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The II. Organisation Conference of the E. C. C. I.

1st Part.

Work and Organisation of the Factory and Street Nuclei, Factory Newspapers.

The II. Org. Conference of the E. C. C. I. was opened on February 10th, 1926, and lasted until February 17th. In the eleven sessions the questions raised in the course of organisation practice in the various parties since the I. Org. Conference were discussed in detail. Concerning principal questions as, e. g., whether or not the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei was necessary, there was no further discussion. These questions had been decided by the I. Organisation Conference. The II. Organisation Conference concerned itself with the tasks and problems of practical organisational work and with a concrete execution of the decisions of the I. Org. Conference.

In the opening session the following agenda was adopted:

1. Election of the Presidium and Commissions.
2. Work and organisation of the factory and street nuclei, factory newspapers.

3. Work and organisation of the lower Party Executives (sub-district, section, and subsection).

4. Work and organisation of the Communist fractions in the non-Party mass organisations, particularly in the Trade Unions.

5. Reports of the Commissions.

The following comrades were elected to the Presidium: Baumann (U. S. S. R.), Geschke — substitute Kramer — (Germany), Jilek (Czecho-Slovakia), Thoréz (France), Viola (Italy), Robson (Great Britain), Sanborn (America), Langseth (Norway), Gypfner (Y. C. I.), Piatnitzky (Org. Department E. C. C. I.).

Commissions were formed for nucleus work (with sub-commissions for factory papers), Party structure and fraction structure.

Work and Organisation of Factory Nuclei.

Thereupon the reports of the nucleus representatives from Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia and the U. S. S. R. on the work and organisational structure of their factory nuclei were received.

GERMANY.

Comrade Kramer:

The nucleus on which I am reporting is in a factory in which about 4,000 are employed. Of these about threefourths are men and one-fourth women. The number of Social Democratic workers in the factory is about 250, of whom about 20—30 are very active. Our nucleus includes 55 men and 2 women members.

The nucleus is composed as follows: The nucleus executive includes 10 comrades comprising all department heads and several comrades from the divisions of the factory in which we are still weakly represented. The nucleus executive discusses all questions, makes decisions on them, and calls together the nucleus meeting in which the execution of the work is discussed. The nucleus meeting is enlarged to some extent by drawing in sympathisers who thereupon participate in carrying out the work.

Our work is conditioned not only by the numerical but also by the qualitative strength of the Social Democracy in the factory. The strong bloc of active Social Democratic functionaries influences the Social Democratic workers so powerfully, that we can hardly enter into discussion with individuals because they immediately turn to their executive for directions.

It is advantageous to our trade union work that we have representation, even though by only two members in the Factory Council and about 12 comrades in the body of trade union delegates. This shows the importance of the trade union detail work.

The control of union cards is effected by the delegates. This gives our comrades who are delegates a favourable opportunity to make contact with their colleagues.

Owing to the powerful resistance of the S. P. G. we have not yet been able to form a Unity Committee.

All factory questions are discussed first in the nucleus executive and then in the nucleus meetings. Then we carry on agitation for our proposals among the factory personnel and only after this are these questions presented in the form of motions in the Factory Councils. In the large factory meetings during the past year we were also uniformly successful, because we had several comrades who were good speakers. As

a result the S. P. G., instead of calling large factory meetings, always called only department meetings, under the impression that we could not furnish enough good speakers for every meeting. In spite of this however, we have succeeded in stimulating favourable sentiment — even if not in the majority at least among a section of the workers.

The connection of our nucleus with the local Metal Workers' fraction functions well. Since in the past one of our comrades was a member of the Wage-scale Commission we were in a position to exploit the commission material in the factory.

Political work is not yet carried on by all nucleus members, nevertheless each member has his particular work to do. Of course there are still various shortcomings. The comrades who are not yet active are carried along with the general movement and they also work fairly well.

As to the work of the Agitprop director, during the noon recess an active discussion takes place. But we also try to reach the workers by distributing literature and the daily party paper. Since smoking is forbidden in the factory the workers, during and after the noon recess, stream into the lavatories. These become discussion clubs. Wall newspapers are also hung up here.

All Party members, without exception, pay their dues in the factory. The treasurer has at his disposal a fund of 50 marks in order to be able to make prompt settlement even in case some individual comrades are tardy in paying their dues. If a comrade is unable, because of a large family or illness, etc., to pay his factory dues the nucleus executive is authorised to have the contribution for the month in question paid by the nucleus. We also have members who were ill for a long time and who no longer receive any sick benefit — these we support with small contributions of 10—20 marks.

The literature agent has delegates in all departments who distribute literature there. He is in constant contact with the bookstore. The circulation is carried out successfully. I might mention here only as an example that in our factory we sold 400 copies of the Report of the Delegation to Russia, and if we had been able to get more copies we could have sold another 500. We also have a library in the nucleus which, it is true, does not as yet function as well as it should. In order to interest the comrades in the library we have mimeographed an index of the books on hand and have distributed it in the factory.

Every day we sell about 30 copies of the daily Party paper (apart from the subscriptions). It has been found that certain non-Party elements for some reason or other will not have the papers sent to their home. But when they have access to the paper regularly in the factory they accustom themselves to it and become subscribers.

All our Party members plus 20 non-Party people are organised in the Red Aid. Despite the short-time work we succeeded, during Christmas time in collecting 305 marks.

The factory nucleus paper appears quite regularly about once a month. We began with 500 copies and in December sold 1100. Its finances are assured because from the very first number we sold out the entire edition. We were even able to pay comrades who often worked whole nights in the preparation of the paper, and still have a surplus.

The distribution of the factory paper in the factory is organised down to the smallest detail. A certain time is set for the beginning of the sale. This time always varies because otherwise the foremen would know when the paper appears. Then the nucleus executive members hand out the papers in bundles of ten to the sub-agents among whom there are also sympathisers. We have found that even S. P. G. people were selling our papers. Within 15 minutes all papers are disposed of.

The fact that we have illustrated our paper plays a big role. By means of the illustrations, which for the most part are satirical, we have gained definite results, e. g. the position of a very reactionary foreman was made impossible through the ridicule in the factory newspaper's caricatures. He could not maintain respects anywhere, and after three weeks went on a vacation and after three months disappeared from the factory entirely. The factory affairs must of course be linked up with political questions in the factory paper.

In Party work outside of the factory, 5 members of the nucleus executive serve as Party speakers. In addition each nucleus executive member has been assigned to work on a factory within the area of the sub-section, and today practically all small enterprises in the vicinity are organised.

In conclusion, a few proposals. I am of the opinion that in the course of development a definite system of instructors must be built up so that willing comrades still unaccustomed to the work, can be guided forward. Furthermore, the Party Executive must give a hand to the factory nuclei and support them.

Comrade Grubner (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

In his supplementary report thereupon pointed out that this nucleus belongs to a type which today is found in all districts, that it is a nucleus which has maintained itself in all periods and under all difficulties.

However in this nucleus we also find phenomena which we would not encounter in others. Thus in this nucleus a particularly favourable phenomenon is to be pointed out in that this nucleus executive works collectively. It is otherwise a widespread phenomenon that in the nucleus executive only a few particularly active comrades are working.

We have not in all factories such a sharp division of the workers between the Social Democrats and Communists. Throughout the entire history of the nucleus there runs the struggle between these two groups. And the fact that the Social Democracy, even in the worst period experienced by our Party, was unable to crowd out our comrades, must be taken into consideration.

It is my impression that although the publication of the factory paper is a very important task, which by no means can be neglected, the comrades at the same time fail to place sufficient value upon the publication of various leaflets and their distribution in the factory. For this reason certain campaigns were to some extent neglected, or at least insufficiently exploited.

FRANCE.

Comrade Marcel:

The report concerns a nucleus in a factory employing 800 workers. The factory is separated into two buildings, about 500 metres apart. The nucleus was formed in February 1923. In 1925 it consisted of 17 members, of whom 7 worked in the factory itself, 5 in neighbouring factories, and 5 were isolated attached members. This is not a proper composition but unfortunately we find similar circumstances in many nuclei in the Paris district. However this will disappear in connection with the formation of street nuclei.

The nucleus includes 5 skilled workers, 7 specialised artisans, a one-time fighter in the Paris Commune, a merchant, a parliamentary deputy, a trader, and a Party functionary. The attached members were assigned to the nucleus by the section and district executives.

When we call a nucleus meeting an attached member serves as chairman, we also make use of these members for the distribution of leaflets at the factory gates and for the posting of placards. In general we can say that the attached members hinder the nucleus work to a certain degree.

We tried unsuccessfully to publish a joint factory paper for two factories.

The nucleus executive exists only on paper, the nucleus has a secretary and treasurer, there are no special nucleus executive meetings. The nucleus secretary has various functions: he is also secretary of the sub-section executive and of the local committee of action as well as a member of the section executive.

The nucleus meets once a week. At each meeting we determine the agenda for the next. Special attention is devoted to two questions:

1. The factory life, viz., the work to be done inside of the factory;
2. The slogans of the Party and the political activity of the nucleus.

Our factory paper appears once a month in an edition of 200. The preparation takes place as follows:

At a nucleus meetings we assign the editorial; we give him the theme to be dealt with and this comrade must bring his article to the next nucleus meeting. The article is discussed in the nucleus meeting and if necessary altered. In addition all comrades bring in reports on events that have taken place in the course of the week. The paper is read widely. Its technical

preparation is taken care of by the section executive. We intend to get a printing apparatus in order to attend to the preparation ourselves. The distribution takes place inside the factory without charge.

On the occasion of the 24-hour strike which, in October 1925, was directed against the Moroccan war, we issued a special number the success of which was all the greater in that it was devoted to the strike.

Under the auspices of the section executive a monthly information meeting is held. At these meetings each nucleus makes a report. In addition a representative of the executive visits the nuclei to instruct them. I might also mention that the nuclei receive a monthly information bulletin from the section executive.

We formed a Youth nucleus which unfortunately dissolved very quickly.

Whenever called upon we send speakers to the young comrades. Our nucleus was represented at the Young Workers Congress.

As to the financial situation of the nucleus: we have stamps of various denominations. When the Party dues were raised there was at first a certain dissatisfaction among the members of the nucleus. Later on however, they recognised the necessity of the increase.

The 24-hour strike was prepared very carefully in the factory. We arranged a general meeting of the personnel in which we formed a proletarian unity committee.

We have got into contact with a Moroccan soldier and published letters from this comrade in the factory paper. This aroused great attention of the workers, we have distributed leaflets written by hand.

We printed and distributed a special bulletin on the Moroccan war and on the taxes of the Caillaux Government.

In addition we held several joint meetings of the nucleus, the proletarian unity committee, and the factory trade union organisation in order to discuss the preparations for the strike. On the day of the strike a comrade, in the presence of the police, made a speech for the strike at the factory gate. Practically all workers struck (780 out of 800). The meeting was so inspired that the police who sought to arrest our speakers were beaten up by the workers.

On the day after the strike one member of the nucleus was arrested and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. Thereupon a Red Aid collection list was sent round and 800 francs were raised. On this occasion we organised a section of the "Red Aid". Four new members joined the nucleus and 10 the trade union.

The trade union in the factory was organised in July 1925 on the initiative of the nucleus.

The nucleus however made a big blunder in failing earnestly to foster the trade union work.

In the factory a proletarian unity committee was founded in which the entire nucleus exercised the role of a fraction.

The influence of the nucleus in the trade union and in the proletarian unity committee is predominant. All proposals made by the nucleus are adopted. A circumstance that particularly aided us to win this influence is the confidence enjoyed by the Communist members in the factory.

In our factory there are no members outside of the Trade Union Federation or Christian unions.

The very few members of reformist unions are extremely passive. The proletarian unity committee consists of 30 members: of whom 14 belong to the red trade union (including 5 Communists), one Socialist, and 15 non-Party.

The contact of the nucleus with the factory personnel is fairly good. We draw the sympathisers into the work of the nucleus. In practically every factory department we have a Communist or a sympathiser.

Through our proletarian unity committee we issued a call for a united front to the Socialist workers. We distributed the material of the Anti-war Committee of Action whereby a uniform sentiment was aroused among the workers.

We also formed proletarian unity committees in neighbouring factories.

In founding these committees we discovered many sympathising comrades who contributed as much to the success of

the 24-hour strike as did the Communists. Thanks to these committees we came into close relationship with the workers.

Of course we recognise clearly the weaknesses of our nucleus. We have made big mistakes:

The trade union and recruiting activity as well as the organisational work were insufficient. We are trying to overcome our organisational shortcomings and we hope to be able finally to overcome all difficulties.

Comrade Dubois (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

Made the following remarks on Comrade Marcel's report:

It had been decided to report here on an average nucleus in order to give an idea of the work of the other nuclei. The nucleus on which we have heard a report here is even somewhat under the average.

The nucleus has certainly considerable influence in the factory where it works. Of the 800 workers employed there, 150 are readers of "Humanité". Ninety-five per cent of the workers participated in the political strike on October 13, 1925. Nevertheless, the nucleus could not get a single new member for many months. It was only during the last recruiting campaign that 4 new members were added to the former 17. Of these 21 nucleus members only 11 work in the factory, whilst the other members were attached to the nucleus. This is certainly a wrong procedure. Of these attached comrades, there are some who work in the adjoining factories; there are also some who only disturb the work. Thus, for instance, there is among the attached members a member of parliament, who very seldom attends nucleus meetings and when he does attend them he is very passive. This method of attaching members to the nucleus must be done away with, and comrades employed in adjoining factories must be organised into independent nuclei.

The nucleus has certainly a secretary and a treasurer, but there is no real nucleus executive. This is also an error. The nucleus secretary has many Party duties outside the nucleus, and moreover as a factory worker he has to do his eight hours a day. Therefore, he cannot do justice to his duties. The work must be properly distributed among the nucleus members. The reporter himself admitted that only four comrades are active, all the others being passive.

The nucleus discusses all questions of Party life, and takes an active part in all political campaigns. However, the treatment of Party questions and the carrying out of campaigns is not always satisfactory. In this respect, we must point out the following shortcomings: 1. The nucleus has too many items on the agenda of the nucleus sessions; 2. the questions are dealt with in a tedious and obscure manner. Moreover, the decisions of the nucleus were not properly carried out.

Membership dues are paid regularly, but attendance at meetings is unsatisfactory. The explanation for this is that the attached comrades do not turn up at nucleus sessions and also that the factory is divided between two locations.

The nucleus newspaper is issued about 10 times during the year and the edition is 200. It is very popular among the workers. Throughout France nucleus newspapers are extremely popular. There are, of course, certain shortcomings in connection with the newspaper. The political articles are as a rule too long, and are not directly connected with factory affairs. From the technical viewpoint, the absence of illustrations is certainly a shortcoming.

I want to say now a few words about trade union work. A little while ago there were no trade union organisations whatever in the factory, and it is only owing to the activity of the nucleus that such an organisation could be formed. Of the 800 factory workers, only 14 were organised in trade unions. At present there are 24, which shows that at least some progress has been made.

Thus the following shortcomings must be remedied:

1. The present method of attaching comrades to the nucleus must be done away with, and the attached Party members must be withdrawn from the nuclei.
2. Street nuclei must be established.
3. The recruiting activity of the nuclei must be increased.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Comrade Tomacek:

I am going to report on the activity of the factory nucleus of a mine in the Moravian-Ostrau coal district. At present 1,500 manual and office workers are employed in this mine. In January 1925, when the factory nucleus was formed, there were still 2,080. At that time, the factory nucleus consisted of 68 men and 7 women. The local executive attached 38 comrades to the nucleus. However, only 12 of them actually joined the nucleus, whilst the others remained in the local group. As soon as the nucleus was formed, the work was distributed as follows: apart from the nucleus executive which consisted of 9 members, delegates were elected for every pit and for every pit level, and others to maintain contact with the Party Executive. At first the sessions of the nucleus executive were held every fortnight and the membership meetings once a month. This small nucleus soon gained so much influence, that when a wage movement came into being all the workers supported and followed the Communists. In order to ensure united action, a joint committee of the Red and reformist trade union groups (locals) of both miners' unions was convened. At this joint session, the officials of the reformist union had to promise that they would act in unity with the Red trade union group. All the workers employed in the mine joined the strike, including the technical staff (the hoist-men, etc.). Indispensable work was carried on only by the engineers and officials. During the strike nucleus meetings were held every day before every pit meeting. Nevertheless the strike was lost because of the treachery of the social patriotic leaders. But the strike came to a close in an orderly and united manner. Not a single worker, even among those who belong to the reformist trade unions, resumed work before the order was issued by the Red trade union. After the strike 580 workers were dismissed. All of them either members of the Red trade unions or sympathisers with us. The nucleus had to fight against great odds, and then there became evident the necessity of much stricter Communist organisation and correct fraction work in the enterprise. The nucleus had to be reorganised, commissions were formed — an Org. commission, a trade union commission, an Agitprop. and a co-operative commission. The commission each consist of five members and a chairman. There is also a delegate for fraction work in the committee of the Red trade union and also fraction delegates in the factory council, workers gymnastic club and workers educational league. Moreover, two comrades are appointed for work among women, 2 for work among the youth and 2 for work among indifferent and unemployed elements. The nucleus executive was elected for one year at a plenary meeting of the nucleus. But if a member of the executive fails to do his duty he can be recalled before the year is over. The executive consists of 6 members, each of whom has been allotted definite tasks. The nucleus executive has entrusted certain comrades with the publication of the factory newspaper. This newspaper which was established at a time of great persecution has considerably helped to overcome the nucleus crisis. In what awe the management of the enterprise stands of the factory newspaper is shown by the fact it has offered a reward of 1,000 kronen to any one who will expose the editors of the factory newspaper and those in charge of its circulation. But no informer has come forward. At present, when, as already stated, there are 1,500 workers in the enterprise, our nucleus consists of 280 men and 50 women, altogether 330 members. That is, how the membership of the nucleus has grown.

The Young Communist League has 36 members in our mine. The Y.C.L. is developing in spite of persecution and is in constant contact with the Party nucleus.

Workers meetings were held in the mine on the subject of sending a workers' delegation to the U. S. S. R. The nucleus executive acts publicly in most cases on behalf of the nucleus. The following trade union organisations are represented in the enterprise: the Red trade union with 580 members, the reformist miners' union with 290 members and the National Federation with 120 members. A joint session of the Red and reformist unions was held for the establishment of trade union unity. This session was convened on the initiative of the nucleus.

A campaign for joint action by Social Democratic and Communist factory councillors was carried out mainly with the assistance of sympathisers who wanted to be transferred from

the reformist to the Red trade union, but remained in the reformist union at the instance of the trade union commission of the factory nucleus, in order to continue to work there for us. Thereby, it was possible to form within the reformist union a strong Left Wing which champions trade union unity.

At the last factory council elections in 1925, the Communists polled 1,055 votes and obtained 7 mandates, the Social Democrats 537 votes and 4 mandates and the officials 2 mandates. This Communist factory council fraction which consists of 7 members must attend all sessions of the nucleus executive.

We have 120 subscribers to our daily organ "Delnický Deník" and 250 Sunday subscribers.

About 60% of the nucleus members participate in nucleus work, but only 5% show any direct initiative.

To sum up, I can say that we must pay special attention to the improvement of the educational work, and also to the deepening of the political consciousness of the comrades entrusted with fraction work in all the non-Party working class mass organisations.

Comrade Konflírek (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

The nucleus reported upon here is neither an average nucleus nor a bad nucleus, but one of the best. Moreover, it is in a locality — Moravian-Ostrau — where the influence of our Party and our trade union organisation is very strong, although we cannot say that Communist influence is absolutely predominant.

I want to make a few remarks characteristic not only of the nucleus in question, but also of a whole series of other nuclei. Nearly everywhere we have fairly strong Red trade union organisations which are under Communist influence and there are a good many Communists in almost all the enterprises of Czecho-Slovakia. Many nuclei concern themselves mainly with questions of factory life and pay much more attention to these questions than to those of the work as a whole and to general political questions.

It is also a common occurrence that not all the Communist workers of the respective enterprise are members of the respective factory nucleus. Many are still affiliated to the local organisations. This is a failing shared by many nuclei.

On the other hand the method of the distribution of work in this nucleus as described by Comrade Tomacek is not at all a general phenomenon. This is only the case in the best nuclei. In most nuclei, the work is done by a small group of Comrades.

It should also be mentioned that if there is in the enterprise even only a small group of comrades who are not prejudiced against nuclei, it is always possible to build in the factory a group of officials which will gradually develop.

Another important question is the manner in which the nucleus wields its influence on the mass organisations connected with the respective enterprise. The reporter says that they do fraction work. But this is not at all a general phenomenon. In most cases Party influence is exercised through the personal influence of this or that comrade. A big failing on the part of quite a number of nuclei is that although the nuclei exercise a certain amount of influence on the workers, they do not organise them.

The organisation of the youth does not make much progress even in enterprises containing Party nuclei. This must be remedied.

I think that the general deductions can be summed up as follows:

1. First of all Communists employed in the factories must be organised through the factory nucleus.

2. Nuclei must increase their activity, and this primarily by attracting new elements.

3. At the same time the nucleus must be extended through the recruiting of non-Party elements, and the influence which we have in trade unions must be consolidated organisationally nearly everywhere by proper fraction work.

Comrade Tolkathev (Moscow, factory nucleus of the Amo motor factory):

Our nucleus started work with 5 comrades in 1916. We were then still in the midst of the imperialist war and at the beginning of the food crisis. Meetings were at that time prohibited, and organisers of such meetings ran the risk of being arrested. It was only when a move was made to draw workers into the war industry committees — a class collaboration organisation of the bourgeoisie — that we took advantage of this circumstance to hold meetings. Moreover, the industrial crisis of the bourgeoisie compelled it to tolerate these meetings. We made use of them to spread our propaganda. At that time our main slogans were: overthrow of Tsarism and exposure of the imperialist war.

The nucleus was closely connected with the Party. The directions of the Party were communicated to the workers in the various departments of the enterprise through the sale of literature and by means of personal conversations. The nucleus had influence over the workers, which was attested also by the activity of the workers in the February Revolution in 1917. Whenever required, 80% of the workers could always be brought into the street by the nucleus for demonstrations.

During the February Revolution our nucleus emerged from its illegal state. It began to develop gradually into an all-embracing factory nucleus. The main task was: establishment of soviets and factory councils, struggle for the majority in factory councils and soviets. At the second election a Party member was elected to the factory council. Our nucleus had already 17 members and work was developing favourably. The nucleus also participated in the formation of the Red Guard. By October the nucleus had already trained a leader who in the October struggle worked as member of the revolutionary district committee.

The next period was taken up by the civil war, by the food crisis and economic activity in the enterprise. The main tasks were: enlightenment of the workers on the meaning of the civil war, mobilisation of comrades and of trade union members in our enterprise for the front, questions of supply, organisation of voluntary Sunday work, etc. This was the kind of work we carried on up to the introduction of the NEP. The tasks during that period are: enlightenment of the workers on the nature of NEP, reconstruction of industry and agriculture, alliance between workers and peasants, intensification of Party work and Communist educational work.

Our nucleus consists almost entirely of manual workers. The office workers constitute only 5%. Of the working class members, 79% are skilled and 21% unskilled or semi-skilled workers. The composition of the nucleus according to Party status is: 5% members with a Party status from 1913 to 1917, 6% from 1918 to 1919, 5% from 1920 to 1921, 4% from 1922 to 1924 and 56% from 1924 to 1925 (Lenin enrolment). The nucleus consists of 300 members and 81 candidates, who together represent 26% of all the workers of the enterprise. With the 300 members of the Y. C. L. this percentage amounts to 43%.

As to the organisational structure of our nucleus we have a nucleus bureau of 15 members. Then we have also 6 department nuclei with bureaux of 5 to 9 members. The biggest department nucleus has 106 members and the smallest 35 members. In departments which have no nuclei of their own, we have a department organiser. Moreover we have so-called group organisers, allotted according to labour, corps or groups of workers within the department. We have three commissions: the Org, women's and Agitprop commissions. In addition there is also a fraction in the factory council and fraction in the workers' societies in the enterprise, Red Aid, Children's Friends, Friends of the Airfleet, Freethinkers, etc. In non-Party mass organisations (factory council, co-operatives, clubs, etc.) the nucleus bureau carries on the work through the fractions.

Distribution of work within the nucleus bureau is such that every bureau member is allotted a special branch of work. These members report periodically to the bureau on their work and receive instructions there. The work is divided among the following functionaries: 1) a secretary, 2) a member of the production commission of the enterprise, 3) co-operative work, 4) representatives in the factory council, 5) work among the youth and in the workers' societies. As to the distribution of work among the membership as a whole, 88% of the members

ship have definite functions and only 12% have not yet been drawn into the work for various reasons.

The distribution of work in the nucleus is effected in the following manner: the nucleus secretary (our nucleus secretary is relieved of all other work) prepares the material for the questions to be discussed and submits it to the bureau. The bureau elaborates the material and if necessary consults the active Party comrades about it. Thereupon, after careful elaboration and formulation of appropriate proposals, the question is placed first of all before the department nucleus, then before the membership meeting of the factory nucleus as a whole, and only after this it is discussed at the open meeting of all factory workers. The work is carried on according to a plan drawn up for three months ahead. The schedule of meetings is drawn up every month by the nucleus bureau. Full membership meetings are held once a month, department nucleus meet once a fortnight, factory meetings are held at least once a month and commission and bureau meetings every week. The average duration of a meeting is three hours.

Connection with the Section committee (the executive) is maintained by submitting periodical reports to the committee and by members of our nucleus serving on the committee (at present 4 comrades).

As far as Party discipline is concerned, everything is well with our nucleus. 90% of our members attend general membership meetings and the remaining 10% stay away for well-founded reasons. Party discipline is also expressed in the activity of individual comrades and in the way they fulfil the duties imposed on them by the Party nucleus. What is the attitude of the nucleus to comrades who are not sufficiently active? First of all the nucleus secretary calls in the respective comrade and gives him, comradely advice. If this has no effect, he is summoned to appear before the nucleus bureau. It is only after all the methods of comradely persuasion have been applied without success that we take organisational measures.

Work among non-Party elements is carried on by daily propaganda and agitation in the departments. We do our utmost to attract non-Party fellow workers to the Party and to draw them into the work of factory and other workers' organisations.

As to the youth nucleus, of the 340 young workers in the enterprise, 230 are members of the Y. C. L. The youth nucleus is organised somewhat on the pattern of the Party nucleus. We guide the Youth Nucleus in the following manner: a member of the Youth Nucleus bureau is at the same time member of the Party nucleus bureau. Moreover, ten efficient and ideologically trained Party comrades have been attached to the youth nucleus for special work there. The two nucleus bureaux report to one another about their work. We do not interfere with the everyday work of the youth nucleus, but we examine it and we give it ideological leadership.

There are 136 women in the factory. Fifteen of them are Party members and 16 are candidates. A commission consisting of five comrades was appointed for work among women, one of these comrades is a member of the nucleus bureau. Work among women is organised through the Party nucleus on the same principle as work among the youth, but is of course carried on by different and apt methods. Our work among women is not limited to the women employed in the factory, but extends through our women's commission also to the housewives living in the neighbourhood of the factory. At present two of our housewife members are members of the town district soviet and one of them is member of the Moscow Town Soviet. In each of our Commissions we have women members. A particularly large number of women are active in co-operative and Soviet work.

Sixty per cent of the factory council are Party and Y. C. L. comrades who form a fraction and 40% are non-Party workers. It is through this fraction that the Party nucleus takes a lead in the work of the factory council. The nucleus bureau does not directly interfere with the affairs of the factory council. It merely watches over the work attentively, receives regular reports from the factory council fraction and gives it further directions. The factory council fraction works independently. It meets on an average every fortnight and deals with all questions of principle. The nucleus bureau as a whole participates in the campaigns conducted by the factory council. Important questions are dealt with by the fraction jointly with the nucleus bureau, for instance the question of the collective agreement, etc.

The prestige of the nucleus is steadily increasing among the non-Party elements. This was particularly evident during the factory council election campaign in which 90% of the workers participated. The candidates put up by the nucleus bureau and the department nuclei were all of them elected by a considerable majority. Workers' attendance at the public factory meetings is on an average 70%. Considerable interest is also shown in production conferences which consist of representatives of the management and the factory workers and which discuss ways and means to increase production.

I should like to say now a few words about the relations between the Party and the factory management. The factory manager is a Party member, a Communist worker. There is also in the factory a non-Party technical director but the head of the factory is the Party member. Relations with the factory management are regulated on the following lines: all questions of principle and of production are discussed in the nucleus bureau. In case of divergence of opinion they are referred for decision to the higher economic and Party organisations. Neither the nucleus bureau nor the nucleus secretary interferes with the everyday work of the management. Thus far there have been no misunderstandings between the management and the nucleus secretary, of late particularly, they worked together very harmoniously. The manager of the factory himself asks the nucleus to decide this or that question.

One of the most important tasks of the Party is the training of factory workers for Party, trade union, State and other public functions. During the last two years our nucleus has trained 60 such comrades, 35 comrades for posts in the enterprise and 25 for other posts.

The work of the nucleus in the villages is carried on by the so-called "patronage" society which has a section of 340 members in the factory. Through the Communist fraction in this society the nucleus carries on the work of the factory's patronage society. The task of this society consists in exercising ideological influence over the villages and in helping the latter with respect to cultural and economic development. The society has become the patron of a village commune. We entrust one comrade with the leadership of the campaigns in the village, we send reporters to this village commune and also agitators and organisers. At present we also give a little financial assistance to the village for the upkeep of schools. Once our nucleus sent a comrade for a longer period to this village commune to be active there. He worked there 8 months with very satisfactory results.

I should like also to mention quite briefly the difficulties with which the nucleus is confronted. The main difficulties are the peasant moods resulting from the transition to NEP. New labour forces, untrained and unorganised come into the factory from the villages and their frame of mind is such that hard educational work is necessary to overcome it. Our work is already showing some results and encourages us to believe that these difficulties can be overcome.

After Comrade Tolkatchev's report the reporters answered questions concerning details of factory life. Comrade Tolkatchev, in his reply to the questions addressed to him laid stress on the fact that in his factory not only the nucleus but also the general factory meetings show a great interest in international questions. Formerly the chief interest centred in Great Britain and Germany, but at present the workers are most interested in the events in China.

Comrade Piatnitsky (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

Comrades, I think that we are justified in saying that the nucleus system has already stood the test abroad. The instruction that the Parties abroad should reorganise themselves on the factory nucleus basis was adopted already by the Third Congress. But it is only during the last year that this principle was put into practice. We can say that active nuclei already exist. We have received reports from nucleus secretaries on the work done by the nuclei. We could not say that much at the time of the I. Org. Conference in March 1925. We have in the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. plenty of material on nuclei which are really working. It may be that they do not always work quite satisfactorily, but they do work. I can give you a few figures: according to the reports we have in Germany, 1,900 nuclei, and more than a thousand of them now collect membership dues.

There are reported to be 2,300 nuclei in France, 1,300 in Czecho-Slovakia, 120 in Great Britain, 300 in America, and so on. One can say that there is not a single country where factory nuclei do not exist. Factory nuclei have been formed even in the far-away South-American countries which up to quite recently had none. Moreover, some of the nuclei have done magnificent work. There are nuclei which although small, have all the factory workers behind them. Formerly, the conditions were such that comrades employed in an enterprise did not know each other because they were organised in their residential district. The result was that Communists could not discuss what should be done in the factory and it must have frequently happened that one Communist did something that another Communist fought against. This is no longer possible and this is a great step forward.

But not all the nuclei work in such a manner as to have all the factory workers behind them. There are yet a number of still-born nuclei. But it is much easier to put life into a nucleus which is not working well than to bring Communist work into an enterprise in which the Comrades do not know one another. Now it behoves us to do our utmost to make all the nuclei active in the true sense of the word. Such is the main task of our activity at present.

I will now deal with nucleus work according to countries. In Germany nucleus work is as yet weak. There are various difficulties there: the terrible unemployment, a strong Social-Democracy, a trade union bureaucracy in the factory. The trade union bureaucracy and other opponents make use of every possible method, including denunciation, to drive us out of the factories. The Party must all the more concentrate its attention on work in the factories and must overcome all obstacles. We have had cases in Germany when comrades for fear of this terror did not join factory nuclei and sought refuge in street nuclei. This resulted in street nuclei having too many and factory nuclei too few members. The Party must bring all the comrades employed in the factory into the factory nucleus.

The street nuclei in Germany, instead of taking in on every street the comrades not employed in the factory, amalgamate almost all the comrades from several streets into one nucleus. This makes their membership very big. One should amalgamate the Communists in every street or in every two streets, making the sub-section or section executive responsible for their general Party work. There are in Germany many unemployed who in some cases are not allowed to remain in the nuclei of the factories where they were formerly employed. In these particular cases they can be attached to street nuclei so that new enterprises be canvassed by them. This can be done by the street nucleus, but only under the control and leadership of the higher Party Executive. Because of the widespread unemployment the Party must apply new methods in the work of the nuclei, in order that nucleus members be not recognised by the spies of our opponents. New methods must be adopted to influence the workers, and the best of these methods are: hand-bills, and factory newspapers. Moreover, comrades must act with more caution in the factories than before.

In Czecho-Slovakia unemployment is not as great as in Germany, and the conditions are utterly different. The Party is strong, it has part of the trade unions on its side and can bring a certain amount of pressure to bear. Nevertheless, not all the comrades employed in one factory are organised in the factory nucleus. There are still many factory workers organised in the residential organisations. The organisation of the Party is not yet complete. There were in almost all our Parties comrades who imagined that factory nuclei could not do any election work and therefore they retained the old residential organisations. In Czecho-Slovakia factory nuclei did not take a very big part in the last election campaign. Only a few nuclei carried on election work, but these few did work splendidly. Through the factory nuclei considerable influence was exercised over the villages. I am convinced that if the Party had done more effective election work through the nuclei its successes would have been even greater than they were.

In France we have only factory nuclei. At the I. Org. Conference last year the French comrades opposed us and said that they do not need street nuclei in France. We on the contrary were of the opinion that one cannot do without street nuclei. The result was that the municipal elections in France gave very poor results for the Party. Why? Because they had there provisional organisations in the shape of work groups for

the elections and the latter, instead of turning their attention to election work, carried on Party politics and neglected election work. Later on a decision was made to organise street nuclei. But the decision remained on paper. On the other hand the comrades attached to factory nuclei impeded the nucleus work. There are for instance in a factory nucleus 9 comrades employed in the enterprise and 25 attached comrades. How is it possible for such a nucleus to turn its attention to factory questions when 25 comrades sit there and do not know what it is all about? Therefore there is no life in the factory nuclei, meetings are poorly attended and the politisation of the nuclei has not made any headway. It is essential to organise these attached comrades into street nuclei, and it is also essential to put new life into the factory nuclei.

We have nuclei in France which carried on an effective campaign against the Morocco war etc. But then again other nuclei do not do any work. Why? Partly because too many outside comrades have been attached to them.

In Great Britain there are but few nuclei. Some of them work very well. Wherever factory campaigns have been carried on the result was satisfactory: 300 new members were gained and 59 new nuclei organised. In Great Britain, too, the Party must pay more attention to the factories.

What is it that we must do? We must find ways and means for the politisation of the nuclei so that we shall have all campaigns carried on through the factory nuclei. Party executives must give instructions to the nuclei and must help them. Above all, we have in the factory newspapers a very effective means which we have not yet utilised to the proper extent. Our big press does not reach the workers in the factories. But if a factory newspaper is published in which political questions are connected with factory questions, this factory newspaper will wield considerable influence over the workers. To make workers read our daily press we have to carry on an energetic agitation. But they are eager for factory newspapers without any special agitation on our part.

Street nuclei must be formed, but only very few comrades employed in factories i. e. those who live far away from their place of work should be attached to them. The influence of our Party members on the non-party masses must be exercised in the factory. Campaigns alone are not enough, it is the everyday work in the factory which is very important. Factory newspapers must be well got up.

Such, in my opinion, are the tasks which should be discussed at this conference in a manner to enable the comrades on their return to carry them out in the way they have carried out the organisational work between the First and the Second Org. Conference.

Comrade Zelle (Germany):

Reports from the various countries show that the most highly developed nuclei in the various countries, with the exception of the Russian nuclei, are practically on the same level. But we have no illusions about our nuclei, we know full well that we have for the most part very ineffective nuclei. Most of the two thousand German nuclei are still politically dead. The members, to be sure, are all registered, and most of them pay their membership dues, but the political life is not as yet very strong. We can learn a great deal from our Russian comrade's report.

I will sum up what struck me most in the report of the Russian comrade: first and foremost **The careful preparation of the agenda by the nucleus executive.** In the two nucleus sessions in which I participated I liked most the system of the procedure of such nucleus meetings: a Comrade makes his report, then there are written and oral questions which are answered by the reporter and only then comes the discussion. The reporter is given time for his concluding remarks and thereupon the result of the whole discussion is put into the form of a resolution which is discussed, amended or added to by the meeting, becoming thereby the expression of the whole substance of the discussion.

Another very important point for us is the **preponderant role of the Nucleus Executive**, and also the **control exercised over the work of every comrade through the factory Nucleus Executive.** It was very interesting how in the nucleus of the

Moscow-Kursk railway workshop a whole number of comrades were taken to account at the nucleus meeting for non-fulfilment of their tasks. If this system were introduced in our country we could obtain what we so frequently lack in Germany: **new forces** which on the strength of their abilities and their Party work, we could subsequently introduce into the higher Party organs.

Then I also think that **the question of the formation of commissions in the nuclei of big enterprises** should be brought up for discussion. We have nothing of the kind in Germany. There are certainly beginnings of it in the nuclei of some big enterprises, but up till now we had no clear notion concerning this question and we always said: **first of all form effective nucleus executives and only after that commissions.** But at present when trade union work is our main work the formation of trade union commissions in the factory nuclei is of the utmost importance.

Another question which concerns us very much indeed is that of **workshop nuclei.** Hitherto, we rejected the idea of the formation of workshop nuclei. But I think that the time has come also in Germany to form such workshop nuclei with their own executives, particularly in the gigantic enterprises which spread over kilometres and where a special form of organisation is expedient for comrades employed in works widely separated from one another. It goes without saying that the main nucleus of the enterprise must meet regularly.

We must develop the international connections and we must make the best possible use of experiences, especially the experiences of the Russian nuclei.

With respect to **educational work** we are still a long way off from the system described here by the Russian comrade by which every nucleus member has to go through the various grades of Party schools. We are only discussing the organisation of courses in the factory nuclei.

These are the most important points of the Russian nucleus experiences by which we must profit.

Now I should like to deal with a few more questions of our nucleus work. First place must be given to the capture of the factory, to the problem of finding methods by which we can get the factories into our hands in spite of employers' terrorism and the economic crisis. Factories are partly in the hands of the Social Democrats. Large numbers of Communists have been driven out of the factories. Party members are badly distributed because our comrades to a very great extent are employed in small and medium enterprises, very few being employed in big enterprises. But we will find it impossible to do justice to the tasks before us if we do not succeed in capturing the big enterprises. This we will only be able to do through the capture of the trade unions delegate bodies. During the last few years we have a terrible set-back on this field due to the bad policy of our Party. It was a great mistake to permit comrades to leave trade unions. The French comrade too told us that trade union work is frequently neglected in his country. These tendencies must be fought. It is only by trade union work in the factories that we will be able to capture them.

Another question confronting us is that of **methods by which all our members can be organised in factory and street nuclei.** In Germany we have learned by experience that the only possible way to organise all the comrades in nuclei is to thoroughly liquidate residential organisations after placing the entire responsibility for Party work and for the completion of reorganisation on the provisional sub-section or section executives.

Then there is the **question of the relation of reorganisation to the policy of the Party.** Through the factory nuclei the old Ruth Fischer-Maslow Central Committee was beaten in Germany in its very stronghold — Berlin. This was as clear as day as soon as the E. C. C. I. letter arrived. The old district executive, the executives of the administrative districts (sections) of the town of Berlin were most of them against the letter. But when we convened a conference of nuclei chairmen, a big majority of these factory comrades were for the E. C. C. I. letter. This has taught us that we must above all carry reorganisation to an end and that we must introduce into all the executives the best comrades from the factory nucleus because without factory nuclei it is at the present juncture impossible to carry on the policy and tactics of the Party.

Very acute is with us the **question of street nuclei.** Street nuclei have certain attractions: many comrades who are inactive or who cannot be easily organised in factory nuclei stream into

the street nuclei. We have to erect a barrier in front of these street nuclei and we have to say: only those who have nothing to do with factories are to go in here. In connection with this is the question of attaching the unemployed members. There are in our Party in the various districts 30—80% unemployed. There are cases of factory nuclei consisting of 4 comrades and if we were to attach all the unemployed comrades to such a nucleus it would mean adding 20—30 comrades to the other 4. We must find a solution to this problem.

In Germany we are faced with the **problem of the reorganisation of the youth organisation**. In this respect the unsatisfactory social composition of our Youth organisation presents serious difficulties. Moreover most of our Y.C.L. comrades are not employed in big enterprises. They either work in small enterprises or are in the employ of craftsmen. The solution of this problem is very difficult as the basis for such a solution is lacking, viz., young workers employed in big enterprises. We have found everywhere that the Y.C.L. cannot be reorganised on a factory nucleus basis unless the Party organisation as a whole makes up its mind to capture the young workers in the factories for the Y.C.L. If we really intend to reorganise the Y.C.L.'s it is essential to establish side by side with every party nucleus a Y.C.L. nucleus.

It is rather significant that in Germany our opponents are also beginning to reorganise themselves on a factory nucleus basis. Social Democrats are doing so and there are also fascist and White factory nuclei. We welcome this struggle in the factories for it will bring about the politisation of our nuclei.

We must coordinate all the experiences in nucleus work which had been gradually collected. I am convinced that we will go back to our Party organisation with greater experience than when we left it.

Comrade Sanborn:

Comrades, the problem of the reorganisation of the American Party was probably one of the most difficult in the International and I think the fact that we have succeeded in a large measure to reorganise our Party is evidence that all parties can be reorganised.

A few words at the beginning about the character of the reorganisation of our Party.

We had in the United States **eighteen language sections**, i. e., we had really eighteen parties. We did not have territorial branches made up of all these groups, we had language branches — we had German branches, Russian branches, Ukrainian branches and so through the whole list. So our problem was not only one of reorganising the Party on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei but the problem of organising these eighteen language sections into common organisations.

We began our reorganisation in December 1924 by general instructions to the Party in regard to reorganisation and after some ten months of work we found that we had only sixty nuclei organised in the Party so that when the new Central Executive Committee took over the Party in September we found it necessary to proceed in a different way than we had been working in the past. In the place of a programme, a general programme, we worked out different programmes for every city organisation in the Party. We set a time for propaganda and for a month our press carried on agitation continually. Then we set a time for the division of the cities into sections and sub-sections and then had the various language groups come together in their sections, and in the section meetings proceeded immediately to organise into common organisations. During the months since the end of September to the middle of January we have succeeded in reorganising every large city in the country on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei. In September we had sixty nuclei altogether and in the middle of January we had five hundred nuclei organised throughout the United States. The reorganisation was complete for the whole party up to 70% of the Party membership.

We have, of course, a large number of street nuclei for we have a Party of 20,000 in a country of 110 million, so necessarily our Party is very thinly scattered throughout the country and there are many cities where we do not have more than one member working in a shop or factory. In spite of all this, we have in New York City, for instance, where we have a total of 2500 members, now 207 shop nuclei organised with 46 street nuclei. We have in the City of Chicago, the second largest city in the country,

27 shop nuclei and 38 street nuclei. Out of a total of 1200 members before the reorganisation in Chicago, altogether 950 have been organised into shop and street nuclei. We can say that within another two months the whole Party in the United States will be reorganised on the basis of shop nuclei and street nuclei.

Now as to the **work of the shop nuclei**. The general sentiment among the membership is, that now, at last, they can work as a Communist organisation. We found that immediately the nucleus organised it began to take active part in the life of the factory where it was organised. We have had a score of experiences where these nuclei have taken up the problems of the factory on the matter of hours of work, the question of wages, questions of factory conditions — they are carrying on active propaganda and are attaining results in this respect. For instance, in the Chicago Stockyards where there are 40,000 workers employed, the members in the nuclei were able to gather material through which our daily national organ, the "Daily Worker", has carried on a month's campaign against the conditions in the stockyards and has stirred up the question of organising into unions the stockyards workers.

Another instance which will be of interest to you because the question is discussed so much in Europe at the present time — it is the **Ford Automobile Plants**. The Ford Automobile Plants — together the two plants have 60 thousand workers employed — 40 thousand in one and 20 thousand in the other. Our largest nucleus and our best working nucleus is in the Ford Automobile Plant which should be evidence to you that the workers in the Ford Plant do not look upon Ford in the sense that he is pictured to European workers. What has this Ford nucleus done? We printed in our daily organ, the Daily Worker, two days in succession, an article over "Ford, pacifist turned imperialist" showing the conditions in his plant. This Ford nucleus took 15,000 copies of each issue and distributed it among the workers in the Ford plant.

We have had a **campaign for the "Daily Worker"** to raise money for the "Daily Worker" and we succeeded in raising 40,000 dollars for our paper. We found in looking over the returns, that the largest contributions came from the shop nuclei. The Ford nucleus raised more money than any other unit of our Party for this campaign.

We have at the present time a new campaign to draw the nuclei into a political campaign. We are working on the **propaganda for the Labour Party**. We are initiating in the factories a referendum where the workers put themselves on record as demanding of the American Federation of Labour that it call a conference to organise a Labour Party in the United States. This proposal is being circulated through all the shop nuclei and the workers in the factories are being registered in support of this proposition. We are thereby drawing them into active support of the agitation and propaganda for a Labour Party.

Our general experience in relation to the reorganisation has been that although we may have reduced the membership temporarily in the period of reorganisation the Party strength and influence has doubled and tripled through a more effective form of organisation and that the Party today is stronger for its work than it has been at any time in the past because today the Party membership are so organised that they can be drawn into action in support of the general campaigns of the Party. We have experienced that in the celebrations of the November 7th Anniversary. The nuclei of certain factories have been able to draw a large number of the workers there into the mass meeting in celebration of the anniversary.

The nuclei are beginning also to publish their **own papers**. We have in the **Westinghouse plant in Pittsburg** where there are more than 10,000 workers in the one factory, a shop nucleus paper. In **Detroit the Fisher Body Plant** shop nucleus has a paper, the Ford plant nuclei are beginning to issue a paper using the question of the life in the factory for agitation for the Party.

We, in the United States, believed that the problem of reorganising was a very hard and very difficult and therefore a serious matter for our Party but when we took it up systematically, when we went to work with a plan and carried it through, we have found that it was not so hard, we found that many difficulties existed only in our own minds, for instance, the question of the languages.

We feel that, as a result of what we have achieved and what we will do in the months to come, our Party will really become a functioning Party through the reorganisation.

Comrade Mandel (Switzerland):

We have made a good beginning with our factory nucleus work. To be sure we do not have many big enterprises. In my town for instance on an average two comrades work in an enterprise and in some enterprises only one comrade is to be found. In many factories the workers are not even organised in trade unions, not to mention the C. P. It is self-evident that we must get into these enterprises through the street nuclei. We have already succeeded in doing this in some of the enterprises. I myself have been attached by the Party Executive to the nucleus of a big engineering works, and I can say that in comparison with what I have heard here about other countries, very little has been done by us. But one thing is certain: in this enterprise our comrades are the most active workers. In a big struggle our comrades led the strike. The strike ended with a partial success but our comrades lost their jobs. But this certainly won them sympathy.

At present this factory nucleus is working systematically.

We hold meetings every fortnight. The first item on the agenda is a report on the situation in the factory. On various occasions we took the lead in the struggle whenever there were conflicts with the management. In our factory nucleus we give first place to trade union questions. In the question of the Russia Delegation it was our enterprise that proposed the sending of a delegation. We also deal with all other Party questions.

We have now put on the ticket for the March National Council Elections the victimised strike leader. It happened for the first time since the existence of the Swiss National Council that a real working man was elected.

Apart from this nucleus we have small nuclei on the railways and they function very well. In my town there are altogether 20 factory nuclei.

In Basle our comrades in the factory nuclei do more effective work. There half of the comrades are organised in factory nuclei and they turn their attention also to political questions. They have good positions in the trade unions and carry on active work. Social-Democrats are in a minority in the trade unions. But there was much divergence of opinion concerning the expediency of reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis. The reason for this is that our members are widely scattered because we have no big enterprises.

But I think that we are justified in saying that the period of ideological preparation is over and that at present the entire Party with the exception of a very few comrades is convinced of the necessity to work in the factory nucleus and to look upon the nucleus as the foundation of the entire movement.

Comrade Walz (Germany):

I would like to report on certain negative sides of the nucleus work in Germany. First of all the question of the unemployed and their attachment to the factory nuclei has not yet been positively answered in this meeting. We adopt the standpoint that the unemployed for reasons of principle as well as for practical reasons must be attached to the factory nuclei. The unemployed, if they are without work for some length of time, as a result of their economic situation are more revolutionarily inclined than the workers in the factories. The more passive section of the working class in the present situation is in the factories. Many workers are afraid that they will be thrown out of the factory because of their political work. If the unemployed are organised in the street nuclei, that encourages the ultra-Left sentiments in the Party, and can then lead to such results as the demand for a national congress of the unemployed without any relation with the working class as a whole. But if the unemployed are attached to the factory nuclei, this will lead to a closer relation of our own Party members with the workers in the factory. Of course the negative side also appears here, since we have not yet succeeded sufficiently in winning over the attached unemployed to intensive work in the nucleus work, although there are many occasions for the co-operation of the unemployed in the nucleus — supporting the nucleus work from outside, distribution of the factory paper, leaflets, etc. We believe in principle that the unemployed should not be organised in the street nuclei, but always in the factory nuclei. Exceptions occur only in those cases where there are no factories.

Another negative aspect: In Germany we have a number of factories which are closed down temporarily for months at a time. In spite of this we maintain the nuclei there. Of course that cannot last long because the distances in cities like Berlin are too great. We will therefore adopt the following measures; wherever the nucleus is maintained, we will retain only as many comrades in the nucleus as we require for its maintenance. The other members of the nucleus will be attached to some factory nucleus within the territory of the sub-section, but not to a street nucleus.

The real character of the German Party was only revealed on the basis of the revision, and we have discovered that our influence is centred mostly in the middle-sized and small factories. We can say that we control the greater part of these factories, but not the big factories.

There are many factories in which there are only 1 or 2 comrades. Now the question confronts us, what shall we do with these scattered members? So far we have gathered them together into combined nuclei which covered, depending on circumstances, 10, 15, or 20 small factories. It can easily be imagined how tremendously difficult this organisational work is, all the more since we have had so little experience in this field.

And now to the street nuclei. In Berlin we dealt with this question on the basis of the letter of the Org. Department and have also come to the conviction that it is necessary to have several street nuclei in each sub-section. But since the street nuclei must be represented in the sub-section executive, the question confronts us as to how we can bring it about that the factory workers nevertheless retain the decisive influence in the sub-section executive. We believe that in spite of the fact that several street nuclei exist in our sub-section, the street nuclei as a whole may have one or at the most two of their members in the sub-section executive, in order not to repress the influence of the factory nuclei.

We now have factories in Germany which have been purged 6, 7 and 8 times of revolutionary elements by the employers. Therefore the circumstance has arisen that in Germany there are 18 Communists to 50 workers in a middle-sized factory, whereas in a big concern like Siemens, there is only one Communist to every 320 workers. This is the effect of the terror of the employers.

How can the nucleus, in spite of all this, get a foundation in the big factories? The chief means is that the nucleus must anchor itself in the factory through the trade union work, for the comrades who are Communist trade union officials, have thus a firm basis in the factory since they gain the confidence of the workers in their everyday advocacy of their interests, and in this we cannot be so easily disciplined. We have already had such experiences.

We can strengthen our nucleus work only through trade union work, and I emphasise this because the following report runs like a red thread through all the reports which we get from the factories: where the Communists do not do trade union work, they also cannot do any Communist work, it is impossible to call factory meetings there to deal with political questions. In short, the foundation of Party work is chiefly the trade union work in the factories.

There is still another point. In Berlin we are able to capture the trade union functions in all the middle-sized and small factories, but that does not help us, for instance, in gaining control of the metal workers' union. But if we should succeed in getting two big factories in Berlin, for instance, the Siemens and the AEG Concern, that means that we can get the metal workers' union into our hands, at one stroke, tear away the foundations of the reformist trade union bureaucracy, and replace them with Communist foundations.

In the Commission we must deal with specially intricate questions in the nucleus structure — the question of the formation of nuclei for harbour workers, building workers, home workers, nuclei in hotels, among the street car workers, especially among the traffic personnel, and among the railroad workers. It is necessary on the railroads, especially in the larger cities, to have permanent executives, firm active executives, which knit together all the workshops, the stations, freight shed, etc.

Comrade Khitarov (Youth International):

The youth organisations have factory nuclei practically nowhere, and for this reason we are not in a position to tell you of practical experiences such as the representatives of the Party nuclei reported.

At the last Org. Conference the Youth League opposed the street nuclei, but we have in the meantime realised that our standpoint was wrong, and we are willing and ready to learn from you here. But our experiences do not end with the lessons learned with regard to the question of the street nuclei.

We began the nucleus work in our League 3 years ago. A year ago this reorganisational work had more or less reached its height. That was a period when this reorganisational work was actually carried on in Germany, France and Czechoslovakia. At that time we had the right to say that the youth was in advance on this question. But then the work receded. What is the reason for this retrogression? It is not so simple to answer this question.

We cannot say to-day that in a single League (naturally with the exception of that of the Soviet Union) the reorganisation has been accomplished. On the contrary, even all that which had been achieved has slipped back. We have factory nuclei at present in practically all the countries, but only very few, and these nuclei have not become the basis of organisation. Why?

The question of reorganisation is a much more difficult one for the Youth Leagues than for the Party. The ideological preparation of the question was much easier for us. But the actual realisation of the reorganisation hits upon a number of difficulties for the youth.

The difficulties lie first of all in the numerical weakness. The largest League outside of Russia — Germany — has only 20,000 members. But the small Leagues also have a very unfavourable social composition. When the Parties here reported that a great part of the comrades are employed in middle-sized and small factories, that applies still more to the Youth Leagues. That is then a series of objective difficulties.

The reorganisation, however, also collapsed among the youth in consequence of a number of subjective factors and errors. These errors were of various kinds. Our Leagues were too mechanically reorganised. A classic example is Berlin, where our comrades did the reorganisational work so badly that it is very difficult now to make a fresh attempt. Perhaps a change has come about recently in the attitude of the comrades, but in spite of this it is a fact that on the basis of the disappointment, for instance, of the Berlin comrades, it is very difficult to resume this work. The mechanical aspect consisted of setting too short a period of time for the reorganisation, and that then the comrades were distributed too dictatorially among the factory nuclei, without taking into consideration whether or not they can be useful there, while the residential organisations were simply liquidated. The new structures were insufficient, the old residential organisations simply dissolved, and the result was that the new organisation could not work, that the members were lost to some extent, and the rest of them gradually returned to the old residential organisation. In France this was not much better. In Paris itself we have at present a reorganised structure, it is true, and that is the only organisation which has been reorganised in France. This Paris organisation has about 60 factory nuclei but they are not yet the basis of organisation.

The too schematic procedure in the reorganisation was one reason.

The second reason is that our comrades did not understand how to develop live mass work in the factories where a factory nucleus was formed.

And now what shall we do? It is our plan to resume the reorganisation in all the Leagues despite of, or precisely because of the bad experiences, to continue it and to complete it. The Plenum of the Youth Executive takes place at the same time as the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. At this Plenum the question of reorganisation will be raised and the experience of all the Leagues will be recapitulated. This will be done in accordance with a general plan which we will formulate here and in accordance with a special plan which we will formulate jointly with the various Leagues. We will issue the general direction that the work of reorganisation must be undertaken without delay in the Leagues, and we will declare that it must be pos-

sible in the course of this year to reorganise the majority of our Leagues — at least the most important districts — in such a way, that we can say that the reorganisation is actually in progress.

If we would be successful in this work, we must take a very important point into consideration: the relation with and support of the Party. It has been said here that the work among the Youth is still very weak and that even where strong Party nuclei exist there are no youth nuclei, or only very weak ones. Such a situation, where the Party has the opportunity of creating a youth nucleus by assigning a few Party comrades for this work, and it does not do so, must cease. The slogan must be — no Party nucleus without a youth nucleus.

Comrade Thorez (France):

I wish to touch briefly on three points:

The structure of our nuclei, their activity, and finally the proletarian unity committees.

The structure of our nuclei:

In the French Party we have only 60% workers, of which the majority are employed in small or middle-sized factories. In the big factories we have very meagre forces. But since 40% of our members are not factory workers, we must admit that we made a very big mistake at the last Conference when we rejected the street nuclei in which these comrades would have to be organised.

We had nuclei which included only a very limited number of comrades working in factories.

Another thing is very important: we had in our Party, not only workers who are active in the small and middle-sized factories. The workers who are joining the C. P. F. now are mostly skilled workers who at times reveal a tendency to oppose the acceptance of unskilled workers in the nuclei.

I would like also to describe a special case. We have big concerns with several thousand workers. Out of every hundred Party members only about 30 live near the place of work; the others live 10, 20 or 30 kilometres away from the factory.

I want to describe the solution we found. We decided to organise these comrades according to residence. We elected delegates to head each group of comrades living in one place. The comrades thus organised (according to residence) are considered members of the factory nucleus, and we are striving to allow all the delegates of the groups to take part, if not in the general nucleus meetings, then at least, in the meetings of the nucleus executive.

It is clear that we committed a gross error when we thought that we could get along last year without street nuclei. But I must point out that it is wrong to say that on this account we could not work during the elections, because we had no street nuclei, it is not the absence of street nuclei which is to blame, but the lack of sub-sections.

Why do I maintain that the question of street nuclei is important? Because we do not agree with the significance ascribed to the street nucleus. When it is said the street nucleus is important, we agree but when it is said that these nuclei must be formed because there are special tasks to fulfil, then we do not agree. We say: at present the social composition of our Party compels us to keep the handicraftsmen and housewives away from our factory nuclei, since they have nothing to do with them, and we must therefore group them into the street nuclei. We say that, of course, these street nuclei must be formed at present. But what trend of development should we really encourage? The tendency toward the development of our Party consists in undertaking intensive recruiting work in the big factories, in order to improve the composition of our Party. We want to create a Party whose chief basis must remain the factory nucleus.

Second question: we believe that at present the chief problem is the factory nucleus executive. We have very few really organised nucleus executives. Most of our nuclei have only a secretary: the agenda is prepared in a very inadequate way.

The section and the sub-section must assign work to the nuclei and guide them in this work. Meetings of the nuclei functionaries must be held often. We have already begun to hold meetings of nuclei secretaries in the Paris Districts.

We also believe that it would be necessary for the section to have its representative visit the nuclei. Some sort of section instructors must be available whose task it is to visit the nucleus.

There is another great problem to solve in the activity of our nuclei — the factory papers.

Without wishing to say that the factory paper is something decisive, one must admit that it is one of the best means of the nucleus for politically influencing the factory personnel.

I wish also to touch upon a third question: the proletarian unity committees. At present there are 300 proletarian unity committees in the Paris District and a few in the provinces. What are these proletarian unity committee to us? They are a unification of all the workers of various tendencies and Parties in the District. For us they are at present the best form of the united front in the factory. We are encouraging all our nuclei to form such proletarian unity committees.

We cannot state that in all cases the proletarian unity committees were a great success; but in some cases they were really an excellent means for penetrating into and getting a hold on the unorganised masses.

In the provinces in the districts where the Social Democrats are very strong, we have formed some proletarian unity committees and the Socialist leaders fought them precisely as they did in Germany.

Why do our proletarian unity committees develop so slowly in the provinces? Because we meet with the resistance of the trade unionists, even sometimes of the Red. They thought the proletarian unity committees were intended to replace the trade unions, and that they might injure the development of the trade unions. That was a mistake. On the contrary, they help the trade unions in recruiting members.

We have also insisted very emphatically that in the formation of the proletarian unity committees, the initiative be left to the trade union section in the factory.

One more word with regard to the proletarian unity committees. It does not seem to be understood why we raise the question of the proletarian unity committees and the factory councils. The matter is quite simple. We do it because there have been attempts to oppose the proletarian unity committees to the factory councils. We have explained this question to our comrades. We have proved that the factory council is an organ which is formed in the revolutionary struggle for putting into effect the control of production by the workers. The proletarian unity committees, however, fight for the interests of the workers of the factory by uniting them all; we cannot oppose it to the factory council. We must regard it as the nucleus of the future factory council. We must explain that in the period of struggle, the factory council will emerge from this form of proletarian unity committee.

Comrade Piatnitsky (Org. Department E. C. C. I.):

Comrade Thorez said that I was not right when I said that the municipal elections turned out badly because there were no street nuclei. I claim that it was so and will prove it right now. The so-called "work-groups" were formed for the elections, provisional organs for conducting the elections. These organs, however, concerned themselves with Party questions, with the Party discussions. Naturally no Party organisation should be created which has not the right to discuss Party questions or other questions. But these organisations were created especially for the elections. As soon as they were formed, they concerned themselves with Party questions and the elections were neglected. Last year we told the French comrades: whether you need the street nuclei or not, we don't know at this moment; you claim they are not needed, but you should not prevent the other Parties from forming street nuclei or to abolish those that exist. The Central Committee has now itself admitted that it cannot get along without the street nuclei. The resolution was passed to organise them, but it was not carried out.

Now, Comrade Thorez says that they do not agree to form street nuclei unless they are regarded as transitory phenomena. I think that there is no sense in disputing to-day as to whether they are transitory or not. Practice itself will show. I believe that without the street nuclei we will not get along in Europe. I will not state to-day, as I said before, that it is not a transition form. Practice will show.

Which is more important — street or factory nucleus? The factory nucleus. Because through the factory nuclei we have the

connection with the masses, with the factory. You saw that here in the U. S. S. R. If we have a group of comrades in the factory who are closely connected with the Party, then it is possible to get the factory in our hands when we seize power. What can the street nucleus do? Can it conquer the houses, the street, no, it cannot. The significance of the factory nucleus is therefore greater. But if a street nucleus is necessary, it will do all the Party work in its territory. It will decide and discuss all the Party questions, and has the right to take part in all the conferences, just like the factory nucleus. There are no members of first and second rank. All Party members have equal rights. Are street nuclei necessary in France? Absolutely. Now the Org. Conference must state that the French Party must form street nuclei. There are various countries and various conditions. But what do we see? In all the countries there are street nuclei and everywhere they have proved their worth, so well, in fact, that everyone runs to the street nuclei. But we do not want that. We want the people to go into the factories.

In America the street nuclei are full-blooded and the factory nuclei very small, and the same applies to Germany. The street nuclei have themselves proved their worth, we cannot get along without them. We must get the worker wherever he is, in the factory, in the street car, or at home. He does not live where he is working, and therefore he must be organised in the street nucleus.

Comrade Thorez is right when he says that the elections turned out pretty badly because the Party organisations functioned badly. All work — not only the election work — will turn out badly if no one is there to conduct it. The nuclei must have an executive which distributes the work of the nucleus.

The nuclei have no plan for their work as yet. But if they had worked well, then their influence on the working class would have been much greater than it is. The nuclei which up till now have had poor executives or virtually no executives at all, have shown that the work in the factory has such opportunities, that even a nucleus which is still working badly, can gain some influence. This will increase when the nucleus gets a good executive.

I ask the French comrades to make good use of our experiences, especially with regard to the street nuclei.

Comrade Lanøseth (Norway):

In the question of forming the nuclei we did not proceed systematically at first and the organisations which we had were not systematically transferred to a factory basis. The consequence was that the newly-formed nuclei died off and hibernated.

As in other countries, the main weight was not concentrated on the big factories. Usually the nuclei which were organised on the initiative of the comrades themselves, were in the small factories. In the bigger factories on the other hand, we have no such firm hold. As in all other countries, we are also confronted with the question of taking the proper measures and finding the ways of overcoming these difficulties. Naturally our opponents put special obstacles into our path. Our fellow workers from the other Parties have confidence in our people as far as trade union work is concerned. But they tell our comrades: if you organise a nucleus in the factory, then our Party will also start doing so, and in this manner it will undermine your trade union influence. We have therefore tried to find some other ways. In some of the factories we tried to form clubs composed of active comrades and trade union workers. In this way our comrades get in touch with the most radical elements in the factories and can act openly in this manner.

The dying off of nuclei which were just newly-formed is a general phenomenon. Definite resolutions must be passed on how this can be avoided; for instance, by assigning comrades to them from nuclei that are working well, etc.

Now I will proceed to the second main question. We can say about our nuclei to-day that they have organisationally stood the test. But we must still formulate and learn the correct methods of work, for improvement of the organisational work. The correct solution of the question of the detail work in the factory nuclei is the most important question on the agenda. Not only the nucleus but also the individual comrades must get an understanding of how Party work must be done. The correct solution of this question will also facilitate the solution of the question of the activity of the individual Party members and the crystallisation of a firm Party cadre.

Now a few words on the nucleus executive. Many nuclei executives have not yet understood that they must conduct the work between nuclei meetings and give the individual Party members tasks to perform. It is necessary in any case to give detailed instructions on the tasks and duties of the nucleus executive.

With regard to the factory paper, the same experiences were made in other countries, as the debate showed, as with us. The question of financing and distributing the factory papers, as well as the creation of factory papers in the small factories are specially important questions. We solved the financial questions or at least facilitated its solution in individual cases by taking advertisements for the factory papers. It was very difficult to start factory papers in the small factories. I would like to get some suggestions from the German comrades on how the hand-written papers are made up. We have many factories in the countryside and the tendency began to transform the factory papers into local papers. In some cases we had to interfere.

The correct solution of the problem of how the dues are to be collected is very important. The collection is made difficult because many comrades are several months in arrears in their payments and afterwards are not in a position to pay the comparatively high amount of the accumulated dues. We solved this question in some of the factories in such a way that the collector takes part of the dues each week when the workers have received their wages, and at the end of a month the dues stamps are distributed.

In this manner it can be avoided that good comrades are lost to the movement merely because they cannot pay a large sum at one time. Thus the question of the dues payments must be solved individually; this method was also applied successfully in the case of unemployed and those comrades who have large families.

A further question is the politisation of the nuclei, as well as the question of trade union work. These two questions were taken up separately in the discussion here, which is incorrect. Especially in the present situation, the trade union work, as well as the formation of unity committees, (which in my opinion must serve chiefly, during the first period, in supporting and strengthening the trade union work) is political work. The political questions must be used as support for trade union work, and on the other hand the trade union work must be linked up with the political questions.

Comrade Rob on (Great Britain):

Owing to the smallness of our Party in Britain the factory nuclei are very small in number. The largest factory nucleus in London constitutes 60 Party members but the average nucleus is 8 or 9 comrades. In a large number of nuclei there are only 3-4 and 5 comrades. This fact naturally influences our factory nucleus work. In addition to this, factory nuclei in industries such as engineering, mining, and the iron and steel industry, are considerably affected by constant dismissals.

Because of the smallness of the nuclei we have no nuclei executives but only factory nucleus leaders. We do not attach comrades who do not work in the factories to the factory nuclei. We only attach, in some cases, an experienced comrade from a street nucleus to the factory nucleus for the purpose of assisting in the production of a factory paper or for the purpose of training the factory nucleus in Party work.

We have not many factory nuclei committees in the engineering industry, but our factory nuclei agitate and work for the construction of shop committees.

In the transport industry which is not suffering so much from the depression in England, factory nucleus work has proved easier than in some others. We have more factory nuclei in the railway industry of England than in any other industry. Here we have the largest factory nuclei as well as the most successful.

We have also discovered that factory nuclei have been more successful in connection with fraction work in the trade unions, more practical than street nuclei, and that the factory nuclei have been more successful than street nuclei in collecting names for the petitions for the release of our twelve comrades and the miners of South Wales who are in prison. They have also collected more funds for the preparation of the cases of our comrades in prison.

With regard to factory newspapers. In connection with this work we have discovered that the factory newspaper is very useful in organising around the factory nucleus a number of

sympathisers. Where the factory newspaper is a good one we have been successful in getting sympathisers to help distribute the paper. We have been very careful regarding the production and the contents of our factory newspapers.

On the front page of the paper we have a cartoon which is applicable to some current question for the workers in the industry in question. We have discovered that the factory nuclei members have exhibited very great talent in the way of writing articles and drawing cartoons. On the second page of the factory newspapers we deal with workshop questions and street nuclei questions and on the third and on the last page of the paper, we deal with general political questions linked up with the life of the workers in the shops as far as possible. The quality of these papers vary because the comrades are not equally capable. In addition to this we attempt to introduce humorous remarks because the British workers are always willing to laugh, always willing to be amused and satirical papers prove very popular. With regard to the contents of our factory papers, we have to be very careful in getting this to the workers, because the British workers have a strong trade union tradition and strong organisations. The workers are not so critical on political questions but very critical regarding practical results. Despite all the difficulties, however, comrades, it can be said that in England with very small nuclei and with great difficulties the factory nuclei have proved successful and will, in the future, no doubt prove more successful.

Comrade Fried (Org. Department of the E. C. C. I.):

I will deal here with a quite special question. Out of the whole work of the factory nuclei I will take one individual question, the question of the Factory Paper. All the comrades who have reported on their experiences in nucleus work pointed to the great role which the factory paper plays.

We can say that despite the fact that the First Org. Conference of the C. I. laid down the lines for the work of the factory papers, a great number of shortcomings pointed out by the first Org. Conference still exist.

During the last year we had very little experience to rely upon. Where were there any factory papers a year ago? Only in France and in Germany. In the other countries, on the contrary, there were as yet none. And what have we today? The small exhibit in the hall here shows that the number of Sections of the C. I. which issues factory papers has grown. The time is near when there will be no Party which does not issue factory papers. At the same time we must emphasise, however, that there are certain Parties where the development of the factory papers has had set-backs, for instance in Germany. Why? Because the appearance and the content of the factory paper depends on the way the factory nucleus is working.

We must assert that with regard to these factory papers, the British Party has had the greatest success. 50% of the British nuclei issue factory papers. I have here a list according to which the British Party has 153 factory nuclei and issues 75 factory papers.

Why is the number of factory papers still so small? In the first place it is due to ideological causes. There is not yet everywhere understanding of the importance of the factory papers. The nuclei which have reported here have all emphasised the importance of the factory papers. But there are still some factory nuclei which do not yet understand this question. In Germany there are still some factory nuclei which say that it is too dangerous to issue factory papers; they believe that the place of the factory papers can be taken by the general Party papers. In certain parts of Germany the Party press issues factory editions, for instance the "Sozialistische Republik" in Cologne. It is believed that these factory editions can give the workers a substitute for the factory papers.

I wish to point out still another deficiency in the work in the nuclei. What is the starting point of the factory papers? To enable us to have a better approach to the broad non-Communist masses. Is that understood everywhere? I believe not. We have proofs that the comrades have not understood that the aim of the factory paper is the approach to the broad masses. We can also assert that the comrades in the factory nuclei do not handle the Social Democratic and unorganised workers correctly. We must not lump the Social Democratic workers together with the Social Democratic leaders.

Now to the question of **who** is to make up the factory paper. The factory paper will be able to fulfill its tasks only if the factory nucleus on the one hand and the workers in the factory on the other hand actively cooperate. If we, for instance, read through some of the factory papers, we find a certain monotony in them. The very appearance shows us that the papers are made up in a centralised manner. That does not apply merely to the technical make-up, but also, of course, to the contents of the papers. If we look through the factory papers of France, for instance, we can see that the leading article often appears in a whole series of factory papers, for example, on Morocco, the financial difficulties, etc. That proves that these articles were not written by a comrade in the factory, but by someone else who has sent them to the various nuclei. This procedure has two drawbacks: on the one hand the initiative of the nucleus is hampered, and on the other hand this method does not give the possibility of linking up the general political questions with the questions of that particular factory. When we said that the factory papers should be written for the masses, that does not mean that the Communist character of the factory papers should be either veiled or entirely eradicated, as happened in France, for example. The French factory papers formerly declared openly that they are organs of the Party nucleus. I do not know why all the factory papers have given up this practice. For some time they have been calling themselves "organs of propaganda". What does that mean? Which propaganda? This will cause confusion. A factory paper writes: "We are a sheet which does not belong to any definite Party". That is already an utterly impermissible practice.

The political campaigns of the Party must naturally find their expression in the factory newspapers. But they must be linked up with the questions of the factory. Yet the British example shows that in many places the campaigns of the Party are not linked up with the factory papers. We find that in the British factory papers nothing is said of the recruiting campaign of the C. P. G. B., or if it is done, then only in the form of a short appeal to the workers to join the Party.

The French factory papers apply a method of printing citations from Marx and Lenin. That in itself is good, but we want the broad masses to understand the quotations also, and it is therefore, necessary that the quotation be linked up with the contents of the paper. But that is not done. The greatest disadvantage of the factory papers is that they appear irregularly. We do not mean to say, of course, that the papers should appear regularly and promptly on the first or the fifteenth of the month, but in any case some definite interim must be observed.

As far as the distribution of the paper is concerned, we have heard of examples of the great number of copies that are distributed in the various countries and the various factories. Nevertheless we must emphasise that it is necessary to work more carefully in the various countries, because of the growth of unemployment, the economic crisis, etc. More than ever before must the attached comrades be drawn into the work of distributing the factory paper. The question must be weighed everywhere, how the factory papers can be distributed on a wider scale but at the same time in the most careful manner.

Now to the question of financing the factory papers. The comrade from Norway has given interesting descriptions of how the financial question was settled there. They simply accept advertisements of the capitalists, of the tobacco manufacturers, etc., and thus they receive money for the factory paper. That is not possible everywhere. In Great Britain the comrades sell the factory papers for a half-penny. In Germany the nuclei members received a premium for every worker they brought into the trade unions, and the money was used for the paper. Money is also provided through collection lists, and the workers have gladly given money for a factory paper.

By financing the paper itself, the activity of the nucleus is increased. There are cases, of course, where it is necessary for the higher organs of the Party to provide the nuclei with financial support for the papers.

The difficulties mentioned by certain Party members against the issuing of the factory papers have now been overcome in most cases, and that is a proof of the fact that the comrades who still entertained doubts about this form of work of the factory nuclei are now convinced of its necessity. The further development of the factory papers does not depend entirely on how far the factory nuclei themselves overcome their faults, but to a great extent on how far the higher Party organs devote their attention to this question.

In order to effect all possible improvements in the contents of the factory paper, every single number must be discussed by the nucleus and higher Party executive. The nuclei must be instructed, the editors must meet, so that experiences may be exchanged. The Party papers must be used in utilising experiences. I mention as an example the central organ of the British Party, the "Workers Weekly" where lately extracts from factory papers have been printed continually for the purpose of exchanging experiences.

I believe that by constant instruction on the content and methods of technical make-up, we can achieve a rapid development of the factory papers. We will then have papers in every one of the larger nuclei which exercise their influence on the broad non-Communist masses, and create a circle of sympathisers around the factory nucleus.

Comrade Karic (Yugo-Slavia):

We have heard here the reports of certain comrades who work under more or less legal conditions. All these reports have showed that the nuclei have stood the test. I wish to support this with an example from an illegal Party, which worked under the most difficult conditions, under White Terror.

In speaking of the necessity of reorganising the Parties on the basis of nuclei in the legal Parties, this question in illegal parties plays even a considerably greater role. It might be said that the nucleus is the only means for maintaining contact with the broad masses of workers.

In Yugo-Slavia the Party has achieved results in one year, since the reorganisation has been carried on. The organisational status at the end of March 1925 was a very miserable one. The situation has improved with the reorganisation. The success which the Party has had in the reorganisation can be judged from the following example: In one of the largest cities in Yugo-Slavia we had only one factory nucleus at the time the reorganisation was begun; all the other comrades were for the most part in small undertakings and had joined street nuclei. Now, after a year of work, we already have 20 large factory nuclei in this town, that is, in all the large factories we have already organised nuclei. As far as the number of members is concerned, one might say that in this regard also, the reorganisation has exercised great influence. Since the reorganisation the number of members has trebled. The percentage of workers in the Party has also increased and that is also due to the nucleus. The following example shows how the influence grows parallel with the development of the nuclei: at the beginning of 1925, that is, at the beginning of the reorganisation, we received 200 votes in the elections in a small city. At the end of 1925, when the reorganisation had already progressed quite well, we received 380 votes, and at the beginning of 1926, a few days ago, it was already 480 votes. That means that in one year of reorganisation we increased our votes by 100%.

The nuclei work quite actively. I wish to give the example of a factory where a nucleus of 18 members distributes 250 copies of its paper. Every member has his work in this nucleus and must carry it out. That certainly does not mean that we have no faults. One of the greatest faults is that the work in the nucleus proceeds somewhat one-sidedly. Of the trade union work one might say that it is generally very weak. As far as the politisation of the nucleus is concerned, there also remains much to be desired.

We had quite considerable difficulties in the work of reorganisation, which arose mainly out of the structure of the country.

The problems confronting our nuclei, and in general the whole Party are the same as those of all others: the problem of close contact between higher Party organs and nuclei; the instruction of the nucleus, the politisation of the nucleus and the systematic distribution of the work in the nucleus.

Comrade Olsen (Sweden):

In Sweden the factory nucleus question was already dealt with in 1924 during the Höglund Crisis. The reorganisation question was raised at the Congress in 1924 and concrete policies were formulated there. These policies revealed defects. The comrades thought that they had to restrict themselves enti-

rely to factory nuclei as the basic unit, whereas the street nuclei were to play a purely agitational role, receiving and carrying out special tasks. Besides this mistake, the question of the relation of the fraction to the nucleus was also wrongly conceived.

Another mistake which the Swedish comrades made in the work of reorganisation was the question of setting a definite time limit. In 1925 the Party had set a three-month's limit for carrying out the reorganisation, ending on May 11, 1925. That did not work and proved itself Utopian. The members were divided purely mechanically, they were simply transferred from the residential organisation to the nucleus. This attempt miscarried.

In the summer of 1925 the Party, in connection with a political campaign, began to carry out the reorganisation. The slogan read: Anchor the Party in the masses. On October 1, 1925 this was begun and has now been finished. Today the Swedish Party has altogether 446 nuclei, of which 335 are factory nuclei, 62 street nuclei, and 17 village nuclei. The largest nuclei are in the most important industrial centres, in the mechanical, paper and export industry. In Stockholm there are 64 and in Göteborg 24 factory nuclei. In Göteborg all the factory nuclei are in large factories.

The Swedish factory nuclei function particularly well and promptly in the economic trade union questions. The Göteborg Unity Conference and the campaign for trade union unity in general was very actively conducted by the nuclei. The success of the Göteborg Unity Conference was mainly due to the activity of our nuclei.

Of course all the nuclei are not yet working well, some are not doing any political work. The fact that the nuclei can quite readily win the confidence of the employees is shown by a case in Sundswall: In a paper factory 12 comrades were united in a nucleus. The administration wanted to fire two Social Democratic workers. The nucleus executive decided to mobilise the employees immediate in the defense of the two Social Democratic workers, and threatened the employers with a strike. The employees supported the slogan of the nucleus, so that the administration was compelled to reinstate the two Social Democratic workers. The nucleus has enjoyed the respect of all the employees every since.

During the reorganisation the number of Party members increased. The number of Party members in **Schöneberg** increased from 38 to 181, in Göteborg from 203 to 650, and in Leileo from 44 to 209.

It was demonstrated that the factory nuclei could also work well in the countryside. In Central Sweden in **Okkelbo**, 2 factory nuclei in a saw mill and in a railway station have begun to work among the peasantry and the agricultural workers, and have succeeded in increasing their membership from 27 to 68 and in organising 4 village nuclei.

The membership on the whole greatly increased during the reorganisation: from 7,000 to 9,957. During the offensive from October to January, the Party gained about 1,500 new members. The Social Democrats are agitating for the clearing out of all Communists and all nuclei from the factories, but the non-Party workers are strongly against this slogan. In the question of **unemployment** also, results were obtained by good nucleus work. In consequence of the reorganisation, the political activity of the comrades is increasing, for in the daytime they work in the factory nuclei, and in the evening they are distributed by the Executive among the street nuclei in the districts where they live. Today it can be stated that 55% of the Party members do active political work, and 45% technical work, like selling papers, etc.

Comrade Browder (America):

Comrades, it is necessary to make some reservations with regard to the picture given you of the reorganisation in the American Party. The fact that such reports could be made at all, furnishes the key to an understanding of the mistakes which have been made in the reorganisational work in the United States. The optimism, the exaggerated expectations of these comrades, shows us that they do not grasp the real problems confronting us in the work of reorganisation. In consequence of this deficient understanding the reorganisational measures were mechanically applied without taking into consideration the manner in which the Party would react to this process. An example

of the mechanical reorganisation is shown by the method used in building up the apparatus for the reorganisational work. Individual comrades were entrusted with the whole work of reorganisation in a certain city, instead of appointing a responsible committee which was in constant contact with the Party.

The process of reorganisation was limited too much to the registration of comrades and the making out of membership cards. Here and there we have a group, and these membership cards are then published in the paper as a nucleus. When it is stated that in New York City we have 207 factory nuclei, I wish to remark that that means no more than 207 entries on paper: these nuclei are not yet functioning, and do not hold meetings as yet. In New York our comrades are beginning to ask when we intend to begin with the work of reorganisation.

I must mention another mistake which was made in the reorganisation of the Party. In the reorganisation in New York we see that of the newly-elected functionaries of the nuclei in the sub-section and section executives, 80% are former members of the Young Workers League. We are glad to see these young comrades drawn into the work; but if in this process experienced workers, who have belonged to the Party for a long time, are pushed aside, if thereby the work of reorganisation is hindered, and if the nuclei do not meet, then we say that this is a mistake.

Comrade Ernst (Berlin):

A French comrade mentioned during the discussion that there is no reason for the existence of street nuclei, and that the members, such as in the German Party who are organised in street nuclei belong to factory nuclei in France. Experience has taught us in Berlin, that members who are not directly employed in the factory must certainly be organised in street nuclei. I will give you a few practical examples. Suppose the Party is carrying on a campaign for the expropriation of the former royalty and wants to form a committee of action composed of representatives of all the labour organisations. What should be the procedure in such a case? The factory nucleus is of course the basis of the Party, and it is of the utmost importance for us to capture the workers in the factories and to set them in motion for this campaign. We will therefore endeavour with the help of our nuclei to form unity committees in the factories. Just imagine that if in such a case we had attached to the factory nuclei people from street nuclei — housewives, small traders, etc., who, with the formation of the unity committees would have their say in the factory. It is as clear as day that under such circumstances one would discuss all sorts of things in the nucleus, whilst practical work would be paralysed.

Street nuclei have, of course, very definite political tasks to carry out which cannot be performed in the factory. If, for instance, the German workers in the course of the next few months will be faced with the question of higher rents, it is perfectly clear that factory nuclei will not be enough if we are to set large sections of the population in motion. In such a case, street nuclei have very definite and important tasks to fulfil, they must organise the entire propaganda in the residential district, they must see to it that tenants' councils be elected in every house, etc. We must concentrate all our energy on the capture of the big enterprises, and it goes without saying that by attaching small traders, housewives, etc., to the as yet weak nuclei in these big enterprises, the work of these factory nuclei will be paralysed. Our experience has shown that street nuclei are essential, and that factory nuclei can only do satisfactory practical work when there are street nuclei parallel with them.

Comrade Thorez (France):

I will begin with the declaration that without any reservation we acknowledge the errors committed by the French Delegation at the first Org. Conference with reference to the street nuclei. I will add that we are in favour of the street nuclei and in favour of creating sub-section executives.

The most determined opponents of the street nuclei have suddenly developed an absolutely suspicious enthusiasm for the street nuclei. Wherein lies the danger? It lies above all in the decided development of the street nuclei. We have a Party which is not completely reorganised. We want to hammer it into the heads of all our Party members that the factory nucleus is the chief consideration. I therefore insist that the street nucleus is only an organisational transitional form.

We must concentrate all the efforts of the Party on the factory nuclei and for this purpose we must get it into the heads of all our Party members that the first thing to be considered is the development of the factory nuclei.

I repeat that under the present conditions we are in favour of the street nuclei, which we have already formed, and that we will continue to carry out all the decisions of the Org. Conferences.

Comrade Piatnitsky:

I should like to say just a few words about street nuclei. Comrade Thorez argued here that at the V. World Congress the street nucleus was designated as merely a transitional organisational form and that I said the same at last year's Org. Conference. That is so, but it was during last year I relented on certain points. It happened that at that time we had no street nuclei anywhere. We had no experience in this respect because there had never been any street nuclei in Russia. When the question was raised as to in what manner the Russian experiences could be utilised abroad, we were rather at a loss as to what advice to give. Organisation had to be so carried out so that work could be done everywhere. In Russia before the revolution, workers very frequently lived in the neighbourhood of the place of their employment. For West Europe the question arose how Party comrades could be drawn into Party activity after they had left work and had gone home. We thought that the solution would be the so-called street nucleus, but we had no experience whatever to go upon. Foreign comrades, especially the youth and the French comrades, were against street nuclei. In order to arrive at a compromise and to make work in the residential district possible, we agreed to adopt the formula regarding the street nucleus. But in the instructions which we laid before the Presidium already in 1924 and subsequently adopted, we decided exactly on the same kind of work for the street nuclei. I will read you this:

"1) Political and organisation Party work in the residential district, conduct of various campaigns (election campaigns, struggle against the housing crisis and high prices), struggle in order to secure to the families of workers, minor employees and the lower middle classes the necessities of life.

2) Preparation of Party literature, recruiting of new subscribers and new Party members, agitation, propaganda and canvassing among non-Party elements, cultural and educational work in the district (clubs, etc.) drawing sympathisers into demonstrations and into the general struggle of the working class.

3) House to house canvassing in the district, information concerning the Party membership of the residence of the district, concerning political work and fascist activity. Keeping watch over stores of arms, etc."

This was already drawn up in 1924, when we thought that we had a revolutionary situation. That is why we mentioned an information service and keeping watch over stores of arms, etc. But all of you can see that street nuclei already have a certain field of activity, no one denied it then and no one denies it now.

As to the question of whether street nuclei are a transitional form or not, I have already pointed out that this is not an important question. Now it is a question of forming street nuclei, and it remains to be seen if they are merely a transitional form of organisation. I, personally, am of the opinion that they are not. Street nuclei have stood the test therefore they must exist, and all our Parties must begin to develop them. But the Parties must see to it that comrades employed in factories are not registered in the street nuclei.

Comrade Unger (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

(Concluding speech).

I will briefly sum up the results of the discussion. I think that the many interesting experiences mentioned here show clearly that an important side of the reorganisation question has not yet been recognised with sufficient clarity in some of our Parties. It has not yet been realised everywhere that with the reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis there

must be a fundamental change in the working methods of the Parties. Party Executives must give a much more practical support to the work of the nuclei. Nucleus officials must be supplied with practical material to a greater extent than before, for work in factory nuclei is utterly different and much more difficult than the former work in the residential districts.

Another important question which was dealt with in various ways during the discussion is the task of the concentration of Party forces on the capture of the big enterprises. There are various practical measures for the capture of big enterprises which we will discuss in the Commission. Our British comrades have already told us of a very interesting experience: the formation of so-called concentration groups whose task it is to work on the big enterprises, to recruit members there and to organise nuclei. An important prerequisite of this is correct trade union work. Another means is the effort to introduce into the big enterprises, by making use of various possibilities, comrades experienced in mass work.

Another important task is the improvement of the structure of factory nuclei. The comrades have put before us several interesting examples. The French comrade has told us that the majority of the nucleus members do not work in the factory. We have already said that it is impossible for such a nucleus to do good work. Such nuclei are the result of the rejection of street nuclei.

I will deal now with another question: the improvement of the work of the nuclei. In the resolution which we are introducing, we have fully described the shortcomings which are still typical of the work of the nuclei. Some nuclei concern themselves only with purely factory questions, others again — such examples we have seen in France — turn away from the factory workers and do not even attempt to carry on steady mass work against the terror of the employers, exploitation and the bad hygienic labour conditions, etc. Such one-sidedness in nucleus work, we meet with very frequently even now.

A very important question is the formation of nucleus executives in all bigger nuclei. It would almost seem as if this were something quite new to most of the comrades. But it is not new at all. I could place before you a number of quotations from various theses on Org questions passed at former conferences which deal minutely with the necessity to form nucleus executives, with the proper organisation of these nucleus executives, with the distribution of work, with the establishment of close contact between the nucleus executives and the higher Party executives, etc. That we have to discuss this question once more only shows on the one hand that our comrades have not properly studied the theses adopted and on the other hand that we have reached a stage of development when we must pay much more attention to the work of the nucleus executives.

Unfortunately, very little was said in the discussion here of the working experiences of nuclei in enterprises which are so well organised that it is very difficult to do nucleus work during working hours.

Very little was said about the more cautious methods of nucleus work. Every since the beginning of the organisation of nuclei, employers have carried on a fierce struggle against our nuclei. Not in every case were our comrades sufficiently cautious, they acted in a manner to make it very easy for the employers to find out who were members of the Communist nucleus. The result was that they were thrown out of the factories. We must discuss this question more thoroughly. This is all the more necessary as the economic crisis is so severe in many countries, that considerable numbers of workers become unemployed and the employers naturally make use of this opportunity to clear the factories of the Communists.

A third question which deserves even greater attention is the educational work in and for the nuclei. There is no doubt whatever that at present when we have a number of nuclei ready for practical Party work, the question of the educational work of the nuclei is assuming great importance.

I am coming now to the arguments of the various speakers. Comrade Zelle complained that we have not given enough material on the Russian experiences. Up till now all our Parties were in the midst of the reorganisation process. During that process it was more important to obtain for the work of the Parties material from the West European Parties themselves and to utilise it for the Parties. All the more so, as the opponents

of reorganisation were never tired of saying that the factory nucleus is a specifically Russian form of organisation. It was of the utmost importance to show by the experience of the parties in the capitalist countries that nuclei are possible, that they can function in capitalist countries, that they are not only feasible but even essential in these countries. Now that we have entered a new stage of activity, we shall have to publish much more material on the Russian experiences than before.

I am coming now to the question of the department nucleus. It is true that in very big works where the various departments are far from one another, it is difficult to cover the whole field of activity, and therefore it is expedient to form department nuclei. But one should proceed cautiously in this matter.

Then there is the question of the liquidation of residential organisations. On this field our German comrades have had some valuable experience. In this connection it must be pointed out that liquidation must be carefully prepared.

With respect to the unemployed question, two things must be taken into consideration: 1) nuclei must find methods of work which will keep the employer in ignorance of who among the workers are Communists, in order that when a reduction of staff takes place, our comrades are not be dismissed at once; 2) the work of the nuclei must be such that in the event of all our comrades being dismissed, the contact with the factory should not be broken. Another matter is the question of the organisation of the unemployed comrades. What do we propose? Efforts should be made to keep the unemployed comrades in the old nucleus to which they formerly belonged as long as this is possible. If this is not possible, one must endeavour to attach them to a factory nucleus in their residential district. Only in exceptional cases should unemployed comrades be attached to street nuclei, and even then efforts should be made to seek out certain variations. It would not be good to have a factory nucleus with a membership of which 60% are unem-

ployed. It is sometimes possible for an unemployed comrade to do very useful work in the street nucleus. But our chief trend should be: to attach as few as possible unemployed comrades to street nuclei and wherever possible to attach them to factory nuclei.

I should also like to say a few words on the reorganisation of the communist youth. The reorganisation of the Young Communist Leagues shows poor results. The explanation which Comrade Khitarov gave for this was: that objectively the difficulties are greater for the Y. C. L. than for the Parties, and that the process of reorganisation was too schematic in some of the Leagues. That is so. But I think that there is also something else which should be emphasised namely that in view of the fact that the YCLs are weaker than the Parties and that their social composition is even worse than that of the Parties, their proper reorganisation will only be possible when the reorganisation of the C. P. has reached a definite stage. Without the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on a factory nucleus basis, one can hardly expect a successful reorganisation of the YCLs. And even then it will only be possible if there is steady and energetic support on the part of the various Communist Parties. Maximum efforts must be made to achieve this. Every Party must give to the Y. C. L. far greater support than before. In many of the nucleus reports of the Parties, they tell the tale that although frequently 200, 150 or 100 young workers are employed in the factories, no youth nucleus exists, in spite of the fact that the respective Party C. C. is functioning satisfactorily otherwise. It is on this point that we must concentrate all our energy. It is essential that wherever Communist Parties have their factory nuclei, efforts should be made to form also a Y. C. L. nucleus. On this field our Parties must give the utmost support to the Y. C. Ls.

The other questions which were raised here can be discussed much better in the Commission.