

The ORGANISATION of a WORLD PARTY

By
O. PLATNITSKY

A Survey of the Position
of the Sections of the
Communist International,
their Achievements, Defects
and Future Tasks.

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of a
WORLD PARTY

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INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION

VARIOUS chapters of this pamphlet, which have been published in the "Communist International," a journal which appears in four languages, have been subjected to analysis in the social-democratic, reformist trade union, bourgeois, ultra-left and Communist press. The ultra-lefts and reformists consider that my pamphlet "exposes" the disintegration and disorganisation in the largest sections of the Communist International. This is absolutely incorrect. The British, French, German, Czech, Polish, Italian and other Communist Parties now have a great and growing influence with the working class. This is proved by statistical information in the second chapter. It is also confirmed by the huge success of the mass campaigns which the said parties have carried on quite recently. The Communist Party of Great Britain has carried through great campaigns against the Trade Union Act, against the break with U.S.S.R. and against intervention in China. It has achieved distinct successes in the Miners' Union. On the day of the Commune, 29th May, 1927, the Communist Party of France led a hundred thousand of the working masses of Paris to a demonstration, while the French socialists brought out only 1,500 demonstrators (the French socialists arranged their demonstration to take place a few days before May 29th, and thus they thought to entice the workers, but this manoeuvre was a woeful failure). Only recently enormous demonstrations have taken place all over the country, and especially in Paris, on the call of the French Communist Party to demonstrate against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Under the guidance of the German Communist Party the workers of all Germany turned the celebrated Fascist advance on Berlin into a fiasco, despite the fact that the Social-Democratic Party protected the Fascists, while on the other hand the

German workers gave a splendid reception to the Union of Red Front Fighters, which is under the influence of the German Communist Party. Similar manifestations have been observable in almost all the demonstrations organised recently for various reasons throughout Germany. As a rule the broad working masses participated in these demonstrations. The last trade union elections have shown that the German Communist Party is beginning to achieve extensive successes in the trade union movement also.

Up to the middle of May the Czech Communist Party had carried out nineteen extensive campaigns throughout the country on various matters of both an internal and external nature. These campaigns were participated in by the broad working masses. The campaign against the suppression of the Czech Communist Party was particularly successful. All the governmental organs (the newspapers belonging to the Czech Social-Democratic Party did not hang behind the bourgeois press) since the end of January, 1927, have carried on a furious campaign to have the Czech C.P. proclaimed illegal. This campaign has met with such resistance from the Czech working class that governmental circles have been compelled to abandon the idea of suppressing the C.P.

In Poland the last municipal elections have shown how deep are the roots of the Communist Party in the Polish working class. If the Polish C.P. had a legal status only the shell of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) would be left. The Polish workers have disowned the P.P.S. At the last elections they voted for the Communists despite the fact that the Communist list had been previously annulled. In many municipalities of the industrial regions the candidates' lists of the Polish C.P. received a majority of the votes cast.

As for the work done by the illegal Italian C.P. I cite an estimate of their activities made at the conference of the Union of Socialist Youth, held at the end of May, 1927:

"The Socialist Party and the Union of Socialist Youth were unable to put up any opposition to reaction, not only for reasons of organisation but mainly because their political line was incorrect. For five months the Socialist Party has shown no signs of life

in Italy, while the Communist Party and the Young Communist League have displayed a lively activity, despite the fact that they have been more subject to persecution by the reaction than all the other parties. Thus they have proved that they are the true vanguard of the Italian working masses. All reactionary fighters must admit that only the Communists have contributed to ensuring that the class trade unions were not completely eliminated.

"... This proves that only the political programme and the organisational methods of the Comintern promise a victorious struggle against capitalism and Fascism. We confess that at the present time there cannot be any revolutionary proletarian struggle outside those organisations, and therefore we associate ourselves with their programme. We declare the Union of Socialist Youth liquidated, and as class-conscious fighters we unite with the Young Communist League."

Certain of our brother C.P.'s are lacking in the organisational experience necessary to consolidate their already existing extensive political influence, but they will gradually assimilate that knowledge on the basis of their experience and by means of sharing international organisational experience.

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In the organ of the German ultra-lefts, "Die Fahne des Kommunismus" (The Banner of Communism), in No. 12, dated 2nd June, and No. 15, dated 24th June, 1927, two articles are printed (one of them under the loud-sounding title, "A New Exposure by Piatnitsky"), in which are reprinted all the negative examples of the work of the German C.P. cited in my pamphlet. In these articles it is stated that since the German C.P. excluded the ultra-left the Party has lost members, subscribers to the Party press, influence in the trade unions and so on. We will consider how far this corresponds with the reality.

This is what the ultra-lefts write:

"Piatnitsky Lets the Cat Out of the Bag."

"And so, after 'brilliant' successes, with the presence of a much more favourable situation and complete 'approbation' and support from the E.C.C.I.,

* "Die Fahne des Kommunismus," No. 12, June 2nd, 1927.

there are fewer members of the Party than during the time of the so-called ultra-left C.C. Let us take the first quarter of 1925 for instance, when the average for the quarter, and not for any single month merely, was 140,000, in addition to which at that time the returns were made without falsification."

I have checked the above statement by the official reports of the German C.P. on the paying members of the Party in 1925, and have been unable to find the figure of 140,00 mentioned in "Die Fahne"! Actually the figures are as follows.

On April 1st, 1925, there were 122,755 paying members of the Party; on July 1st, 1925, 114,204; on August 1st, 1925, 121,978.

The ultra-lefts were responsible for the work of the C.C. of the German C.P. until September, 1925.

On September 1st, 1925, there were 121,741 paying members; on October 1st, 1925, 129,996; on November 1st, 1925, 131,261; on December 1st, 1925, 135,824.

But the question should be placed on a broader basis than that of a bare comparison of the number of paying members during the leadership of the ultra-lefts and that of the present C.C. of the German C.P., as is the method of the ultra-lefts in their journal "Die Fahne des Kommunismus." From the middle of 1924 till the autumn of 1925 the members of the German C.P. were isolated from the working masses owing to the incorrect policy of the ultra-left C.C. in questions relating to the trade union movement and the application of the tactic of the united front, etc. As I have already pointed out in my pamphlet, in the elections for the Reichstag in December, 1924, the German C.P. lost about a million votes by comparison with the preceding elections in May of the same year, 1924, while in the ballot for the election of President of the German Republic, as a consequence of the application of an incorrect tactic (despite the directions of the E.C.C.I.), the German C.P. lost more than a million votes by comparison with the Reichstag elections in December, 1924; moreover, this tactic aroused huge dissatisfaction with the German C.P. among a part of the revolutionary workers, who accused it of supporting the election of Hindenburg. Such are the "fruits" of the work of the ultra-lefts.

From the above cited statistics on the fluctuation

of members of the German C.P. in 1925, it is clear that from September, 1925, i.e., as soon as the German C.P. had freed itself from the ultra-lefts (Maslov, Ruth Fischer, etc.), the number of members began to increase; in September the German C.P. had 129,996 members, and in November 135,824.

In the same number of "Die Fahne des Kommunismus" we find:

"To anyone who is in the least degree acquainted with this business it is well known what tricks are resorted to in reckoning the sum of contributions to the central funds of the German C.P., if only to supply the harsh Piatnitsky with such statistical information; it is well-known also that since October, 1926, the membership of the German C.P. has continued to drop in numbers, which is unequivocally apparent from Dengel's lamentations at the Eleventh Congress of the Party."

None the less, I must disillusion the ultra-lefts: On December 1st, 1926, the German C.P. had 144,980 paying members (the Berlin-Brandenburg Party organisation counted 17,880 on October 1st, 1926, while on December 1st, 1926, they already had 23,950 paying members). The organisation department of the E.C.C.I. has not yet received the corresponding figures for 1927. But I am convinced that in any case the number of registered members of the Party has not fallen. We have a guarantee of that in the successes of the work carried on by the German C.P. in the trade unions, and in the campaigns which the German C.P. have carried out recently.

Now to consider the ultra-lefts' statements relating to trade union work. In No. 15 of "Die Fahne des Kommunismus," in an article on June 24th: "The Celebrated Trade Union Work of the C.C.—Fresh Disclosures by Piatnitsky," we read:

"In the last number of the 'Communist International' Piatnitsky continues to make public the organisational condition of sections of the Comintern; in particular he ruthlessly throws light on the 'brilliant' successes of the trade union tactic during the period in which the glorious sceptre has been in the hands of the Thälmann C.C., thus witnessing to the E.C.C.I.'s intentions to resort to public criticism. We quote below several extracts, which are worth while comparing

with the howl raised in the E.C.C.I.'s letter of autumn 1925 in regard to the 'bad trade union work' of the left C.C., so as to come to sound conclusions."

In this only one point is correct. The E.C.C.I. and its organs did not criticise individual mistakes committed by the ultra-left C.C. of the German C.P. in its practical trade union activity, as was done in relation to the present Party leadership in Chapter V. of my pamphlet. But this was for the simple reason that under the guidance of the ultra-lefts the German C.P. did not carry on any practical work in the trade unions at all. The whole tactic of the ultra-left C.C. was incorrect. Only under the influence of letters from the E.C.C.I. to the Frankfurt Party Congress, at which the adherents of Ruth Fischer and Maslov were in the majority, and under the pressure of the E.C.C.I. delegation present at the Frankfurt Congress, was success achieved by gaining the agreement of the Congress to resolutions against the organisation of independent parallel trade unions and in favour of the return of Party members to the Amsterdam trade unions. This resolution was accepted by the Congress after unbelievable pressure had been brought to bear on the group of Ruth Fischer and Maslov. The E.C.C.I. letters, which contained a criticism of the ultra-left views on the trade union question, and also the chapter from Lenin's brochure on "Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Sickness," dealing with the indispensability of work in the reactionary trade unions, were refused publication in the Party press after the Frankfurt Party Congress by the Fischer and Maslov group. The E.C.C.I. delegation was compelled to send out these documents to the Party press with the demand, on the basis of the C.I. constitution, that they be printed. Consequently it is quite understandable that the resolution on the trade union question passed by the Frankfurt Congress remained on paper, for, in fact, the leaders of the ultra-lefts were against it; while accepting it in word, they sabotaged it in deed. The campaign for the return of Communists to the Amsterdam trade unions after the Frankfurt Party Congress was carried out by the Ruth Fischer C.C. purely mechanically, for the sake of appearances, so to speak, without any ideological preparation, the result of which was the exclusion from the Party of several hundred wor-

kers who refused to return to the Amsterdam trade unions. The results of such an incorrect tactic in regard to the trade union question were immediately revealed in the influence of the German C.P. in the German trade unions. Here, for instance, are the results of the elections among the metal-workers (on an all-German scale) and wood-workers (in Berlin) before, during and after the period of ultra-left leadership in the German C.P.; in 1923, before the victory of the ultra-lefts the German C.P. received in the Metal-workers' Union 44 per cent. of all the votes cast for the Metal-workers' Congress; in 1925, when the C.C. was under the direction of Ruth Fischer and Maslov, the German C.P. received only 23 per cent. of the votes cast; while in 1926, when the ultra-lefts were outside the ranks of the C.P., the latter received 33 per cent. of the votes cast.

In the elections to the Berlin Conference of the Wood-workers' Union votes were cast as follows:

	1924	1925	1927
For the T.U. opposition	6,250	4,650	5,358
" " Amsterdamers	6,030	7,031	5,772

Only after the application of a correct line and the intensification of trade union work on the part of the new Party leadership was success achieved in wholly and entirely winning back the ground lost during the period when the Maslov and Fischer group were at the head of the Party. And if the Party has still not entirely succeeded in healing the wounds inflicted on it in the realm of trade union activity by the destructive tactic of the ultra-lefts the responsibility for this falls wholly and entirely on Maslov, Ruth Fischer and Co. In other trade unions the situation was possibly even worse. Under the Ruth Fischer C.C. the Communists left the trade unions in masses, and even now the German C.P. has not succeeded in getting all the Communists back into the unions. But the trade union work was not the only activity reduced to nothing under the guidance of the ultra-lefts in the German C.P. From the report on the work of the German Workers' Union of Atheists, which in May, 1927, had 472,000 members, it is clear that in 1922-23 the German C.P. played an outstanding role in this union, but after the transfer of leadership to Ruth and Co. the work in this cultural mass workers' organisa-

tion was criminally neglected, and the social-democrats were able to take it into their own hands. Only after the publication of the E.C.C.I.'s open letter, and after the elimination of Ruth and Co. from the C.C. of the German C.P., did the work of the Communists begin to achieve big successes in this union. In 1927 an enormous majority of the city areas of the Berlin section of this union passed into the hands of the Communists (and to this section is federated 50 per cent. of all the members of the union).

Of course, the German C.P. makes certain mistakes in its mass work, but it corrects them. Although slowly, yet none the less unswervingly it is winning back not only those positions which were lost, thanks to the incorrect policy of the ultra-lefts, but with every day conquers fresh positions in the trade unions and in other mass organisations.

"Vorwaerts," the central organ of German social-democracy, in its issue for May 29th, 1927, had a note under the ironic caption "British Communists. Is there anything like it?" In this note phrases were extracted from my pamphlet concerning the number of members of the C.P.G.B. and the fluctuations in the composition of the local organisations of the C.P.G.B., but all that I had then already written concerning the influence of the C.P.G.B. in the trade union movement, concerning its role during the General Strike and the miners' lock-out, was deliberately omitted. One might be led to think that there were no fluctuations in the German Social-Democratic Party and that all is well with them.

Evidently "Vorwaerts" has forgotten that the German trade unions, led by the Social-Democratic Party, have lost more than 4½ million members since 1923, and that the Social-Democratic Party has lost hundreds of thousands of members. In the period from April, 1923, to 1st January, 1927, it lost 437,500 members, according to its own official statements. If the social-democrats had really anything to laugh at in the re-organisation of, shall we say, the German C.P., why do they attack the German C.P. for organising Communist nuclei in factories, the publication of factory and works newspapers and the creation of Communist fractions in the trade unions and other mass organisations? Why, in conclusion, has the German Social-Democratic Party begun to summon its own members separately

before trade union conferences, i.e., actually to set up fractions? Why has the Social-Democratic Party begun to publish works newspapers, and why is it beginning to transfer its work to the factory and shop? Evidently they themselves have also felt the pre-eminence of the German C.P.'s organisational forms over their own.

In the organ of the Allgemeiner Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (All-German Federation of Trade Unions), the "Gewerkschaft-Zeitung" (trade union newspaper), No. 29, for June 16th, 1927, was published an unsigned article called "The Communists and the Trade Unions." In this article all the negative features of the Communists' trade union work have been collected from the fifth chapter of my pamphlet, of course without any indications of what I cite concerning the successes and the positive aspects of the work, especially in Germany. That is only to be expected, for it is easier to pull the wool over the eyes of the reader with selected quotations, originating from Communists themselves, in which they themselves criticise their own work. Possibly they will be believed!

The author of the article cites extracts which speak of the necessity of Communists working in trade unions of all kinds, including the Catholic and Christian, and their line of direction within these unions, and in regard to these quotations makes the following remark:

"... the idea of applying the method of provocation in the trade union movement worthily crowns the trade union tactic of the Communists." ("Gewerkschaft-Zeitung," the organ of the A.D.G.B., No. 29, for June 16th, 1927.)

And so when the Communists join the trade unions of their crafts for the purpose of taking active part in them this official organ of the "class" trade unions calls it the application of the provocation method. They could go no further. The Amsterdamers consider it more advantageous that even the Christian and Catholic unions of Germany should be left without Communists, evidently so that these unions can act as strike-breakers during strikes. But we have long been aware that the Amsterdamers do not want Communists to join their unions. They even attempt to drive them out, and union administrations, and even trade union councils with a majority consisting of Communists, are

dispersed by them for various formal reasons and without them, only because the Communists expose the compromising and treacherous tactic of the Amsterdamers to the workers. And there is good reason for exposing them to the members of the unions and the working masses; despite the extremely high economic position in Germany during 1927, the number of unemployed among the members of the most important trade unions was twice as large in 1927 as in 1925, while the reformist leaders systematically sabotaged the struggle for the reduction of the 9-10-hour day to one of 8 hours. In the metal-working, leather-working, textile, building and tailoring unions the following was the percentage of trade union members unemployed:

April, 1925	...	...	...	4.3%
" 1927	...	...	...	8.9%

(According to the figures given by comrade Varga, "Inprecorr," No. 78, for August 4th, there were over one million unemployed in Germany in 1927. The above figures are drawn from his article.)

The fundamental cause of such unemployment during a period in which there is a favourable economic position lies in the introduction of rationalisation by the German capitalists in alliance and with the assistance of the German Amsterdam trade unions. Here is one of the numerous examples of the results of rationalisation as described in the German "Börsen Kurier" for April 12th, 1927: "In the enterprises of the Herder-Verein, with 6,000 hands employed, about 74,000 tons of semi-finished and finished manufactures were produced in March, while formerly the production of 58,000 tons of goods called for 9,000 hands."

One might think that with an increase in the intensity of labour after the introduction of rationalisation the Amsterdamers would have obtained an improvement in the position of the workers. Nothing of the sort. In the March number of the "Gewerkschaft-Archiv" (the theoretic organ of the A.D.G.B.) the social-democrat Braunthal published an article on the position of the working class in Germany. In this article he quotes the official statistics of the nominal and the real wage of skilled and unskilled workers for 1913-24, 1925 and 1926. Below we quote his statistical information for 1913 and 1926:

Year	Nominal weekly wage (in marks)		Cost of living index	Real weekly wage (in marks)	
	Skilled	Unskilled		Skilled	Unskilled
1913...	35.15	23.41	100.0	35.15	23.41
1926					
1st quarter	46.01	34.07	139.0	33.10	24.51
2nd "	45.99	34.07	140.0	32.85	24.34
3rd "	46.08	34.15	142.3	32.38	24.00
4th "	46.33	34.40	143.4	32.31	23.09

As can be seen from these statistics, the real wage in 1926 was lower, especially for skilled workers, than in 1913. The wage has recently been raised by 8.9 per cent, according to the official figures, but the cost of living has risen also. In April, 1926, the cost of living index was 139.6, while in April, 1927, it was 146.41.

Below are certain statistics concerning the prices for articles of prime necessity:

	January, 1927 (in pfennigs)		August, 1927 (in pfennigs)		Percentage increase
5 kilos potatoes	55	...	170	...	210
1 kilo rye bread	40	...	47	...	14
1 " sugar	68	...	80	...	18
1 " beans	120	...	144	...	20
1 " peas	76	...	90	...	20
1 " beef	210	...	230	...	9
1 " mutton	210	...	250	...	18

To this has further to be added the fact that Germany is also in the grip of a housing crisis, from which the workers suffer most of all.

From October 1st, 1927, rents were increased by 10 per cent., which of course will have its reaction on the real wage of the workers.

The German Amsterdam unions, which unite 4.5 million workers, are entirely to blame for the fact that rationalisation has been introduced purely at the expense of the workers. Even the social-democrat Braunthal in his article commenting on the statistics which I have mentioned above came to the conclusion that the trade unions were responsible for the worsening of the position of the German working class.

This heavy material position has aroused a growing discontent among the German workers. In some places recently strikes have begun against the will of the central administrations of the trade unions, but

with the knowledge of the local sections, on which the mass of rank-and-file members of the trade unions exerts enormous pressure. Thus the strike of the Cologne and Weissburg flour factory hands broke out against the will of the reformist unions, and in this strike the workers obtained a rise of 5 per cent., despite the fact that the date for the termination of their collective agreement was October 31st, 1927. There was also the "wild" strike of the Berlin kinema workers (the reformists did not recognise this strike). Under the influence and pressure of the broad working masses the trade union bureaucrats were compelled to announce that the agreements would not be renewed on the old conditions.

It is not superfluous to give a table of the strikes and lock-outs that took place during the last quarter of 1926 and the first quarter of 1927.

	No. of strikes and lock-outs	No. of enter- prises affected	Greatest No. of locked- out and striking work- ers simultaneously affected	No. of days lost
1926				
1st quarter	90	1,012	48,664	320,787
1927				
4th quarter	70	1,233	130,952	1,091,912

The statistics show that the struggle between the workers and the capitalists during the first three months of 1927 was more severe than at the end of 1926. The reformist trade union leaders have done everything possible to stop strikes, agreeing to settlement by arbitration, which almost always ends either in a compromise or in a decision against the workers. Not for nothing does the organ of the manufacturers in the leather industry thank the reformist leaders of the leather-workers' unions for the collective agreement that has been concluded. But when the workers begin a strike they usually put forth those demands which are formulated by the Communists.

The North German woollen concern broke the collective agreement, introduced piece-work, and began to resort for support to yellow organisations, setting aside the factory committees and the Amsterdam unions. Out of sixteen enterprises the workers of the ten largest, numbering 23,000 hands, stopped work and put forward demands formulated by the Communists:

the unqualified introduction of the eight-hour day and 15 per cent. increase in wages. Thus the Communists consolidate their position in the unions, and the Amsterdamers find it continually more difficult to betray the workers.

On March 8th, 1927, 5,772 votes were cast for the Amsterdamers' candidates and 5,538 for opposition candidates in the Berlin Woodworkers' Union for their conference, and on April 12th, 1927 the Communists obtained twelve out of sixteen candidates for the All-German Congress of Wood-workers.

10,783 votes were cast in the last elections in thirty administrations of local sections of the Berlin Metal-workers' Union. Of these 6,622 were cast for the German C.P. and 4,015 for the social-democrats. There were elected 149 opposition and 143 social-democratic members of the administrations. Out of the thirty administrations of metal-workers' local sections fourteen have a Communist majority.

At the new elections to the administration of the Berlin union of workers in communal and State enterprises, out of 3,235 votes cast the German C.P. received 1,601 and the social democrats 1,634 votes. Out of the twenty regional administrations of this union in Berlin the social-democrats last year had a majority in thirteen and the German C.P. in seven. But at the last elections the social-democrats lost three administrations to the Communist Party. The latter obtained ten new delegates to the All-Berlin Conference of the union, and with the previous Communist delegates now has 135 delegates, while the social-democrats have 155. And finally, at the last election to the Berlin and Brandenburg administration of the Union of Engine Drivers and Stokers seven Communists were elected out of the twelve members of the administration. The German C.P.'s successes are not confined to Berlin. Here, for example, are the results of the last elections in various unions in the Halle-Merseburg district. In Halle there are 26 trade unions with 185 local sections, and 43,288 members. At the elections to the administrations of these union organisations 333 Communists, 217 social-democrats and 336 non-party workers were elected. Out of 182 administrations the Communists have an absolute majority in 54.

Thus we see that the Amsterdamers have reason

for their outcry about the Communists' provocation tactics in the trade unions!

Certain comrades were of the opinion that it was not necessary to publish all my criticism. I cannot accept this point of view. My pamphlet does not contain criticism for the sake of criticism, but indications how to correct defects. I think that much benefit results from criticism, as the result of which defects will be corrected, as has already been done in some places. It is bad to keep silent concerning defects merely to prevent our antagonists from getting to know of them. Not a single Communist Party has expressed any dissatisfaction in regard to the criticism contained in my pamphlet. Not only that, but the Berlin-Brandenburg Party monthly, "Der Funke," No. 6, for June, 1927, published a note of the organisation department of the area committee, which recommended my pamphlet to the nuclei for reading and consideration.

O. PIATNITSKY.

ORGANISATION OF A WORLD PARTY

I.

DURING 1926 all the Sections of the Communist International have brought their organisations close to the Bolshevik form of organisation and to forms enabling them to strengthen their position in factories and workshops and in mass proletarian organisations.

In Germany in the majority of industrial districts and the large towns (Berlin, Hamburg, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Halle, etc.), the old organisations on a residential basis have disappeared and in their place factory and street groups have been established. In these Party questions are discussed and settled and delegates are elected to the local and district conferences.

In the remaining industrial districts reorganisation is proceeding at full speed.

For the better service of the groups sub-locals and locals (in America, sections and sub-sections) have been set up, and the apparatus of the Party organs has been improved.

The work of reorganisation is approximately in the same stage in Czecho-Slovakia. In many large works, groups have been organised through which the Party exercises considerable influence upon the masses of workers. Departments and commissions have been formed in connection with local and district committees in order better to be able to assist the work of the nuclei.

British Experiences

The Communist Party of Great Britain, during the General Strike, in March, 1926, thanks to the excellent work of the local Party organs and to a certain extent also of the factory groups, succeeded in occupying a

prominent place in the strike committees and trades councils which led the strike locally.

The experience of the factory groups in publishing factory newspapers was utilised during the time of the strike, since the mass of the workers were deprived of the trade union press and of that of the political parties. During the strike the factory newspapers issued by the Communist Party groups became the organs of the Trades Councils and Strike Committees.

As a result of the correct tactics adopted by the Communist Party of Great Britain and the excellent work carried out by the local party organs, the Party increased its membership by 6,000 mainly from the ranks of the miners during their heroic struggle. Pit groups also were organised in the more important districts.

Finally, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain gave an example of live and flexible leadership during the General Strike and the miners' struggle. The Central Committee became only a small leading group of comrades at the centre, the mass of the Central Committee being sent out to the country districts where each member of the Central Committee directly took part in the direction of the movement. On the whole the correct tactics adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain rendered effective aid to the work in the localities during the General Strike and the miners' strike.

The American Workers' Party has changed from a federation of 19 national central committees into a centralised Party, with a single Central Committee, with united district committees and groups to which all members belong, irrespective of their language group affiliation.

The factory groups have succeeded in carrying out successful strikes and acquiring influence in the trade unions.

The work of organising factory groups is proceeding successfully in South America (in the Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, etc.). In those countries many such groups are working well. The Central Committees and local Party organisations have become consolidated, and con-

siderable success in organisational work is being achieved in South America.

The organisation work of the illegal Parties is also making progress.

In Fascist Poland

The Polish Communist Party has adopted a uniform type of local organisation; factory and street groups have been set up and function in all the industrial districts of Poland. Only through the existence of these factory groups and our fractions in the trade unions can the fact be explained that in spite of the terror that our Party is subjected to even in Poland proper, the majority of the Polish workers still follow the lead of our Party, which has no legal press, while the Polish Socialist Party has a press and enjoys the protection of the authorities.

During the elections in the Sick Insurance Clubs in Warsaw, in November, 1926, the "revolutionary opposition" obtained 12,554 votes, while the Polish Socialist Party and Bund combined received 11,121 votes. During the municipal elections in Prushkov, a suburb of Warsaw, on January 16, 1927, the "Lefts" secured 2,884 votes and 11 seats out of 24, while the P.P.S. got 754 votes and won only 4 seats.

In the Warsaw municipal elections of May 22nd, 1927, the Socialist Party of Poland received 71,000 votes, the "Bund" 19,000, and the C.P. of Poland 77,000, in spite of the fact that the Government, with the assistance of the Socialist Party, had declared the candidate list of the "Workers' Left" to be invalid. It is certain that a part of the workers voted for the Socialist Party only because of the lack of any other workers' list. When one takes into consideration the fact that many petty bourgeois elements voted for the P.P.S., it can be seen that the Polish Communist Party had the majority of the Warsaw proletariat behind it. In any case, there are other reasons for arriving at the same conclusion besides that of the result of the Warsaw municipal elections. At the 1927 May Day demonstration of the Communist Party, 7,000 workers took part in the march in spite of the heavy rain and the incredible persecution and terrorism of the police and the shock troops of the P.P.S. At the

demonstrations of the P.P.S. and the "Bund" 5,000 persons, at the most, participated.

The Italian Position

In Italy, following on the "attempt" on Mussolini, the Fascist raid on all the anti-Fascist Parties forced the leaders and the leading centres of these parties, with the exception, of course, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, to seek refuge abroad, and their local organisations have been scattered like dust before the wind.

The position of the Communist Party of Italy, however, is altogether different. Because the local organisations of the Communist Party of Italy were reorganised on a factory group basis, the foundations of the Party remained intact, in spite of the fact that the Fascist terror was directed principally against our Party. Naturally, the membership of the Party has diminished. Only the most active elements have remained in it; but the Party organisations live: in the place of the arrested organisers, secretaries and committees, new secretaries and committees are springing up. In the place of the suppressed legal Party organs, illegal organs are being published, of which the circulation is quite considerable. "Unità," the illegal organ of the C.P. of Italy appears fortnightly, and 35,000 copies are sold. Despite reaction there is no power in Italy that can destroy the Communist Party of Italy, which through the factories and workshops has grafted itself right into the masses of the workers.

Until the victory of Fascism, the Communist Party of Italy was organised on a residential basis and had about 50,000 members. After the victory of Fascism, in spite of the fact that the terror at that time was not so fierce as it is now, the Communist Party of Italy lost three-fourths of its membership and for a long time was incapable of fighting against Fascism. This was due, of course, not only to the wrong organisational forms, but also to the wrong policy then adopted by the Party. But even if the policy of the Party had been free from error, the old organisational forms would nevertheless have prevented it from carrying on the struggle against the Fascists.

The situation is altogether different now. Both the

policy and the forms of organisation of the Party are correct and in spite of the arrest of the parliamentary fraction and of numerous active comrades throughout Italy, the Party has remained unshaken.

The old residential form of organisation is dying out and giving place to factory groups; and that Social-Democratic survival, the system of permanent Party officials (appointed for a year by the Party committees) has already gone into the limbo of the past.

Decisions on Policy by Party Members

In Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, the officials decided the affairs of the Party although they had no mandate from the Party membership to do so. Now, however, town and district Party conferences are functioning properly; the delegates for these are elected by the factory and street groups.

At our first organisational conference, the French delegates and the representatives of the Young Communist International were opposed to the organisation of street groups, and for a long time abstained from organising them. Now, the Communist Parties of all countries have become convinced that it is impossible to dispense with street groups and they are now functioning in almost all countries (we will deal with the defects of the street groups later).

Prior to the international conference on organisation, the Communists in the trade unions were organised in fractions only in a few countries, and then only locally.

Now fractions exist in trade unions and other mass labour and peasant organisations in the majority of countries and the question to be stressed now is not that they must be organised but how the existing fractions should work. In this sphere also successes are to be recorded.

II.

THE IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE C.I. SECTIONS ON THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ORGANISATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS INFLUENCE

In order to enable the reader to determine the extent of the influence of the Communist Parties and to what extent this influence is consolidated organisationally, we will quote the following statistics showing the numerical strength of certain of the large sections of the Communist International, the circulation of the Party press, influence in the trade unions and the number of votes obtained by the Party during elections to various representative bodies (parliament, municipalities, etc.).

The Communist Party of Germany in October, 1926, had 133,849 paying members (the number of members on the register may be reckoned to be 20 to 25 per cent. higher). The circulation of the 37 daily newspapers amounted in that month to 282,702; if we take the number of members on the register, we can claim 2.1 subscribers to the Party press for every member of the Party.

During the Reichstag elections in December, 1924, the Communist Party obtained 2,708,354 votes (23.5 votes for each Party member).*

In regard to the trade unions let us take the following figures: of the 1,067 local trades councils affiliated to the A.D.G.B. (General Federation of Trade Unions affiliated to Amsterdam) with a membership of 3,559,952 the Communist Party of Germany in 1925 had a majority in only 70, with a membership of 74,025. The Party did not have a majority in any single union. In the

* In the Parliamentary elections of May, 1924, the Communist Party of Germany received 3,693,139 votes. The decrease in December was very largely due to the false policy of the C.P. of Germany with regard to the trade union question and the tactics of the United Front. In the referendum on the question of the ex-princes, the slogan put forward by the C.P.G. received 15 million votes.

metal workers' union, out of 600 local organisations, the Communist Party controlled over .35. During the elections of delegates to the Metal Workers' Congress, in 1926, the Communist Party obtained 33 per cent. of the total vote cast. In the Miners' Union out of 300 local organisations, only 43 are under the control of the Party and during the election of delegates to the Miners' Congress of 1926, the Party obtained 40 per cent. of the votes cast.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these figures?

Compared with the number of votes obtained by the Party during the Reichstag elections, which indicate that the Party enjoys wide sympathy among the masses, the numerical strength of the Party is relatively small, its daily press has a relatively small circulation and the influence of the Party in the trade unions, far from corresponds to the general ideological influence it exercises and could certainly be greatly increased.

Communists and the T.U.'s in France

The Communist Party of France in October, 1926, had 60,000 members. Its two daily newspapers have an average circulation of 240,000. (*L'Humanité*, the central organ of the Party, attained an average of 203,000 for eight months in the year 1926. Permanent subscribers represent only a small percentage of newspaper readers in France. The newspapers of all political tendencies are maintained by street sales).

During the last parliamentary elections in 1924, the Communist Party of France obtained 940,000 votes.

In all bye-elections for Parliament which occurred in 1926 and 1927, the Party obtained a significant increase in its votes.

The C.G.T.U. (the Red Federation affiliated to the R.I.L.U.), which is under the influence of the Party, has a membership of 450,000, which represents from 40 to 45 per cent. of all the organised workers in France. (In general the percentage of organised workers in France as compared with the total strength of the working class is small. Out of the 11 million workers barely one million are organised in trade unions).

The Communist Party of France has practically no influence in the reformist trade unions.

Thus, we have four purchasers of Party newspapers per Party member, seven and five-sixths members of Red trade unions, and fifteen and two-thirds votes cast during parliamentary elections per Party member.

In Other Countries

The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia at the beginning of 1926, had 125,000 members and eight daily newspapers (the central organ "Rude Pravo" is published twice daily), and 15 other newspapers, some of which are published twice or three times a week, whilst others are weeklies. The total circulation of all these papers is 149,500.*

In November, 1926, the membership of the Red Trade Unions stood at 201,035, which represents only 12 per cent. of the total organised workers. It may be said that the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia influences 40 per cent. of the class trade unions (in Czecho-Slovakia nearly all the political parties have their "own" trade unions).

During the municipal elections in 1925 the Party obtained 933,711 votes (the Party at that time had 96,000 members, consequently the above figure represents 10.3 votes per Party member).

The Communist Party of Belgium in 1926 had 853† members, and the circulation of the central organ amounted to 6,500. The Party exercised influence in several trade unions.

At the municipal elections in November, 1926, the Party obtained 70,000 votes, which represents 82 votes per Party member.

The Communist Party of Great Britain in October, 1926, had 12,000 members. The Party weekly has a circulation of 80,000. The "Sunday Worker," the organ of the Left Wing Movement, which is under the influence of the Party, has a circulation of 120,000.

At the special conference of the Minority Movement called at the beginning of 1927, delegates were present representing organisations with a membership

* This figure includes the circulation of the weekly publications of the central organ, which is published twice daily. The evening edition of the paper is not read, however, by all those who read the morning edition.

† In May, 1927, it was 1,500.

of 1,080,000. The Communist Party did not put forward its own candidates at the parliamentary elections, but supported the Labour Party candidates. Several local Labour Parties put up Communists as their candidates. Only in a few constituencies did the Party put up its candidates independently.

Party Strength and Party Influence

What strikes one immediately is the numerical weakness of the Parties when compared with the votes cast at elections (in Belgium for example) and between the numerical strength of the British Party and the sales of their press on one side and the influence of the C.P.G.B. in the trade unions on the other. This influence is far from being consolidated organisationally as yet. During the miners' fight neither the Communist Party of Great Britain, nor the Central Committee of the Minority Movement, managed to get resolutions passed by the executives of trade unions to assist the miners, because neither the Communist Party nor the Minority Movement has a majority in any single large trade union.

Although the membership of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is steadily increasing, nevertheless it does not correspond with the influence the Party exercises over the masses in the country, as indicated by the votes obtained at the municipal elections. Its influence in the trade unions is also inadequate, particularly in the non-class trade unions. The circulation of the Party press is very small even compared with the membership of the Party.

This difference is still more striking in France. Recent campaigns have shown that the masses are following the lead of the Party. The readers of the Party press are four times more numerous than the Party membership.

Why No Increase?

Why does not the membership of the Party increase? Why is the circulation of the Party press relatively so small? Why does a Party like the Communist Party of Germany win influence in the trade unions so slowly in spite of the fact that the A.D.G.B. betrays the interests of the German proletariat every

day? These are the questions that have to be answered.

It should be clear to everyone that if the Party conducts a proper policy, the larger the membership of the Party the greater the number of those who spread its influence and, therefore, the influence of the Party should become more widespread, presuming, of course, that the membership is not just ballast. How can the Communist Party of Great Britain consolidate its influence organisationally in the Labour Party, in the trade unions, in its co-operative societies, and numerous other organisations, when it has a membership of only 12,000? (In April, 1926, the Party had only 5,500 to 6,000 members). The organisations just enumerated have as many local branches as the Party has members (it is not a rare thing in England for only one Communist to be present at a trade union branch meeting, local Labour Party meeting, or other mass organisations, and to speak and move resolutions on all the points on the agenda).

However small a country Belgium may be, 850 members are not enough organisationally to consolidate the 70,000 voters who vote for the Party.

The British and other Communist Parties understand this perfectly well. What is more they have conducted big recruiting campaigns and subscription campaigns for the Party press—in England, France, Germany, etc.—and in some countries have achieved fair success. Nevertheless the campaigns did not produce the required results; and what is still worse, the subscribers to the Party press are not retained and not all the new members are definitely attached to the Party organisation.

As has been stated already, the Party in Britain from April to October, 1926, recruited more than 6,000 members and increased the circulation of the Party organ to more than 80,000. But in examining the latest statistics of the Party membership according to districts we see that from August to December the London district lost 105 members, the Birmingham district 75 and Sheffield 200. It is not stated whether there has been a simultaneous decrease in the circulation of the Party press in these districts. Although certain district organisations have increased their mem-

bership during this period, and the influx of members into the Party has been due to the leading role the Party played in the miners' fight, the above-mentioned losses cannot be attributed to mere accident. This is confirmed by another fact which the C.P.G.B. reports. In the Tyneside district, which is almost entirely populated by workers, of the 3,600 members of the Party nearly 1,000 were practically outside of the Party organisation. During the miners' fight, the number of applications for membership exceeded 3,600, but a large number streamed out of the Party when their enthusiasm after the second month of the miners' struggle had died down, since the Party was not in a position to fit them properly into the organisations.

Passing through the Party

Recently the Communist Party of France carried out a successful recruiting campaign which produced over 5,000 new members. But as can be seen from the statement made by the chairman of the Paris district committee to the Organisation Bureau of the C.P.F., nearly 200 of the 1,000 members who joined the Party in the first days of the campaign failed to turn up to make good their applications for membership.

In the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation of the C.P.G., from January 1st, 1923, to October 26th, 1926, 54,219 Party cards were issued. At the end of 1926 the membership of this organisation was 17,219. Consequently 37,000 members passed through the organisation (in 1925, 4,689 members—20.3 per cent.—left the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation, i.e., 1,095 more than joined the organisation. In the first half of 1926, 4,760 members or 21.7 per cent. left the organisation).

We do not think that these figures indicate a situation that is peculiar only to the above-mentioned organisations. On the contrary, we may consider it with slight variations one way or another, to be the common feature of all the legal sections of the Communist International.

What are the causes which retard the entry of revolutionary workers into some Parties (Belgium, Sweden, Norway, etc.), and of the constant fluctuation in membership of other Parties?

In Norway, Sweden and Belgium, prior to the war, Labour Parties (Social Democratic) existed to which the trade unions—and in Belgium even the co-operative societies—were affiliated as organisations. Individual membership in these Parties was insignificant.*

After the war (in 1919) the Norwegian Social Democrats left the Norwegian Labour Party after the latter had affiliated to the Communist International. After the split in the Norwegian Labour Party in 1924, the Communist Party of Norway established its own organisation on the basis of individual membership. The Labour Party (Tranmael) remained an organisation based on collective affiliation. In Sweden, after the war, the Left Wing broke away from the Social Democratic Party and formed the Communist Party of Sweden, which was also based on individual membership. The Swedish Social Democratic Party remained an organisation with a collective membership, to which the trade unions were affiliated.

In Belgium, the Left Wing left the Labour Party and formed the Communist Party of Belgium. The trade unions, the co-operative societies and other organisations remained in the Labour Parties (members of the C.P.B. who belong to trade unions are thereby members of the Belgian Labour Party in spite of the fact that politically they have broken with the Party).

In the afore-mentioned countries the workers are accustomed to have their trade unions (through their central bodies) affiliate to the political party and pay their dues collectively. Recently there have been cases

* To a certain extent England may also be included among those countries in which the political Labour movement is based upon collective membership. The British Labour Party is made up of affiliated trade union and political parties (Independent Labour Party, which has 23,000 members, the Fabian Society with 3,000 members, and the Social-Democratic Party with 1,000 members. The Communist Party has been refused affiliation, but members of the Party belong to it through their trade unions). Thus we have 27,000 individual members as compared with several millions of trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Party through their trade unions. The numerical weakness of the political parties which existed before the war is most striking. Evidently collective affiliation to the Labour Party hinders the growth of the membership of the Parties affiliated.

in Belgium when members of the Communist Party have been expelled from their unions because they have stood as independent Communist candidates during municipal or parliamentary elections. This not only means losing one's job, but also losing insurance benefits because the insurance funds are under the control of the trade unions. The long-standing practice of belonging to the political party through the trade unions, which relieves them of the necessity of paying dues individually, and the danger of being expelled from the trade unions, restrains the workers of Belgium from joining the Communist Party.

Wrong Tactics

This may partly explain the difference between the small membership of the Party (850) and the relatively large vote obtained by the Belgian Party at the elections (70,000). I say "partly" advisedly, because the reasons for the fluctuation in the membership which are common to all the Communist Parties, and hamper the growth of the circulation of the Party press, apply less of course to Norway, Sweden and Belgium. In the latter countries the fear of losing their jobs is a factor which prevents the workers from joining the Party. The cause of the fluctuation in membership of the Parties in the second group of legal Communist Parties is the mistaken policy and tactics adopted on certain questions by the Parties (in such cases we lose not only members of the Party and readers of the Party press, but also influence among the proletariat).

During the Reichstag elections in December, 1924, the German Party obtained 2,708,354 votes while the Communist candidate for the president of the Republic obtained only 1,869,553 and the fact that the Party put up a candidate of its own caused considerable dissatisfaction among the workers, who charged the Party with splitting the vote and allowing Hindenburg to be elected.

Lack of ability to conduct political campaigns, the youth and insufficient stability of the Communist Party and principally the fact that the local Party organisations functioned badly, are the most important causes of the fluctuation in membership.

As for the continuous fluctuation of the number of readers of the Party press and the difficulty encountered in increasing its circulation, this may be explained by the causes which bring about the fluctuation in Party membership, which, of course, affect the number of readers of the Party press, and also the lack of ability, in the majority of cases, to run a paper, particularly a daily.

In France the recent recruiting campaign was conducted by the central organ of the Party, "L'Humanité" and the parliamentary fraction of the Party through the medium of mass meetings. The factory and street groups and even the sub-district and district organisations, in the majority of cases, took no part in the campaign; and in those rare cases where they did take part their work was limited to technical work, such as pasting up posters, etc. The result of this method of conducting a campaign in Paris was that 200 of the thousand who applied for membership could not be retained in the Party from the very beginning. How many were lost in this way over the whole of France?

Preparation Necessary

Would this have happened if the recruiting campaign had been planned beforehand by the Central Committee and preliminary work carried on by the subordinate local organisations through the factory groups, which should have been helped by "L'Humanité," the parliamentary deputies and municipal councillors and all the other active Party workers? Of course not. The applicants for membership who would have come to the Party, not merely as a result of the superficial impressions obtained at an enthusiastic mass meeting, would have been immediately taken into the Party through the factory groups, and the question which engaged the attention of the organisation bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.F. and the Party press as to what to do with the new applicants would not have arisen (the trouble was whether to attach them for the time being to the street groups on the residential basis in order to "train them" in Party organisation, or to attach them immediately to the factory groups according to their places of employment).

During the recruiting campaign there were cases when five or six men working in the same factory applied for membership. These could immediately have been formed into a factory group in the factory where they were employed, if such did not exist there already; and if there was one already it would have been much more convenient for them to join it. No doubt this is what would have happened if the factory groups had taken part in the election campaign and in the everyday work of the Party.

In that case the factory groups would have established a reputation for themselves among the non-Party workers and would have gained experience by practice.

The workers regard the Communist Party as a leader capable of leading them in a fight. They are convinced that the Communist Party has excellently functioning Party organisations which are capable of fulfilling this task. But when they join the Party they do not find what they expect: the factory groups function badly, they are mostly engaged in internal Party disputes and differences which the new member cannot understand, the actual day-to-day problems in which the masses are interested are often neglected—and above all not sufficient attention is paid to the new members.

Bad First Impressions

Members of the French Party have called attention to this. For example, comrade Villatte, in giving the reason why people leave the Party says: "Too much attention is paid by the factory groups to the internal Party squabbles, which often bear a purely personal character, instead of devoting attention to the tasks of the Party." In a report of one of the district committees comrade Delaitre writes: "A number of serious comrades have left the Party because when they joined it they expected to find a well-organised, smoothly-working apparatus; instead of that they were obliged to listen to continuous chatter about organisation and discipline without practical activity."

In one of the reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, dealing with the question of the fluctuation of membership, the same conclusion is drawn as that of the above-mentioned

French comrade. Here is a quotation from this report: "One of the definite reasons for the newly-joined membership falling away is that up till now no attention was paid to them and they were not drawn into Party life. . . . There have been cases when newly-joined members have attended the heated meetings of the Berlin organisations and then turned their backs on the Party."

Of course, disputes and differences on tactics, programme and organisation cannot be avoided in a live Party, and still less in Communist Parties in capitalist countries where the process of consolidation is still going on. But this does not mean that the debates on these questions should not be organised in such a manner that the groups, district and local organisations shall not be entirely absorbed by them, but shall engage themselves in other questions of everyday activity. Is it impossible to arrange that the groups and local organisations shall function in a proper manner? Is it impossible to draw the new members into practical Party work? Is it impossible to arrange short courses for new members and to publish suitable literature for them? All this can be done with the resources which each Party possesses, if only they desire to do so.

Press Campaigns

In many localities circulation campaigns have been conducted. In Germany—in the Ruhr and on the Rhine—such campaigns have resulted in an increase in the number of subscribers to the Party press by 2-3,000 and more. From Czecho-Slovakia it is reported that the number of subscribers in the factories is increasing, but at the same time there are not a few cases where the circulation of the papers has declined. This is explained by the fact that the Party press as a whole is dull and monotonous, is often entirely devoted to internal Party differences and tendencies; that it does not give the information which is given copiously in the capitalist press; it does not properly describe Party life; no constant aid is given to the Party organisation; there is no summary of experiences; no reports from the factories, etc.

When in 1926 "L'Humanité" began to publish

feuilletons and published sport news the circulation increased to 40-50,000.

However poor the Party may be in literary talent, more attention can be devoted to the daily Party press. The Central and district committees must devote particular attention to the Party press and its defects can be removed.

We have already pointed out what influence the legal Communist Parties have in the trade unions. Here it should be observed that even in the trade unions the influence of the Communist Parties is relatively greater than their organisational influence. The tendency revealed in the following figures concerning the influence of the Communist Party of Germany in the trade unions may be taken as applicable to all the other Communist Parties in which the trade union movement has not been split. In 1926, the Communist Party of Germany obtained in referenda on various questions in the metal workers' union a majority in 80 local branches, whereas the committees are under the control of the Communists in only 35 branches. The Party obtained 40 per cent. of the total votes cast for the miners' congress, but in only 43 out of the 300 local branches are the committees under Communist control, i.e., only 13½ per cent.

In Chemnitz (Saxony) in 1926, the Communists obtained 23.3 per cent. of the votes in the communal elections, whereas the Social Democrats obtained 28.2 per cent. of the votes.

In October of the same year, during the elections to the Saxon Landtag, the Communists obtained 22.5 per cent. of the total votes cast and the Social Democrats 27.3 per cent. If we take into consideration the fact that the petty bourgeois elements vote for the Social Democrats, and that only workers vote for the Communists, then we can say that the Communists received a larger proportion of working class votes than the Social Democrats. And yet on the Chemnitz Trades Council there are only 18 Communists out of a total of 120, and not less than 80 Social Democrats, i.e., more than four times the number of Communists.

The situation is no better in the lower trade union apparatus and with the trade union functionaries in

the factories. In Chemnitz in factories employing a total of 28,010 workers the Social Democratic Party has 2,062 members and sympathisers and 164 trade union functionaries, whereas the Communist Party has 2,446 members and sympathisers and 49 trade union functionaries. All other things being equal the Social Democrats should have, for the 616 members and sympathisers which they have more than the Communists, not 115 trade union functionaries more, but only 24 more than the Communists.

Work Counts

This situation is due to the fact that Communists occupy themselves less with trade union questions than the Social Democrats. The class-conscious workers know that the Communists defend the interests of the proletariat better than the Social Democrats, that is why they vote for the Communist Party proposals, and elect Communists to Trade Union Congresses and Conferences. But when it comes to electing members to trade union committees they hesitate to elect Communists, because they have not seen them at work. This applies to the reformist trade unions where the Communist Party has to compete with the Social Democrats and where our comrades are not so well acquainted with the current questions in the trade union movement and for that reason are unable to combat the Social Democrats (questions of wages, labour laws, instructions, etc.).

It is possible organisationally to consolidate the relatively large influence which the Communist Parties have in the working class by increasing the membership of the Party, increasing the circulation of the Party press, and above all by improving the work of the Party organisations from the groups to the Central Committee. Only when the Party organs function properly, and the Parties adopt a proper policy, will it be possible to direct the work of the members of the Party in the Party press, in the trade unions and in other mass workers' and peasants' organisations.

III.

FACTORY AND STREET GROUPS AND THE ROLE OF FACTORY PAPERS

The correct functioning of the Party machine is not a little dependent on the work of the factory and street groups. For, although reorganisation has not been **completely** carried out in any section of the C.I. (in non-industrial districts the area form of organisation still exists) the most important Party decisions would remain empty, if the groups do not understand how, or are not in a position, to carry out these decisions.

Even more: if the groups are functioning badly, the work of the Party members in the proletarian mass organisations (trade unions, Co-operatives, I.C.W.P.A., etc.) suffers greatly: it is, therefore, essential to emphasise this point.

1. Efficient Working of Nuclei

We find in the industrial centres of all countries that many factory groups are carrying on splendid work and taking the lead in their factories. Here are some instances of such groups.

Austria.—There are 1,195 workers in the Warholovski factory, 537 of whom in 1926 belonged to the Communist group. At the elections of the Factory Committee in 1926, the Communists received 1,886 votes and the Social-Democrats 1,217—together 97 per cent. of all workers belonging to the trade unions. The factory trade union committees are composed of 65 Communists and nine Social-Democrats.

Great Britain.—During the General Strike only a few workers of Smith's motor works at Cricklewood carried out the decisions of the General Council concerning the strike. The group issued a special number of the factory paper in which it called upon the workers to join the strike. In addition to that it organised a

meeting outside the factory during the dinner hour, as a result of which all workers left the factory.

America.—It would seem likely to be very difficult to organise a Party nucleus in the Bethlehem steel factory. However, there is a nucleus there which is continually gaining in strength. At the time of the election of the company union managing board, the Communist nucleus put up its own ticket and received 700 votes. The opposing ticket received half that number. As a result of the election, the company union came into the hands of the Communists.

There is an automobile factory employing 3,000 workers. In that factory the members of the Party group circulate their leaflets and factory paper through the conveyor, which carries the various automobile parts in the process of production.

The Steel Trust employees in Michigan are carrying on a campaign against the trust, under the leadership of the Communist nucleus, for the introduction of safety measures against mine catastrophes, such as happened some time ago when 40 workers were left for hours down in the mines. This campaign has great success among the workers.

Germany.—The preparatory work in recruiting new trade union members decided on by the A.D.G.B. (German Federation of Trade Unions), and the elections to the "Workers' Congress" were carried out by almost all Communist factory groups in Berlin, particularly the groups in the large factories. The campaign increased the trade union membership and together with it, the influence of the Party group in the factories and fractions in the trade unions.

France.—There are 1,500 workers in the "X" Metallurgical factory, 1,200 of whom belong to the Red trade unions (an unprecedented percentage in France). A thousand copies of the factory paper are printed. There are 120 members in the group (the recent recruiting campaign brought in 16 new members).

In the "Y" factory there are 2,000 workers of whom only 25 belonged to the Red trade unions before the organisation of the factory group; now about 100 belong to the Red trade unions. At the beginning, the group consisted of only a few members, and now it has 30.

Czecho-Slovakia.—The L. No. 1 factory group (in the Brünn district) had 6 members in 1924: by September, 1926, it already had 32 members. The group organised 48 general meetings of the factory workers and is now issuing its own factory paper.

2. The Activities of the Party Organisations

Prior to the reorganisation of the Sections of the International on the basis of factory groups, the passivity of the Party membership reminded one of the passivity of the members of the Social-Democratic parties. All questions were decided by meetings of Party officials. Local Party conferences or general membership meetings were held rarely. Live local organisation work commenced usually only before some great event, as for instance, before a Party Congress or before the elections to some representative organs of the Party. Now the situation has changed considerably. The groups consider and discuss all most important problems facing the Party.

The position is already quite different. The groups consider and discuss the most important problems of Party life.

Let us give a few examples:

During the months of August and September, 1926, Party questions, including also questions concerning the C.P.S.U. (after the July Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.) were discussed in the Berlin organisation. The factory and street groups took a very active part in these discussions. The table below gives the distribution of the Berlin membership into factory and street groups, and also the numbers attending group meetings, as well as the proportion of those attending meetings to the total membership and the percentage of members who took part in discussion.

Kind of Groups	Total Group Membership	No. taking part in Group Meetings	As a percentage of total Membership	No. taking part in discussion	As a percentage of those attending Group Meetings
Fact. Groups	6,219	4,161	68.3	986	23.6
Street "	5,668	2,142	37.8	946	16.1
Total	11,887	6,303	53.1	1,332	21.1

In the Erzgebirge-Vogtland district (including Chemnitz) questions concerning the C.P.S.U. were dis-

cussed in the autumn of 1926 by the area groups.

The following table shows the number of Party members, the number attending meetings and the percentage taking part in the discussion.

Kind of Group	Total Group Membership	No. taking part in Group Meetings	As a percentage of total Membership	No. taking part in discussion	As a percentage of those attending Group Meetings
Fact. Groups (49)	992	525	52.9	126	24.05
Street Groups (55)	1,790	612	34.2	157	25.7
Local Groups (41)	2,337	995	42.7	142	7.0
Total	5,119	2,132	41.7	425	20.0

The percentage attending group meetings is, therefore, comparatively high. Moreover it is to be remarked that in the factory groups (particularly in Berlin), the percentage of those attending groups and taking part in the discussion is higher than in the street groups, in spite of the unfavourable circumstances prejudicing the work of the factory groups. It must also be mentioned that the opposition received fewer votes in the factory groups than in the street groups. In Berlin, 22 per cent. of the votes of the factory groups was given to the opposition within the C.P.G., and 28 per cent. by the street groups. Before the Congress of the C.P.G. in March, 1927, a thorough discussion was carried on in all the German groups. Unfortunately the Org. Bureau of the E.C.C.I. is not yet in possession of the complete material. It can, however, be definitely asserted that the Party members devoted a great deal of activity to the Congress.

3. Factory Papers

Until the sections of the C.I. were reorganised on the basis of factory groups there were no factory papers. I do not know if before the reorganisation of the Party the local organisations issued leaflets for individual factories or occasionally for important events. Now, however, the factory papers form an indispensable part of group work and play a large part in the life of Party organisations. This is borne out by the figures (incomplete) given below concerning factory papers in the large C.I. sections.

Prior to the reorganisation there were no factory

newspapers anywhere. I have not heard of any cases in which the Party organisations issued circulars addressed to the workers in individual factories, even on important events, prior to the reorganisation. At present the factory newspapers are an inseparable part of the work of the groups and play an enormous role in the life of the Party local organisations.

America.—There are 40 factory newspapers issued regularly in America. Of these 38 have a circulation of 1,000 to 2,000.

There is one factory paper in Detroit with a circulation of 10,000 copies; and the "Ford Worker," issued by the group of the Ford automobile factory, has reached a circulation of 20,000 to 22,000 copies. These papers are sold.

Great Britain (incomplete figures).—There are 24 factory papers regularly issued in London with a circulation of about 8,000 copies; 12 of these papers with a circulation of about 3,300 copies are issued by the railway shop groups.

There are three factory papers in Liverpool with a circulation of 3,300 copies. In South Wales 16 pit papers are issued in the mines.

Germany.—There are 170 factory newspapers issued regularly throughout the country. Of these 101 are issued by the Berlin-Brandenburg organisation, 10 by the Erzgebirge-Vogtland district, 10 in the Hessen-Frankfurt district, and from one to eight papers in each of the remaining districts.

The factory paper for the Siemens' works, the "Loudspeaker," has an edition of 7,500 copies. The paper is sold.

France.—There are 300 factory papers with a circulation of from 100 to 1,000 copies throughout the country. Comrade Crozet published in "Cahiers du Bolchevisme," of 28-2-27 the following figures concerning the number of different factory papers issued in the Paris District.

January	...	19	June	...	35
February	...	30	July	...	66
March	...	52	August	...	46
April	...	49	September	...	88
May	...	34	October	...	70

Czecho-Slovakia (incomplete figures).—There are

120 factory papers published in eight out of the 24 districts of Czecho-Slovakia. Towards the end of 1926 we received statistics concerning the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia indicating that there are 116 factory newspapers. All combined have issued 806 numbers with a circulation of 83,312 copies. This makes an average of seven issues per factory, with a circulation of 103.

In most cases, the factory papers are printed and contain fairly good caricatures. In many countries they are issued illegally, but here and there they are legal and even print advertisements which gives them an income enabling them to continue publication. It may be pointed out that working men and women, including the members of the Social-Democratic parties, National Socialists and Catholics are eager to get hold of the factory papers.

These papers are already a mighty instrument in the struggle for influence on the working class. But this influence could be considerably multiplied if the paper were properly utilised, which unfortunately is not everywhere the case.

As has been said above, the daily press of the Party is small, and does not reach the broad working masses; the factory papers, however, do reach the masses. In spite of the defects connected with the factory papers, they are an important achievement which was made possible as soon as the sections of the C.I. penetrated into the factories by means of factory groups.

4. Shortcomings of the Nuclei and their Removal

We shall now deal with the shortcomings in the work of the groups and the measures necessary to overcome them.

(a) The factory groups are on an average very small. In a great number of factories there are only one or two Communists. Most of the groups exist in the small and medium enterprises. The percentage of large factories with factory groups is very small, and the groups compared with the number of workers employed are also small. It is characteristic that this is to be noted everywhere, as has already been pointed out above.

America.—In Chicago out of the 24 groups, only

12, with 96 members, are in large factories; the other 12 are in small and medium enterprises.

Out of 300 factory groups in New York, only 12 are in the metallurgical industry and four in the wood-working industry. All others are in small shops and factories. Out of 300 factory groups, 159 (53 per cent.) are in the tailoring industry. Only 12 groups have more than 10 members each. The rest have three to four members. Many factories employ only one or two Communists.

The Ford factory, employing 60,000 workers, had 120 group members (the number has now been reduced).

Great Britain.—Most of the groups of Great Britain are in the mines. Only a few are in large enterprises. There are groups in very few large factories. The Communist Party does not work with sufficient energy in the textile industry, and the number of groups in that industry is very small. The membership in the groups is also very low.

Germany.—Of the 1,426 factory groups there are: 260 groups in enterprises employing from 3 to 50 workers.

329	do.	do.	do.	50	100
540	do.	do.	do.	100	500
175	do.	do.	do.	500	1,000
71	do.	do.	do.	1,000	3,000
28	do.	do.	do.	3,000	5,000
20	do.	do.	do.	5,000	and over.

If we consider the enterprises employing 500 workers and over as large enterprises we note that: 21% of the groups are in large enterprises 39% " " " medium " 40% " " " small "

Unfortunately there are no figures of the relative position of groups in Germany according to large, middle and small-sized factories: we omit the names of the factories in order not to expose the groups concerned to the persecutions of the employers.

		No. of workers in factory	No. of workers in groups
Ruhr district.	1. Metal factory A.	8,826	176
"	2. Metal factory B.	8,000	200
"	3. Steel works C.	7,200	120
"	4. Mining D.	1,000	43
"	5. Mining E.	1,532	73

		No. of workers in factory	No. of workers in groups
Rhineland	6. Chemical works F.	8,000	800
"	7. Mining G.	3,200	106
"	8. Railway works H.	2,641	66
Saxony	9. Factory I.	9,000	500
"	10. Factory J.	7,030	104
Berlin	11. Factory K.	7,318	95
"	12. Factory L.	370	60
"	13. Factory M.	761	11

The figures show that the larger the factory, the smaller is the proportionate strength of the factory group in comparison with the total personnel.

More or less the same proportions obtain in the Middle Rhine, Wasserkraute, and other German districts for which the Org. Bureau of the E.C.C.I. has data.

It is of interest to add the following figures of the number of Communists in 263 factories in the First Administrative district of C.P. in Berlin (this district numbers 636 members):

Strength of factory group	No. of factories	Total group membership
10 or more	12	236
4 to 10	20	108
3	14	42
2	33	66
1	184	184

We may take it as a general phenomenon in all countries that the greatest numbers of groups consist of one or two Communists working in a factory. They cannot, of course, organise a group or carry on normal Party work in the factories.

France.—In the organisation report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France of 15-10-26, we read the following:

".... It still remains a fact that the Party recruits skilled workers from the small enterprises. We must go fully into the question of winning over the large factories."

On 26th November, 1926, the Org. Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of France stated:

".... We must admit that in 50 per cent. of the

factories employing more than 1,000 workers we have not yet penetrated at all."

Czecho-Slovakia.—There are groups only in 13 factories, employing 3,200 workers out of the 44 chemical factories in Czecho-Slovakia.

Of the 35 textile factories employing 12,000 workers there are Party groups only in two employing 2,000 workers.

Of the 22 groups in the Ostrau district, 11 are in enterprises employing 31,800 workers.

The C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia should find itself in a better position than the other Communist Parties because it has groups in a comparatively large number of big factories.

This general phenomenon is due to the terror used by the employers. Regardless of the fact that the Communist Parties are legal in the countries concerned, the groups are, nevertheless, compelled to work underground. Just as soon as the employers learn, through their spies in the factories, that any of the workers belong to the Communist Party, they discharge them; they know that the reformist trade unions will not defend victimised Communists. Thrown out of work, the Communists find it difficult to secure a job owing to the unemployment prevailing in all countries.

Thus members of the Communist Party of Great Britain have been discharged from the big Armstrong and Vickers concerns.

In Germany most of the factory group members were discharged from the Seidel and Neumann dye factory and many other factories.

In the Ostrau district in Czecho-Slovakia the sacking of Communists is a very frequent occurrence.

In France the majority of group members have been discharged from the Michelin, Citroën and Peugeot factories, and the Renault, Paris, automobile factory discharged the entire group, whose membership list fell into the hands of the administration after a strike of 10,000 workers.

In many factories in Germany the Fascists have organised their own groups to counterbalance the work of the Communists. These groups naturally intensify the espionage in the factories. In some countries, like France, Germany and the United States, an exten-

sive espionage system is developing in the factories at the expense of the employers. The result of these terrorist methods is that many Communists do not join the group in their factories, which undoubtedly affects the numerical strength of the groups, and, if they do join them, they remain passive and try to restrain the nucleus from doing any active work. The group members thrown out of factories try to find jobs in small enterprises where the regime is less severe.

Factory Group Activities

(b) The situation is still worse in connection with the activity of most of the existing factory groups. Many of them, although they are in factories, shops and other enterprises, can be only formally considered as "factory" groups. Their activities are not carried on in their own factories, and they do not deal with the problems confronting their own enterprises. The only actual difference between the former territorial organisations and the above-mentioned groups consists in the fact that now workers of one factory or enterprise meet together whereas formerly Party members living in one neighbourhood met together. They discuss questions concerning Party affairs, they elect delegates to Party conferences, they receive reports of their delegates, and they carry on their work just as it was carried on in the old form of organisation.

There are also factory groups occupied only in technical work, such as the distribution of literature, factory newspapers, posting proclamations and placards. Both types of group exist in all countries.

How can we explain this? In the first place, by the fact that the Party members are still under the influence of the organisational traditions and customs of the Social Democrats, whose organisational forms were adapted to election campaigns for which purpose they were based on the territorial principle. Besides, in those organisations the legal parties could work unmolested and the terror of the employers could not affect them.

Secondly, this may be explained by the fact that almost all big mass campaigns were and are still being carried out by the Communist Parties outside of the factory groups, and the every-day work of the groups is not directed by the leading Party organisations so

as to keep it in contact with the political task of the Party. Such a policy in the Communist Parties paralyses the factory groups, and renders them incapable of discussing questions connected with the campaigns or participating in working out plans and putting them into effect. For the same reason the groups have no material on the basis of which they could carry on their agitation among the factory workers. The result is that the members of the groups are torn away from the workers in their factories.

To prove my point, I shall cite some oral and written reports of representatives and organs of the Central Committees of the larger legal Communist Parties. Comrade Birch (America) says in his report of 27-12-26 to the Organising Department of the E.C.C.I. the following:

"The campaign in defence of foreign workers was carried on outside of the factory groups. Although some groups were interested in this question and distributed our circulars, their interest did not express itself in a broad mass campaign."* (Re-translated from the Russian.)

"The campaign in favour of the "Daily Worker" was not sufficiently energetic in the factories. Of the 11 factory groups of one New York ward about which we have information, 9 groups did not secure a single subscription, one group got one subscription and one group 47 subscriptions."

Comrade Birch concluded this part of his report by saying:

"We cannot draw the factory groups into the Party campaigns. Our Party will have to solve this difficult problem."

During the General Strike

Comrade Brown in his report on the Organisational Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in October, 1926, speaking on the work of the

* There are many foreign workers in America; the campaign referred to was a campaign against a Bill which proposed to deprive the foreign workers of some of their rights; it could therefore have been very successful in the factories.

factory groups during the General Strike and of their role in the Party campaign connected with the General Strike, said:

"It must be admitted that our factory groups were weak and did not function properly during the General Strike. In some districts the groups stopped functioning altogether."

Further:

"I do not know to what extent the opinion prevails that our factory groups are of no use to the Party during industrial crises and unrest, but such views concerning our factory groups exist. This is due to the fact that some comrades think that our work must be carried on, in time of crisis, in the trade union organisations."

In the report of the Ludwigshaven (Germany) Party organisation on the occasion of a recruiting campaign in the reformist trade unions, we read:

"This campaign was carried out almost exclusively by the street organs. In only a few cases did we manage to draw the factory groups into the work."

In a report of the Org. Bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany we find the following:

"The carrying out of the Party campaigns is still in the hands of the local, group and district members' meetings."

That is the cause of the helplessness and passivity of the factory groups.

In the report of a comrade from the 20th District Organisation in Berlin we read:

"Why do we see such passivity? We must make the factory groups political. We must tell the comrades that they should be able to reply to the questions and arguments of the supporters of the Social Democrats. . . . Ever since I have been a member of our factory group it has never discussed any of the questions concerning the enterprise. All we hear is reports from delegate Party meetings and about Party quarrels."

In the Renault automobile factory (France) there was a strike of 30,000 workers in May, 1926, which came as an absolute surprise to the Communist group in that factory (from the report of the E.C.C.I. representative). The group which was thus separated from

the life of the factory was unable to react to the most immediate and vital problems of the workers in their enterprise. This, together with the terror, has developed among Party members the desire to carry on their Party work in the territorial organisations.

The September, 1926 Report of the Org. Bureau of the C.P. of France, states:

"We may say that in the Paris Party organisation a great number of comrades are inclined to leave the factory groups and to work in local groups."

In the material submitted to the Org. Bureau of the E.C.C.I. by the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, there can be found the following examples of good and bad factory group work according as to whether the Party work and Party campaigns were carried out by the groups or without them. A few facts are given below:

"The Brünnner Armament work groups held eight meetings during the whole year. The factory groups are not yet aware of what their business is. For example, a comrade in the group of the Prague Railway Works at Kladno proposed to put the question of wages on the group agenda, but this proposal was rejected on the ground that this question should be dealt with by the factory committee."

From the report of the Königgrätz (Czecho-Slovakia) District Party it can be seen that the factory groups took an active part in the campaign against the increased cost of living:

"The factory group committee made preparations for the campaign in the factories. Special numbers of the factory papers, containing our demands, were issued and leaflets distributed. The Communist fractions on the factory committees were instructed to propose the convening of factory meetings. In general one can say that the factory groups and the local Party Committees participated actively in the preparations for the campaign."

The same report says of the recruiting campaign for the Party press:

"The agitation in the factories accomplished better results than that of the area groups. The

recruiting campaign should be carried on principally in the factories."

The report of the Brünner (Czecho-Slovakia) District Party states:

"It was only by the carrying out of the anti-tariff campaign that the Party succeeded in ensuring its leadership of the masses."

(c) **Street Groups.**—The street groups have acquired greater importance in many countries than was ascribed to them in the instructions and the resolutions of the International Organisation Conference and the organs of the C.I.

Street groups never played any role in the organisational structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is impossible to do without them abroad. Facts have proved this. Originally the street groups were created with the purpose of organising those Party members who were not working in the factories, such as domestic workers, artisans, janitors, porters, intellectuals, etc. The field of activity of the street groups was supposed to be agitation among the proletarian population in their vicinity, distribution of literature in the neighbourhood. They have the same Party rights as the factory groups. In reality, however, the street groups have become transformed into full-fledged Party organisations, while the factory groups eke out a miserable existence.

This is partly due to objective causes, but primarily to the wrong attitude of the higher Party organisations. As an objective condition, we can take the fact that unemployed Communists try to get into the street groups. These comrades cannot be compelled to go out of their way to attend factory group meetings or to carry on Party work among the factory workers if most of them live a distance away. Such demands can be put only to the more active Party members, upon whom the further activity of the factory groups in which they used to work previously largely depends.

It is wrong if workers and clerks working in factories where there are factory groups or where such could be organised do not want to participate in the Party work in these factories, but prefer to join the street groups. Such cases are entirely due to the local

and district committees. These committees do not combat this phenomenon, but, on the contrary, they carry on most of their campaigns through the street groups, leaving the factory groups in many cases without any leadership.

A clear picture of the distribution of Party members in factory and street groups is given by the following figures received from the Central Committees of the Communist Parties.

There are in America 440 factory groups and 400 street groups. On an average the factory groups have 26.5 per cent. of the membership, the street groups 60.2 per cent. and the old Party organisations 13.3 per cent.

The figures in the various towns are as follows:

Town	% of factory groups member- ship	% of street groups member- ship	% of terri- torial member- ship
Philadelphia ...	14	62	24
Chicago ...	35	58	7
New York ...	32	43	25
Buffalo ...	30	70	—
Cleveland ...	24	76	—
Boston ...	23	53	24

In Germany in July, 1926, there were 1,525 factory groups and 1,609 street groups. The Party membership in the towns was distributed as follows:

	Factory groups (as percentage of total membership)	Street groups
Erzgebirge (Chemnitz)	30	70
Cologne	30	70
Ludwigshafen	70	30
Nuremburg	40	60
Halle	28	72
Leipzig	35	65
Düsseldorf	27	73
Mannheim	28	72
Hamburg	30-40	60-70
Berlin	60	40

The average percentage of the factory group membership in some German districts is somewhat higher than the percentage in America. The factory groups of Berlin and Ludwigshafen contain the majority of Party members, which is a sign that the groups in

those towns are working properly and receive support and real leadership from the higher Party organs, as a result members are not anxious to join street groups.

In Czecho-Slovakia there are 1,049 factory groups and 3,485 street groups and territorial organisations of the old type.

The distribution of the Party membership between the factory groups and street groups, in the most important districts is as follows:

District	No. of Factory Groups	Membership of Factory Groups	No. of Street Groups	Membership of Street Groups
Prague	81	5,485	417	11,040
Reichenburg	266	3,729	223	8,361
Aussig	82	2,150	180	4,216
Mährich-Ostrau	93	3,197	188	3,175
Brünn	51	1,114	246	5,885

Only in the Ostrau district 50 per cent. of the Party members are organised in factory groups. By far the greater part of the members of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia are workers, and unemployment there is not so great as in Germany.

The material supplied by the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia shows that 70 per cent. of the Party members in the Aussig district are occupied in industry, while only 35 per cent. of the Party members are attached to factory groups. In the Ostrau district 3,175 Party members are attached to street groups, of whom 1,800 work in factories where there are already groups or where such groups could be formed.

It is not only in Czecho-Slovakia that there are workers in street groups who work in factories where there are factory groups. A report from the Lower Rhine district organisation states that in the Elberfeld district 51 Party members who are working in factories belong to street groups.

Comrades may think that since the street groups are so strong numerically they must also be active. However, in most cases their passivity reminds us of the passivity of the old territorial organisations. The street groups revive only before elections to some representative bodies. In this respect they have much experience, as the old organisations were prior to their reorganisation engaged only in this kind of work.

A report from the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany on the work of street groups contains the following:

"The street groups have up to the present been very passive and display little political activity. Their meetings take place very irregularly. The best among them meet every fortnight, but in the majority of cases meetings take place once in three or four weeks."

The report on street groups in the Ruhr district says:

"The street groups in Dortmund do no practical work. They are the main support of the (ultra-left) "Schwan" Opposition, and the members of these groups only show activity in the delegate conferences before elections. A few street groups are very widely scattered."

From Stuttgart there is the following:

"The efforts of the comrades to call regular meetings of the street groups remain unsuccessful. On many occasions the meetings cannot take place because too few comrades are present."

Comrades should not think that we are here dealing intentionally with only the negative aspects of street group work, for it was stated above that most of the campaigns are carried on in the areas where the Party members live. This work was done not by any means by the street groups alone. After work hours and on holidays the members of the factory groups also took part in it. (In Berlin there have been cases where members of factory groups were told that after work hours they should canvass the houses in the district where they work, which is completely purposeless.)

It was pointed out above that most of the campaigns were carried out in the residential districts, but it need not be concluded that the work was carried out by the street groups. The campaigns were carried out by the members of the factory groups after their working hours and on holidays when they were home. (There were cases in Berlin where members of factory groups were appointed to canvass from house to house in their neighbourhood during the various campaigns.)

(d) **The Shortcomings of Local Officials.** The question of local officials is very important. In the old organisational forms it was sufficient if there were two or three officials in an organisation to handle the work. On an average there used to be two or three

officials to every 100 to 150 Party members. With the reorganisation on the group basis a minimum of one official (group leader) is necessary for every group.

To this must be added the fact that the reorganisation made necessary the creation of many locals in the large towns (there are over 100 in Berlin) which necessitates more officials in the local and district committees to carry on the work. We hear from all legal organisations that there is a shortage of Party officials, which greatly interferes with getting the factory groups to be active.

The Ruhr district report of 6th October, 1926 reads:

"We should like to point out that our groups would be better and more active if we had more officials."

The same has been said with regard to Czecho-Slovakia. In a letter from the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia to the district committee of Mährisch-Ostrau there is mention of "a great lack of officials." That partly explains why a few groups work excellently (those with enough officials) and why many groups are not active and function badly—they have no officials.

Many comrades give suggestions of how to create new ranks of officials. Some propose to raise the level of Marxian education, others propose the organisation of Party schools. Of course, this is necessary, there can be no doubt about that. But new officials can be obtained primarily through the activation of the existing factory groups. Only by means of active practical work in the groups can we create experienced and tenacious Communists; only from them can we add to their ranks and strengthen the entire Party apparatus.

(e) Help by the Party Committees to the Groups.

—As has already been pointed out, the successful work of the Party depends on the proper functioning and good work of the factory and street groups. No matter how difficult the conditions of Communist work in the factories may be, work can be carried on. The splendid results of the activities of some of the factory groups in every country prove this. We cannot explain the bad work of the street and factory

groups through the lack of Party officials. It is quite possible to improve the work of the groups even with those forces which the Parties have, provided they are properly and rationally utilised. This is possible if the work of the lower groups and organisations is given proper leadership. The main reason for the poor work of the groups is the lack of attention they get from the higher Party organs. When some internal Party discussion is in progress, particularly before elections, the groups are given speakers and plenty of material. But in the every-day work of the groups they receive neither.

At the Organisation Conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in October, 1926, comrade Brown, reporting for the C.C. of the C.P.G.B., said that the factory groups were organised and then left to their own fate. No one ever gave them a thought.

He said that the Organisation Department of the C.P.G.B. in investigating the causes for the decline of membership of some of the organisations came to the conclusion in one of its letters that the insufficient support and control on the part of the respective Party committees was largely to blame. The district committees send instructions of a general character to the local Party committees and groups. There are very few cases in which the local district Party committees give any concrete instructions to the factory groups applicable to the conditions prevailing in the respective factories.

What has been said above is confirmed in almost exactly the same words by the Berlin-Brandenburg district committee in its report of December, 1926. A comrade from the 9th Berlin District, speaking about the recruiting campaign, came to the conclusion that there is not enough material, and that it is necessary to publish a popular pamphlet on the question of rationalisation.

Comrade Crozet speaks in No. 62 of "Cahiers du Bolchevisme" (organ of the C.P. of France) of the same situation. He also arrives at the same conclusions, namely, that so long as the higher Party committees do not come to the support of the groups in their work everything will remain as before.

It is essential for the legal Communist Parties to

inaugurate an energetic campaign towards the elimination of the defects in the work of the groups, and for the improvement of the leadership and control. They must supply the groups with speakers and printed material, needed by the workers' groups, concerning elections, recruiting and other political campaigns. Only then will it be possible to liven up, to raise the activity and the political life of the groups.

Only under these conditions will the groups be able to promote the necessary Party cadres, without which the Communist Parties will be unable to become mass proletarian Parties.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In spite of all the measures of terrorism on the part of the employers and all the other difficulties which have to be overcome in the work of the Party inside the factories; in spite of the difficulties arising from the fact that very often the members of the factory groups live far from their place of work and are, therefore, prevented from taking full part in group meetings, in the meetings of the group committees and commissions as well as the group leaders' and local meetings which take place after working hours, for if they did they would miss the special workmen's trains which run after working hours—in spite of all that the factory groups have been established, and there is, and can be, no return to the old form of area organisation. There are already many adherents and active members of the groups in every country, who have quite grasped this idea: but it is absolutely necessary that all Party members, particularly the active elements of the Party, should be completely permeated by this knowledge. The Communist Party is the brain, the leader of the workers, it draws its forces from organising the working class, from agitation and propaganda of Communist ideas among the working masses. But these are concentrated in the factories. Thanks to the unlimited exploitation and the insufficient wages there exists in the factories a favourable soil for Party work and for the dissemination of the Communist slogans. But the work of the Communists in the factories can only be successful if it is concentrated organisationally, has an able leadership, and if the work is divided among the Party members, if they

take part in all the detailed work in working class organisations in the factories (trade union committees, factory councils, wage commissions, etc.), and do not conceal themselves from the workers, but on the other hand come out openly before all the workers, even if that would mean that persecution by the employers would be used against them. No struggle, and particularly the class struggle, is possible without sacrifice.

We must see that all workers are made aware of the importance and the role of the factory groups. A clear recognition of the political tasks of the Party in any given situation will activate the Party members and arouse in them the readiness, in spite of all the difficulties and sacrifices which it involves, to carry out the objects of the Communist Party in the factories.

If one adds to what has been said above, that in the last analysis the basis of mass organisations such as the trade unions, the sports clubs, friendly societies and co-operatives exists in the factories and workshops, then it is clear that the Communists will be able to extend their influence in all these organisations if they perform good and successful work among the workers in the factories.

Chiefly on that account the old traditions must be overcome, and on no account should the old area groups be allowed to take the place of street groups.

The appropriate Party committee should see that members of factory groups whose work is far away from their homes, are doing Party work after working hours and on holidays in the districts in which they live. Such members of factory groups, however, must not, during a campaign in the district where their place of work is situated, take part in that campaign. That must be done by the street groups and Party members who live in that district, although working in another part. The policy of allowing members of factory groups who live in a different district and sometimes even in a different town, to canvass the area in which they work, has been the cause of justifiable complaints, for reasons which are easily understood. Such methods must not be adopted. The appropriate Party committees must direct all their forces and all their energy to the task of improving the work of

Communists and groups among the employees before, during and after working hours. But the members of factory groups are not to take part in canvassing the area in which their place of work is situated. Even without that, the expense and trouble which factory group members have, when they miss their train connection two or three times a week in order to attend group and committee meetings, is quite enough.

* * * * *

2. However difficult it may be to penetrate the large factories, and whatever difficulties the groups in such factories may encounter in their work, the groups, the local and district committees must unceasingly conduct an energetic struggle to win over the large factories and to maintain and extend the groups already existing in their areas.

The large factories in the most important industries must become the strongholds of the Communist Party.

The strength of the workers in the transport, power and mining industries, is by itself sufficient to dislocate the production process effectively without a general strike. Tremendous working class masses are concentrated in the large factories. The great majority are exploited, and with good work the groups can create a firm footing in the large factories in spite of terrorism. If the Communists and the Communist groups obtain a strong influence over these workers, they will at the same time be acquiring a powerful protection against the persecution of the employers (this has often been the case during the period of the existence of the groups.) Large factories play a decisive role in economic and political strikes and demonstrations. In times of action small factories attach themselves to large ones. There have been many examples of this in the history of the working class movement (the Putilov and Obuchov works in Leningrad, the A.E.G. in Berlin, etc.). In addition to that, the workers in the large factories play a decisive part in the proletarian mass organisations (trade unions, etc.).

While gaining influence in the large factories, the Communist Parties are also penetrating the workers' mass organisations. Hence the struggle to gain influence in the large works of the most important industries

is of overwhelming importance for the Communist Party. But this influence can only be gained if there are Communists within those factories who are united in energetic groups, working well together. Groups in large factories, as we said above, are numerically weak. That is why it is necessary to separate members of street groups who work in factories, and particularly those who are in large factories, from the street groups; the appropriate Party committees must transfer them to the factory group in each factory where they are working. If such does not already exist, it must be organised from the transferred members. If there are less than three Communists working in a factory, the group must be formed of Communists and sympathisers. If after these measures have been taken there should be large factories where no Communists work, the Party must get unemployed Communists to obtain work there. In the case of a demand for skilled workers, the Party committees should, in certain circumstances, instruct Communist workers in small factories to go into the large ones.

This work of winning over the large factories must not be carried out mechanically, but should be accompanied by explanations and ideological preparation. That can all be done by willingness and correct action. Of course, apart from these purely organisational measures, the responsible Party committees must not lose sight of the fact that they should concern themselves with raising the level of the groups in large factories qualitatively; with training them and accustoming them to adhere to the political policy of the Party in their daily work, helping them in this way to establish their position within the factory. That is the only way by which the groups will win new members and so strengthen their position. It must be emphasised that work in winning over the large factories does not by any means make the Party work in the small and middle-sized factories superfluous, and does not relieve the Party committees from the duty of guiding and controlling the work in these factories. We are only dealing with the change in the importance of different kinds of Party work—and the most important is in the large factories and the essential industries.

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3. It is not sufficient to have groups in the factories.

These groups must work well. The groups must, therefore be stimulated and made to take an interest in politics. This can be done, among other ways, by carrying on the political, trade union and Party campaigns through the factory groups: that will compel the groups to do their Party work among the workers in their factories.

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4. In their work, the groups must be actively supported by the local, district and sub-district committees. The latter must distribute to the groups the necessary literature and speakers' notes for particular questions: they must hold conferences with the superior committees and with the group committees, in order to instruct them as to the carrying out of a particular campaign. Above all, however, they must send members of the appropriate committees to the groups, who should take part personally in the meetings of the group committee and the groups themselves, and by their active participation guide the work of the group along correct lines; but this must not be allowed to degenerate into unnecessary guardianship of the groups. On the contrary, the Party committees must promote the initiative of the factory groups in every way possible.

The work of the factory and street groups must proceed under the constant guidance of the relevant Party committee. Since the calling of meetings of the factory groups is rendered difficult, for reasons given above, this affecting the execution of Party tasks, the Party committees, without, of course, limiting in any way the right of the factory groups to discuss and decide Party, political, trade union and other questions, must periodically call together general members' meetings for the purpose of discussing and solving the more important questions. If, however, the members live too far apart for this, or if the number of Party members is too great, then Party workers' conferences must be called for local or sub-district areas. Such meetings or conferences must, of course, be well prepared and well conducted.

* * * * *

5. Factory papers—as can be gathered from the opening of this chapter (section 3)—are widely spread

through all the legal Parties. In almost all countries however, the production of factory papers is dealt with as unskilfully and as formally as the work of the factory groups. In many organisations the factory papers are turned out as though on the pattern given out by the Party committee for various factories, without introducing any concrete, real material from the life of the factory into them. The publication of the factory papers is not regulated according to the time of Party campaigns, or of such events in the factories or in the country which would strengthen the interest of the workers in the factories for the paper (often at a time of important events, no factory group papers appear at all). Finally, the factory papers are still often crammed full with repetitions and extracts from the Party press. The papers issued by the groups often show no understanding of the connection between the facts of factory life which are brought into the paper and the political content of Party activity and the Party slogans. With regard to the difficulties which the factory groups—particularly those in the large factories—have to overcome in their work, the papers and leaflets issued by the groups, especially with a correct wording and connection of the problems of the factory with the Party slogans, and with their appearance at the appropriate moment, these can often take the place of a public appearance of the group members; besides that they can supply the Party members with material for carrying on individual agitation before, during and after work. That, however, demands thorough and careful support from the respective Party committees.

Men and women workers, whatever party they may belong to, buy and read the factory papers. The employers, in order to check the influence of the factory papers, issue their own works paper. They also offer rewards for the discovery of editors and distributors of the factory papers. Are not these facts sufficient to induce Party committees to devote greater attention to the establishment and distribution of these papers?

* * * * *

6. Since in many factories there are only one or two Party members working, the local and district committee must do the following:

(a) Try by every possible means to form groups in factories where only one Communist works, by drawing in and winning over sympathisers, subscribers to the Party press, members of the trade union opposition, members of workers' sports organisations, workers' defence corps and other organisations which are under the influence of the Communist Party.

(b) If it is found impossible to form factory groups from the individual members of the Party in the factories where they work, then so-called collective groups must be formed from Party members in a number of factories. In doing this, care must be taken that the factories concerned stop work at the same time, otherwise these collective groups will find it difficult to work. Such groups are not of a permanent character: as soon as there are three Party members in our factory, an independent group must be organised, and the collective group should take a hand in the work of the new group.

(c) If it is found impossible to carry out the measures indicated in sections (a) and (b), the individual Party members must be assigned to the nearest group, taking account of the conditions mentioned in (b). The groups must also do Party work in the factories in which these individual members attached to the group are working.

* * * * *

7. Are the English comrades right in maintaining that the factory groups are unsuitable, that during strikes and times of unrest they do not work? (The C.C. of the C.P.G.B. does not actually hold this opinion, but this idea has been rather widely spread, and has been discussed in the local organisations.) The question is of practical importance. The activity of the factory groups during economic and political strikes depends upon the correct answer being given. It has already been pointed out, that during the events of May (1926), the factory groups in England worked badly, and in some districts took no part whatever in affairs.

On what do the English comrades base this idea? They say, that during strikes the workers do not go to the factories, but to their local trade union organisation, and, therefore, the trade unions are the basis

of Party work. It is difficult to contest this opinion. But why should the factory groups suspend their activity? At the beginning of Section III. (Working of Nuclei) we gave an example of the group in Smith's engineering works which worked well. Only a small part of the workers answered the General Strike appeal of the General Council, but the rest ceased work after the energetic interference of the group. Smith's works were surely not an exception in this. Such occurrences are also possible in the future. Consequently the groups in the factories where all the workers do not cease work must carry on their work actively. Further: is it possible that a part of the workers would resume work during a strike? Of course: that often happened during the mining dispute. Consequently the factory and pit groups must be at their post in order to be able to carry on with their work as groups at any time. But this requires the continuance of the activity of the groups during strikes and times of dispute. One question more: How can Party members at such times do Party work in the "basic" organisations, that is, in the local trade union branches and committees, where the great mass of the workers are concentrated? Even in these cases the groups must and can work, because they have definite tasks: the group leaders must discuss how to carry out the slogans and tactics of the Party, divide the work among the members of the group, bring out factory papers and distribute Party newspapers and literature, etc. Will not the Party work among the strikers show better results if it is carried out in an organised fashion by the group members?

We must make an end of the hesitation and the discovery of various pretexts which are only an obstacle in overcoming the old traditions and the present difficulties in the work of the factory groups. The Party committees must promote, guide and control the work of the groups in factories.

IV.

THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL ORGANISATION IN LEGAL COMMUNIST PARTIES

Evils of Excessive Centralisation

Excessive centralisation in carrying on political and other campaigns is a characteristic feature of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties compose and distribute measures and directions so to speak for every condition of life. The centre determines the campaigns. In the majority of cases the central organisation also supplies the local organisations with appeals, leaflets, posters, stamps, etc. The attitude resulting from this state of affairs is that such conditions are quite normal, that the central machinery must be extended and that the local organisations can manage without any or at the most with only a little machinery, since the largest part of the work of the district and local committees is done by the centre. Such a state of affairs has, of course, its good side also: there is greater certainty that the material distributed for the campaigns is not open to objection in its ideological content, the cost of printing is less, the material itself is put together in a better way. On the other hand such methods of leading and providing for the local organisations do more harm than good. All too often the material comes too late, it is too monotonous and not adapted to the particular conditions of the districts. But the most important thing is that these methods inhibit the initiative of local organisations. The local organisations get used to waiting for finished material, for measures and directions in executing the centre's decisions on all occasions. Moreover, since the district and local committees in industrial areas only have a very few paid Party workers, and the local organisations in non-industrial districts have no such paid workers at all, the groups and fractions in the mass organisations usually work very badly: they receive

too little support from their respective committees, for the number of Party officials is too small to keep up with the work of the groups and fractions, to attend to their inquiries and to maintain connection with the Party committees. Excessive centralism on one hand, restrains the initiative of the local organisations which is of such great importance for the Communist Parties, and on the other hand it results in the central machinery laying claim to almost all the apparatus of the Party, so making it impossible to create machinery in the local Party organisations, without which they cannot function properly.

The Question of Officials and Local Initiative

According to incomplete returns, the German Communist Party centre had 94 political and technical Party employees; 28 district organisations had between 180 and 190 political and technical paid Party workers. In 1926, the French Party centre had 53 on its staff, while the 25 districts and all the local organisations together had 62. The Czecho-Slovakian Party centre numbered 41 in its staff; 24 districts and 2,800 locals had about 100 Party employees. The British Communist Party centre numbers 26 workers, while 245 local organisations have 23 between them.

This disproportion in the construction of the central and local Party machinery was partly inherited by the Communist Party from the social-democratic parties, and partly the inception of the Communist Parties themselves required a strengthening of the central machinery, since the Parties originated not from below, but from above. In normal circumstances the local Party organisations are organised first, and after that the centre is formed by their amalgamation. The Communist Parties of Germany, Sweden, Austria, England, etc., were on the other hand formed from revolutionary elements which broke away from social-democratic parties. The centre was formed first, and then it began to organise the local Party committees. Nowadays, when there are local Party organisations all over the country and the previous social-democratic forms of organisation have been cast aside, the methods of management must also be changed. The local organisations must be given the possibility of working independently, on the basis of Party decisions and having regard to local conditions. Apart from that, the central

committee and its central machinery must take care that the local Party organisations develop their own initiative in Party, trade union and political work; however well the central machinery may work, it cannot supplant the work of the local organisations. Therefore the number of workers at the centre must be reduced and the machinery of the district committees be extended. It must be remembered that in times of intense class conflicts the local Party organisations, in spite of the convenient possibilities of contact with the rest of the world (telegraph, telephone, wireless), may be isolated from the Party centre; they must, therefore, now be so organised and instructed as to recognise clearly the necessity of acting independently and on their own responsibility, within the limits of Party decisions. Otherwise the local Party organisations accustom themselves to waiting for instructions from the centre, and, at important and eventful moments, will remain inactive if they do not receive directions—a state of affairs which greatly injures the movement.

Central Committees and District Committees

In many Communist Parties the Central Committee is in direct connection with the local organisations. In a few of these Parties there are no district committees at all; in others, although the district organisations exist, there is a direct connection between the Central Committee and the locals. The C.C. of the C.P. of Sweden maintains direct contact with 302 local organisations. At the conference between the Org. Bureau of the E.C.C.I. and the delegation from the C.P. of Sweden during the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I., it was decided to set up district organisations in Sweden with which the Central Committee should be in direct contact, and in which the local organisations had to be brought together into definite administrative units. A few Swedish comrades opposed the formation of district committees. They admitted that direct leadership of the local organisations by the Central Committee cannot be satisfactory, but they based their objections on the contention that under the new form of organisation the membership contributions from the local organisations would come in irregularly, because the district committees would withhold them. In Canada there are district committees, but

even so the C.C. is in direct contact with the locals (from which the C.C. demands 70 per cent. of membership contributions, thus depriving the districts of the possibility of existence); hence the districts are incapable of activity and do not function. No central committee however excellently it works, however comprehensive its machinery may be, is in a position to manage directly all the local organisations. Answers to enquiries as well as various technical and other directions to the local organisations take up all the time of the comrades on the Central Committee. They have no time to consider important political questions, to work out methods of successful work among the masses, to follow the tactics of the bourgeois parties and to control the work of the local organisations. It is much easier for the Central Committee to guide a small number of district committees than to be compelled to deal with all the Party organisations. The districts are in a much better position to instruct and control the locals in their area. In view of all this, those central committees of the Communist Parties which are still directly connected with all the local organisations, must set about forming district and sub-district committees. Where such already exist, as for example in Canada, they must be aroused to new life by the Central Committee, made capable of working and be charged with management of the locals.

Since the district, sub-district, local and group committees of the Party (to say nothing of the groups themselves) have usually very few full time Party officials, and often none at all, there is in many Communist Parties a lack of most important statistical information concerning the social composition of the Party membership, the distribution of groups in the different industries, and similar data, without which successful work is impossible. How can one successfully combat fluctuation if there are no statistics of entry into and secession from the Party? How can one overcome friction between the old and new generations, if there is no information as to the composition of the Party in this respect?

How can we try to get all Party members into the trade unions, if we do not know the social composition of the Party, which members are already in the unions and which are not eligible (peasants, housewives, etc.)?

How, finally, can one carry on work in the reformist and Christian trade unions if there is no information as to Communist membership in those unions?

The Lack of Information in the Parties

A great number of examples could be given of the way in which work is rendered more difficult by the lack of necessary statistical ground-work. Only the German and to some extent the Czecho-Slovakian Party possess such statistics, which are, however, incomplete (the C.P. of Germany, e.g., lacks information as to the social composition of the Party membership).

Defects of Central Committees

With the transference of the weight of Party work to the local organisations, with the reduction of the Central Committee machinery and the corresponding extension of that of the local organisations, it will be possible, on the basis of collected statistics, to present an "anatomical" picture of the legal Communist Parties. In spite of the fact that the central machinery of the legal Parties cannot on the whole be considered small, it is not possible to maintain that their work was particularly satisfactory. Co-operation between the various sections (Polit. Bureau, Org. Bureau, Secretariat) and the various departments of the C.C. is still deficient. The C.C. departments are a long way from being up to the level of their tasks. The trade union departments still want to do the work of the trade union fractions, they occupy themselves with the current concerns of the fractions and in practice prejudice their development. The trade union departments are not in contact with the subordinate trade union departments and consequently the latter remain without directions as to the general policy of the Party on trade union questions.

The Agit. Prop departments have fallen behind, and cannot keep pace with the reorganisation. That is why little or practically nothing of their work can be seen in the factory groups.

The Org. Bureaux of almost all sections of the C.I. are limiting themselves more to written instructions and circulars, rather than showing the Party organisations practically, and on the spot, how the work is to be reorganised and set going. The work of the Org. Bureaux in consequence shows no important, real results. In addition to these serious defects in the work

of the Central Committee, there must also be taken into account the fact that the editorial boards of the central organs of the Party are not always in close contact with the leading Central Committee departments, and consequently the policy of the central organ or of decisive articles which appear in the central organ are not always in harmony with the decisions of the Central Committee, which must necessarily have a disturbing effect on the work of the Party organisations which are misled by such articles. If often happens that the editors of the central organ are in charge of important articles or telegraphic correspondence which lays down the policy of the E.C.C.I. on a particular question, and which only reaches the knowledge of the Central Committee after publication.

Party Centres and Criticism

Finally, we cannot refrain from mentioning that the centres and the different departments of many central committees of the legal sections generally are not given to self-criticism, which, of course, prevents the correction of past mistakes and prejudices the work of the central machinery. And if the policy or activity on one question or another elicits criticism from the organ of the Comintern, then the Central Committee concerned exerts itself (instead of correcting the mistaken policy and removing the defects) to show that it is blameless, that the criticism is based on insufficient knowledge of the concrete conditions of the country concerned, or that the organ of the Comintern has received incomplete information. These tendencies also affect the work of the local Party organisations, since such an attitude on the part of the Central Committee towards criticism makes it more difficult for the Party organisations to decide whether the criticism on the part of the organ of the C.I. is correct or not. The machinery of the Central Committees must become more elastic; they must guide the local organisations, but not do all the work for them. If the above-mentioned defects in the work of the C.I. sections are overcome, it will be much easier to make practical use of the widespread ideological influence which the Communist Parties exercise to-day and which in view of the hostile policy of the Amsterdam trade unions and the parties in the Second International towards the workers, must grow still greater.

V.

COMMUNIST WORK IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

It has already been remarked in the previous article that although the Communist Parties exercise a strong ideological influence on the working class, within the trade unions they are very weak.

During the struggle of the British miners the C.P. of Germany did not succeed in enforcing resolutions on material aid for the British miners, in preventing the introduction of overtime work in the mines or in prohibiting the export of coal to England in any of the national unions. Even more: the C.P. of Germany has so far been unable to stop the treachery of the German Federation of Trade Unions towards the entire German working class (practical dropping of the eight-hour day, rationalisation at the cost of the workers, which has led to an army of 1,500,000 unemployed), and the treachery of central committees of the individual unions in the conclusion of agreements with the employers.

The explanation of that lies in the fact that the C.P.G. has no majority in any union.

The C.P.G.B. is in no better position: during the General Strike and the miners' struggle the C.P.G.B. and the Minority Movement played a conspicuous role in the Trades Councils, strike committees and councils of action, but they succeeded neither in defeating the disgraceful compromise which the railway unions concluded with the companies after the General Strike, nor in the agitation for material support for the miners in the most critical moment of their struggle in any one of the big unions. The same applies in outline to the carrying out of the embargo. In spite of the popularity of this slogan among the British working class, the C.P.G.B. and the Minority Movement did not succeed anywhere in preventing the transport and

unloading of coal. The reasons for this are the same as in Germany.

At the special conference of the Minority Movement early in 1927 trade union organisations with a membership of 1,080,000 were represented.

The Minority Movement is composed chiefly of trade union organisations in the towns which according to the constitution of the English trade unions have no rights at all (they are not represented at the Trades Union Congress). In spite of the disunited condition of the English trade union movement (the textile workers have 57 unions; transport workers, excluding railways, nine unions; and metalworkers 48 unions, which are affiliated to the T.U.C.), there is no comparatively important union which is affiliated as a whole to the Minority Movement.

In spite of the very great number of unions in the trade union movement, no union of any importance is affiliated as a whole to the Minority Movement.

As for Czecho-Slovakia and France, where there are independent red trade unions, over which the respective Communist Parties exercise an indisputable influence, the conditions there are in general only a little better than in Germany and England.

In Czecho-Slovakia there are 15 central federations of workers and professional and Civil Servants' trade unions, with a total membership of 1,707,598, of whom 201,035, or 11.77 per cent. belong to the Red trade unions. It can be understood therefore, that the activity of the Red trade unions is dependent upon the other trade union federations; but the influence of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia is very small in these other unions (of the 45,575 members of the C.P. who are organised in trade unions, 35,653 belong to the Red trade unions, 9,101 are in the German and Czech Amsterdam unions, and 821 in other unions). In France the Unitary Red trade unions include about 50 per cent. of all the trade unionists, but they too are to a considerable extent dependent in their activities on the reformists, for there are both kinds of trade union in one and the same branch of industry.

We must also take into consideration the fact that the number of workers in France organised in trade unions is very small. The entire trade union movement numbers about one million workers and (profes-

sional) employees, whereas there are in France about 11 million workers and employees. The members of the C.P. of France are mainly organised in the Red unions, and consequently the C.P.F. has very little influence in the reformist unions.

The Remedy for Lack of Control

Can the Communist Parties in these capitalist countries be contented with such a state of affairs, that although they can lead great masses in demonstrations and receive millions of votes at elections, they are at the same time unable to prevent the reformist trade union leaders from betraying the interests of the workers day by day?

How can this be altered? In the first place, by the Communists in the unions doing their work energetically and in a determined fashion in all directions, by concentrating in Communist fractions, which should be rightly directed by the Party. It cannot be maintained that up to the present the sections of the C.I. have fulfilled these conditions.

(1) Before all it must be laid down that not all Communists are organised in trade unions. We are not concerned here with merely formal obedience to the decision on the entry of Communists into trade unions. Actual circumstances make it clear that we cannot strengthen our influence in the trade unions if all Communists do not work in the trade unions. The Communist Party by its programme, its slogans, its real fight against the bourgeoisie, attracts the workers to itself. In the most difficult elections workers who are not at all Communists give their votes to the C.P. The Communist workers find themselves in surroundings on which they can and must exercise influence. It may be assumed that every Communist, on the average, has around him ten workers whom he can influence. Therefore every Communist who remains out of touch with his union is refusing to exercise influence on those around him; therefore he does not promote any increase in the Communist influence in the trade unions: on the contrary, he helps towards a decrease in this influence.

Members Not in Unions

Even more, such Communists check the growth of class trade unions. How, in actual fact, can Com-

munist Parties in capitalist countries perform successful recruiting work for class trade unions among the workers and employees if all Communists are not organised in trade unions?

(The reformist trade unions in Germany had in 1922 about nine million members, but now have about five million. Many of the four million who left the unions in 1923 and 1924 can be brought back to the trade unions by the C.P.G. As experience has already shown, the fact that not all Communists belong to trade unions is a decided obstacle in the way of successfully fulfilling this task, and this is a source of weakness to the influence of the C.P.G. in the trade unions.)

Statistical statements of the Organisation Bureau of the E.C.C.I. on this question from all countries show that many Party members are not organised in trade unions, and by reason of that the influence of the Communist Parties in the trade unions is weakened. We give below figures from a few of the legal Communist Parties relating to the question.

In Germany on June 1st, 1926, the following percentages of Party members were organised in trade unions in 17 out of the total 28 districts:

	Per cent. of the Total Membership
1. Berlin-Brandenburg	90
2. Pomerania	69
3. East Saxony	85
4. Erzgebirge-Vogtland	85
5. Upper Silesia	46
6. West Saxony	92
7. Halle-Merseberg	75
8. Thuringia	77
9. Lower Saxony	85
10. Ruhr district	70
11. Lower Rhine	57
12. Hessen-Frankfurt	65
13. Saar district	90
14. Middle Rhine	55
15. Württemberg	68
16. North Bavaria	65
17. Wasserkante	71

A few more examples from some German towns:

In Stettin there are 478 Party members in trade
69

unions, 24 comrades have been excluded from the unions and 399 Party members do not belong to a union. In sub-district 6 of Upper Silesia there are 1,601 Party members, of whom 361 are organised in trade unions.

Hamburg reports that exact figures are not available, but it can be definitely asserted that many Party members are not yet within the unions. From Reinscheid, (Lower Rhine) it is reported that on the dissolution of the local independent Metal Workers' Union (Opposition) which numbered 1,800 members, not less than 1,500 workers did not join up again in the reformist Metal Workers' Union. The majority of the members in the opposition union were members and sympathisers of the C.P. of Germany.

Our influence is as small as it is in the Metal Workers' Union of Witten and Hörde (Ruhr district), because so few comrades are members. For example, the Metal Workers' Union in Hörde has 3,282 members of whom only four are Communists. The position is no better in Witten. In Cologne 40 per cent. of the Party members are still outside the trade unions. In other countries the position is probably worse, for special campaigns have been carried on in Germany for the entry of Communists into the unions, and we have heard nothing of such campaigns in other countries. Calculating an average for the 28 district organisations, it can be seen that in Germany now, 70 per cent. of the Party members are organised in trade unions. Deducting 10 per cent. for housewives and others not eligible for trade union membership, there still remains 20 per cent. of the Party who could be members of trade unions.

Czecho-Slovakia.—According to statistics given in March, 1927, figures relating to 92,691 members of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia (out of a total of 138,000) show a trade union membership of 49.2 per cent. The peasants, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, professional workers, housewives, etc., who are members of the Party, and are not eligible for trade union membership, total 22,936 or 24.7 per cent. We can therefore say that 26 per cent. of the Party members capable of being in trade unions remain outside of them.

America.—The statistics of the Org. Bureau of the

American Party show that only 40 per cent. of the membership of the Workers' (Communist) Party are organised in trade unions.

Britain.—At the Organisation Conference of the C.P.G.B. it was reported that 90 per cent. of the Party membership were in trade unions. The C.P.G.B. is in this respect an exception. On the average not more than 50 or 55 per cent. of the members of the Communist Parties are organised in trade unions.

(2) The Communist Parties of Great Britain, Germany and Italy have, of course, strong positions in the Amsterdam trade unions (in these countries there is no split in the trade union movement). Thanks to the energetic work of the Italian Communists, the *Confederazione del Lavoro* (Amsterdam), which had been dissolved by the reformist trade union leaders in deference to the Fascists, has again begun to work. Italian Communists have strong influence in the Trades Councils of the industrial towns and in the large unions. Unfortunately the sphere of activity of the Italian class trade unions is very limited, since it is obligatory on all workers to enter the Fascist trade unions (contributions are collected when wages are paid), and only Fascist trade unions are permitted to conclude agreements with the employers.

The C.P.G.B. has great influence in some unions and in the local branches. Not long ago Party locals in a few districts succeeded in getting their members elected as secretaries of trade union organisations (in England elections of salaried trade union officials occur very seldom).

German Trade Union Figures

As far as the German Party is concerned, it had in 1926 a majority on 70 local committees of the German Federation of Trade Unions, on 35 district committees of the Metal Workers' Union, 43 of the Miners' Union, eight of the Textile Workers' Union, 32 of the Chemical Workers' Union, etc. In the elections for the 1926 Conference of the Metal Workers' and Miners' Unions, the C.P.G. received 33 per cent. of the votes in the former union, and 40 per cent. of the votes in the latter. In 1923, at a time of the greatest revolutionary excitement, the C.P.G. received 44 per cent. of the total votes in the Metal Workers'

Union, and in 1925, when trade union work was neglected by the Ruth-Fischer Centre, only 23 per cent. of all the votes.

One can say, that in the elections which took place not long ago in all the important trade unions, the C.P. of Germany had on the average not less than 25 per cent. of the members behind it. As far as the last re-elections of local officers in individual trade unions and local councils is concerned, the Party besides its partial defeat in the Metal Workers' Union of Upper Silesia, met with considerable success as far as one can judge from the meagre reports which have so far appeared in the press.

In many cases the number of votes cast for the left wing opposition has increased in comparison with the previous elections. In Stuttgart, for example, the opposition obtained 72 per cent. of all the delegates (237) and the reformists only 28 per cent. (92) in the elections for the delegate conference of the Metal Workers' Union. In the Berlin Woodworkers' Union elections for a delegation conference, the opposition received about 500 votes more than in the previous year, while the Amsterdammers only increased their vote by 80. Altogether, the opposition received 5,364 votes as against 5,715 which were given to the reformists. At the elections for the union conference, the opposition obtained a victory over the reformists.

Another instance: In the elections for officers in the Berlin Saddlers' Union, the opposition received only 19 votes less than the Amsterdammers (1,343 against 1,362). In the local elections of the United Union of Railway Workers, the votes cast for the opposition and for the reformists were in the proportion of 21 to 29, which was a great success for the opposition in comparison with the previous year. The position is similar in a number of unions in Berlin and in the country as a whole.

Similarly, in the elections for the executives of a number of unions, the Opposition in the last few years, succeeded for the first time in getting opposition candidates through, or in increasing their numbers. The relevant material is at our disposal.

Social-Democratic Comments

Not for nothing did "Vorwaerts" vent its spleen when it had to report the successes of the Communists in the trade union elections and shout for joy when the Communists remained in a minority of those elected. The position of the C.P. of Germany in the trade unions grows stronger from day to day. The reformist leaders already admit that. In an article on "The Trade Unions in 1926," in No. 1 of the "Trade Union Archives" for 1927, Karl Zwingt writes as follows:

"It is also to be noted that the Communists during the past year carried on an active agitation for the trade unions, with the object, of course, of getting the Unions in their hands. These efforts met with no particularly great success. In the elections for the district committee for the administrative year 1927, which took place in the last weeks of 1926, the Communists everywhere remained greatly in a minority."

The election results quoted above and the facts published in the press do not altogether confirm the statement of the reformist writer, but the very fact that the reformists are compelled to admit in their Press that the Communists in 1926 carried on a spirited agitation in favour of the trade unions, shows that the C.P. of Germany is following the right lines in its work in the trade unions. This work would be more successful if the 20 per cent. of the Party who are still outside the unions were to become active inside the unions, and if the existing fractions were to work better than they did in 1926. I think it is necessary to emphasise that the successes obtained in the trade unions in the course of the last few years are the result of the existence of Communist fractions inside the unions, although their work is still far from being good.

Fractions in the Trade Unions

(3) In England the members of the Communist Party in all mass organisations, including, of course, the trade unions, are organised in fractions. It appears from the reports of the Organisation Conference of the C.P.G.B. which took place in October, 1926, that there are 84 fractions in London (there were 30 in 1925) of which 60 report regularly on their activities. In Man-

chester there are eight trade union fractions, and in Liverpool 32 fractions in the unions and six fractions on Trades Councils. There are also Communist trade union fractions in other districts. Reports from America state that there were 184 Communist fractions in different unions in August, 1926, with a membership of 2,885. In October of the same year there were 329 fractions.

According to the report of comrade Hais, the leader of the Red trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia, there are Communist fractions in 754 out of a total of 2,200 branches of the Red trade unions. As for the reformist Czech and German trade unions, the work of organising the members of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia who are within those unions is in full progress.

In Germany there are already 14 Communist National Union fractions (up to the present nothing has been heard from them, and we do not know how and of whom they are composed). Besides that there are 72 district trade union fractions (in a few of the large unions their work, according to the reports of the trade union department of the C.C., is not at all bad).

There are 300 local fractions in the Metal Workers' Union. (The union itself has a total of 600 local organisations.) There are also Communist fractions in the Miners' Union, but exact figures concerning these are not available. There are 60 Communist fractions in the Textile Workers' Union, 87 in the Chemical Workers' Union, etc.

There are then trade union fractions already in existence, if not everywhere. Now what about their activity?

The Ruhr district committee states in its report of October 6th, 1926, that there are 213 trade union fractions in the Ruhr district, of which 40 per cent. work very badly, 40 per cent. work not particularly well, and 20 per cent. work very well. (The percentage of fractions not working relative to those working badly is not only in Germany, but in all other countries, higher than the percentage of factory groups not working relative to those working badly.) If 20 per cent. of the Communist fractions are working well it shows that Communist work in the trade unions is possible: it has only to be done effectively.

Cause of Bad Work

But why do the Communist fractions in the trade unions function so badly?

One of the causes is that the fractions do not include all Communist trade union members, and all members of the fraction do not turn up to fraction meetings.

In the Pennsylvania district of the United Mine Workers of America there are 650 Communists, of whom only 75 are in the fraction. In Berlin in January, 1927, of the 14,000 Party trade unionists only 1,026 took part in the fraction meetings. The fraction in the German Metal Workers' Union, Stuttgart district, includes 209 comrades. Not more than 10 per cent., however, take part in the meetings. At the last general meeting of the union in Frankfurt only four out of 209 Communists were present.

In Itzehoe (Germany) at the general meeting to elect the executive, the principal officer, a candidate of the social-democrats, received 25 votes, the Communist opposing candidate received 12 votes; in the election for the second officer, the social-democrat received 18 and the Communist 17 votes; but only 4 out of the 20 Communists in the union were present at the meeting. If all the 20 Communists had been present at the meeting, both the posts would have been gained by the Communists. In the principal factories in Nippes (Middle Rhine), the Communist candidates' list fell through completely, because 25 Party members did not turn up at the election meeting. I could appeal to many such facts, and referring not only to Germany, but I believe that the instances already given will suffice.

Importance of Fraction Work Not made Clear

The cause of this defect is that the Party organisations have not taken it upon themselves to make clear to the existing fractions their importance, and to show them how practical work must be done. The Party committees do not control the work of the fractions systematically. Later on I shall deal with the connection between the Communist fractions and the trade union departments, which were created for the

purpose of guiding and controlling the work of the fractions. Chemnitz reports good work on the part of the Communist fractions. I should like to bring forward one more example which proves that positive results follow from good work. In the Chemnitz Clothing Workers' Union, the executive, which had a Communist majority in 1925, was not re-elected. The Communist fraction at the time consisted of 18 comrades: they immediately took over the functions of trade union treasurer. In February, 1926, the Executive of the Chemnitz Clothing Workers' Union again had a majority of Communists. What does this example show? The Communists, who had a majority on the Executive, were inactive and consequently lost that majority. When, however, they took over small trade union jobs, they regained their positions. This example is very significant. It shows how necessary organisational work in the trade unions is.

We see then that when the Communists in their work come into contact with the mass of trade union members, that work shows good results

Members Must Work Actively to Support Correct Demands

Unfortunately it often happens that our comrades, although they make the right demands, corresponding to the interests of the masses, do nothing among the unorganised workers and the trade unionists to further these demands. In the Ruhr district, for example, the C.P. in their fight against the lengthening of the seven-hour shift put forward the slogan, which was very popular among the miners: "From April 1st, 1927, all work in the pits after seven hours will cease." The C.P. in the Ruhr district, however, did insufficient work among the miners and the trade union organisations to force similar resolutions from the mining union controlled by the reformists to draw them into the struggle for the seven-hour day. Such work was even more essential since the delegate conference of miners in the Ruhr area took place on the 20th March.

If it was desired to carry through the seven-hour shift, extremely active work among the miners, with

the object of exercising pressure on the union, was absolutely essential, for it was clear that if the union gave no support to the Communist demands, only a small section of the miners, members and sympathisers of the C.P. would answer the Communist appeal; the mass of the miners, under present conditions, would not do so, and the Communist slogan of a seven-hour shift would remain merely a slogan. Had there been, however, well-timed mobilisation of the masses, good results could have been attained for the workers, in spite of the sabotage of the reformists. This has often been confirmed in wages and hours of labour disputes.

Lack of Experience in Tactics—Some Examples

How inexperienced the Communists are with regard to work in the trade unions and how little they understand how to counteract the cunning manœuvres of the Social Democratic officials by quickly grasping the situation and by adopting the correct course, the following examples will show:

The first example is drawn from the report of a comrade in the trade union department of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party on the conference of the officials of the Miners' Union in the Hindenburg district (Upper Silesia). Among the 360 who participated in the Conference, 16 or 17 were Communists, but according to the statement of the local Party organisation there should have been not less than 65 Communists present. And the comrades who did attend the Conference brought forward, together with resolutions on very important subjects which were intelligible to the miners, such as wage demands, wage agreements, overtime, contract work and unemployment, a resolution of no confidence against the social-democratic chairman of the local branch of the union. The Communists had previously fixed their speakers on all these questions. Five comrades were to speak on the principal questions. Instead of pressing the most important resolutions to the foreground, our comrades allowed themselves to be tricked by the manœuvres of the social-democratic committee, who decided to place the greatest emphasis on the resolution of no confidence before dealing with the very important questions concerning the miners. As though it were not enough that the Communists

allowed themselves to be caught by this manœuvre of the social-democrats, they put up at this point only one speaker, whom the social-democrats attacked with all their might. The social-democrats succeeded in evading a treatment of the main questions, and avoided any serious criticism on the part of the Communists. The resolution of no confidence could not be put forward convincingly, and fell through. After this defeat the Communists even refrained from voting against the resolutions proposed by the social-democrats on other questions, a fact which was used to its fullest extent by the latter in their agitation against the C.P.

The second instance occurred during the conference of the Miners' Union in Halle, on January 1st, 1927. The Communists who took part in the Conference went so far as to vote with the social-democrats on social-democratic resolutions which were obviously directed against the Communist Party and in connection with a vote of thanks to the reformist leaders of the union, put forward the demand that political parties should not interfere in the **economic** questions of the working class.

Loss of Influence

It is not to be wondered at, when such things happen, that the Communists are losing their influence in a few unions.

As "Vorwaerts" reports, not one Communist was elected in six important Upper Silesian towns in the last district elections of the Metal Workers' Union, although in 1924 the Metal Workers' Union in those towns was completely in the hands of the Communists. Of the three Communists who remained on the committee from the previous year, not one was re-elected. In the Upper Silesian factory councils' elections the Communists also came off badly. These failures can only be explained by bad Party work in the trade unions.

The mistakes which the Communist trade union fractions make in their work can be traced chiefly to the lack of support and lack of correct guidance in their work on the part of the Party departments responsible for the work in trade unions.

With what Should Trade Union Fractions Deal?

(4) The Communist fractions in the trade unions are not only not receiving proper Party guidance, their methods of work are wrong. The Second International Organisational Conference analysed in detail the question of creating Communist fractions in the trade unions and of their methods of work. It analysed in detail the question of "trade union days" which were practised primarily in Germany. In Germany, for instance, the factory groups met once or twice a month, but the Communist fractions in the trade unions all met on a certain day in every week. (At present we have "trade union days" in Berlin once in three or four weeks, with the same agenda for all trade union fractions.) What did the Communist fractions do on their "trade union days"? They discussed the questions of "Ford or Marx," economic democracy, the general tariff policy, and various other "big" questions. Of course, our comrades must know these questions. But is it proper that Communist textile workers, miners, carpenters, in short, the Communists employed in various trades should discuss these questions separately? These questions concern **all** workers alike. Why can they not be discussed in the factory groups at the general Party meetings or by the Party committees?

Alterations Necessary

The Social-Democratic workers come to the factories and speak about economic democracy and about the general tariff policy of the A.D.G.B., and all members of the Communist Party must therefore know how to answer these questions. But regular "trade union days," when Party members get together in their Communist fractions, are injurious. They distract the factory groups, the Party aggregate meetings and the Party committees from the consideration of trade union questions, with the result that it is very often difficult to discern any difference between the Communists and reformists on trade union questions. Furthermore, they are a source of danger because the Communist fractions in the trade unions discuss at their periodical meetings big questions concerning the general policy of the trade unions, instead of getting together before the meetings, conferences and con-

gresses of the trade unions and considering those questions which are on the agenda at such meetings and conferences, and defining Communist tactics for the said meetings and conferences. It is quite possible that this is the reason why the Communists do not attend trade union meetings and conferences regularly, as has been already indicated.

At the session of March 17th of the Presidium of the Ruhr district committee a comrade rightly remarked during the discussion on the causes of the poor participation of Communists in the work of the trade unions: "The Communist fractions are still too much engaged in parliamentary work; their work has nothing to do with the practical side of trade unionism."

"Trade union days" must be discontinued, and in their place Communist fractions should meet on the eve of trade union meetings and conferences and discuss the questions which are on the agenda of those meetings and conferences, decide on the tactics of the fraction and what proposals to make and who should speak on behalf of the fraction. The fractions must also draw up their lists of candidates if elections are to take place. In short, the fractions must consider all questions connected with the trade union meetings and conferences.

The German Communists have already adopted this method in some places, but not everywhere by a long way. So we must admit here that the German comrades have not yet discarded their "trade union days." As far as the other sections are concerned, they have so far done very little in adopting correct methods of work. If the Communist fractions discussed on the eve of the sessions of some of the executives of their trade unions the questions on their agenda, and decided their attitude to those questions, preparing their own resolutions, they could become a powerful factor. Even if their proposals were rejected the Communists would gain an opportunity to agitate for their proposals in the factories.

It is absolutely necessary to make radical changes in trade union methods of work, without which it will be very difficult to make any progress. The central and district Party committees must establish their policy for trade union work, analyse the big trade

union questions, and wherever necessary raise some of those questions for discussion in the Party organisation. Communists who work in the trade unions must fulfil the decisions of the Party organs in the trade unions.

We Must have Correct Leadership of the Fractions

(5) The question of leading the Communist fractions in the trade unions is still far from being regulated, in spite of the fact that the First and Second International Organisational Conferences discussed these questions and adopted definite decisions for the guidance of Communist fractions.

The bureaux of the Communist fractions in the trade unions are not formed from among those comrades who actually work in the trade unions. The Party committees place at the head of the Communist fractions good Communists, who, however, do not fully understand trade union work, hence our Communist fractions are occupied with abstract questions, as they have no concrete material by which to solve every-day trade union problems. This situation still exists.

Of course, there are cases when comrades working in the trade unions do much harm to the Party. Our German comrades have supplied us with such examples. Thus, some Party members, working in the trade unions, refused to introduce the Party proposals concerning the election of delegates to the Workers' Congress at the sessions of their respective trade union managing boards. But the German and Czech comrades report that if the comrades who actually work in the trade unions are at the head of the fractions and lead them, we get good results. Of course, we shall still have many difficulties with comrades elected to trade union executives, since they work mostly on their own without getting sufficient guidance from the Party committees. Owing to this fact they deviate in their trade union work, and often do not properly understand the Party decisions on trade union questions. From this, however, it does not follow that they must be removed from the leadership of the fractions. They know exactly how trade union questions are solved, they know on the basis of what material they could easily make their proposals to the trade union managing boards, and how to supply the groups

and individual Communists deputed to do trade union work with the necessary material for speeches, etc. The Party committees must therefore take all precautions to ensure that the comrades who work in the trade union executives should have closer connection with the Party. The Party committees must bring pressure to bear on each one individually, so that they carry out the Party policy and instructions. It is no use having comrades on the executives if they do not carry out the Party decisions.

If the Communist Parties remove all Communists from their trade union posts because they do not comprehend the Party trade union policy (although the Party committees have done very little to guide them), and establish fraction executives of people not really active in the trade unions, the work of the fractions will not improve and there will be no progress made in our trade union work. Only those who refuse to carry out our Party policy in the trade unions after the Party committees have made every effort to make them do so should be removed from trade union posts.

Communists Must be Workers

(6) In those trade union organisations where Communists have a majority, they must prove that they **work better** than the reformist trade unions. The trade union organisations under the Communist leadership must work better and give more concrete material for the struggle against the reformists. This is absolutely essential, but so far this is not yet the case in Germany. I should like to quote from a report of the Trade Union Department of the C.C., C.P. of Germany:

"Only in ten instances were we able to organise unemployed demonstrations jointly with the local trade unions. This is a very serious state of affairs considering that 70 local trade unions are headed by Communists."

This is how the Communist Party of Germany conducts an extensive campaign in favour of the unemployed. It is a fact that only ten trade union councils of those having Communist majorities participated in the demonstrations. The remaining sixty did not participate, and did not carry out the Party instructions.

The Railway Workers' Union in Gleiwitz elected a social-democratic president, although all other members of the board are Communists. In Dresden there were seven Communists and five Social-Democrats elected in one factory committee. The Communists not only elected a Social-Democratic chairman of the factory committee, but of the four delegates elected to the committee of the Dresden enterprises, three were Social-Democrats and only one Communist. In Buer the comrades of the trade union department of the Party committee report that a Social-Democrat was elected to the control council of the State mines, although the Communists have a majority in the Presidium of the joint committee of all State mines. I have heard of no instance in which the Social-Democrats would elect a Communist chairman or a member of the Presidium if they were in the majority. I purposely cited several examples so that the comrades may not think that they are merely chance cases. These phenomena, as well as the instances in which Party members refused to participate at the elections of officials in the trade unions and factory committees, are not exceptional cases. They prove that not all local organisations of the Communist Party in Germany understand how it is possible and necessary to utilise these basic positions for the extension of Party influence by means of energetic and skilful work.

That is by no means a purely German phenomenon. In a letter from the trade union department of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia to the Reichenburg Party Conference on 20th September, 1926, the following passage occurs:

"The influence of the Party is also felt in the reformist unions: some local trade unions are entirely under Communist leadership, but these possibilities are not utilised."

Why Fractions Do not Work Well

(7) Why do the fractions work badly? Trade union departments have been organised in all Communist Parties for the purpose of improving the leadership of the trade union fractions, but these departments try to perform the work which the fractions should do, instead of building, directing, controlling and instructing the fractions in their work. No matter how large the trade

union department may be, it is unable to perform all the work directly. In many countries the industrial departments of the Central Committees are not even connected with the district trade union departments, and the latter have no contact with the local trade union departments. I have before me comrade Zwicker's instructors' report on his investigation of the town committees of the Ruhr. He investigated fifteen Communist trade union fractions in one town, and found that only three of them had close contact with the town trade union department. In all other instances there were either no connections whatever or those that existed were unsatisfactory. The trade union department of the Ruhr District Committee was not connected with all trade union departments of the town committees. Under such conditions the fractions received no instructions, and were left to their own fate. How can the trade union department of a town committee give material to the trade union fractions and establish a policy which the fractions must follow in their work, if it is badly connected with the district trade union department and receives no instructions from it?

This abnormal relation between the trade union departments of the Party Committees and the Communist trade union fractions, this lack of guidance for the fractions from the Party committees (trade union departments) and the absence of contact between the trade union departments of the district committee and those of the local committees result in considerable defects in the trade union work of the Communists.

A Report on the Ruhr

The organisation department of the E.C.C.I. recently received a report from an instructor who visited the Ruhr district Party organisation in March, 1927. The instructor reports:

"Yesterday (20-3-27) a delegate conference of Ruhr miners was held in Bochum. Delegates were elected in 60 trade union branches by the committees of those branches. The election results were as follows: Only about 10 Communists were elected out of a total of 500 delegates. It stands to reason that the conference attracted the attention of the whole 400,000 miners of the Ruhr

district. However, the Ruhr district committee did not know how many or which Communists had been elected. It did not draft any directions for the Communist delegates. Moreover, some of the responsible members of the district committee did not know that such a conference was to take place. The conference discussed the acceptance or rejection of the wage scale proposed by the arbitration court. On learning about the opening of the conference the district committee decided to circulate 500 copies of the Party paper, specifying our demands concerning the questions involved. This was to be its entire activity but willy nilly we had to occupy ourselves with the conference."

It can be seen from the information with regard to the Middle Rhine district that questions of the economic struggle between the workers and the employers of the Rhineland were not dealt with by the district committee, and that the D.P.C. made no decisions on this matter, although the trade unions were negotiating the renewal of the wage agreements. As can be seen from the Upper Silesian reports, the instructions and directions of the trade union department of the Party committee during the young workers' strike in Mikultschütz did not reach the groups. A report already quoted in paragraph 3 of the section dealing with the work of fractions states, that the instructions of the trade union department with regard to the struggle for an increase in wages and a shortening of the working day, only reached the Communist members of the executive of the Miners' Union three weeks after they had been decided upon by the Party committee.

A report from Upper Silesia says that the district committee learned about the elections in a big factory which employs 1,700 workers after the elections were over, in spite of the fact that the factory is only a few paces from the Party headquarters, and in spite of the fact that a number of the district committee and a member of the trade union department are working in that factory.

This state of affairs must be overcome. The bad work of the trade union departments is also one of the reasons why Communists work badly in the trade unions and have little influence in them.

When the greatest possible number of Party members work in the trade unions, and when this work is supported by the trade union departments, then the Communists will be able to compete with the reformists in this sphere and will be able to win over the mass of trade unionists. If, however, our methods of trade union work are not changed, then the workers will not follow the Communist Party and during elections in the unions will vote for those who really do work in the trade unions, i.e., for the reformists. For the workers never, or very seldom, see the Communists doing trade union work; they do not know what the Communists are doing in the unions, and, therefore, follow the social-democrats, although they are betrayed by them day in and day out. I have tried, on the basis of the very incomplete material at my disposal (referring mainly to Germany) to show why the work of the Communists in the trade unions progresses not at all or only very slowly.

Where the Trade Union Movement is Split

(8) In those countries where the class trade union movement is split up and there are red trade unions affiliated to the R.I.L.U. (France, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland), the Communists either do no work in the reformist trade unions whatever (France, Holland) or do so inadequately (Czecho-Slovakia). When the red trade unions were organised in France almost all Communists left the Amsterdam trade unions and joined the red unions. In Czecho-Slovakia, as I have already pointed out, 9,101, out of a total of 45,575, Party members belong to the Czech and German Amsterdam trade unions, which have a total membership of 574,006. The red trade unions, which embrace 201,035 members, have 35,653 Communists in their midst. Side by side with the Amsterdam and red trade unions there are in a number of countries (Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Poland, Belgium, Italy) Catholic and Christian trade unions, organising hundreds of thousands of workers. The Communist Parties, however, do no work in those unions whatever.

A few figures relating to these organisations are given herewith (they are taken from the official sources of these organisations). The Christian trade unions

of Italy, before Mussolini's campaign against the anti-fascist organisations (among which the Catholics were included) numbered 1,200,000 members.

In Germany the Catholic and Christian trade unions have about 700,000 members. In Belgium the Christian trade unions had in 1925, 150,000 members, and 17 branches of the Dutch Catholic trade unions had at the beginning of 1927, 90,530 members. The Christian and Christian-Socialist, Czech and German trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia have 134,054 members; add to these the National Socialist trade unions, with a membership of 307,296, there are only 821 Communists in all these non-class trade unions in Czecho-Slovakia, while in the other countries there are not even that many. Besides, the Catholic and other Christian parties have their own trade unions and also their youth, women and peasant organisations. They have their own daily papers with a large circulation, and they receive a tremendous number of votes during elections. The Catholic "Centre Party" of Germany received at the last parliamentary elections in December, 1924, 4,118,000 votes, many of which were workers' votes.

Communists Must Work in All Unions

The influence which the Christian, National Socialist and Catholic Parties have on the working men and women can be destroyed, or at least reduced, if the Communists would join their trade unions and carry on proper work in them, because the leaders of the Catholic and similar trade unions do not defend the interests of the trade union membership. In some organisations of the Catholic Centre in Germany the workers organised a workers' opposition. In the report of the Ruhr district organisation on March 17th, 1927, which I have already quoted before, we read the following:

"The comrades admit that the reports of the delegates of the Catholic Centre who returned from the U.S.S.R. had great success among the workers of their organisations. It has now become possible for the Communists to attend the meetings of the Catholic Centre and to address them."

The Communist Parties of those countries where

there are non-class trade unions must begin at once systematic work in those unions, side by side with the more intensive activities in the Amsterdam trade unions.

I think it opportune to say a few words about the Fascist trade unions in Italy. In Italy the broad masses of workers are forced to join the Fascist trade unions, as trade union dues to these organisations are obligatory and are deducted from the workers' pay against their will; furthermore, there is no work to be got if the workers do not belong to the Fascist trade unions. The Communist Party of Italy must therefore do all in its power to strengthen its positions in the Fascist trade union organisations. It is pointed out with full justice that the Fascist trade unions are not democratic organisations; their secretaries are not elected but appointed by the Fascist authorities, general trade union membership meetings are not held, etc., nevertheless, the Communist Party can and should work in these organisations. Communists can say to the workers: "You workers belong to the Fascist trade unions; they deduct trade union dues from your pay, but they never take you into account, they decide all trade union questions without you; the Fascists speak on your behalf, they lengthen your working day and cut your wages, although you have not authorised them to do so—demand, therefore, that your trade unions should be organised democratically, demand that trade union meetings should be held, adopt resolutions demanding that trade union secretaries be elected, etc." The Italian workers are accustomed to democratic forms of trade union organisation. Here are hidden the opportunities which the Communist Party can and must utilise. This is one of the means which gives the Communist Party the opportunity to undermine the Fascist trade unions.

Sharing the Work

The questions of dividing the work among the Party members, and particularly among the active Party members in the sections of the Communist International, is of vital importance. From the material which the organisation department received from the sections it is clear that the Party members are overburdened, and that, therefore, the work of the com-

rades in some of the mass organisations is conducted badly. Party members must belong to numerous organisations in order to carry out the Party policy in them, and in order to lead those organisations along their class lines. We have figures concerning Party membership in the various proletarian organisations only from Czecho-Slovakia, which, however, are also incomplete. Of the 92,691 Party members about which the C.C. of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia has any statistical data we have the following figures:

In the trade unions	...	...	...	...	45,575
" International Red Aid	...	...	...	...	23,670
" Co-operatives	...	...	...	...	27,320
Working men's sport organisations	...	...	...	...	16,160
Atheist organisations	...	...	...	...	12,002
Poor peasant organisations	...	...	...	...	1,886
War invalid organisations	...	...	...	...	2,382
Tenant leagues	...	...	...	...	2,294
Fire brigades	...	...	...	...	6,394
Others	...	...	...	...	2,050

Overburdening Members and Discouraging Sympathisers

All these organisations have their meetings and sessions, and in so far as the same Party members belong to several of them, they are over-burdened with meetings. This is particularly the case with the more active members. In the printed report of the Berlin-Brandenburg District Committee covering the period from July 1st to December 31st, 1926, we find the following figures concerning the meetings and sessions of the Communist trade union fractions:

Central "trade union days"	...	...	...	...	146
Fraction meetings	...	...	...	...	40
Fraction executives	...	...	...	...	185
Craft fractions	...	...	...	...	213
District fraction meetings	...	...	...	...	352
Fraction trade union sections...	...	...	...	...	39
Trade union department of the district committee	...	...	...	...	6
Secretaries of fraction executives, together with heads of trade union departments of local committees	...	...	...	...	6
Heads of trade union departments of ward (section) committees	...	...	...	...	3

Communist members of local trade union managing boards	...	...	...	3
Fractions of local trade union councils	...	...	...	4
Communist trade union officials	...	...	...	1
State employees	...	...	...	2
Communist railway workers	...	...	...	1
Miners (42 Communists were present)	...	...	...	2

These figures refer to the meetings and sessions of the Communist fractions in the trade unions, and many of those who participated at these meetings had to also attend the trade union meetings. Many Party members belonging to other organisations had to attend the meetings of the fractions and the general membership meetings of those organisations as well. This takes up all the Party members' free time.

Worst of all is the fact that this is approved by and embodied in the plans of the local organisations. These organisations think that if a Party member has less than 30 meetings a month, according to the plan, then it is not a Bolshevik plan. As a matter of fact, when a worker joins the Party, he must attend some meeting or other every day. He comes home late every evening and is not free even on Sunday. The Communist Parties erect a Chinese wall between themselves and the workers, as the latter, even if they do sympathise with the Party, do not want to take such burdens on themselves.

The Necessity of Leisure

What should the Communist Parties do in order to improve the situation? They must establish such a system that the comrades should have some free time at their disposal, so that they may be able to read, etc. It stands to reason that all members, without exception, must belong to the trade unions and actively participate in their work, but as far as such organisations, as, for instance, the Red ex-Soldiers' League, is concerned, the Party must so organise its activities that only a part of the membership should work in them. The others may carry on their work in the co-operatives, sport organisations, etc. The work must be so distributed that no individual comrade should have too many obligations. This is necessary in order to draw in greater numbers of Party members into the active work of the Party. The situ-

ation now is such that all Party members must belong to the mass organisations without their work being divided up and without receiving any instructions as to who should carry on continuous work in one organisation and who in the other. The result is that every comrade thinks that there are many Communists in every given organisation, and that there is no reason for him to attend meetings if they can do without him, and whenever the presence of the Party members at such organisation meeting is absolutely necessary we find that either no one or very few turn up, which prevents the adoption of necessary resolutions.

What Must We Do?

What, then, is to be done in order properly to organise Communist work in the trade unions?

In my opinion, the following measures must be put into effect:

(a) All Communists must join the trade unions of their given trades and form fractions in them.

(b) The Communist fractions must be under the leadership of comrades who work in the trade union movement.

(c) The Communist fractions in the trade unions must deal chiefly with those questions which concern their trade unions.

The meetings of the Communist fractions should, as a rule, be held before the meetings, conferences and congresses of their trade unions.

The local committees, district committees and central committees of the Communist Parties (through their trade union departments) decide on the policy which must be adopted by the Communist fractions at the meetings, sessions, conferences and congresses of trade unions; they must call together the Communist fraction executives and functionaries of the respective trade unions before the trade union congresses and conferences in order to discuss the most important questions and elaborate the necessary material on the basis of which the comrades should act at those sessions, conferences and congresses.

(d) Special meetings of the Communist trade union fractions called periodically and simultaneously (trade

union days), with a uniform agenda to discuss questions of general interest to all trade unions and the entire Party, are inexpedient and injurious.

Such questions should be discussed at the Party organisations and committees (factory group meetings, local aggregate and district meetings, etc.), and only after these questions have been discussed by the central or district committees.

(e) The local trade union organisations (trade union branches and Trades Councils) in which the Communists form the majority must become the basis for good trade union work in the given trade union throughout the district and the whole country. In order to be able to perform the functions here enumerated it is necessary to establish good contact between the Communist fractions within each union.

The respective Party committees must devote serious attention and render the greatest possible support to the Communist fractions which have majorities in the trade union organs.

(f) Firm contact must be established between the trade union department of the C.C. and the trade union departments of the district committees, and between the latter and the trade union departments of the town committees.

The trade union departments of the Party committees lead, control and direct the work of the fractions in the trade unions, without, however, themselves performing that work for them.

(g) The factory groups must take every measure to win the trade union delegates in the enterprises regardless as to the tendency of the trade union (Amsterdam, Catholic, Christian, National Socialist, etc.), to which they belong. The Communists must actively perform the every-day detailed work of the trade union delegates in order to satisfy the demands of the workers; they must not restrict their activities to criticising the trade union bureaucracy.

Only through sincere, persistent and skilful daily work can the Communist trade union delegates win the confidence of the workers in the factories. If we carry out correct trade union work in the factories the

reformists will not be able to expel active Communists from the trade unions for their trade union work as they have done hitherto.

The groups, the Party committees and local committees must render energetic support to trade union Communist delegates.

(h) The Communists must organise their fractions in the red trade unions not only in the managing boards and Presidiums, but in all branches of the organisation, just as in the other trade unions. Paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) above apply also to the red trade unions.

(i) In those countries where there are red trade unions (Czecho-Slovakia, France, Holland, etc.), and where Communist work in other trade union organisations (reformist, Christian, Catholic and National Socialists) is weak, it is necessary that the Party members should be shifted by the Party committees to the latter trade unions, even if they must withdraw them from the red trade unions.

(j) The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries must recruit members not only for the red, but also for the reformist trade unions. The more members they have in the unions, the greater their influence in the respective unions.

(k) The groups, locals, section and district committees must divide their work between the Party members in such a manner that some members should not be over-burdened while others are free altogether; the latter distribution of Party duties undoubtedly interferes with the proper organisation of Communist work in the mass organisations, including also the trade unions.

In taking the measures enumerated above, with the purpose of improving Communist work in the trade unions, the sections of the C.I. will be able to prevent the reformist trade union leaders from betraying the workers, including joint agreements with the employers, or during strikes, and in this manner they will free the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic, Catholic, Christian, National Socialist and Fascist parties.

Correct Organisation has Begun, but Must be Completed

The sections of the C.I. scored great successes in 1926 in transforming their organisations, which resembled Social-Democratic organisations, into capable fighting bodies. The first four months of 1927 have shown that the Communist Parties are proceeding along the same lines. If we remember that part of comrade Lenin's speech at the fourth Congress of the Comintern, in which he referred to the organisation resolution, written with his direct participation and adopted by the third Congress of the C.I.—comrade Lenin considered that resolution very important—it will become clear what achievements we already have in the sections of the C.I. in spite of the still prevailing shortcomings which I have pointed out in these articles. Comrade Lenin said that the foreign comrades must understand "what we wrote about the organisational structure of the Communist Parties and what the foreign comrades signed without reading and understanding. This must become their foremost task. This resolution must be carried into effect."

Comrade Lenin anticipated that this would not be an easy matter, and that successes in this sphere would not be attained all at once. He pointed this out in the same speech by saying: "This cannot be done overnight, that is impossible."

It cannot be maintained that all Communist Parties have already adopted Bolshevik methods of organisation, but beginning with the fifth Congress of the C.I. they have really been definitely engaged in bringing into effect those organisational principles about which Lenin spoke at the fourth Congress.

We can now definitely say that the organisational principles of the Bolshevik Party, which was under Lenin's leadership, have been found absolutely applicable in all the Communist Parties in capitalist countries.

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