Communist League of Germany (before illegality), from 28,000 to 70,000.

Young Communist League of France, from 4,000 to 7,000.

Young Communist League of America, from 2,000 to 5,000.

Young Communist League of Great Britain, from 600 to 1,500.

AS SHOWN BY THESE FIGURES, THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS LEAGUES HAVE LEARNED TO CARRY ON THEIR WORK IN A STATE OF ILLEGALITY, AND AS MASS ORGANISATIONS. The following examples graphically illustrate this fact: the Communist youth of ITALY is again as well organised, in spite of the raging Fascist terror, as it was at the time of the Fascist *coup d'état*. The establishment of the white dictatorship in GERMANY has also been unable to destroy the young Communist movement of Germany (as it intended) and succeeded in diminishing the membership of the German Young Communist League only by 35 to 40 per cent. at the utmost, which did not interfere in the least with the general activities of the League. Such is the position to-day, while a few years ago our Jugo-Slavian, Hungarian, and Rumanian Leagues were entirely destroyed by the white terror.

The Young Communist International has been extending its network of organisations throughout the world. A characteristic feature of the period between the Third and Fourth Congress of the Young Communist International is the growth of the young Communist movement in the East (China, Japan, Korea, and Mongolia) and especially the initiation of a strong Young Communist movement in AMERICA. THE AMERICAN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (The Young Workers' League) has made great progress. The same can be said of the Leagues in CANADA, MEXICO AND ARGENTINE. Young Communist Leagues were formed in URUGUAY, BOLIVIA, AND CHILI, and the League in SOUTH AFRICA has also developed. This extension of the Young Communist movement to Asia, America, and Africa is very significant.

The Young Communist International is on the eve of its Fourth Congress. This Congress will be of great importance for the Young Communist International, and its results will be far reaching. We consider the present tasks of this Congress and of the Young Communist International in general to be as follows :—

(1) THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES initiated after the Third Congress must be continued. But we must learn to recognise that our political activity is not merely a branch of League work, but rather foundation of all League work, which must always

be carried on in the closest connection WITH PARTY LIFE AND WITH THE ACTUAL PROBLEMS AND STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS, to which the League must react promptly and effectively. Support of the German proletariat in its struggle for power must be the main feature of the political activity of the Young Communist International.

The Young Communist International and its sections must give active support to the Communist International in all its attempts to clarify the situation in the various countries, and to *enforce the policy of the Communist International*. The Young Communist International must be given a thorough training in Leninism.

2. The Young Communist International must continue to do its utmost to become a MASS ORGANISATION. We must work energetically for the formation of *factory nuclei* and we must see to it that the CENTRE OF GRAVITY of League work be transferred to these NUCLEI, and that the Leagues be REORGANISED on a factory nuclei basis. Everything depends on this; it is the kernel of the problem confronting the Young Communist International.

(3) The Young Communist International must extend its ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WORK, and must do its utmost to increase its influence in the factories and trade unions.

(4) The Young Communist International must intensify its practical ANTI-MILITARIST work and its struggle against the menace of war; it must draw into this work all the Leagues which have hitherto either neglected this work altogether or have carried it on very superficially.

(5) It must endeavour to extend young Communist influence among the working class youth of the COUNTRYSIDE, and must attract the young agricultural labourers and poor peasants to the Young Communist League.

(6) The Young Communist International must henceforth pay more attention to the question of the activity of the Young Communist Leagues during the decisive STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND THE PERIOD SUBSEQUENT TO IT.

(7) EDUCATIONAL WORK must be intensified on a national and international scale.

(8) The revolutionary Young Communist movement in THE EAST AND IN THE COLONIES must be encouraged.

The Communist International has supported the Young Communist International in all its activities in a most effective manner. This applies particularly to the work done by the Young Communist International in the Ruhr; on the whole, the Communist International depended a great deal on the support of the Young Communist International in its national activities. On the occasion of the fusion of the two social democratic Youth Internationals at Hamburg, the Communist International and the

Young Communist International together laid down the policy to be followed. At the meeting of the Enlarged Executive, the Communist International condemned the opportunist attacks of the Swedish Communist Party and the Norwegian Workers' Party on the political activity and organisational independence of the Youth Leagues, and gave wholehearted support to the Scandinavian Youth Leagues in their struggle against opportunism. When the revolutionary situation in Germany became acute the Communist International was faced with very difficult tasks, it helped the Young Communist International to master the difficulties which confronted it. The Communist International showed the greatest interest in the development of the Young Communist International and paid the greatest attention to all its problems. There have been no serious differences of opinion between the Communist and the Young Communist Internationals since the IV Congress. On the contrary, their collaboration was very harmonious. The regular support given to the Young Communist International was not quite satisfactory (for instance, it was impossible to settle the question of the representation of the Communist International in the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International during the period under review). In this connection, there is room for improvement.

THE COMMITTEE OF ACTION OF COMINTERN AND THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS

At the request of the representatives of the C.G.T.U. of France, the Second Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions decided to change its statutes with reference to its relation to the Communist International, adopted at the First Congress. In accordance with these changes, the interchange of delegates between the Executive Committees of both internationals ceased. But the Congress unanimously admitted the necessity of establishing permanent contact for definite purposes between the two leading centres of the revolutionary movement. At the Congress the French delegates themselves emphasised the importance of such co-operation. Hence the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. at its first session, proposed to the Communist International the formation of a joint committee of action, the function of which will be to co-ordinate the efforts of the two organisations in the fight against the capitalist offensive.

The Committee of Action was inaugurated on December 18, 1922. It immediately decided to issue a manifesto to the workers of the world in which was emphasised the significance of the international congress which had just concluded. It also endorsed in principle, the text of a resolution, which was also intended for the revolutionary proletariat in order to explain to them the nature and purpose of the Committee of Action. The

resolution was adopted in its final form at the meeting of December 26, it particularly emphasised the importance of concentrating all revolutionary efforts on resisting the redoubled attacks of the bourgeoisie, and defined the role and functions of this new organisation as follows :—

(1) For the purpose of bringing joint action between the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. against the capitalist offensive and for the defensive and offensive fight of the working class against the bourgeoisies and its lackeys, a Committee of Action has been formed called the “Committee of Action of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions.”

(2) The Committee of Action is established on the basis of equal representation of the E.C.C.I. and the R.I.L.U., each sending three representatives to it.

(3) Other Committees of Action, for the purpose of carrying out particular campaigns, may be formed as well; joint sessions of the Executive Committee of the C.I. and the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. or their Presidiums may also be called, for the purpose of making decisions on important questions which demand action from both these organisations. These sessions are held on a basis of equal representation.

(4) The relations between the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions in each country will be determined in accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the C.I. and the Second Congress of the R.I.L.U. and in accordance with circumstances prevailing in each country.

The Committee of Action has met twenty times, at the meetings a large number of questions were discussed, the most important of which were the occupation of the Ruhr, the International Conferences (Frankfurt, Transport, Berlin, &c.); resistance to fascism in Italy and on an international scale, great strikes (Germany, Poland, &c.); the events in Bulgaria; the German Revolution; proposal of the United Social Democratic Party of Germany to the Hamburg and Amsterdam Internationals for the purpose of supporting the German proletariat; the military dictatorship in Spain, &c. The experiences of the work demonstrated that the Committee of Action could not limit itself merely to laying down the general lines of activity in resisting the attacks of our class enemies, but it must concern itself with a number of questions, which could be decided only by its own organisation or by a joint meeting of the Executives of both internationals. For this reason, a number of questions were brought up concerning the problems of organisation and of trade union tactic in the following countries : Italy, Norway Rumania, Mexico, Uruguay, Czech-Slovakia, Hungary, Sweden, Jugoslavia, Finland, and Spain. These various problems could be solved only by the Committee of Action, since they are closely connected with the activity of the Communist parties in the

countries in question. Any other proceeding would have drawn out the discussions of these problems too long. Questions of special importance, as, for instance, the question of combatting fascism or the question of the trade union tactic in Germany, were submitted to both Executives for decision.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S SECRETARIAT

The development of the Communist women's movement runs parallel with the development of the Communist Parties. Having this in view, the International Women's Secretariat endeavoured to bring the working women into the service of the proletarian revolution.

In Germany, where the revolutionary ferment has prevailed among the masses during the past year, the development of the women's movement kept pace with the increased strength of the Communist Party. The economic misery affected the working women even more than the men. Hence, they took part in the organisation of the control committees, in the strikes, the demonstrations, &c., and often took the initiative in these matters. They did Red Cross work in the "hundreds," and took an active part in the Hamburg uprising. They also joined the party organisation in great numbers. When, after the October defeat the party lost some of its popularity, a similar result was observed in the women's movement. But when the great strikes in the Rhineland and in other parts of Germany set in in January and February, the women's movement gained a new lease of life in spite of its illegal position. The Communist women's movement was greatly strengthened as a result of the activity of the Women's Secretariat in reaching the working women in the factories and organising them into factory nuclei. At the National Women's Conference, which will take place shortly before the Fifth Congress of the C.I., the lessons of the past will be drawn, and the future policy of the Communist women's movement in Germany will be determined on the basis of past experience.

In France the organisation of the Communist women proceeded very slowly up to the Frossard Crisis, since the party, following the old social democratic traditions, neglected the women's movement. A slight improvement in this respect is observable since last year, but the proportion of working women in the party is still very small. Since the autumn of last year the scope of the work of the Communists among the women has been greatly enlarged, since the C.G.T.U., the French Section of the Red International of Labour Unions, entrusted the work of its Women's Secretariat to a woman comrade. Thus, our women comrades have the opportunity of developing their activity among tens of thousands of organised working women.

The Communist women's movement in Poland has made great progress. After the Party Congress of 1923, the party developed considerable activity among the working women. Committees for Agitation among Women were set up. In the most important industrial centres the working women were included in the factory nuclei. Educational Committees were formed for educational work among the working women thus organised, and the party now issues a monthly women's journal, *Rabotniza*.

At the last parliamentary election in England, the Communist Party recognised the value of the energetic and devoted work of the women comrades. The party called a National Women's Conference and thus took a step forward in organising the work of the women comrades among the women masses on a unified systematic basis.

In Italy, the Communist women's movement was suppressed and outlawed like the party. The weekly *Compagna* was shut down. But in proportion as the party adjusted itself to these new conditions and gained a certain degree of legality, the women's movement also revived. Since the elections, in which the Communist Party showed how deeply it has taken root in the masses, the re-organisation of the women's movement has been proceeding satisfactorily.

In Czecho-Slovakia a certain degree of stagnation is observable. In Norway, the weekly paper and the majority of women comrades joined the opponents of the International when the split came. But our women comrades in a comparatively short time have succeeded in calling to life a good, thoroughly proletarian women's organisation.

In Bulgaria the women naturally took part in all the activities of the party, even in the armed uprisings, and consequently shared the fate of the party. The movement is now prohibited and illegal, but it suffered less as a result of the White Terror than the party in general, and has recently developed greater activity.

The International Women's Secretariat has tightened the bonds between the women comrades of the various countries. It has arranged an interchange of Communist Women's periodicals and other literature. It stimulated and instructed its sections politically and organisationally, and endeavoured to unite the activity of the women comrades more closely in every way with their respective sections and with the Communist International, and to carry out the fundamental and tactical policies of the latter. As far as internal activity is concerned, the Communist women concern themselves with assistance for Soviet Russia and later with obtaining aid for the suffering German proletariat. It called upon the women of Germany and France to protest strongly against the occupation of the Ruhr.

To meet an urgent problem that affects women of all capitalist countries, it supported a campaign for abolishing penalties for abortion. It displayed great activity and International Women's Day last year and this year became imposing demonstrations.

The defects revealed this year in carrying out the programme, has proved to the International Women's Secretariat that many sections of the Communist International have not yet realised the importance of the work among the proletarian women, in spite of the fact that the Executive of the Communist International is doing everything possible to do away with this tradition of the Second International!

A separate report will be given on the splendid development of the women's movement in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The women's movement in the Orient has also kept pace with the development of the Communist parties there. In view of the undeveloped economic conditions there, its tasks often include not only the work of drawing the working women into the Communist movement, but often with the most elementary demands for emancipation. Especially great progress is observable in the women's movement in Southern China, which developed parallel with the reorganisation that took place in the ranks of the national-revolutionary Kuomintang Party. A special task of the Eastern Section of the International Women's Secretariat was the education of the women students at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East, where dozens of Korean, Chinese, Turkish, and Mongolian women are studying, and who will spread the Communist doctrine upon returning to their homes.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Co-operative section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was established in 1920, in accordance with the decision of the Third Congress of the Communist International. The tasks of the co-operative section and of the Communist organisations adhering to it were laid down by the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International and by the First International Conference of Communist co-operators held in November 1922. The resolutions relating thereto exposed the anti-proletarian policy of the leaders of the co-operative movement and laid down the class tasks of co-operators. The resolutions suggested the organisational and tactical measures which Communists must introduce in the co-operatives to make an end of the opportunist policy of the co-operative bureaucrats in order to convert co-operation into a weapon for the protection of the interests of the working masses and to establish the united front of the co-operative and revolu-

tionary workers' organisations for struggle against reaction, Fascism, the menace of war, &c.

The stubborn struggle waged by Communists in a number of countries for the realisation of these tasks has already had considerable results. In Germany, Communists are at the head of a widespread opposition movement embracing the entire consumers' co-operative movement. There is a Communist majority in twenty-nine German co-operatives, which have a membership of over 100,000. The approximate number of our adherents in the co-operatives is 600,000. Communists are active as party members throughout the co-operative movement, from the central and district committees down to the majority of the primary co-operatives.

In the Czecho-Slovakian co-operative movement, which comprises over 320,000 workers, Communists are in the majority. They also exercise considerable influence in some of the branches of the German Co-operative Society of Czecho-Slovakia.

Before the Fascist *coup d'état*, Communists had considerable influence in a number of *Italian* co-operatives. The Turin "Workers' Union," which is the most powerful co-operative society in Italy, was entirely under Communist control, and the same was the case with the producers' co-operatives in Trieste, the agricultural co-operatives in the Reggia-Emilia Province, &c. Of course, the co-operatives suffered a great deal from Fascist activities. The co-operatives in Trieste were the only organisations in which Communist influence was maintained.

In France Communists control four co-operatives in Paris, including "La Bellevilloise," the largest workers' co-operative, which has a membership of 17,000, and the co-operative "The New Family," which has eleven dining halls in various working class quarters. In the provinces Communists exercise considerable influence in the co-operatives of the Northern Regions, Seine-et-Oise, Bas-Seine, and the Rhone. The Co-operative Commission of the Central Committee of the party has been very active lately. The party has formed co-operative commissions in forty-five federations' committees, ten of which are doing successful work on a large scale.

In Norway Communists exercised considerable influence in a number of local co-operatives until the party split. At the Congress of the consumers' co-operatives in 1923, the Communist resolution received one-third of all the votes cast. The deputy chairman of the Central co-operative society was a Communist. In spite of the split, our influence and authority over the masses are such as to enable us to continue in our efforts to draw the workers' co-operative movement into the revolutionary class struggle.

In Poland Communists are only active in the "Society of Workers' Co-operatives" which is under the control of the Polish

Socialist Party. The Communists received a considerable number of votes cast at the Congress of workers' co-operatives in 1923.

In Bulgaria the workers' union "Ozvoboshdenje," which has 72,000 members, had a Communist control Committee and worked hand in hand with the revolutionary trade unions. At present this union, as well as the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions, are outlawed by the Tsankov Government. The International Co-operative Alliance, at the instigation of the Soviet Co-operative organisations has initiated a campaign to compel the Bulgarian Fascist Government to put an end to the persecution of the working class co-operative movement. In almost every country Communist Parties are beginning to gain great influence in the co-operative movement.

Last year, the Communist co-operatives increased their influence in the International Co-operative Alliance, which is under the leadership of Socialist reformists and of petty-bourgeois ideologists of the co-operative movement. At the last session of the Central Committee of the International Co-operative Alliance held on March 22, in Prague, the Russian Centrosoyuz, which was supported by the delegates of Czecho-Slovakia and partly by the delegates of Switzerland and France, gained a victory in the question of the liquidation of the former menshevik representation of the Georgian co-operatives and in the question of the protest against the persecution of the revolutionary co-operative movement in Bulgaria. This steady growth of Communist activity in the co-operative movement leads us to expect that the revolutionary wing of the International Co-operative Alliance will obtain a considerable number of votes at the International Co-operative Congress to be held in Geneva in September.

On the first of June, 1924, the Second International conference of Communist co-operators will be held in Moscow. This conference will consider the results of the work hitherto accomplished, and will adopt the tactics to be applied in Communist activity in the co-operative movement under the existing political and economic conditions. The conference will pay special attention to the co-operative movement of the petty-bourgeois elements (producers and agricultural co-operatives) to induce them to join the revolutionary struggle; to the organisation of opposition elements in the co-operative movement; and to the question of the relations between the trade unions and the co-operative movement. It will also elect the members of the Co-operative section which hitherto consisted of seventeen delegates from the union of Socialist Soviet Republics, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, and the Scandinavian and Balkan countries.

THE WORK OF INTERNATIONAL RED AID

The task of MOPR consists in giving moral and material support to the revolutionary fighters and their families and in attracting large masses of non-party workers and peasants to join in this work.

International Red Aid achieved its greatest success in the Soviet Union.

During the short period of its existence (16 months) its work within the Soviet Union has greatly developed. At present it has about one and a half million members in the Soviet Union. The composition of this membership is as follows :—

	About
Members of the Russian Communist Party...	250,000
Non-Party people	1,250,000
These are divided as follows :—	
Workers	1,300,000
Peasants	200,000

This numerical growth of the organisation is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the contributions from the Soviet Union :—

In 1923	About 300,000 gold roubles
From Jan. 1 to April 1, 1924	About 300,000 gold roubles

The aid given to comrades in capitalist prisons can be expressed in the following figures :—

1923	85,500 dollars
Jan. 1 to April 1, 1924	87,200 dollars

The growth of the organisation of International Red Aid in the Soviet Union and the interest which large masses of workers and peasants take in the activities of International Red Aid must be attributed chiefly to the growing enlightenment and class consciousness of the masses. Patronage over prisons contributed greatly to making the idea of Red Aid popular.

Special attention must be paid to this aspect of the work. Regular correspondence (as far as this is possible) between the prisoners and their patrons is essential. All obstacles must be overcome as far as this is concerned.

CARE OF POLITICAL EMIGRANTS

Of greatest importance is aid to the political emigrants of Bulgaria and of Hungary. The first grant to Bulgaria amounted to 5,000 dollars. In addition, there is regular monthly payment of 1,000 dollars. At present the task of aiding political emigrants in Russia is exclusively in the hands of International Red Aid. For this purpose a special Committee has been appointed, which deals with all matters concerning political emigrants. This Committee does not only give direct material assistance, but also finds work for the emigrants.

OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

(1) Still greater consolidation of the organisation of International Red Aid, especially abroad.

(2) Intensification of the agitational propagandist activities of the Central Committee and of the activities of the publishing department.

(3) Organisation and increase of collections abroad, especially in Great Britain, America, and in neutral countries.

(4) Efforts for more adequate support of prisoners and their families.

(5) Systematisation of aid activities to do away with parallelism in this work.

WORK OF INTERNATIONAL RED AID IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AMERICA

Outside Soviet Russia the activities of International Red Aid were limited to giving aid to political prisoners. Because of the activities of another aid organisation it was very difficult in many countries to establish a section of Red Aid. In other countries, on the other hand, the political situation was so difficult because of the persecution of the bourgeois governments that it was impossible to form any but an illegal organisation.

The great struggles in Germany, Bulgaria, and Poland, as well as the persecution of workers and peasants in Italy, Roumania, the Baltic countries, Japan, China, Java, and India made great demands on our resources. Both financial and legal assistance had to be provided for about 10,000 workers in Germany, 15,000 workers and peasants in Bulgaria, 3,000 in Italy, 4,000 in Hungary, 2,500 in Poland, 2,000 in Spain, 1,300 in Finland, 400 in Esthonia, 250 in Latvia, 200 in Lithuania, 3,000 in India, and 2,000 in Java. Most of the money required was raised in Soviet Russia.

The repeal of martial law in Germany enabled us to form a legal organisation. In Austria our section concentrated its attention on the question of providing transportation for emigrants and children. The section fulfilled this task very creditably. In spite of the semi-legal state of the Party in Italy the Italian comrades have done excellent work in the Red Aid section. There are sections in Switzerland and France, but because of various difficulties our work has not yet reached the desired standard. In Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, and Poland our organisation works well and looks after a considerable number of prisoners, although its activities must be carried on underground. But in such cases it is very difficult to ascertain the correct number of prisoners. In Hungary, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Spain, and Turkey, persecution has made it impossible to organise any work of this kind. No steps

have as yet been taken to carry out the tasks of International Red Aid in Belgium, Holland, Sweden, and Norway. In Czecho-Slovakia the total absence of red aid activities is due to the indifference of our comrades to this work.

There are red aid organisations in Egypt and Palestine. It was extremely difficult to form sections in China and Japan, but steps are being taken to overcome these difficulties. For the first time in the history of Java prisoners received aid. A Red Aid section will be formed in India on the basis of the great trials taking place there. There are 3,000 prisoners in the country. In the overseas countries, North and South America, South Africa, and Australia steps are being taken to form sections of a special character. These countries, in view of their comparatively satisfactory economic situation, ought to provide most of the finances.

Red Aid appointed special days to be devoted to activity on its behalf in all countries on March 18, May 1, and November 7, 1923, and especially on March 18, 1924, which was called Red Aid Day. Not only in Soviet Russia, where the results were splendid, but also abroad, especially in Germany, France, and Great Britain, comrades carried on energetic campaigns which will help to strengthen our organisation. May Day, 1924, was also observed as a propaganda day for Red Aid.

The ever growing demands made on International Red Aid require active assistance from the international proletariat. We cannot expect the White Terror to abate in the near future. On the contrary, in spite of the weakening of fascism as a form of government, the Capitalist state will do its utmost to suppress any rising caused by the growing misery of the working and peasant classes. Adequate assistance for the struggling proletariat, and especially for the heroic fighters imprisoned because of their activities, can be given only if the international proletariat organises itself for this purpose, and is supported by the peasantry.

THE EXPERIENCES OF INTERNATIONAL RED AID HAVE MADE ONE THING CLEAR : IN COUNTRIES WHERE WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE RUTHLESSLY PERSECUTED, THEIR SOLIDARITY IS STRONGEST. IN ALL COUNTRIES WHERE THE WHITE TERROR IS NOT SO STRONGLY ENTRENCHED, THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS MUST BE DRAWN INTO THE WORK OF INTERNATIONAL RED AID BY CONTINUOUS PROPAGANDA. ONLY IF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ENERGETICALLY SUPPORT THIS WORK WILL THE FEELING OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY BE STRENGTHENED.

THE RED SPORT INTERNATIONAL

In most countries the bourgeoisie has understood how to win over the sport-loving proletariat into its own "politically neutral" sport organisations, or to bind them by means of sport,

and hold them off from the class struggle. Italian fascism understood extremely well how to mobilise these "neutral" sport clubs for its own purposes; in a great number of countries the sport clubs serve as the bases for the fascists.

The task of the Red Sport International is to wrench these strongest sections of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie and to put them at the service of the class struggle.

In Soviet Russia, in France, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Bulgaria, and in other countries, we already have affiliated sections with a total membership of 600,000. In Germany and in other countries we have strong factions in the clubs affiliated to the reformist Lucerne Workers' Sports International, which are developing very well. In a number of countries work is just beginning. Our propoganda is carried on through the international periodical, "Proletarian Sport."

In September of this year the Third Congress of the Red Sport International will take place. This Congress will be the first actual world congress of the R.S.I.

The R.S.I. took an active part in the campaigns for Red Aid, for the German Famine, and for the First of May.

The Red Sport International based its practical work on the tactic of the united front, and is carrying on an energetic campaign against the reformist bureaucracy which the R.S.I. has to face in the Lucerne Workers' Sport International. The workers' gymnastic and sport clubs are mass organisations, which embrace non-party, Syndicalist, Trade Union, Social Democratic, and Communist workers; therein lies their special significance for the revolutionary Labour movement.

In April of this year a Congress of the Lucerne Sport International took place in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Through the membership we endeavoured to compel the International to send us an invitation. In 1925 the first International Workers' Olympiad will be held, which is being organised by the reformists. We are demanding an official invitation and the right to take part. Thus we are compelling the bureaucracy to take a definite stand on the question of the R.S.I.

In a number of countries the workers' gymnastic and sport organisations offered important opportunities for legal work when the Party and Youth organisations had been driven underground.

Some of the Communist parties and youth leagues still maintain a passive attitude toward the problem of physical culture. That must be changed, since the young workers are turning to gymnastics and sport in ever-increasing numbers. It is the task of the Red Sport International to win over these masses and imbue them with revolutionary spirit. The influence of the bourgeois leagues on the members of the proletarian class must be smashed. To assist in this work is an important task for the

Communist parties and youth leagues, as well as for the Red Trade Unions.

THE PEASANT INTERNATIONAL

The Peasant International was formed on the occasion of the All-Russian Agricultural Exhibition, which was attended by representatives of peasants from forty nations and nationalities of the most important countries of Europe, the Americas, and Asia. It was the time when the overthrow of Stamboulinski, the Bulgarian peasant leader, clearly showed that an attempt even of the class-conscious peasants to carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie without (or even in opposition to) the industrial workers, is doomed to failure. The agricultural exhibit of Soviet Russia, on the other hand, showed that only in alliance with the industrial workers can the peasants overthrow their exploiters, the Capitalists.

The Peasant International is faced with the task of rallying the exploited peasants in all countries, and to lead them together with the industrial workers against Capitalism. Consequently the International Peasants' Council, the organisation of the Peasant International, issued the slogan, "Peasants and workers of all countries, unite!"

The first conference took up the question of the causes of new wars and the results of past wars. The economic situation of the peasantry, which is being more intensely exploited and ruined by capital on an international scale, was also investigated. The conference gave the delegates the opportunity of acquainting themselves with the situation of the Russian peasants before and since the revolution. The next question discussed was the relation between the peasantry and the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The question of co-operative life and the organisational problems of the new organisation were also taken up.

The Conference elected a general secretariat, which has already established connections with the peasantry of Germany, France, Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Rumania, Latvia, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Korea, Central Asia, China, the United States of North America, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentine, Arabia, and several colonial countries. No stable international organisation has as yet been created, but the widespread sympathy with which the peasant masses received the news guarantees that the Peasant International will quickly develop. The general secretariat is organising an international Agrarian institute, issues a central organ, "The Peasant International," and set up an "International Library," which has published four brochures, and is preparing others.

The majority of the Communist Parties have not yet grasped the importance of the Peasant International. One of the tasks of the Fifth Congress will be to draw the attention of its sections

to this new organisation. By skilful manipulation it can become a mighty factor in combining the forces of the industrial workers and the peasants against Capitalism.

The Peasant International has no organisational connection with the Communist International, but in its fight against exploitation it must be supported by the sections of the Communist International.

IV.—Apparatus of the E.C.C.I.

EASTERN DEPARTMENT

During the past year the Eastern Department was in continual touch with the Communist organisations of Japan, China, Korea, the Dutch Indies, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine.

In Japan the Communist Party, under the guidance of the Comintern, perfected its tactics in connection with the work among the masses, the Trade Unions, and the formation of the Workers' and Peasants' Party, which is destined to play a significant *role* in the life of the country. The persecutions of the Communists commenced in the summer, and which reached a climax after the earthquake, hampered the activity of the Communist Party to a great degree; even at this date it has not fully recovered.

In China the Communist Party has made great progress. Its membership increased, its contact with the workers has become closer, and it took active part in all the more important Labour movements (Peking-Hankow strike, etc.). The Communist Party adopted a definite stand with regard to the national movement—the Kuomintang Party—and actively took part in the re-organisation of the latter.

In Korea the attempts of the Eastern Department to unite all the groups have thus far been fruitless. At present fresh attempts are being made to build a unified Communist Party.

In the Dutch Indies the Communist Party has developed into a definite force. It embraces several thousand workers, and is at the head of a number of Trade Unions and the strong national-revolutionary organisation, "Sarekat Rajat." The contact between the Eastern Department and the Party has greatly improved.

In India the Communist movement is in the early stage of development. The attempt to unite the individual groups miscarried as a result of repression. In a number of Trade Unions our comrades hold influential positions.

In Persia there are Communist parties in only two or three cities (Teheran, Thauris, etc.). The Party is just beginning to establish contact with the South-Persian oilfields. It is also

taking an active part in the national-democratic movement of the country.

In Turkey the Party was twice dissolved during the past year. Toward the end of 1923 the results of this disruption were overcome, and the Party began to renew its activities. The influence of the Party on the radical intelligentsia has considerably increased, but its work in the Trade Unions is not yet sufficiently intensive, and measures are being taken to develop it.

In Egypt the Party has revived during the past year. Its membership increased, it took a definite stand on the national movement, and it succeeded in capturing the leadership of the General Confederation of Labour. The Party took a leading part in the strikes which occurred toward the end of 1923 and the beginning of 1924. The Party was violently broken up by the authorities. Seventeen comrades, members of the Central Committee and leaders of the General Confederation were arrested, and are now in prison. The provisional illegal committee has been able to restore some of the wrecked organisations.

Reference must be made to the feebleness of the activity in the French colonies in North Africa (Algiers, Tunis, Morocco). The Eastern Department had no direct contact with these countries, and the French Communist Party has not conducted sufficient activity there. The colonies are of great importance to France, and in France there are 700,000 workers who are natives of these colonies.

In the course of the past year the Eastern Department invited a number of representatives of the Communist parties in the countries mentioned above (China, Japan, India, Egypt, Palestine, etc.) to Moscow, with whom the principal questions of activity in the Party were discussed. The most important questions were turned over to the Presidium (attitude of the Japanese Communist Party to the organisations of workers' and peasants' party; tactics of the Chinese Communist Party towards the Kuomintang; the Korean question; the Indian movement, etc.), which arrived at decisions on these questions.

There will be avowed Communist organisations in the most important Oriental and Colonial countries when the Fifth Congress meets, which will be active under the leadership of the E.C.C.I.

PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT

The functions of the Propaganda Department is to furnish the Labour Press with suitable articles dealing with the activity of the Communist International, on the class struggle in the various countries, on the Russian Revolution, and on important concrete questions, for the purposes of propaganda. It has to prepare books and brochures and make necessary proposals. A

still more important function was the improvement of the agitation, propaganda, and educational activity of the Communist parties.

The activity of the Propaganda Department was very defective during the period under report, and it was able to fulfil only a fraction of its program, mostly owing to the fact that the comrades who were at the head of it were overburdened with work. The re-organisation of the Propaganda Department for the purpose of attaining more effective activity is under way.

ORGANISATIONAL DEPARTMENT

The Organisational Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was formed in December, 1923, in accordance with a decision of the Presidium. The Organisational Department assumed the task of introducing changes into the organisational structure of the sections of the Communist International, which had retained the organisational forms suited to the peaceful development of the Second International. It also did its utmost to facilitate the transition from peaceful election-agitation and propaganda forms of organisation to a more militant form of organisation capable of assuming the leadership in the struggle for proletarian dictatorship and of taking over power at the opportune moment.

In order to accomplish its task successfully the Organisational Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has :—

(1) Studied the work of organisational development and the experiences of the various sections of the Communist International, and especially the experiences of the Russian Communist Party.

(2) Encouraged the systematic organisational work of the sections, from the fundamental factory party nucleus to the largest party organisation.

(3) Paid special attention to the illegal and semi-legal parties, to work among soldiers, etc.

The question which mainly concerned the Organisation Department during the past period was the organisation of factory nuclei. Party organisations must be based on factory nuclei and not on groups, circles, or sections organised on a territorial basis. All Party members must do active party work. These thoughts were expressed in the resolution framed by the Organisational Department, which was adopted by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on January 1, as well as in the instructions given to the representatives of the various sections who had come to Moscow, and in the letters addressed to the various sections.

A very animated exchange of opinions took place in the German Communist Party, which had considerable effect.

Although even in Germany the reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis is far from complete, considerable results in this direction were achieved.

This cannot be said of the other countries. Nevertheless, a move in that direction has been made in the largest European parties (as for instance, in France, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Norway, not to mention other small countries). In all these countries this question is discussed in the sessions of the Central Committees, in the party Press, and at party conferences.

In connection with this re-organisation of the party on a factory nucleus basis, many mistakes are still committed in the majority of countries. For instance, nuclei on a territorial basis are maintained side by side with factory nuclei, the former retaining the leadership of the party. But the ball has been set rolling, and it is obvious that the reorganisation on the factory nuclei basis will proceed. Many sections of the Communist International have recently shown much interest in this question. At present the Organisational section receives a considerable amount of material on this question from the various sections, while at the beginning of its activities it received hardly anything except from the German Communist Party.

In many sections of the Communist International a keener interest is here shown on the question of the attitude of Comrade Lenin to the structure of the party. The Organisational Department has, therefore, made arrangements for popularising Comrade Lenin's ideas on this question in all the sections.

Special attention was paid to the task of familiarising the various sections of the Communist International with the structure of the Russian Communist Party, and especially with the work of its fundamental factory nuclei.

The department has also drawn up instructions for organising Communist factions in non-party workers' organisations, which were endorsed by the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These instructions do not demand a fundamental break with the *organisational practices* developed in the course of several decades, and the various sections of the Communist International thus find it easy to follow these instructions. But in some sections the fraction and the nucleus are considered to be identical.

In general, the activities of the Organisational Department are not developing as rapidly as they should. During the last five months only eight committee meetings were held.

DEPARTMENT FOR INFORMATION AND STATISTICS.

The Department for Information and Statistics was formed after the Fourth World Congress. The object of this department is "to provide the Executive with information on the

activity and social structure of the parties adhering to the Communist International, such information to be based as far as this is possible on co-ordinated facts.”

At first the department had to overcome considerable difficulties within the comintern apparatus itself. The problem arose of establishing an organisational connection between the departments which hitherto provided information independently of each other (the library, the newspaper section, and the archives), and the department for information. This connection is not quite established as yet, but the department for information is doing its utmost in that direction, in order to establish a centralised information service.

The second and far greater difficulty comes from the parties themselves. All attempt to establish a regular service with the various party secretariats for the supply of material and information have utterly failed. Most of the parties have not even answered the letters and questionnaires of the Department for Information. It became evident that most parties are still unable to appreciate the importance of statistical party and trade union material even for their own political and propagandist needs. How much more difficult is it for such parties to understand the necessity of supplying the Executive of the Communist International promptly and regularly with reliable material.

During the last few months the Department for Information was busy with compiling a central catalogue necessary for the political work of the Executive. This catalogue is divided into two parts : (1) catalogue of books and pamphlets (library); (2) catalogue of newspapers and periodicals (party reports, minutes, party statistics, etc.). Whereas the library catalogue has already been in existence over two years, and is considered to be one of the best library catalogues in Russia, the cataloguing of the most important articles contained in newspapers and periodicals was taken in hand only a few months ago. The cataloguing of archive material could not be undertaken because of absence of a properly-trained staff. But this work is to be begun immediately after the Fifth Congress.

As far as the future of the Department for Information is concerned, we can say that it depends largely on the following conditions :—

(1) Centralisation of all sections supplying political information to the Executive under a uniform organisational control.

(2) IN THE VARIOUS PARTIES : Appointment of a thoroughly conscientious comrade capable of carrying on such work, whose duty it will be to keep in close contact with the Department of Information of the Executive, who will be responsible for sup-

plying the material required by the Department for Information and for compiling statistics.

(3) The possibility of organising the Department for Information, and especially the archive and the central catalogue, on an up-to-date technical basis.

REPORTERS

In accordance with the decision of the Fourth Congress, the Presidium appointed responsible reporters, one from each of the most important countries, whose duty it is to compile the work of the various sections for the Executive Committee of the Communist International and its Presidium. As a rule these reporters were members of the Executive. In order to facilitate the work of the reporters assistants were appointed who were at the same time collaborators of the Department for Information and Statistics, and were under the control of the reporters. It was also the duty of the reporters and their assistants to provide information to the various departments of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, as, for instance, the Department for Agitation and Propaganda, the Budget Commission, the Publication Commission, etc.

The number of reports placed before the Executive Committee of the Communist International by the reporters and their assistants is as follows :—

	Reports
The German reporter	123
The French reporter	11
The Italian reporter	25
The Balkan reporter	29
The reporter for Great Britain and British Colonies ...	42
The reporter for South America (also for Spain and Portugal)	33
The reporter for North America	8
The Scandinavian reporter	17
The reporter for Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary	10
The reporter of the Eastern Section	7

In the period intervening between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses, the following comrades acted as reporters :—

1. Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. Radek, Hörnle and subsequently Com. Zetkin (as substitutes, Mörlner and subsequently Eisenberger).
2. Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary. Neurath, subsequently Com. Zetkin. (Substitutes: Eisenberger, Cicinsky, and Peluso.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. | Pruchniak, and Kostcheva; specially for Finland, Kuusinen; for Latvia and Lithuania: Mitzkevitch-Kapsukas. |
| 4. Scandinavia and Iceland. | K o b e s t k y, subsequently Kuusinen. |
| 5. English speaking countries. | M a c M a n u s, subsequently Stewart and Amter. (Substitute, in the beginning, Wallenius. |
| 6. South America (with Spain and Portugal). | Stirner. (For Spain and Portugal: Genari and Gramsci in the beginning.) |
| 7. Italy. | Gennari and Gramsci, subsequently Terracini (substitute: Chiarini). |
| 8. France, Belgium, Luxembourg. | Souvarine, Levy, and Dunois. |
| 9. Balkan countries. | K o l a r o v. (Substitutes: Vuyovitz, Badulescu, and Sapunov.) |
| 10. Eastern Department. | Katayama and Safarov. |

INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

During the period under review the International Press Correspondence became the best organ of information for the Communist movement. It has a world circulation, and has become an indispensable auxiliary of the technical staffs of all our sections. For the illegal Communist Parties or for Parties which have no daily organ, it is the only source of information on the development of the International movement.

“Inprecorr” has a German edition which appears three times a week and also a German weekly edition. In the French and English languages it is published twice a week.

When last autumn the German bourgeoisie drove the German Communist Party underground, “Inprecorr” was also prohibited. But barely three weeks later the publication appeared again in Vienna.

Although “Inprecorr’s” services are invaluable, many sections have as yet failed to give it the moral and material support which it well deserves. The decision of the Executive

calling upon all sections to appoint responsible correspondents for "Inprecorr" has not been carried out to any great extent.

THE PRESS BUREAU.

The work of the Press Bureau consists in preparing for publication everything issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist International through the publishing department of the various parties.

The Bureau has a staff of translators, editors, correctors, and typists, and fulfils work of translating, copying, etc., for its Departments and other international organisations adhering to the Comintern.

We give below a table showing the character of the work accomplished by the Press Bureau in the period between December 9, 1922, and May 1, 1924.

Translations	Typing
No. of printed sheets : 1,666	No. of pages : 95,790
Translations according to languages :—	
Per cent. of Translation Work	Per cent. of Translation Work
Into Russian 31.9	From German 42.9
Into German 24.1	From Russian 36.3
Into English 23.2	From English 11.8
Into French 20.8	From French 5.3
	From other Languages 3.7
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> 100 <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/>	<hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/> 100 <hr style="width: 20%; margin: auto;"/>

The main difficulty in the work of the Press Bureau is securing highly qualified, experienced translators having a Marxian training.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The organ of the Executive Committee of the Comintern is published in four languages—Russian, German, English, and French. Since the Fourth Congress to April 10, 1924, six volumes of the magazine have been published, 82 printed sheets (in the size of the Russian publication) representing Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 1 (30-31), 2 (32). Nos. 3 and 4 (33-34) are being prepared for the Press.

During this period the magazine contained eleven articles on general questions of the theory and practice of the international

workers' movement. The number of articles concerning the various countries were as follows :—

On German questions	...	...	...	13	articles
„ U.S.S.R.	„	...	...	9	„
„ British	„	...	...	9	„
„ American	„	...	...	5	„
„ French	„	...	...	4	„
„ Italian	„	...	...	3	„
„ Polish	„	...	...	3	„
„ Bulgarian	„	...	...	3	„
„ Norwegian	„	...	...	2	„
„ Eastern	„	...	...	7	„
„ Finnish, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Esthonian questions	...	...	...	5	„
„ Australian questions	...	...	...	1	„

Eleven articles and notices were dedicated to Lenin.

Sixteen articles and notices to the anniversary of the Communist International. In addition, there appeared a number of book reviews, articles, etc.

COMINTERN PUBLICATIONS

The publications of the Executive Committee in the Russian language are issued through the Publication Department of the Russian Party (“Krasnaya Nov”). This Publication Department publish literature on all questions on the international Labour movement, which is very popular.

The German publishing department continues to do fruitful work on a large scale, and is concentrating attention on extending its sale. In this it has the full support of the German Communist Party. The publishing department continued its work after the October events, in spite of the prohibition and confiscation of Communist publications.

During the period of its existence (four and a-half years) the Publishing Department issued about 230 books and pamphlets, in addition to periodicals. It should be stated that the parties of the German-speaking countries do not devote sufficient attention to disseminating literature.

Between November 1, 1922, and April 15, 1924, the Publishing Department issued 61 books and pamphlets (total amount of pages, 11,360; number of copies, 546,550. Twenty-five works are in the press or in the course of preparation for the press (total number of pages, 7,200; approximate number of copies, 283,000).

The British publishing department, in addition to the “Communist International,” which has a circulation of 2,500, and is read in all English-speaking countries, has issued a number of pamphlets and leaflets, as well as the minutes and resolu-

tions of the Congress and of the Plenum. At present there are in the press :—

“Material on the Comintern Programme.”

“Lessons of the German Events.”

“Rise or Fall of Capitalism,” by E. Varga, and a number of other publications.

The French publishing department, which is not yet fully organised, in addition to “The Communist International” and official reports of the Congress and the Plenum, published a number of works on the theory and practice of the international movement.

ACTIVITY OF THE LENIN COMMISSION

Immediately after Lenin's death, the Communist International set up an editorial commission, in order to publish Lenin's works in the German, French, and English languages, and later into the other Western and Eastern languages. The Commission is composed of Comrades Kamenev, Kolarov, Krupskaya, Bela Kun, Kuusinen, Radek, and Varski.

At present the Commission is preparing three editions of selected works of Lenin.

First of all, a large bound edition (about forty printed sheets) of selected works of Lenin will be prepared. This volume is intended particularly for such advanced Party members as have attained a certain grasp of the Marxist teachings and of the experience of the Labour and Revolutionary Movement. The volume will be divided as follows :—

(1) Tasks of Social Democracy; this contains the most characteristic writings of Lenin during the period prior to the formation of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

(2) Organisation of the Party and the fight against Opportunism; the preparation and development of Bolshevism at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party; this contains selected excerpts from two fundamental works of Lenin which have appeared hitherto only in the Russian language : “What is to be Done?” and “One Step Forwards and Two Steps Back.”

(3) Two tactics in the Revolution of 1905 : Lenin's article dealing with all the principal problems of the revolution of 1905, and particularly the questions on tactics and organisation of the Revolution.

(4) Parliamentarism and the Tactics of the Bolsheviki : directed against Right liquidators and the Left Bolshevists, written at the time of the retreat and the reaction.

(5) The Imperialist War 1914-1917; articles selected from the volume of Lenin's and Zinoviev's joint work “Against the Stream.”

(6) *The Conquest of Power* (February-October, 1917): this contains the articles which determined the bolshevist tactics during this period.

(7) *Dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist International*; articles and speeches on the policy of the Soviet State and the Communist International.

The first volume is now being printed.

The other editions are being prepared for publication by the Commission. The first is a smaller Lenin volume which is intended for the masses outside the Communist International, or for those Party members who have not yet attained the proper grasp of the subject. It will consist of 16-17 printed sheets and include not only separate articles or excerpts from Lenin's work, like the one described above, but will be a sort of textbook of Lenin's writings which will include everything necessary for preparing Communist Party members for active party work and for the general task of educating the great working-class masses with reference to the general and particular questions of the Communist Revolution and Bolshevism.

A five-volume edition, also of Lenin's selected works, is also under preparation. The first three volumes contain his writings on the strategical, tactical, and organisational problems of the Russian Revolution and the International Labour Movement (Second and Third Internationals). The fourth volume contains his writings on Marxist theory, particularly that pertaining to theoretical economics and philosophy. The fifth volume includes writings and speeches on the national and political-colonial questions and those treating particularly of the theory of the agrarian question. At present it is planned to issue these volumes only in the German, French, and English languages. The purpose of this volume is to furnish the basis for a deeper study of the Leninist teachings and to supply the leading officials of the Communist Parties with a permanent handbook.

Finally, a 400 page symposium on Lenin will be issued, which will contain the best articles written about Lenin, and which throw light on Lenin's activity from all points of view—in a word, a Handbook for Lenin Propaganda.

COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF FASCISM

In July, 1923, the Executive set up a Commission for the Study of Fascism, which was charged with the duty of gathering material on Fascism (especially on German Fascism), and to furnish the Executive and the Sections information on Fascism. The Commission will publish brochures on Fascism, which will be prepared with the aid of the Sections. The Commission has been issuing the "Chronicle of Fascism" (since August, 1923),

which appeared twice a week in Berlin. It was transferred to Vienna during the state of siege.

The Commission has gathered copious material on Fascism; the "Chronicle" appears in 15,000 copies.

PROLETKINO

In February, 1923, the Russian Trade Unions and Labour organisations, with the assistance of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions, started an organisation for the development of proletarian moving pictures. The task of Proletkino is to offer the workers proletarian films in competition with the bourgeois films.

The Proletkino began its work on May 1, 1923. Since this time it has made and distributed over thirty of its own films of a total length 15,000 metres. The films treat with themes and settings in the Red Army, in the factories, among the proletarian youth, &c. In Soviet Russia they were quickly distributed and became very popular. Besides its own films, Proletkino distributed various films of an educational and propaganda nature. Up to March 1, 1924, Proletkino distributed 749 programmes with a total length of 985,000 metres. These programmes find their way into the factories and workers' clubs. We furnished the various organisations with programmes as follows: Textile workers, 136 programmes; railwaymen, 118; metal workers, 86; the Red Army, 66; Russian Communist Party, 41; Russian youth, 30, &c.

Proletkino has set up branches in several of the large cities of Soviet Russia, and travelling theatres in the provinces. In spring, 1924, the "Society for the Development of Proletarian Cinematography" was formed for the support of Proletkino. It has assumed the task of encouraging workers' cinematography, and already has over 50,000 workers as members.

Proletkino is now preparing several large proletarian films. Connections abroad were not made until toward the end of 1924. Regular contact has been established only with America, the Scandinavian countries, and China at present, and only seven films have been sent abroad. Correspondence has been opened with other countries. We have received a great many orders, which can be only incompletely filled on account of scarcity of raw material and financial difficulties.

Proletkino has furnished the Communist press of the various sections with approximately 2,000 photographs of Soviet Russia.

Our section will surely appreciate the value of Proletkino and give it their support, for it offers them the opportunity of competing with the bourgeoisie on a field where the latter has always been sole master.

THE BUDGET COMMISSION

The Budget Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International was elected by the Presidium, and is under the direct control of the latter.

The main function of the Budget Commission consists in dealing with the financial questions connected with the activities of the various Communist Parties.

The Budget Commission decides what portion of the membership contributions the Communist Parties have to assign to the Comintern, and distributes the amounts received among the various parties for their most urgent needs (election campaigns, publishing activities, central apparatus, &c.).

The Budget Commission controls the finances for the activities of the various parties in order to ascertain whether the sums allotted by the Budget Commission from the amounts contributed by the various Communist parties were expended for the purpose for which they were intended.

The work of the Budget Commission is under the control of a special Commission elected at the Congress.

During the period under review, November 5, 1922, to May 9, 1924, the Budget Commission held thirty-four sessions. At these sessions 172 questions were discussed, 129 of which (75 per cent.) are concerned with the Comintern sections, and 43 (25 per cent.) with Comintern institutions.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

The activities of this department comprise the organisation and upkeep of relations with all the sections of the Communist International, and to provide them with literature.

The Department of International Communications has a Sub-Section for Literature. The work of the latter consists in selecting and procuring publications appearing in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which are of interest to the sections of the Communist International which avail themselves of the services of the department. On this field preference was given to fundamental literature dealing with the internal and economic policy of the Soviet Republic. The Department for International Communications procures the works of Lenin, Plekhanov, Zinoviev, Trotsky, &c., from the Sub-Section for Literature, and sends them to the subscribers. It also supplies the sections of the Communist International with light literature reflecting the revolutionary movement.

The Sub-Section for Literature receives foreign publications from abroad and distributes them on the exchange system among the respective party and State publication departments. It also sends them to the library and the respective departments of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The same applies to the publications of the Communist International appearing in the Soviet Union.

On an average, twenty-five to thirty Russian publications and eight to ten foreign publications are distributed monthly.

The sub-section for literature procured nearly all the publications bearing on Comrade Lenin's death and sent them to the various sections of the Communist International.

THE LIBRARY

The reference library of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which is at the disposal of Comintern employees and delegates for their work, comprises about 14,000 volumes of which 11,750 are classified and catalogued (from January 1, 1923, to May 1, 1924, 6,100 volumes). The books are arranged on the Dewey decimal system, and visitors to the library have the use of an alphabetical title and contents catalogue.

A reading room is attached to the library and is open daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. In addition to books, there is a supply of bound volumes of newspapers and sets of periodicals, in various languages. From January 1, 1923, to May 1, 1924, 6,720 persons availed themselves of the library and reading room.

A newspaper archive is attached to the library, which supplies the reporters and departments of the Executive Committee of the Communist International with foreign papers and periodicals from all countries. The newspaper archive receives about seventy foreign and ten Russian newspapers, and fifty-three foreign and twenty-three Russian periodicals, which are also at the disposal of visitors to the library.

Books are mainly read in the library. They are lent only in exceptional cases.

The library regularly obtains the most up-to-date publications (useful for Comintern work) appearing on the Russian and the foreign book markets.

V.—STATISTICS ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE E.C.C.I.

The number of times questions affecting the respective sections were discussed is as follows :—

Country.	Altogether the E.C., Presidium, Secretariat, Orgbureau discussed :				E.C.				Presidium :				Secretariat :				Orgbureau :			
	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.
R. C. P.	11	6	5	—	—	—	—	—	6	3	3	—	5	3	2	—	—	—	—	—
C. P. Germany	75	42	30	3	4	4	—	—	34	19	15	—	31	18	10	3	6	1	5	—
C. P. France	43	25	15	3	3	2	1	—	19	15	4	—	18	8	6	4	3	—	3	—
C. P. Italy	61	32	24	5	6	4	2	—	22	16	6	—	27	12	10	5	6	—	6	—
C. P. Czecho-Slovakia	27	15	9	3	1	1	—	—	11	8	3	—	15	6	6	3	—	—	—	—
C. P. Great Britain	37	19	13	5	1	1	—	—	14	9	5	—	17	9	4	4	5	—	4	1
C. P. Ireland	18	11	5	2	2	—	2	—	7	6	1	—	9	5	2	2	—	—	—	—
C. P. Norway	31	17	10	4	2	1	1	—	17	11	6	—	12	5	3	4	—	—	—	—
C. P. Sweden	18	10	8	—	—	—	—	—	11	7	4	—	5	2	3	—	2	1	1	—
C. P. Denmark	12	5	6	1	3	1	2	—	2	1	1	—	6	2	3	1	1	1	—	—
C. P. Holland	18	12	6	—	2	2	—	—	6	3	3	—	9	7	2	—	1	—	1	—
C. P. Belgium	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
C. P. Switzerland	11	5	5	1	1	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	8	4	3	1	—	—	—	—
C. P. Austria	32	11	16	5	1	—	1	—	9	5	4	—	16	6	6	4	6	—	5	1
C. P. Hungary	16	4	8	4	1	1	—	—	2	1	1	—	8	2	4	2	5	—	3	2
Balkan Federation	23	6	13	4	1	—	1	—	6	1	5	—	14	5	5	4	2	—	—	—
C. P. Bulgaria	38	17	15	6	3	3	—	—	13	6	6	1	22	8	9	5	—	—	—	—
C. P. Jugo-Slavia	22	11	10	1	2	1	1	—	7	3	4	—	12	7	4	1	1	—	1	—
C. P. Rumania	14	5	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	5	5	4	—	—	—	—
C. P. Greece	10	3	4	3	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	8	2	3	3	—	—	—	—
C. P. Poland	10	3	6	1	1	—	1	—	4	2	2	—	5	1	3	1	—	—	—	—
C. P. Latvia	3	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
C. P. Lithuania	7	2	4	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	5	1	3	1	1	—	1	—
C. P. Esthonia	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	1	—
C. P. Finland	9	3	4	2	—	—	—	—	4	2	2	—	5	1	2	2	—	—	—	—
C. P. Spain	10	3	5	2	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	5	3	1	1	1	—	1	—
C. P. Portugal	6	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	2	2	2	—	—	—	—

Country.	Altogether the E.C., Presidium, Secretariat, Orgbureau discussed :				E.C.				Presidium :			Secretariat :			Orgbureau :				
	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.
C. P. Turkey	9	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	—	6	3	3	—	—	—	—
C. P. Palestine	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
C. P. South Africa	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
C. P. India	8	5	2	1	2	2	—	—	6	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C. P. Japan	16	9	5	2	3	2	1	—	4	3	1	—	9	4	3	2	—	—	—
C. P. China	11	8	3	—	2	2	—	—	5	4	1	—	2	1	1	—	2	1	1
C. P. Korea	8	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	4	1	3	—	2	1	1
W. P. of America	41	17	19	5	2	2	—	—	9	5	4	—	28	10	14	4	2	1	1
W. P. of Canada	6	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	2	1	1	1	1	—
C. P. of Mexico	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
C. P. Brazil	6	3	1	2	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	1	1	2	—	—	—
C. P. Argentine	7	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	5	2	3	—	1	—	1
C. P. Australia	11	5	4	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	9	4	3	2	—	—	—
C. P. Armenia	8	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	—	5	2	2	1	—	—	—
Macedonia	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Java	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
R.I.L.U.	8	1	6	1	1	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	4	—	3	1	—	—	—
Committee of Action E.C., Y.C.I.	7	2	5	—	2	—	2	—	2	1	1	—	3	1	2	—	—	—	—
Women Secretariat	23	7	14	2	2	—	2	—	4	2	2	—	17	5	10	2	—	—	—
Co-operative Sec.	6	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	4	1	2	1	—	—	—
Peasant Int.	13	4	7	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	8	4	3	1	4	—	3
Red Sportintern.	35	11	21	3	—	—	—	—	5	1	4	—	28	10	16	2	2	—	1
Inter. Red Aid	12	—	11	1	—	—	—	—	6	—	6	—	5	—	4	1	1	—	1
Fascism	53	3	45	5	1	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	46	3	40	3	5	—	3
United Front	20	4	11	5	3	1	2	—	2	1	1	—	15	2	8	5	—	—	—
Poale Zion	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Negro question	6	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—
	16	2	10	4	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	1	10	2	5	3	3	—	3

Country.	Altogether the E.C., Presidium, Secretariat, Orgbureau discussed :				E.C.				Presidium :				Secretariat :				Orgbureau :			
	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political questions.	Organisational questions.	Various questions.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.	Total.	Political.	Organisation.	Various.
May 1st	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Anti-milit. work	7	3	4	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	5	2	3	—	—	—	—	—
Eastern Department	27	1	19	7	1	—	1	—	6	1	4	1	8	—	5	3	12	—	9	3
Agitprop.	22	4	15	3	—	—	—	—	5	2	3	—	11	2	8	1	6	—	4	2
Information Department	17	—	15	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	12	—	10	2	3	—	3	—
Organisation Department	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	2	—
Lenin Commission	10	3	7	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	—	7	2	5	—	—	—	—	—
Publications	80	2	66	12	1	—	1	—	15	21	13	—	50	—	40	10	14	—	12	2
Proletkino	18	3	10	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	3	5	3	7	—	5	2
5th Anniversary of C.I.	14	3	11	—	1	—	—	—	3	2	1	—	10	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
5th Congress	47	24	18	5	3	2	1	—	29	14	10	5	15	8	7	—	—	—	—	—
Inner organisation of E.C.C.I.	73	23	46	4	1	—	1	—	31	18	13	—	24	5	17	2	17	—	15	2
Questions of personnel	357	278	72	7	12	12	—	—	54	50	4	—	275	220	48	7	16	6	10	—
Various	691	497	153	41	20	15	5	—	62	52	10	—	552	400	118	34	57	30	20	7
	2280	1223	869	188	93	62	31	—	490	298	182	10	1499	832	515	158	198	41	130	27

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EXECUTIVE ABROAD

During the period under review, the Executive sent 31 representatives or delegations to the sections, congresses, conferences, &c. A total number of 65 comrades were delegated to the following 22 sections: Germany, Russia, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, England, Norway, Bulgaria, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Greece, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Portugal, and Korea. In addition, representatives were sent to the conferences of the Balkan Federation and to the Frankfurt Conferences.

MANIFESTOES

The Executive issued the following manifestoes during the period under review:—

- December, 1922.* The Amsterdam will again deliver you defenceless to the beasts of war.
- January, 1923.* To all the workers. To the agricultural workers.
- January, 1923.* For the united front. To all workers, peasants, and soldiers against the war.
- January, 1923.* Open letter to the Londoners. The Vienna International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Against the war. Against Fascism. To all sections.
- January, 1923.* Fight against Italian Fascism.
- January, 1923.* Manifesto to the Party Congress of the Communist Party of Austria, March 23, 1923.
- January, 1923.* To the workers and peasants of South America.
- February, 1923.* Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Australia.
- February, 1923.* Protest against the persecutions of the revolutionary workers and peasants in Europe.
- February, 1923.* The Fifth Anniversary of the Red Army.
- March, 1923.* To the fighting proletariat of Hungary.
- March, 1923.* International Women's Day.
- March, 1923.* Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Russian Communist Party.
- March, 1923.* Protest against sanguinary justice in India.
- March, 1923.* To the International Conference of Frankfurt-on-the-Main.
- March, 1923.* To the I.W.W. in Chicago.
- March, 1923.* To the Communist Party of Belgium.
- March, 1923.* Protests against the shameful law in Czecho-Slovakia.
- March, 1923.* To the Chinese railwaymen.
- April, 1923.* The bloody events in Essen.

- April, 1923.* Protest against the White Terror in Esthonia. (The murder of Comrade Kreuks).
- April, 1923.* The First of May manifesto of the Communist International.
- June, 1923.* To the Bulgarian workers and peasants. Against the Government of the White Coup d'Etat, for the Workers' and Peasants' Government.
- August, 1923.* On the amalgamation of the II and II 1/2 Internationals.
- August, 1923.* Against the White Guard Regime in Finland.
- August, 1923.* The White Terror in Bulgaria. To the workers of all countries.
- August, 1923.* To the Communist Parties of all countries. The Ninth International Youth Day.
- August, 1923.* Come to the support of the German proletariat.
- September, 1923.* To the workers and peasants of the Balkans, to the peoples of the Balkans. For the Workers' and Peasants' Government.
- September, 1923.* The treacherous attack of the Tzankov Government on the Bulgarian Communists.
- October, 1923.* To the workers of Japan and the workers of all countries.
- October, 1923.* To the workers and peasants of Bulgaria. For the Workers' and Peasants' Government in Bulgaria.
- October, 1923.* Protest against the conviction of Nikolau and Mateau.
- October, 1923.* To the anti-militarists of all countries.
- October, 1923.* To the workers' and peasants' revolutionary organisations of the whole world, for solidarity with the Bulgarian workers and peasants.
- November, 1923.* To the workers of all countries, on the events in Cracow, barbarity in Ireland, and murder of political opponents.
- January, 1924.* Remember Mateau and Nikolau.
- January, 1924.* Message from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the C.P.F.
- January, 1924.* To the proletarians of all countries—on the death of Lenin.
- February, 1924.* To the British and International proletariat. The Labour Government of England.
- February, 1924.* To the Central Committee of all sections. International Women's Day.
- February, 1924.* To all Communist Parties. To all proletarians. To all Colonial slaves. The Fifth Anniversary of the Communist International.
- March, 1924.* To the toiling masses in the Greek Republic.
- March, 1924.* March 18, International Red Aid Day.

March, 1924. To the defence of the Bulgarian workers and peasants.

March, 1924. To the Red Army soldiers and the Red Commanders. The Sixth Anniversary of the Red Army.

April, 1924. The First of May, 1924. Proletarians of all countries.

April, 1924. To the toilers of the whole world. Protests against the White Terror in Poland.

May, 1924. To the workers and peasants of Japan. Protests against the Japanese militarists and landowners. For the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Japan.

May, 1924. To the workers of Scandinavia. On the labour struggles in Norway.

L O N D O N



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