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## **Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.**

*(Detailed Report)*

**Seventeenth Session, March 11th, 1926.**

### **Report on the Organisation Conference.**

Chairman, Comrade Smeral.

Reporter, Comrade Dahlem:

The Org. Conference, which met one week before the Enlarged Executive, was carefully prepared, so that the comrades who came here, could get a good idea of the real status of the organisational work in the various Sections.

The practice of the last years has confirmed the correctness of the organisational decisions of the Fifth World Congress and of the First Org. Conference of March 1925. This first Org. Conference laid down general policies for the structure of the Parties from the nucleus up to the C. C., and drew up international model statutes. At the first Org. Conference there were still some difficulties, restrictions and a certain scepticism in a number of Sections toward the structure of the various Parties on the basis of factory nuclei. The experiences which were made in this one year in large Sections such as Germany, France, Great Britain and Czecho-Slovakia, have clearly proved that the factory nuclei are not a Russian speciality, as many of the opponents of the factory nuclei said, but that they represent a typical organisational form for the Sections in the capitalist countries as well. The nuclei are still working in a deficient manner, they still have many weaknesses, but we must state that over and against the residential organisations, the new nucleus organisation has already indisputable results and progress to show, and that within the various Sections there are no longer any serious opponents to the reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei.

The most important experiences made in the various Sections are the following:

1) Through the reorganisation we gained a better approach to the broadest masses of workers and obtained a better grip of the masses by the campaigns of the Party. The Second Org. Conference gave a great many examples of how well the nuclei

worked in various campaigns, for instance, the French nuclei in the fight against the Moroccan War, the nuclei in Germany in preparing for the delegation to Russia, in the various elections, and just now in the campaign for the expropriation of the royalty; the British nuclei in preparing for "Red Friday". These experiences have been collected and will be published in a special number of the Inprekorr.

The second great experience resulting from the reorganisation is that the reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei provides the preliminary condition for carrying on our trade union work, because the masses organised in the trade unions are all gathered together in the factory, because in a great number of Sections the trade unions are organised on a factory basis, for instance in Germany. There the trade union shop delegates and factory councillors constitute practically the whole lower apparatus of the trade unions. Trade union work is 90% factory work. Only from the factory can we gain entrance into the trade unions, only by the work of the factory nuclei can we win the masses over to join the trade unions and to work in the trade unions. And another thing; only in the factory can we beat the Social Democrats.

I wish to give an example to emphasise this. A nucleus in Lanarkshire, in England, a mine nucleus writes the following in its report:

"Our nucleus had only one member at first. In the recruiting campaign 12 more joined him, and we went to work. The mine was badly organised. Only about 25% of the people were in the trade unions. The nucleus met and discussed this question. The result was that we went to the mine committee and compelled it to conduct an active campaign for the slogan "Back to the trade unions". By individual work we succeeded in raising the percentage of trade unionists from 25% to 90%".

Many such examples were given at the Org. Conference, showing that the work of the nucleus brought the employees

into the trade unions. An example from Germany shows how the whole lower apparatus of the trade unions can be won over by the work of the factory nucleus. A Berlin metal factory writes:

"In the last reduction of the staff down to 300 men, our comrades were thrown onto the street and the S. P. D. got the factory into its hand. The number of employees was then raised again to 2,000. Thus we got into a position to form a nucleus again which conducted systematic work. Gradually we succeeded in getting control again of the functionary apparatus, so that now we have 22 and the S. P. D. 12 seats. This work was considerably accelerated and supported by our nucleus paper."

Another great experience which the reorganisation gave us in the various Sections, is the following: the reorganisation of the residential organisation on the basis of the factory nuclei means the widening of the basis, the increase of the membership of the various Parties. By the work of the nucleus in the factory it creates a circle of sympathisers. From this circle of sympathisers, new members are gradually won.

Another important experience is that through the reorganisation of the residential organisations on the basis of the nucleus, a better social composition of our Party was obtained. At the Org. Conference practically all the Sections reported that in the capitalist countries of Western Europe the Parties are based on the middle-sized and small factories, and have only very little influence in the big decisive factories and concerns. That applies especially to Germany, France and Great Britain.

Through the reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, through the work of the Party executive in support of the nucleus in the large factories, we will get the factories in our hands. We formerly had them in our hands to some extent. In consequence of the tremendous terror of the employers which prevails in most of the capitalist countries, and as a result of victimisation etc., we have been driven somewhat out of the factories. And also because the Social Democrats clearly sense the danger with which the nucleus is menacing them, and proceed to denounce our comrades in the factories and to throw them out. What the organ of the Swedish Social Democrats wrote is typical in this respect. When it began to feel that our Swedish comrades were overcoming the influence of the Social Democrats in the factories by the work of our nuclei it wrote:

"These new abominable Bolshevik methods (factory nuclei, street nuclei, village nuclei, factory papers, fractions) must be ruthlessly exposed..."

The best solution is to destroy the nucleus structure and render it ineffective, especially by the attention of the Social Democrats in the trade unions. No mercy for those who are aiming at destroying the moral and organisational power of the labour movement. Away with the nuclei."

That is the attitude of the Social Democrats, who are everywhere opposing our nuclei.

Another experience gained through our reorganisation is that the nucleus organisation is the best Communist organisation under illegal conditions. Even now, in legal times, our nuclei in the capitalist countries must work underground, carefully, skilfully, and we have seen in all our practical experience that under the compulsion of finding methods against the employers and the police, we are obtaining really good cadres of factory workers whom we know will come up to the scratch in the revolutionary fights. In the residential organisations, on the contrary, it was revealed that in times of civil war and illegality, they are useless to a great extent.

I would like to give an example from Germany. After October 1923, when the Party became illegal, the residential organisations were in part destroyed, another part disappeared, and what was worst and most typical, the executives had no connection with the factories.

Furthermore, and that is one of the most important experiences, the nuclei guarantee that the line of the Comintern will be carried out. This line consists in the present period in the formation of the united front, of the left wing in the labour movement. Only the organisation in the factory, only the factory, only the factory nucleus, can furnish the basis for carrying out

the policy of the Comintern. By the reorganisation of the Party, the best elements from the factory nucleus come into the Executive.

Hence, when the sound and good elements thus gain the upper hand in all the executives, the Right and ultra-left deviations have no more basis, or at most have very little basis in these executives.

Why do comrades Loriot, Ruth Fischer, Scholem and Bordiga want to get back to these old residential organisations? Because they had a place there where they could make "revolutionary" phrases, where words did not have to be immediately backed up by deeds, while in the nuclei, every slogan of the work must immediately be transformed into practical work. Whenever any campaign of the Party is discussed in the nucleus, there is also immediately discussed how this campaign is to be conducted in the factory. It is no accident that in the various Sections, the Right, as well as the ultra-Left are being defeated by the factory nuclei.

In Berlin Ruth Fischer and Scholem were defeated by the factory nuclei. The District Executive of Berlin-Brandenburg and a great many administrative district executives at first vacillated and rejected the Open letter. But when the first conference of chairmen of Berlin nuclei came together, it accepted the E. C. C. I. letter unanimously and demanded the immediate reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, which was done. Thus a whole new cadre of factory functionaries was created at one stroke in all the factories and executives in Berlin.

We are still at the commencement of the nucleus work of the reorganisation in the various Sections. We must work specially toward getting into the large factories and supporting the comrades working there. The factory nuclei are not yet developed. The majority of them are still politically inactive and concern themselves too much with purely factory questions. The entire Party work is not yet performed in the nuclei. There are difficulties in the way, the terror of the employers, and in countries like Great Britain and Germany the sharp economic crisis and unemployment, but comrades, neither the terror nor the unemployment are an argument against the reorganisation, but on the contrary, are the decisive reason for the necessity of the transference of the old organisation onto the new basis.

The lessons of the great struggles of the past show that if we have not got the factories behind us during economic and particularly in acute revolutionary situations the trade union bureaucracy is strong enough to sabotage the movement.

### Structure and Work of the Nuclei.

Now I would like to go into the individual points on the agenda; first of all the discussions on the structure and work of the factory nuclei. We have still a great deal to do, in order to make our factory nuclei highly valuable Party organisations. In the structure of the nuclei we must not proceed too schematically, but the nucleus must also adapt its methods to conditions in the factory in question. In the Org. Conference we listened to the report of a Russian factory nucleus. The various delegations had the opportunity of seeing a number of Russian nucleus bureaux and nucleus meetings at work. We have seen that in their work, the Russian nuclei not only embrace the so-called working area of their factory, but go far beyond the factory, into the work of the residential districts, in administration, in the army, in the village, and that they are very closely connected with all the various factors in the life of the worker. We have seen that the larger nuclei have at least one secretary. They have a net of commissions which organise the nucleus bureau and its work in the factory. We have seen that the nuclei are actually the basis of the whole Party organisations, that they are the foundation on which the whole Party rests.

The balance which can be drawn for the work of the factory nuclei of all the countries is that the factory nucleus is also the typical organisational form of our Sections in Western Europe, which above all things are creating in the present period the preliminary conditions for carrying out the policy of the Comintern, that is, for carrying on practical trade union work and for establishing the united front of these masses of workers.

A recent example of how a nucleus works in all spheres and really becomes a basis of the Party, is the nucleus of a

large Parisian electrical works, which was in a position to report the following result after weeks of work:

"Through our work and through our perseverance we have succeeded in one factory, in which the greatest difficulties were prophesied for the organisation, in organising 100 workers, of which 92 had never belonged to any Party or to the trade unions."

A few more words in this connection about the factory newspapers, which are more and more proving the best methods of approach to the masses. In the various countries we have a more or less great number of factory papers which are in part hectographed, and from 20 to 50 copies distributed in the middle-sized factories and about 1,000 copies in the large factories. We even have certain big nuclei which issue a printed paper in editions of 5,000 copies. The papers illuminate the life of the factory, they reflect whatever concerns the worker, what he feels, and where the shoe pinches. A great number of nuclei already have a heroic history in the question of the papers, because under the terror of the employers the nuclei must hit upon the most various methods in order always to get the paper into the factory again. The papers themselves are still very faulty. The Org. Conference has laid down all the experiences which have been made in the structure, in the form, and in the work of the nuclei, in the form of directions and resolutions. The chief task which the Org. Conference assigned to the factory nuclei are:

In the first place political activation of the nuclei, which still leaves much to be desired. A condition for this is the absolute conclusion of the reorganisation in the various Sections and the complete liquidation of the old residential organisations. One of our experiences, how to put the reorganisation into effect without losing members, is the system of provisional executives, that is, that during the transition from the residential to the nucleus organisation, the provisional section or local group executive must be given the entire responsibility for carrying on Party work and that the residential organisation must be immediately limited to purely technical functions. This method is also fixed in a special resolution, and the various Sections will now be able to proceed better with the reorganisation.

A second principal task which must be laid down for the work of the nuclei is the formation of good nuclei executives. We have hundreds and thousands of factory nuclei, and our own experiences when visiting the nucleus bureaux and the various factories of Moscow have shown us the absolute necessity for creating a good executive in every factory nucleus, which systematically divides the work among the various nucleus members, controls the individual work, and establishes good relations between factory nucleus and local Party executive.

A further task is the regular issue of factory papers.

A fourth task is the formation of street nuclei in which all the comrades are embraced who do not work in the factories — housewives, handicraftsmen, porters, intellectuals, etc. of whom there are quite a large percentage in the various Sections. The practice, especially of the French Party on the occasion of the municipal elections, has shown that the street nuclei are indispensable because there are workers in the residential districts who must be dealt with by the street nuclei, especially where there are no factories in the neighbourhood and where the factory nucleus cannot easily take over the work. The street nucleus is not, as some comrades wrongly assume, an integral part of the old residential organisation. It is an integral part of the nucleus organisation.

A further task for the nuclei is the support of the reorganisation of the Youth Leagues. Every Party nucleus must organise a youth nucleus in its own factory. On this basis it will be possible to put the reorganisation of the youth organisation into practice.

#### The Party Apparatus.

And now to the second point on the agenda, the work of the Party apparatus. With the reorganisation of the old residential organisation on the new basis of the nucleus, the structure of the organisation is naturally fundamentally changed.

The first Org. Conference held last year prescribed the general structure. The present Org. Conference had the special task of laying down directions for the structure of the Party apparatus in the various executives, from the nuclei group up to the central committee. A direct connection of the nucleus with the local executive and beyond that with the Party executive is absolutely necessary for the good functioning of the nuclei.

The Org. Conference prescribed the following tasks on this point for the various Sections: formation of district executives in all big town organisations which will guide and control the nuclei in their district.

Secondly: in a great number of sections there are no paid forces at the head of the various executives. The Org. Conference has made decisions aiming at an unburdening of the apparatus of the C. C. and the larger district executives and a qualitative improvement of this apparatus. Hence: the creation of an apparatus of paid forces for the weaker district executives and in the large cities for the city executives. The object is to secure the carrying out by this lower Party apparatus, of the directives, which come from the Party bodies superior to it.

3. The Org. Conference made decisions on the necessity of the choice of a more compact, numerically smaller executive for the district executive, local executive, sub-section executives. To-day we have large executives of 30 to 50 men, which are naturally incapable of action, cannot act quickly and hinder the work. This leads to the necessity of forming smaller executives.

4. The creation of various departments in every executive from the C. C. down to the larger nuclei groups — Org. Department, Trade Union Department, Agitprop. Department, Women's Department, — which regularly conduct the work in their own field and control it. That is also a sphere which is only in the beginning stages and which is in the process of being carried out in the large Sections.

5. The liquidation of the former system of Pol. and Org. Secretaries for the executives — that is, the abolition of the system of dividing the work into political and organisational work. Uniform guidance of the work must be guaranteed by the election of a single responsible secretary for the executive in question. The Department Heads are subordinate to the secretary — the heads of the Org., Trade Union, Agitprop, Women's Departments, etc. This secretary who in a number of Sections is still being elected in the general conferences, should no longer be elected in this way in the future, but the Conference will elect the executive in question, this meets after the election and elects a secretary, and besides this appoints the various paid Department heads.

The greater authority thus given the executives leads to the necessity of conducting the discussion on the nature of democratic centralism.

The development of the Party in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism is only possible after reorganisation. According to the policies laid down by the Org. Conference last year, the executives must be elected from below, that is, they must be elected after a standpoint has been adopted on the political questions, either in the factory nucleus or at the delegate conference, and in all the executives the comrades from the factories must be in the majority. Thus the inner-party democracy is preserved, thus the will of the members comes most clearly to expression. In the old residential organisation this was not the case.

But as a fighting organisation the Party must be strongly centralised. The executives elected from below must be really guiding organs, which are responsible for carrying on the work in their sphere.

#### The Fractions.

The last point on the agenda was "Structure and work of the fractions in the mass organisations, especially of the fractions in the trade unions". While there were no great differences of opinion on the first two points — nuclei and Party apparatus — on this point of the structure of the fractions there were some differences. The Org. Conference laid down a number of principles for the organisation of trade union work:

1. Increased work for the complete organisation of all eligible Communists in the trade unions, and above all, the training of every comrade for practical trade union work. Constant work

of our nuclei for the complete organisation of the employees, i. e. especially bringing the broadest masses of workers into the trade unions.

2. The uniting of all the Communists in all the trade unions and mass organisations into fractions. The work in these fractions must be carried out by the Communists in the respective fractions and not by the Trade Union Departments. The Party and the Trade Union Departments issue the directives, they control the work, but the fractions must put this work into effect in the trade unions.

3. The leadership of the fractions should be in the hands of those comrades who know trade union affairs best and who in their daily activity, and because they have a good view of what is happening in the trade unions, have the proper material in their hands.

Differences of opinion were revealed on the following two questions: the Org. Conference decided that the Communists in the trade union executives should take over the guidance of the fractions, secondly, the fractions should be linked up with each other from the top to the bottom, that is, vertically. The superior fraction executives should issue the material and directives to the subordinate fractions.

In what do these differences consist? In the various Sections we had some bad experiences in the past with a great number of Communists who were paid secretaries in the trade unions, some of whom became ossified and others who went over to the S. P. D. Because of these unfortunate experiences, there was a tendency to keep these comrades in the trade union executives out of the fraction executives, or at most to give them a subordinate role in the fraction executives. This tendency shows a lack of confidence in the power of the Party to get these comrades, who are working under specially difficult conditions, firmly in hand. This tendency must be sharply combatted and the Org. Conference has laid down absolutely clear policies. The Party must have control over the individual fractions. If there are weak comrades in the fraction executives, then the Party Executive must take charge of them and give them a special training. The comrades from the factories must give special support to the Communists employed in the trade unions.

Through the reorganisation, and through the fact that comrades from the factories are now coming into the executives who know trade union work, this contact of the Party executive with the comrades in the trade union executives will be better established, and these comrades will be able to give more support to the Communists in the trade unions.

The second resistance arose in the question of the direct contact of the Fractions with each other. There are comrades in the various Sections who are afraid that the Fractions, because they are linked up with each other, will create their own apparatus, that they will, as it has been expressed, form a trade union party within the Party. These comrades demand that the contact should exist only between the Fractions and the corresponding Party executives, for example, in a local group between the Party executive in the local and the corresponding fraction

executives, between the Party executive in the District and the District Fraction, etc. There is a tendency in the Sections, where there are Red Trade Unions, or where we have a majority in the Executive, not to form a Fraction. That would naturally mean that we actually need no fractions in the executives. This tendency must also be combatted, therefore, the policies of the Org. Conference are quite clear and unambiguous in this respect and leave no room for doubt.

The fractional work in those Sections where the Trade Union Department conducts fractional work to a great extent, must be gradually transferred to the fraction executives in the local, district, etc. In the last stage where the Party apparatus still forms the fractions, the Trade Union Departments still play a great role, but it must be clearly understood that with the development of the fractions the sphere of work of the Trade Union Departments shrinks more and more to the point when they have no more tasks to fulfil, when the fractions will really do the trade union work. For instance, in Russia Party executives need no special Trade Union Department, because there the Communist fractions guide the whole trade unions.

These principles which the Org. Department has laid down, are formulated in model policies. They must not be rigidly applied in the various Sections, they must be adapted to the situations in the various countries; but the Sections must work along the lines of these model policies.

Besides these three points on the agenda, the Org. Conference decided that better contact must be established between the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. and the various Sections: 1. Through a brisk exchange of experiences in writing; 2. through the development of a system of instructors of the E. C. C. I.; 3. through the training of practical workers who are to come to the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. from each Section for several months, bring it experiences on the basis of their work, then work in the apparatus of the E. C. C. I. for a quarter or half year, gather experiences and then return as well-qualified forces to the Sections; 4. it was decided that the exchange of letters between the various factory nuclei must be more closely established than heretofore.

Summing up, I would like to remark that the Org. Conference has done some good practical work. We have learned a great deal, some confusion has been cleared up by a mutual exchange of opinions, we are returning to the Sections with a number of experiences, we are certain that the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. will support us in our work. As a result of the meeting of the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive, whose political resolutions will also further our organisational work, we will return to the Sections with greater certainty, with fresh initiative, with accelerated tempo, to the building up of our Party organisation (applause).

\* \* \*

The draft Resolution of the Org. Conference was thereupon unanimously adopted.

# Report of the Commission on the Trade Union Question

## Comrade Monmousseau (France):

The Commission has decided to introduce certain amendments to the original text concerning the immediate tasks of the Communists in the Trade Union movement. These amendments mostly concern forms of wording, there being very few amendments with regard to principle.

The first article is adopted as it stands. In the second there are a few small amendments of no importance. In article three there are some changes of an editorial nature. The fourth article is adopted as it stands. In article five one word is changed: instead of "first" read "great". At the end of article five there is further emphasis as to the attempt of the Amsterdamites to lead the trade union movement in the colonies along a reformist path.

Article 5: With regard to the development of the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is stated that insufficient work has been done in this field and that it must be increased.

Article 6: adopted as it is.

Article 7: one word modified.

Article 8: a few words changed.

Article 9: adopted as it is.

Article 10: adopted as it is.

Article 11: there are a few small editorial changes. It is not a manoeuvre directed against the working class nor against the proletarian organisations, but only against the bourgeoisie.

Article 12: In this it was omitted to mention the destruction of the **Tunisian C. G. T.**; this has been rectified. There have also been some other fairly important amendments on which some comments should be made. **The attempt of the Amsterdamites to exclude the Communists from the trade unions** has been extensively pointed out. Naturally, this question came up rather strongly in the Commission. Lozovsky in his report pointed out that in certain countries even the Communists have voted for their exclusion in order not to expose their flank to the reformist manoeuvre. We have of course condemned this practice. We simply withdrew the word "Belgium" from the text, to place the problem on a general basis. In all cases where the reformist leaders have been engaged in excluding Communist fighters, we say in the text that it is absolutely necessary to mobilise all working class forces to protest against these exclusions and to demand reinstatement in the trade unions. We have also envisaged the situation of trade union federations which might be excluded by the reformists en bloc, and we said that we cannot tolerate the reformists adopting the practice of excluding trade union organisations en bloc.

In the 13th article there are a few small editorial changes of no importance.

Article 14: adopted as it is.

Article 15: Where it says "What is needed is steady systematic work.... etc...." in order that there will not be any interpretation with a scissionist tendency, so that the strengthening of our organisations cannot be interpreted as meaning a separation of the reformist left trade unions and their adhesion to our unitary trade union organisations in the different countries, or for a partial split in the reformist trade unions, we have added to this formula the following:

"A regular and systematic work of strengthening all the organisations and revolutionary minorities adhering to the R. I. L. U. is indispensable in accordance with the tactics of the united front and of trade union unity".

The programme of action has been adopted without modification.

## Comrade Lozovsky:

The Trade Union Commission has discussed in detail the resolution drawn up by the Org. Conference on the forms and methods of the organisation of trade union fractions in all countries.

The ABC of our work, and of our whole tactics, consists at bottom of our uniting our forces, whatever name the organisation may bear in which our comrades work. An important part is played by the question of fractions in the work of all our Communist Parties, and it is very natural that the Org. Conference has devoted particular attention to it, and that the trade union Commission elected by the Enlarged Executive has submitted to a detailed examination the proposals made by the Org. Conference on the forms and future development of the communist fractions.

A discussion was held in the Trade Union Commission, continuing that held by the Org. Conference, and referring to the following important question: "What are the forms and methods to be used for carrying out this resolution? How are the trade union fractions to be organised? Of what nature should the relations between the fractions be, horizontally and vertically?" In short, every question arising with relation to the organisation and work of the trade union movement. Every question arising out of our practical work is to be discussed in detail. The founding of trade union fractions is hampered by a number of difficulties, originating chiefly in the varying possibilities of development open to the trade union movement in the different countries.

Numerous forms of relations exist between the trade unions and the Party.

1. **The Belgian form**, in which the Party and all other forms of the movement (trade unions, cooperatives, sport organisations, political groups, etc.) join together to form one "labour party" bloc.

2. **The English form**, in which the trade unions form the basis of the Party.

3. There is also, or rather was, a **Norwegian form**, in which a body of workers of a town elect a trade union and a Party committee.

4. **The social democratic form**, in which both organisations cooperate both politically and ideologically, preserving at the same time the appearance of independence, an arrangement permitting of a certain equilibrium and maintenance of equal rights for both organisations.

5. **The Russian form** of the trade union movement, in which the trade union organisations are completely independent, but the development of the fraction from below upwards secures the leadership of the movement to the Party. It need not be said that we do not push this political control of the trade union movement by the party into the foreground, but we impart to the trade union movement the line of development desired by us with the aid of our fractions, and of the instructions given the fractions by the Party.

6. **The form encountered in the Latin countries.** In these countries there has long been a trade union movement hostile to the political movement, so that there has always existed a certain rivalry between Party and trade union. In France, for instance, the C. G. T. was before the war not only entirely independent of the political parties, but had even originated a theory of its own, which we, owing to the power of tradition, have still to contend against among many of our comrades, even those belonging to the C. P. We must take this peculiarity into account in our work in France.

Since we have to deal with greatly differing labour movements, matured under different historical conditions, and since we see different forms and relations between Party and trade union, different degrees of influence by the Party on the trade unions and working masses, then it is obvious that the same fundamental decision, the same resolution, cannot be applied everywhere in the same rigid and unalterable form.

But what can and must be done is for us to utilise the international experience which we have already gained, for the purpose of pointing out the right path to those countries which have only taken the first steps in this direction, or have not yet begun with the work. The line of action to be adopted by these countries must be outlined in accordance with the wide experience gained by other countries. It need not be emphasised that the activity of these Parties must adapt itself to the given situation in each country, to the local circumstances under which the trade union movement has to develop — in a word, to all the peculiarities of the labour movement in the country concerned.

Our Commission has been induced by these considerations, after studying attentively the resolution drawn up by the Org. Conference, and after a detailed discussion on all the difficulties which might arise from its application, to accept unanimously the resolution submitted to you.

There are communists who believe that fractions are required in the reformist trade unions only, and who are opposed to the formation of fractions in such trade unions as are headed by communists or revolutionary elements. This is a grave error. We have had experience enough to know that when the communists are not well organised even in revolutionary trade unions, difficulties arise not only in the application of the political line of the C. I., but of the Profintern.

It need not be said that all difficulties must be taken into account. There is no need to proclaim from the house tops that we have fractions, or that this and that fraction has come to this or that decision. Our influence on the trade unions need not be so advertised as to frighten away those elements who confidently approach us. It would be unskilful, and even stupid, to act in such a manner.

What then is our task? We must strive systematically to increase our influence in the trade union movement, and to this end we must not give the members of the trade union thus influenced the impression that we are doing their thinking for them, and that they have only to carry out instructions. To give such an impression would be very bad policy, for it would only tend to disorganise our ranks. Far from ensuring us the desired success, it would only weaken our influence.

What we must demand is, that every member of the Party in the trade union movement must keep to the line of the Party, what ever position he holds.

Further, the members of the Party, whatever the organisation in which they may be working (factory, trade union, etc.), must never forget that every member of the Party is bound by a common Party discipline, and that there cannot be two lines of policy, one for the trade union, the other for the Party. They must be conscious that they have to follow the line of the Party, taking into consideration at the same time the special conditions under which they have to work (as explained above). The general outlines do not change, all that changes is the means and methods adapted to the situation.

The same ideas and the same rules must be transmitted to the masses by the trade union organisation, in a form and language which can be comprehended by the members who are not organised in the Communist Party. We must contrive to have the communist line applied by the members of the organisations themselves, through the medium of the trade union, cooperative, local or other organisation.

Every organisation must work out for itself the forms and methods best suited for the application of the Party line. The Party on its part must give the comrades working in the various subdivisions of the labour movement, in the cooperatives, trade unions, etc. the possibility of carrying out the general lines of the Party. It is obvious that if the Party pulls the active

comrades to and fro, and interferes with the smallest affairs, instead of outlining general instructions, or claims the right to lead the economic struggles, etc., then the leadership of the trade union movement is no longer in the hands of the trade union organisations, but the Party and its organs take the place of the trade unions. Should this come about, it would be a great misfortune for all our Parties in all countries, and especially for our French Party.

In the U.S.S.R. the trade union movement plays a leading role. Why? Because it is a very important wheel in the mechanism kept in motion by the Party. The Party is the source of all life in the labour movement. It is the Party which carries the working class along with it. If we let the Party take the place of the trade union, if we give the working class the impression that Party and trade union are the same, then the influence of the Party will be confined to its own ranks, and instead of the influence of our Party being extended among the masses, instead of the masses following the Party, we shall find our membership decreasing, whilst the trade union movement itself will not develop, but regress.

These are considerations, comrades, which induce us to recommend you to accept the resolution submitted by the Org. Conference. It must be carried out by all our Parties, and not only formally. The Parties must take from this resolution everything which they need for progress on our path forward, never forgetting, of course, to adapt their measures to the peculiarities of the movement in each individual country. The Parties must seek the best means of organising all the communists in the trade union movement, of invigorating the work of the communists in the trade unions, in order that our active trade union members may follow on their own initiative the lines laid down by the Party, the trade unions, and the Profintern and continue this course by virtue of their own activity, employing the methods which are peculiar to the trade union movement of their own country.

It is in this sense that we have discussed this resolution, and in this sense we recommend its acceptance.

It is not a question of mechanical instructions, which would be extremely dangerous in any case, but of a very simple and clear course to be adopted by all Parties and consisting of working, from the lowest organisation to the highest, in building up fractions, so that all communists, wherever they may be working, continue to be communists both in the Party and in the trade unions, and no counter political currents are formed.

The decisions and methods of work must be carried out through the trade unions, by means of the organisations of the trade union movement. The statutes authorised by the decisions of the trade union congresses for their unions are not to be infringed or set aside. We must work within the confines of the trade union statutes and on the basis of trade union democracy.

These, comrades, are the explanations which I have considered necessary, and which contain a statement of the reasons which have been decisive in inducing the Commission to recommend for unconditional acceptance the resolution drawn up by the Org. Conference. This resolution accurately defines the spirit in which all Parties must utilise our international experience for building up our fractions, and for our work in the trade union movement.

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After the speech of Comrade Lozovsky the draft Resolution of the Trade Union Commission was adopted with all votes except that of Comrade Bordiga, who voted against.

# Report of the Commission for Work among the Masses.

## Comrade Kuusinen:

Lenin, in his book: "Radicalism, the infantile disease of Communism" remarks parenthetically in one passage that the organisatory rôle of the proletariat is its main rôle. Lenin spoke here principally of the tasks set the proletariat in Soviet Russia. But it is certain that Lenin set great value on the organisatory rôle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries as well. In the capitalist countries the organisatory task is of course a very different one, for here the most imperative task is the organisation of the victorious revolutionary movement. This means the building up of a determined revolutionary party, and at the same time the organisation of the revolutionary movement outside of our Party. And here the carrying out of the task of winning over the masses of the proletariat for the proletarian revolution calls forth a certain **onesidedness** among a section of our Party members. According to the view of these comrades, communist work consists solely of building up Communist Party organisations, and in recruiting new members. This is, of course, one of our fundamental tasks. It would however be entirely wrong to suppose that it is only work in this direction which is Party work.

In Finland there was once an architect of whom it was said that whilst the other architect erected buildings, he only formed building societies. And what we want is really to erect a large building, not merely establish building societies. Even the work of recruiting new members must be placed on a broader basis. How do we recruit new members? By means of agitation and propaganda only? No, not by this only. Here too we need the **object lessons** afforded by the organisation of the revolutionary work of the active non-party workers.

The first part of our task is to build up, not only communist organisations, but other organisations as well, above all mass organisations sympathising with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. We have already such organisations in some countries, for instance the International Red Aid the Workers' International Relief, etc. Comrade Zinoviev has expressly emphasised the importance of this task in his closing speech. Besides this we require a number of more or less firmly established **organisatory fulcrums**, which we can utilise for our further work, ensuring that we are not condemned to the Sisyphus-like task of only influencing the masses politically, only to see this mass influence constantly slip through our hands. We must create a **whole solar system of organisations and smaller committees around the Communist Party**, so to speak, smaller organisations working actually under the influence of our Party (not under mechanical leadership).

A further task is the organisation of the **current revolutionary work to be carried on by the members of the Party among the broad masses**. Here we come to a second type of **onesidedness**, one which can rather be designated as a deviation. Deviations do not occur solely in the region of politics, but can also be found in organisatory work, and still have much in common with social democracy; this fault must be overcome. One of these relics of social democracy is the **under-estimation of the extent of the organisatory task involved in reaching the masses**. This approaches very nearly to an under-estimation of a consciously communist leadership. Miracles are expected from the elementary course of spontaneous mass movement, and inadequate steps are taken to organise and lead this mass movement. This greatly resembles those one-time deviations of Luxemburgism which were comprehensible at one time as an opposition against social democratic leadership, but which cannot be excused among us. Our comrades talk a great deal about analyses of the situation, about slogans, political lines, and so forth, but unfortunately they concern themselves all too little with the organisation of mass work. I should like to make some propaganda here for this work. Can we maintain that the organisation of political struggles is accorded special care and attention among us? No. Many comrades deem it of little importance how a campaign or demonstration is organised; propaganda is made for meetings, something is done towards the organisation of the demonstration, but there is a

lack of detailed preparation. And the organisatory utilisation of such mass actions and campaigns is even more neglected. Every mass action should be followed by the formation from below of a whole number of United Front organs, forming strategic positions from which action can be continued. Above all, great importance is to be attached to the **formation of local United Front committees, and of committees working in the shops and factories**.

Now to a third type of **onesidedness**, frequently spoken of since the III. World Congress. This is the **lack of comprehension of the fact that every individual member of the Party has his duty to perform**. I may remind you of Lenin's viewpoint with regard to this question. At the time of the III. World Congress he referred for instance, in the draft of a resolution on the constant participation of the members in Party work, as follows to this subject:

"It must be even more expressly stated that precisely this is lacking in most of the legal Parties of Western Europe. There is a lack of **daily (revolutionary) work done by every member of the Party**.

This is the fundamental evil.

To alter this, there is the greatest difficulty.

And it is most important of all."

Thus this is already known to us. We all confess to this creed. But in actual practice our Parties have shown little grasp of how individual work for every member is to be organised in the works and factories, trade unions, sport clubs, etc. If we are now proceeding onesidedly in the organisation of our fractions for instance, we here run a certain danger. I endorse everything resolved upon by the Org. Conference on the **formation of fractions and on work in the nuclei**. But we must face the danger, by resolving that we must have firmly established and resolute fractions everywhere. This may be taken by some comrades to mean that the fractions are to be so firmly established among themselves that they are isolated from the mass of the workers. This would be a grave error. Rather no fractions at all than fractions serving as insulators. Fractions of this kind, in which the members are hermetically closed as in a bottle from the rest of the world, are no use for communist work. We cannot lay about us with such a bottle, and land our opponent on the head. This is not the right way of organising fraction work.

Every individual member of the fraction or nucleus must clearly understand that he has to **come in daily contact with the social democratic, syndicalist, and non-party workers**. Every individual member has at least, at a very low estimate, ten acquaintances, in the factory and trade union, who are still outside of the Party organisation, and with whom he comes in constant contact, giving him the opportunity of influencing them, forming with their co-operation a working group, inducing them to participate in United Front committees, and of leading them to action of different kinds.

Every communist should be an **organiser**, strictly speaking; he should not only carry on agitation and propaganda himself, but should learn above all to organise the work of other outside workers. A year ago, during the preparations for the Session of the Enlarged Executive, when somebody wanted to call upon our Party comrades in the capitalist countries to become "professional revolutionists", this idea was rejected. But comrade Zinoviev has expressed the thought better: **Every communist should be an organiser**. In my opinion this is the right word. A revolutionary organiser of mass activity.

It need not be said that the nucleus secretaries, the nucleus organisers, and perhaps some few other nucleus or fraction functionaries, are to be counted among those Party workers whose activity is actually chiefly confined to their own organisations; these are in the main the organisers of the communists. But to the other members of the Party there falls the task of organising the outside forces. No doubt this is difficult. Comrade Lenin designated it as the **greatest of difficulties**. But it is just here that our **working methods differ entirely from those**

of the social democrats. This must be acknowledged. In any case we must most energetically oppose that deviation which regards work among the masses, and the organisation of this work, as being not real communist work, and considers that Party work is only to be carried on in our own midst, whilst work among outsiders is of secondary importance. No, for the majority of the members of the Party the main sphere of Party work is the organisation of the non-party, syndicalist, and even social democratic workers.

Allow me, comrades, to draw your attention to a practical example in the sphere of applied united Front tactics. I refer to the application of the system of **meetings of Women Delegates**. On former occasions we have already passed resolutions, if not in the Plenum, at smaller conferences, on the application of this method; resistance and objections were encountered, but decisions in favour of the method were finally accepted. In various countries, in some parts of Germany, and to a certain extent in England, modest beginnings of this system are observable, but so very modest that we can scarcely venture to designate them as applications of the method of Delegations. It is true that in England the attempt has been made to organise a continuous activity among the working women, but there have been no delegates from the factories and workshops. In Germany, and in some other countries, such delegations have been formed, but they have only been brought together to pass resolutions, and not to accomplish revolutionary work. This is not yet the method of the Delegate system. In my opinion the distinguishing characteristics of these methods are as follows:

1. Election of the women delegates from the shops and factories. Women from the trade union organisations can also be delegated, or women belonging to various women's organisations for special purposes, but the selection of women delegates from the shops and factories is most important.

2. Periodical meetings must be convoked with these women's delegates.

3. The Meetings are not to be held solely for the purpose of passing resolutions, but for the **organisation of continuous work**. How is this to be done? A large meeting of women's delegates cannot of course work as such, but must divide itself into groups for work in various departments: in the factories, in the trade unions, in the co-operatives, for imprisoned comrades (I. R. A. work), etc. etc. This work has to be capably organised. The delegates have to carry on their special work in the intervals between the meetings of the delegates. It is not necessary to call these meetings very often. Once a month would suffice, perhaps once every two months. But the periodical reports in the factories, etc. are very necessary.

There are comrades, perhaps, who on hearing this for the first time, find it too "Russian". No, comrades, the import of revolutionary women's work can and must be entirely different in Russia to that of the West European countries for instance, but this method is, in my opinion, the most natural way of inducing the most active forces of the female proletariat to take part in revolutionary work.

The trade unions of the capitalist countries rarely afford the working women any possibility of active work. We must furnish this possibility by this new method. But, comrades, nothing will come of this if our Parties and Party leaders do not prove capable of taking up this work as an important task incumbent upon the Party. There is no doubt that it would be much easier to find only such types of women's organisations as were to be found among the old social democrats. The wives of communists could attend the meetings of such women's leagues, and their friends as well. But the import of the work accomplished by such an association would in many cases be almost worthless from the revolutionary standpoint.

We should concentrate our work at the present time chiefly upon the **working women**. This has often been resolved upon, but up to now our Parties have never made a serious attempt at its realisation. The leading bodies of the Party still fail to take the work among the working women seriously. This is not openly admitted; on the contrary, the importance of the work is acknowledged, but the leading men comrades do practically nothing towards carrying out this work. The excuse is given of being overburdened with other work. This is often enough true. But it is not a valid excuse. Comrade Lenin was equally overburdened with every kind of work; but he devoted much attention to this work, for he realised its importance.

I think that at the next Plenum of the Executive we must put the question seriously to all the Parties, and ask whether anything has really been done in this direction. It is not right merely to say to the women members: "You should do this or that", and then to criticise them when they do little or nothing. In actual practice I consider it to be of the utmost importance for the men comrades, the leading members of the Centrals and district organisations, to participate in the women's organisations. It is only by these means that leading men comrades can be brought to feel a real interest in this work. The leading bodies of the Party must appoint really influential men comrades for this work.

With respect to the application of the system of Women Delegates the first task is to conduct inner Party propaganda for the method, and the second is to train instructors for this work. This must be done in every Party. As soon as it has been made possible to have two delegates elected in each of only ten shops or factories, it is quite possible to begin with the periodical meetings of the Women's Delegates. This suffices for the beginning. These 20 delegates are then subdivided into two, three, or four working groups. This is tedious work at first. But therein consists precisely that which differentiates our methods of work from those of the Social Democrats.

I shall not enter into detail with respect to work among the masses in the illegal Parties, though I could say much on this subject. Our illegal Parties are still working too much underground. It is true that they carry on propaganda sometimes, but this generally hangs between heaven and earth, whilst work on the earth itself is frequently very inadequately organised. Many members of the illegal Parties consider that the distribution of legal literature is not revolutionary enough, and most of the illegal Parties carry on considerable conspirative work with regard to matters which could very well be dealt with legally, and could then be much more effective from the revolutionary standpoint. This question must be dealt with in detail in a resolution.

Our Commission, which is called in jest the "Masses Commission", has drawn up the resolution here submitted, as well as five other resolutions on sympathising mass organisations for special purposes, on peasants' mass organisations, on work in the co-operatives, on work in the sport clubs, and on non-Party publishing work. These resolutions are to be submitted for confirmation to the Executive or to the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. It need not be said that these resolutions mean little in themselves if we do not prove capable of organising the corresponding work after the Plenum. We must find efficient leaders for this work both in the apparatus of the Executive and in the leading bodies of the Party. It has been the main object of our commission to draw the attention of the leading comrades in the different Parties to the importance of these tasks. We are grateful to Comrade Zinoviev for emphasising this importance so strongly in his concluding speech.

In conclusion: Not only are communist organisations, nuclei, and fractions to be built up, but revolutionary work among the masses is to be organised. Not only are agitation and propaganda to be carried on, not only is the political mobilisation of the masses to be organised, but the mass influence of the Communist Party is to be crystallised by organisatory methods. Not only are new members to be recruited for the Party, but non-party mass organisations in sympathy with us are to be utilised for special purposes. Mass meetings, campaigns, demonstrations, etc., are not to be organised in a haphazard manner, but are to be systematically organised, and not only organised, but the opportunity seized for their organisatory utilisation by raising the most active elements out of the masses for continued activity, under the leadership of the Communist Party. Our attention is not to be devoted solely to the manner in which the communist nuclei or fractions conduct themselves in their relations to the working masses, or to the line of conduct to be required of representatives of the communist organisation entrusted with this or that commission. The chief object of our attention should be the organisation of the daily revolutionary detail work of every individual comrade among the masses. Not only agitation and propaganda are to be organised, but at the same time the work of our comrades in their capacity of revolutionary organisers of the political work among the non-Party workers. (Enthusiastic applause.)



## Discussion on the Report of the Commission for Work among the Masses.

### Comrade Geschke (Germany):

I emphasise doubly and trebly the words spoken by comrade Kuusinen on the necessity and value of the work among the masses of proletarian women. Comrade Kuusinen has spoken very warmly of the meetings of the women's delegations, and has dealt in a really masterly way with the work' and importance of the work still to be accomplished in the various Sections by these women's delegations. I endorse that, but at the same time I must draw attention to a slight error of forgetfulness.

When we remember that no single Section of the Communist International, except the Russian Section, has made the meetings of women delegates a fixed constituent of its apparatus of organisation, agitation, and propaganda, we must on the other hand remember that in various countries, in England, America, Canada, Norway, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and France, these little developed women's delegates meetings are accompanied by a more or less well developed super-party women's organisation.

What relations should exist between the C. P. and these super-party women's organisations? Let us first have a look at the enemy. I should like to make special mention of our experiences in Germany. Our O. M. S. or technical emergency aid organisation for the training of willing strikebreakers against workers on strike, are supported by whole divisions and troops of women ready to render blackleg service. We have not only the Young Women's Christian Associations and Catholic congregations, the national organisations, etc., but at the same time girls' and women's organisations. We have women's divisions even in the Jungdo, Werwolf, Stahlhelm, and other national organisations in Germany. Women's divisions have also been formed in the German Red Fighters' Union.

Complete women's battalions have sprung up almost spontaneously at the side of the Red Fighters' Union. But in Germany the radius and circle of attraction of these female formations within the Red Fighters' Union has not been wide enough as yet. The masses of women have felt the imperative wish to oppose a Red front of proletarian women to all these Christian, Catholic, and nationalist associations. This wish has been met by the founding of a Red Women's and Girls' Union in Germany. The aims and objects of this Union are not merely confined to the actual questions of daily life, but include all questions concerning women. Most important of all, the questions of class warfare facing the German proletariat are specially dealt with by the German Women's and Girls' Union, and active part is taken. Where such organisations already exist — and they already exist in England, Canada, and America — the C. I. will not be able to pass them over.

We find that in comrade Zinoviev's theses, and in the resolution of the Commission for work among the masses, it has been forgotten to deal with the super-party and extra Party women's organisations.

For this reason the International women's Secretariat and various comrades from the different Sections move an amendment or supplement to the draft of comrade Zinoviev's theses, and to the draft drawn up by comrade Kuusinen for the resolution of the Commission, which is as follows:

"Work in the mass organisations of every description must be accompanied by the most energetic furtherance of the inclusion and activation of the broadest masses of working women. Suitable methods and forms of work must be chosen for this purpose. The system of women Delegate meetings should be worked out carefully by every Party, and carried out in forms adapted to the conditions obtaining in the countries concerned. This system is not only an excellent method of mobilising the working women, but permits of permanent influence and political and social education. The extra-Party women's organisations form another field of activity for reaching and mobilising the working women."

This is the gist of the amendment proposed by the International women's Secretariat.

And these extra-Party women's organisations — how can they be brought into contact with the Party? By the communist fractions within these women's organisations. These women's organisations must be induced to participate in the Women Delegate meetings. Delegates to the Women Delegate meetings must be elected from these women's organisations.

In this connection I must point out the enormous success won by the conservatives in England at the last election to the House of Commons, mainly due to the efforts of the women. We in Germany only need recollect the Hindenburg election, at which Hindenburg was to a great extent elected by the votes of the female population.

I believe that the whole of this work must also receive wide support from the Young Communist International, and from the separate Young Communists Leagues affiliated to the Y. C. I. We should remember the prime of the socialist youth movement, when these methods were used. A small error made later, leading to the ultimate destruction of the whole Youth movement, was the formation of the Youth educational associations which gathered at that time around the slogan of "Through knowledge to power" or "Through power to knowledge".

We are well aware of the dangers attendant on the formation of women's organisations. But where these organisations already exist, the individual Sections must adopt a definite attitude towards them. I will even go so far as to say that in many Sections we can make use of such extra-Party women's associations as preparatory organisations for the masses of women to be won over for the Communist Party. For this reason I should like to ask you to include this amendment and supplement moved by the International Women's Secretariat not only in comrade Kuusinen's draft of his resolution, but at the same time in comrade Zinoviev's theses.

## Resolution on the Execution and Control of the Decisions and for the Preparations for the VI. World Congress.

Chairman comrade SMERAL:

We shall meanwhile deal with a brief report on the resolution of the

commission for the execution and control of the decisions, and for the preparations for the VI. World Congress.

I call upon comrade Kühne.

### Comrade Kühne (Germany):

It is unnecessary for me to give any detailed report on the deliberations of the Commission. It will suffice if I bring to your cognisance the resolution which contains all the points dealt with by the Commission. The resolution is as follows:

## Draft of the resolution on the reorganisation of the work of the E. C. C. I.

"The work of the Executive Committee of the C.I. must become more regular. The strongest Sections of the C.I. must be induced to take a much greater part than hitherto in the immediate leadership of the C.I. The reorganisation of the work of the Executive on these lines is a matter of not only organisational importance, but of great political significance, and is rendered imperatively necessary by the following reasons.

The E. C. C. I. must be brought into much closer contact than hitherto with the Sections of the C.I. The Sections must co-operate much more intensely in the solution of the international problems, for only in this manner can a rapid and normal development of the Communist Parties be attained. The intenser participation of all Sections in the leadership of the C.I. is the prerequisite for a training of the Parties on lines rendering them capable of leading the revolutionary movement in their countries.

The more active co-operation of the whole of the Sections in the work of the E. C. C. I. will at the same time facilitate the selection of the leaders, both internationally and nationally. It will train the Parties and their leaders in initiative, and will impart a deeper comprehension of the problems of the Communist International to the masses of the Party members. And finally, the increased activity and intensity of the co-operation of all sections in the work of the E. C. C. I. will strengthen the recruiting powers of the Communist Parties in the non-party masses.

Development in this direction is already possible and necessary, since firmly established Communist Parties already exist in the most important countries, and are able to go forward on the basis of six to seven years of experience.

In view of these considerations, the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive approves the initiative of the 14. Party Conference of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, which reads:

"The Party Conference commissions the Russian C. P. delegation to actuate a strengthening of the apparatus of the C.I., and to pursue hereby a line bringing about an increase of the influence of the foreign Communist Parties in the leadership of the C.I."

The Enlarged Executive considers this initiative to be perfectly consistent with the earlier decisions of the C.I. It need not be said that the C.I. must continue to maintain its character of centralised world Party. But the Parties should depend more upon their own powers. This applies especially to the question of the selection of the leading organs of the Sections of the C.I.

In order that the reorganisation of the work of the E. C. C. I. may be carried out, the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive imposes upon the larger Sections of the C.I., the German, French, Czech, and Italian Sections, the duty of appointing two representatives each, upon the other larger Parties (including the Orient Parties) the duty of appointing one representative each, these representatives to participate for at least 6 months in the work of the E. C. C. I.

The Enlarged Executive commissions the E. C. C. I. to carry out these measures immediately and unconditionally.

In order that this work of reorganisation may be made possible, the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive commissions the E. C. C. I. to reconstitute, at the first session held after this Enlarged Executive, the Presidium, the Organisation Bureau, and the Secretariat and budget commission.

2. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive commissions the E. C. C. I. to carry on its work more systematically and regularly for the future. With this object in view the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive emphasises the correctness of the principles contained in the project for the reorganisation of the work of the E. C. C. I. worked out by the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I. is to hold a session regularly once a month, attended by all the members present in Moscow. For the decision of important political questions and questions of principle, a plenary session of the E. C. C. I. is to be convened every three months, participated in by all the members of the E. C. C. I. The sessions of the Presidium and of the Organisation Bureau

of the E. C. C. I. are to be enlarged and organised on the basis of the national (section) secretariats.

The work of the C.I. is to be regulated by working plans. The Sections of the C.I. submit reports to the E. C. C. I. once every three months on their activity and plans of work. The Organisation Bureau of the E. C. C. I. undertakes to examine regularly the working plans thus submitted by the supplementary organisations of the C.I. and by the departments of the E. C. C. I. The Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. examines periodically not only the structure of the Parties, but at the same time whole of their organisational activities, as well as the work of the press and the distribution of Party literature in the Sections. The E. C. C. I. must subject the programmes of action of the Parties to careful examination.

The problems of the Oriental peoples are to be accorded a much greater place than hitherto in the future work of the Executive, corresponding to their increased importance.

The Enlarged Executive approves the measures taken by the E. C. C. I. towards the opening of the international courses of Leninist instruction, and imposes upon the Parties the duty of carrying out the principles laid down by the Presidium.

The next World Congress of the C.I. must have a prominent place in the drawing up of the general working plans of the E. C. C. I. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive considers it desirable to convene the VI. Congress for February/March 1927, if possible, and commissions the E. C. C. I. to fix the date definitely. The World Congress must be carefully prepared for by the E. C. C. I. It is of course not yet possible to decide finally upon its agenda, but the whole of the material dealing with the fundamental questions of our politics (trade union question, peasant question, nationality question, etc.) must be collected, studied, and submitted in good time to the Sections for discussion. The E. C. C. I. is to make every preparation for dealing with the question of the programme of the C.I. at the VI. Congress. For this purpose the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive commissions the E. C. C. I. to appoint a permanent authoritative commission to undertake to lead the discussion on the draft of the programme of the C.I.

3. The apparatus of the Executive, thus reinforced, will be able to better control the carrying out of the decisions of the C. I. The E. C. C. I. and the Sections of the Comintern must take measures for the organisation of a thorough system of reports, from the lowest nuclei to the leading Party bodies, and from the leaders to the E. C. C. I. Only when this contact is energetically maintained there can be a possibility of realising the Bolshevik principle of controlling the carrying out of decisions. The Plenum of the Enlarged Executive commissions the E. C. C. I. to control expressly the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congress, especially of the last (5th) World Congress, and of the decisions of the Enlarged Executive. As examples of the objects of this control may be mentioned: the carrying out of international campaigns, the Bolshevik training of the members, the normalisation of inner-Party life, the entry of the members of the Party into the trade unions, the application of the United Front tactics, etc. etc.

Reports on the activity of the E. C. C. I. are to be submitted to the Party Conferences of the Sections.

The E. C. C. I. is commissioned to organise this control gradually but systematically."

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With regard to the contents of this resolution I should like to add that the Commission has taken as basis for its work the draft statute already drawn up by the E. C. C. I. for the E. C. C. I.; the purport of the resolution is thus derived from this draft, which was completed some weeks ago. No differences on fundamental questions arose in the Commission. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Commission. The Commission requests the Enlarged Executive to pass the resolution with the like unanimity.

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The resolution was passed unanimously, with no abstentions. The discussion on the resolution of the Commission for work among the masses was then continued.

# Continuation of the Discussion on Work among the Masses.

## Comrade Clara Zetkin (Germany):

Comrades! Permit me to add a few words to the amendment proposed by us to the resolution, with respect to the participation of women in mass actions.

We are of the opinion that the resolution, in its present form, does not express with sufficient force and emphasis that to reach and mobilise the broadest masses of the women is a factor of great and often decisive importance, and worthy of special attention. We are of the opinion that the greatest possible attention must be devoted to inducing women to participate in every form and every method of mass mobilisation. It is quite certain that most valuable service could be rendered in mass actions by those broad masses of women whom our Parties have unfortunately not yet reached. Ask the International Red Aid for instance, and you will hear how great is the importance of the active cooperation of the women. All those who have an insight into the activity of these mass organisations, and at the same time into the growing desire among wide circles of women to participate in social work, to overcome their fears and enter the political organisations and lead the political battles, are also fully aware that energetic, consistent, well organised work in this direction would win over tremendously great masses of now inactive women for the work for the proletariat, for the work of revolutionary class warfare, and for the battle-field of the war against the bourgeoisie.

I believe that all the delegations will be in agreement with the special accentuation of the general standpoint which we here propose.

The wording of the resolution chosen by the Commission further differs from our amendment in the following point: The wording selected by the Commission simply points out the necessity of developing the system of Women's Delegations with all possible energy. It does not mention the utilisation of other forms of women's organisations. We fully agree with this reference to the Women's Delegation system in this connection, and with its being emphatically pointed out to the Parties that they should take steps for the preparation and execution of the widest possibilities of action open to the Women's Delegations.

If this has not yet been done to the widest possible extent, the International Women's Secretariat and the women comrades in the different countries are not to blame. We have hardly sent a single circular to the national Women's Secretariats of the sister Parties, we have scarcely drawn up a plan on the forms and methods of organising the masses of the women, without laying special stress in our advice upon the advantages of the system of Women's Delegations. In every session or conference in which we have been occupied with the organisation and training of the masses of the women, we have laid the greatest emphasis on the value of the system of Women's Delegations. We have emphasised that the system of Women's Delegations possesses not only the advantage that it mobilises broad masses of women, and keeps them in constant contact and touch with the Communist Party, but that it possesses still another and even greater advantage. It forms a high school for political and social work among women, and as a high school its value cannot be too highly estimated.

Comrades, it has been our duty to take into account the concrete conditions, and to insist that the system of Women's Delegations is not to be merely mechanically transferred from the Soviet Union to other countries, but must be adapted to the concrete conditions everywhere. We are not blind to the many difficulties which have been pointed out by the Parties and by our women comrades. We have invariably maintained that these difficulties in carrying out the system undoubtedly exist, but that they are by no means so great that the work need be despaired of. On the contrary, they should spur us on to examine thoroughly into the given concrete conditions, and to fight with the utmost energy to overcome the whole of the economic, political, and social obstacles hindering the actualisation of this valuable system.

Beginnings have already been made in many cases towards the organisation of such a system. Thus in Germany during the discontent aroused by the high prices, when women's committees and high price committees were formed, as in Thuringia, where the working women's delegation committees were organised in Gera, and in Berlin, where attempts were made at carrying out the delegate system among the women home workers. Unfortunately all these beginnings have collapsed in Germany. Not through the fault of the working women comrades, not through any conservatism among the women comrades preventing their adoption of a new form of organisation among the women and women workers, but as a consequence of the fact that the Ruth Fischer Maslov Central neglected the work among the women in a criminal manner, so that practically every small beginning died out again.

Comrades, though the system of Women's Delegations is of the greatest importance and value, still it is not the sole form in which we can reach the masses of working women, bring them beneath the constant influence of the Party, and educate them politically. We are of the opinion that we must make use of every method and possibility of gathering together the masses of the women. The women's organisations already existing offer one of these possibilities. Some of them sympathise with the aims of the Communist Party, and stand very near to us. We have such organisations in Canada, in England, in Norway and France.

All the organisations named are „in firmly established ideological touch with the Communist Party; in part they possess an organisatory connection with it, and their activities extend far beyond the confines of the masses of the women whom we can reach with our Party work.

We must firmly adhere to our principle that in the Party itself, and in the trade unions, men and women are organised together, with equal rights and equal duties, as equal comrades in arms. But in spite of our adherence to this principle, and our determination to work on this basis as before, we cannot ignore the fact that there is a growing desire for organisation awakening in the broad masses of women, though there is a great shyness against becoming members of any political Party, especially the Communist Party, a shyness which must be overcome educatively.

We must take into account the existing psychology of these women. This does not mean that we are to conform to it. But if we want to win over these masses of women, we must take them as they are, and must lead them further, to us. Experience shows — this can be proved by figures compiled in any country — that the deeper an organisation penetrates into the working masses, and the broader the masses it comprises, the greater is the impetus towards organisations consisting of women only. In England, that model country of organisation, the Labour Party, which counts among its members more organised women than any other party, at least in the labour movement, has in round figures 200,000 members. The trade unions of the working women count on the other hand a total of approximately 800,000 members, a much greater number. And in the cooperative societies, which in England comprise much broader masses than the trade unions, we find over a million women organised in the women's cooperative guilds. The same phenomenon is to be observed in Sweden, in Norway, Germany, and in all countries, and most distinctly of all in America.

We must not however forget that there are millions of women organised in purely bourgeois organisations. We must take up the fight for the souls, for the minds, for the hearts, the energy, and the work of these women and therefore we cannot merely pass over with an air of superiority the organisation containing women only. We must see to it that we work within these organisations with the aid of our fractions, we must win over the awakening masses of women for our cause, and utilise the existing women's organisations as a means to this end.

There is a widespread opinion that the utilisation of such organisations, and our working in such organisations, is opposed

to the lines laid down by the II. Women's Conference and the III. World Congress, in which it was expressly stated that men and women were to cooperate in common political and trade union organisations, and that Women organisations were to be avoided.

But at that time the whole of our work among the women was directed to the immediate struggle for the seizure of power. Nor must we slaken by one iota in our work among the women. But we must adapt it in accordance with circumstance to the education of the broadest masses of women. The necessity of this is clearly expressed in the development of the system of Women's Delegations, which is at bottom a description of women's organisation. It is true that the delegate conferences are said to be no organisations. I must say that I find this a remarkable logic. It is as if we were to say that the elephant has tusk and a trunk, and is a mammal, whilst the lion has neither tusks nor trunk, and is therefore no mammal.

Comrades, In the women's organisations now existing, developing, and spreading, I see the growing increase of our influence, I see in these organisations one of the preliminary stages of the Women's Delegations.

In my opinion the system of Women's Delegations is a striking example of how women, who are not brought together as workers or employees, are to be reached and politically educated: the home workers, the proletarian housewives, the rural women workers and small peasant women. But the whole of the work to be done by the Women's Delegations is prepared for most effectively by the development of women's organisations. It is a mistake to maintain that these organisations are solely a relic of social democracy. I think that for instance, all the members of the Red Women's and Girls' League in Germany would be highly offended if this were to be said to them. To be sure 75% of them are non-party, but they are already so far under the influence of the Communist party that their whole attitude to public life, and to society, shows them to belong to the Communists. The organisatory form is not decisive. It is true that it can be of the greatest importance, in accordance with its greater or lesser suitability to the purpose, but what is really decisive? The spirit, the mentality, and the purport of these women's organisations is communist.

It is the task of the Communist Party to express in these women's organisations the essence of Communism, the knowledge of Communism, the will to Communism, and the activity for Communism.

I should like to beg you most urgently not to under-estimate this matter as an affair concerning Women only. There is no such thing as a matter concerning Women only. Whether the sympathisers with Communism are organised in Women organisations or not, these organisations are of general social significance, they are communist matters, they are revolutionary matters. For the proletariat can never be victorious without these broad masses of women, and much less if opposed by them. Shall we continue to leave these broad masses of women to the reformists, to our bourgeois opponents, to the deadly enemies of the proletariat? No, a thousand times no. We must win over these broad masses of women, and to this end we must make use of every form and description of organisation, of every available opportunity, provided, of course, that this is not made the opportunity of excursions to the Right or Left. No, these ways and means must be utilised by comrades holding the ideological aims of Communism steadfastly in view, and the work must be carried on with the aid of the most perfect organisatory measures known to us.

Comrades, Let us not forget the enormous reserves which the revolutionary class struggle possesses in the form of these broad masses of the workers, a reserve to which may be applied, even more appropriately than to the reserves of unenlightened men, the words with which Karl Marx prefaced his 18. Brumaire — that the traditions of past generations weigh like an alp upon their brains, We must thus exert our utmost energies to remove this alp, and to lead broad masses of women into the camp of revolution. One individual woman may appear unworthy of notice, but we must not forget that these countless millions of women form a social force which, once awakened, once roused to activity, will exercise a decisive influence upon the overthrow of bourgeois society at the hands of the world revolution (Applause.)

## Comrade Kasparova (Soviet Union):

Comrades! The Communist International, at its Congresses, and at the International Conferences of Communist Women, has worked out new forms of organisation and new methods of work among the women of the East and of the West. These forms of organisation and methods of work have always had one and the same import, have always tended in one direction — that no political mass organisation of workers, no political mass organisation of the peasantry, no trade union mass organisation, no cooperative mass organisation, no national revolutionary party, was on any account to form a separate women's movement, apart from the general movement. In connection with this it was resolved that in all these organisations women's sections, women's commissions, women's departments, etc., were to be formed, led by members of the Central Committees of the Parties specially appointed for this purpose, by responsible members of the trade union organisations, etc. These departments, commissions, or sections, lead the work among the women, working in full accordance with the principles, tactics, and tasks of the Party, trade union, cooperative, or other organisation. Comrades, these decisions were issued to prevent at all costs the formation of special women's organisations within the national revolutionary movement in the East or in the proletarian movement in the West, since these organisations might have followed specific aims of their own, running parallel to our general line.

In order to carry on the common struggle for the realisation of the tasks to be accomplished by these revolutionary mass organisations, the women's departments, women's sections, women's commissions, etc., convocate special women's conferences of the Party, trade union, cooperative, or other organisations; they issue special women's newspapers, organise Women Delegate meetings in the factories and workshops, organise special women's circles among the most active women workers, among the housewives, workmen's wives, intellectual women workers, etc. All these organisations are controlled by a central, and are under the leadership of the C. C. of the C. P., of the trade union committee, etc., so that in no case can there be any thought of a separation between their aims and those of the general movement.

Comrades, when the question of the Women Delegates meetings was placed upon the agenda a year ago, it encountered great opposition on the part of our West European comrades. These maintained that these forms of work would gain no foothold, would find no practical application in actual life. But we remember, comrades, that the same objections were raised when the founding of factory nuclei was first spoken of, or the question of work in the trade unions. Did not most of the Sections of the Comintern maintain at that time that these methods would be exceedingly difficult to put into actual use? And yet the E. C. of the C. I. and its Org. Department, after the 5. Congress, insisted with the greatest energy upon every Communist Party introducing the factory nuclei organisation into its own country, and taking up a proper organisation of fraction work in the trade unions. And today definite results can be recorded as reward for this work.

A decision was come to with respect to the Women Delegates' meetings, but I am of the opinion that neither here nor in the different countries has very much been done to put it into execution. Despite this, Women Delegates' meetings have been held in England, Finland, and France. The soil is there, and it is of imperative necessity that the Women Delegates' meetings should take root.

It is not necessary to introduce electivity for these delegates' meetings. At first it suffices to gather together the active women workers, housewives, and women brain workers, into a so-called beginners' circle, and to form of these a central point, to interest them in some practical question, extending the confines of the circle as the influx of new strata of working women enable these circles to be developed into Women Delegates' meetings.

There is a great danger that, when we here declare ourselves in favour of the formation of women's organisations, you will assume that the women's organisations recommended by us are not purely proletarian organisations, since they are to include housewives, widows, and similar petty bourgeois elements whose interests are concentrated on the housing question, high prices, the danger of war, and such matters. We

represent the standpoint that these intermediate strata should be brought under the influence of the Communist Party, that it is necessary to find forms of organisation appealing to the communist sympathies of these women. **But our main task is the work among the working women, the organisation of those women who are not yet organised.**

A further task is work in those organisations in which there are already women workers, the endeavour to influence those women who belong to the organisations of the Amsterdam International and the II. International, or to the feminist organisations.

Our main task, the pivot upon which our work turns, is our work in the factories and workshops, among the women of the proletariat. The work of influencing the masses of petty bourgeois women comes next in the degree of importance. Our communist ranks are still too weak. It is impossible for us to carry on work among this middle stratum at the expense of our work in the factories and workshops, for this work is still in its initial stage.

With regard to these middle strata, there is scarcely any need to gather them together in special women's organisations. There are relief organisations, as for instance the Red Aid, the Workers' International Relief, the Society of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and many others, whose endeavour it is to bring the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and the intellectual workers, under the influence of the Communist Party. The work among the women of the middle stratum can be transferred to these organisations. Why should we create special women's organisations when the Red Aid, the Workers' International Relief, etc. give us the opportunity of founding our women's sections and women's departments within these organisations, in which the work is then done in accordance with a definite programme referring to the women population. I will not discuss this question at length. I only wish to point out that if we attach leading importance to the founding of women's organisations, then the work towards realising the system of women delegates' meetings is likely to suffer in all its forms. delegates' meetings is likely to suffer in all its forms.

When we have worked out some form or method of work among the women, and the ideal really possesses vitality, we must put it into practice at any cost, in order that this method of work may become popular. **The Women Delegates' meetings have found a foothold; we must consolidate this.** It is necessary that the working population should accustom itself to the newly tested methods of revolutionary mass work among the women, or it will be said of us; today we employ the Women Delegates' meetings as new form of organisation, but tomorrow we return to the old reformist methods of women's organisations. **The new methods must be given a secure position whilst we are striding forward.**

It is imperatively necessary that the International Women's Secretariat and the Executive of the Comintern once more redouble their energies, as at the time when the factory nuclei were initiated and the work in the trade unions begun, and provide for the formation of a network of Women Delegates' meetings, beginning with beginners' circles for active women workers. Some of the communist women can be given the mission of organising, not the proletarian women, but the middle strata. But are there many communist women who understand how to work in the factories and shops? This, comrades, is splitting forces. **The fundamental basis of our work is the work among the working women in the workshops and factories, among the working women already organised in political, trade union, cooperative, or other organisations.** We can also devote attention to the organisations of the middle class. But a special organisation is not necessary, those women can be gathered round the Red Aid and other similar organisations, by means of the formation of women's departments and women's sections, led from one central.

## Comrade Hertha Sturm (International Women's Secretariat):

The C. I. has gained the experience that up to now we have not been sufficiently successful in holding fast, in organisatory form, the political influence which we have succeeded in winning.

If this is true in general, it is especially true of work among the women. We can adduce enough statistics showing the

extreme weakness of our influence upon the the broad masses of the proletarian women, as compared with our general influence upon the masses. We must candidly admit that the bourgeois parties and the reformists, the II. International and its organs, have so far kept ahead of us in this respect. There is still much to be done if the masses of proletarian women who really belong to us are to be brought into our camp.

We are told: Yes, general organisations are what we need now, we require fresh tools, we cannot confine ourselves to the existing forms and methods, if we are to organise the masses. Comrade Kasparova defends the standpoint as if it were possible now to put an end to the present forms of organisation. The Commission for work among the masses does not take this standpoint, but has quoted in its resolution the words of comrade Lenin: We must utilise everything and everybody for the attainment of our goal. Comrade Kuusinen, on the other hand, has here used arguments which go further than his written formulation of the resolution. Whilst the resolution does not touch upon the question of women's organisations at all, comrade Kuusinen's remarks here have almost indicated that we should beware of including the women's organisation in our sphere of activity. He represents approximately the standpoint that every possible description of organisation is to be formed, with the exception of women's organisations. We must investigate why such an attitude towards the formation of women's organisations is not regarded as suitable at the present time.

When it is stated here that our work is not to centre in the women's organisations, then we must reply with double emphasis: There is nobody in the Women's Secretariat who represents such a standpoint, and the Conference discussing on work amongst the women has also rejected it. On the contrary, we have stated clearly, not only in speeches, but in a written declaration, **that the pivot upon which our work turns is the effort to reach the decisive strata of the female population, the working women in the factories and trade unions.**

When the Delegation system is mentioned in this connection, we must declare that this task has not been taken up with sufficient energy in the Sections. If we are truly anxious to reach our goal, then we must expend considerably more energy than hitherto in providing a basis and preparation for this work, and must develop the works nuclei into active centres fully conscious of the extent of their task among the working women.

The experience which we have gained up to now with the Women Delegates' meetings system in the West have shown that the specific task of these organisations as permanent organs of the masses of working women, and systematically influencing, leading, and activating these women, has not been fulfilled and cannot be fulfilled, because these Delegates' meetings have been founded on no solid basis, because they have been forced abruptly into existence, insufficiently prepared in the two most important points; a correct ideological standpoint, and an adequate organisatory and political preparation in the Parties. But this is no reason for us to be so self-sufficient as to declare that on this account the women's organisations do not exist for us.

We must distinguish between two questions which have hitherto been confused in this debate.

Firstly, what attitude have we hitherto adopted towards the women's organisations already existing?

Secondly, may or should or can the communists form extra Party women's organisations?

Our amendment proposes a certain compromise. It is drawn up in a very elastic form. On the one hand we have been anxious to express the imperative necessity of work in the extra Party women's organisations already existing; and secondly we do not want to be cut off in the future from the possibility of forming such mass organisations on the initiative of communists.

Since differences of opinion have become apparent here, we do not wish to demand from the Plenum that it resolves today that communists may form such women's organisations, although in my opinion a detailed discussion of the question, and suitable preparation in the Sections, will eventually oblige the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. to adopt this standpoint. Under the circumstances we rather put the question in the cautious form of our amendment, for the reason that in Germany, Norway, England, and America, our Communist Parties

are already engaged in forming or developing such organisations.

Comrade Kuusinen has here stated that we must adopt a declinatory standpoint with respect to the women's organisations. He refers to a decision passed by the II. International Conference of Women Communists, held before the III. World Congress. It is true that one of the resolutions passed on this occasion contained a paragraph decisively condemning the formation of any special women's organisations whatever. But the situation has changed between 1921 and 1926. The International Women's Conference was held before the III. World Congress, and this Congress brought with it considerable changes in the tactics of the Communist International in the question of the United Front. All those who took part in this Conference, and all those who are familiar with the resolution passed at this Conference, know that all the resolutions drawn up at that time were influenced by the idea that a revolution was immediately approaching in the countries of Western Europe. This may be seen from the deliberations of this Conference during which we had many severe encounters with some of the most prominent leaders of the women's movement. I need only remind you of the standpoint represented by comrade Rosa Bloch, from Switzerland, and by comrade Roland Holst, from Holland, who condemned the programme of action of the German Delegation for work among the women, containing our demands for equal political and civil rights for women, protection for mothers and children, etc., as a social democratic programme, and insisted upon the dictatorship of the proletariat as our aim. These are facts. But since 1921 the Communist International has learned a lot in many respects, also with regard to work among women.

At that time we had no real International Women's Secretariat, there was no connection between Moscow and the West, no connection among the different Sections themselves, the work was only just beginning. This Conference issued the first working instructions. Since this time we have gained much experience, and this must be utilised, sifted, and examined. These are not questions to be settled in haste. The principles which we propose to follow must be re-examined by a commission. I consider it to be absolutely necessary for the present resolution to be formulated on such general lines that our Sections are shown the possibility and purpose of utilising the women's organisations already in existence, or being formed.

## Concluding Speech of Comrade Kuusinen.

The question of women's work has become the central point of today's discussion. I am very pleased that my standpoint has found the support, as was indeed to be expected, of the representative of the Russian women comrades. At the same time I cannot but admire the revolutionary energy of our revered leader comrade Clara Zetkin, even in cases, such as the present one, when in my opinion she is not altogether in the right.

So far as I am informed, the Women's Secretariat was still willing, a few days ago, to postpone the decision on this question of the formation of new women's organisations, a point which has as yet been but little discussed, until it had first been dealt with in the Org. Bureau and then at the Women's Conference to be held in May. The Women's Secretariat is now of another opinion. This change has been caused by the circumstance that the draft of our resolution distinctly recommends the application of the method of meetings of women delegates. Comrade Clara Zetkin and the Women's Secretariat are now of the opinion that if something is said about the meetings of women delegates in our resolution, then the formation of new women's organisations must be mentioned as well. Either yes or no. Either nothing about meetings of women delegates, or meetings of women delegates and this unprepared question as well.

What is the point at issue? I must first state that there is no one opposed to the formation of new women's organisations for special purposes. In my opinion there can be no contention on this question. Comrade Hertha Sturm is mistaken in maintaining that the Masses Commission is anxious for the formation of as many organisations as possible, not only women's organisations. No, here she is wrong. The Commission has nothing against women's organisations for special purposes,

but neither has it any intention of assembling all the men in a choral society and opposing them to the women. Where mass organisations of proletarian women already exist, nobody wants to dissolve them or to refuse to work in their ranks. On the contrary, we must work in these organisations. Communists must work everywhere where the masses are gathered together.

But the point at issue is something else: the formation of new women's organisations without a special purpose. This is something which we have no wish to recommend in our resolution. As already stated here, the III. Congress decided that such organisations were not to be formed. (Comrade Zetkin shared this opinion at that time.)

We certainly cannot be accused of being formalists. Should a matter of importance demand it, we could overrule the decisions of the III. Congress. But does this necessity arise here? To be sure there are countries in which general proletarian or semi-proletarian women's organisations can be formed, for instance in the many countries in which the Communist Party is forced to work illegally, or in some of the colonial countries. The question is whether we in the capitalist countries should really devote our chief attention to the work among the working women, or if we should throw open the door for another activity, for the formation of women's leagues in every country. This is the principle of the Women's Secretariat.

Comrades, our nuclei are working, but they do not yet know what they have to do. Here is an most important field of work, the nucleus work among the working women in the factories and shops. In my opinion this is a task for our shock troops. In the course of our slight contention, which is not to be taken very tragically, comrade Geschke politely took sides with the Women's Secretariat. Comrade Geschke has committed the same sins of omission as the rest of us in the matter of women's work. Now, however, he is burning with enthusiasm for women's work, and he is anxious for us to undertake unanimously not only one task, but all the tasks involved in this sphere of activity, even if they should be thousands. We are more cautious. It has often happened that thousands of tasks have been undertaken on paper, especially by the women's conferences and congresses. Now we must really begin to put into practice one important task. This is the decisive factor in the present difference.

Comrade Zinoviev observed, at the first session of our so-called Masses Commission, that we must now finally break down the resistance against the carrying out of the system of Women delegates. He meant, of course, that we must overcome this resistance. And as a matter of fact there is resistance in the Women's Secretariat, subconscious resistance at least, and this must be overcome. Allow me to substantiate this assertion briefly. In the spring of 1923 we first proposed the application of this method. At that time it encountered open resistance. Comrade Hertha Sturm wrote to the periodical of the Women's Secretariat, opposing this method. She had no sympathy with it. Then came a phase in which it was attempted to drop the matter entirely by preserving dead silence about it. Somewhat later, at the III. Women's Conference in 1924, the idea began to gain ground. Later still, at the Women's Conference in 1925, it met with even more appreciation, but practically nothing was done towards putting it into practice. Now, in 1926, the idea is acknowledged and accepted, but other important tasks are simultaneously pushed into the foreground. Comrades, I cannot but regard this as an unconscious attempt at distracting our attention from this, our main task. Our women comrades protest against this. Comrade Sturm wants to form women's associations in every country.

(Interjection from Comrade Sturm: have you not read the principles?)

Very well then, you do not want this in every country. But even if they were to be formed in every country, many comrades may ask if they are so very dangerous? I do not believe that they can be particularly dangerous. At the most they can be fairly innocent associations.

(Geschke: it is not a question of their innocence, but of their work.)

That is just the point, comrade Geschke. The question involved is that of revolutionary work, of work among the masses, and not of club life. Club life may be highly interesting, but the work among the masses is a very different matter. Do you really believe that the working women would join these associations? The Red Women's and Girls' Union in Germany

is something very different. In this Union the members have to work. It is a very valuable organisation. But if you form general associations for the proletarian women in Holland, Scandinavia, Austria, etc., you will find that the working women will not join them. In Germany a revolutionary situation has already occurred several times. Here the conditions are different, and it is not possible to generalise from German conditions. It is not yet Germany everywhere. Decisions valid for the whole International must of course be made.

I for my part can only look on with approval when I see active young proletarian women marching in uniform, but when comrade Sturm demands in the Masses Commission that in all countries, even in countries politically so little developed as Scandinavia, where the first guard groups are just being formed among the working men, women's divisions should be formed simultaneously in these defending groups, then I can only call this play and not serious work.

I hope that the Plenum will decide in this question in accordance with my suggestions, but I shall not take it tragically if

it should decide otherwise. In this case we can find a solution in dividing the work with the women comrades from the Women's Secretariat. They taking over the work with the women's associations, perhaps the Secretariat undertaking the immediate leadership of the application of the methods of the Women delegates system. This is my personal opinion. The main point is that this work must be done now.

The work among the masses of the women is important, and I am very glad that it has been placed in the foreground by this discussion here. I hope to see a change from the conditions hitherto obtaining among us, under which the Party leaders have done practically nothing in this direction, not even so much as the International Women's Secretariat. But it is equally necessary for us to place special emphasis on the importance of work in the trade unions and cooperatives. We must never forget this. I must especially accentuate the importance of increased communist work in the cooperatives. This is another neglected sphere of activity. I trust that the present juncture will witness an abrupt change for the better in the activity of the Communist Parties in these directions.

## Report of the Czech Commission.

### Comrade Kornblum.

Comrades, the Czech Commission submitted a memorandum addressed to the Executive by the Right group, and signed by Hula, Vanek, etc.

You will remember, comrades, that our Czech brother Party underwent a severe inner Party crisis last year. The resolution passed by the last session of the Enlarged Executive on the Czech question pointed out the way in which this crisis could be overcome.

1. The formation of a bloc of the majority of the Central with the minority, the so-called centre; 2. Increased general activity, combined with mass action; 3. Determined struggle against all Bubnikists, whether these were open or concealed.

This was the course proposed to the Czech Party. The Party has adopted this course, and can record great success in almost every direction (except in trade union work, in which but little success has been attained), so that the Third Party Conference of the Czech C. P., held in September 1925, expressed itself unanimously in favour of the line laid down by the Comintern, and of the C. C. of the Czech C. P.

The group which I have already mentioned sent a letter to this Party Conference, but met with no support, the Right not being represented at the Conference. This group addressed this letter to the Party Conference for the express purpose of removing any mistrust, but at the same time they persisted, both in and after the letter, in maintaining their original standpoint with reference to the bloc, and they attacked the whole tactics of the Czech C. P. under the pretext that their memorandum had not been dealt with by the Party, but had been handed over to the political commission, which had stigmatised the memorandum as purely fractional in purpose, so that the C. C. did not refer to the matter again, even later. On this pretext they repeated their attempt, and sent a memorandum to the Executive, signed by the same 7 comrades who had sent in the first memorandum. Why have these comrades kept silence so long and then appealed to the supreme authority? Because meanwhile the Open Letter from the Executive to the German C. P. has

been published and taken effect, so that these comrades have considered the moment favourable for them to exploit the Open Letter for their fractional purposes.

It may be seen from this memorandum that the signatories have neither forgotten nor learnt anything since the last session of the Executive. They continue to regard the Bubnik case as a slight episode, and compare it with the Schönlanke case in Germany. This group maintains that the Czech crisis was not caused by an offensive on the part of the liquidators against Leninist policy. In the view of the authors of this memorandum, last year's crisis was caused solely by the ultra Left deviations, as was the case in Germany, Italy, and Poland. They further maintain that today it is even more evident than it was a year ago that there was no real Right danger at that time, but an ultra Left. They maintain that it is only now, since the Comintern has taken up the fight against the relapse into petty bourgeois revolutionism in all seriousness, in the Open Letter, that the contention in the Czech C. P. can be better settled than before.

In the second part of the memorandum the group attempts to deny all the successes which have been gained by the Party in various directions, even the election success, although the Party received 1 million votes and thus became the strongest party but one in Czechoslovakia, a fact acknowledged by our worst enemies. The group denies all these successes, solely, as they express themselves, "for purposes of information".

The Czech Commission has expressed itself, in two sessions, with reference to this "information" and to the views stated in the memorandum, and has arrived at the only possible conclusion: that the whole is purely a fractional attack, and that the Party must continue its consistent course of combatting this Right deviation and its fractional machinations. The resolution was passed unanimously in the Czech Commission, and the Commission proposes that the Plenum confirms the resolution.

The division on the motion brought forward by the Commission for work among the masses, and of the Czech Commission, was postponed to the next session.

## Eighteenth Session, 13th March, 1926.

Chairman Comrade SMERAL.

A delegation handed over a Red Flag, hand embroidered, to the Chinese delegation, on behalf of the working women and peasants of the Vorenesh Government, to be given to the working women of Shanghai.

### Comrade Sukonvikova:

I bring the warmest greetings to the Enlarged Executive from the working women and peasants of the Government of

Vorenesh. On 8. March, the day of international solidarity among the women workers, the women workers and peasants of our government entrusted us with this flag, commissioning us to give it to the working women of Shanghai. We know that the working women of China have to work under the most difficult conditions, and that in China the agents of world capital are inexorable in their greed. We beg the Chinese delegation to tell the Chinese working women that the Russian working women, who helped to fight for the October revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party, will hasten to their

aid at the first call, beneath this Red Flag and led by the Comintern.

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live the Communist International! (Enthusiastic applause.)

### Comrade Smeral

thanked the delegation for its greetings in the name of the Presidium, and then called upon the woman

### Comrade Mang King Yu,

who, speaking in the Chinese language, thanked the Vorenesh working women and peasants for their proclamation of solidarity. After expressing the tanks of the women textile workers of Shanghai and of all the working women of China, comrade Mang King Yu declared that the Flag presented would be a symbol of the unity between the working women of China and of the free Soviet Union. It will spur the Chinese women forward to the fight. (The two women comrades Mang King Yu and Sukonvikova kissed one another amid enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

## Resolution on the Report of the Executive.

### Comrade Thälmann:

On behalf of the seven undersigned Sections I am commissioned to recommend for acceptance the following resolution on the Report of the Executive and to submit it for this purpose to the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive:

"The Enlarged Executive has heard with satisfaction the Report of the E. C. C. I., and takes cognisance of the fact that the Executive can record great success in the work of carrying out the decisions of the V. Congress and of the Enlarged Executive Session of 1925.

The success gained in the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement must be specially emphasised.

Important steps have been taken towards Bolshevisation. The Communist Parties in Great Britain and in China have achieved great success. The Open Letter sent by the Executive to the C. P. of Germany created the prerequisites for the consolidation of the German C. P. and for its first great success among the masses. The Right danger in Czechoslovakia and the ultra Left danger in Italy have been overcome with the aid of the Executive.

The Enlarged Executive expresses its confidence in the Executive to realise, to an even greater extent than before, the inner Party democracy, nationally and internationally. The Enlarged Executive calls upon all the Sections of the C. I. to exert their utmost efforts in support of the E. C. C. I. in its work for the creation of real mass Parties, capable of gaining and retaining the confidence of the masses even in the period of relative stabilisation.

The Communist Party of Germany.  
The Communist Party of Great Britain.  
The Communist Party of France.  
The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.  
The Communist Party of Italy.  
The Communist Party (Workers Party)  
of America.  
The Communist Party of China."

The resolution was passed against the vote of comrade Bordiga.

### Vote on the Resolution on the Work Among the Masses.

### Comrade Hertha Sturm

made the following declaration:

Comrade Kuusinen, in his concluding speech on the Report of the Masses Commission at the last Plenary Session, protested against a number of declarations and views which he attributes to me in the question of the Women Delegates' meetings and

women's organisations, though these alleged views are in flat contradiction to my actual standpoint in this question. Since comrade Kuusinen's arguments are likely to discredit the standpoint represented by me, I feel obliged to correct at least two important points.

1. I have never and nowhere asserted that the extra Party women's organisations are the most important form of work among the women. On the contrary, I have stated absolutely unequivocally, both in my speeches and in the exact wording of the thesis draft of the Women's Secretariat formulated by me:

"Without over-estimating the importance of women's organisations, and without the slightest tendency to overlook or neglect in their favour the most important spheres of work in the factories and trade unions, the communists must not on any account reject the work done through the women's organisations, and in these, but accept it as **one important method among others**, and as auxiliary in the preparation and for the support of work in other directions."

The principles laid down on the forms and methods of work among the masses accord the last place to the women's organisations, and emphasise in the foreground the importance of reaching the working women in their places of work and trade unions, and **as next step in the Women Delegates meetings.**

2. I have never and nowhere issued a slogan in favour of a random founding of women's organisations in every country. On the contrary, as a **reference to the shorthand report of the Women's Conference held on March 8, 1926** will show, I stated literally:

"We shall not issue directions that super-Party women's organisations are now to be founded in all countries."

In the above mentioned statement of principles I wrote definitely:

"The creation of new women's organisations is a tactical question. The adaptedness to purpose or necessity of a new organisation is to be examined into and decided from case to case in accordance with the special conditions. This is the task of the Central Committees of the parties, conjointly with their women's departments."

I supplemented this by adducing a number of the actual factors to be taken into account in forming an estimate of a situation.

My actual views have been stated in detail, and with a clearness excluding all misunderstanding, in my speech during the discussion in the Plenum, in my introductory speech at the Women's Conference to this Plenum on 8. and 9. March, and in the draft of the statement of principles, in which they will be found in black and white.

In conclusion I may state that the viewpoint represented by me in the question of the women's organisations is not simply my own personal opinion, but the viewpoint of the International Women's Secretariat, and the Women's Conference held on the 8. and 9. of March unanimously accepted as basis the draft submitted to the International Women's Secretariat."

After this the amendment moved by the Women's Secretariat was rejected, and the resolution unanimously passed in the form submitted by the Commission.

The resolution draft of the Czech Commission was also passed unanimously.

### Comrade Roy

reported in the name of the Eastern Commission and requested that only the Chinese Resolution be voted on in the Plenum and that the resolutions on the other colonial countries be referred to the Presidium for more precise formulation.

The resolution on the Chinese question was adopted unanimously.

### Comrade Remmele

informed the Plenum regarding the work of the Scandinavian Commission and moved the Resolution on the Norwegian question while he requested that all the remaining draft resolutions which the Commission had drawn up be referred to the Presidium.

The Resolution on the Norwegian question was accepted unanimously, whereupon the session was adjourned.