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Prior to the Second International Organisation Conference of the Sections of the C. I.

By O. Piatnitsky.

The first Organisation Conference (March 1925) undertook far-reaching tasks. It received reports of the Organisation Department of the E. C. C. I., the representatives of the Central Committees of the largest sections of Comintern and of the largest organisations in the most important countries as to the position of organisational work both at the centre and in the various local organisations; it discussed and decided for the sections of the C. I. the policy as to the structure of the Party organisations from the nucleus to the C. C.; it facilitated the intensification of the extensive educational campaign in the sections as to organisational questions and at the same time devoted the greatest attention to the activity of the nuclei. Finally, the Conference adopted a Model Party Statute for the sections of the C. I.

Many of these decisions adopted at the first Organisation Conference have been carried out by the sections. The German Party Conference, the Norwegian and Austrian Communist Parties have drafted and adopted Party statutes on the basis of the aforementioned model statutes. Many sections have begun to apply the policy on structure and organisation of the Central

Committee, the district and city committees, etc. and also on the Communist fractions and their executives in the non-Party proletarian mass organisations, in the first instance in the trade unions.

The first Org Conference brought to light many differences of opinion: 1. On the question of street nuclei (the French comrades and the representatives of the Y. C. I. opposed the organisation of street nuclei). 2. On the question of the role of Party functionaries, who practically take the place of Party Conferences, of district and city organisations. However, practice has shown that the decision arrived at the first Organisation Conference on the questions were correct. The French comrades have become convinced from their own experiences that street nuclei cannot be done without and have begun to organise them. The Youth Leagues have acted in a similar way, — although they have adopted the name of street groups, — since experience has fully shown the necessity of street nuclei. As to the old functionary bodies, the C. P. G. which played an uncommon role as regards this question, has undertaken their liquidation

and the Party now instead of organising functionary meetings convenes Party Conferences to which the Party nuclei elect delegates. As a result of the abolition of the old functionary bodies, the Party members, thanks to nucleus work, have begun to take a much more active and intensive interest in Party questions than hitherto, to formulate opinions thereon, whereby the speedy change of tactics and the overcoming of the crisis in the C. P. G. Executive has been greatly facilitated.

The **Second Organisation Conference** does not contemplate such far-reaching tasks as did the first Conference. It purposes concentrating its attention on the thorough examination of a number of important questions. The Organisation Department of the E. C. C. I. in agreement with the Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. has placed the following three questions on the agenda of the Org. Conference:

1. **Organisation of the activity of the nuclei.**
2. **Organisation and activity of the city committees.**
3. **Organisation and activity of communist fractions, viz., in trade unions.**

It is intended to treat these questions from a purely practical point of view. At the second Organisation Conference we do not wish to reason why these organisational tasks are to be fulfilled, but how they should be carried out.

We picture the **method of work of the Second Organisation Conference** thus: that reports should be submitted in respect of all three questions on the agenda by representatives of nuclei, section (sub-district) and district committees, as well as the leaders of the trade union and organisation Departments of the central committees of the most important sections. The sections in question have received the request in advance to decide which nuclei, sub-district committees and fractions should report at the Org Conference. The Organisation Department of the E. C. C. I. had examined on the spot the activity of the nuclei, sub-district committees and fractions, whose representatives will take part in the Organisation Conference. In this way, we hope to attain that the Organisation Conference will give a proper picture of the activity of the organisations mentioned. That is the promise in order to examine the favourable and unfavourable results of nuclei, sub-district committees and fractions, the carrying through of the decisions which they have made and the methods of work, etc.

Despite the fact that factory nuclei already exist in industrial centres in many countries; despite the fact, too, that in respect of realising Party tasks they have proved their superiority over other organisational forms — residential groups and groups of ten — still nucleus work in many places is still very weak. The reason for this is to no small extent the **insufficient activity of city and local committees** which as yet do not supply adequate instructions, material, reporters and systematic support generally. Hence, the Organisation Conference on the basis of the material examined, will investigate the practical activity of the nuclei and committees. In this question it will utilise the mass of experience gained and on the basis of this experience draw the necessary conclusions.

As to the **question of the organisation and activity of fractions**, hitherto very little has been done on this field. But even the little work that has hitherto been done shows that wherever the nuclei work well, the position of our Party becomes strengthened in trade union organisations and that we are able to put forward our candidates for trade union functions and for trade union official positions at factory elections.

Those factory nuclei already in existence have proved that after organisation the Party has **better contact with the masses** than at the time when the old residential organisation existed and that by means of nucleus work the activity of the Party members has been increased (in many nuclei in Germany 60% of the nucleus membership have been brought into Party work), whereas formerly in the old residential organisations certain individuals (functionaries) did all the work. Since their initiation nuclei have taken energetic part in all Party discussions on questions of tactic in the various sections of the C. I. (Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, France, etc.). It is symptomatic of the nuclei in discussions that in most cases they help to overcome Party crises. Nuclei have stated their position in the correct policy recommended and supported by the E. C. C. I. Many factory nuclei in industrial centres in Germany have discussed exhaustively the **Open Letter of the E. C. C. I.** and formulated positive decisions on the question raised in the Open

Letter. Formerly, in Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc. similar questions were usually discussed and decided at functionary meetings; but the difference between decisions formulated then and now has become apparent, for the nuclei have lent a definite stamp to the district, city and general Party Conferences and the composition of these Conferences has changed very much in comparison with former times. In this respect I will enumerate a few statistical facts: At the Berlin-Brandenburg District Conference (end of October 1925) 134 delegates participated who had been elected at nuclei group meetings, 25 delegates from the Berlin street nuclei and 50 from the local organisations of the Brandenburg province (unfortunately, it is not stated by whom and how these delegates were elected, whether in the old residential organisations or in the factory and street nuclei).

In accordance with directions in Berlin only members of factory and street nuclei participated in the elections. This fact, of necessity, had its effect on the course and the decisions of the Conference. From being a support of the ultra-Left and of the group "of double entry", Ruth Fisher-Maslow (who, by the way, continue their "game" in the struggle against the E. C. C. I.), the Berlin organisation was transformed after the creation of the nuclei and their participation in the discussion into a majority for the E. C. C. I., and of the new executive organ of the C. P. G. Experiences obtained in Berlin showed that the activity of the factory nuclei facilitates the opposition to and the liquidation of an ultra-Left bloc and Ruth Fischer supporters who still operate with certain success.

The National Party Conference of the C. P. G. which took place at the end of October 1925, gives a still clearer picture when we examine the statistics as to its composition. At this Conference there were present: delegates from large industrial districts, 62; delegates from medium sized factories 45; delegates from small factories 61; Party functionaries 27; trade union functionaries 2; housewives 2. The success of the factory nuclei consists however not only in **drawing the majority of Party members into active Party work**, in the strong influence of the **lower Party organisations on higher organisations**, and in the closer relations between the Party organs and the Party membership. Material received from quite a number of towns in Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Italy and Germany shows that the nuclei have been most successful in **securing new members for the trade unions**, take lead in conflicts with employers and force trade unions to be energetic in their defence of the workers' interests.

A factory nucleus, for example, decided:

"that by a definite date every member is obliged to secure a new member for the trade union. It is then examined whether every member has carried out this decision."
Another nucleus reports:

"Our nucleus consists of 130 comrades. Our first accomplished task was to organise all comrades in the trade unions. This work was completed after four weeks' activity, with the exception of one comrade... During the next fortnight our activity in respect of the trade union question consists in having every comrade introduce a colleague to the trade union."

A comrade from Lanark reports:

"Lanark. Our work was begun with three comrades. An active campaign was carried on for the slogan: **back to the trade unions!** which increased the percentage of those organised in the trade unions from forty to over ninety per cent. A nucleus paper was issued and was most enthusiastically received. New members were gained for the Party and now our nucleus consists of eighteen comrades."

Such activity of the nuclei has provided the Party with the possibility of extending its influence even to those sections of the workers who still adhere to Christian and National Socialists and Social Democrats (Textile workers strike in Czechoslovakia, etc.).

The C. P. I. gives a good example of the significance of reorganisation. As a result of the present terror in Italy the Maximalists (the Party of Nenni and Vella) and the reformists (Turrati's Party) have almost lost contact with their members and the working masses in the industrial towns in Italy. Only our Party which has its organisations built upon the basis of factory nuclei is closely connected with the working masses through its membership. We had an instance of this, for example,

in the influence which our Party exercised on the Italian trade union movement up to the time of its dissolution. This influence was very great, as the following figures prove:

At the Congress of the Textile Workers Union the representation was:

Reformists	45,8%
Maximalists	23,2%
Communists	31%

At the previous congress the ratio of delegates was:

Reformists	70%
Maximalists	19%
Communists	11%

At the referendum of the Metal Workers in Milan the votes cast were in the following proportion:

Reformists	33%
Maximalists	37%
Communists	30%

A few months later the proportion of votes on the occasion of the new elections of the section executive of the Metal Workers' Union in Milan was:

Reformists	25%
Maximalists	36%
Communists	39%

The activity of Communist Parties in all fields has gained great vitalisation by the organisation of factory nuclei. The Party is beginning to penetrate into the ranks of the working masses. A nucleus in Italy reports:

"15,000 workers, nucleus 80 members. The regular nucleus meetings take place once a month. The agenda is usually devoted to the tactics which should be followed in our struggle to gain influence in the trade unions, mutual aid funds, etc. We can safely say that more than one half participate in the discussions... Discussions of a purely political nature have taken place in connection with the last provincial congress. Further, on the question of tactics, which our Party should apply towards the ruling Party and the 'Avanti'. Discussions have also taken place on economic struggles, increased cost of living, women's work, night work, hygienic conditions in factories, etc."

A factory nucleus in Germany of 35 comrades where the workers number 2,300 sends the following report:

"Fifty per cent of the comrades participate in Party work. Since the month of September, 1925, 31 newspaper subscribers have been gained for the 'Sozialistische Republik'. In the months of September and October five nucleus meetings took place at which the following questions were discussed: E. C. C. I. Letter, wages, I. C. W. P. R. Trade Union Question, reorganisation of the Party, unemployed question, Russian delegation, struggle in China, Morocco, etc."

The I. C. W. P. R. was newly constructed five months ago and has 255 members. A large section of workers participate in its work by buying stamps and newspapers."

A comrade reports:

"Three comrades have been working in quite a small nucleus for three months. These three comrades in this period have succeeded in securing 40 readers for the newspaper. Further, they have been successful in securing the election at the last factory council elections of a comrade who has been made chairman of the factory council."

Factory nuclei have not only established better contact between the local party organisations and the workers and employees in the factories, but they bring new members into the Party not by means of special recruiting campaigns but as a result of daily activity. For example, the sub-district of Lanarkshire reports quite remarkable successes obtained there during reorganisation:

"Since July in towns and villages in Lanarkshire 300 new members have been secured and these new members are now together with the old ones and distributed in the factories and nuclei."

From the facts and material at our disposal about the activity of factory nuclei during the past eight or nine months their

definite advantages to Party organisations are perfectly clear and defined.

The nuclei have been able to find a common language with workers belonging to other parties, including the Social Democrats. Joint campaigns in factories have become more frequent.

For example at a district conference in Czechoslovakia a comrade from a tobacco factory reported that a nucleus of 34 members has great influence on 1,600 men and women workers. The workers agree that the aims of our Party are correct, but so far fear to join. Still they support all collections and campaigns. The comrade concluded his speech thus:

"It is quite a different state of affairs in a factory from newspapers and Parliament, here we have fertile ground for the United Front."

The circle of readers for our newspaper and literature has been greatly enlarged by means of the workers in factories. Comrade R. from the factory nucleus "J. H." reported at the same conference that the sale of papers improved after reorganisation. Formerly the local organisation disposed of 50 copies of the district newspaper. The nucleus, however, disposes of 130 copies. Another example: a factory nucleus in Germany sold the following works in one month:

- 1 Capital by Marx;
- 1 The present tasks of our policy;
- 7 War against War;
- 3 Liebknecht: Dictionary of foreign expressions;
- 69 Songbooks "Red Front";
- 74 The fight for T. U. unity;
- 20 We accuse!;
- 4 The Reorganisation of the Party;
- 5 Edo Fimmen: The world situation ;
- 1 Marx: Economic doctrines;
- 2 The Rebels;
- 1 Principles of Communism;
- 9 Minutes of Party congress;
- 2 Inprekorr.

A total of 200 volumes, worth 134,55 M. and in addition 50 of the "Arbeiter Illustrierten" (Workers' Illustrated).

The German and Swedish Social Democrats sound the alarm in full consciousness of the significance of our nucleus work in factories. In a circular from a German Social Democratic district organisation, we read:

"To strengthen recruiting work on behalf of the Party and the press, it is essential 1. to form definite S. P. G. fractions in all localities, and in all larger factories and trade unions. S. P. G. fractions should also be formed in localities and in factories and trade unions where the C. P. G. has little or no influence; 2. to cover with a thick network of S. P. G. officials, besides trade union official representatives, all factories and trade unions; 3. to invite to special meetings all trade union members who support Amsterdam trade union policy."

The Swedish Social Democrats take the following attitude to nucleus work:

"It is essential to unmask these new dreadful Bolshevik methods (factory nuclei, street nuclei, village nuclei, factory nucleus papers, fractions in mass organisation)... The most suitable solution may be found in the destruction of the structure of the nucleus and rendering it unworkable, especially by the watchfulness of Social Democrats in trade unions. There is no excuse for those who aim at destroying the moral and organisational power of the workers' movement. Down with the nuclei..."

"The effectiveness of factory nuclei is chiefly in the factories and is to be found in the personal intercourse between the workers. The factory nucleus is the executive organ of the central and local Party executive. It receives instructions to carry out a certain amount of work in accordance with written and oral instructions. First of all the nuclei concentrate on Bolshevik propaganda among non-Party and Social Democratic workers." (From "Socialdemokraten" Stockholm. Dec. 9th, 1925.)

Still in spite of all these advantages and successes of nucleus work which have been proved by experience, there are many officials in countries with old Social Democratic traditions who are antagonistic to the reorganisation of the Party on the basis

of factory nuclei. In places where nuclei already function these comrades oppose the dissolution of parallel residential groups and groups of ten (old forms of organisation) and justify their attitude by maintaining that the nuclei are incapable of conducting elections to representative bodies. During recent times such elections have taken place fairly often; but unfortunately, the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I. has not received very detailed reports as to the participation of factory nuclei in these elections, in spite of the fact that this information has already been demanded. The inadequate reports which have reached the Organisation Department show that the factory nuclei have been especially successful in organising election agitation and propaganda. A comrade reports, for example:

"In U.I. observed the following: Comrades were opposed to organising a mass meeting. Through the factory nucleus they issued an instruction that all the workers should meet on a certain day in the morning outside the local office. They calculated thus: if a sufficient number of workers assemble we will have a procession and arrange a mass meeting; but if the number is inadequate, we will convene our meeting in the trade union local office. They did not want to run the risk that, in the event of the non-participation of the Workers (in the majority Czech Socialists and indifferent), the meeting might fall through.

"The nucleus fulfilled their duty, the workers on the appointed day and at the given hour assembled and a mass meeting took place. The effect was all the greater as it had taken place without any placarding or apparent agitation amongst the masses of the workers."

A nucleus from Berlin reports:

"The chief means of agitation amongst our indifferent colleagues was our Nucleus newspaper on the elections. We must record that our colleagues actually snatched them away from us and that not only was the demand very great, but unfortunately, on account of our financial position, we were unable to meet it.

"Further, we must record that the election work on Election Sunday, which was carried out by our nucleus group in our locality, had great success amongst the population and caused astonishment amongst the S. P. G. workers in view of the fact that in our locality we have only three comrades and still we received 297 votes."

If in addition to the factory nuclei also street nuclei are organised for those Party members who do not work in factories and their sub-district (sections) and district committees begin to work properly and make good preparations for the elections campaigns, then the entire electoral work of factory and street nuclei will substitute and surpass the work of the old residential organisations.

In Czechoslovakia the activity in the recent elections there was chiefly the work of the old residential organisations. Factory nuclei did participate in the work, but not to the extent to which they ought to have done and were capable of doing. It is apparent from the descriptions of our Czech comrades that many factory workers, who live near the factories — in villages, where there are no Party organisations, voted en masse for our Party, because the nuclei in the factories were carrying on active electoral work. This fact is a proof that factory nuclei are capable of carrying out election campaigns in a first rate manner. It may be safely said that if factory nuclei had taken a more active part in election work throughout Czechoslovakia that the Communist Party would have received still more workers' votes.

Here and there we come up against an inadequately clear understanding of the role of the nuclei. But apart from that, two extreme tendencies in the Communist movement declare definitely against the factory nuclei. These tendencies are to be found in the ultra-left: Bordiga in Italy and Scholem and his friends in Germany on the one hand, and the Right: Lorient in France, in Czechoslovakia Bubnik, and in America Lore, these latter two were former Right elements now outside the C. I.

Bordiga declares:

"We recall that that (this refers to nucleus organisation) is the type of counter-revolutionary organisation (trade unions, labour party) in which the division of the working class into professional groups causes the loss of a clear conception of class aims. Therefore, it is a mistake to main-

tain that organisation on a territorial basis is peculiar to Social Democratic electoral parties and that the nucleus system is the key to a real revolutionary tactic."

Lorient expresses his opinion on nuclei thus:

"The nucleus as the basis of the Party is sterile and lifeless, it can only be brought into existence by feverish agitation which exhausts active Party workers and discourages them by its aimlessness."

Bubnik in respect of factory nuclei and fractions states:

"We do not agree with the system of factory nuclei for they disturb, and they will disturb work in trade union organisation ...

"We do not agree with that tactic which places the trade union movement under the tutelage of the Party and we maintain that trade unions should be autonomous in matters appertaining to the trade union movement.

"Therefore, we also condemn fractional work in trade unions because thereby the fighting capacity of the trade union organisations becomes undermined."

Lore in an article on this subject:

"My friends and I have been repeatedly reproached with fighting against the reorganisation of the Party because we see our ideal in the 'social democratic territorial organisation'. Similar non-sense has already been put forward. We declared — within the Party organs as is our right — our opposition to reorganisation on the basis of factory organisations because we then knew what a few of our ex-Party comrades have also been able to ascertain since then, that this re-organisation must bring about still greater curtailment of the Communist Party organisation ..."

They have every reason to be dissatisfied with the organisation of nuclei and fractions. In Italy the nuclei declared against the Bordiga group and their platform and since the C. C. of the C. P. I. has freed itself from the influence of the ultra-left, Bordiga, and undertaken proper tactics in agreement with the C. I. decisions, the C. P. I. has succeeded in penetrating into the ranks of the masses of the Italian proletariat.

The same holds true for Germany. The nuclei in Berlin and other towns have been largely responsible in removing the ultra-left Scholem and Rosenberg and the "leaders" of the Maslow and Ruth Fischer brand and it is to be hoped that they will help to convince their supporters entirely of the correctness of the new tactics. By the application of a proper and not "ultra" or "left" tactic on the part of the Party, the entire Party and together with it the factory nuclei and the Communist fractions, have been greatly vitalised. The nuclei are the most decisive defenders of the new policy in the C. P. G.

Factory nucleus E reports:

"The decisions to reorganise the Party on the basis of the factory did not give us any difficulty but the inflexibility of our tactics after Frankfurt naturally did not help us to win back what we already at one time possessed. But we are convinced that when the ring of intellectual pressure has been broken by the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. that we will advance in our work and win over the factories to be the centres of support of the coming revolution."

The factory nucleus of several municipal enterprises from Berlin writes:

"The Open Letter did not do the slightest harm but gave an opportunity of discussing the tasks of a world Party. The nucleus is of the opinion that by means of good United Front tactics in Greater Berlin the large majority of the municipal workers can be won over by us."

A factory nucleus from Z reports:

"It was apparent at a nucleus meeting that comrades recognised the E. C. C. I. Letter, but opposed trade union unity. At a further meeting the Letter was again under discussion as also the trade union question. The result was a further recognition of the Open Letter and the decision to join the trade unions which will now be ratified."

Bubnik's fate is well known to everybody. The government or bank subsidy which he received for the organisation of an "own" paper was of no use to him. Bubnik and his Party were badly beaten at the last elections at which they secured 7,000 votes. Overcome by this lack of success he dissolved his

"Party" and has now returned to his paternal home, the Social Democrats. Now the factory nuclei have really been instrumental in the large towns in Czechoslovakia in putting the finishing touch to the renegade Bubnik and his friends. Hence, we see how justified is the discontent of the ultra-Left and Right opponents with the nuclei.

As for Lore in America, such hardened Social Democrats as he could only belong to organisations with a structure such as existed in the American Workers Party up to quite recently. (17 or 19 national organisations federated in the Workers Party.) When Lore had been expelled from the Party, he began to make violent attacks against the organisation of nuclei and fractions. We earnestly hope that Lore too will have counted without his host in maintaining that the Workers Party is incapable of substituting the federation of different language national organisations by a reorganisation and centralisation of same.

With regard to Comrade Loriot in France, he will hardly succeed in convincing anyone, viz., the members of factory nuclei, that factory nuclei are incapable of carrying on systematic work, that factory nuclei are only recruiting organs which carry out the decisions of the parallel existing old residential organisations and form no basic Party organisation. Loriot makes a definite demand for the maintenance of the old form of organisation, together with that of the new.

In conclusion, I wish to remark in reference to the organisation of nuclei and fractions, committees and their work, that the matter has only been set in motion, I will not maintain that everything is in order; that is by no means the case. Factory nuclei are as yet not sufficiently active. They are not yet sufficiently political, nor do they form the basic organisation of the Party. In Czechoslovakia, for example, they have not as yet included all Communists working in a factory. Many nuclei

are inclined to shut themselves off too much and to repel sympathisers and are thereby likely to lose contact with the workers. This, for instance, has been the case in Italy. The nucleus groups which have been formed in Berlin display a certain tendency to take the place of factory nuclei. This too is incorrect, for the task of nucleus group committees is to help the nuclei to organise their work in a proper manner and in factories where no nuclei exist to form them. However, they should not interfere with the tasks of the nuclei themselves. In many towns, city committees function badly and this has an unfavourable effect on the activity of nucleus groups and nuclei. Communist fractions have not yet been formed in all non-Party organisations, and even where that has been the case, they are not yet functioning.

The second Organisational Conference will raise all these questions. Comrades from the various organisations will report on their experience and will then help to eliminate all shortcomings which exist in the activity of nuclei, fractions, district and sub-district committees.

The most important question in this connection is that of the education and training of new functionaries, especially in the lowest Party organs (nuclei, nucleus groups, city committees secretaries, etc.) by means of short term courses, series of lectures, etc. This is essential because the number of old officials is inadequate for Party work which is continuously increasing and secondly, because a section of them is not capable of breaking away from the old Social Democratic traditions in questions of organisation.

We confidently hope that the second Organisation Conference, like the first, will be helpful in establishing clearness and determination in the work of Party structure of the C. I. sections and that thus the correct policy will be realised.

Basic Questions of Communist Organisation Policy.

By W. Ulbricht (Moscow).

In contradistinction to all others, the Communist Party first of all made the nucleus the basis of the structure. The Party statutes define the "Nucleus" as "the foundation of the Party organisation".

The structure of the Party on the foundation of factory nuclei assures it the possibility of being constantly informed as to the demands and sentiments of the working and peasant masses, and to react in good time accordingly.

Only upon such a structural basis will the Party be in a position to approach all strata of the workers, to wield a deep-rooted influence upon them, to mobilise them for the struggle against the bourgeoisie and to win them for the solution of problems arising from the building of the proletarian State. In the grave moments of the revolutionary struggle against the counter-revolution, hunger and economic disorganisation, it was the basing of the Party upon the nuclei that made possible our support by the masses and our leadership to victory.

In the inner life of the Party the nucleus foundation, by gaining the best proletarian elements for the Party, assures a steady qualitative improvement of its social composition, while at the same time securing to every Party member the opportunity of real active participation in the entire political life and reconstruction work. By means of the nucleus every member is projected into the vortex of Party life, since it participates in the making of every decision of the Party.

From the R. C. P. Nucleus Instructions.

In general the opposition to reorganisation upon the basis of factory nuclei have been overcome within the sections of the C. I., so the second Org-Conference, which is to precede the Enlarged Executive, may concentrate on the appraisal of practical experiences and the formulation of regulations for future work. Nevertheless it is necessary to deal with the platform of Comrade Loriot-Hairius, published in "Humanité", October 18, 1925, because this platform concisely formulates all essential deviations from the organisation decisions of the E. C. C. I., and advocates that the delegates of the C. P. F. at the Enlarged Executive propose revision of the Comintern decisions along the lines of the platform indicated.

It is characteristic of the platform that it does not concretely cite the errors of the Party and in connection with this offer positive proposals as to how the matters should have been done. The platform opposed the factory nuclei as foundation of the Party, but toward the end we find the demand: "2: All Party members are obliged to join a factory nucleus." First exhaustive attempts to prove that the nuclei are incapable of political work, and then all members are to be obliged to join them. Who, then, is to perform the political work? Perhaps only the Party apparatus so hated by the makers of the platform? We venture to doubt whether this method of treating organisational questions really furthers organisation work. If comrades want to liquidate the nuclei they should formulate this clearly, and not declare themselves in favour of the nuclei by seeking to assign all Party members to them for the purpose of smothering them, of actually turning them into residential organisations labelled with some factory name. We shall deal with the chief points of the platform systematically.

Revolution and Reorganisation.

In the platform it is stated that reorganisation was undertaken on the ground of the certainty of the immediate proximity of the revolution in the West. Let us look closer into this statement. The reorganisation was undertaken on the basis of the experience of the Russian Revolution, of the struggle against the war in Western Europe, the revolutionary struggles after 1918, the experiences of the Ruhr Putsch and above all, the experiences of the Ruhr conflict of 1923 and the period of the C. P. G.'s illegality. The organisational policies of periods of political stress and revolutionary struggle cannot be separated mechanically from the organisational structure and methods of the period of preparation for the revolution. Certain organisational principles which were formulated by Comrade Lenin as far back as 1902 and 1903 hold good generally: 1. The role of the Party as vanguard and organiser of the Revolution. 2. The hegemony of the proletariat in the Revolution, the consequence of which is the social composition of the Party from among the most advanced proletarian elements and its structure upon the basis of the factory nuclei. 3. The unity and solidity of the Party based on uniform theory and practice. 4. Every Communist's duty to work since only by the aid of the masses of

active Party members a constant and successful influence can be exercised by the Party upon the labouring masses. 5. The building of the Party on the principle of democratic centralisation.

It is apparent that these general principles must be adapted concretely to the prevalent special conditions — legality, illegality, social composition of the population, etc. At present when immediate, revolutionary, decisive struggles are not before us, Party work, especially in the factories, is undoubtedly more difficult than in times when the labouring masses rush spontaneously into action. But under present conditions we must resolutely and tirelessly lead the struggle of the workers for all their daily needs. Our experience thus far in the struggle for national and international trade union unity and in the war against war have shown sufficiently that the principal Party work must be done by the nuclei. The activity in the factory cannot be left to the voluntary initiative of the individual comrade, every one of whom works by himself, or, as a rule, not at all — this work must be systematically performed by the nucleus. Only thus does the integration of the Party in the decisive strata of the working class become possible. If, after all these experiences, the platform declares: "And the creation of a new organism must arise from the necessities of the struggle", we must assume that these comrades have little knowledge of the experiences of the Party and of the Comintern.

The platform states: "It is the task of the nucleus to point the road, in a Communist sense for the spontaneous movement of the workers in the factory." We would remind the comrades that the decisions of the Second World Congress on the role of the Party, contain nothing in harmony with this spontaneity conception. They clearly emphasise that the Communist Parties are to function as an organisational-political lever. In this connection the nucleus is not only to lead the spontaneous movements, but rather, through its systematic daily activity it should **organise** the movements of the workers. For this we require the organisations of the Party in the factories, i. e., the nuclei. Without these it is impossible to have the thorough preparation of labour struggle so that we might really lead the mass conflicts and assure their success.

Party Members' Duty to Work.

In the old sections and groups it was as a rule left to the judgment of the individual member whether Party work should be done or not. At the meetings we cheerfully called for volunteers to carry on the work. There could be no mention of a planned distribution of work on the basis of the members' abilities and in agreement with the comrades themselves. This must be changed. The workers coming into the Party thereby pledge themselves to do Party work. It may be that in many cases the distribution of work was done in a clumsy way from a pedagogic point of view, so that the abilities of the comrades were not sufficiently considered, that certain Party Executives did not lead the work but simply commanded. But despite all shortcomings the distribution of work to the individual Party members is an absolute necessity. Its precondition is that the members be drawn into joint discussion and thereby joint responsibility, and that the assignment of work is accomplished gradually, commencing with the smallest functions. In the platform it is said: "Who will believe that political work — which is an anonymous synthesis and no revealed truth — can be instilled into them by the Central Committee." Naturally the Central Committee alone cannot do this, but, to declare our activity "an anonymous synthesis" is a mysterious formulation of the old Social-Democratic practice. Especially in the current period the Party's activity is in a large measure the result of the planned distribution of work to all Party members and control of same through the Party leadership. The mistake of the French comrades has hitherto consisted in their neglect of systematic recruiting work and their obstruction in the way of gaining new Party members through their system of candidature.

The thesis of "anonymous synthesis", which implies the negation of work distribution, necessarily results that only a small part of the membership, the functionaries, do work and really, as a rule, carry out the discussions and make the decisions. On this the platform says: "It is really the apparatus, the functionaries, not the active Party workers, to whom the organisation thesis of the Party Conference is addressed. This thesis is a survey of the ways and means of cultivating the suzerainty

of the functionaries over the Party. It is intended for the use of the Party functionaries."

Contrary to the platform, we know how to estimate the significance of the Party functionaries. For us the attraction of all Party members for work, discussion and decision is just as important as the training of functionaries. But this can be done only through the nuclei. To the extent that the platform actually opposes the nuclei, it strengthens the very tendencies which further the restriction of Party work to the functionaries. It seems to us that Comrade Loriot fights the functionaries so sharply simply because he would like to substitute other functionaries.

Democratic Centralism.

The concrete application of the principle of democratic centralism is determined by concrete conditions, legality, illegality, struggle experiences, and the social composition of the Party. In the initial stage of development of the Communist Parties there prevail, as a rule, federalist tendencies. Only major struggle experiences teach the Party the necessity of strict centralisation. In this it is easy to go to the opposite extreme and to advocate super-centralisation. The correct application of democratic centralism is demanded by extensive experiences. It is easily comprehensible that in the C. P. F. democratic centralism has not yet been altogether correctly applied. The essence of democratic centralism is clearly stated in the model statutes for the sections of the C. I.:

a) "Election of the lower as well as upper Party organs in general meetings of the Party members, at conferences and Party Congresses.

b) Periodical reports of the Party organs to their electors.

c) Binding recognition of the decisions of higher Party organs by the lower units, strict Party discipline and prompt and exact execution of the decisions of the E. C. C. I. and the directing Party organs. The Party organisation which extends its activity over a definite field is considered higher than those Party organisations which restrict their activity to a portion of this field. Discussion of Party questions can be carried on by the membership only until their decision by the authorised Party organ. After the adoption of a decision at the Congress of the Comintern, Party Congress or the leading Party organs, it must be carried out absolutely even if a part of the members or local organisations are in disagreement with the decisions."

The inner Party Democracy under normal conditions is all the more fully put in practice, the greater the degree of Party work done by individual members. If only a few comrades work and in reality run things, then there is no inner Party democracy.

In the C. P. F. the members were not sufficiently drawn into consultation and responsibility, nor was their initiative sufficiently stimulated. Against these weaknesses the platform offers the opposite extreme. Here is no mention whatever of centralisation and discipline. The comrades do not put the question of democratic centralism from the viewpoint:

How can we create the unity and solidity of the Party through the combination of centralism and internal Party democracy with a higher living unity. The platform restricts itself to an exaggerated critical attitude towards generally known weaknesses of the Party.

The Party can carry on a correct tactic only if it is so constructed that it knows the opinions and sentiments of the workers and reacts to them forthwith. Like a seismograph it must register the sentiments and agitations of the workers right up to the highest Party executive. This can only come about through a vital contact between the Party executive and the nuclei. The actual sentiment of the Party members also can only thus come to the knowledge of the executive.

In the nuclei all members should take their stand on all Party tasks and tactical questions. In the larger Party membership meetings this is generally impossible because the simple factory workers seldom get the floor there. The general district meetings or other territorial gatherings are usually the preserve of orators. But we want, above all, that the workers express themselves and state concretely what is to be done and what had been done wrongly. The platform complains that only restricted discussion time is available in the nuclei. This is no harm. Not the length of the discussion period but its actual

content is the measure for gauging its worth. Previous experience indicates that matters are discussed simply, concentratedly and more thoroughly in the nuclei than at the general meetings. In the nucleus the words of those comrades have most weight who show by their practical work that they are Communists. In the general district meetings on the other hand, the petty-bourgeois fancy speakers have a greater influence. This does not mean that we are opposed to district meetings. We favour them, but first the nuclei must take their stand and then their delegates in the district will represent the viewpoint of the Party membership.

In the platform it is said: "The active Party worker has been reduced to a cog, without initiative in the wheels of the Party machinery." This is unquestionably an exaggeration, and it would be well for the comrade to read what Comrade Lenin says in his "One Step Forward, Two Backward", concerning those Social Democrats in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, who argued similarly. Lenin said: "The Party organisation appears to you as a monstrous 'factory', the subjection of a part to the whole, and of the minority to the majority as an 'enslavement', the distribution of work under the direction of a central authority inspires in them a tragi-comical lamentation that human beings are to be made into 'cog-wheels' and 'screws', the mention of an organisation statutes for the Party inspires a contemptuous grimace and the disdainful remark that one could get along very well without any statutes... The Party connections must be based upon a formal, 'bureaucratic' (according to the viewpoint of the undisciplined intellectual) drafted statute, the strict adherence to which safeguards us from narrowness, obstinacy and the all-into-one-pot methods which call themselves 'free process' of the conflict for principle."

The Nuclei.

In the platform it is said: "The Central Committee is not able to create a basis for the Party out of nothing, if the elements of the basis are scattered or even lacking." In our opinion, the Party members in the factories are not so scattered as in their homes. And in addition the basis for the winning of new members is not so disjointed in the factories as in the residential district. It is said further that the existence and activity of the factory nucleus is dependent upon the historical circumstances under which it came into being. This formulation shows that its authors do not believe that the activation of the nuclei, and through them, the Party is possible, they rather consider the passive tendencies as chronic phenomena. What is the effective method for the improvement of Party work — perhaps the discussion in the district meeting? This is not revealed by the writers.

In another place we find: "In the face of a situation which condemns its organisation, its action methods and its policy, the Central Committee knows of nothing else to do than to paint before the anaemic nuclei a picture of their future well-being. But under such demagogic formalities, under these fraudulent promises, one fact remains clear: the extension and strengthening of the suzerainty of Communist bureaucracy. 'The apparatus' remains the last storm anchor that is thrown to the nuclei."

Instead of showing the comrades how the work of the apparatus might be improved it is lampooned in a manner that cannot but work destructively. Worst of all, the comrades declare that it is false to tell the nuclei how they should work, but instead speak of "painting the picture of future well being". Such methods of criticism are not calculated to further Party work.

Of course, the nuclei are today still weak but their influence is decisive in reaching the neighbouring masses and in the Party's leadership of the labour struggles. The promulgators of the platform will perhaps admit that ten workers in a big factory have a more important field of work for the Party than ten barbers. It is self-understood that in places where there are no factories there can be no factory nuclei. There, precisely as in other districts where there are factories, the comrades who cannot belong to factory nuclei are combined in street nuclei. The co-ordination of the work of the factory and street nuclei is affected by the nucleus group executive.

Particularly important for the C.P.F. is the question of recruiting work. In the platform it is said:

In our opinion the recruiting forces of the Party is not the result of some sort of mysterious influence but it is determined by the activity of every Communist and above all by the organised work of the nuclei in daily struggle for the interests

of the proletariat. This struggle, in front rank, is conducted in the factory. There the decisive strata of the working class are concentrated, and there is the most important recruiting field for the Party. Only when the Communist Party contains the most active Proletarian elements and when it conducts a policy which remains clearly conscious of our goal, will it be able to bring under its influence also the broad semi-proletarian and middle strata. For this reason the social composition of the Party is of great significance. Especially in France where the petty bourgeois element is very strongly represented, the Party must lay particular value upon winning of industrial workers for the Party, and these proletarians must exercise decisive influence in the Party.

"In 1925 an increased number of workers, attracted by the Communist ideal and moved by resentment against the capitalists and their agents, joined the Party. But these transitory and insufficiently conscious new acquisitions, instead of strengthening the Party, only weaken its foundations. And this only and entirely for the benefit of the apparatus and the Party bureaucracy."

In our opinion the mistakes of the C.P.F. lie in a diametrically opposite direction. With regard to recruiting work the nuclei were conceived too narrowly. The Party Executive should have instructed and controlled the nuclei so that they would have carried out systematic recruiting activity. The Party did not do this and neglected also the educational work among the newly initiated Party members.

"Under the immediate circumstances the nuclei cannot remain the basis of the Communist organisation in France without sharpening the crisis in recruiting force and its influence now felt in the Party, and without seriously menacing its revolutionary faith."

The platform states: "Freed from the heavy task of politically vitalising the Party the nuclei remains essentially an organ of direct action." We ask — where on earth can the activation of the Party take place if it is not possible where the members are, in the nuclei? It is said further: "Recruiting work for the trade unions, vitalisation of the trade union section, formation of a factory committee, in case a spontaneous movement makes this desirable; these are the immediate tasks which confront the factory nucleus." We inquire: where and by whom are the political tasks of the Party carried out? Is that perhaps to be done only in general mass meetings? Apart from these questions the foregoing formulation shows that the trade union work of the factory nuclei can be executed correctly and successfully only when done from the standpoint and in conjunction with the political tasks of the Party. This erroneous conception of the promulgators of the platform must inevitably lead to a false Party policy. Most interesting is the following formulation by the comrades: "As Party basis the nucleus is sterile and without life, it comes into being only in the course of a feverish agitation which exhausts the active Party members and discourages them by its futility." Instinctively one asks, what do these comrades really want. They criticise the political passivity of the nuclei and at the same time condemn their agitational (hence also political) activity. This does not prevent the comrades from saying in another connection: "the aspiration of the nucleus is directed toward carrying on the work and daily activity in a Communist spirit, i. e., in the spirit of the general interests of the proletariat." It would be correct to say that the policy and tactic of the Party are the principles and fundamentals for the daily work of the shop-nucleus, but it is characteristic that the formulators of the platform have themselves finally come upon the idea that daily questions cannot be separated from the political questions.

Factory Nucleus, Street Nucleus, Nucleus Group

In the platform it is pointed out that the scattered location and numerical weakness make the nuclei incapable of fulfilling the role allotted to them by the Fifth World Congress. This argument can have a certain justification only when the formation of nuclei groups is neglected. By means of these groups the nuclei are combined and uniformly instructed and controlled.

The comrades continue: "The proposal to form street nuclei to include Party members not working in the factory, is anti-Marxian, anti-Communist, and anti-Leninist" (emphasis in original). The authors of the platform try, under cover of the charge

of anti-Marxism, to veil the fact that by the allocation of all non-factory employed Party members, they actually rob the factory nuclei of their character and in this way seek to transform them into a sort of territorial organisation. This manoeuvre would be destroyed by the formation of street nuclei. We intend that the most active industrial workers who belong to the factory nuclei shall have the strongest influence in the Party and want to prevent the smothering of the nucleus activity through the attachment of numerous comrades to them.

As a consequence of the opposition to systematic reorganisation of the Party, the platform also attacks the nuclei groups:

"Just as little shall we be able to retain the proposal for forming nuclei groups as explained in the theses of the C.I. It cannot be admitted that the weakness of the factory nuclei justifies the complication of the Party apparatus."

The nuclei groups are necessary as lower combinations of the nuclei because the upper Party Executives in larger villages and towns are not in a position to fulfil this task. The nucleus group executive should instruct, control and co-ordinate the work of the nuclei and see to it that all parts of the nuclei groups' territory, including all factories in which no nucleus as yet exists, are systematically worked up. The upper Party units, as for instance the District Committee, or City Party Executive are in no position to fulfil all these detailed tasks.

The Measures of our Opponents.

The experiences in all countries teach us that the Communist Parties are subjected to the sharpest terror by their enemy at the time when they develop their greatest activity and when their influence upon the workers' mass movements rises. The work of the Party in the residential districts is as a rule less subjected to repressive measures by the State and its organ than in the factories because the organised work of the Communists in the factories naturally more immediately and powerfully influences the organisation and conduct of labour struggles than in the residential district. In the platform it is said:

"Often defenceless against the dual repressive measures of the government and the employer, the nucleus members have no other choice than to restrict their activity to the

carrying out of an infinitesimal part of the Party tasks, or else themselves to endanger the existence of the nucleus."

Undoubtedly the State and the employer take the sharpest measures for the suppression of nucleus work because the factories are the foundation of the economic life and of the State. The factory — this is the chief battleground in revolutionary struggles. Precisely for this reason we must extend nucleus work and assign to the nuclei all tasks incumbent upon a lower Party organisation.

* * *

The theses of Comrades Lorient-Hairius oppose the factory nucleus as the foundation of the Party. But on the other hand, they say that all Party members must be organised in the nuclei. The question of which organisation shall constitute the foundation of the Party they do not answer. Since the comrades particularly emphasise the district and the district membership meetings, one must assume that in their opinion the membership meeting in the district should be the foundation of the Party. It should be known also to the promulgators of the platform that the district meeting is not a working unit and that therefore the acceptance of the Lorient-Hairius proposal would restrict Party work to general agitational meetings and internal Party discussions. In such case there can be no thought of distribution of work to Party members since the District Executive is not in a position to do so even with the best of intentions. Formulations in the platform mean the rejection of the above mentioned four chief principles of Communist organisation policies.

We fully realise that the activation of the Party cannot be accomplished overnight but rather that the working discipline of the Party must gradually be improved. The comrades constantly shout: the nucleus activity is bad! True enough, we certainly do not deny this. But comrades must not overlook the fact that in the faulty activity of the nuclei the total weakness of the Party is openly expressed and that it is of absolutely no benefit to the Party to camouflage these weaknesses with fine speeches in district meetings. Activation of the nuclei, i.e., learning to organise and lead workers' mass movements, and to conquer political power. And in spite of all present weaknesses of the nuclei we will achieve this.

Structure and Work of Urban District, Local Group and Nucleus Group Executives.

By Otto Unger.

The more reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei is progressing within the Parties, the more evident it becomes that we were right when we said that the reorganisation of the Parties must not be limited to transferring the organisational basis to the factories, but that it must imply a reorganisation of the Party from below and right to the top and a reorganisation of the nature and methods of their activity. As reorganisation proceeds it also becomes evident that it is essential to examine carefully the structure and activity of the minor Executives, under whose direct leadership the nuclei work and have to carry out important functions in the process of reorganisation. Especially the experiences in the C.P. of Germany have shown that without a thorough reorganisation of the minor Executives (this is mainly a question of urban district and local group executives), without defining their tasks very minutely and without instructing them regularly and systematically, it is impossible to complete the reorganisation of the Parties and to make them work satisfactorily on a new basis. This is so not only because the composition of these Executives is frequently unsatisfactory and because their work is also unsatisfactory, but because leading organs which have been elected on another basis (on the residential basis) and for the accomplishment of other tasks (for the work of an organisation built up on a residential basis) cannot change their character suddenly and are bound to look upon their tasks from another viewpoint than that of the work of the factory nuclei. One may say without exaggeration: that the Executives elected on the old basis and the factory nuclei are organisational forms which have nothing in common. This fact has been fully realised by the C. P. G. in its practical reorganisation work. An example of this is the formation of provisional nucleus group Executives in the course of the reorganisation of the Berlin organisation (see *Inprecorr* No. 90,

English Edition, "The Part Played by the Groups of Nuclei in the Process of Reorganisation") before all the members are organised in factory and street nuclei. The C. P. G. was quite right in recommending at its first reorganisation conference all the districts to follow this example.

The Second International Org Conference will therefore, also deal with the question of minor Executives, the correct solution of which, side by side with the examination and utilisation of the experiences of practical nucleus work, is another important step towards the reorganisation of our parties. It is therefore, useful and necessary to deal with this question in detail so as to make its solution possible.

What is the Process of Reorganisation in the Minor Executives?

First of all a few words about the structure of the Party. In this respect there is as yet little clarity and uniformity. As a rule the Party structure should be as follows:

a) In small localities factory and estates and street nuclei are to be immediately organised into a local. (Wherever no nuclei exists the members are organised into a local.)

b) In small and medium sized towns the nuclei are amalgamated into nucleus groups. The amalgamation of nucleus groups constitutes the local.

c) In the larger towns the town area is divided into town districts or town wards. Here the Party structure is as follows: Nucleus, nucleus group, town district organisation, town organisation (local).

This structure forms the basis of the dispositions given below. And now I am coming to the question: What is the process of reorganisation in the minor executives?

In this respect various forms must be taken into consideration. Wherever reorganisation is still in its initial stages, where there are comparatively few factory nuclei and where because of objective difficulties, reorganisation is supposed to take a long time, it is recommended to coopt from the existing factory nuclei a few members of the nucleus Executive in the urban district or local Executive and thus be able to do justice to the requirements of the factory nuclei by their direct participation in the work of the leading organs. This, so to speak, would be only a reform of the said Executive, as a regular reorganisation of the said Executive is not possible.

Matters are different where reorganisation is in full swing and where it is carried out according to a definite plan. Here (with the exception of the smaller localities) in the course of reorganisation the local or urban districts are subdivided into nucleus groups after the members have been carefully registered and factory nuclei have been formed in most of the factories where we found our members were employed. The factory nuclei existing in the vicinity of the nucleus group, also Party members working in the vicinity of the nucleus group, but in whose factory no nuclei have as yet been formed (be it that there are not enough comrades there or for other reasons), and finally, members who do not work in a factory but live in the vicinity of the nucleus group and should therefore be organised into street nuclei, are to be attached to these nucleus groups. (In connection with this it must be noted that Railwaymen, Tramway-workers and unemployed party members, with a few exceptions, should not be organised in Street Nuclei. Much has already been written on this subject and about the manner of their organisation.) When this nucleus group has been formed, the first nucleus group meeting is to be organised. The purpose of this meeting is to explain to the members the tasks and functions of the nucleus group and its Executive and to elect a Provisional Nucleus Group Executive. When the new organisation in the vicinity of the nucleus group is complete, namely, when all the members have been organised into factory and street nuclei, which is one of the most important tasks of the provisional nucleus group Executive, the proper Nucleus Group Executive is elected.

The division of the territory of the Local, of the Urban District Organisation into Nucleus Groups and the election of Provisional Nucleus Group Executives is the first step towards the reorganisation of the Urban District or Local Executives. The second step is the formation of Provisional Urban District or Local Executives, or the re-election of Urban District or Local Group Executives. The former will be necessary when reorganisation is not expected to be completed for some time, when the old Executive cannot cope with the new tasks or when the old Executive is composed of comrades who fail to understand the questions of reorganisation and the tasks of the reorganised Party. Needless to say that in this case, after the completion of reorganisation, the local or urban district Executive must be newly elected.

There is yet another eventuality to be taken into consideration with respect to the reorganisation of the Local Executive. In localities where many comrades come to the factories from other districts, and must be therefore transferred to the Party organisation near the place of their employment, the local Executive is to be reorganised, according to circumstances, in one of the ways already described. But in localities where only few comrades or none at all have to be transferred to the local from other districts, that is to say, where no regrouping of the Party members will take place, the final reorganisation of the local executive can already be taken in hand in the initial stage of reorganisation, by giving comrades engaged in practical work in the factory the majority in the Executive. The same applies to locals in villages where estate nuclei can be formed.

It is the task of the district nucleus when drafting or examining the reorganisation plan for the various locals, to pay special attention to the question of the reorganisation of the respective nucleus, and to give minute instructions on the manner of this reorganisation.

The Structure of the Nucleus Group Executive.

The nucleus group executive should be composed — in accordance with the strength of the nucleus groups — of 9 to 12 members selected from the best comrades in the most important factory and street nuclei and of a member of the executive of the Y. C. L. Several comrades from particularly big and

important factory nuclei within the nucleus group can also be elected members of the nucleus group Executive. The same applies also to provisional nucleus group Executives.

The nucleus group Executive elects from its midst the chairman of the nucleus group and his deputy. If the nucleus group Executive has more than seven members it also elects a smaller bureau, presidium, or a smaller committee of 3 to 5 members to which the nucleus group chairman also belongs. This is necessary and important in order to give an impetus to the collective work of the minor Executives and to place the work of these Executives on a broader basis. The more comrades are induced to take up leading posts, the more they take upon themselves through their activity the political responsibility for the work of the Party, before the Party membership and the masses, the more the work done will correspond with political requirements and be comprehensible to rank and file Party members and to the masses, and the more efficiently will the officials be educated for the leading role which they are called upon to play. In the Presidium and also in the entire nucleus group executive the main branches of work which must always be attended to are distributed among various members who are responsible for their work to the nucleus group executive. Such branches of work are organisational, trade union, agitprop and municipal work which must be carefully attended to. According to local conditions other departments must also be formed, for instance for agitation among women, Red Aid, and for work in the Red Front Fighters' Union, etc.

The nucleus group chairman is responsible for his work to the nucleus group Executive, and the latter is responsible for its work to the nucleus group and the urban district or local Executive.

The Tasks of the Nucleus Group Executive.

The nucleus group executive is the Party organ which must coordinate the work done in the factories (through the factory nuclei) and in the residential district (through the street nuclei). Therefore the greatest attention should be paid to its composition and the utmost support should be given to its work. Party work is dependent upon the lead it gives to the factory and street nuclei and on its close and regular connection with the latter. It is this which determines the nature of the tasks of the nucleus group. It is responsible for the entire Party work in its vicinity, and it carries out its tasks connected with this Party work under the leadership of the urban district or local committee. It has to adapt the general directions of the Party to the concrete conditions in its sphere of work, and it has to elaborate the plans for any work as it arises. It must ensure that these plans are carried out by issuing proper directions to the factory and street nuclei and by controlling the execution of these directions through its direct collaboration in the nuclei. It must also react immediately on all political and economic events taking place in its vicinity, by either taking the necessary steps itself, or by getting into contact as quickly as possible with the executive above it, with the object of deciding them one way or another.

One of the very important and special tasks of the nucleus group executive consists in giving steady support to the nuclei in their work, and this not only during the period of reorganisation and while the nuclei are still young and undeveloped. The greatest help must of course be given to the young and weak nuclei. Members of the Executive should always be engaged in practical Party work in one of the nuclei. The nucleus group executive must also make sure that in factories where no nuclei as yet exist, conditions favourable to the formation of nuclei be created by systematic work from outside, either through the respective street nucleus or through one of the factory nuclei in the neighbourhood.

It is also essential for the nucleus group executive, which through its close contact with the factories and the membership of the Party should be well informed concerning the frame of mind of the workers and the rank and file Party members, to keep up a close and steady connection with the upper executives and to report there on its work in order that the leaders of the Party may carry on their activity on the basis of sound and regular information.

Another special task of the nucleus group executive consists in coordinating the work of Residential and Factory Nuclei. Under its guidance factory and street nuclei are to work in close collaboration in all the campaigns and other arrangements of the Party and must help one another with respect to some

definite tasks and definite fields of activity. It must make sure that factory nuclei do not limit themselves to work within their respective factories, but that they should also carry on regular work in a definite residential district, and that on the other hand street nuclei be drawn into work in factories not yet captured by us. With this object in view one must make use of comrades residing in the vicinity of the nucleus group but belonging to the factory nucleus of another nucleus group where they cannot do any Party work after working hours because of the long distance from their place of residence. Such comrades must be registered in the nucleus group executive in order that the latter may draw them into Party work*).

Not less important is regular support for the nucleus group of the Y. C. L. In this respect the Executive of the nucleus group of the Party has a rather responsible task to fulfil. It must instruct a comrade from its midst to deal with the questions of the Y. C. L. and with the problems and tasks connected with agitation among the young workers.

Mention has already been made of the necessity of a proper division of labour within the nucleus group executive. In this connection it should only be emphasised that this division of labour must on no account result in the various members of the nucleus executive being familiar only with that particular branch of work with which they have been entrusted. Such isolation of the various chiefs of departments is fraught with great dangers and can only result in a neutralisation of the advantages of division of labour. To avoid this peril is one of the most important tasks of the collectively working Presidium or whatever other name be given to the smaller body within the Executive described above, and of the chairman of the nucleus group. They must make themselves responsible for close collaboration between the various chiefs of departments.

The Presidium, as the smaller body of the nucleus group executive, has the duty to carry out the current work of the nucleus group, to prepare the material for the decisions of the nucleus group executive and to organise and control the carrying out of the decisions made there. Whilst the nucleus group executive meets at regular intervals, (about every two or three weeks) the Presidium of the nucleus group executive meets according to the requirements of the everyday work, but at least once a week.

The chairman of the nucleus group organises and controls the entire work of the nucleus group, he coordinates the work of the nucleus group executive, places before the nucleus group executive for discussion and decision all questions which might arise and keeps up a direct connection with the urban district or local group executive.

What has been said here about the various tasks applies naturally also to the Provisional Nucleus Group Executives. But among the tasks of the latter first place must be given to the continuation of reorganisation, that is to say all the comrades must be organised into factory or street nuclei.

The Structure of the Urban District or Local Executive.

The size of these Executives depends on the size and structure of the district in which they work. They should consist of members of the most important nucleus group executives and of a member of the local Y. C. L. Executive. The majority of the members of these executives must be factory workers.

At their first session these executives elect the chairman, his deputy and also a presidium, namely a smaller body consisting of 3, 5 or 7 comrades according to the strength of the executive. The chairman has also chairmanship of the Presidium.

There must be a systematic division of labour within the Executive. This is the task of the Presidium which forms an Org, a trade union and an Agitprop Department. In accordance with any special tasks other departments can be formed. With respect to branches of work for which no special departments are formed special organisers are to be appointed out of the

* In the C. P. G. it has already been attained that all Party members living in the vicinity of nucleus groups are registered according to their place of residence. We think that this is wrong. Only those comrades who live a long way from their place of employment and can therefore not be drawn into Party work by their nucleus group after working hours should be registered according to their place of residence.

ranks of the respective executive. But this must not be done in every case. If there are comrades outside the Executive who are more experienced in the branch of work in question than a member of the district executive, preference must be given to such comrades. But it is to be recommended that a member of the Executive should be entrusted with the control over this branch of work or over this department.

The Tasks of the Urban District or Local Executive.

The Executive of an urban district organisation, or of a local is responsible for the entire Party work in its district. Its business is to adapt the lines on which Party work is conducted to the conditions prevailing in the district to elaborate the methods to be employed in carrying out the Party work and to organise systematically the actual carrying out of the work. It gives instructions to the nucleus groups, factory nuclei and street nuclei executives concerning the carrying out of these tasks and it watches over the manner in which this work is carried out. In order to be able to exercise this control and to be familiar with the conditions under which the tasks which have been set must be carried out, and also to be able to react immediately on every political and economic event within the scope of the executive, and on the other hand in order to be able to give nuclei direct assistance with the carrying out of their tasks, the members of this executive must participate in the practical work of the most important nuclei.

We already pointed out in the beginning the importance of these minor executives in the process of reorganisation and also with respect to the work of the Party on the new basis. This also implies that the subdistrict and district executives should deal very carefully with the work of these executives and particularly with the methods employed in the course of this work. In fact all the instructions to these executives must be considered from the viewpoint: how will our nuclei in the factory be able to carry them out, in what form must the tasks be presented to make our comrades in the factory understand them. At the present juncture it is not enough to say: This must be done and such and such is your duty. In order to carry out the work on the new basis, one of the foremost functions of these executives is to explain how the instructions given are to be carried out. Instructing the nuclei and nucleus groups must be one of the most important parts of the executive's activity. A very important task of the executives is the organisation of Communist fractions in the trade unions, cooperatives, sport organisations, peasant unions, and in all other mass organisations of workers and peasants outside the Party, and also in their organs. Another important task is the careful and continuous supervision of the work of these fractions. The same applies to the municipal fractions.

The bureau or presidium of the urban district or local executive carries out the current everyday Party work, it ensures that the decisions of the executive are carried out and prepares the decision of the questions to be solved at the sessions of the executive. The chairman of the local or of the urban district is responsible to the respective executive for his work, he coordinates the work of the executive and brings up for discussion in the Presidium all questions which might arise.

All that has been said here applies of course also to provisional urban district or local executives, with the difference that the latter must also pay special attention to the tasks arising out of the reorganisation of the Party.

In local groups or urban districts where no nucleus groups exist, the work of these executives will of course be different. In such cases the functions discussed in the paragraph "the tasks of the nucleus group executive" can be applied to the town district or local executive.

Such are briefly the lines on which the forthcoming reorganisation of the minor executives should be mainly carried out. It should also be added that in this connection the Agitprop Departments of the C. C. and also of the districts have to carry out certain pressing tasks. These tasks consist in giving support to the executives elected on the new basis by means of special courses and the publication of material dealing with methodics and other subjects (this material must also be adapted to our new methods of work, as in fact the nature of our entire Party work must be brought into keeping with the new basis). Otherwise these minor executives will not be able to fulfil their relatively important functions in a satisfactory manner within the framework of the Party work.

The Nucleus — The Foundation of the Party.

(The following instructions are taken from the directions of the C. P. re organisation of September 1925.)

1. Registration of Members According to Factories and Trade Unions.

Issue of proper questionnaires which must be carefully filled in and controlled by the Executives over registration. The registration questionnaires should be collected by the local Party Executive, arranged according to factories and immediately handed over to the existing factory nuclei or to the comrades whose business it is to organise the comrades employed in the respective factories. A definite date is to be fixed by which the questionnaires must be filled in. The Party Executive is responsible for and controls the organisation of the Comrades employed in the factories into factory nuclei. Wherever the initiative for the formation of factory nuclei comes from below the Party Executive must not discourage such initiative by declaring that factory nuclei can only be formed from above. On the contrary every comrade should endeavour to find out Party members and sympathisers in the factory and should form the nucleus together with these and with newly-won comrades, notifying the Party Executive in good time when the constituent nucleus session is to be held.

The membership files must be in safe keeping so as not to fall in the hands of our enemies.

2. Registration of Factories.

Every local group Executive has to register the factories, workshops, offices, etc. in its district, sending the list of the factories, etc. to the district or sub-district Executive. Registers must give the Party Executive an idea of the importance of the various factories, and therefore they must contain: name of the factory, nature of production, number of staff, information re adherence, trade-union conditions, composition of the Factory Council etc.

The district or sub-district Executive supports and controls, by means of statistical factory material, this registration of the factories (material from national and provincial bodies, chambers of commerce, sick funds, trade union reports, exchange records, etc.).

3. Information of Factory Nuclei.

First of all factory nuclei should be formed in the most important factories. A member of the Party Executive should be present at the Constituent Session in order to help the nucleus during the initial stage of its activity.

The nucleus Executive is elected at the nucleus meeting. The nucleus Executive is to consist of three or more comrades according to the numerical strength of the factory nuclei. Politically educated comrades should be elected to the Executive. The Executive distributes among its members the most important branches of work: (trade union, agitprop, finance). The nucleus Executive (chairman) is responsible for the entire work of the factory nucleus. Special value attaches to the selection of a capable trade union organiser. The branches of work which have not been distributed among the members of the nucleus Executive, are distributed by the latter among the members of the factory nucleus.

In accordance with factory conditions, department leaders are to be appointed in the various factory departments, workrooms, mines, etc.

The nucleus Executive must meet regularly at least once a week to discuss the immediate Party tasks and to organise their execution. The members of the nucleus Executive must not waste much time over meetings, they can for instance meet in the dinner interval and just before or after work to discuss whatever is necessary and receive instructions and slogans from the local Executive.

Every nucleus has to register its members according to factory and residence. As soon as a nucleus has been constituted the nucleus executive has to establish connection with the nucleus group or the local Party Executive. The Party Executive on its part is under the obligation to support the newly formed factory nuclei. Individual Party members employed in small factories can be attached to the adjoining factory nucleus. Where ever it is possible such individual members scattered throughout several small factories are to be organised into a factory nucleus.

4. What Renders Factory Nuclei Capable of Achievement?

The following measures make a factory nucleus a live institution, and they should be therefore introduced as soon as possible.

a) Regular factory nucleus meetings at which all Party questions and special factory questions are discussed, decisions made and delegates elected to the local Party Executive.

Nucleus meetings should meet regularly once a week. The nucleus meeting is to be held secretly. One should see to it that the conditions under which Party comrades participate in these meetings are such as not to endanger the existence of the nucleus. Therefore, invitations to the nucleus meeting should not appear in the daily organ. Members of the nucleus executive or leaders of Departments should transmit the invitations by word of mouth or by distributing notices to the Party comrades.

As a rule nucleus meetings should be held immediately after work. They must not be too long and therefore the agenda must be carefully prepared, reports should be short and the discussion should not be overburdened with technical matters; these should be dealt with outside the meeting by adequate measures taken by the nucleus executive.

Where shift work is done the nucleus must meet according to the shifts. There must be a leader for every shift. But the entire nucleus must meet regularly if necessary on Sundays or holidays. Wherever this is impossible the delegates or shift chairmen of the various shifts should meet.

b) The factory nucleus collects membership fees.

As soon as the factory nucleus has been established proper arrangements should be made to collect membership fees. In this respect too the initiative of the nuclei must not be interfered with by the Party Executive, factory nuclei must be allowed to make their own arrangements with respect to receiving membership contributions. But the local Party Executive must of course issue the necessary regulations to the factory nuclei concerning the payment of membership contributions, the settlement of accounts with the local cashier and the control over these operations in the transition period.

The cashier of the factory nucleus must by a certain date receive and account for his contribution stamps to the nucleus group or local cashier. To ensure that these cash operations be carried on smoothly the following procedure is recommended:

Factory nucleus cashier hands over his stamps to the assistant cashier in the various departments, workrooms, etc., of the enterprise. Where a considerable number of comrades work in one department of the enterprise they can be divided into small groups for the purpose of receiving their contributions. This must be done entirely in accordance with the structure and the conditions of the enterprise. By creating its own apparatus for the collection of membership contributions the factory nucleus will be better able to keep its members together and to control them.

It is the business of the local Party Executive to superintend the collection of membership contributions in all the factory nuclei and to see to it that all the members join the nuclei.

c) Trade union work in the factories.

All available energy within the factory should be concentrated on trade-union work. In many factories the workers are unorganised. Our everyday experience has shown that if the factory nucleus proceeds in a systematic manner it is not at all difficult to bring back to the trade unions the workers who are in sympathy with the Party. The following measures are recommended:

Control over trade union membership of every member of the factory nucleus. Control every four weeks of membership cards, the report on this work to be sent to the nucleus executive.

Appointment of comrades by the executive of the nucleus for special work in the various trade-unions to be found in the enterprise. These comrades have to study the special questions of these unions and have to provide the nucleus with concrete material for agitation.

The panel from which trade union officials are drawn is to be developed, our comrades should be introduced into

it or the whole panel should be captured by us. A close and regular connection should be established between the nucleus executive, and the Communist representatives in the trade unions through the trade union organiser.

All nucleus members should carry on energetic agitation among the workers in the enterprise for the purpose of inducing them to return to the reformist unions. This can be done by word of mouth, through the distribution of leaflets and through the sale of pamphlets and of factory newspapers.

d) Publication of factory nucleus newspaper.

Every nucleus in a big or medium enterprise must publish a newspaper regularly. This organ must not only discuss factory affairs, but must take up a definite attitude to all important political events. There may be one common nucleus newspaper for several small enterprises.

The nucleus newspaper must be made up and distributed illegally. The editor and the person responsible for the paper must be only known to the nucleus executive. Arrangements for the distribution and sale of nucleus newspapers should be made in accordance with the existing local conditions. Because of terrorist methods on the part of employers, the distribution and sale of the nucleus paper can very seldom be carried on openly, without leading to the victimisation of the comrades engaged in this work. But every factory nucleus will endeavour to find, and will find ways and means to distribute the paper inside and outside the factory (for instance with the assistance of comrades and sympathisers not employed in the enterprise).

The factory nucleus must itself finance the nucleus newspaper. A factory newspaper which is put together by comrades from the local Party executive is as a rule lifeless and uninteresting, because it is not closely connected with the enterprise and cannot reflect the frame of mind of the workers in that enterprise. Wherever it is impossible to sell the paper either openly or secretly, other means must be found to finance it. For instance, an extra contribution can be levied in the nucleus, press fund stamps and collection lists etc., can be issued. (Re tasks of factory newspapers see resolution of the Org. Conference on factory newspapers.)

e) Continuous recruiting of members in the factories.

A factory nucleus cannot guarantee its existence and gain influence among the workers of the enterprise unless it is able to increase its membership. This can be achieved if all nucleus members carry on continuous recruiting work among sympathising workers, who would be valuable addition to the Party. A nucleus must also be strong numerically if it is to develop its apparatus in all the departments, and if its existence is not to be jeopardised by the expulsion of a few comrades.

Tasks of Factory Nuclei and Distribution of Work.

By G.

We have often heard comrades say that the nuclei are not quite clear as to what their functions are. Indeed, as long as nuclei have not rendered themselves an account of the tasks before them it may easily happen that they cannot see anything. The tasks remain undone to the detriment of the nucleus, the Party and the working class. It is therefore essential to prepare a programme of work for every nucleus. This is the only way to have a proper distribution of tasks. Thereby, not only the nucleus executive, but also the comrade to whom the latter has allotted the work will be responsible for every task.

We publish below a programme of work which was drawn up by a factory nucleus in a big machine factory. The nucleus executive elaborated this programme of work together with the district organisation department. The nucleus meeting adopted it and the nucleus executive distributed the various tasks among the nucleus members. As a rule a responsible comrade was appointed for the ordinary current tasks. One or three comrades were chosen as assistants to the comrade responsible. Thus all nucleus members were allotted special tasks in addition to participation in the other activities of the nucleus.

The nucleus Executive hat at the same time to superintend the entire activity of the nucleus and to control the participation of the nucleus members in the work.

5. Formation of street nuclei.

Party members not employed in the enterprise are to be organised in street nuclei. But wherever comrades not employed in factories can be easily attached to factory nuclei, this is to be done. But wherever such a process should entail the risk of giving too much predominance to non factory comrades a street nucleus or several street nuclei should be formed.

(The nucleus group executive can propose good officials from the factory nuclei or from the nucleus group as members of the executive of the street nucleus if this should be necessary to strengthen the street nuclei politically.)

6. Politisation of the factory nuclei.

In addition to questions concerning the work in the factory and in the trade-unions all Party questions (general political and economic questions, questions of Party tactics and those of trade-union, co-operative, women's and youth work, as well as questions of agitation in the rural districts, etc.) should be brought up for discussion in the nucleus and must serve as a basis for practical work. Such questions are also those which are concerned with Party life (Party programme, tactics, methods of work etc.), which are to be dealt with at conferences, Party Congresses, etc. These questions too must be discussed in the nucleus. The opinions of the nucleus respecting them is to be expressed in the form of a resolution, which is to be placed before the local Party Executive. Party delegates are to be also elected to the nucleus.

The main points on the agenda of nucleus meetings should be factory affairs and general political and organisational questions. Purely technical questions such as distribution of work among individual members rendering account re membership contributions and money from sales of literature are to be dealt with by the nucleus Executive. Decisions are to be communicated to the nucleus meeting and comrades who have received instructions must report on their activity. (See E. C. C. I. resolution on the construction of the Party in the paragraph "The Factory Nucleus".)

The local Party Executive or nucleus group executive is mainly responsible for the politisation of the nuclei. In the initial stage of their development factory nuclei must on no account be left to their own devices. The proper Party Executives must help them to develop as rapidly as possible into capable Party nuclei: by supplying them regularly with the material (plan of work of the Party) by delegating leading comrades and suitable officials (as reporters and instructors) to the factory nuclei. By helping them to draw up their agenda and their plan of work. By bringing together as frequently as possible the nucleus chairmen and nucleus executives and by systematic political education.

It behoves now every factory nucleus to draw up a plan of work on the model of this programme and to distribute the work. In this manner we will have a systematic arrangement of work and no one will be able to complain that he has nothing to do.

Programme of Work and Distribution of Tasks of the N. Factory Nucleus for August-December, 1925.

A. Constant Daily Tasks.

a) All Party questions and Party instructions to be dealt with by the nucleus-group executive, the district executive or the Central Committee. The political activity of our opponents to be watched.

b) The agendas of the various Party conferences to be carefully dealt with and a definite attitude to be taken up towards them. Election of representatives to these conferences.

c) The following important questions connected with internal policy are to be dealt with: tariff questions and conflicts, taxation policy, attacks on the 8-hour day, rent regulation, factory affairs, penetration of foreign capital and colonisation of Norway, "Vaterlandsbund" (Patriotic League), etc., and also questions of foreign policy (China, Morocco, the British labour movement, International Trade Union Unity, imperialist plan of attack on

Soviet Russia, Soviet Russia's progress, reports of foreign delegations on Soviet Russia).

In the course of their work the nuclei must consider these and all other important questions and must make them the basis of the work of the nucleus in the various fields of work mentioned below.

1. Trade union work. a) Fraction work in the club (amalgamation of all the factory workers organised in trade unions), responsible: comrades in the club executive; Name.....
b) Fraction work in the trade union group. c) Contact with the trade union department of the district through the nucleus group executive, supply of material, responsible comrade.....

2. Agitprop work. a) Factory newspaper (editing, printing, circulation, sale), responsible committee consisting of.....
b) Circulation of "Kommunistbladet", "Proletarien", "Gnisten", etc.
c) Circulation of Party literature, responsible..... d) Organisation of workers correspondents for "Kommunistbladet", factory newspapers, etc. responsible comrade.....
e) Organisation of circles, procuring speakers, liaison with the Agitprop department of the district through nucleus-group executive, provision of agitprop material, responsible.....

3. Red Aid: (Fuller instructions from the Red Aid district Committee). The Committee together with non-Party comrades: fraction to be formed, responsible.....

4. Fraction work in the sport leagues, responsible comrade...

5. Collection of membership contributions, and control over the latter, responsible cashier (only) comrade.....

6. Mutual representation in the Youth nuclei, responsible...

7. Collective information on the factory, statistics of the workers employed in the factory, responsible comrade.....

B. The Immediate Special Tasks in which the whole Nucleus is to Participate and Distribution of Work as under Point A.

1. The following Party campaigns and decisions to be dealt with and carried out.

- Anti-War Week.
- Congress of the National organisation.
- Congress of the Norwegian railway and metal workers.
- Communal elections.

e) Moreover the nucleus must carry out with the participation of all its members all questions and demands which crop up within the factory after they have been discussed in the nucleus executive and endorsed by the decisions of the nucleus.

2. Work among sympathisers and recruitment of new members.

- Drawing sympathisers into the nucleus by allotting them various Party work.
- Exercising individual influence on sympathisers.
- Inviting sympathisers to special nucleus meetings and study circles.
- Admission of sympathisers to membership.

C. Tasks of the Nucleus Executive and Distribution of Tasks among its Members.

The nucleus Executive must carefully prepare the next nucleus meeting in the interval between nucleus meetings, it must draw up a well-thought out up-to-date and interesting agenda based on

the programme of work of the nucleus and on the distribution of work given below:

I. Trade Union work, work in sport organisations, liaison with trade union and sport departments of the district through the nucleus group executive, comrade.....

II. Agitprop, youth work, and the necessary liaison with the district through the nucleus group executive, comrade.....

III. Collecting contributions, Red Aid, and the necessary liaison with the district through the nucleus-group executive, comrade (cashier).....

IV. Liaison with the nucleus-group and district executives, collecting information on factories and labour conditions, superintending and guiding the entire work: chairman of the nucleus.

D. Distribution of Trade Union Work among Nucleus Members.

I. Club and club-executive, responsible comrade.

II. Trade Union groups.

a) Blacksmith union, fractions, (1 responsible comrade).

b) Turners' Union, fractions, (1 responsible comrade).

c) Mechanics' Union, fractions, etc. (1 responsible comrade).

E. Control must be Exercised over the Work Distributed.

I. In accordance with the distribution of various kinds of work under point C. the members of the nucleus executive must report once a month at the nucleus meeting on the work done.

II. These reports must be discussed by the nucleus members, as they offer an opportunity to exchange experiences, to exercise justified criticism and to make practical proposals with respect to improvements in the activity of the nucleus.

F. Guidance and Assistance in the Carrying out of the Allotted Work.

The comrades of the nucleus executive, each one in his special branch of work, must support comrades who have been allotted a special task, and must give them the necessary guidance and assistance in carrying out this work. In order to prevent any delays and shortcomings in the course of the work, the comrades serving on the nucleus executive must always be well-informed about the current state of affairs in every special branch of work.

G. Monthly Written Report.

to be presented by the nucleus executive with one copy to the nucleus group and district executives.

H. Nucleus Meeting

to be held every at o'clock, or on special occasions.

I. The nucleus executive is to hold a session well before every meeting, to make the necessary preparations for the latter and to draw up the agenda, etc.

II. A comrade to be specially appointed for the technical arrangements: that the invitations to the nucleus meetings be sent out in good time, procuring halls, putting up posters, advertisements, etc.

The Work of some Factory Nuclei in the Struggle against the War in Morocco.

By Leon Girault.

In order to find out more accurately what work has been done by our nuclei against the war in Morocco, we must not merely examine the nuclei of the Paris district, as been the custom, which have a much higher development than our provincial nuclei.

We should distinguish three stages in the struggle against the war in Morocco: (1) work with a view to forming a definite anti-war feeling; (2) congresses of workers and peasants; (3) proletarian unity committees and preparation for a 24-hour general strike.

At the commencement of this conflict we were able to record a renewed growth in the activity of our nuclei; they met much more regularly and were attended by a much larger number of comrades.

For a certain time, individual propaganda, the distribution of "Humanité" in the factories and among the peasants, and also leaflets, stickers and posters, were the only agitation methods that our nuclei used. The increase of our anti-war activities, public meetings and demonstrations, have shown the nuclei the inadequacy of these agitation methods. The attitude of reformist leaders, their refusal to form a united front with the advanced organisation against the war, have also shown the nuclei the necessity of taking action to approach the Socialist workers so as to denounce their leaders and also the non-Party workers in order to reinforce the protest movement against the war.

Let us take, by way of an example, the pit nucleus in Rochelbelles (Gard). Since the commencement of the Morocco war, the

comrades of this nucleus have been discussing the Party slogans. Everyone has been carrying on active propaganda among the miners in his own field, and has been distributing "L'Humanité" among the miners. A large poster against the war has been stuck up in the mines. The district committee has decided to organise a demonstration against the war, the nucleus met and decided to call a meeting of sympathisers in the mine, and to publish a factory newspaper in which it would explain to the miners the reasons why they should join in the demonstrations. The nucleus also discussed the attitude of the reformist-socialists who spoke against the war at the Municipal Council, but who refused to join the Committee of Action. Instructions were given to comrades to carry on an agitation within the enterprise, and to make the attitude of the reformists known there. It was decided to hold the meeting at the pithead. All the work mapped out was carried on under the direction of the nucleus bureau.

At the sympathisers' meeting, at which more than 15 non-Party workers were present, the nucleus secretary outlined the slogans for the demonstration. The nucleus newspaper, got up by the members themselves, was printed in 400 copies and distributed inside the mines.

More than 500 workers listened to our speakers at the pithead.

Under the directions of the Nimes (Gard) district, peasants nuclei have organised meetings against the war which were all very successful. These were prepared by individual propaganda, by sticking up posters, and also by means of placing copies of "L'Humanité" in the village cafes on the day of the meeting, and by marching around the local streets to the strain of a bugle.

Since the commencement of the campaign, we have been able to record some very good work, but we still notice the absence of any systematic work.

Workers and Peasants Congresses. We may say that the workers' and peasants' congresses mark the second stage of the struggle against the war.

In general, we may bear witness to the establishment of more close contact between the nuclei and the sympathisers. As a result of it the question of recruiting is to be raised especially among the peasantry. During three months 8 nuclei have been formed in the various villages of the Nimes district. These numbers have increased by 75%. The activity of the nuclei is also increasing.

Let us take as an example the nucleus in the P. L. M. railway station and depot at Alais. In the field of agitation, the methods employed by the nucleus are almost the same as those indicated above. A station committee exists there appointed by the railway men about a year ago and is in the hands of the Communists. This Committee has conducted agitation for the Congress of workers and peasants under the direction of the nucleus. Numerous difficulties were encountered. The workers and employees leave work in three different shifts and work the whole day round in consecutive hour shifts. The question as to how to unite the railwaymen had to be put. In the face of all these difficulties, the nucleus acted in the following manner. It prepared a list of delegates to the workers' and peasants' congress comprising 2 Communists, 1 Socialist and 4 non-Party.

The workers not able to be present at the meeting were informed by means of a circular of the names of those delegates suggested, and have been able to vote in writing. In this manner 5,000 railwaymen were reached. In order to cover expenses the station committee sent round subscription lists. More than 300 railwaymen gave donations for this Workers' and Peasants' Congress. A large number of stickers and leaflets were set up inside the station and depot.

All comrades of the nuclei without exception worked effectively for the preparation of this congress. Sympathisers also collaborated.

The nuclei are becoming more and more accustomed to including in their agenda the discussion of slogans issued by the Party so as to find the best method of making this penetrate in among the workers in the factories.

Every nucleus has thoroughly discussed the Workers' and Peasants' Congresses, their object and the means of carrying on agitation within the enterprises and among the peasants.

In several villages in the South of France, "L'Humanité" is stuck up on the walls daily. By this means of propaganda we have been able to bring about very efficacious results. Many peasants were loath to read the journal at first. After a time those who read the paper regularly, were invited to become subscribers.

At St. Jean du Fin (Gard), several new members and new subscribers were gained in this manner within a fortnight.

Proletarian Committees of Action. 24 Hours General Strike. The Workers' and Peasants' Congresses having been held, we enter a phase of more active struggle against the war. The means to be employed are: unity on the basis of the 24-hours strike. The execution of the work traced out by the Workers' and Peasants' congresses demands a new effort on the part of the nuclei.

In general the methods employed for forming proletarian unity committees are practically the same everywhere.

For example, the nucleus in the railway workshop at Courlessac (Gard) gathered together the workers who were delegates to the Congress. They carried on an active propaganda among them in order to draw the best elements in the Party, and invited the rest to maintain a permanent contact with the nuclei and the Committee of Action, so as to make them undertake the fulfilment of the slogans within the factories, issued by the Congress.

A plan of work was drawn up in common with these comrades. Simultaneously, the nucleus called a sympathisers' meeting in order to make them also work at the formation of a proletarian unity committee and in connection with the 24 hours general strike.

At the meeting of the railway shop workers, the report of delegates was very attentively heard. The nucleus was able to get the non-Party and Socialist delegates to take part in this meeting. One non-Party comrade, one of the Socialist Party and a Communist presented a joint report. A proletarian unity committee was established. All the comrades nominated by the nuclei were elected to the Bureaux (half Communists, 1 Socialist the rest non-Party). One member of the bureau (a Communist) was elected for contact with the Committee of Action.

Communist members of the bureau have formed a fraction. Before the meeting of the proletarian unity committee, the nucleus at its general meeting discussed the work to be accomplished and gave instructions to the fraction.

Under the direction of the nucleus, the proletarian unity committee has undertaken active propaganda within the enterprise in favour of the 24 hours general strike.

It is not sufficient that a proletarian unity committee be constituted within the factory; it is necessary that at every moment the defence of the workers be taken up, and a list of demands be put forward so that the committee can struggle to attain them and eventually gain influence among the workers.

For example, the pit nuclei in the Gard coal basin employed the following measures: the miner delegates are charged with responsibility for the security of workers and with making them observe the rules. The companies never take notice of their observations. The proletarian unity committees take up the observations of the miner delegations and carry on agitation within the mine in order to compel the companies to take notice. The P. U. C. has a special section reserved for it in the factory newspapers.

Our nuclei direct the work of the P. U. C. everywhere, and these committees fulfil two main tasks at the same time: agitation for the 24 hour general strike and the defence of the every day interests of the workers so as to gain their confidence as quickly as possible.

It is evident that despite the existence of the P. U. C. the nucleus continues its own agitation and propaganda.

After having cast a rapid glance over the work of our nuclei, we are able to record a definite improvement. The nuclei are commencing to discuss political problems and connect these with their practical work within their respective factories. Very many comrades are taking active part in the work of the nuclei. The necessity for a re-distribution of tasks and firm leadership becomes more and more apparent. The initiative of the members and nuclei has been stimulated. Our nuclei are entering upon the path to Bolshevisation.

The Activity of the Factory Nuclei in the Campaigns of the C. P. of Germany.

By Zeile (Berlin).

In Germany we have already carried out many and various campaigns. We have often allowed ourselves to be dazzled by the success of crowded meeting halls and well managed street demonstrations in which we have got hold of more or less large masses of sympathisers, beyond the circle of our own party comrades. When however things became critical, when, in the economic or trade union struggle, it was a matter of getting the whole of the workers of the town or locality to join in the fight, our weakness at the strategically most important point of the "class front" very often became evident at the decisive moment. The workshops and factories, as a whole, did not back us up, the reformists were still strong enough in them to sabotage or even entirely to stifle the movement. This strength of the reformists is due to the fact that, to a large extent, the bodies of trade union functionaries in the workshops are in their hands. These trade union representatives in the factories are chiefly responsible for the minor apparatus of the trade union organisations. A centralized fight of the workers in individual factories will be impossible, as long as the social democratic trade union leaders can depend on manoeuvre with and misuse these representatives.

In the course of time we have learnt the great lesson from the fights and from our defeats that, with all our work of agitation, propaganda and organisation, we are building on shifting sand unless we have the factories, unless the Party is firmly rooted in them.

"Let every factory be a stronghold for us!" — In every factory there should be an active party nucleus! — Complete and energetic transition from the present organisation according to residential districts to the basis of factory nuclei! The whole Party has at last recognised the necessity of this. Our 10th Party Session passed resolutions and a statute to this effect, and since then it is possible to demonstrate that we in Germany are slowly but surely arriving at an effective reorganisation of the Party on the new foundations.

The proletariat is crowded together in the factories. There, in the factories, where the class war is carried on unceasingly, it is most accessible to our ideas. There, the work of a clever Communist, who understands his job, is a hundredfold more effective than is a speech in a public meeting or demonstration. By the indefatigable detailed work of our comrades in the factories, the workers can be won over, can be persuaded to join the trade unions and, by leading them back, part of the body of functionaries can be brought into our hands and the trade unions and other non-party organisations of the masses can be influenced and won through our activity in the factories. Thousands of examples from the experience of last year could be quoted to confirm these assertions.

By the publication of the following extracts from the reports of factory nuclei, we want to show in what way a great deal of success can be obtained in a short time by our factory nuclei, if cleverly connecting up with the needs of the masses — they organise systematically the campaigns of the Party in the workshops.

The customs and taxation campaign.

A Bavarian railwaymen's factory nucleus writes us:

"At the last work's meeting, when we were addressed by a social democratic speaker and we opposed him on the point of the plunder of the working class through taxation and customs duties, we passed two resolutions on our own behalf:

1) that during the discussion we can address ourselves to the speaker.

2) that we make a demand for a 20% rise in wages.

The first resolution with regard to discussion was passed by 43 votes to 38, all but two of those present voted for the second resolution concerning the demand for wages."

The factory nucleus of a cigarette factory in Munich reports:

"... The factory nucleus then demanded more energetically than ever, that a works meeting should be held out-

side the factory, in the "Neuhofen Garten", declaring that people could speak much more freely there. The factory council (Reformists) agreed to this on condition that the speaker arranged for by us, should not speak on party-political lines, which we, on our part, guaranteed. So a meeting of all the workers was called for after closing hours. It was, of course, difficult to persuade the women who work for 9½ hours, that they ought to attend it. One heard such remarks as "the shops shut at 7 o'clock and I shall not be able to do any shopping" . . .

We managed to scrape together about 100 people to attend it, most of them in sympathy with us. I distributed Red Aid pamphlets and 36 copies of the "Die Kommunistin" ("The Woman Communist").

The agenda was: report on negotiations re wages, election of a canteen commission, and mutual help committee and a speech on the question of customs and taxation.

The factory council reports to us . . . I also spoke on the election of a canteen commission . . . and so I spoke against a few more grievances. Three members of the nucleus joined the commission.

It was 6.45 before the woman speaker had a chance to address us, and I had to point out that we had invited her to come and that everything had been so protracted that people now wanted to go home. Fellow-workers who had wanted to go home at 7.0, were still standing at the door at 7.45, listening to her interesting address. The speaker pointed out that in December of last year, when the Dawes plan was passed, the customs duties of the agrarians and industrialists were already contained in it and that, although the social democrats had known this quite well, they praised the Dawes plan to the workers etc. . . . In conclusion, she proposed a resolution to the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) with respect to our well-known demands; this however did not at all please the social democratic factory councillor and he twisted and turned in all directions in order to avoid putting the resolution . . . Our two members of the nucleus then spoke in favour of passing the resolution and it was passed with only one dissentient vote . . ."

These two examples show with what simple means a factory nucleus must understand how to interest the workers in political questions. As soon as the workers in a factory are convinced that the communists represent their interests in the small affairs of wages and hours of work, they listen to them and follow them even when they become "political".

Anti War Campaign.

We select three examples from the reports of the district to the Central Office of the Party on the carrying out of the anti-war week by the nuclei:

The district leaders of the Ruhr area write:

"For weeks we have been sending round circular letters to all the factory nuclei pointing out the great significance, in the present time of the danger of imperialist war, of the anti-war week arranged by the Executive and the Central Committee. We demanded that during the time of preparation for carrying out the war week and anti-war demonstrations, the leaders of all the nuclei should at once everywhere summon meetings of the nuclei, which should only concern themselves with this question. We sent the best speakers available in our district to these meetings of nuclei, in order to take a political attitude towards this plan, to interest the comrades in it and to give them quite definite directions. The comrades were under the obligation to report to their colleagues everything that was heard at these meetings and, by personally influencing the workers who still stood aside from the Party, to induce them to join in the demonstrations. At the same time they were instructed, in all circumstances, to pass on to the workers the material that was issued by the district leaders. They

were also under orders to arrange for meetings of workers in individual factories, where first of all questions concerning the factory should be brought up and these be followed by discussion of the anti-war week and demonstrations. For this purpose, the district leaders gave instructions that efforts should be made, as far as possible, to persuade the meetings of workers to pass resolutions to the effect that those assembled should pledge themselves to join in the demonstrations en masse. In this way the object is accomplished of putting the workers under a moral obligation to join in the demonstration and of giving popularity to the arrangements which have been decided upon. Viewed outwardly, the effect is moreover much more impressive, when the staffs from the factories march up en masse, for this gives quite a different stamp to the demonstrations. Where such resolutions were proposed, it was the duty of our comrades to organise and effectively arrange the demonstration and meeting. It was the duty of our comrades to inform workers who had not taken part in the meeting, that a resolution to this effect was being discussed and that, on the basis of the resolution of the meeting, they were under the obligation of joining the demonstration. Furthermore, our comrades were to prepare placards with the names of the factories, which were to be carried in the demonstrations. Further, they were to do everything in their power to persuade the workers to provide themselves with a red flag in so far as they had not one already. The workers of the factory regard this flag as their property, since they had raised the money for it by collection and the flag remains in their keeping. This undoubtedly has the psychological effect of strengthening the sense of solidarity and of giving more actual significance to the slogan: "Create a Red class front in the factory!"

And what was the result of such instructions? The district leaders in the Ruhr area themselves report:

"This preparatory work of the district leaders and the definite instructions to the leaders of nuclei has not had much result. We had better success where we have good factory nuclei which are beginning to do political work. The result of the activity of our comrades was that in the 8 demonstrations which took place on August 2nd in the sub-districts and suburbs, the workers of the factories marched up en masse, as for instance in Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen and Hamm.

On the whole, however, we must report that the work of our comrades in the factories cannot be described as altogether satisfactory. Some factory nuclei failed completely, as for instance that of the Bochum Association in Bochum, at which 13,000 workers are employed.

The leaders of the sub-districts in Bochum had issued tickets at the price of 10 Pf. for those who took part in the demonstration; these were to be sold in advance, one of the objects being that down to the last worker they should all be informed that our Party had organised a demonstration. The result of the sale of tickets in the factory of the Bochum Co. was that one ticket only was sold. This result caused the leaders of the sub-district to complain at once to the leaders of the district. A meeting of nuclei was held immediately at which a representative of the district leaders was present and at which our comrades admitted their lack of activity. They justified this by stating that large numbers of workers were being dismissed and that, if they were to work actively as communists, they themselves would be thrown on the street. When the methods of the work of illegal factory nuclei had been explained to them, they declared that they would in future do real communist work in the factory. After this discussion with the comrades, it can be recorded that the work for the demonstration in Essen on August 9th, was distinctly better and resulted in a fairly large number of Bochum workers taking part in the demonstration.

The lessons which we have learned in these weeks are that we must apply ourselves with renewed energy to factory

nuclei work and to the reconstruction of the factory nuclei. Further, that we must allocate our best comrades to the most important factory nuclei, so that, through their initiative, every member of the factory nucleus may be induced to take part in the work. Further, more stress must be laid on the work of instruction, if we wish to bring about that our comrades gain the necessary influence in the factories.

The district leaders of the Erzgebirge-Vogtland write in their report:

"The demonstrations against the customs and taxation robbery, called by the trades council and the S. P. of Germany, in which we also summoned our members to participate, as well as the demonstrations on July 26th and August 2nd, where we were everywhere at least twice as strong as the social democrats, show that the movement is exclusively carried on by the Red Front fighters. It cannot of course be denied that a certain part of our work which was achieved by the nuclei in the factories, contributed towards deepening our influence among the masses, so that in these demonstrations we advanced far beyond the usual confines of our sphere. We shall not succeed in leading the masses in the factories through our factory nuclei until we can persuade a far larger number of members of nuclei to take part in political work than do so at present."

And finally the district leaders of Thuringia report:

"The nuclei in the various localities, marched out, factory by factory, to the anti-war demonstrations. The whole campaign was conducted in connection with the taxation and customs policy of the Luther Government. If such campaigns are to be put to the best political use in the factories, much more work must be done in the individual factory nuclei.

During the next few weeks we shall, above all, concern ourselves with the political activity of the nuclei in the district."

These extracts from the reports of three districts all teach the same lessons: the most beautiful instruction from the C. C., from the district leaders and from the local group leaders are of no avail unless the nuclei are made political, unless every member of every nucleus is attracted to systematic work, that is unless the work is systematically distributed by the leaders of the nuclei, unless the workers keep in touch with the local party leaders.

The Campaign for the Russian Delegation.

On this subject, one factory nucleus reports:

"At a factory meeting we had proposed making a collection for the Russian delegation. This was opposed by the social democratic foreman of the shop stewards G., who at that time was still in the factory and was a member of the tariff commission of the D. M. V., which wished to oppose with all means in its power such a collection being made. They maintained the point of view that they had nothing to do with the collection, whereupon we demanded that the list be handed over to us, and we made the collection ourselves. In spite of the foreman having spoken to every single worker, we collected over 26 Marks."

The Factory Nucleus of a Leipzig Type-Foundry writes:

"At a general strike meeting on August 14th, after preparing for a nucleus meeting, we proposed, and justified our proposal, that we should hear a report on the visit of the Russia delegation. This proposal was passed unanimously and delegate H. from Leipzig will speak."

The campaign for the Russia delegation has been introduced and carried out with much success in many parts of the country.

These few examples of the work of our factory nuclei in a series of campaigns show how the leaders of every factory nucleus must set about things in order to develop their factory into a firm stronghold of the Party.

The Work of the Nuclei at Elections.

We give below some interesting reports of factory nuclei on their activity in connection with the municipal and the last factory council elections. Even admitting that the reporters represent certain matters in a too rosy light, the particulars they give with respect to the methods of nucleus work and their description of the tactics employed, etc., are extremely important. The reports show that hitherto there has been great exaggeration of the difficulties of nucleus work.

1. Factory Council Elections.

Nucleus Number Ten reports as follows:

150	“Number of workers in the factory: 450 factory workers, office workers (70% organised in Reformist trade unions).	
	C. P. G. Nucleus	8 comrades
	S. P. G. Fraction	25 „
	Workers' Council S. P. G.	8 members
	Workers' Council C. P. G.	0 „
	Reformist trade union officials S. P. G.	9 „
	Reformist trade union officials C. P. G.	4 „

Until 1923 these conditions remained unchanged. The nucleus was absolutely passive.

Then there came an awakening. It was decided to put up an opposition reformist trade union list of candidates. At the head 4 comrades all others sympathisers. The trade union official body of the factory discussed both lists and attempted a unification, when the S. P. G. obtained a majority. Our comrades refused to accept this and demanded that the matter be decided by all the people employed in the factory. This was rejected. It was decided to hold a factory meeting at which no decision was to be made, and to follow it up by a meeting of the reformist trade unionists, and by the Factory Council election. Result: The C. P. G. List of Candidates elected by a two-third majority.

The nucleus set itself and carried out the following tasks:

1. Formation of a capable executive (the old executive went over after a few weeks to the S. P. G.).

2. Active participation in every factory and department meeting.

3. Special work among women (about 150.)

4. Convocation of the department in which the majority is in sympathy with us for the selection of representatives. We won 3. New position in the body of officials: 7 : 7.

5. Collection of shortcomings and sins of omission of the S. P. G. Factory Council, which had actually a detrimental effect for all the people employed in the factory, or for individual fellow-workers. Making these shortcomings, etc. known in the factory by word of mouth and in writing.

6. Reserving flagrant shortcomings and errors to be ventilated at the decisive meeting by our speaker in connection with a criticism of the policy of the S. P. G.

7. Publishing an article in which a sharp attack is made on the wage and labour conditions in this firm.

Exact reproduction from the “Rote Fahne” of the account about the wage of a paterfamilias with 4 children and side by side with it the salary of the manager of the factory, circulation of this number of the R. F. and posting of the cut out article.

8. Organising a nucleus meeting with sympathisers, winning over reformist trade union sympathisers to complete the list. Twelve fellow workers were used for this, two Independent S. P. G. workers were discovered (who are today with us). A fellow worker, a woman who later on joined the Y. C. L. and the others who were put on the reserve list are non-Party. The meeting was attended by 80 fellow workers including a spy of the S. P. G., who had to leave the meeting in spite of his protestations.

9. Organising the factory meeting, elaboration of the proposals, selecting speakers.

The result of the elections was as follows:

	Workers' Council C. P. G. with sympathisers = 8 members.
	Workers' Council S. P. G. with sympathisers = 0 members.
	Reformist Trade Union Officials C. P. G. with sympathisers = 7 members.
	Reformist Trade Union Officials S. P. G. with sympathisers = 7 members.
	Nucleus of the C. P. G. with sympathisers = 15 members.
	Factory subscribers for the R. F. sympathisers = 6 members.

In the meantime nearly all the comrades have been dismissed from the factory, trade union membership has fallen by 30%. In the Workers' Council of the factory there is now a combination between S. P. G. and C. P. G. During the last four weeks, owing to reorganisation, the membership of the nucleus is again 15.”

The nucleus F. writes as follows:

“If the nucleus should not this year maintain its position and develop although it was already fairly well established, the reason for this was the failure of the Party at the Presidential election, for oral propaganda and agitation as well as the distribution of leaflets, etc. had been fairly successful. The S. P. G. had little occasion to criticise the work of the Factory Council, which consisted mostly of Communists, and of the chairman. We were also able to get our comrades on to the reformist trade union list, as the S. P. G. workers refused to have a joint list because, they had not succeeded at the reformist trade union officials' conference in getting one of their supporters accepted as chief candidate.

The election itself took place after the second ballot for the Presidential election. The S. P. G. aimed at doing away with the C. P. G. majority in the Factory Council, and to reserve thereby the post of chairman for an S. P. G. man. Although the factory workers were very annoyed at Hindenburg's election, for which we were partly made responsible, the S. P. G. did not succeed in doing away with the C. P. G. majority. The S. P. G. certainly won a mandate which made the position in the Factory Council — hitherto 6 C. P. G. and 3 S. P. G. — 5 C. P. G., 4 S. P. G. with one employee. This result was in spite of good work by the nucleus, and although we were willing to be put on the reformist trade union list together with the S. P. G. fellow workers. It should also be taken into consideration that most of the officials of the union backed the reformist trade union list, nay, had even drawn it up. Although a factory meeting which discussed the re-election of the Factory Council welcomed the list and condemned in a resolution the attitude of the S. P. G. fellow workers, we lost votes as well as a mandate. This shows, at least in our factory that the policy of the Party has everything to do with our factory work.

As united front tactics have been placed in the forefront by the Party since the E. C. C. I. Letter, agitation and propaganda in the factory have been given a sounder basis. We must be able to use this to the utmost, in order to give an impetus to the development to the Left in the German Labour movement. I think that conditions for this are favourable in the town factories. Unfortunately it seems to me that some of our nuclei are not up to the mark, otherwise the demands drawn up by our nucleus and endorsed at the meeting of fellow workers organised in the reformist trade unions, would have been propagated and approved of in the other factories, and resolutions would have come thick and fast at the local management Committee of the union. These demands are: 1. extending the rights of Factory Councils, 2. reintroduction of a strict 8-hour day, 3. higher wages. These demands which must be propagated in the meantime, can also serve as a basis when candidate lists are drawn up. Every candidate must undertake to fight with the utmost energy for the realisation of these demands. Other demands must be drawn up for other factories in accordance with their structure. It is necessary to demand, that the factory committees receive greater rights, than up to now.

Putting up Party lists should not be allowed under any circumstances whatever. On the contrary, the nucleus should ensure that where possible the comrades likely to be candidates be included on the reformist trade union list. Moreover, it would be wrong, even if we are strong enough, to take exception to S. P. G. or non-Party workers in as far as they are opposed to their leaders and endorse the demands brought forward by us. Even when our nucleus brought forwards a list of its own, it always included in this list non-Party or S. P. G. fellow workers.

Under no circumstances whatever must we bring forward or support non-reformist trade union lists.

Wherever possible, the reformist trade union list should be drawn up at a meeting of all fellow workers in the factory

organised in reformist trade unions. To make this possible, candidates' lists should on no account be drawn up at the officials' conference, or in a still narrower circle.

In factories where we are still weak, or where only two or three comrades work, we must do our utmost to be included on the reformist trade union list, and thereby on the Factory Council. On no account must a comrade desist because he thinks that he will not be able to do much by himself for the workers in the factory.

It goes without saying that the factory nucleus newspaper must point out the importance of elections and must carry on proper election propaganda."

2. Municipal Elections in Berlin.

The Nucleus Executive of the K. Works writes as follows:

"In answer to your letter of 23. 11. 25, asking us for information about the experiences of our nucleus at the last municipal elections, we are in a position to make the following statements: The most effective agitation among indifferent fellow workers, was done by our Nucleus Newspaper. We may say that there was a regular fight among our fellow workers for the paper, and that the demand for it was so great even after the election that we could not cope with it because of our financial position. As to oral agitation we can give you the following information: factory meetings have never been successful as regards attendance, for the following reasons: the factory employs 15,000 workers, but there is no large hall in the vicinity of the factory. Therefore, we had to hold the meetings in Berlin Proper, which is connected with all sorts of difficulties, train connections and such like. The maximum attendances were 3 to 5,000 people, which is, of course, not much in view of the number of workers employed in our factory. Therefore several times a week we hold department or factory group meetings, which are attended by 50 to 60 per cent of the factory workers. We may also say that our election work on election Sunday, which was carried out by our nucleus group, was very popular with the population, and caused great astonishment among S. P. G. workers, in view of the fact that with only 3 comrades in the locality we polled 297 votes. The Siemens workers were especially surprised that our two deputies who belong to our nucleus group took an active part in election work and also in the distribution of our nucleus newspaper. As soon as our finances are better we will spend more on our agitation during the next election, we will have posters and such like which are sure to be very effective."

The Nucleus of the T. Factory writes as follows:

"By means of individual propaganda in the factory the coming elections were discussed in connection with the political situation. The fact that our candidate list consisted almost entirely of names of factory workers gave a great impetus to our agitation. At a factory meeting shortly before the election, the candidate of our factory, comrade H. was invited to speak. He declared that the C. P. G. existed for the workers and that contrary to other parties, including the Social Democratic Party, it had placed on its list only such factory officials who had the confidence of the factory workers. The factory workers have the right to examine and control the activity of their candidate and representative in Parliament. This declaration of the candidate very much pleased the factory workers. The feeling that the C. P. G. takes into account the demands of the masses is getting hold of the workers more and more. The time is not far distant when they will realise that the C. P. is the only real Workers' Party.

We backed our oral propaganda by distribution of leaflets and putting up sticky-backs, newspaper cuttings and posters announcing our meetings.

The "Arbeiterin" (Women's Paper) which contained much election material was sold in the factory and two hundred copies were disposed of. As the "Arbeiterin" always gives such good descriptions of the everyday needs of women and girls it has become one of our best means of propaganda. Leaflets were distributed and 60 election fund stamps were sold.

Inmates and particularly proletarian inmates of hospitals who feel more or less isolated were canvassed according to a definite plan based on our experiences during former election campaigns. I succeeded in enlisting the help of comrades who were inmates of our hospital. With this help the leaflets were distributed and arrangements were made for the participation of the patients in the election.

Having secured in my capacity of chairman of the nucleus the collaboration of the R. F. B. (Red Front Fighters' Union) and of the proletarian health service, we proceeded with our work. On the Wednesday before the election day, four detachments of red front fighters distributed leaflets among the patients and draw their attention to the fact that the proletarian health service were given leave to go to the poll and were ready to help.

As election agent of the Constituency I telephoned to the central election office asking it to instruct the head health department to give permission to the inmates in the town hospital to go to the poll. This effort of mine was successful with the result that in spite of the initial sabotage of the hospital authorities 1,000 patients from our hospital were allowed to participate in the elections. Shortly before the election our propagandist activity reached its height, there were lively discussions in the wards where election posters had also been put up. On election day, we exhibited special posters at the polling booths. We enclose samples of these posters. The proletarian health service together with the R. F. B. took about 20 relays of patients to the polling booth in ambulances and on stretchers. This activity of the P. H. S. and R. F. B. created quite a sensation.

The election results showed that in one hospital alone there were 64 Communist voters. It should also be taken into consideration that only 30 members at the utmost of the lower hospital personnel live in the hospital. This shows that an awakening is taking place even among the hospital personnel who are usually of a bourgeois of mind. As a result of the election, comrades in the factory and also other factory workers are now imbued with more confidence in their own strength. The nuclei will increase their membership and now it is a question of consolidating the influence which we have gained over the masses. We shall have to establish a connection between the new municipal fraction and the factories. The workers expect the new Municipal Parliament to do something for the improvement of their conditions. The municipal workers expect the restitution of the rights which were taken from them. We will continually point out that it is the duty of the workers to compel the Social Democrats to adopt a definite policy in the interests of the working class."

Special Election Results.

"The German-national nurses and doctors were dejected. They asked the candidate immediately if he had been elected, and what the Communists propose to do now. Our answer was clear and simple: as before we will represent the interests of the workers in the municipal Council. The Social Democrats in the factory were a bit down-hearted, but subsequently admitted that the C. P. G. is justifying its existence. The circle of our sympathisers is sincerely glad and looks upon Communists with the renewed confidence usual in respect of all consistent representatives of working class interests.

A Practical Example.

The Activity of the Nucleus.

Literature Sales: at present in the factory:

Knüppel	50
Arbeiter-Illustrierte	160
Books (complete list in next report).	

The Literature Secretary receives a certain percentage so that he can always make up any small losses which are bound to occur. If he keeps his accounts well he can also put by a little surplus which goes towards fares and other out-of-pocket expenses. He has his representatives in the various departments, but he is responsible for the whole enterprise.

The Collection of Membership Contribution.

Since October 1923 membership contributions are collected in the factory. We are proud of having gained a reputation for punctuality in the district. At present we have settled accounts for the month of July.

This satisfactory state of affairs is mainly due to our cashier. Since he has been in charge of our financial affairs, (since the formation of the nucleus) there have been no inaccuracies whatsoever. He knows how to avoid unnecessary difficulties, and to make everyone pay up punctually. But nevertheless we had a few comrades who caused us so much trouble that after a time we had to let them drop.

Our cashier has a reserve fund of 50 marks which can never be drawn as a whole. From this sum he borrows at the end of the month the amount which he needs to settle up punctually with the district. Thereby the district cashier is spared the little difficulties which are unavoidable in the factory and elsewhere.

The Nucleus Library.

During the inflation period we sold so much literature that we were able to start a library with about 60 volumes. A comrade is in charge of this and lends out these books to our comrades in the various departments. This branch of our work will have to be reorganised so as to make it function better.

Red Aid.

This branch of our work, too, is in its initial stages. A comrade has now come forward as responsible organiser of this work, but he must get into the work. Hitherto, the factory nucleus secretary, together with the cashier were in charge of this work. Nevertheless our collections have always been fairly good. The last Red Aid collection amounted to 273 marks.

After reorganisation we shall be able to induce many sympathisers to join the Red Aid, and we will probably be able to achieve also better results in other respects.

Workers' Delegation to Soviet Russia.

The collection for this amounted to 150 marks. Next time we will do our utmost to get a Delegation also from our factory. Up till now we have to meet with the resistance of the Social Democracy. The agitational and propagandist effect of the Workers' Delegation on the workers in our factory is excellent. In our opinion these Delegations should be continued, and the Party should therefore pay special attention to them.

Newspaper Agitation.

Our method of agitation up to the middle of July was as follows: some of the comrades took their newspapers to the factory and passed them round. Surplus copies of the paper were also distributed free of charge. Thereby we have recruited 30 regular readers during the last quarter, that is to say, up to August 1st.

But since the middle of July we have changed our methods. A comrade has been appointed newspaper courier. He has to keep up the connection between the newspaper and the nucleus. All the newspaper notices, advertisements and articles pass through his hands. This comrade regularly brings 30 newspapers into the factory for sale there. Our average sale hitherto has been 20 copies. We sold 500 copies of each of the special Workers' Delegations Numbers in the factory. This we could do because of the excellent make up of these numbers. They met

everywhere with a very good reception, are bought by a considerable number of Social Democratic workers and provide material for discussions in the factory.

On the whole, we may say that lately the work of our comrades has been easier and more successful. The paper will have to be enlarged so as to allow more space for factory news, articles on factory and nucleus work etc. We must also give more space to the local section — sports news, reports on the events organised by the various organisations in sympathy with us. This should be of great service to our agitation in the factory.

We propose for the future to induce every comrade to subscribe to two copies of the Party organ and to sell the second copy in the factory. This is a good method of securing new subscribers.

The Factory Newspaper.

The tenth number of our newspaper has already appeared. 500 copies of the first number were sold in the factory. At present we sell 800 copies in the factory regularly among the 4000 workers employed there. The newspaper is self-supporting. Generally we have a small surplus which we pay into the nucleus fund.

The process of preparing the newspaper is as follows: the nucleus executive meets to look through the material and to arrange it. Factory news is judged on its merits. If unsatisfactory, it is re-arranged. Then a discussion takes place with respect to the political articles which are to go in, and about the general make up of the paper.

As a rule the actual making up of the paper is undertaken by four or five comrades with literary and artistic abilities. Formerly this work took up three to four evenings, as everything had to be taken down word for word in writing.

At present only the first and the fourth page, i. e., the front and the back pages, are done by hand, whilst the inside pages are duplicated on the typewriter. (Our newspaper is a four-page production.) We insist on the outside pages being written by hand as this gives our organ the character of a real factory newspaper which would not be the case if it were printed or typewritten. When all the writing has been done the printer does the rest.

The circulation of the paper.

Through newspaper sales we have had interesting experiences and have also learned much from them. We arranged for the first number to be sold outside the factory by a few comrades and some unemployed, at the price of 10 pfennig each. The first time this went off all right, all the 500 copies were sold in no time. The second and third time things went on so so. But with the fourth number we had no luck. The unemployed had been rather too noisy in advertising the paper and the management of the factory called for the police. Four agents from the Criminal Investigation Department suddenly jumped off the tram-car and caught one of the young unemployed, whom they dragged into the porter's lodge. He got off with one day's imprisonment. But the homes of our leading comrades were raided. Nothing was found.

Since then we no longer sell outside the factory but only inside. We had of course to build up a well-functioning apparatus, and we have succeeded in this.

This is how the sale of the newspaper in the factory takes place:

When the newspaper comes from the printer we have to fold it. In the evening the comrades serving on the nucleus executive come together. Every comrade knows approximately how many copies he will be able to sell and is given that number. The next morning the papers are taken to the factory. Secrecy, apart from those directly concerned, must of course be maintained. At a fixed hour, for instance at a quarter to four, the comrades give out the newspaper in fives and tens to the assistant sellers, and at 4 p. m. sharp, the general sale begins. Hitherto this arrangement has worked well, in 15 minutes' time all the newspapers are sold without much fuss having been made. As a rule we run short of papers, but we use great circumspection when distributing the papers among the comrades, to prevent some of them having copies of the paper in their pockets, which would be dangerous in the case of a sudden search being made.

It is rather interesting that Social Democratic workers are also eager for the paper. Not only do they buy it, but some of them help us with the sale.

The effect of the newspaper has always been splendid. On the day after the sale, there is generally a lively discussion on it. The foreman and the manager in as far as they are reactionary, stand in awe of the paper. Many of them have read in it the truth about themselves and the result is generally satisfactory.

The Structure of the Factory.

Number of employed:	
workingmen	2,800
working women	800
office workers	400
	Total 4,000

The production of the factory:

Typewriters,
Sewing machines,
Bicycles,
Calculating machines and taximeters.

Organisational Conditions in the factory:

- a) Trade Unions (about):
- | | |
|---|-------|
| Free trade unions (metal and wood-workers' union and central office workers' union) | 2,800 |
| Union (A. A. U. E.) | 100 |
| Industrial Union | 10 |
| Syndicalists | 20 |
| German-National Shop Assistants Union | 200 |
| Unorganised workers | 800 |
- b) Politically organised (about):
- | | | |
|--|--------|-----|
| German Social Democratic Party | 200 to | 250 |
| C. P. of Germany | | 68 |

Composition of the Body of Trade Union Representatives (Metal and Wood Workers' Union):

S. P. G. 80, C. P. G. 12, Sympathisers 8, Total 100.

Composition of the Factory Council:

S. P. G. 14, C. P. G. 2.

Proportionate Poll at the Election to the Factory Council L. C. in 1925 throughout the factory:

S. P. G. 62%, C. P. G. 38%.

Nucleus Representatives in the Party Organs:

	comrade
Corporation fraction and district executive	1
Ward executive	1
Tariff Commission of the German Metal Workers' Union and Fighting Executive	1
Metal Workers' Fraction Executive	2

Reorganisation Experiences.

When about two years ago the question of the formation of factory nuclei was already discussed as an immediate task, we were firmly convinced that by transferring the basis of our Parties to the factories our influence on the working class would be guaranteed and consolidated in every respect. We were firmly convinced that this was so to speak the pre-requisite for the capture of positions within the ranks of the proletariat which would decide our final victory. In our discussions with the opponents of reorganisation, we were able to back our conviction with strong enough arguments. These arguments, however, were of a somewhat abstract nature. We had no proofs to give from the practical work of the Parties. To-day it is different. There is already considerable experience in nucleus work. Although our experiences on this field are not very extensive they supplement in a concrete manner our "abstract" arguments during the discussion on the reorganisation of the Party.

The following examples are taken from nucleus reports which the Org. Department of the C. P. G. has received from important factory nuclei in the course of the past few months. Here we have an expression of opinion on various questions

Delegations from the Nucleus to Conferences, etc. of the Party:

	comrade
Factory Council Congress 1922 in Berlin	1
Chemnitz Conference 1923	1
Meeting of the New Reichstag	1
At the Cuno Strike in Berlin	2
Anti-Fascist Day in Halle	5

Two or three comrades are as a rule delegated by the nucleus to the district Party congresses.

Comrade X was the nucleus delegate at the Central Committee in May and at the National Party Congress.

Comrade X acts as the Party reporter.

The nucleus consists of 62 men and 3 women comrades, 3 housewives.

Factory meetings with political items on the agenda are of a rare occurrence lately, as the Social Democratic Party is opposed to them. We hope to be able to arrange a meeting for the report of the workers' delegation. The list of events given below shows that the political life in the factory, with the exception of the last slack months, has been up to the mark:

Between 1918 and the present day the Social Democratic Party has procured the following reporters:

Eight big guns including Cabinet Ministers, Presidium members, Reichstag and Landtag members.

We provided as co-reporters against them:

Landtag member (Schultz-Prussia),
1 Reichstag member (Rädel),
1 Town Councillor (Frau Böhme-Dresden),
1 Comrade from the factory.

At our own meetings, 4 comrades appeared in the capacity of reporters. On an average everyone of these meetings was attended by 150 to 200 people.

This is probably an adequate answer to questions 1 and 2 of the Central Committee.

With respect to the third question, we may make the following statement:

There is hardly anything to add to the 8 points in the letter of the Executive on the vitality of Social Democracy.

The Party Apparatus of the Social Democratic Party and their firm hold on the factories are their trump card. Compared with their apparatus, ours is very weak and lacks a good organisational foundation.

Soon we hope to be able to have better educated and better distributed forces. If the present overburdening of our active officials is allowed to continue, they will in time become worn out and this will weaken the Party.

The organisation of meetings is as yet far from perfect. Very little has as yet been done to attract and train new forces, reporters, etc.

We think that this can only be remedied by a better utilisation of the available forces and by systematic control over Party work.

from comrades in the factories, and this is of course very valuable.

Reports of Nuclei on the Results of their Work.

These reports are very important. Everyone still remembers how the opponents of reorganisation exaggerated the difficulties which would arise when nuclei would have to carry on Party work. We never denied these possible difficulties. But we were convinced that with adequate assistance by the leading organs these difficulties would be overcome. The following nucleus reports bear this out.

This is what a nucleus in East Saxony has to say: "Number of workers employed: 500, nucleus membership: 12. At the time when martial law (from October 1923) was declared and the Party was made illegal so much printed matter was posted up in the factory that the factory management and various foremen had their hands full with tearing down the offensive literature. Three or four times the red flag was hoisted on the roof of our works, but on February 2nd the factory management felt relieved,

when Comrade X was arrested and could no longer come to the factory. Since then the nucleus has deteriorated.

This excellent report is a brilliant proof of the importance of our nuclei in the hard times of illegality. It shows at the same time how necessary it is for the nuclei to make timely preparations in order that as a result of dismissals or arrests of leading nucleus members the work and the influence of the nucleus should not suffer.

How many-sided and successful the work even of a small nucleus can be is shown by the following report:

"The nucleus is represented by a comrade in the fraction committee of the municipal workers' fraction. The nucleus delegates one comrade to all district Party congresses. During the last municipal workers' strike our nucleus constituted the strike committee of all the factories on the right bank of the Rhine. Factory meetings take place at regular intervals. The political situation invariably finds a place on the Agenda. Nucleus membership is 8 comrades.

The I. R. A. is an obligatory institution in our factory. One comrade is I. R. A. chairman. We have hitherto contributed 250 marks to the I. R. A. But everywhere the money troubles of the workers are making themselves felt. We intend shortly to place the I. R. A. on a more stable basis.

Our nucleus concerns itself also with cultural questions. For instance, the draft national school law was carefully scrutinised. Eight of our fellow workers sent their children to the free secular school. Our staff of workers has about 30 children of school age. Fourteen of them go the secular school and 24 fellow workers have left the church."

We give below the report of a nucleus with 38 members in a factory with about 2300 workers.

"50 per cent of the comrades participate in Party work. Since September 1925, 31 subscribers for the "Socialistische Republik" have been recruited. In September and October, 5 nucleus sessions were held when the following questions were discussed: E. C. C. I. letter, wage movements, Red Aid, trade union question, reorganisation of the Party, unemployment question, delegation to Russia, struggles in China, Morocco, etc. Since its reorganisation about 5 months ago, the I. R. A. has a membership of 255. Many of the factory workers participated in the I. R. A. by buying I. R. A. stamps and newspapers."

In another nucleus from South Germany:

"About 40 per cent of nucleus members do Party work regularly. During the recruiting week from September 21 to 27, 33 new subscribers were recruited in the factory. The following books were presented to the comrades who recruited the largest number of subscribers. The Theory of Historical Materialism, the A B C of Communism, and Lenin and Leninism. On July 15th the factory collectively joined the I. R. A. at the factory meeting, only a few voting against it. The factory's contribution to the I. R. A. is 100 marks a month. In September, 72 marks worth of literature were sold."

This is what the nucleus of a coal-mine has to report:

"The decision of all the workers employed to hear a report of the Soviet Russia Delegation is to be enforced in spite of the opposition of the Factory Council Chairman. Here I should like to say that the nucleus has worked energetically. As a proof of this: the Factory Council Chairman spoke to me in the following strain: "Do me a favour and get a member of the Soviet Russian Delegation in order to pacify the workers'."

The result of the recruiting week: with the 15 newspapers at our disposal, we secured 12 workers as subscribers."

Report from a Leipzig nucleus:

"We get good support from the district executive. We receive almost more than enough material. We have had a speaker at every nucleus session. The E. C. C. I. letter has not produced the desired effect here. It was sentimentally rejected by a few comrades who failed to understand it. Hitherto our work has been carried out in the spirit of the letter and we can report good results; a hundred per cent increase in Party membership in one year. The influence of the Social Democrats among the workers has completely declined. 98 per cent of the workers are organised in the reformist trade unions. This is the result of properly applied united front tactics as laid down by the V. World Congress and reaffirmed by the E. C. C. I. letter."

Finally the very interesting report of a nucleus with 54 members:

"On January 9, nucleus meeting; Agenda: 1. Trade Unions from the Halberstadt Congress up to 1924; 2. press and agitation. Attendance 39.

January 16th. Agenda: 1. The political situation; 2. Tasks of the unemployed; 3. Organisational matters. Attendance — 34.

January 23. Agenda: 1. Factory questions; 2. Trade unions from 1924 up to the Kapp-putsch; 3. Press and other business. Attendance — 36.

January 29. Agenda: 1. Report from the factories; 2. The Russian trade unions and International relations; 3. Political situation. Attendance 39.

Whilst formerly Party work was left to a very few comrades, to-day things are different. 60% of the membership participated in the last recruiting week. Owing to the work of the nucleus all the sessions of the town council are attended by 5—6 hundred workers, so that the sessions have to be held in the largest Hall in X. The administrations of the mines stand in awe of the nuclei and are doing their utmost to find out who their members are. The more anxious they are, the greater is the workers' confidence in the nucleus".

These are only a few examples. One can of course give many more which are as interesting and instructive as those we mentioned.

Methods of Nucleus Work.

It is quite clear that the newly created nuclei find it rather difficult at first to carry on systematic Party work in their district. There were of course many failures and these failures were made the most of as arguments against reorganisation. Let us hear what some of the nuclei have to say about the methodical side of their work. Their reports will show that our assertion that there is nothing particularly complicated in this is to all intents and purposes correct.

The nucleus leader of a Mansfield factory nucleus reports as follows:

"At the time of the Presidential election I placed every comrade under the obligation to take our literature to the factory. There is always an opportunity to discuss the most important questions with our fellow workers. Thus all leaflets, handbills, and stickbacks are taken to the factory. During the Presidential election every comrade carried with him a piece of chalk. Wherever there was room and opportunity, slogans were chalked ending in "Vote for the working man Thälmann", so that the whole district had Thälmann written all over it. On April 17th, we brought the leaflet "To the Soc. Dem. Workers" to the factory. In the space of five minutes every fellow-worker had a leaflet. Then the discussions commenced. Our comrades were ready for anything. For instance we had to do with a Soc. Dem. leader. When a worker said I am not going to vote for a "high priest", the C. P. G. is right, this leader became very abusive. . . Generally it is the political and trade union questions which arouse the greatest interest. On Sunday April 19th, we shall hold another session when there will be a discussion on the book "What is Bolshevism".

This is what a South German nucleus has to say:

"The literature secretary always makes sure that we get good pamphlets and other important material of interest for the factory workers. As soon as he receives the literature he lets the above-mentioned workers' delegates know of it and they fetch it from his home. Should a delegate omit to fetch the literature it is speedily sent on to him. Thus he must sell no less. Comrades take it in turns to sell literature. Of course not every man comrade and particularly not every woman comrade devotes him or herself to this work, but by the above-mentioned arrangement a considerable percentage of the workers is drawn into the sale of literature".

Here is a report of a very active nucleus in Stuttgart:

"Work is carried on with the utmost energy. Much is made of the Ebert, Barmat and Bauer affairs with are effective means for agitation. This subject is raised among the workers and officials at every opportunity. Then advantage is taken of every day life, as for instance the lunch hour when the workers consume the cheapest fare, such as black-sausage, marmalade, cheese, liver sausage. On this subject lively discussions take place, then I come gradually to the organisation of the factory, to the speeding up system, to the housing crisis, to workmen's dwellings, and then to the kind of life the rich lead. Other subjects of discussion are: the debates in the Reichstag and Land-

tag, and in the Municipal Councils, and how the bourgeoisie together with the Social Democrats enslave and sell the workers and peasants, how the C. P. G. works, and how it is trying to help the workers, etc."

One can learn a great deal from these reports. But it is particularly the district, sub-district and local executives which must learn from them. They must realise that nuclei can only get the necessary support if the work in the factory is carried on much more energetically, and in a more direct manner than at present, and that one must give the nuclei fewer theoretical and paper directions and more practical help in their everyday work and concrete instructions for the latter. Up till now this side of Party work has hardly developed at all. One reads continually in the nucleus reports that not enough auxiliary material for nucleus work (material for reports, instructions on various questions, etc.) is published, that courses for nucleus members are desirable, that the press does not pay enough attention to nucleus work etc. Here is a big field of activity for the Agitprop Department.

What Do Nuclei Write about the "Open Letter"?

In conclusion a few expressions of opinion by factory nuclei on the "Open Letter". The discussion on it occupied the attention of the Party as a whole. It is significant that none of the nucleus reports which have been received, mention that any factory nuclei have expressed themselves against the Open Letter, whilst there are plenty of residential organisations which have done this. This shows that the comrades in the factories were better able to realise the necessity of a change in our tactics for the capture of the masses than other comrades. As an example of this we give below an extract from the report of a nucleus in Quedlinburg of April 5, 1925, that is to say a long time before the E. C. C. I. letter was written.

"First of all I place on record that the policy of the Party is correct. But there is one thing to which we must pay more attention in future, namely to distinguish between Soc. Dem. workers and Soc. Dem. leaders. Whilst we carry on an energetic struggle against the Soc. Dem. leaders, we must vary our methods in our agitation among Soc. Dem. workers, in order not to slam the door through which we can approach them.

It is also very important that we should intensify our trade union work. We must give practical proof to the workers that

we are bona-fide Communist trade unionists, for this will win us their confidence".

This is what a nucleus in Hattstedt has to say after the receipt of the E. C. C. I. letter:

"The Open Letter has given satisfaction to all the members of the nucleus".

A nucleus in Nuremberg writes as follows:

"With respect to the effect of the E. C. C. I. letter, I can say that the measures taken on the strength of the E. C. C. I. letter have been greeted by the comrades with greater enthusiasm than any other measures, and also that the contents of the letter were endorsed unanimously. They are to a certain extent disappointed with regard to the matters expressed in the E. C. C. I. letter, but they welcome the energy with which efforts are made to remedy these evils. Soc. Dem. workers begin to express themselves approvingly on the way in which we settle our differences within the Party, whilst others, and mainly the officials, accuse us as usual of being dependent on Moscow".

Another report from a nucleus in Cöln-Deutz:

"Not only our members, but many other fellow workers gave a sigh of relief when the E. C. C. I. letter arrived. The attitude of Soc. Dem. fellow workers towards us has improved, although a great deal of distrust is still prevalent".

A ship-yard nucleus writes as follows:

"The comrades in the nucleus have identified themselves with the Open Letter. Through the sale of the "Rote Fahne", in which the Open Letter was published, a discussion arose among the factory workers. Our comrades took a great interest in it and took this opportunity to do educational work among the factory workers".

* * *

Extracts such as those taken from 14 nucleus reports could of course be multiplied ad infinitum. But those we have given are a convincing proof that it is not only possible to overcome re-organisation difficulties. They show us already whilst we are making the first modest steps towards the reorganisation of the Party, all the positive results which we expected from the transference of our basis to the factories (increased influence over large sections of workers, activation of Party members, quicker and more effective re-action on the every-day political events). This promising result should be an encouragement to all our comrades to do their utmost for the reorganisation of the Party.

The Progress of the C. P. of Great Britain with Respect to Factory Nuclei.

By S. B.

It is a well-known fact that in spite of its numerical weakness our British brother Party has considerable influence on the masses and that it was able to get several Communist proposals accepted at the last Trade Union Congress in Scarborough owing to its active work in the trade unions and the local branches of the Labour Party. Even Philip Snowden is compelled to acknowledge in an article in the organ of the Belgian Social Patriots "Le Peuple" that this small Party is developing a considerable activity in the Trade Unions and the local branches of the Labour Party, and that.

"Owing to their activity in the Trade Unions and in the Labour Party the Communists succeeded in placing a certain number of draft resolutions (most of which were accepted S. B.) on the agenda of the Trade Union Congress . . .

These resolutions were very cleverly drawn up.

Socialist phraseology formed a cloak for their Communist nature which was there alright!"

But in spite of this fact the Party has not yet succeeded in consolidating organisationally its ideological influence on the masses.

But lately a marked improvement has taken place. Reorganisation is in full swing and some good results have already been achieved. Previous to its last recruiting campaign ("Red Week") the Party had 125 factory nuclei. During the Red Week another 52 were added to this number. Although this "week" was extended nearly over a whole month the proposed aim "doubling the membership" has not been reached by far during this period. The Party had 5,000 members, which means that another 5,000 should have been added during this period. In view of this

only 750 new members were made, that is to say not even one-fifth of the proposed number.

The best results were achieved among the miners and metal workers, since during the recent struggles the Party showed them the right lines for their activity. Thus for instance 16 nuclei were formed in South Wales (in the mining district) 4 in the Sheffield District (metal industry), 4 in the Cowdenheath mining district, 5 in the Glasgow district, whilst in London only 2 nuclei were formed. In the Maesteg mining district four shaft nuclei and 2 in the Mardy mining district, whilst in industrial Manchester not a single nucleus was formed during the Red Week.

What are the reasons why the Party which has to a great extent the sympathy of the masses, is not able to get hold of these sympathisers organisationally? How is it that our sympathisers who show quite openly their sympathy for the C. P. by supporting Communist proposals in the Trade Unions and in the local branches of the Labour Party, by joining the Minority Movement and by participating in the actions of the Party, do not after all join the Party. An answer to this question are the reports on the recruiting week in the various parts of the country. These reports show first of all that the tradition of the old propagandist sect has not yet been overcome.

To give an example, at 140 street corner meetings eighty new members were made. It must also be taken into consideration that 30 of these were made at 3 of the meetings which means that at the other 137 meetings only 50 new members were made altogether. Then we must take it that there were many meetings at which not a single new member was made. One of the main reasons for the Party's influence not yet having been put to an

organisational use is that the recruiting week was still carried out according to the old methods. A few meetings somewhere at a street corners or in a park, a few more or less good agitational speeches and to wind up an appeal to the "crowd" to join the Party. This was generally the procedure at most of these meetings.

Another reason is that the already existing nuclei were not prepared for the recruiting week (no instructions from the centre, lack of experience).

The greatest drawback was that the factories were not made the centre of the campaign, that haphazard street corner meetings were held instead of holding meetings outside the factories. Throughout the country mainly only 10 groups made any efforts to organise such meetings. The total number of meetings outside factories was only 25. It is just these meetings which were the most successful and which if repeated would yield even better results.

A report from Manchester contains for instance the following statement:

"We wish that the summer season was beginning. Hitherto we had no experience of factory gate meetings, but the experience of the past fortnight has convinced us that we can get better results here than anywhere else."

This is what the Party organ says to this:

"Recruits do not come from street corner meetings. On all sides it is proved that the recruits come from personal contacts."

That the Party recognises this and criticises openly is all to the good and is a guarantee that future recruiting campaigns will be firstly better prepared and secondly, carried out by other methods. In a critical observation the manner in which the recruiting week was carried out the methods of the good old times (street corner speakers' methods), are vigorously attacked.

"The workers have no room for politicians whose lives are spent on platforms orating, who give advice from giddy heights, but they will join us when we get amongst them."

Only very few of the already existing nuclei have really tried during the recruiting week to make of it a real campaign, to propagate the slogans of the Party among the factory workers and to popularise them. There was no definite plan for the work during this week, everything was left to chance. No attempt was made to enlighten the workers by personal contact, by talking with them and endeavouring to persuade them to join the Party.

Not only were the meetings badly organised generally speaking, not only did the speakers in most cases make propaganda speeches failing to explain to the masses the slogans of the Party, but the meetings were also held in inappropriate places and at the wrong time, mainly at the traditional street corners with the traditional "crowd" which consists as a rule of a few Communists, a few passers by and the usual people who come to these meetings.

The masses of the workers in the factories were not touched. Not even where nuclei exist were the recruiting week slogans of the Party popularised. Only in a very few cases factory nucleus newspapers made a special feature of the recruiting campaign. Many of them limited themselves to mentioning quite casually Party and recruiting work, some made no mention at all of the Party. Another shortcoming of the factory newspapers is that they either discuss only factory affairs or produce long-winded high faluting theoretical treatises on various political questions as for instance imperialism, and do not give any contributions of the workers themselves. Others again are nothing but a means of recruiting for the Trade Unions.

However the same applies to the nuclei. This is clearly shown by a few extracts from the reports. One should of course not underestimate the importance of the organisation of the unorganised (recruiting for the Trade Unions), but surely the work of the nucleus does not solely consist in working for the Trade Unions or in discussing factory questions. The nucleus should on the contrary carry on political work above all and should recruit and educate members for the Party.

A nucleus from Lanarkshire (mining district) writes as follows:

"This Group, at the beginning, had only one Party member. The recruiting campaign added 12 to this number, so we got to work.

The pit was badly organised. Only about 25% of the men were in the Union. The Group met and discussed this question. As a result the Pit Committee were approached and forced to get active in a 'back to the Union Campaign'.

Canvass by Party members resulted in increasing the percentage of union men from 25 per cent to about 90 per cent.

Through the activity of the nucleus the management was compelled to re-instate two dismissed workers who were paid for two of the lost working days. The nucleus is continuing the struggle for payment for all the lost working days."

A report from Sheffield contains the following statement about the factory newspaper:

"The contents of the papers are already the chief items of discussion in the pit lodges... They are responsible for more workers attending the lodge and branch meetings... Already through the medium of the "Summit Buty" the organ of the Party group in Kirkby-in-Ashfield a struggle has commenced against non-unionism."

This shows very clearly that the political activity of the nuclei is not up to much. But it is already a great step forward that the Party has now taken seriously in hand the formation of nuclei, for in spite of all the shortcomings of the Red Week (recruiting week) the fact remains that 52 new factory nuclei have been formed. It should also be stated that the South Wales mining district has been almost entirely reorganised on a factory nucleus basis. Moreover 18 new nuclei were formed in this district. Such results required special efforts and this shows that the work was taken in hand seriously. Namely, groups of comrades were formed who visited even outlying villages where no Party organisations as yet existed. These comrades visited sympathisers and won them for the Party by organising them into factory nuclei.

The various reports are written in an optimistic strain. The comrades who are convinced of the necessity and importance of nucleus work go about it energetically and enthusiastically, as shown by the following report.

"Already here in Sheffield the comrades producing the papers work half through the night many times to cope with the growing demands from the groups... These papers are causing a sensation in the Sheffield district.

Workers walk miles to pay in advance for the "Rufford Star". They sell like hot cakes."

Many reports express the opinion that factory nuclei are a better form of organisation than the old groups. The fear of victimisation which has hitherto kept back comrades more than anything else, is disappearing fast, as experience has shown that the risk is not so great if the nucleus goes the right way about winning the sympathy of the workers and ensuring support on the part of all the workers of the enterprise.

The Manchester district reports as follows:

"We now have 7 factory groups in the Manchester district with 45 members. Three are in engineering, 2 in railway, 1 in textile, 1 in tramway shops. Four groups are publishing papers regularly with a total circulation of 1,800. 90% of the members are undergoing training.

We have found that from the first issue of the factory paper the Group begins to develop, acquires confidence, it loses its fear of victimisation and often becomes quite jubilant because of the workers impatient demands of the next issue.

Our best group is railway No. 2. It meets weekly during the dinner hour, for 30 to 35 minutes. The first time it met the group left too late and lost half a day's work. We learned the lesson: a watch is now always on the table! This group has a full agenda: minutes correspondence, reports (workshop, Workers' Weekly sales), factory paper, trade union, Minority Movement, recruiting, etc. The group works like clockwork."

In addition to these meetings the nucleus convenes also meetings of longer duration on Saturdays. In connection with the proposed lengthening of the working day in the metal industry, the employers issued a leaflet pointing out the advantages of the 50 and 52½ hour week in lieu of the 47 hour week. The nucleus replied to this by issuing the next day six special numbers of the factory newspapers.

"These papers were a great success and passed through thousands of hands days before the A. E. U. issued a reply to the employers."

There is no doubt whatever that the small C. P. G. B. is becoming more and more popular with the masses. The campaign of incitement carried on by the capitalist press and the reformist leaders against the Communists and the prosecution of the C. P. has greatly contributed to this state of affairs. Through this free advertisement the Party is becoming still more popular, so much the more as with respect to the most important questions in the life of the British working class the Communist Party has issued the correct slogans, and has understood to popularise them by its work in the trade unions.

When the Party will begin to lay a foundation for a more systematic work by the formation of a strong Org Department, and by the development of the District organisations, the great influence which the Party exercise now will become consolidated organisationally in the very near future.

There are yet great difficulties in the way of this work, difficulties which can only be overcome gradually. (Numerical weakness, lack of experience, lack of sufficiently trained cadres, etc.) In Great Britain it is not so much a question of reorganisation as of the building up of the Party on a factory and street nucleus basis. In order to accelerate this building up, i. e. the formation of factory nuclei so-called concentration groups were formed. They consist of three to five comrades who live in the neighbourhood of a big enterprise and concentrate on this enterprise. As soon as the nucleus has been formed and properly set going, the concentration group is dissolved. There are already

many such groups throughout the country. In the Manchester district alone, 10 are functioning. The Y. C. L. has achieved fairly good results with these concentration groups, which induced the Party to adopt them also as a transition form. It is in Manchester that the concentration groups have achieved particularly good results. Whilst the old methods (the street corner meetings) did not win new members and did not lead to the formation of more nuclei, the concentration groups succeeded after a period of continuous arduous work, to form four new nuclei increasing thereby the number of nuclei in the district to 11. This shows that the concentration groups have stood the test also as far as the Party is concerned, and the Central Committee of the Party thinks that they should be adopted on a larger scale by all the Party organisations.

The Party has issued the instruction that the most pressing task of all districts where factory nuclei were recently formed, is to consolidate them. Special attention should be paid to their activity in order to prevent them falling to pieces. Everything possible should be done to educate the newly won members for the Party through educational courses.

The Y. C. L. has also achieved good results. In six months it doubled its membership. During the recent campaign in the mining industry, 200 young miners were secured for the League. Although the total number of nuclei is still very small, there is a certain number of them, especially in the mining districts and in the shipbuilding industry.

The Reorganisation of the Workers Party of America.

By Bill Holden.

"Factory nuclei — a beautiful thought for propaganda in Russia, years after the revolution — here in America utterly impossible...; the first shop-nucleus member who does not keep his mouth shut and who really tries to spread revolutionary propaganda would at once be expelled (from the union), could not get a job, or would find himself behind the bars, etc., etc."

(From an article in the "New Yorker Volkszeitung", Sept. 8th, 1925.)

At the very time when in the organ of the reformist Lore group, which has split off from the Workers (Communist) Party, such difficulties were painted on the walls, and the shop-nuclei were declared to be "utterly impossible" "here in America", the Fourth Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party unanimously adopted a motion to reorganise the Party on the basis of shop-nuclei. Immediately after the Convention a comprehensive reorganisation plan was worked out. Almost every day a discussion article appears on reorganisation on a shop-nucleus basis and these articles are allotted special space in the "Daily Worker".

The undertaking of the reorganisation of the Workers (Communist) Party is a step of greatest political significance, since until now our American Party consisted of 18 different language federations, each of which constituted a party within the Party. This division into federations is but the reflection of the language barriers which exist within the American working masses. Comrade Zinoviev, at the Enlarged Executive in April, correctly emphasised the necessity of "fusing the national sections into a really united Party". This fusion will now be effected. The American comrades have come to the conclusion, upon the basis of an analysis of objective conditions, that these language differences not only should not deter them from undertaking reorganisation, but rather that this reorganisation, this fusion of 18 separate language federations into a united, centralised Party be begun at once with all possible energy, though with all the necessary caution.

Heretofore the matter was always conceived as much more difficult than it really is. Great resistance was anticipated, especially from the language federations. Although the difficulties in this regard should not be underestimated it has nevertheless become clear that as a whole the language federations constitute no insurmountable obstacle to reorganisation. Since the Fourth Party Convention a whole series of conferences of the various language federations have taken place, and all of them accepted the decisions of the Party Conventions, and enthusiastically supported them. In the press also a series of discus-

sion articles appeared on this subject and these dealt first of all with the question of how reorganisation is to be carried out. Concerning the necessity or desirability of the change there prevails (with very few exceptions) absolute unanimity.

At the conference of the Lithuanian Federation, for instance a miner declared that prior to the reorganisation they had some doubts as to the possible success of this work, but after a short period of the nucleus in effect they had discovered that Party work is carried out more effectively than before. He pointed out that miners, who were previously difficult to interest in the Party, were now being drawn in through the work of the nuclei. At this conference one delegate after another pointed out the benefits our Party will derive from reorganisation.

Some months ago in the Ukrainian Federation the idea prevailed among some members that the reorganisation of the Party would, in view of language difficulties, really mean a step backward. They were of the opinion that we should wait a while. Now the comrades recognise that the cleavage of the Party into language federations did it no good, and that the unification and centralisation of the Party is an important step in its process of Bolshevisation. Formerly federation stood against federation. "Today the Party, more than ever before, stands as a unit before the eyes of all our members." By the new form of organisation we will keep practically all Ukrainian comrades in the Party. They are all proletarians working in factories, mines, steel-mills, etc. until now the Party's most important recruiting field — the factory — was almost entirely ignored."

The comrades of the Finnish Federation (the strongest Federation in the Party) likewise indicate the necessity of creating a unified, centralised Party.

"Our Federation membership must become convinced that reorganisation and bolshevisation of our Party means to Americanise them in the bolshevistic sense of that word. They must realise, that, hitherto, they have been members only of some kind of by-organisation and that reorganisation means to bring them closely to the fold of the revolutionary party of American workers as full fledged members. Our members must admit that, at present, in the Federation branches which are more like clubs, Party activities have suffered."

In the Finnish Federation there are various obstacles in the way of reorganisation, and it will not be accomplished without loss of membership. In the large sections there are many comrades who are really only nominal members and who perform no kind of activity. These will drop out to some extent. They will remain, however, members of the sympathising organisations (Workers' Clubs) and can again be won for the Party.

The Party's reorganisation plan provides for the formation of so-called "Workers' Clubs" for all language groups. These clubs are to replace the present language federations. In these language clubs Communist fractions will be formed whose essential tasks will be similar to those of fractions in other non-Party organisations. The language federations as such will be dissolved, and the members of the present language federations will be attached to factory and street nuclei irrespective of language. Of course the reorganisation will not be carried out mechanically, nor will the federations be dissolved over night, but only after all members of the present federations are enrolled in factory or street nuclei and after these nuclei, to some extent, begin to function properly.

In such a highly industrialised country as America reorganisation upon the basis of the factory nuclei signifies, even more than in some other countries, the establishment of contact with the broad masses. Until now the Party was but a propaganda society with a certain limited ideological influence on the masses; organisationally however it remains very weak. Today there is but a small number of nuclei (about 60 in the whole country). But the experience there gained will greatly facilitate the organisation of further nuclei. **In creating factory nuclei the Party tears down the walls that have until now separated it from the masses.** It seems that the assertion that because of the spy system penetration into the factories is impossible had proved false in the experiences of already existing nuclei.

A worker in the notorious Ford plant (with its well-organised factory police) writes to "The Daily Worker" in this connection:

"The comrades who are not members of the nucleus claim that we expose ourselves to the masters, by our membership in the nucleus. From experiences, I find just the reverse. From conversations in the shop you can easily find out who is who, let the other fellow talk, and find out who he is. When I bring a member to the nucleus branch, I know who I am bringing in. As before, no one knew him. All we were interested in is that he obligates himself to the principles of the Party. For example, we have an application from one who works in the shop, and he has been a member in the Party in Indianapolis. We have a committee elected who can find out whether he was a member in Indianapolis and at the same time we got his location where he works, and go through the department once in a while to see him, without his knowing it. The committee is satisfied, but will not give him any important work and he can't do any damage. But a Communist must expect danger. He must prepare for the worst. The fact is that they do know that I am a Communist, but they never caught me..."

"In all of my fifteen years of labour movement activity, I never saw the comrades take so much interest in having the papers distributed at their respective plants as this May Day. In the past, the comrades went from house to house where they were unmolested with their work. But this year, especially at the Ford shops, with all police interference the comrades went at it in a revolutionary spirit. They were going to have their shop mates read the paper, and they were interested to have their shop organised. We have learnt a few things from that May Day distribution and will try to do better at the next distribution. Only a few comrades wanted to distribute at their shop: the comrades from one shop worked with the papers at another shop, so as not to expose themselves to the master."

Nucleus Work in the C. P. of Switzerland.

The most important and satisfactory part of our Party work during the last half year was the organisation of factory nuclei. The Committee pays the greatest attention to this part of Party work and we all rejoice at the results already achieved. **Twenty nine nuclei have already been established comprising 350 Party members.** We may say that nearly all the nuclei are active. Twenty four nuclei have sent a written report on their activity to the Party Committee. There is of course still confusion of ideas concerning the organisation and nature of the work of our nuclei. The greatest drawback is that not all of them pay attention to political questions. We are fully aware that factory nuclei cannot do effective work unless they be fundamental units of the Party and unless they deal with political and economic everyday questions. We can place very satisfactory results of nucleus work on record. Here are a few examples: Nucleus No. 11 has secured in the course of its activity 13 subscribers

This nucleus in the Ford Plant, now numbering 14 members, sold 6500 copies of "The Daily Worker" out of a total of 20,000 ordered for the whole district.

With regard to getting of new subscribers this comrade contributes the following:

"When the subscription drive for the "Daily Worker" was on I have taken as many as 15 copies to the shop for my mates to read. I did not have to lose any of my sleep looking up my prospects. They were working with me every day. I would speak to them in regard to some article, and explain it to them during the noon hour. No time lost. If nothing could be done I proceeded with the others. In the past a name was turned over and we would go and visit the worker with hopes of getting him interested to subscribe for the paper. Many times he would not be at home and we would try again."

In New York also some good experiences have been gained. In one case, for instance, the slogan was issued: "No work on May Day", and two nuclei succeeded in winning the workers and preventing work on that day. In another instance a factory struck to compel recognition of the union. Only one Party member worked in this factory at the time. The section organiser called a conference of Party members which was attended also by two sympathisers, and a factory nucleus was organised. With the aid of this nucleus the strike, which lasted 18 weeks, was won. When a strike report appeared in the "Daily Worker" the strikers themselves circulated hundreds of copies of this issue. Strike meetings were held at which Party members spoke. Other nuclei supported the strike by taking up collections in their shops on behalf of the strikers.

In Brownsville, (a not particularly industrial section of New York), there are 7 nuclei with 32 members. In the beginning there were only 8 members. In four factories, in each of which formerly only one member worked, nuclei were formed. In one shop where only one Party member worked personally hostile to reorganisation and who did nothing, a nucleus was nevertheless organised by calling together a conference of sympathisers and convincing them of the necessity for such a nucleus. In five factories in which nuclei exist the "Shop Chairman" is a member of the nucleus. Thus the nucleus has actual control over shop affairs and all matters are discussed in the nucleus before being brought before the Shop Meeting.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the deficiencies which still prevail in the already existing nuclei. These will be rectified in the course of time on the basis of experiences gained. Let it suffice to state that now also in America where reorganisation seemed almost impossible (on account of language difficulties) it is now in full swing. It is significant that the Party considers reorganisation not merely as an organisational matter, but in the first instance as a political problem. There exists however in the already established nuclei tendencies to confine discussion merely to shop matters and economic questions. This is above all apparent from the factory papers which concern themselves only with the complaints of the workers in individual factories without giving them a political interpretation. This tendency must be promptly combatted so that the nuclei may really become basic units of the Party, and thus, a Party out of one piece, able to lead and educate the broad masses of American and foreign-born workers in their day today struggles.

for the "Basle Vorwärts", 6 non-Party workers as members of the I. R. A. and 3 new Party members. Nucleus No. 12 started work with 6 Party comrades. At present it has already 14 members. Meetings are held every fortnight, which in most cases are attended by all comrades. This nucleus has sold 189 Communist pamphlets of various kinds, it has collected 83 francs among its members for the revolutionary movement in China and has published 3 factory nucleus newspapers. Comrades have also been able to induce the workers in their respective enterprises to take up a definite attitude to international questions. Nucleus No. 1 has secured 10 new Party members in its factory. Many more examples could be given to show that good work is done here. Although the other nuclei cannot claim to have been as successful, applications for Party membership are received almost daily as a result of nucleus work. Some nuclei have already succeeded in bringing sympathisers and non-Party

workers to the meetings for the discussion of certain questions of particular interest. Such meetings showed us that we can get into much closer touch with the masses through the work of the nuclei and that we can depend in our activity on the support of workers who for some reason or other will not as yet join our organisation. The sale of stamps for the Co-operative Council's election and the "Vorwärts" propaganda through our nuclei

has also proved successful. The collection of membership contributions in the nuclei is truly exemplary. Members who join our Party through the nuclei are of a higher standard than those who come to us through public meetings.

(Extract from the report on the activity of the C. P. of Basle for the first half year of 1925.)

Red Putilow to Krupp-Gruson Factory Nucleus.

Dear Comrades,

Since this is our first letter to you, we consider it necessary to give you a brief description of our work so that you may have as broad a conception as possible of our working conditions.

1. **The History of the Red Putiloff Factory.** The factory known as the Red Putiloff is one of the largest and oldest metallurgical and machine factories in Russia. It was founded in the year 1801, for the purpose of producing military supplies, and during the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, its development was very rapid, as the factory was then working for a number of railways which were then in process of construction, besides supplying numerous other factories with metal. As far back as the year 1900 there were employed 12,500 workers in the Putiloff factory. Shortly before the imperialist war broke out, the number increased to 20,000. During the imperialist and civil wars the factory was run principally for military purposes. Its industrial importance was always of great significance, not only in the interests of general industry, but also for defensive purposes.

Due to the fact that here in the Putiloff works were gathered together great numbers of metal workers, who are known to be among the best and most advanced elements of the working class, our factory became, during the last twenty years, and even previous to that date, one of the most important centres of revolutionary activity. During the struggle with tsarist autocracy and later in the February and October revolutions, our works have put up numerous revolutionary Bolshevik struggles.

In 1905 our industry was the organiser and instigator of the first strike and mass demonstration, which led to armed conflicts with the police and with the tsarist troops, during which dozens of our comrades were killed.

In the year 1912, at the time of the bloody battles in the Lena gold mines, the Putiloff workers were the first to strike.

In the year 1917 during the February revolution, and later during the October revolution, the Putiloff workers stood in the front ranks of the armed revolutionary forces of the workers of St. Petersburg.

In close proximity to our factory Comrade Lenin started his propaganda in the year 1904. From the ranks of our workers the present head of the Soviet power has come, namely, the President of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., Comrade Kalinin.

The cannon workshop of our factory was the scene of the revolutionary propaganda of Comrade Wolodarski, who was one of the best leaders of the Petersburg workers. In all fields of the U. S. S. R. can now be found former Putiloff communist workers holding positions of great responsibility in Soviet, trade union, military and Party work. Our factory has, therefore, become famous on account of its revolutionary tradition, and is one of the strongest pillars of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

During the last few years, the Putiloff workers, under the guidance of the Communist group, have been engaged in the work of reconstruction of their industry. In order to understand what this signifies, one must consider the great damage done to our works during the Civil War. During the years 1917—1920 our factory was almost at a complete standstill because we were practically cut off from all access to coal, minerals and grain (the Urals, the Don Basin, Baku, Siberia and the Ukraine being in the hands of the Whites), and in addition our best forces, thousands of Putiloff workers were among the Red Guards and later in the Red Army fighting at the front.

At the end of the revolution our factory employed at most 1500 workers, and production was at a minimum. When the serious work of reconstruction began in the year 1922, there arose a great obstacle to carrying on successfully this reconstructive work. The highest industrial powers of the country, under the influence of a few so-called specialists were for a time

carrying on a policy of liquidation of our works, ordering locomotives etc. in the Urals and in foreign countries. At the factory itself we had hardly any specialists who worked in co-operation with us. However, during the year 1923-24, under the guidance of the central and of the Leningrad committees of the R. C. P., in spite of these obstacles, we succeeded in achieving tremendous results in the development of our factory. For example, in 1924 we have to our credit an increase in the number of workers from 2523—7000, production from 3,5—10 million roubles. We have begun the production of tractors. In certain departments the amount of steel produced by the Martin-ovens has exceeded the pre-war production.

Therefore, we have the right to consider our achievements in the reconstruction of our production of great importance.

II. The Position of the Workers and their Political Attitude.

At present there are about 9000 workers employed in the factory.

The average monthly wage is 80 roubles, but this is constantly increasing, as is evident from the following figures:

In April 1924 the average monthly wage amounted to 49,2; in October to 70,3 and at present, as has already been stated, to 80 roubles. The material condition of the workers is vastly improved by means of the various advantages which they enjoy, on account of the general policy of the Soviet Government. For instance, we have our own co-operative association where the workers can procure all necessary articles at a far lower price than the regular market price, at the same time obtaining goods of a superior quality. Besides this they are entitled to a three month's credit. Furthermore, the workers may procure books, theatre tickets etc. at a considerable discount. The government defrays the expense of all medical attendance, sanatoriums and other health resorts. Last summer 1072 workers from our factory were sent to sanatoria and health resorts. The children of the workers receive their schooling free of charge; in addition there are creches for the younger children and infants. The workers have a 25 per cent rent reduction. There is no charge for water. Tram fares are also lower. The working day consists of eight hours, with a rest period of one half hour. Minors under sixteen years of age work only four hours, and from sixteen to eighteen, six hours.

The majority of our young people attend a trade school. Furthermore, the four hours instruction in theory which they receive are considered as a part of their regular work, and are paid for as such.

The material condition of the worker is improving month by month.

The protection of the industrial interests of the workers is in the hands of the factory committee, which is elected at the meeting of the workers' delegates.

All the workers in our factory are trade union members and any new applicant for jobs must be members of a union. Any disputes which may arise between the management and the workers are settled by a Party committee which consists of representatives of both the workers and the management and which functions under the direction of the factory committee. But such conflicts rarely occur.

In our factory there are two clubs, where concerts, theatrical performances, lectures, and other entertainments are given free of charge for the workers, and their families. Within these clubs numerous cultural circles, libraries, etc., are organised.

The workers of our factory have long been convinced, that the Soviet power is the only means by which industry can be reconstructed and the condition of the workers raised. This is the key to the situation, and this explains the rapid growth of the influence of our Party, and the workers' active participation in our various organisations.

1680 workers belong to our factory nucleus. Over 300 of these joined the Party, during the memorial meeting for Comrade Lenin. In addition we have a factory nucleus of the Y. C. organisations to which one thousand members belong. There is also a Communist Children's group (The Young Pioneers) which has 450 members.

The workers participate in all voluntary clubs which are organised by us. 1,500 workers of our group belong to the organisation for cultural co-operation with the villages which we have founded for the material and cultural support of the Soviet project of constructive work in the country districts. 6,000 workers are members of the I. R. A., several thousand workers are members of the "Air Fleet", of the organisation for the "Friends of Chemistry", of the "Organisation to combat illiteracy".

7,000 workers subscribe to our Party newspapers and magazines. At the elections of the Soviets, only members of the Communist Party or those who are in sympathy with the Party are elected. Characteristic of the political attitude of the members of our factory is the history of the "Vorwaerts" challenge.

Some time ago "Vorwaerts" published a letter entitled "A Greeting from Russia", which was supposedly written by Putiloff workers. Upon hearing of this our factory council called a meeting of the workers delegates, at which this letter was considered. The workers expressed their extreme indignation, and after long discussions, the 2,000 members present adopted the following unanimous:

Resolution:

To be sent to the "Rote Fahne", copy to "Vorwaerts". We, the workers of the factory, "Red Putiloff" upon consideration of the "Notice" which was published in the central organ of German Social democracy, "Vorwaerts", No. 7 (Jan. 8th, 1925), and supposedly written by a group of workers of our factory, have adopted the following unanimous resolution:

We suggest that the Editorial staff of the Menshevik paper "Vorwaerts" organise a commission of German workers, who should be sent to the "Red Putiloff" factory for the purpose of a mutual study of the political condition of the workers, not only of our own, but of all other factories. We shall undertake to defray all the expenses thereby incurred. Furthermore, we would suggest the sending (also at our expense) of a similar commission of Russian workers to Germany, in order to see how the German workers live.

We declare that this "Notice" is a Menshevik parody of the famous counterfeit "Zinoviev-letter", which was composed by the real masters of the II. International, the lords, bankers and capitalists. The whole content of this "Notice" is as true as the invention of the forger of the "Zinoviev-letter".

But the contents of this notice published by "Vorwaerts" has served to recall to our mind all the glories of the political freedom under the Tsar, under Kerensky, and under the Russian Mensheviks; all the freedom of modern "Democracy" in Germany, a democracy which is put into practice by Noske, Scheidemann and Ebert, by these Social Democratic hangmen and murderers, against thousands of German workers and sailors and against their leaders, Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg.

Pass on our request to all workers of Germany that they deal with all their Social Democratic leaders just as severely as we have dealt with our Mensheviks, with Messrs Dan and Abramovitch, who are now seeking shelter with their German brothers.

Tell all workers also that St. Petersburg has long ago been conquered by the Lenin workers, and has received the name of Leningrad. Just as now the Putiloff factory is called the "Red Putiloff". "Vorwaerts" may know that the workers of the U. S. S. R. overthrew the power of the tsar, of capital and of Social democracy eight years ago, and have established their own dictatorship. In a land of the proletarian dictatorship there can be no freedom for the agents of capital, such as the Mensheviks are. In the land of the Proletarian Dictatorship, the worker is a free creator of his future — of Socialism and of Communism. Greetings to the revolutionary German workers and to their vanguard, the Communist Party of Germany."

This letter which was later also unanimously accepted at the shop meetings of the workers is the best answer to the impudent challenge of "Vorwärts".

The Work of the Communist Factory Nucleus.

Now we wish to give you a brief account of the work of our own factory nucleus. Members and candidates of our nucleus include all Party members and Party candidates who work in our shops. The factory nucleus accepts new Party members, undertakes the educational work in the ranks of the Party members, directs all mass organisations, superintends the industrial life of the factory, etc. At the head of the nucleus there is a Bureau consisting of nineteen members, who direct the work of the organisation. Three of these members are freed from all work of production, in order to be able to devote themselves entirely to Party work: they are the organiser, the leader of Agitprop work, and the Secretary. As our factory nucleus has 1,680 members, we have divided them into 16 parts — shop nuclei, each of which includes the Party members who work in a particular shop. At the head of each shop nucleus is a bureau which works along the lines of the factory nucleus bureau.

Once a week every shop nucleus holds a meeting, at which all questions concerning it are brought up. It strives to raise the standard of production and the efficiency of the worker. It also selects from among the workers those who are suited for administrative-technical positions (masters, brigadiers, etc.). All this work is accomplished by the "Production circle" to which non-Party members also belong. The shop nucleus also directs the work of the trade union delegate along the line of defence of the industrial interest of the workers, and protection of labour. The shop nucleus regularly receives the report of the trade-union delegate and gives him suggestions for his future work. The shop nucleus also directs the various mass organisations of the shop: the I. R. A., the Air Fleet, the club for Cultural cooperation between town and village, etc. It recruits new club members from among the workers, and spreads propaganda for the Party press. The shop nucleus also performs work within the Party; it takes up certain questions concerning Party life, organises Party schools for its members, directs the work of the Young Communists, considers the eligibility of new Party members, receives membership dues, etc.

The reason for the continued growth of our influence is not far to seek. It is clear to all of us that the foundation of this success lies in the fact that we are active at the very centre and at the foundation of the working class, that the factory and shop nuclei make it possible for us to be in constant touch with the spirit of the working class and to direct its tendencies towards Communist ends.

That is all that we have to tell you concerning our life, in this our first letter to you. We are anxiously awaiting your reply, as your whole life is of the profoundest interest to us. We are particularly interested in the following questions:

1. How many workers are employed in your factory, and how many of these are Communists; or members of various other organisations?
2. Does the Communist Party receive an influx of their members from among the non-Party members?
3. How many Communists and how many Social democrats are members of the Factory Council?
4. What is the general attitude of your factory toward the Communist Party?
5. How is the work of your nucleus conducted? How often do you meet? What questions are discussed at the meetings? What is the organic relation between the nucleus and the Party?
6. How is the work divided among the various members of the nucleus and how intensively is this work carried on?
7. How do you carry on the fight against the Social Democrats, and against the Fascists.

Please reply in detail to these questions. The conditions of our factory are naturally fundamentally different from those under which you are working, and we are therefore interested in all the details of your life. We are naturally also interested in the various questions which arise in your industry, the political attitude within the working class, etc.

We hope that you will give us an account of all these conditions and let us know what you wish to learn concerning our life, and we shall give you the desired information.

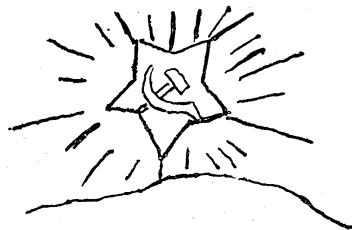
Enclosed you will find a copy of our "Wall Paper" and photographs of the groups of workers' delegates and of the Young Pioneers.

With Communist greetings,

Alexandro

(Organiser of the nucleus of the R. C. P. of the Red Putiloff).

C. P. OF GREAT BRITAIN



The Nine Elms SPARK

THE STRIKE.
THE FUTURE OF THE
JOINT COMMITTEE.
LETTERS FROM
THE SHEDS AND THE
LINE.

No. 7.

Issued by the Red Group.

15th. May 1925.

Comrades!

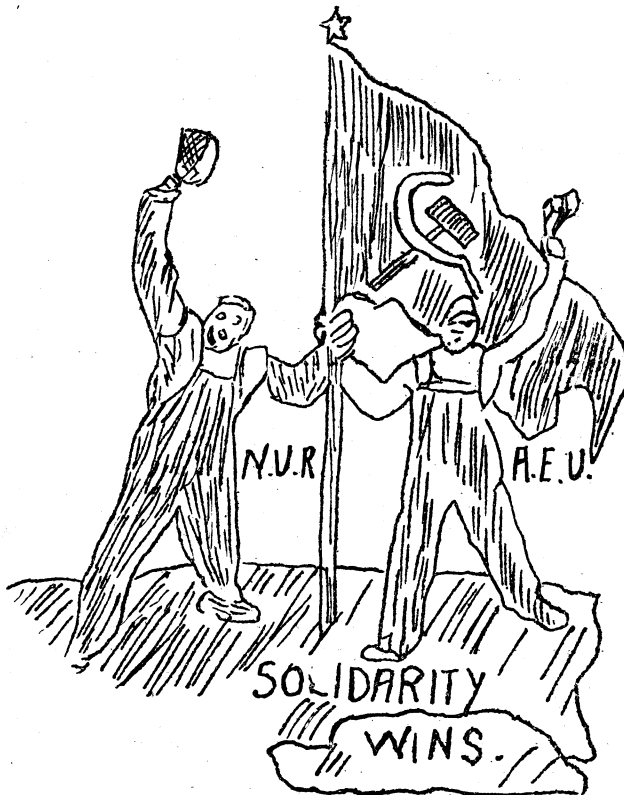
Since our last full number, there have been lively happenings. As you are well aware we issued a special strike edition to meet the situation, but we wish to make some further comment. It must have been apparent to any observer, that this trouble was not engineered by some sinister conspirator, but had been maturing for months past. We remember the war against "prussian" militarism. It seems that the capitalists of all countries have the same tendencies.

We are all Workers, and we have a keen sense of justice. If our officials still have the illusion that we can be treated like criminals, — well — we are prepared to show fight again and to stand by any one of us who gets treated in this way.

Just one other comment — Our comrade who was the victim of the recent incident had been off for the greater part of three months with a crushed foot! Well — bullying and cowardice are closely allied.

Although the N. U. R. and A. E. U. were those immediately concerned, there is no doubt that our comrades of the A. S. L. E. & F. were ready to lend a hand if things went unsettled. Also the goods sheds rallied ready to support. That's the spirit! Into the Unions, never mind which one, let's all fight together and we shall win together.

A member of the delegation who went to the office tells us that our action was described as "unconstitutional".



Well — we are in agreement with the boss on one thing, and that is: — choose the moment of attack to suit yourselves and not your enemies.

It was a curious thing that when we were talking quietly at 9.45 inside the gates, it was quite impossible to see anyone from Waterloo, but at 10.15 when the spark had grown to a furious flare — outside — the officials were rapidly to hand. It looks as if they got the Kruschen jump all of a sudden!

"You can hang up your checks".

Not half we can! And we shan't forget it, either!

The value of the Spark was clear to all last Monday, when a special edition was rushed out in three hours. But if we had our own machine we could get it out quicker still. Details of our plans are on another page. Read them with care and lend us a hand!

Get ready for next time now!

Remember — there's more coming.

This victory of Solidarity will upset a lot of people. Every effort will be made to drive wedges between us before the next blow of the companies is delivered. Let us take action first, get our Joint Committee working, draw the three unions closer together and give the bosses a harder smack still next time.

Mass behind the Joint Committee!

Rally to the Spark!

C. P. OF GERMANY



*der ausgebeuteten
Arbeiter, Arbeiterinnen, Angestellten und Beamten
der Firma Anton Reiche !!!*

1 Jahrgang ..

Erscheint nach Bedarf..

Nummer 1 ...

THE STAMPER

FACTORY NEWSPAPER

of the exploited Working men and Women, Clerks and Officials of the Firm of Anton Reiche!!!

Volume 1

Appears as required

Number 1

Yellow Fungi at Antons.

Notice! Singing Club!

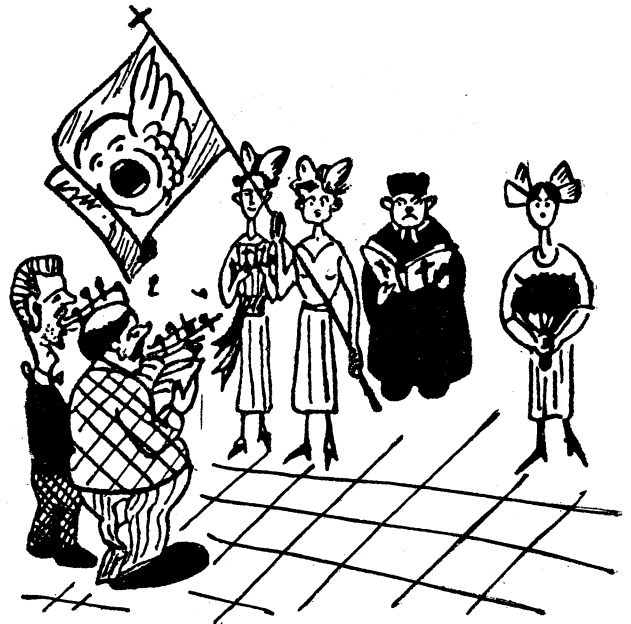
Our highly esteemed firm maintains at the cost of the "severest sacrifices" the factory singing club, to which they have presented a banner worth 700 marks. A spinters' club undertook the sacred task of presenting this banner. Having regard to the pious character of our directors, it is not surprising that they entrusted to a well-fed parson the task of "christening" the banner. Of course, our very hard-up firm is bearing the cost, and there was a great set-out on the day of the christening.

On the occasion of the singers' festival the members of the singing club were given a day's holiday, 5 marks extra and entry tickets to the festival. On the occasion of the affiliation to the national Elbgau Singing Club there was a big spread with pork as one of the items of the Menu.

Fellow Workers! Do you not see that all this is only a means of bribery in order to make you forget your miserable condition and the exploitation carried on by the government. Leading members of your club only take home 26 marks at the end of the week; or does Nagler get more? And do you not see that in spite of that you yourselves are tightening the cord round your own necks. The firm is playing the part of "philanthropist" at your cost — and you allow yourselves to be caught???!!!

Workers of the singing club! remember the class the which you belong; there are enough proletarian organisations, including singing clubs, in which you can take part without betraying your class and without becoming the body servants of your slave owners!

(From the "Stanze".)



Who looks like a Donkey?

A quiet observer has communicated the following incident to the editor:

A so-called qualified enginser, named Schmidt, came to the enamelling department and demanded from the foreman a measuring board, which was given him. But the foreman, who is 45 years old, stood dumb-founded before the 25 year old Mr. Schmidt when the latter shouted out to him: "That is only 4 L! In order to measure up one must have a 2 L!!! You ought to know that, Jahn, you donkey!!!" Now one must ask who really is the donkey — the foreman Jahn, or the certificated engineer Schmidt!?

Foremen, is it necessary for you to receive instructions from these volunteers who are learning practical work for the first time, or are you the mere apprentices of these gentlemen?

(From the "Stanze".)



BRIEFKASTEN.

Antwort an Paul.

Du willst die Gründe wissen warum die Angestellten in diesem Jahr keine Tantieme erhalten. Wir können dir folgendes mitteilen. Die Ladenräume des Generalvertreters Winkler mußten renoviert werden, da nun Winkler infolge des schlechten Geschäftsganges die nötigen Mittel nicht aufbringen konnte, hat ihm die Direktion zu diesem Zweck 10 tausend Mark geschenkt. Aus diesem Grunde ist man nicht in der Lage die Tantieme zahlen zu können.

Desweiteren willst du die Gründe erfahren warum man Meister Gitter der 48 Jahre in unseren Werke tätig war, entlassen hat. Wir haben uns sofort mit der Direktion in Verbindung gesetzt und können dir folgendes berichten. Auf Grund seines Alters besitzt Mstr. Gitter nicht mehr die nötige Elastizität, desweiteren sollen wir noch richtig stellen, daß Mstr. mit einem fürstlichen Gnadengehalt pensioniert wurde.



Stachel-
draht
in
Ohnmacht
nach dem
Erscheinen
des neuen
Scheinwerfers

Chefredakteur

Redakteur für Kunst
u. Wissen

Redakteur für
Betriebsnachrichten

Eine neue Nachricht

OUR LETTER BOX.

Answer to Paul.

You want to know the reason why the employees have received no bonus this year. We are able to inform you the following. The shops of the general representative Winkler have to be repaired and decorated. As Winkler, owing to the slackness of trade, could not raise the necessary money, the directors have presented him with 10 thousand Marks for this purpose. This is the reason why they are not in a position to pay the bonus.

Further, you want to know the reason why a worker named Gitter, who had been employed for 48 years in our works, has been discharged. We immediately got into communication with

the directors and are able to report to you following. Owing to his advanced age Gitter no longer possesses the necessary elasticity; and further, we have to state the fact that Gitter has been granted a princely pension.

Text of the illustrations:

1. Stacheldraht falls into a fit after the appearance of the new "Searchlight".
2. Chief editor.
3. Editor for Art and Science.
4. Editor for factory news.
5. A new item of news.



Ein Fluch dem Kapitalisten

Den unser Elend nicht könnte
Der die letzte Kraft aus
Und uns wie Hunde



dem König der
Reichen
erweichen,
uns erpresst,
erschossen lässt.

M. A. N. PROLET

Factory Newspaper of the M. A. N.

Number 1.

September 1925.

1. Volume.

A curse on the capitalists,
who could not be moved
who squeezes out of us
and has us shot down

the king of the rich,
by our misery,
the last bit of strength
like dogs.

C. P. OF FRANCE

LE COUP DE BALAI

des Mineurs du 9 de Courrières



THE CLEAN SWEEP. Issued by the miners of the Courrières.

What the Unity of the Workers Can Accomplish.

(From the leading article of the "Coup de Balai" (Clean Sweep).)

Everybody knows that the *Companie de Courrières* (Courrières Coal Mining Co.) have driven out of their mines the workers belonging to the unitarian trade unions and to the Communist Party.

This state of affairs could not last for ever. The ferment among the workers increased every day, and, although the workers in question belonged to our fraction, it was felt that the whole of the workers sympathised with them and that they were all indignant at this conduct of the employers. At this moment we decided to call upon the leaders of the section of the old trade unions to join with us for the purpose of checking the insolence of the employers.

It was decided to commence a movement, which was agreed upon by all workers, and in the evening there took place a meeting between the directors and one of the delegates appointed at the meeting the workers. We obtained partial satisfaction in

regard to the question of discharges, and the comrades who were so brutally discharged were re-engaged. Since then various cases of discharges have been called to the attention of the directors by letter and have been settled in favour of the workers.

The re-engaging of the discharged workers is the work of three sections of the working class: the members of the unitarian trade union federation, (C. G. T. U.), the members of the old (reformist) trade union federation (C. G. T.) and the workers not organised in trade unions.

Moral or material concessions, which would have been refused to be granted to a section of the workers, the exploiter is compelled to grant to the whole of the united workers. This local example must demonstrate to the workers, what a movement could accomplish which embraced a whole district, a whole country or several countries.

C. P. OF AUSTRIA

N^o 2

OKtober 1925.



THE VOICE OF THE EXPLOITED.

Organ of the Communist factory nucleus Weitzen. Volume 1.

Publication of the Wages List!

This must be the cry which must ring forth today in our factory meeting. No discussion of the offers, made in an impudent tone, by our slave owners.

The last offer which they wished to give us is the exact contrary of that demanded by us. Instead of a 10% general increase for all workers, which is still a very modest demand, we are offered individual settlement of wages which, it is alleged, will effect 250 workers.

How mean, impudent and provocative is the behaviour of the directors towards us is shown by fact that they demand the unconditional acceptance of their offer. Only after this acceptance will they give a list to the factory councils from which can be seen the amount of the increase and the number of workers sharing in it.

If the workers reject this shabby offer, the directors declare that they will withdraw the same. Fellow workers, is this not the most shameful behaviour towards us? What are we to accept? Who of us knows with certainty whether he will get anything,

and how much? Nobody can say this with certainty, not even our factory council! And this is what we are to swallow unconditionally? Never! This manoeuvre and trickery must be energetically rejected! This situation demands the firm unity of the workers in our factory! Each one must ask himself the question, why do the directors not publish the lists if they seriously intend to improve wages?

Why do they demand from us that they be accepted before we are informed what they will give and to whom?

Let us therefore not fall into this trap; not in any circumstances! Set up the front against all who wish to swindle us!

Be on the alert at today's factory meeting! Think over the matter in the meeting and then express your opinion!

No acceptance, but publication of the wages list!

Only after the publication of the wages list can it be decided, whether we shall accept the directors' offer or not!

("The Voice of the Exploited".)

C. P. OF AMERICA

Workers of the World, Unite!

WORKINGMEN'S SHOP NEWS

Issued by THE FISHER BODY PLANT 12: SHOP NUCLEUS, WORKERS' (Communist) PARTY OF AMERICA

No. 1.

OCTOBER 19TH.



Vol. 1

A little about conditions around here.

Second Floor: The framing department—is as bad as it can ever be. The piece work prices are as low as 10c a piece for the boxes on Coupes, so that a man working 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours can hardly make \$6 to \$7. The undebody framers on the job No. 6590—6190—6500—6540 etc. are working 10 and 11 hours and can not make more on piece work than \$8.

Third Floor: Door finishing department—the prices in this department are cut down so that the men working on door finishing can not make more than \$6 on the average. Metal finishing is one of the hardest jobs in the whole automobile industry. Workers on this job should be paid at least enough to buy some bread and butter for themselves and their families.

Fourth Floor: In the “woodup” department—the speed-up system is worse than anywhere else. The lines are moving so fast that the men have to run after them if they want to work on their jobs. The men working on shannels, bumpers and

weather strips are getting 5c a piece. They are not making much, and besides that, the company cuts off the “lost time” and now the men are standing around sometime for hours and are getting, nothing.

* * *

These are only a few of the “nice” things we could mention this time, having in mind that we will furnish more detailed news in the coming issues of *The Workingman's shop news*.

Our slogans are:

Let's better our working conditions!

Let's join the Automobile workers Union!

Let's unite our ranks against this system of capitalist exploitation!

Let's unite in a Labour Party, a party for the workers!

C. P. OF NORWAY

Pris 10 øre:



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AKER OG NYLANDS BEDRIFTSCELLER

Nr. 2.

14. August 1925.

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Street Nuclei.

By W. Ulbricht (Moscow).

The centre of Party activity hitherto in the Sections of the C. I. was to a certain extent the construction and development of factory nuclei. This was and still is essential as factory nuclei carry on their activity among those sections of the proletariat which matter most in the class struggle. But Communist Parties must also acquire influence over those workers and middle-class people who cannot be reached in the factories, but only at their places of residence. In this consists the task of street nuclei. Although there is hardly any divergence of opinion concerning the absolute necessity of street nuclei, very little has been said about their concrete tasks and structure. There has been no exchange of experiences whatever on this field. The arguments we put forward here are intended to awaken discussion on this question in preparation for the second Org. Conference.

I.

Why are Street Nuclei Necessary?

In accordance with the social composition of the Party organisation there is a certain percentage of Party members who are not employed in factories. To attach them to factory nuclei would mean overburdening the factory nucleus, for the latter is not in position, in cases when the majority of nuclei members are not employed in the factory, to allot nucleus work to these comrades, and to induce them regularly to frequent nucleus meetings.

Then again factory nuclei are in most cases not in the position to carry on systematic and successful work throughout the residential district, partly because of the distance between the latter and the factory and also since such work in the residential district differs from factory nucleus work because of its scattered nature. In many cases the necessity to form street nuclei arises quite naturally because of the absence of factories. But this must on no account lead to the conditions of the old residential organisation.

Formerly all Party members who lived in the vicinity of the old territorial group belonged to this minor Party organisation. As a rule, the group did very little political work, and limited its activity to the distribution of the Party material sent to it and to the recruitment of members and subscribers. The group hardly ever troubled about political questions and questions of Party tactics. A very important point is the fact that as a rule, the group did not concern itself with the factories in its vicinity. This was a great mistake.

II.

The Task of the Street Nuclei.

The Street Nucleus must carry out all the tasks incumbent on a minor Party organisation. It has to collect the membership contributions of all its members.

Work in the residential district is easier since such perils as terrorist action by employers, dismissals, etc., do not exist. But on the other hand, it is more difficult because the work is more disjointed. The factory constitutes a natural organisation of the workers, and the workers who congregate there, all of them generally speaking, endure the same conditions of exploitation; this makes it easier to approach them and to exercise influence over them by connecting our activity with every-day questions. On the other hand, Communist work in residential districts is more complicated because of great individual difference among people working in small concerns middle-class people and housewives who are generally very conservative.

It is the business of the street nucleus to study very carefully the conditions in the field of its activity. It must carry on its Party work in accordance with the social composition of

the population in its district. In this respect, its work must be carried out in accordance to the instructions of the Party just as the factory nucleus. It has to attend to questions of communal policy, taxes, prices and wages, rent questions, the housing crises, school and educational questions, the various elections (sickness funds, industrial courts, etc.), and questions of social policy, sanitary conditions, etc. The street nucleus must also be able to deal with these questions in accordance with the conditions under which the population of its district lives (workers, lower middle-class people, housewives, government officials, office workers). The nucleus must know in what enterprises of its district factory nuclei exist and where there are none. In the latter case it must, at the instruction of the nucleus group executive, endeavour to influence the workers in the factory from outside, in order to lead up to the formation of a nucleus there. In such cases it is essential for street nuclei, or for comrades instructed by them to make themselves responsible for the publication of a factory newspaper in enterprises where no nuclei exist.

The street nucleus should know the most important institutions in its district. This does not only apply to factories, but in accordance with the nature of the street nucleus work also to tenement houses, to premises where workers meet, to the consumer' co-operative shops, etc.

House to house agitation and propaganda plays an important role among the tasks of street nuclei. A certain number of houses should be allotted to every comrade as a part of his propaganda activity. In connection with the recruiting of subscribers, and the circulation of literature, discussions should be carried on systematically with working men and women in their homes. Comrades serving on Tenants' Committees, as house-cashiers for some workers' society, as controllers of sickness funds, etc., have splendid opportunities for Communist agitation. Hundreds of questions must be discussed by them in the course of their work with manual and office workers, government officials, etc., in these people's homes and with a certain adroitness political questions may be introduced into the discussion. Conversations may be introduced into the discussion. Conversations while shopping in consumer' co-operatives, in tea-rooms, on the market, at the hair-dressers, in the restaurant, and on the stairs, may also serve for agitation. It is also very important to draw domestic servants, house stewards, etc., into conversation, in order to enlighten them and to get information. Wherever there are in the vicinity of the street nucleus householders', women's, educational, small holdings' societies, sport grounds etc., Communist fraction work must be carried on there with the support and under the control of the street nucleus.

Wherever there is in the vicinity of the street nucleus an Employment Bureau the nucleus group executive of a factory nucleus and of the respective street nucleus are usually entrusted with the patronage over this institution. It is again the nucleus group executive, or the local executive which decides what rural district is to be included into the field of activity of the street nucleus.

The complicated and disjointed character of street nucleus work demands careful registration of sympathisers. The street nucleus executive must know exactly when and where certain workers come under our influence, where they are employed, what newspapers they read, to what organisations they belong and under what conditions they live. Inasfar as the street nucleus exercises influence over the workers employed in a factory where no Communist factory nucleus exists it is obliged to give information to the nucleus instructed to carry on agitation in the said factory. On the other hand the street nucleus should carry on agitation at the instruction of the factory nucleus among certain manual and office workers and civil servants living in the

vicinity of the street nucleus. This is very important because the wives of these workers frequently act as a hindrance to our efforts to gain influence over these workers, make the subscribers to our press and persuade them to join the Party. Such women can only be reached in their homes. There will also be cases when certain office workers and civil servants employed in important enterprises where the nucleus must carry on its work illegally will have to be approached through the street nuclei and will have to be supplied with the factory newspapers in the same manner.

Street nuclei should hold meetings with sympathisers as far as this is possible in order to draw the latter into the work for the Communist organ for the sale of literature etc., and also in order to get financial support from them for the Party.

Whenever a public meeting has been decided upon by the nucleus group or local executive of the Party the street nucleus must not limit itself to the mere distribution of printed handbills for meeting, but is under the obligation to canvas the inhabitants of the district individually in order to induce them to come to the meeting. In towns with tenement houses one should adopt the method of holding meetings in the courts and populous streets when the speakers will have an opportunity to popularise certain Communist slogans and to invite their audiences to come to meetings.

The street nucleus should exercise control over the work connected with securing subscribers for the newspapers, (including, securing restaurants, hairdressers, shops, etc., as subscribers). No subscribers should be allowed to drop out and new subscribers should be energetically recruited. Control should be exercised over the accurate delivery of the newspaper. Newspaper sales should go hand in hand with literature sales. Shopkeepers in sympathy with us should be induced to stock our newspapers and literature, and street sales should also be organised. There are sure to be shopkeepers, who whilst refusing to sell the Communist daily, will be willing to have the "Illustrated Labour Paper" in their shop for sale. Even this is useful for we must make use of every opportunity for our agitation.

Wherever there are co-operative shops in the vicinity of our street nuclei the latter must use these shops where many working women do their shopping for agitational work.

Certain comrades should be made specially responsible for Red Aid work, and should be put in charge of the organisation of collections.

Many street nuclei will also be able to publish street newspapers. This is also very important in those cases when for some reason or other the Communist daily is not accessible to the reader. The street nucleus newspaper should be able to deal with the concrete questions of its district from the viewpoint of the political tasks of the Party. It must deal with questions of municipal policy, taxes, wages, prices, the rent question, the housing crisis (if possible with illustrations) co-operative questions, school and educational questions, hygiene, police and local authorities, the activity of our opponents, the activity of local organisations, etc. These street nucleus newspapers can only be really of value if we succeed in getting a considerable number of workers' correspondents, not necessarily Party members, to contribute to the paper. This will also serve as a solid basis for the organisation of workers' correspondents for the daily paper.

It is also very important that street nuclei should exercise influence over officials (in local administrations, in the police etc.). They should also keep an eye on opponent organisations and on the activity of individual opponent elements.

III.

The Structure of Street Nuclei.

The street nucleus embraces one or more streets, blocks of houses or sections of streets. The size of the nucleus district depends on the number of members and on the positions of the streets. As a rule several street nuclei are acquired within the

framework of one nucleus group. This makes it possible to canvas the nucleus territory thoroughly.

All men and women comrades not organised in a factory nucleus belong to the street nucleus of a residential district. If there are not enough comrades employed in a factory to form a nucleus these comrades are to be attached (as long as no nucleus exists) in the vicinity of their place of employment to the factory or street nucleus which has been instructed by the head Party Executive to carry on agitation in this factory.

Proletarian housewives do not generally belong to the factory nucleus of their husbands, but to the street nucleus of the residential district. Should the husband's factory nucleus be in the vicinity of the residential district it is permissible for the wife to belong to the respective nucleus as long as comrades thus included constitute only a small percentage of the nucleus members employed in the factory.

Factory nucleus members, who work a long distance from their homes may be attached to the street nucleus for active work by the nucleus group executive of their residential district. These comrades have no voting rights in the street nucleus. They do not take part in the nucleus group meetings of their residential district, but in those of their place of work.

The Executive of the street nucleus consists of from three to five comrades — the chairman, his deputy, a comrade responsible for Agitprop work, a comrade who has to deal with trade union, co-operative and unemployment questions and a comrade for municipal policy and tenants' questions. A member of the street nucleus Executive of the Y. C. L. should also be included on this Executive. In larger street nuclei special comrades should be in charge of work in the rural districts, among women, among the lower middle class, for Red Aid and in the various organisations within the purview of the nucleus. Wherever the membership is very large and the district of the street nucleus of a considerable size assistant cashiers may be appointed for the collection of membership contributions.

Street nucleus meetings should be held regularly at least once a fortnight. But connection between the members and the Executive must be such that the members of the Executive can be kept informed every day about all important events in the territory of its activities. Invitations to nucleus meetings may be oral or written, but in any case all the members must be invited individually in order to secure good attendance at these meetings. By consulting the comrades in this manner and discussing everything with them they are made to take an interest in the work, they share responsibility for carrying out decisions and can be drawn into the work more easily. In view of the importance of good and regular attendances at these meetings the nucleus Executive must prepare the latter very carefully, its proposals must be clear and precise and the discussion should not be allowed to degenerate into purposeless talk. The organisation of meetings is certainly more difficult for street than for the factory nuclei, because the audience consists of comrades none of whom work under the same conditions. Just here it is essential for the nucleus executive to be able to give prominence to everything which is most important and to relegate into the background subordinate questions and particularly personal questions.

IV.

Street Nucleus and Nucleus Group.

At the beginning we already pointed out that factory nuclei and street nuclei whilst occupying the same position with respect to their tasks are not of equal importance. From this it follows that instruction and control, decisions with respect to the delegate system and the composition of the executives must be in accordance with this importance of the factory nuclei.

In some localities comrades have called together within the framework of the nucleus group the members of all street nuclei in special meetings, and also factory nucleus members. This is incorrect. Only in the nucleus group can factory and

street nuclei be amalgamated altogether. Factory nucleus meetings take place after working hours and street nucleus meetings in the evening. Nucleus group meetings should be held soon after working hours. This must be made the rule because attendance at nucleus group meetings by factory nucleus members is essential. In the event of many street nucleus members not being able to attend nucleus group meetings, it is advisable to send delegates through the street nuclei.

The nucleus group executive is responsible for the organization of harmonious collaboration between factory and street

nuclei. Where only factory nuclei exist (in small industrial centres where nearly all the comrades live in the neighbourhood of the factory) factory nuclei should also carry out the above mentioned tasks of the street nuclei. Wherever factory and street nuclei exist, the factory nucleus works in the factory and the street nucleus in the residential district. Members of the factory nucleus who live near the factory are as a rule attached by the nucleus group executive to the street nucleus of their residential district for work in the evening and on Sundays.