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## Organisation Conference of the C. I.

Fourth Meeting, Moscow, March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

### Continuation of the Report on the Reorganisation of the Parties on the Basis of Factory Nuclei.

Chairman: Comrade Dorsey, (America)

#### Comrade Reinhard (Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Germany):

The German Young Communist League is in advance of all the other leagues of the Young Communist International and Comintern in its reorganisation. After the Fifth World Congress the most important task of the League was reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei. We formulated a plan which necessitated the completion of the reorganisation within four months. The process of reorganisation may be divided into 5 stages which overlap each other. The first task was to register the members according to place of work in order to obtain a survey of the factories in which we have members, in order to proceed to the next task, the formation of nuclei in those factories. Those members not covered by the factory nuclei were divided among the nuclei which were already formed. There was no need to create street nuclei. After the nuclei were formed and the remaining members divided among them, we were ready to dissolve the residential organisations and build up the local groups on the basis of the nuclei. Membership meetings were called to elect the new local committees.

Owing to the Reichstag elections, when we of the Youth League energetically supported the work of the Party, the completion of the reorganisation was delayed somewhat. Nevertheless, of the 25 districts we have already 9 districts completely organised on the basis of factory nuclei. In the other

districts we will complete the reorganisation in the course of the next week, so that the German Youth League will be the first section to be reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei. At present we have 605 factory nuclei, of which about 200 issue nuclei papers. We cannot, of course, claim that all these 600 factory nuclei are capable of work. Not until we set the nuclei to do practical work will our rank and file nuclei members become capable of making active and efficient nuclei out of these weak nuclei. Whereas at the beginning only very few nuclei issued nuclei papers, this is now being done by nearly 200 nuclei. At the Exhibition about 50 of such factory nuclei papers are being shown.

The experiences we had in organising nuclei from without is of importance to Comintern. We succeeded in forming nuclei in factories where one of our comrades worked by assigning the work to comrades not working in the factory. For instance in Berlin a nucleus consisted originally only of 9 assigned comrades and they gained 6 members in the factory. The distribution of a nucleus paper by comrades from without also proved to be an excellent method of agitation.

Here the example of our Berlin Youth League was mentioned. Without doubt the reorganisation was conducted there in a more or less hurried manner. The Party and also the Central Committee of the Youth intervened and rectified these errors in the process of reorganisation. Although in the reorganisation in Berlin we at first failed to include from 30 to 40% of the members, we managed to gain another 20% later and the Berlin organisation, in spite of a loss of members has caught up with the membership we had before the reorganisation.

The bad social composition of our League was somewhat of a handicap in the process of reorganisation because in most of the large factories we had little and often no influence at all. In Hamburg, for instance, only 10% of our members are in large factories. As a consequence of reorganisation, tendencies are becoming evident toward a change in the social composition in favour of the youth from the large factories. The increasing terror of the employers in Germany renders the reorganisation of the Youth League, and still more of the Party extremely difficult. For instance, the Aniline Administration offered 3000 marks reward for the capture of the editor of the Party nucleus paper. The Leuna Administration announced that any worker found with a nucleus paper would be dismissed. Therefore we must take measures against the terror of the employers, as for instance, 1) that nucleus meetings are not openly announced; 2) that at public nucleus meetings the speakers for the nuclei are not comrades working in the factory but comrades assigned to the nucleus; 3) that the sale of nuclei papers and the distribution of leaflets take place before and after working hours outside the factory and only by comrades not working in the factory.

The Young Communist International instructed the Leagues to complete the reorganisation before Youth Day. The German Youth Leagues will be the first section of the YCI and of Comintern to complete the reorganisation and thus to create the same organisational basis as that of the Russian Youth League and the Russian Party.

### **Comrade Brown (Great Britain) :**

The reorganisation of the British Party must be considered from the point of view that the Party in Great Britain is not a mass Party. The Party has only 5000 members. But it has the tendency to become a mass Party.

We were compelled two years ago to undertake a kind of reorganisation which consisted in accustoming the members to do Party work.

The ideological preparation for the reorganisation of the factory nuclei began even before the Fifth World Congress. The actual reorganisation began after the Congress. The reorganisation had to be linked up closely with the question of fractions. The majority of Party members are engaged in the machine and coal industries and so far we have succeeded in organising 68 factory nuclei. The organisation of several hundred nuclei is under preparation.

How do these nuclei work? They are being controlled by the local organisations. When we began the work of reorganisation, it was decided that the head of each nucleus should be a member of the local committee. Later, when we shall have a great many more nuclei, that will naturally be impossible. However, at present it is still necessary. The nuclei meet once a week and discuss every question which is of interest to the Party.

The workers who are members do very useful work in the factory nuclei.

In the question of factory papers we can show only meager results at present, but we are endeavouring to develop them. It is the duty of Party members to work for the Minority Movement. In every trade union where we have members, there is a communist fraction which functions well.

With respect to the Minority Movement there is the misunderstanding on account of this movement, that the Party has no trade union fractions. That is not correct. Through the Minority Movement we succeeded in winning over several hundred thousand, practically a million sympathisers. But the Minority Movement is a part of the trade unions and we have well disciplined fractions within it.

The number of our members in the factories was doubled as a consequence of the reorganisation and that shows that reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei represents an important step in the development of a mass party in Great Britain.

### **Comrade Dorsey (America) :**

The question of the reorganisation of the American Party was not brought up actually until the Fifth World Congress. The question was dealt with before, but was looked upon with great mistrust. In America the reorganisation of the Party encounters great difficulties. The difficulties not only consist in the numerical weakness of the membership, but especially in the fact that we have not even a united Party. The Party is theoretically united, it is true, but in reality, besides the English speaking organisations, it is divided into 17 foreign language federations. Out of 19,000 members in the Party, only 2200 belong to the English speaking group. The Central Committee has no real direct contact with the local organisations, but must depend on the Central Bureaus of the various language federations to act as intermediaries.

Reorganisation is possible in spite of this condition. Fifty per cent of the foreign speaking comrades speak English, at least well enough so that they can take part in Party work. There is great resistance within the Party against reorganisation. This resistance is not active, but a passive resistance, and a tendency to maintain the language federations is undoubtedly present.

Keeping all this in mind, a certain amount of success may be noted. In Chicago we already have 7 factory nuclei. In the coal districts of Southern Illinois the objective situation favours reorganisation. Unfortunately I have no statistics regarding this situation.

We are compelled to proceed very carefully. Comrade Piatnitsky is right in saying that a transition must be created, and in such a way that all the Party members in one factory, regardless of what language they speak, must become members of the united factory nucleus, maintaining the separate national organs as propaganda organs.

The work of the trade union fractions is pretty well advanced. The Trade Union Educational League has somewhat the same significance as the Minority Movement in Great Britain. Up to this time the League consisted practically only of communists, but it is already beginning to attract non-Party workers.

The question of factory nuclei is identical with the question of the proletarianisation of the Party. The reorganisation is part of this process. Today the Party is not yet sufficiently linked up with the proletariat. This contact must be developed in the near future.

### **Comrade Hruschka (Prague District Organisation of the Czechish CP.) :**

Prague is the largest district organisation in the Czechish C. P. The question of reorganisation was raised for the first time in 1923, after the German events. At that time the district committee and the district conference thought that the situation was not yet ripe for reorganisation. After the decision of the International, the question was again raised, but the district committee was again opposed to reorganisation. Fractions instead of nuclei were formed in the enterprises. The Brünn National Conference of the Czechish C. P. made a similar decision.

After the Fifth World Congress, the Prague District Organisation decided that the time had come to establish nuclei in Czechoslovakia. This work was greatly impeded by the passivity of the members. Nevertheless, we have now 162 nuclei in the Prague District. The work of these nuclei is not exactly revolutionary, as the members are very passive. But lately this passivity has been less marked than before.

The nuclei in the cooperative enterprises do good work. We have good nuclei also elsewhere, but not everywhere.

The distribution of Party literature is having good results.

Unfortunately, the nuclei have not yet sufficient contact with the masses. We have as yet few factory newspapers; but they are appearing here and there. The objection raised against the foundation of factory newspapers is that there are not enough suitable forces in the factories for publication work.

We have 30 to 40 fractions in the trade unions, which are however, not very active.

Our task is to put more life into the work of the nuclei and to overcome the passivity of the members. The nuclei must pay much more attention than before to political as well as industrial questions to enable the Party to do justice to the tasks before it.

### **Comrade Petr (Czechish CP. of the Moravian-Ostrau District) :**

I am sorry to say that we are still obliged to talk about reorganisation. Today we ought already to talk about the manner in which the nuclei have to carry on their work.

I must first of all disagree with comrade Zapotocky who asserts that no reorganisation work is being done in the Left districts. What then is in reality the fact? In Moravian-Ostrau the Party has 40,000 members. Formerly we had here a "Right" secretary who opposed reorganisation. Nevertheless, we were able to establish 12 nuclei even at that time. As soon as the workers got rid of the "right" secretary, and elected a left wing secretary, the work began to be carried on energetically, and since then we have been able to establish 100 more factory nuclei.

The workers were at first afraid that this reorganisation would interfere with the work in the residential places. But they have realised that the workers of an enterprise have tasks to fulfil not only in the enterprises but also outside of it.

The reorganisation of the work of the Party on a factory nuclei basis has given it a great impetus. In localities where formerly three to four thousand workers participated in demonstrations, we are able today, owing to the reorganisation of the Party, to bring 15,000 workers to a street demonstration, etc.

We are making but slow progress with factory newspapers. On this field we have mainly technical difficulties to overcome. The membership of our district is mostly organised in the big industries; we ought to publish 1600 to 2000 copies. This cannot of course be done by means of a duplication. But, the printing process is too expensive and complicated. This difficulty will have to be overcome by several enterprises joining and making the publication of a newspaper possible by common effort.

### **Comrade Krejci (Kladno) :**

At first reorganisation encountered difficulties in Kladno, as the workers feared dismissal and persecution. But, as soon as we received the instruction concerning the reorganisation, we immediately convened about 150 meetings, at which the factory nuclei question was thoroughly discussed. We had a comparatively easy task as the factory committees and factory councils were all in our hands. The State organs immediately realised the danger to themselves and took measures accordingly. A great difficulty in connection with the reorganisation was the depression of the workers, who had been more and more oppressed by the employers ever since 1920. Nevertheless, we have now already several factory newspapers. We have divided the villages around Kladno where the Kladno workers mostly live, into districts, and as it is difficult to get comrades to come to the meetings because of the great distance, we commission comrades to go to the villages to discuss all questions with the workers. Factory meetings have already become a tradition with us. They were held even before the war; but now of course things are not as easy as formerly. Where the rural population predominates our work

is rendered more difficult, for the land reform has created illusions among the masses. But these illusions are gradually dwindling, and we are justified in saying that in the rural districts too we are making progress. Through the factory councils we have got into close contact with the masses. This is noticeable in the various activities in connection with the high cost of living. Through the factory councils, we can mobilise our workers within 24 hours. I can say that in spite of 30 years old social democratic traditions, against which we have to fight, we have made considerable progress. With respect to the question of officials, I should like to make the following statement: our body of officials is composed of nuclei representatives of the local organisations, representatives of the village organisations in the neighbourhood of Kladno, chairmen of factory committees, political and tradeunion secretaries, and members of the district committee. This body can make decisions with respect to actions intended to mobilise the masses. With respect to purely political matters, the decision rests with the district conference of the affiliated Party institutions.

### **Comrade Brunewicz (CP. of Poland) :**

The nucleus has been for many decades the organisational basis of the Polish Party. Therefore, with respect to reorganisation we are confronted with different tasks from the other sections of the Comintern. We do not require a complete Party reorganisation, but the nuclei must be reorganised.

We must admit that we have been guilty of several errors. Before the Fifth World Congress, this question was in a rather chaotic state. It is true that there was no other organisational form in the Party, but the nuclei. But, the latter were factory nuclei which were at the same time organised on a trade union and territorial basis. Thus, the workers did not always belong to the nucleus of the enterprise where they were employed.

The decisions of the Fifth World Congress brought about a certain amount of change also in our Party. At present we are confronted with the task of eliminating nuclei which are not in keeping with the new organisational principles. We must now do our utmost to establish our nuclei in the most important enterprises, in enterprises on which the economic life of the country depends.

The main difficulties in connection with reorganisation are the police conditions. Two thousand five hundred of our eleven thousand members are in prison, and those are precisely the comrades who are the mainstay of the Party.

On the whole, the factory nuclei system predominates now in the Party. Thus, we have 42 new nuclei in Warsaw, including 16 in large industrial concerns, 2 railwaymen's nuclei and 16 nuclei organised on a trade-union basis. In Upper Silesia, all our nuclei are factory nuclei. In the Dombrovo District too, almost all our nuclei are factory nuclei.

Owing to illegal conditions not all the members of a big industrial concern can be amalgamated into one nucleus. At times several nuclei have to be formed in the same enterprise.

Another difficulty is the difficulty of holding regular meetings. We are of course accustomed to illegal meetings, but it is extremely difficult to find premises for the meetings, as according to law, those who place premises at the disposal of communist meetings, bear the same penalty as those who take part in the meetings, namely, 4 to 6 years imprisonment. Nevertheless, we can say that the nuclei meet at least once a fortnight, and discuss all questions of importance for the work in the enterprise. A great difficulty is the enormous distance between the enterprise and the residential quarters of the workers. In the country the Party works through village, estates or communal nuclei. Of late, the Party has been increasing its influence over the peasants, not only in White Russia and West Ukraine, but also in Poland proper where we have considerably increased the number of our village nuclei.

The Party has the following structure: The nucleus is subject to the district committee and district meeting. The

district meeting consists of representatives of factory nuclei and meets once a week, the district committee meets at least twice a week. The next higher organ is the district conference, which should meet once a month, it elects the factory committee which holds meetings once a week.

The Central Committee is numerically smaller than in the legal brother Parties, but its structure is about the same. It is divided into a Political Bureau and an OrgBureau. The coordinating body is the Secretariat. The apparatus of the Central Committee consists of 10 departments, each under the guidance of a member of the C. C.

There are two national autonomous Parties within the Party, the Communist Parties of White Russia and West

Ukraine which hold their Party Congresses separately. But the decisions of the Party Congresses of the Party as a whole are also binding for these autonomous Parties.

We have many difficulties to overcome in the national question, as the work of the Party has to be conducted in six languages: Polish, Russian, White Russian, Ukrainian, German, and Yiddish (Lithuanian and Czechish are not of great importance). We have also organisational difficulties to cope with, especially with the Jewish workers, who are scattered throughout the country. Because of this, there is the risk of their organisations degenerating into national nuclei. But, the Party is well able to counteract this tendency.