

- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6. No. 34

29th April 1926

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

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

10.—17. February 1926.

2nd Part.

Work and Organisation of the Lower Party Executives. (Sub-District, Section and Subsection.)

Comrade Ernst (Germany):

I will give a report on the work of a Berlin Section executive in one administrative district. Greater-Berlin is divided into 20 administrative districts, the boundaries of which are fixed in accordance with a definite municipal-political viewpoint. The Party organisation is divided similarly. The size of these administrative districts varies widely. There are districts with about 800,000 inhabitants, and other with only 80,000 inhabitants. In the administrative district, with which I am dealing here, there are about 220,000 inhabitants, about 35% industrial workers, 50% petty bourgeoisie, civil servants, etc. and 15% big bourgeoisie. Our membership are distributed throughout the administrative district as follows: 60—65% in factory nuclei and 35—40% in street nuclei. In my administrative district there are 6 sub-sections. In the other administrative districts there are on an average 3 to 4 sub-sections. In these 6 sub-sections of our administrative district there are 18 factory nuclei and 6 street nuclei.

The entire work upon the factory and street nuclei is effected by the sub-section executive. The latter is composed of 7 comrades who have to deal with the current work and of 10 comrades who come from the most important factories of the administrative district. The same applies to all the sections. This enables the comrades from the factories to hold an absolute majority in the Executive. The 7 comrades divide the work among themselves as follows: 1 political secretary, 1 Org. secretary, 1 trade union secretary, 1 agitprop secretary, 1 women's secretary, 1 treasurer, and 1 youth representative.

The task before the section executive is to carry out the instructions issued by the Party. For this purpose the section executive, at the beginning of every month, draws up a plan of work for the current period. The section executive meets once a week, invariably on Mondays. This applies to all the administrative districts of Berlin. The transmission of the Berlin-Brandenburg district executive's instructions to the sections is as follows: on Saturday the district executive bureau

meets, and on Monday the section executives. Depending upon the magnitude of the tasks to be discussed it meets either in the capacity of administrative district executive or jointly with the nucleus chairman, so that the Berlin organisation is in a position to transmit very quickly the instructions of the district executive down to the last member.

Up to December of last year we conducted the following important political work: discussion on the E. C. C. I. letter, reorganisation of the Berlin organisation on a factory nucleus basis, municipal council election, the question of trade union unity, the Berlin district Party Congress, the unemployment movement and the expropriation of ex-royalty campaign.

How do the section executives function? The political secretary of the section is responsible to the Berlin district executive for the work done in his administrative district. He has to control all the work in the section and has to study all the avenues for the strengthening of the Party organisation, etc. etc.

The political secretary has to provide the nucleus groups and factory street nuclei with reporters.

The Org. Secretary carries on and superintends the entire organisational work of the section.

The section's trade union secretary sees to it that the organisation carries out the instructions of the Party concerning trade union work. He must, therefore, be in constant touch with all the trade union secretaries of the various sub-sections.

The Section Agitprop. Secretary is responsible for the carrying out of all Party instructions in a manner that insures their effectiveness. For instance on January 27th the Greater-Berlin Party organisation organised a big "expropriation" demonstration. What preparations were made by the Section Agitprop. Secretary for such a demonstration? Together with the section political secretary he had to ascertain the prevailing state of affairs in the factories — the numerical strength of our comrades there, etc. With respect to factories where we are

weak, we had to see to it that comrades from adjoining street nuclei were sent there to do the necessary work — to distribute leaflets, inviting the workers of such factories to participate in the demonstration. He had also to get into touch with the workers' gymnastic clubs of his administrative district, the crematorium society, etc., but above all with the Red Front Fighters League, which is a tremendously important factor in all demonstrations.

As to the organisation of work among women in the district, we have a women's agitation commission consisting of all the subsection women's organisers. Unfortunately all of them are women comrades.

As to the youth organisation, we have one youth representative in our section executive.

In our administrative district sub-sections are formed on an economic-political basis. We have made arrangements to amalgamate, wherever possible, a number of factories of the same industry into a sub-section. There are 6 such sub-sections in our administrative district. The sub-section executive carries out the same work as the section executive, only much more concretely. For instance, whilst the section executive fixes the date of the demonstration, the sub-section executive must see to it that the factories are supplied with handbills, that the factory workers demonstrate in a body, etc. The sub-section executive consists of org, pol, trade union, agitprop and women's secretaries.

The task of the sub-sections executive consists in co-ordinating the various factory nuclei. It must also establish a connection between the factory and street nuclei, and must see to it that the work progresses in all its nuclei.

In the municipal factories a nucleus newspaper is published. The comrades of this nucleus could not circulate it because they would be victimised. It devolves upon the sub-section executive to mobilise the street nucleus for this work. The latter must also undertake the distribution of leaflets and handbills. Another task of the street nucleus consists in discovering our sympathisers in the factories where none of our comrades are employed, in order that the necessary measures be taken to win these sympathisers over to our side.

Whenever there is a campaign on, the sub-section executive must take the lead and must control the work in the area of the nucleus group. The nucleus group is also responsible for the organisation of the work on the trade union field and should discuss the respective activities directly with the Communist trade union officials of the factories.

Reorganisation has given a tremendous impetus to the activity of functionaries and Party comrades.

With respect to the problem of reorganisation it must also be said that upon the arrival of the E. C. C. I. letter a very heated discussion took place in the Berlin organisation. Then came the letter of the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. demanding reorganisation without delay. Comrades are probably aware that the X Party Congress made the decision that the entire German Party must be reorganised by the next Party Congress, that is to say, within one year. Upon the arrival of the E. C. C. I. letter and of the letter of the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I., the Central Committee of the Party instructed the Berlin organisation to carry out its reorganisation within six weeks. There were many apprehensions, but the Berlin organisation succeeded in reorganising itself — if not in six weeks then completely within 8 weeks — with the result that there are no more residential organisations today. Such speedy reorganisation was possible precisely because the Party was in the midst of heated political discussions and because the Berlin-Brandenburg district executive, at the time of the election of the delegate conference of Greater Berlin, issued instructions that the election of the delegates could take place only in the nucleus group (sub-sections) and not in the old membership meetings and that delegates were to be elected on the basis of the number present and not according to the number of those who were always busy somewhere else and never attended meetings. What was the result? Every comrade who wanted to express his political opinion was compelled to attend the nucleus group (sub-section) meeting and even Scholem, who fought desperately against reorganisation, had no other choice but to present his reports and co-reports in the sub-section. By these discussions, the factory nuclei were given a political character and have become an important factor in the Berlin organisation.

Comrade Grübner (Org. Department):

With respect to Comrade Ernst's district I should like to say:

In this case the Executive elected an executive bureau but in Berlin this is an isolated case. As far as I know there is no other section executive in Berlin that has a bureau. But the other shortcomings of this section are the same as in the others. For instance the section executive has as yet no departments; this necessitates a direct connection between the political secretary and the secretaries of all the other branches of work. We have in Germany in the various districts 35 branches of work, and the political secretary is directly connected with each of them. One can easily imagine that he finds it difficult to find comrades capable of taking charge of this or that branch of work. The same applies to the question of reporters. The latter are distributed by the political secretary himself, which means that there is no agitprop. department to train reporters.

As to the connection with the nuclei it is of a purely technical nature and not only in this section, but also in others. For instance the question of the elaboration of the agenda for nucleus sessions has never been discussed. Questions to be discussed in the nuclei are not elaborated and the nuclei receive no instructions on how to deal with the various questions. The reporters who speak in the nucleus do not belong to the latter, but mostly come from outside.

The comrades do not see to the organisational development and consolidation.

Comrade Jonas (Czecho-Slovakia):

Report from a Prague Section. It is not the best section. It has about 40,000 inhabitants, 15,000 of whom are employed in industry and trade. In this section there are 1,150 organised Communists. Two-thirds of them are organised in 16 factory nuclei and one third in 12 street nuclei. The reorganisation of the Party was undertaken already at the end of 1924. The initial work was limited to a formal establishment of nuclei in factories. There are in the section also 50 smaller factories employing 30 to 100 workers in which no factory nuclei were formed hitherto. Members who could not be organised in the factory nucleus because they are not employed in factories (such as housekeepers, domestic servants, etc.) are organised in street nuclei. Street nuclei have been formed by amalgamating some former residential groups. For instance two were amalgamated into one and there were also cases when some organisation was divided into street nuclei for which new executives were elected. But because of the Party crisis no practical work was done in the nuclei. Many leading comrades in the section Executive were then adherents of the Right. Not only did they impede the work of reorganisation, but they also made the members very distrustful of the methods of work. Therefore, the entire activity of a few comrades of the Left tendency had to be concentrated on keeping up at least the formal reorganisation and on counteracting the disruptive influence of the Right elements. Some members of the section executive who could not be persuaded of the necessity of reorganisation and of the new working methods were relieved of their functions and it was only by drawing new forces into the work that the latter could proceed in a systematic manner.

During the Party crisis no new nuclei were formed in the section. Three street nuclei were formed between September and November. A plan has been elaborated for the formation of new factory nuclei and this plan is going to be carried out energetically by the section executive.

The section executive is elected at the section conference, to which every factory nucleus sends one delegate for each 30 members. Street nuclei send one delegate irrespective of the number of members. Thereby the proletarian character of the Party is strengthened.

The section executives has 9 members. The bureau has been constituted only recently. Formerly it consisted of some of the section executive members. A working collegium was formed, but it did not prove effective. Previous to the last section conference all affairs, including those of a purely administrative nature, were placed before the entire Executives and disposed of at the Plenary Session.

This kind of work took up a great deal of time, and not enough was left for the preparation of organisational, political

and propaganda questions. The work-collegium did but little to remedy this. It was only when at the direction of the instructor a real bureau was elected that these shortcomings were done away with. The bureau meets regularly once a week and more frequently if necessary. It not only deals with all administrative work, but also prepares material for the plenary sessions of the Executive. This division of work has proved satisfactory. By the formation of the bureau, which deals with all administrative work, more time is left for important political questions which can be subsequently thoroughly elaborated in the Plenum.

The meetings of the section executive take place regularly every fortnight. If necessary, the Executive meets oftener. The work of the section executive is carried out partly at the directions of the district executive and partly in accordance with the need of the section. During the last quarter the district executive issued directions for the formation of commissions. These commissions were constituted as follows: members of the section executive were allotted to various branches of work according to their abilities and were placed in charge of this commission. A member of the section executive forms part of every commission. The Commissions consist of 5 to 7 members. The other members of these commissions were drawn from and nominated by the nuclei, with the assistance of the entire executive. When the various comrades were elected their ability was taken into consideration in order that everyone could be given work for which he was most fit. The members of the Executive entrusted with the work in these commissions are at the same time the chairmen of the commissions, they call the meetings and report to the section executive on all the proceedings in the commissions. The commissions are subordinate to the section executive and function only as their auxiliary organs. The section executive is responsible to the district executive for their work and their entire activity. Everyone of its commissions elaborates a plan according to which its work is carried out after having been ratified by the section executive. The following commissions were constituted: org-commission, cooperative commission, trade union commission, a commission for work in mass organisations (sports, etc.) and also a commission for work among women.

The plan of work of the org. commission is as follows:

1. Drawing up a list of all factories employing a considerable number of workers which no factory nuclei have as yet been formed.
2. Ascertaining in what factories one or more Communists are employed but in which, however, no factory nuclei have been formed.
3. Ascertaining all members who work in factories but have not yet joined the nuclei or who have not endeavoured to form nuclei in the event of their employment in factories where no nuclei exist.

The main work of the Org. Commission consists of course in organising Communists working in factories into factory nuclei. There are factories in which there are working several Communists who do not know of each others' existence, with the result that no work is done in that factory.

Moreover, the members of the section org. commission must check up whether everything decided on in the Org. Commission has been carried out. They must participate in the meetings of the factory nuclei, giving them advice and practical help.

The agitprop commission was formed only quite recently. Formerly this work was done by the section executive as a whole.

What applies to the Org. Commission applies also to the **Cooperative Commission:**

1. A list was drawn up of all cooperative enterprises in the section.
2. Work was concentrated above all on cooperatives which were already under Communist influence. Subsequently it was also extended to the others.
3. It ascertained the places where Communists are employed, whether fractions exist, how these fractions are working, if there are executives, etc.

The preliminary work of the cooperative Commission is still going on. No practical fraction work could as yet be developed in all the cooperatives.

The trade union commission also has only been a few months at work. Under its guidance fractions were formed in the trade unions situated in the section.

The section executive is connected with the nuclei on the one hand through members of the section executive who attend the sessions of the executive and the meeting of the nuclei, and on the other hand by the convocation of **nucleus officials' conferences** or by calling together leading comrades of the various commissions to discuss matters. There is regular connection with all the nuclei. Nucleus officials' meetings are convened whenever it is necessary to organise actions or campaigns, either at the initiative of the district executive or because local conditions demand.

The following campaigns were carried out: for **trade union unity**; in connection with the **Morocco War**; sympathy demonstrations for the struggling Chinese proletariat; for the **recognition of Soviet Russia**.

Prior to these campaigns the functionaries of the various nuclei were always convened in joint sessions, every question was thoroughly discussed before the functionaries raised it in the nucleus meetings. All the meetings organised during the campaigns were very well attended. Special sympathy and interest was aroused with respect to trade union unity and the **workers delegations** who had returned from Russia. As a result of these campaigns 23 new members were recruited. All the expenses connected with agitation and propaganda are met out of the 10% quota from the membership dues and out of special revenue from dramatic evenings, etc.

There are 80 Y. C. L. members in the section. Connection with the youth is kept up through a youth representative in the section executive. But lately this connection has been found inadequate and it was therefore decided to send a Party representative to the sessions of the youth section executive.

The **youth factory nuclei** are doing very good work in all mass campaigns and actions on a larger scale. The youth did particularly good work during the elections.

The **Women's Department**, which takes the form of a commission in the section executive, meets fortnightly. As soon as this Commission was constituted it concentrated upon familiarising women with our press to a greater extent than heretofore. Twentyfive new women subscribers were secured.

The section is connected with the district executive through direct representation. A representative of the section takes part in the sessions of the district executive. Another form of connection consists in the correspondence and circulars. We consider this connection adequate.

In conclusion I must say that, in Prague, reorganisation was not as successful as it should have been. Too much haste on our part would have been out of place. The well-known Party crisis was a great hindrance in the process of reorganisation. In some organisations there was lack of unity at first. Even after the successful intervention of the Comintern in this crisis, and after its solution, the atmosphere was at first not sufficiently calm for organisation. It could be compared to the reorganisation of an army. If it becomes necessary to reorganise an army whilst the fight is going on, one must proceed very cautiously. No sooner had the crisis come to an end with us when the persecution of our Party assumed an acute form. Then came the **elections** when all the energy and capacities of the members had to be concentrated on the achievement of maximum success.

A great organisational shortcoming of ours is — that hitherto no sub-sections have been formed. I think that it will be several months before we can undertake this work in Prague. Before doing so, it is essential to properly develop the sections and with the help of their executives also the sub-sections.

In the first three months there was much organisational work to do in the Prague district. For every kind of special work, commissions were formed which carry on their work regularly and according to a previously drawn up plan. Commissions are an excellent means for all manner of work. It was essential to carry on this work systematically, on a district scale, and therefore we convened every month the leading comrades of the various section commissions. At these consultative discussions they received full instructions. Such systematic procedure is proving very effective.

We enriched our experience during the **election work** in the villages, in many of which we had no Party organisations.

In spite of this fact the Party polled a considerable number of votes, in some cases as much as one third of the total vote. Our experience was that some workers from the said villages, who are employed in town and organisation in one of our factory nuclei, were not only willing to get out leaflets into the village, but also carried on excellent election propaganda for us after working hours.

The greatest difficulties are the lack of capable instructors and functionaries who have as many as 26 jobs. It is utterly impossible for them to do justice to all this work. Some of the work naturally suffers despite their best intentions. Good instructors are needed particularly. We do what we can with the forces available. We endeavour to train efficient comrades in order to make good instructors of them in time.

Experience has shown that the younger comrades familiarise themselves more rapidly with the new working methods. A considerable number of functionaries who did good service under the old form of organisation can no longer be depended on as they find it very difficult to get accustomed to the new methods of work. Comrades in Czechoslovakia are now fully convinced that revolutionary tactics require the new form of organisation and other, better, methods of work. But generally speaking there are as yet not many experienced in these new methods.

Comrade Knoflitschek (Org. Department):

The section reported on by Comrade Jonas is one of the industrial sections of Prague. With respect to our Party's influence on the masses it is one of the best section organisations of Prague. There are in this organisation several comrades who do active Party work beyond the limits of their section.

Lately, particularly after the elections, Party and organisational work have made good progress in Prague.

At the last district Party conference in Prague (middle of September 1925) the Party and organisational work of the district was thoroughly discussed. Already at that time, a beginning was made with the application of the most important forms and methods of work in this district and in several others. But because of the elections it was impossible to organise the work in the district in accordance with the plan proposed by the Party conference. Therefore, it is only in the course of the last few months that the Prague district Party Executive was able to take in hand seriously this organisational work. The structure of the apparatus of the section executive described by Comrade Jonas applies also to the apparatus of the district executive. Only after taking up the organisation of commissions energetically and after directing their work into the right channels we were able to turn our attention to the development of the district apparatus in conformity with the decisions of the last district Party conference. Until quite recently the Prague district Party Executive limited itself to decisions and to the formal establishment of commissions, but at present there is more animation and greater activity on this field. What the comrade said about conditions in his section during the last few months applies also to other sections.

Formerly there were in Czechoslovakia district, sub-district and section executive. However, one must admit (especially with respect to district and sub-district executives) that their work was mainly limited to the holding of sessions. Even in the Prague district where there are 12,000 members, there was only one paid functionary. The division of labour within leading organs is limited to the election of a chairman, his deputy, a recording secretary, a treasurer and a literature agent. In a few section executives there were also commissions last year, but in practice they did hardly any work. However, the recent sessions of, e. g., the Org. Commission of the Prague district executive have shown that comrades are discussing — perhaps not to the extent that they should — the mistakes and shortcomings of the organisation, that they have criticised the work of some comrades active there, and have also attempted to draw up a plan of work for the next fortnight. At present the comrades of the lower Party units are invited by the Prague Executive to attend the sessions of the Org. Commission where they receive business-like instructions regarding their practical work. When, a fortnight hence, they report there again on the work done, they receive new instructions, etc. Some Comrades were also sent to control the work and to give practical support to the commissions of the local organisations. This work was not done in an equally satisfactory manner in

all the districts, but at any rate a beginning was made in all districts and sub-districts. Recently a conference of district and sub-district secretaries was held at which important questions were discussed in a more practical manner than before.

A few remarks by way of criticism concerning the situation in this section and in many others. Even in this section, which on the whole is considered a good organisation, we notice that many communist workers belong to the residential organisations or the street nuclei and not to the Factory nuclei. Comrade Jonas pointed out that there are factories with Communist workers where no nuclei have as yet been organised. This must be remedied in the immediate future.

A few words about campaigns and actions carried out on a district, sub-district or national scale. The preparatory work on the part of the section executive and the nuclei is very inadequate. In Prague, experience has shown that campaigns were always much more satisfactory when they had been properly prepared by means of a series of conferences of section and nucleus representatives who discussed the various questions than when the preparation was limited, as heretofore, to a series of newspaper articles, manifestoes and such like.

With respect to activity among the youth, it must be said that it is not at all satisfactory. In a section with over 1000 C. P. members, only 80 young workers belong to the Y. C. L. But what is satisfactory in this youth organisation is that these young workers are organised in factory nuclei. However, in a number of other sections there are no youth nuclei. Generally speaking the youth are organised territorially and youth nuclei exist only in a very few factories.

The main tasks on the organisational fields for the immediate future are as follows: the work of the section executives must be organised in such a way that it should not be entirely in the hands of a few comrades with definite functions, but that also comrades from the lowest Party organisations (nuclei) be drawn into it. This will raise their qualifications and the leadership of the work will also assume a more collective character. The work of the section executive must be continuous, it must give the lead to the entire activity in its section. The work of the lowest Party organisations, namely of the factory and street nuclei, must become more intensive and these nuclei must be developed and consolidated.

Comrade Tchumak (Ragohsky-Simonovsky Sub-District):

I will first of all deal quite briefly with the most important features of the work done by our section between the February and October revolutions.

Before the February revolution our section organisation had about 180 Party members. It must be taken into consideration that our present section consisted then of two sub-districts — the Ragohsky sub-district and the Simonovsky sub-district. According to material dating from that period the organisation did fairly good work at the time. Whenever necessary it was always able to fetch the factory workers out into the street. After the February revolution, when the organisation could work legally, it changed its methods of work. The task before it then consisted in capturing the majority in the various trade unions, and Soviets. Our main slogans, like those of the whole Party, were: war against war, control of production, etc. The organisation developed gradually and had 320 members just before the October revolution. Our district was one of the most active when it came to overthrow the provisional Kerensky Government.

During the Kerensky regime we busied ourselves mainly with agitation and propaganda, on the military training of the Party members and sympathisers, on agitation within those parts of the army which still adhered to the provisional Kerensky government.

But when the Soviets assumed power, our work and methods gradually changed. The tasks were as follows: more attention to training for the front; mobilisation for the front, (under the leadership of the committee at that time there was formed the Ragohsky regiment which played an important role in the civil war). Then we also had to pay special attention to the factories. Some of them came into our hands in a dilapidated condition. Many of them lacked the necessary forces for their reconstruction

— there was no one to set them going, suitable leaders had to be found for this. Much energy was required for the struggle against the food crisis, the fuel crisis, etc. Our sub-district had to deal with all these matters.

Subsequently, when peace was made on the numerous fronts, when there was again opportunity for more or less peaceful work, the outward premises for our work again underwent a change.

In 1918 our organisation had 320 members, in 1919 already 400 and in the beginning of 1920 after the Party recruiting week the membership increased to 1,250. The tasks of the section executive were quite different under conditions of peaceful construction. Now it was a question of raising the productivity of labour, of consolidating the Soviet apparatus, of putting new life into trade union and Soviet work. Experienced labour forces had to be found for the Soviet organs and also for the trade union, co-operative and Party organs, and new cadres of workers and experts on the economic field; from working class ranks, had to be gradually built up by adequate theoretical and practical education.

Now I will deal with the present work, the present Executive and the present methods of Party activity. First of all I want to say a few words concerning some of our tasks. Our section has a population of 217,000 most of the factories belong to the metal industry. We have also many railwaymen in our section. The total number of enterprises is 541, employing 51,500 workers. Of these 18 are big enterprises, about 30 medium enterprises, and the rest small enterprises. 89 are State enterprises, 37 co-operative and 415 private enterprises. The State enterprises employ 48,500 workers, the co-operative enterprises 800, and the private enterprises 2,000 altogether. Most of the latter are boot-making workshops, bakeries and such like. They employ from 1 to 6 workers. In the biggest enterprise "Hammer and Sickle", formerly Gouyon works, 4,950 workers are employed. The nucleus has 700 members.

In our section there are at present 115 nuclei with 6,394 members and 2,336 candidates. Thus the total membership is 8,730. The composition of the membership is as follows: 84,3% manual workers, 0,4% peasants and 15,3% office workers. The male membership constitutes 83,3% and the female membership 16,7%. Of the candidates 84,7% are manual workers, 1,5% peasants, 13,8% office workers; 20,4% are female and 79,6% male.

Our section executive consists of 75 members and 25 candidates. It was elected at the last conference. Control and supervision of current work is the business of the bureau which was elected by the Plenum of the section committee. It consists of 11 members and 5 candidates. There is also a Secretariat which makes decisions on everyday questions of current work, and which prepares material for the bureau. The composition of the Secretariat is as follows: the secretary of the section committee, the head of the Org. Department, the head of the Agitprop Department, head of the Women's Department and also a representative of the Control Commission. The Plenum as a rule meets once a month, but special sessions are also held. The bureau of the section executive holds its sessions once a week on definite days and at a fixed hour, and the Secretariat also meets every week.

In the period between the section conferences, the Plenum of the section executive is the supreme organ. The Bureau does the preparatory work on the questions on the Plenum agenda. It deals with the results of the campaigns, receives reports from the Communist fractions in the non-Party organisations, as well as reports and plans of work from the various departments of the section executive. The bureau sessions concern themselves also with preliminary discussions concerning economic and trade union questions. Commissions are appointed for a systematic investigation and control of nuclei, nucleus reports are received, and practical instructions are issued to the nuclei for their future work. The Secretariat concerns itself with the current questions of the activity of the various departments of the section executive, and does the necessary preparatory work with respect to Party questions to be discussed at the Bureau sessions.

The section executive has 3 departments: the Org, Agitprop and Women's Department. A very important branch of work is leadership of the Y. C. L.

Moreover, the fraction of the Soviet as well as the fractions in the various non-Party mass organisations are under the

leadership of our section executive. The trade union work is carried on by the section executive directly through the nuclei and through the fractions in the factory councils.

Our Org. Department consists of 2 sub-departments — the sub-department for information and statistics, and the sub-department for the selection, training and apportionment of members for the various branches of work. The Information Department is the department which keeps up the connection with the lower organisations (nuclei) and which sifts and sums up the entire material of our work, the results and experiences of campaigns, and also of the various branches of Party work, the work of the apparatus of the section executive and its functionaries. The Inform. Department must be well informed on all the shortcomings of the nuclei work, on the moods and frame of mind of the non-Party masses, and on the situation within the lowest Party organisations. The material for all this is culled from the minutes and reports of the nuclei and also from the minutes of the various sessions and conferences organised by the apparatus of the section executive. Moreover, the functionaries as well as the individual members of the section committee are called upon to assist in the work, they participate in the nucleus meetings and fill in special information questionnaires concerning the procedure at the latter. All this enables the section committee to thoroughly familiarise itself with the entire life and Party work of the section.

The sub-department for the selection, training and apportionment of members for Party work, keeps a register of the entire Party membership. It also selects collaborators for economic work, for the Soviets and other organs.

Eight instructors work in the Org. Department. A group of 15 to 20 nuclei is allotted to each of them. The instructors have to investigate systematically the various nuclei, they must give them instructions and must control the carrying out of the directions of the section executive, they organise and supervise conferences of nucleus secretaries and also instruction meetings and conferences of active Party collaborators in the various branches of Party activity.

Commissions are appointed for preliminary work on definite important questions, as for instance, the activity of fractions, workshop nuclei, etc. which form part of the agenda of a session. These commissions consist of active nucleus or section workers and their work is generally carried on under the guidance of an instructor. The material elaborated by them is placed before the Org. Department, the bureau, or the Plenum of the section executive in the form of concrete and practical proposals. There are 2 important features in the activity of the commissions which must be emphasised: 1) through the work of the commissions, the rank and file of the Party are drawn into the work on a section scale which at the same time is higher education to them. 2) The experiences of the various organisations are made use of. We have commissions for the following questions: Party work in private enterprises, Party work in army and militia nuclei, activity among seasonal workers and activity for the promotion of building co-operatives, for putting new life into Soviet work, etc. The decisions of the commissions are examined and endorsed by the leading organs of the section committee and its departments, whereupon they are put into practice.

The Agitprop Department is also divided into several sub-departments: 1. agitation; 2. propaganda; 3. press; 4. club commission; 5. agitprop bureau, agitprop instructors.

1. The **agitation sub-department** is in charge of mass agitation in works, factories and other enterprises.

2. The **propaganda sub-department** is in charge of propagandist work in political schools and circles.

3. The **press sub-department** examines all the newspapers especially wall-newspapers of the section, introducing improvements into them. It maintains contact with workers' correspondents and contributors to the wall-newspapers.

4. The **club commission**, under the guidance of the agitation department superintends the proper organisation of club activity.

5. The agitprop bureau collects and utilises all achievements, experiences, and shortcomings of agitprop work and studies new methodical questions of agitprop activity.

The **Women's Department** of our section committee carries on the work among working women and housewives. The work is carried on through instructors, delegate meetings and circles.

Just a word concerning **delegate meetings**. The working women elect women delegates to these meetings. In our section

there are 702 women delegates among whom our women's department has to work. The work consists in educating the working women and training them for direct and leading participation in various branches of activity and the constructive work of our state. (For instance collaboration in public administrative institutions, trade unions, the Party, etc.). The instructors of the women's department work in that direction. The women delegates are divided into sections according to branches of work: (co-operatives, trade unions, courts of justice, etc.). Apart from this, women delegates are also attached to the departments of the Rayon (section) Soviet (on questions of finance, housing workers' and peasants' inspection, etc., etc.). There are altogether 448 women delegates active in the various branches of work. We have also special women's circles since the standard of development of the women is much lower than that of men. In these circles tuition is of a kind easily understood by working women. The Women's Department is also active among housewives. We have about 100 women delegates from the housewives. Special meetings are organised for them and lectures are held on questions likely to arouse the interest also of those women only engaged in house hold duties. By this means these women are drawn into participation in the social life of the country.

Our section committee has also a **business management**, to which are attached the finance department, the aid fund for needy Party members, and the office. We have altogether 56 paid workers.

Now I will deal with **leadership in the Soviet fractions** in the various organisations. I will begin with the Soviet. The Plenum of the Rayon (section) Soviet elects the Presidium. Communists form a fraction in the Plenum and also in the Presidium. With the help of these fractions we superintend the work of the Soviets. Important questions of principle with which the Rayon (section) Soviet must deal directly, are first of all discussed by the Soviet fraction, after which they are placed before the bureau of the section committee or its Plenum. Thereupon the decisions made by the Party authorities are brought forward in the Plenum by the Communist fraction.

A direct connection exists with the Presidium of the Soviet, as a member of the Presidium is at the same time member of the bureau of the section committee.

As to the various organisations, for instance Red Aid, (I. C. W. P. R.) etc., we endeavour to draw as many non-Party elements as possible into the work of these organisations. We exercise leadership through the fractions. We receive their reports, we deal with the important questions in the bureau and the Plenum of the section committee and issue directions to the fractions which they must carry out. In the various organisations (Red Aid, Friends of the Air-Fleet, Village Aid, etc.), of our section there are 118,000 members. The organisation for **Village Aid** is at present of the utmost importance. It helps the peasants to improve their methods of agriculture and to raise their cultural level. It also helps us to carry on Party work in the villages. With its support several schools, crèches and children's homes were established in the villages during the report period. Moreover, it helps us to carry into the villages the experience and knowledge gained in the urban work, in order to extend the possibilities of development in the villages and in order to raise the activity and develop the consciousness of the peasantry for the purpose of making the rural population self-dependent and of developing their initiative and activity.

The **co-operative work** too, we carry on through our fractions. Until quite recently there were 7 co-operatives in our section. At present they have been amalgamated into 3 and we intend to amalgamate these three in the autumn into one big co-operative for our section. An election campaign was held lately in the co-operatives. We have over 30,000 co-operative members in our section.

I will deal now with **Party political educational work**. This is one of the most important and complicated tasks of the section committee, for in view of the two last mass admissions of new Party members (the last took place in November) our organisation has increased nearly 50%. These new Party members must be trained and educated. At present 240 comrades attend the Party schools and circles of the section committee. There are, moreover, in the various enterprises 115 elementary politico-educational schools attended by 2,875 students, 108 politico-educational schools of the second grade attended by 2,916 students, 43 Marxist circles attended by 640 students and 20 elementary women's circles attended by 220 students. In addition there are

15 political elementary schools for non-Party workers but a number of non-Party elements — altogether 300 people — attend also our schools and circles. We have also 20 circles for the training of agitators in which 200 comrades participate. Moreover, 38 comrades are attached to the district Party school, which brings up the total number of students in our sub-district to 7,779. The Agitprop Department does its utmost to raise the qualification of the section and other minor officials. The courses organised for this purpose by the Moscow Committee and our section committee are attended by 425 comrades, and 97 other comrades attend district Party schools.

I will deal now with the connection between the section committee and the nuclei. One form of this connection is participation of the nucleus secretaries in the Plenum of the section committee with a consultative vote. Nucleus secretaries, who are in most cases relieved of direct work in the enterprise, can also attend the bureau sessions. Other forms of connection are: the already mentioned instructors, the instruction meetings of section officials, the meetings of the nucleus bureaux or nucleus secretaries of the entire section, the meetings and conferences of the nucleus secretaries of those nuclei which are under an instructor, meetings of functionaries in the various branches of work (for instance workshop nucleus secretaries, nucleus org. commissions, nucleus agitprop commissions, co-operative or Soviet fractions, etc.). Moreover, the various nuclei are, at the instruction of the section committee, visited by instructors or other responsible collaborators of the section apparatus whenever there is need to clear up the situation in some enterprise or nucleus. Nucleus secretaries come also on their own accord to the section committee to get advice on various questions. The inform. sub-department keeps up the connection with the nuclei by correspondence.

I am coming now to **leadership in the Y. C. L.** We have in our section 7,000 Y. C. L. members, namely, about 50% of the entire youth. We exercise our leadership mainly through the comrades specially attached by the Party to the various Y. C. L. nuclei to carry on work among the Y. C. L. members, through mutual representation in the executives from the bottom to the top, through Party members' participation in the sessions of the Y. C. L. nucleus bureau and in the elaboration of special youth questions. Moreover, Y. C. L. members who are transferred to the Party remain for some time in the Y. C. L. and form a so-called Party kernel. The sessions of the section committee also discuss important questions connected with Y. C. L. activity: reports on the activity and plans of work of the Y. C. L. section committee are received and the comrades working in the Y. C. L. are given adequate directions. The Party kernel constitutes about 15% of the total number of Y. C. L. members, but this is not enough and we intend to bring it up to 25% in the near future.

A few words about our ways and methods to extend the influence of the Party over the masses and to carry out Party directions. I will take as an example the last Party discussion. The bureau issued full instructions concerning it, then a session of the section committee was held with the nucleus secretaries, this was followed by a meeting of the section officials at which the Party discussion was thoroughly dealt with and adequate directions were issued. (It should be pointed out that these functionaries' meetings have no right to make decisions.) Thereupon the question was included in the agenda of the sub-section meeting. For this purpose the nuclei were amalgamated into 12 groups. After this preliminary work the question was put up for discussion in the nuclei themselves and only then section and factory meetings were convened to inform the workers on the questions discussed by us and on their solution. This is the way in which the most important campaigns are carried out.

A few more words about our connection with the **Moscow District Committee**. Six members and two candidates of this committee are from our section. The secretary of our committee is a member of the bureau of the Moscow Committee. He participates in all its sessions and brings forward at the right time all questions concerning our section. Moreover, the Moscow Committee is in direct connection with several of our section nuclei of its own choice. It carries out independent investigations of their activity, receives reports from them, organises lectures there, issues instructions them, etc.

Comrades, I think that these are the questions which are of the greatest interest and importance to you. Should I have omitted anything please ask questions.

Comrade Robson (England):

London and its suburbs comprises a District Organisation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. This **London District Organisation** is divided into 29 sections each under the closest guidance of the District Party Committee. These sections are called local organisations, and each possesses a **Local Party Committee** which directs the work. The largest of these locals has 130 members. The average comprises 60 to 70 members and some have only 20 members. The basis of the local organisations is the area of the municipal and parliamentary divisions.

The total membership in the London and suburbs is 1,400. Of this number at least 80%, possibly more, are active members of the Party and a large proportion are extremely active in the workshops, at the trade union branches, as trade union branch officials, in the trades councils, Labour Parties in the Minority Movement, in the Labour Party Left Wing organisation in the unemployed organisation, in the co-operative societies and particularly in the distribution of the Party literature. Practically the whole of the sales of the "**Workers Weekly**" are conducted through the efforts of our Party membership. The circulation of the "**Workers Weekly**" in London is 21,000 per week. It is possible that at least 20,000 of these are distributed by Party members.

The London District Party Committee consists of 13 comrades, each responsible for some activity; 2 of these are paid full time workers. The District Party Committee maintains very close contact with the local organisation by means of correspondence and instructions which are sent to the locals. From each monthly reports are received. Not all the locals send in these reports. The largest number received during the past few months was 21 from a possible 28. In October and November last year and January of this year, meetings were held of all local organisers and secretaries, in order to discuss local problems, with the District organiser presiding. Fortnightly and monthly meetings are convened by the District organisation, of factory nuclei leaders in various industries. There are periodic general meetings of factory nuclei leaders in order to discuss factory problems. Furthermore, comrades responsible for conducting Party training in the locals, report regularly to the district organisation regarding their work.

In dealing with the work of a local organisation, I wish to have something to say with regard to **Battersea**. Battersea is a part of the S. W. London organisation.

The **South-West London organisation** is not quite a typical Party organisation however. The population of the area covered by the S. W. London is approximately 250,000. The population in Battersea is almost entirely working class. The **railway workers** are particularly important in this area and there are a number of tramway workers and bus (omnibus) workers. In the S. W. London local there are 93 Party members; of this number 80% are men and 20% women. There are only three street nuclei because, owing to the scattered nature of the membership, we are compelled to group streets together into an area group and these constitute our street nuclei. There are two factory nuclei, of which one is **Nine Elms Railway factory group** (P. S. in England the factory nuclei are called: **factory groups**). This is the largest factory group in London and is most successful. Last year a strike was led by this factory group, which issued a special edition of the factory newspaper. The strike was won very quickly and as a result members were gained for the factory nucleus. One branch of the National Union of Railwaymen officially purchases 10 dozen copies of the **Nine Elms "Spark"**, that is the factory newspaper, each fortnight, and the prestige of the **Nine Elms "Spark"** among the workers is high.

A large proportion of the membership of the local has passed through **Party training**. In England we specialise on training Party members in elementary economics and in the whole programme of the Party; also in the organisational work of the Party. The factory and street nuclei meet once a week. The whole membership meets monthly. At these monthly aggregate meetings the attendance averages 60 or 70% of the membership. This is fairly good because, owing to "shift" work and other difficulties, many members cannot always attend the meetings.

With a membership of less than a 100 the S. W. London organisation, in addition to carrying out its other Party tasks, distributes nearly 1,200 copies of the "**Workers Weekly**". The Local Party Committee meets weekly or on special occasions

when necessary. It instructs group leaders and calls the comrades together to discuss with them the problems that stand before them in the trade unions, the Labour Party and trades councils. This consists mainly in passing on instructions from the District Party Committee. It prepares the agenda for the monthly aggregate meetings of members. This includes reports of activities and discussion on some important political item. It receives reports from fractions in the trade unions, in the Labour Parties or trades council, also from the factory nuclei and regarding the general activity of the membership. It reports to the District Party Committee once every month in writing. These monthly written reports consist of the number of new members made during the month, the number of comrades lapsed from the Party, the general work of the organisation, finances of the organisation, work among women, the condition of the fractions in the trades council and Labour Party and in the trade unions, and what their work has been; also the work of the comrades in distributing the Party literature. In addition to this monthly report, there is a close contact between the local organisation and the District Party Committee, both personal and in the way of correspondence. The street nuclei are important for our agitational activity because they deal chiefly with the distribution of Party literature. They have the responsibility of carrying out the work of organising Party meetings and assisting Party organisational work in general. They are at the disposal of the Local Party Committee if called upon for special tasks, and also sell the factory papers at the factory gates, tramway and railway depots. I must say this, comrades, that all this work is done sometimes very successfully, but there are occasions when there are failures. You must not believe that the Party organisation works quite smoothly and without a hitch. Difficulties arise, mistakes are made, but on the whole the comrades work very well indeed.

The **factory paper** I have mentioned, has a sale of from 900 to 1,000. The local Party organisation also issue a **Women's Paper** on the same lines as the factory newspaper. These are produced in issues of 200 to 250 and are circulated among women sympathisers. There is also a **trade union paper** produced on the same lines as the factory newspaper advocating generally the principles of International Trade Union Unity. This has a circulation of 500 copies and is sold in trade union branches.

Regarding agitational work in the area, much valuable work has been conducted among the **railway men**. There are some thousands of these in the Battersea area. During the recent negotiations between the railwaymen and the railway management, the London Party organisation distributed a large number of manifestoes warning the railway workers that **Thomas** would betray them, and giving them the Party programme on the question. In the Battersea area 5,000 of these manifestoes were distributed and achieved excellent results, particularly in view of the fact that **Thomas** has done exactly what the Communists said he would do. Before this manifesto was drawn up we discussed its contents with comrades who occupy official positions in the National Union of Railwaymen, and we received their advice as to the terms which we should use in this manifesto, and also regarding what they thought **Thomas'** policy would be.

All the local organisations are organised similarly and work in much the same way as the S.W. London local with which I have been dealing. They vary only because of the social composition of the population of the area in which they work.

In many instances the successful work of a local Party organisation hinges upon the ability of one or two Party comrades. When these comrades are taken away from the local for some reason or another, the whole of the work of that area begins to fall to pieces. This is very bad, and it is necessary, therefore to develop the capacity of our Party members in general by means of Party training and by means of instructing them, exchanging experiences with them and enabling them to understand better what their work should be. In listening to some of the comrades who spoke yesterday, I felt that there was a danger of too many orders being given to the Party local organisations by the leading committees without discussing with the local comrades the best ways and means of carrying out such orders. We must sympathise with the difficulties of the local organisations, work with them and explain to them exactly what is required and why, otherwise the carrying out of instructions is liable to become mechanical. It is also necessary for the organs of the Districts to maintain close contact with, and extend as much assistance as possible wherever necessary to the comrades in charge of local work.

Comrade Piccolini (Italy):

In order to be able to conceive of the work of a district Executive in Italy it is of course necessary that one keeps in mind the entire situation and the political conditions there. The apparatus and the functions of a district executive in Italy can, of course, not be the same as those, e. g. in Germany or in other countries permitting the legal existence of the Party.

I will report on the work of a sub district executive X belonging to district Y. I cannot report on the section executives in the headquarters city of this district because these nine section executives consist of three comrades each who are responsible primarily for liason between the membership and the city resp. the district executive. Hence I will report on the work of the sub district executive X.

This executive consists of five comrades one of whom is political secretary, one administrative secretary who attends to administrative work, one in charge of Red Aid, one of trade union work, and one of work among the women. There are no other departments in the district.

Sub-district X is divided into three sections; one is industrial and includes chiefly factory nuclei, another section contains predominantly artisans, and the third is chiefly composed of village nuclei. The first is the section of the City X itself. It numbers 6 street nuclei, containing 64 members, and 4 factory nuclei with 26 members. Of these factory nuclei two are in metal works and two in textile factories. Furthermore there are attached to this section 5 village nuclei with 36 members. The second section, in Z, includes 15 village nuclei with a total of 107 members. The third section in W, consists chiefly of artisans and includes 10 village nuclei with 86 members. The entire sub-district numbers 382 Party members, organised in 4 factory nuclei, 6 street nuclei and 30 village nuclei. We are here the only organised workers' Party. The Reformists have only delegates but no longer any organisation, the Maximalists are now entirely non-existent.

In the trade unions the situation is similarly favourable. We have here 3 cabinet maker's sections, affiliated with the Wood-workers' union. We control a majority in the Executive. In the sub-district there are also 40,000 textile workers, of whom 80% are women, and of whom 1200 are members of the trade union affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Many of our members were expelled from the union. Nevertheless we did not thereby lose influence in the trade union because the fraction, which continues to exist as heretofore, works well. The number organised in the metal industry is not so large but we have the majority of the Executive even there. In the hat-making industry 4,000 workers are employed, but their organisation is entirely under Reformist influence.

In the executive of the Labour Chamber we have 3 Communists and 4 Reformists. This Labour Chamber has now been dissolved by the Government.

The task of this sub-district executive consists chiefly in the furtherance of the decisions of the district executive and in control over their execution. The section executive consists of 3 comrades.

The section executive's liason upward is poor. This is not so much the fault of the sub-district committee as of the district executive itself. Until 1925 this consisted of 11 members. It was dissolved for political reasons by the Central Committee and replaced by a committee of 5 comrades. This district executive is weak and a division of labour does not yet exist. The entire work is done by 3 comrades. The district secretary is the sole paid employee and upon him practically the whole work depends.

We must state that the work in the provinces is being somewhat neglected by the district executive which is concentrating its chief activity upon the city. It is true in practically all provinces that chiefly the city, in which the district executive has its headquarters, is developed. Since correspondence is difficult the work must be confined to personal contact. It is very difficult to call meetings, and these require extensive preparation. Since the number of members of the district executive as well as their ability is limited, the personal contact between the district executive and the sub-district executive is weak. On the other hand, the contact between the district executive and the sections is a much better one. There prevails a constant

personal connection between the section and sub-district executives.

Despite the weak contact with the higher Party Committees the work in the sub-section is proceeding excellently. In particular it is doing good trade union work. The percentage of trade union members in X is higher than in the other Italian districts.

In the main this is all that I have to say concerning the work of the sub-district executive. One must not think that because in view of the prevailing illegal conditions, the functions of the sub-district executive are restricted, and since it cannot develop any public activity, that therefore the comrades are not working. Their task, under the prevailing illegal conditions, consists mainly in the maintenance of good connections. The chief short-coming lies in that the contact with the district executive is not adequate.

Comrade Perrier (France):

The reorganisation of our sub-district took place at the end of 1923. It would be untrue to claim that it proceeded in an entirely normal manner, nevertheless the reorganisation had a good effect upon the sub-district. At the beginning we forfeited certain elements which had come over to us from the Social-Democracy; yet we can say that fundamentally the Party did not lose a single member since the number lost as a result of the reorganisation upon the basis of factory nuclei was balanced by new comrades who entered the Party.

The sub-district numbers 40 nuclei with 425 members (including 30 women).

Most of our nuclei are mine nuclei. To them we have also attached members, but in very small number — not more than 2 or 3 — in the main small merchants. We did not consider it suitable to form street nuclei because in most of our towns the Party members are employed as mine workers. It was more advisable to attach the few isolated elements to the factory nuclei and thus far it has in no way hurt the activity of the nuclei.

The social composition of the sub-district organisation is the following: 80% miners, 10% small merchants — there are no peasant members of the Party.

During the reorganisation we abolished the system of candidature because the workers who were candidates did not participate in the meetings like the rest of the members. In addition the candidate system hindered the activity of the newly admitted members.

The sub-district executive consists of 15 members elected at the sub-district conference.

The composition of the members of the sub-district committee is the following: 11 workers, 3 women comrades, 1 merchant. At the present time we have a paid secretary which, however, because of financial difficulties, we shall have to discharge.

The sub-district committee, which meets fortnightly, elects from its midst a sub-district bureau of 5 members. On the average the bureau meets once a week. One of the shortcomings of the work of the bureau is the manner of dealing with questions on the agenda: our discussion is too broad and extremely un-concentrated. Even to this day our current debates in the bureau have not become any more thorough.

The deficient training of our comrades is to be blamed chiefly for this; they are all moved by the best of intentions but since they are members of the Party only for a short time it is impossible for them to conduct a concentrated political discussion. We are trying to change this situation and signs in this direction are already discernible.

At the very beginning of the reorganisation we undertook the formation, in the sub-district committee, of 5 commissions. We thought that it was enough merely to nominate several comrades as members of these commissions in order to have them function properly. We had to convince ourselves that we could not succeed in this way to bring the commissions into activity. Only one of them works satisfactorily because one comrade who belongs to it has plunged himself entirely into the task and he has found ways and means of drawing collaborators into the carrying out of the work. This was the women's commission. The other commissions suffered first of all from the shortage of members acquainted with the work, and furthermore under the difficulty of finding collaborators. In the head-

quarters city of the sub-district executive we cannot find a single comrade who is able and willing to do any kind of work; in order to be able to form a sub-district committee and find active comrades we are forced to seek them quite some distance from the seat of the sub-district committee. It happens that the few comrades who could do the work already occupy several positions. Finally, the sub-district committees decided to appoint a responsible secretary charged with the task of finding and training the necessary collaboration on the commission in order to bring the work of these committees under way.

The contact between the sub-district committee and the nuclei is effected first of all with the aid of the sub-district committee members, who have the duty of visiting the nuclei as often as possible. But due to their over-burdening with Party tasks they are unable to carry out the visits to the nuclei regularly.

Another means of contact consists in the sending of nucleus reports to the sub-district committee and in the circulars sent by the committee to the nuclei. But generally the nuclei do not send reports.

The activity of the nuclei does not as yet flourish as it really should. Most nuclei lack an active comrade capable of directing the work; there is still a deficiency of political life in our nuclei.

The execution of Party campaigns is organised by the sub-district committee; by means of circulars and personal visits to the nuclei the sub-district committee tries to see to it that these units carry out the Party campaigns in a uniform manner.

The political development of our Party members is progressing very slowly. We have tried various means, particularly through information meetings, to give it a more intensive form. Thus far these meetings did not have the results anticipated due to the great area of the sub-districts. The comrades living some distance away from the headquarters of the sub-district committee did not take the trouble to come to the information meetings, so this work did not bear any fruit. By means of our contemplated division of the sub-district into sections we hope to be able to improve this. We will be able to organise the information meetings through the section executives; since these are less extensive than the sub-district it will be easier for the comrades to attend these meetings.

In the beginning we had 11 nuclei which issued factory papers. We regret to state, however, that this first step was not a lasting one. At the present time we have only 4 nuclei which publish their papers regularly. The nucleus members always raise the financial question and say they have no money for the publication of factory papers. But this is not the true reason for the disappearance of the factory papers, — it is rather to be sought in the fear of repression. Most of our nucleus members are very well known. They believe that by publishing the paper they will run the risk of being disciplined. This is the chief reason that has decreased the number of our factory papers.

Work among the non-Party elements was very weak and hardly the first attempts have been made on this field. Our sub-district is chiefly under the influence of the Social Democrats. In our sub-district there is a reformist union with 20,000 miners and a red trade union with 30,000 workers.

Our trade union work is still insufficient.

Work among the women gave us the best results. Thanks to the initiative of the women's commission we have begun to form groups of "Women Friends of the 'L'Ouvriere'" ("the Woman Worker") which unite the sympathising women who read our women's paper "The Woman Worker". At present we have 6 such groups. In these groups we try to furnish political training to the women and we have already succeeded in bringing some of them into the Party. Since there were many women who did not find it necessary to belong to these groups, we formed, during the Moroccan war, 7 "Soldier Mothers and Widows Committees" against the war. Through these committees we tried to bring the women into the groups of the "Women Friends of the 'Working Woman'" in order later, if possible, to get them into the Party.

We encountered serious difficulties in the work among the foreign workers. The Polish workers were organised in autonomous groups and had no contact whatever with the French Party nuclei. For this reason we were unable to undertake any uniform action with our foreign comrades. Thanks to the new directions received by our Party, the Polish comrades

are beginning to join the nuclei. This work is not yet entirely carried out but in any case contact with the foreign comrades is being established.

In regard to work among the youth we must admit a similarly bad situation. We lack contact with the young comrades. The area of our sub-district includes 2 youth sub-districts. Since the sub-district committees of the youth lead a very inactive life it happens that we cannot even create an effective contact between these 2 sub-district committees.

With regard to the structure of the above-mentioned sections, the sub-district committee has decided to submit to the district executive a reorganisation plan which proposes the formation of 6 sections. We decided to fit these sections to the administrative divisions, viz., we tried to divide our sections in such a way that their boundaries coincide with those of the cantons. We believe that in this way we will succeed in establishing a more effective connection with the nuclei by the method of arranging quite numerous section instruction meetings. The sections will have no very great area. All Party members will be able to attend these section meetings and we hope in this manner to be able to raise the ideological standard of our members and to improve the Party work.

Comrade Dubois (Org. Depart. E. C. C. I.):

The district of which Comrade Perrier spoke presents certain peculiarities. What are they? Above all it is a purely miners district; among the 240,000 inhabitants 65,000 are mine workers. Secondly, there is in this district practically no peasantry. Thirdly, however, this district, like practically all of northern France, is a Social-Democratic stronghold. Hence the conditions for the activity of the district Party organisation is in part somewhat more favourable, but on the other hand, in that one must fight the Social Democracy, somewhat more difficult.

In the district there are altogether 50 coal mines which are owned by 5 mining companies. The smallest mine personnel is 800 men, the largest 1,500. Among the 65,000 miners there are quite a large number of foreigners, chiefly Poles. Furthermore: practically all workers, at least 80% of them, live in houses owned by the companies — these houses are in the immediate proximity of the mines and contain very poor living facilities.

The Socialists have no big organisation. An organisation as we conceive it is really non-existent among them, they arrange their meetings only once in two or three months. Yet they are gaining influence over the workers with the aid of non-party organisations primarily the trade unions, and also with the aid of the municipal administrations and the co-operatives. The Municipal Council, for instance, consists of 50 members of whom 35 are Socialists. There are practically no Communists in the Municipal Councils and when there are such they are only a small minority, e. g. in a small district among 17 municipal councillors there are only 4 Communists.

What is the sentiment of the workers in the district? With regard to our Party it is labile. In the election the workers vote Socialist, yet at the same time they are dissatisfied with them and follow our slogans as e. g., during the 24-hour political strike in which in many places in this district about 80% of the workers struck.

The members of our organisation came to us from the Socialists but the Communist Party has not been able to train them in its spirit: among the 40 erstwhile Socialists who have come over to us 200 have again left our ranks. A part of this membership left the organisation in connection with the Party reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei because the district organisation had not been able to hold the membership organisationally and adequately distribute it to the nuclei. As the comrade has already said we recruited 225 new members, I even think that its number is somewhat larger.

In distinction to other districts there are here only factory nuclei. Among the 40 nuclei there are 37 mine nuclei. As prevails in practically all of France we find here also members attached to the factory nuclei, but at most 8 attached members in a nucleus of 40 to 50. Street nuclei there are none since this is a purely working class district and all comrades are employed in the mines.

In supplementing the report by Comrade Perrier I would like to inform you that the work among the women is well

organised. Thus, e. g., the Communists in Avignon, where we have 4 Communist municipal councillors, raised the question of municipally supported crèches in the Society of Mothers' and Widows of the War Victims. All the women, which we organised in the circle of the Society, know that the initiative proceeded from us and if we succeed in getting favourable action from the Municipal Council then all will know that it is due to the Communists, and the prestige of our organisation will rise. But if this proposal is rejected then all will know that the foes of the Communists are to blame. But this example is an exception because in all sections of France the work among the women is by far not organised as well as here. Yet despite these positive sides, in the work among the women there are also certain shortcomings. Thus, e. g., but little work has been done among the almost 3,000 young girls employed in the mines.

A serious deficiency in the work of the district organisation is the inadequate connection between the lower units and the district executive or its secretary. A peculiarity of this district is the calling of general nucleus meetings. In all mines the work is in three shifts. In order to be able to get together all the comrades in the nucleus meetings, it was decided to organise the general meeting on a Sunday. If sub-district executives are organised then once a month general nucleus meetings of the entire-sub-district are to take place. I do not know whether and to what extent the plan will be realised. With regard to the personal connection between district executive and nucleus, this is satisfactory. On the other hand, things do not stand well with written connection — protocols and reports of the nuclei are few.

The situation is not of the best with regard to factory papers. There are published 10 papers, of which 4 or 5 appear regularly. With regard to content as well as form they have various defects.

A peculiar point is the work among the youth. I am of the opinion, personally, that in view of a numerous working youth in the district a big activity could be developed by the Party on this field. This purpose requires only closer contact with the working youth and a more energetic initiation of this kind of work.

976

Comrade Zelle:

I would like to say a few words about the reorganisation methods.

Some of the reports showed that the situation in a number of our sections is still as follows: factory nuclei, street nuclei, and side by side with them, the old residential organisation. For instance, the Czech comrades said that side by side with the factory and street nuclei they also have the chairmen of the old groups of 10 which is nothing else than the old residential organisation.

I would, therefore, like to place before you a method which we have tested out: how in a comparatively short time a district organisation can be reorganised on a factory nucleus basis.

For a whole year we discussed in the Party how the organisation is to be undertaken in practice. We made several experiments until, in the reorganisation of the Berlin district, we found the proper method of carrying out the reorganisation. As comrade Walz of Berlin is here and will deal with this subject himself I will limit myself to a general outline of the application of this method on the strength of which we intend to reorganise the district organisations throughout the country within a period of about 8 weeks.

How do we proceed? As we have factory nuclei in all the towns we convene, in the area of a future sub-section, a membership meeting firstly, of all the comrades who are organised in already existing factory nuclei in the area of the sub-section, secondly, comrades who work in the respective area in the enterprises where no factory nuclei as yet exist, and thirdly, comrades who cannot be organised in factory nuclei, and will be eventually organised in street nuclei. At this first sub-section meeting a provisional Sub-Section Executive is elected on the basis of a current political question. This executive consists of: 1 political secretary, 1 general secretary, 1 Agitprop secretary, 1 trade union secretary, 1 treasurer, 1 youth representative and 1 women's representative. Moreover 8 or 10 comrades from the factory nuclei of the respective area should also be included into the executive. Thereby we secure for the comrades from the factory nuclei a majority in the executives. This we carry

out everywhere since by means of the reorganisation we aim at a better social composition of our Party executives.

This method of reorganisation is bound to meet with opposition, especially from old officials who are against it because they can no longer play first fiddle. We are now carrying on an ideological campaign in order to persuade these comrades who must of course not be alienated from us, that comrades from the factories must have the leading role, for the Party cannot carry on economic and political struggles if it is not firmly rooted in the factories and closely connected with them through its executives.

As soon as this provisional sub-section executive has been formed the old residential-district executive is liquidated. The secret of reorganisation consists in dissolving the old residential-district executive as soon as a sub-Section Executive has been founded. The former no longer has any political rights after the provisional sub-Section Executive has been formed. It is merely an auxiliary organ for the transition period which has technical tasks to fulfil, for instance the collection of membership dues. It is, therefore, responsible for the collection of such dues until this can be done in the nucleus, until the section treasurer has taken up his functions. The membership files will have to be kept in order for some time by the old executive etc. But all this is only for a short transition period. The higher units, viz the District Executive, the Sub-District Executive, and Section Executive, will no longer issue their directions to the old residential-district executive but to the new provisional Sub-Section Executive.

Another thing is essential:

The reorganisation of a town must be carried on simultaneously in all the sections. Practice has shown that the whole of the town must be reorganised at one time. In our towns it is generally found that comrades do not work in the section where they live. Therefore, it is inadvisable to begin the reorganisation in only one section as this would lead to comrades belonging to their sub-section and also to their old residential branch. Moreover, with such a method of reorganisation, the old district executives are, to a great extent, weakened because the functionaries who were hitherto in the district executive organisations of the residential organisation, but who worked in factories in various other sections, have already been absorbed in the new provisional sub-section Executives.

The key to the rapid and smooth reorganisation of the entire organisation is as follows: one cannot build up the nucleus organisations and at the same time allow the old residential organisation to continue to exist.

The old residential organisation has namely the peculiarity that of itself it does not want to become extinct. The reports of the Czech comrades have left me with the impression that they made the mistake of allowing the old residential organisation to exist, while the new nucleus is already being formed.

I should like to have a practical example of our reorganisation methods; for instance, when we are on the point of reorganising a town we draw up a plan of work calculated for 6 to 8 weeks. In Germany registration of members according to their place of employment has been more or less carried out everywhere. In the first week we held the aforesaid sub-section meeting at which the provisional sub-section Executive is elected.

Thereupon the main task of the new Sub-Section Executive consists in organising all the comrades in factory and street nuclei.

In the second week the members are therefore registered or re-registered in all the sub-sections according to their place of employment and place of residence. This is also continued throughout the third week. This work is tantamount to a mobilisation of a considerable section of the membership, especially of the functionaries; considerable forces are required to ascertain where all the members work and reside. The registration questionnaire from all the parts of the town are sent to the Town Executive. There the material is sorted out according to factory and street nuclei, and is thereupon forwarded to the various Sub-Section Executives.

Approximately in the fourth week, when registration is almost complete, membership meetings are held in all the factory and street nuclei.

Experience has shown that by registering the members in the factories one comes across a considerable number of Com-

munists. There are, for instance, factory nuclei which hitherto had 10 to 15 members. Through the registration one suddenly learns that 5, 10 or more comrades are already a long time employed in the factory but have hitherto evaded Communist factory work.

But other discoveries are also made during registration. It has come to light in a number of the town organisations that suddenly, after all the members had been registered according to their place of employment, sometimes higher officials of the old residential organisations made their appearance in this or that factory where a factory nucleus or a Communist factory council had already existed for some time. In the residential district they were very radical phrasemongers and because of their gift of the gab they were able to get into important posts. But in the factory they remain as passive as if they were not Communists. It goes without saying that such officials cannot play a role in the nucleus organisation, that nuclei will not trust passive and timorous people with functions, that this kind of "officials" become eliminated through the reorganisation.

In the fourth and fifth weeks a question on the agenda of a town delegate conference is voted on at the factory and street nucleus meetings. Such a conference takes place during the sixth week and brings the reorganisation period to a close.

Delegates to the town delegate conference, which is to deal with an important and topical political question (at present for instance, the campaign for the expropriation of the ex-royalty) are elected by the newly founded nuclei.

The elections to the town delegate conference take place according to a definite electoral system in the factory and street nucleus meetings on the basis of the current immediate tasks and internal Party questions. Bound up with this is the second secret of a rapid reorganisation: namely, when members are compelled to exercise their Party rights only in a factory or street nucleus the comrades go into the nuclei, for they have no other choice since the old residential organisation has become useless or is already liquidated. At the last national Party conference we prohibited the holding of functionary meetings of the old residential organisation in the big towns — we have in Germany a considerable number of big towns and almost every big town is the seat of a district executive, — and we also put a stop to general membership meetings in the areas of the town residential districts. We decreed that elections to the town delegate conference can only take place in factory and street nuclei. In connection with this we had a profitable experience: the more important and contentious the questions which confront the Party, the greater is the interest of the members in Party life. With respect to this I should like to mention an expression used by the Czech comrades. They said: "We had to interrupt reorganisation because we had a Party crisis and were in the midst of an election campaign." On the contrary, our experience in Germany was that the more acute the Party crisis, the more rapid the process of reorganisation. Comrade Walz of Berlin will be able to tell you how at the time when it was a question of forming sub-section Executives, Section Executives and District Executives, at the time when it was a question of capturing the executives, the interest of all the members was especially high because of the discussions on Party tactics and because of the struggles between various tendencies for power in the Party executives. In Berlin we had the experience that after the receipt of the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I., the tendency which followed the policy of the Comintern brought out their people, as far as they could be got hold of, to the sub-Section meetings and that the followers of the Ruth Fischer group, the Scholem and the ultra-Left rallied in full force. Thus the bulk of the active membership was forced into the sub-section meetings, and it was there that the decisions were made. Thereby the old residential organisations were finally liquidated. Re-organisation can also be given an impetus at the time of parliamentary and municipal elections, provided the executives know how to transfer the centre of gravity of the election campaign to the factory and street nuclei.

To come back to the Town Delegate Conference, I should like to say that when the delegates have been elected in the factory and street nuclei on the basis of a definite electoral system the formal process of re-organisation is actually at an end. Then the Town Delegate Conference meets, the supreme decisive organ of the respective town organisation. This does not yet finally complete the re-organisation. There remains to

bring into the nuclei the members who are not yet organised, to develop the executives, to elaborate a system of executive conferences with the departments or department secretaries, etc., for instance, the Agitprop secretaries the trade union secretaries of the nuclei, and above all to develop factory nuclei and to work for their politisation.

If it has been possible to put through this process in Germany — on the basis of the present state of development in the German Party — in the course of 6 weeks, I think that this method should also be applied in other Sections. Comrades, in a short space of time one can re-organise at least the town organisations. As soon as the district headquarters towns are re-organised and a bigger staff of practically experienced functionaries has been formed it will be easier with the help of such a staff also to gradually re-organise the provincial organisations.

One more point in conclusion. We have made the experience that through the re-organisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis we obtain a high percentage of new officials. These new officials in the executives are comrades who do the detail work in the factories and trade unions, and who now have power in their own hands. In Berlin at the re-organisation, we issued the following slogan against Scholem and Ruth Fischer: "All power to the factory nuclei!" Thereby, we gained a considerable percentage of new forces, losing of course a few rotten forces who are not regretted by anyone.

Taking everything together, re-organisation means a healthy purging process and a freshening of the Party and its leading cadre.

Comrade Mandel (Switzerland):

I would like to give an example of our conditions. In the city of Zürich, with a population of 200,000, we have 8 wards, which have autonomous administrations. The Party numbers, in the entire city, 900 members. We have 20 factory nuclei. We have a Party executive consisting of all comrades and divided according to the general pattern into the chiefs of the Agitprop, Political, Org., Sport, Women's and Youth's Departments.

Of these 11 members of the Party Executive 10 are workers out of the factory and one a party employee — Party Editor. There is no special bureau for the handling of Party work: in the various wards of the city there are section executives consisting of five comrades.

These section executives organise the work in campaigns that touch the ward and the entire city, e. g., the distribution of leaflets in special campaigns, house to house agitation, etc. But thereby they do not confine themselves to this street and house agitation but at the same time arrange the distribution of the leaflets also in front and inside of the factories.

Let us consider the task of house to house agitation, which we conduct not only in special campaigns, but also regularly. We do this by making up a list of newspaper subscribers according to streets, supplying these lists to the various organisations and noting on them which of the subscribers are Party members and which not. The section organisations proceed with the house to house agitation on the basis of these prepared lists. In the course of this house agitation our literature is peddled also. Each house agitator takes with him timely pamphlets, e. g., the report of the German Workers' Delegation to Soviet Russia, the report by Fimmen on the international situation of the workers — those pamphlets dealing with central actual interests are taken along in the house to house agitation, and those who do not subscribe to the paper at least buy a pamphlet.

Last year we initiated a so-called Popular Initiative regarding residential rights. For this Initiative we collected signatures from house to house and after this campaign was concluded we went to the factories. Similar methods were used in the Tax Initiative.

Also with regard to the cooperatives it has become evident that in the residential organisations we have definite tasks that cannot be attended to forthwith in the factories. Thus, at present, a campaign is being conducted by our Women's Department under the instruction of the Party Executive. This Spring, supplementary elections in the cooperatives will take place. Our Women's Department has the task of seeing to the entrance to the Cooperatives of a considerable number, first, of

Party members who do not yet belong to a cooperative, and second, of subscribers to our paper. The Women's Department is conducting this agitation by taking as its basis a directory of party members and subscribers who are not yet members of the cooperatives. They seek out these people from house to house in order to win them for the cooperatives.

Another example in a large factory (Neumühle) we have had a lockout. There was great popular sentiment for the workers in connection with this lockout. Thereupon our comrades, especially the women, went there and invited the wives of the locked-out workers to attend meetings. Not a single woman is employed in the factory. These meetings were an excellent means of reaching the working women, a means of supporting the struggle of the locked-out workers also in this manner.

Our Party Executive submits to the street and factory nuclei regular instructions concerning current tasks. Concretely formulated questions are also submitted for reply, recently the question of what the members think of our Party paper, what criticisms they have to offer, etc., was issued. It developed that in dealing with this question in the factory and street nuclei the membership engaged in an earnest criticism and raised a whole series of suggestions that were very valuable to the editorial board of the paper.

As to the question of trade union membership of our Party membership: we have, with very few exceptions, no Party members unorganised in the trade unions if they are eligible to such membership. At the very most there are only 10%.

In the reorganisation upon the basis of factory nuclei we have, of course, engaged in detailed discussion on the question of street nuclei and it became evident that in this question there was great unclarity. In the endeavour finally to embark energetically upon the building up of factory nuclei the opinion arose that the old residential organisation had to be abolished completely because we would not otherwise get to the point of finally building the factory nuclei. That which was related here by the French comrade showed itself also among us. We also said that we must create factory nuclei organisations and liquidate everything else. But it thereupon showed itself that this was a great error. We would have done great harm to the Party organisation had we put the question: one or the other. Under our conditions it became clear that the reorganisation could not be carried through in this manner. One must undertake the reorganisation determinedly but at the same time realise that the street nuclei continue to have definite tasks which the factory nuclei cannot fulfil forthwith.

Comrade Walz (Germany):

In giving a brief review of the re-organisation of the Berlin organisation I shall not be able to avoid entering upon political questions because they are most closely bound up with this re-organisation.

The re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei was extraordinarily discredited in Germany. The Frankfurt Party Congress did not undertake the complete re-organisation of the Party. To be sure a resolution was adopted, but the practical formulation of the question was evaded. The re-organisation was dragged out and thus it came to pass that the beginnings were again and again obliterated. In this way naturally all confidence of the members in the re-organisation was forfeited.

Then came the Party discussion on the basis of the Open Letter. The discussion was closely bound up with the carrying out of the Party re-organisation as laid down by the Letter from the Org. Department of the E.C.C.I. to the German Party. The rule so long wielded by Ruth Fischer and Scholem over the German Party was possible only on the basis of the residential organisation in which the functionaries were found far more susceptible to the pseudo-revolutionary phrases of the Ruth Fischer Central Committee than are the functionaries. Whenever any big Party question came up they called a Greater Berlin functionary meeting where the question was discussed in the presence of 2 to 3000 comrades without any preliminary discussion and decisions in the factory nuclei. But even the decisive functionaries, those who carried the Party work into the factories, were very little represented there because they had no determining influence in the organisation.

When we embarked upon the re-organisation there were still comrades who had no conception of it. Comrade Hesse, who attended the last Org. Conference, declared in a meeting of the Berlin executive that the re-organisation in his Section had already been undertaken in that Ernst Meyer had been attached to a nucleus. He imagined that one could solve the question by attaching Party functionaries to factory nuclei.

At the beginning of the re-organisation the C.C. established a commission of two members of the Org. Department to work out the re-organisation plan jointly with the Berlin District Executive. The first step was the registration of the members according to factory nuclei, for which a definite term about 80% of the entire membership was registered according to factory nuclei.

We were now confronted with another question. We had the Party crisis, we were face to face with the municipal elections: then there came the question of whether we should re-organise the Party in the midst of the election campaign. We agreed with the District Executive that the actual re-organisation should be undertaken only after the election, but that the first steps be begun immediately, especially the formation of the Provisional Sub-Section Executives. We said to ourselves that part of the membership which we could take in immediately without any registration should be taken in and that the final organisation of all members should then be completed by the Provisional Executives. Thanks to the Party discussion the political composition of the Sub-Section Executive became a struggle for power. This is not my formulation, but that of the then District Executive. There arose the question of what comrades should man the executives, those supporting the line of the Comintern and of the C.C., or those standing with Ruth Fischer and Scholem. For these reasons the development proceeded much more rapidly than we had contemplated. We expect that perhaps in three months we might be finished with the re-organisation in the rough. But it became clear that under the effect of the Party discussion upon the membership we had already gone much further in a few weeks — which meant a very important advantage. Hence our re-organisation did not militate against the municipal elections. The elections were an extraordinary success for the Party.

For this reason, in my opinion, the Czech comrades are absolutely wrong when they say that during a Party crisis or an election campaign the Party must avoid the re-organisation. On the contrary, it is precisely at such a time that the re-organisation should be carried out.

In our case definite periods were fixed for the various divisions of the re-organisation. It developed that on the part of the Berlin District Executive and certain Section Executives, efforts were made to sabotage the re-organisation upon the basis of factory nuclei. We therefore first built up the nuclei, then we created the provisional Sub-Section Executives, and only then we proceeded to the election of the Section Executives. The re-organisation was also furthered by the following facts — we had in Berlin the elections to the District Party Congress and to the National Party Conference. The elections took place in the sub-section membership meetings. The Sub-Sections elected the delegates to the Greater Berlin Delegate Conference, which in turn, elected the delegates to the National Party Conference. The elections to the District Party Congress were likewise undertaken directly in the subsections, and it was impossible for a member to vote in the old residential organisations. It was obligatory to attend the nucleus and sub-section membership meetings and to cast one's vote there. The result of this was a very numerous attendance of the sub-section meetings.

In the beginning of the re-organisation we deliberately neglected the formation of street nuclei. We said first we will form the factory nuclei and Sub-Section Executives and then proceed to the formation of street nuclei. This has also worked out.

Only after the District Party Congress were there held, in the Section Delegate Conferences, the new election of the Section Executives, and after the new election of the Section Executives the final election of the Sub-Section Executives. In the rough, the Berlin organisation is now completely re-organised. It would be wrong, however, to report that we are entirely finished.

The hardest work is yet to come: the **consolidation of the new organisation**, the political vitalisation of the nuclei, strengthening of the trade union work of the nuclei, activation of our nucleus work especially of the street nuclei, formation of nuclei in enterprises in which nucleus structure is very complicated (buildings, tramways, railways, etc.). We are still confronted here with the most difficult task and I should not like to instil the impression that these tasks are already so far accomplished that we can say that the new organisation is entirely complete. I am of the opinion that in Germany it will still take some time before the new organisation has consolidated itself. In addition the economic crisis hinders this development and inspires partial resistance against re-organisation on the part of individual members. These must be combated ideologically. There are therefore still many difficulties in our work.

Now another important point to which attention should be given, particularly at the Org. Conference — that throughout the entire German Party there is a **deficiency of Party apparatus**. The entire volume of the Party's tasks is taken up, to the last detail, chiefly in large meetings and one believes that thereby these matters are settled. We have too many meetings and no apparatus, no functioning departments which really attend to the tasks. What we lack is the administrative settlement of Party tasks and therefore we attend, not to 80 to 90% as reported by the secretary of the Russian nucleus, but to only about 10 to 20% of the tasks set. The carrying out of Party work is also still dependent upon the current political situation. If the political situation is unfavourable, this is reflected in the sentiment and activity of the Party membership and the carrying out of Party tasks is then also very deficient.

Upon the basis of the experiences that we have had here we will now endeavour, slowly yet systematically, to create this Party apparatus. I believe that it will be necessary to reduce the apparatus of the District Executive and to build up that of the Section, to establish paid secretaries in the Sections, to direct the work in the Sub-Section, factory and street nuclei and fractions. Of course we cannot promise that we can carry this out very rapidly because that is bound up with the financial weakness of the Party and other reasons, but we will work in this direction. We can assure you that a retrogressive development to the old residential organisation is impossible, but on the other hand we have no desire to give too optimistic a report or to say that we have already reached the end of all our difficulties. We shall require a long time yet before the new organisation is firmly rooted.

Comrade Grübner (Org. Department):

After the speeches of Comrades Zelle and Walz certain conclusions may already be drawn from the experiences made in Germany. These experiences may be of great value to the other parties.

The first question which should be taken up in this connection is the question of the tempo in which the reorganisation is to be conducted. Comrades Zelle and Walz have quite properly raised this question to-day. The question might be put as follows: should we carry out the re-organisation quietly or turbulently.

That is the way the comrades put the question, but I think that in this question, as in many another, the extremes are equally undesirable. I believe that the form in which the comrades have put the question is not correct. "Turbulently", under certain circumstances, may mean a campaign that is unprepared and unassured. But the way in which the Czech comrade put the question is already entirely wrong and positively dangerous. The comrade who reported here drew a comparison between the Party and the army and said that in an army the organisation cannot be altered during a movement and that this therefore applied also to the Party. This is of course fundamentally wrong. Proceeding from this premise the comrades might arrive at the conclusion that every move might harm the Party. In order to be able to reorganise they would have to wait for a "quiet" time or else refrain from every step. On the contrary! Every movement must be made use of for the re-organisation and development of the Party, for the schooling and training of the membership. We have the German example. In the very moment when, thanks to the Open Letter of the

E. C. C. I., a movement began in the Party, the Party made a step forward. On the basis of this movement it was possible to go forward also in the re-organisation. A vitalisation in the Party must always be exploited and we must also try to introduce a vitalisation and movement into the Party. The Czech comrades, however, did not utilise the Party crisis and the elections, they showed a tendency to stop the re-organisation during the period of the crisis and the election.

The second question raised by the German comrades is that of the **provisional executives**. I believe, that one can now conscientiously recommend to every Party in the International this institution of provisional sub-section executives in the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. It has been our experience that the comrades who oppose re-organisation always tried to hinder or slow down its carrying out, and this came into particularly crass expression in the case of certain tendencies in the German Party. Under such circumstances one could effect the re-organisation only after there entered into the executives new people who were really willing to conduct the carrying out of the re-organisation energetically. Also the factory nuclei, who had to elect these sub-section executives immediately, were compelled to constitute and solidify themselves in order to be able to effect the elections. For this reason I believe, that one must adopt as a new rule the fact that from the beginning a provisional executive be established into which are drawn new people, out of the factories, who really have the will to carry out the re-organisation.

A third question is that of **fixing a period**. Comrade Zelle has shown here how in a series of cities the reorganisation was carried through in fixed periods. I remember, that when the question of periods was raised last year, certain comrades put the question of whether or not such terms could be fixed. Now practice shows us that in dealing with the completion of the preparation of organisational work terms are possible. In this case, as has happened recently in Germany, the fixed periods correspond only to the steps of a previously prepared campaign for the reorganisation and for the election of the provisional sub-section executive. In Germany it seemed at first that for some time everything was in a state of preparation, then a term was fixed within which the provisional sub-section executives had to be elected, and thereby the first phase of the reorganisation was completed. But it would be a mistake to think that fixed periods must always be applied and that one can simply say: in three to six weeks we will transform the organisation and thereby the story is finished.

Now another question which Comrade Walz already touched upon, quite properly I believe. He said that we placed the chief weight upon the strengthening of the factory nuclei. Aside from the street nuclei we have primarily strengthened the factory nuclei. This is also correct. The most important task remains the strengthening of the factory nuclei. We are to-day in a period, particularly in Germany, where we actually have street nuclei contiguous to the factory nuclei. Certain comrades raise the question: with our lack of directing forces how can we best continue the upbuilding activity, shall we now first build the street nucleus and then proceed to strengthening the factory nucleus? In this connection we must not forget that the factory nucleus is our chief support and that it constitutes the foundation of the Party. At the present moment it is of greatest importance to us to have strong factory nuclei since, particularly in the period of the economic crisis, the factory nuclei in the big factories will play the most important role. Hence, simultaneously with the formation of street nuclei we must continue to devote the greatest attention to the factory nuclei. On the basis of the good work of the factory nuclei we can also better build the street nuclei because the work and campaigns of the factory nuclei will powerfully influence the latter.

From the standpoint of the section executive, or the sub-section executive, what are the most important methods to be undertaken at once for the **strengthening of the nuclei**? I believe that heretofore we, of the executives, have concerned ourselves very little with watching over every individual nucleus, supporting its executive with practical help by means of concrete advice for every single case. It is high time to proceed to this, at least to the extent of preparing the agenda for the most important nuclei in the sub-section or section meetings, and to provide the most important material for the nuclei. A

second question is that of the attached comrades. These comrades who are assigned to the nucleus are in most cases insufficiently exploited, as a rule they are looked upon as merely transitory figures. The Party executives must try to make instructors for one or another of the nuclei out of these comrades. The members attached to the nuclei cannot be permitted to function only as speakers, they must work constantly with the nucleus executive and support and train it. In addition the selection of the attached members must be a careful one so that the comrades actually sent will not be such as cannot contribute anything to the nucleus.

The question of strengthening the nucleus, with respect to the executive, signifies also the building up of a solid core within the nucleus. Certain comrades in Germany often expressed the view that one had to wait with the beginning of the work until all comrades within the factory were actually within the nucleus. This is absolutely ridiculous. One must begin with a few even only slightly active comrades, these will

develop, foster the work, create facts, and then new members will come into the nucleus who will, so to speak, be encircled in the activity of the nucleus and, if the nucleus is active, this circle will become ever wider.

A few final remarks concerning the work of the apparatus of the administrative district executive. I believe that these executives of ours have two shortcomings that must be eliminated. The first error is that they have not worked collectively, but instead one or two men have done the whole job. In the more advanced countries like in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, attention must be directed immediately to this side of the question. The entire executive must work, the smaller bureau or presidium above all. The second error, and this will, be my last remark, is that our executives pass a tremendous lot of decisions but the carrying out of these motions never take place. We should therefore set for our task the passing of fewer motions and the introduction of much more attention to the carrying out of and searching control over these decisions.