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"Every Work Place — Our Stronghold!"

(Lenin)

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The Immediate Organisational Tasks.

(Decision of the Org. Bureau of the ECCI. of July 14th, 1925.)

Having examined the reports submitted by the Org. Department on the activity of that Department since the Enlarged Executive, and on the state of organisational work in the Sections of the Comintern, the Org. Bureau records that the nucleus work in the Communist Party still leaves much to be desired; hence the Org. Bureau decided:

1. The Org. Bureau is instructed to issue as energetically as hitherto ideological and organisational directions for the **Politisation of the existing Nuclei** and for the **formation of new Nuclei**. The Party Executives of the various Parties should endeavour that the factory nuclei, in addition to the daily tasks, pay special attention to the following questions:

Campaign on behalf of Trade Union Unity on a National and International Scale, and against:

War in Morocco,

Intervention in China,

Anti-Russian Agitation and plots.

The Party Executive should assist factory nuclei work by instructions, plans of work, issue of material, provision of speakers, etc. It is most essential for Party Executives to point in the daily press and other Party publications, to those examples of practical nucleus work both in their own country and in the other actions of the Comintern, in order to indicate **how the Nuclei should fulfil their various tasks.**

2. The Org. Department should direct its activity to ensuring that **the Nuclei formulate opinions on all Party questions;** for only in this way is it possible to include all comrades in Party work and to reduce passivity. The former state of affairs which allowed a small circle of officials to carry out the work and form decisions on behalf of entire Parties must be abolished at the earliest possible moment. The nucleus Executive should **allocate Party work to every Party member and give instructions for the performance of tasks and control their execution.**

3. In those countries where Social Democracy has not had a very firm basis of organisational traditions, (France, Italy, and some industrial districts of Great Britain, and America), organisational work will be comparatively easy. In such countries Party organisation is more closely allied with the masses, and the nuclei are more active than in countries where an old organisation on a residential basis existed and forms the basis of the Party. (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Holland, and Switzerland).

As a result of the difficulties of work in Communist factory nuclei (employers' terror, danger of dismissal, denunciation by Social Democratic officials, etc.) factory nuclei work is still being neglected in those countries which have a deep-rooted Social Democratic organisational tradition, for the work in residential districts is much easier there and makes less demands on the members. The result of this is that comrades as a rule cling to organisations on a residential basis. We see proof of this in the **parallel existence of factory nuclei and old residential organisations.** This state of affairs interferes with the work of factory nuclei and makes same absolutely impossible. **These tendencies prevent political activity of Communist Parties and their development into mass Parties.** Party Executives should be instructed to transfer all Party work with which our Party units are occupied, to the factory nuclei. **All the old organisations on a residential basis should be abolished when Factory Nuclei and Street Nuclei have been established and combined in Nuclei groups.**

4. Some **oppositional Parties** (Social Democrats and Fascists) have thoroughly understood the importance of winning over factory workers and realised that Communist factory nuclei work weakens and uproots their organisations. Hence these Parties create factory agitation committees and factory organisation in order to increase their influence among the workers.

It must be clear to every Communist that the struggle against the opposition Parties which still possess workers in their ranks (Social Democrats, Centre, Christian People's

Party, Fascist organisations, etc.) **can only be carried on successfully by systematic continuous activity on the part of the Communist Factory Nuclei.** A large section of Social Democratic workers and those organised in Trade Unions, as well as the unorganised members do not read the Communist Party press, nor attend our meetings. Systematic work in the nuclei and personal influence by nuclei members in the factory, assisted by factory nuclei papers, constitute the most successful methods for winning ever end weakening the influence of the oppositional parties on those workers not yet in sympathy.

5. Sections of the Communist Party should pay special attention to guarantee that local, sub-district and district executives should carry on nuclei work much more carefully and energetically than hitherto. It is essential for the higher Party executives to endeavour to secure a **more capable composition and better education of the Nuclei Executives and that they control their activity regularly.**

6. **The significance of Factory Nuclei Papers makes it essential that the existing Factory Papers should be issued regularly and that all Factory Nuclei both in large and medium factories, should have Nuclei Papers.** During the short period of the existence of nuclei papers it has been proved that they are important organs of the Party, which link up in a much more definite manner than the daily press the questions of individual factories with general political questions and especially influence the working masses who do not reach the Communist press.

Our opponents have by the measures which they take against Communist factory newspapers: installing spies in factories, police and court, issue of premiums for those who bring information, proved that the factory newspapers are an effective weapon of the Communist Party.

7. Communist Parties must endeavour to win sympathisers and bring them into the Party by untiring recruiting work. In Great Britain these sympathisers are to be found in the Minority Movement, in Czechoslovakia and France among the members of the Red Trade Unions, and in Germany amongst the supporters of the Trade Unions opposition. The admittance of factory workers into the Party should not be rendered difficult in legal Communist Parties by a candidate system or by any trial or other unnecessary formality.

8. It is the duty of the Org. Department to continue to stress the necessity amongst the various sections of forming fractions in all non-Party organisations, especially in trade Unions. **Side by side with the creations of Factory Nuclei the formation and development of Communist Fractions in Trade Unions is at present the most important task of the Sections of the CI.**

9. The Organisation Department of the ECCI. should work in close contact with the Eastern Section, **in order to advance organisational structure and especially Nuclei work in Eastern countries.**

Communist Parties in those countries which possess colonies, should be obliged to assist in the formation of nuclei in the colonies during the process of organisational reconstruction.

10. **In order to co-ordinate organisational work of the various branches of Communist activity,** it is essential that the Organisational Department of the ECCI. and of the Organisational Departments of the Sections of the ECCI. should work in close contact with other departments. (Agitprop, Information, Trade Union, Co-operative, Sport, etc.) to draw up instructions for the many-sided work of the Party Executives, nuclei, fractions and for the general control of the work.

11. It is necessary that the Org. Department should in a greater degree than has hitherto been the case, instruct the Sections of the CI., in organisational work by means of instructors and that it should have a general view of how the organisations decisions of the CI. have been carried out.

I.

Political and Organisational Experiences of Nuclei.

The Most Recent Experiences in Factory Nuclei Work.

(Speech of Comrade Piatnitsky at the Session of the Org. Bureau, July 14th, 1925.)

At the first Org. Conference of the CI, we not only discussed the question of nuclei, but examined the entire organisational structure from top to bottom. This has proved to be very useful. In Germany and in Norway the organisational instructions and the model statutes which were decided at the Org. Conference, were accepted as the basis of the Party Conference decisions. However, it may be that at the organisational discussion we did not pay sufficient attention to nuclei and fractions, because we had to concentrate on a number of incorrect aspects regarding the organisational structure, (double organisations, workers' groups, functionary bodies). Today I shall devote my speech mainly to two chief questions, the work in the Nuclei and Fractions.

It is an easy matter to constitute the Party in accordance with prevailing conditions when these two forms, nuclei and fractions, exist within our Parties. If, however, this basis does not exist then it is very difficult to carry on successful Party work; actual realisation of Party decisions is almost impossible without this basis.

At the Organisational Conference we received various statistics; sections reported that in such and such a country there were 500 nuclei and in another there were a thousand. But when we looked a little closer on to how the nuclei were working, then we had to acknowledge that many of these nuclei were working badly and had therefore possessed very negligible influence. On that account it is difficult for them to prove how more advantageous this method of organisation is than the old one.

The Political Significance of Nuclei Work.

Progress may now be noticed in those Communist Parties which have begun to work systematically in accordance with the theses of the Enlarged Executive and decisions of the Org. Conference.

Just recently we had reason to see the necessity of active nuclei work as the basis of Party organisation in connection with the campaign of the Communist Party of France against the Moroccan war and on behalf of trade union unity. **The CPF. was only in a position to carry its correct policy with the assistance of its Factory Nuclei, to create Factory Unity Committees, to organise the Factory Delegate Conference in Paris, in the North and in the Southern Districts and to develop a mass campaign against the war.**

The campaign of the Communist Parties on behalf of national and international Trade Union unity has also proved that it is possible to attain our aim if the factory workers are not won over for the cause of unity, and create a united front organ in the factory. For only by means of organisational pressure from below by creating **Trade Union Unity Organs in the Factories** is it possible to bring about unity. Wherever Communist factory nuclei are active, there we may say trade union fraction work is successful, for the basis of the trade union work is the factory.

The Communist Party of Italy has been able to gain a firm footing by means of Factory Nuclei in the most important large-scale industries, its membership has increased and the Party has gained a large circle of sympathisers. By means of factory nuclei, the Party is at present carrying on a successful campaign against the reformist trade union split policy and fascism, and on behalf of the trade union unity.

Just as the Communist of France has been successful in carrying on the campaign against the Moroccan war, so too the Campaign against Intervention in China and against the anti-Russian agitation have only been possible with the help of the factories. Further we see the possibility and neces-

sity of our agitation and propaganda in the factories, from the fact that the German factories were able to realise the despatch of a workers' delegation to Russia in spite of the agitation of the Socialist Party of Germany.

The Position of Organisational Work in the larger Sections of the CI.

The larger Parties are properly speaking divided into two groups: firstly those countries which formerly had a well-established Social Democratic organisations and in which the Communist Party was formed from the left wing of the Social Democratic Party like in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark. In such Parties the organisation and formation of nuclei is a difficult task. Secondly, we have that group of countries like France, Great Britain, Italy and America, where Social Democratic Parties did exist, but their organisations were not so strongly developed as in the first group of countries. It is now evident that reorganisation of the Party and the formation of nuclei is much easier and is being carried on much more successfully in the second group of countries.

France. Reorganisation of the Party organisations was carried on here in the industrial centres with very good results. Comrades were thus convinced that reorganisation is essential and is very beneficial, and even in the ranks of those right elements of the CPF, which are in conflict with the Party, no active opposition was made against reorganisation.

The demonstration on the occasion of the transference of the body of Jaurès in Paris showed that these still weakly developed nuclei were able to mass together the entire Party membership and the majority of the industrial workers. It was an interesting spectacle to observe that, though the Left Bloc demonstrated simultaneously in conjunction with the Socialists, they were unable to secure the support of the masses, whilst the Communist Party led an enormous demonstration of workers. This event was no mere chance, for we see that the second demonstration in honour of those who fell during the Commune and against the Moroccan war, presented the same picture.

A further example of the inner contact of Party organisation with the working masses was that of the Workers' Congress. A campaign was carried out on an extensive scale on behalf of the Workers' Congress, meetings were held both in and outside factories, the entire agenda discussed in the factories and delegates elected. On an average 40%—50% of the workers from factories took part. This experiment shows that by using correct policy, the Party is able with the help of the nuclei to secure contact with the masses and to convene Workers' Congresses, the decisions of which receive the support of the working masses at large. Besides these good results of Party work I must also refer to a few mistakes which have been committed in the course of organisation.

For example, factory nuclei did not receive instructions not to concentrate on factory work only, but to perform Party work generally including work in residential districts. This method gave very unsatisfactory results during the Municipal elections. On the occasion of the election special workers groups in residential districts were formed and proved utterly useless. Instead of setting to work, they discussed Party tactics and neglected election work, with the result that small trades people, dealers, etc., who might eventually have supported the Party, were entirely overlooked. A further error was the fact that the boundaries of the districts (Rayons) did not coincide with the boundaries

of the administrative districts, a fact which rendered election work immensely complicated.

A third shortcoming was that of the lack of nucleus groups. The districts (Rayons) were not divided into minor organs which directly linked up the nuclei. District Executives which were weak, were thus unable to give proper instructions or to control the numerous nuclei in their district. And the fourth drawback consisted in the lack of capable district executives who really led and controlled the work of the minor Party organisations. The district executives did not systematically instruct the nuclei or give practical help in the matter of politising and rendering more active the nuclei generally.

These shortcomings of the Communist Party in France were and can easily be remedied, because there is a basis, the factory nuclei. In a detailed letter we pointed out these weaknesses to our French comrades, and they realised them and have already begun to form nucleus groups and street nuclei and consequently to improve the work of the Party Executives.

Italy. The oppressive measures employed by fascism were responsible for forcing the CPI to work almost entirely illegally. It became evident that the Party, as a result of its organisational structure (lack of districts Executives, organisation of members on a residential basis), was not able to hold all Party members and to remain in close contact with the masses. When the Italian workers again began to be active, the shortcomings of Party organisations and the inadequate contact with the workers were manifested.

Hence Party comrades proceeded to create groups of sympathisers in the factories in the various capitals, (Turin) and to form so-called factory groups in which Party members and sympathisers are organised. This experiment shows that real contact with the working masses is only possible through these factory groups; the result was factory groups were forced to develop into Party organisations.

Hence in the beginning two organisations existed; the Party in the residential districts and factory groups, which also included sympathisers. In order to avoid parallel work the Party was obliged to carry out reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei and to dissolve residential organisation. The Party was in a position to exercise greater influence on the working masses in view of the fact the Communists in the factory groups were formed into factory nuclei, which constituted the basis of Party organisation. Numerous sympathisers in this way joined the Party.

Simultaneously, it became apparent that the struggle against fascism could best be organised in the factories. The necessity of factory nuclei work was also demonstrated in the prevention of trade union splits and at the Factory Council Election in Turin, where the Communist Party secured the majority of Factory Council mandates. The CPI has been completely reorganised on the basis of factory nuclei in Turin. In view of the fact that practically the entire Party membership worked in factories, it was possible to link up the few comrades outside the factories with the factory nuclei. The factory nuclei performed the entire Party work including propagnada in residential districts. In Milan the Party has been reorganised on a factory nucleus basis, and those members who are not occupied in factories, have been combined into street nuclei.

The fact that in Italy the Party was forced in its struggle against fascism to reorganise on the basis of factory nuclei, and then in January 1924 put the instructions of the Enlarged Executive successfully into practice, is a splendid confirmation of our organisational decisions.

Great Britain. In London, the few nuclei (31) which have been founded there, gave the Party the immediate possibility of securing direct contact with 50,000 workers. In a short time the Party secured in London 70 workers as new members. That is a very significant fact for a Party with a 5,000 membership. It is also an interesting fact that British workers who are very economical, buy up factory newspapers and read them so that very often it happens that the same factory newspaper must publish two or even three editions. In London there are 27 factory newspapers published fortnightly, having a circulation of 7,000.

America. The few nuclei which have been formed in the American factories have made great progress and prove that the nuclei possess the possibility to influence and or-

ganise the masses at large. Campaigns and big meetings have been held in protest against Child Labour, against the condemnation of Sacco and Vanzetti and on behalf of a holiday on May 1st. In factories which hitherto had always worked on May 1st., there was a stillstand in the work as a result of our factory nuclei activities. In some few localities it was possible to win over some reformist trade unions.

In the American factories the workers employed speak many languages. Comrades belong to nuclei and very often each one speaks a different language so that 5—10 languages are spoken. In spite of this however, it has been possible to overcome these difficulties, and the Party has made great progress in the formation of nuclei. In the first, national groups reorganisation has been possible without any palpable obstacles of a traditional nature.

In the first group of countries like France and Italy there are no parallel residential organisations, thereby the nuclei are more active and work better than those countries where the old-fashioned residential organisations still exist. We do not wish to imply with this that in the first group of countries nuclei work is quite satisfactory, whereas great difficulties are felt in the organisational work in the second group of countries.

Czechoslovakia. Here the objective premises for reorganisation are favourable, since the Party is composed of 70 % of workers and is strongly represented in the factories; unemployment too is comparatively on a small scale. Reorganisation met with obstacles because of the deeply-rooted Social Democratic traditions of organisation. Further, during the Party crisis organisational work was neglected; but despite these obstacles we are able to record that factory nuclei were created in the most important industrial centres, though they are not specially active. At the moment many nuclei have not been able to unite all the Party members working in the factories, and also only a small section of the nuclei members have attended the meetings and carried out Party work. In spite of the fact that in the Skoda works in Pilsen there are many Party members and 5 Communists are on the Factory Council, the Social Democratic Party rules over the factory and all elected factory organs. In view of the fact that the nucleus does not work well, the struggle against Social Democracy cannot be successfully carried on, and even the 5 Communist Factory Councillors can do very little because the nucleus is not working systematically in the factory.

In connection with the Factory Council movement and the campaign for trade union unity there is a certain vitalisation evident in the factory nuclei; the Party learned during the Ostrau struggle and other economic struggles in Northern Bohemia how necessary, especially in Czechoslovakia, the creation and vitalisation of factory nuclei is. **In Czechoslovakia the organisation is mainly dependent on energetic, systematic leadership of organisational work by the Party Executive.** The traditional difficulties demand a strong pressure from above and render it necessary that organisational work should be assisted by instructors. For in organisations as they exist in Czechoslovakia, written directions are of little use and personal instructions and control are essential.

In our opinion the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia has to solve the following questions:

a) Activisation of all the nuclei in conjunction with the execution of the political tasks of the Party.

b) Inclusion of all comrades working in the factory nuclei and distribution of Party work to all nuclei members through the Nuclei Executives.

c) Inclusion of all comrades not organised in factory nuclei, in street nuclei and liquidation of the old residential organisations (groups of 10).

d) Limitation of the right of the functionary bodies, the creation of Delegate Conferences, as decisive factor, elimination of the condition of affairs that functionaries in place of Party members work and decide on matters without the inclusion of all members in Party work.

e) Improvement of the work of the Party Executives and development of control and more extensive reports.

Germany. There is great unemployment to be recorded here. The fact that Social Democrats are strongly entrenched in the factories and possess good trade union officials naturally makes our work very difficult in the factories. Very many

factory nuclei have already been formed in Germany, but the nuclei have not received sufficient attention, nor have all kinds of Party work been allotted to them, especially the political work of the nuclei has not been sufficiently attended to and hence they have often done nothing and remain dead organisations.

The double organisation has been primarily the cause of this neglect of factory nuclei work. Party members who belong to the factory nuclei are also members in a residential district, and they pay their Party dues there. When there is a factory nuclei meeting on the same evening as that of a meeting in the residential district, then the factory nuclei meeting must finish up quickly to enable comrades to get to their residential meeting in good time. The centre of Party work is in the residential districts, there comrades use their right to vote at elections and for delegations. Comrades must be both in the nucleus and in the residential districts. If they want to be present at the nucleus meeting then they must miss their train and besides there is a danger that on account of nuclei work they will be dismissed from the factory.

Hence comrades ask themselves why they should take part in the nuclei work when they have an opportunity to carry out their Party work in residential districts. It is much more agreeable to go home before the meeting in the residential districts, to be able to wash themselves and have a meal. It is characteristic when we read in the Berlin-Brandenburg district that only 4 nuclei collect Party subscriptions and that the circulation of material (leaflets, newspapers, etc.) only function where there is a good residential organisation. It is quite natural that, as long as the residential organisation forms the basis of the Party organisation, a development of activation of the factory nuclei is impossible.

We believe that **questions of Factory and Street Nuclei** are dealt with very clearly in the decisions of Comintern. In accordance with our decision every comrade who is working in a factory should belong to the factory nucleus. The work of the factory nucleus consists in dealing with all questions appertaining to Party work and in collecting Party subscriptions. The Party member belongs to the local group or town organisation to which the factory nucleus belongs.

Besides insofar as it is possible, unemployed comrades and others, not working in factories are attached to the factory nuclei. This is necessary because certain tasks of the factory nuclei are often such as to be impossible for comrades to perform who are actually working in the factories (organisation of meetings in the factory, distribution of factory newspaper, newspaper and literature sales outside the factories). The number of Party members thus included should only form a slight percentage of the nucleus members actually occupied in the factories in order to secure that the factory workers constitute the main centre of the nucleus.

Other comrades (traders, housewives, small business people, literary people, etc.) are organised in street nuclei. Members of factory nuclei who live at a distance from the factory are registered by the nucleus group executive of the residential district and allotted to a street or factory nucleus in their district for Party work after working hours and on holidays. These comrades in the residential districts have no decisive rights in general Party questions since they carry out their duties and possess their rights in the factory nuclei of their place of work.

At the Org. Conference the German comrades very energetically defended the "working groups". We told them that these were exactly the same as the residential organisations. We were very glad to notice that the German comrades have now given up this idea and decided at their Party Conference to carry out re-organisation on the lines laid out by the Executive of the Comintern.

I shall quote from the report of the Berlin-Brandenburg district some interesting figures in view of the significance of the **organisational conditions of the workers**. In Berlin there are 1,501,050 workers and employees, but only 398,625 are organised in trade unions. Many comrades declare that it is not possible to win over the workers organised in the reactionary trade unions because these are completely under the influence of trade union officials. It is quite natural that where the Social Democrats with the help of good Party and trade union officials have gained a firm footing in the factories and where Communists are not combined and carry on no systematic work, the Social Democrats have a stronger in-

fluence than Communists. However, by systematic work in the factories we can win over a large section of workers organised in trade unions.

Comrades **overlook the that there are still 1,102,425 workers** who are not organised in trade unions, these are workers who are not burdened with a Social Democratic organisational tradition and are not under the organisational influence of the reformist trade union leaders. How are we to combine these Social Democratic and non-Party workers if there are no active factory nuclei? They hardly ever read our newspapers nor go to Communist Party meetings, neither do they receive Communist leaflets, so how are they to be made sympathisers or Party members? The great majority votes for Social Democracy and supports it simply because our work is inadequate in the factories. It is true that this work is very difficult but then Communist Party cannot win over the masses without a certain amount of sacrifice.

How are the existing nuclei to fulfil these tasks if they are not made active and do not work systematically and the Party Executives pay little attention to them, or if parallel organisations on a residential basis exist where the centre of gravity of the Party is located. Double organisation stems the work of the factory nuclei and often makes it absolutely impossible. As a result political activity in the Communist Party and development into mass Parties is obstructed by this form of organisation. Hence, Party Executives must do their utmost to ensure that all Party work with which the lower Party organs are occupied should be transferred to the factory nuclei. The old organisations on a residential basis should be dissolved as soon as factory nuclei and street nuclei have been created and linked up with the nuclei groups and districts.

The Activisation of Communist Parties.

The execution of the political decisions of the Communist Party is obstructed mainly by the passivity of the lower Party organisations. In the local groups the official usually carries out his work while the masses of the members do hardly any. As a rule Party members are not even drawn into discussions and decisions relative to Party questions. The meeting of functionaries makes all decisions. Party questions are neither previously or subsequently dealt with by the lower Party organisations.

This is an old Social Democratic tradition. The Social Democrats require this system, because Social Democratic leaders deceive the workers and therefore officials only make decisions and not the members. In contradistinction to this **the Communist Party should not be based on functionaries but must bring all Party Members into discussions and decisions for the execution of the Party tasks**. Definite work must be allotted to every Party member by the nucleus. If however, the mass of the Party members who work in the factories, do not know what is happening in the Party then it is impossible for them to carry on agitation and propaganda or organisational work amongst the workers. Comrade **Lenin** in his article "The St. Petersburg split of 1906" formulates the necessity of the activity and participation of all members in all decisions on Party questions as follows:

"The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party is democratically organised. This means that all Party work is carried out directly, or through representatives, by all Party members with equals rights and without any exceptions; all officials, all leading colleagues, all Party institutions are elected, must render account and are subject to recall. In view of the impossibility of assembling the entire Party members (about 6,000) at once, the Delegate Conference of the organisation is the highest instance of the St. Petersburg organisation. These delegates must be elected by all Party members, and the decision of the delegates is the highest and final decision on a question for the entire organisation.

It is essential that all members of the organisation, when delegates are being elected, should express their view **independently and individually** on all contentious questions which are of interest to the Party . . ."

"On this account, the St. Petersburg Committee decided that the elections of the delegates should only take place at the Conference **after** the question has been dis-

cussed by the Party members as to whether an agreement should be made with the Cadets, and after all Party members have cast their vote on this point. The elections are a matter in which the masses directly participate. Socialists consider the consciousness of the masses as the most important force. Hence, every Party member must decide the question consciously whether or not at the elections the vote should be cast for the Cadets." In another article: "The Reorganisation and Liquidation of the St. Petersburg Split (1907)", Lenin wrote:

"In accordance with the new (Bolshevik) statute of the St. Petersburg organisation, the conference is a permanent institution. It meets not less than twice monthly, and is the highest organ of the organisation. New elections take place every six months."

This quotation shows what significance Lenin attached to including all Party members in discussions and decisions on Party matters. For only with the assistance of the masses of the Party membership in the factories has the Party contact with the masses of the workers and can thus successfully carry out agitation, propaganda and organisational activities. The passivity of the Party can therefore be mainly overcome by dealing with Party questions in the basic organisations, in the nuclei, and thereby Party members take an active and conscious interest in Party life and specific Party tasks.

Opponents.

In Austria and Germany the Social Democrats have proceeded to create organisations in factories, respectively factory agitation committees. In various circulars Social Democrats point out to their officials that the best place to deal a blow at the Communists is in the factories.

But not only do the Social Democrats form factory organisations, but the fascists are also doing so. Various fascist leagues are constructed on the basis of factories. Fascist activity in factories, especially in the vital factories, prove the necessity of increasing the activity of Communist factory nuclei.

There is no doubt that the struggle against the Social Democratic policy and fascist organisations in factories is extremely difficult because Social Democracy has the support of good trade union officials, who have usually worked for years in factories, possess strong influence and have as a rule much more freedom of action and have a good standing with the factory management. In order to carry out a successful struggle against these organisations it is essential that factory nuclei should function.

Factory Nuclei Newspapers.

Although factory nuclei newspapers have existed for a very short time they have already given good results. Factory newspapers tell the workers what is actually happening in the factories, and at the same time discuss questions outside factories. Workers who do not read the daily papers are very interested in the factory newspapers. They are comprehensible for them. Workers are much more inclined to subscribe to a Communist daily paper after having regularly read the factory newspapers. Unfortunately however, the ideological influence of the factory newspaper has not yet been sufficiently utilised organisationally, because the factory nuclei are not yet active enough and the Party Executives devote too little attention to nucleus work.

We see from the fact that the employers are also publishing factory newspapers that our factory newspapers are having a great effect. The employers agitate in their organs naturally not from our point of view; they relate the difficulties which exist in the factory, the shortage of orders, etc., in order to hold back the workers from the class struggle. In order to suppress Communist agitation in factories some concerns have offered from 3—10,000 marks reward for the location of the editorial board of the factory newspaper. If the nuclei work well and the paper is regularly published and factory questions properly linked up with the political questions of the day, then the mass of workers under our continuous influence and under Communist leadership will become active in the political movement.

Recruiting of Members.

The strong influence of the Communist Parties on the masses of workers was evident at the Factory Council Elect-

ions in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Italy, at the Workers' Congresses in France, and is also noticeable in the Minority Movement in Great Britain. Communist Parties however, have been unable up to the present to utilise this ideological influence organisationally. In numerous Communist Parties recruiting is regarded as a periodical activity which should be carried out annually during definite recruiting weeks. This however is incorrect. Party members under the leadership of the nucleus must carry out systematic recruiting work daily.

In France we have members of the Red Trade Unions, who support us, but our nuclei have very inadequate contact with its members. The Trade Union comrades demonstrated with us, they participated in all our campaigns, but few have joined the Party, although they could easily be won for our Party. A similar state of affairs exists in Germany. In many factories the workers vote for the Communist Factory candidate, but still the Party has not been able to secure the majority of these workers for the Party. In the district reports at the Party Conference many districts mention the fact that they have had several recruiting weeks, but only one district disclosed the results. Less recruiting weeks are required, and should be substituted by continual daily recruiting work.

In Bergen, in Norway, there are 20,000 workers, of these 10,000 read the Communist daily paper but only 6—7,000 belong to the Party. From these figures we see that one of our most urgent tasks is to make Party organisations more active and to develop systematic daily recruiting work.

Some legal Communist Parties still continue to put difficulties in the way of factory workers joining the Party by their candidate system, probation time or other such formalities. These obstacles must be done away with. The nuclei and every individual Party member must carry on continuous daily work and endeavour to secure members from the ranks of the factory workers.

Fractions.

The fractions are in a much worse condition than the nuclei themselves. In France very little has been done in this connection. Neither in the CGTU, nor in the CGT, are there active fractions, for only now has the Party begun to build up fractions systematically. In Czechoslovakia a similar state of affairs prevails, there are but a few fractions which are not very active.

Not only in Trade Unions, but in all non-Party organisations fractions must be formed. In Norway, comparatively strong trade union fractions exist, but in non-Party organisations very little work has been done. Recently for example a Sport Conference took place, our Party was well-represented but the Communist delegates did not know one another, for they had not been united. The Party Executive had not understood the importance of having fractions in all non-Party organisations.

Concluding Remarks.

In my opinion the Org. Department of the ECCI must concentrate its main attention on the questions of factory nuclei and trade union fractions. Not only should letters be set to the Parties, but also articles and we must point out by personal contact to the instructors the dangers which exist if we are not successful in overcoming Social Democratic traditions without which it is impossible to attain a Communist mass Party.

It has become apparent now since we have begun to issue instructions by means of letters, articles, and providing instructors and the control of the execution of decisions that the Org. Department alone cannot compare this work, for organisational work touches on all branches of Party work, (Agitprop, Information, Trade Union, Co-operative, Agricultural, Women, etc.). The letters of instructors do not limit themselves only to definite organisational questions, but deal with the tasks of other departments. All departments must concentrate on factory work, for successful agitation and propaganda can only be carried out in the factories.

You will see from my report that the position of organisational work in the CI. gives us no cause for optimism, but we should not overlook the fact that the position was formerly much worse. I appeal to the Org. Bureau to adopt the resolution which has been submitted on the immediate organisational tasks, which contains in the main the chief points of my report.

Russian Nuclei and the Events in China.

"We are struggling against British imperialism not only for the sake of China, but for the sake of all oppressed peoples under British domination . . . Not only China will celebrate the day of liberation of China from the oppression of the British imperialists, but the oppressed nations of the whole world." That is what the Peking Union of Educational Institutions wrote in reply to the students of the Soviet Union.

It is quite clear that the Russian workers, and above all, the Russian nuclei could not but respond to the events which have gone to prove, that the many millions of the Chinese people have awakened from their sleep, and that a new era has commenced both for the Chinese people and for the oppressed of the whole world. When the great leader of the Chinese revolution, Sun-Yat-Sen, was at his deathbed, he realised that the Chinese people could depend upon the First Workers' and Peasants' State in the whole world in their struggle for liberation.

The first news of the struggle of the Chinese workers and of the violence of the imperialists was met with a spontaneous wave of meetings, monetary subscriptions, etc., in which the Russian workers in appealing to their Chinese brothers, promised every possible support both morally and materially. The All Russian Council of Trade Unions warmly responded and sent 100,000 roubles in support of the striking Chinese workers. The International Red Aid (IRA) in whose ranks, there are millions of workers and employees, also sent 10,000 roubles and organised a special department of the IRA in aid of the victims of the outrages of the capitalist robbers. From all corners of the Soviet Union telegrams have been received in which the workers greet the pending revolution in China.

While the bourgeoisie is hurling thunder and lightning at the insurrectionaries, and is endeavouring to organise another onslaught for the "defence of civilisation", i. e. for robbery and plunder — while the Socialists of Amsterdam and the Second International are pronouncing incomprehensible speeches which are supposed to represent both sympathy for the liberation movement and solidarity with their own imperialist masters, the Russian workers trained by the RCP (Bolshevik) in the spirit of complete national equality and fraternity, and taught to insist on decisive courageous, and consistent (in a revolutionary manner) complete equality of rights and self-determination for all oppressed nations both within their own country and without, sends its brothers not only moral support, but what is much more important, material support.

We will cite by way of example of how the Russian workers responded to these events, extracts from resolutions passed in Leningrad on July 11th, where the working class protested, in an organised manner against the attempts to strangle the Chinese liberation movement:

The Red Putilov Factory: Victory in alliance with the peasantry, Chinese workers, with your fearlessness, your organisation, and your irreconcilability, you will arouse the peasant masses of your country from centuries of sleep and you will break the foreign yoke. The liberated working class of the Soviet Union is watching your struggle. Together with you we send our curses to the savage robbers of Anglo-Japanese-American imperialism. Long live liberated China.

The Factory "Bolshevik": We are always ready to help. We believe and hope that the Chinese proletariat will link up its economic struggle with a political armed rising and will be able to achieve its Red October. Our assistance for bringing about the Red proletarian October may always be relied on.

Factory "Marty": Workers of the West, not one transport with arms, not one soldier, must be sent to struggle with revolutionary China.

Stationery Factory "Zinoviev": We brand the British American, Japanese, and Italian hangmen with shame, and greet the Chinese workers in their struggle for liberation from the capitalist yoke. Long live the working class of China, and its leader the Kuomintang. Long live the Comintern!

Factory Electro-Force: We say to international capitalism: Hands Off China. The time is not far off when the East will blaze in the flames of revolution.

"The Red Working Woman" Factory: Chinese workers, you will gain only your freedom by solidarity, and in an orga-

nised manner. Carry on your work of liberating your nation to the very end.

Central Depot, North Western Railway. We send your fraternal greetings to the insurrectionary proletariat of China, and to the revolutionary students. Remember that we, the workers of the Soviet Union, are with you at all times.

Number 3 Timber Factory: We are with you in your struggle. Be resolute. During the hour of decisive struggle we are always ready to aid you.

Factory "Stenka Razin": We Razinites are following the struggle now raging with bated breath. We consider that our assistance to you in your struggle is our first duty.

Kalinin Pipe Factory: We are following the events on the coast of the pacific ocean with great attention. We greet the fighters for liberation of the oppressed. The spark of your revolution will ignite the whole world.

Factory "Red Lighthouse": We send our warm greetings to our Chinese brothers struggling for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. We are certain that your struggle is not in vain. The hands of the Chinese workers will break the chains of the tyrants.

Northern Shipyards: You, who are striking and fighting on the streets of China, Canton and other towns, should know that we Russian workers are with you in your struggle against the oppression of China. We declare to the imperialists of Great Britain, America, France and Japan: "Hands Off revolutionary China!" Long live the Chinese 1905!

Porcelain Factory: We protest against the intervention of the capitalist thieves in the affairs of revolutionary China. Long live the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang!

Leningrad Commercial Court: The labour movement in China is not afraid of guns. Rally comrades and throw out the exploiters. Realise that we are always with you. Tear off the chains of slavery after the fashion of the Russian proletariat. Throw off the rule of foreign capital.

"The Red Weaving Factory": Working men and women of China, you have commenced a difficult struggle which can only be borne by the working class if there is a real alliance with the peasantry. Organise.

Factory in the Name of Nogin: The eyes of the Chinese workers turn towards the Soviet Union as the sole fortress of the International Revolution. Comrades, we are with you.

One may judge from these extracts how the Russian workers realised the measures necessary for the triumph of the Chinese and, in fact, the world liberation movement by their own sound proletarian instinct.

Alliance with the peasantry, transformation of the economic struggle into a political struggle by means of an armed rising, high degree of organisation, solidity centred around a political Party, the inclusion of women and the youth, these are the counsels given by fighters tempered in battle to the younger brothers who have not yet received their baptism of fire in the revolutionary struggle.

Here are appeals and also the instructions of the revolutionary proletariat of Leningrad to their brothers of the West. "Not one soldier, not one cartridge against the insurgent Chinese masses!" And finally there is the promise of support in the struggle, and the assurance that the struggle will finish with victory.

It has fallen to the lot of the Russian working class to create the first workers republic in the world. The Russian working class has proved by deed and not by mere words how a state may be constructed wherein every nationality, even the most insignificant one, enjoys complete equality of rights, and has the right to determine its own fate at any moment, even to the extent of seceding from the Union.

But a yet more important task has fallen to the lot of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and its guider the RCP. It has to be the inspirer, the defender, and ultimately, the leader in the liberation of all nations of the whole world. In November 1920, Lenin issued the following slogan for the peoples of the East: "Workers of all countries, and oppressed nations of the world unite!" Now this slogan is being realised.

The workers of the Soviet Union true to the teachings of Lenin, are accomplishing this task and are thereby hastening the victory of the world revolution.

The Factory Nuclei of the Communist Party of France and the Struggle Against the Moroccan War.

After the Fifth Congress the Communist Party of France was more energetic than any section of Comintern in reorganising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. At the time of the Organisational Conference in March, the French Delegation was in a position to report that reorganisation was completed in the Paris, Lyons and Nord districts and that organisation on a residential basis there was being dissolved. Through the organisation on a factory nucleus basis, the Party secured thousands of new, **proletarian** members, and thereby increased its influence considerably on the working masses.

It became evident after these first successes in the domain of factory nuclei that it was now essential to concentrate on politicising them, i. e. to imbue them in such a way with the daily Party work that they really become a basic organisation of the Party. Opponents to this new form of organisation used this difficulty in order to point out that the nuclei were not in a position to develop political life and to request that in addition to them new organisations on a local basis should be formed. Such organisations would have the task of deciding on the **political** and tactical questions of the Party. It is quite clear that the realisation of this request would have resulted in **killing the nuclei**, for the centre of gravity of the Party work would thereby have been transferred on to a residential basis.

The Communist Party of France has already succeeded in making great progress in the political work of the factory nuclei, a fact which proves the **active participation of the Factory Nuclei in the preparation of the Workers' Congress against the Morocco War**. Although at present we are not in possession of all information regarding the activity of the factory nuclei in the preparation of the campaign against the Morocco war, still we may conclude from the available information that **the great success of the Paris Workers' Congress July 4/5 is primarily due to the activity of the factory nuclei. Without the Factory Nuclei it would have been impossible for the CPF. to penetrate so deeply into the masses in the factories with its agitation against the Moroccan War and to mobilise such a large number of workers against this War.**

The Organisation of the Campaign.

We wish to give here in as far as the incomplete information to hand will permit, a short survey of the activity of the factory nuclei in the preparation of the Workers' Congress in the Paris district.

On June 18 the Executive of the Paris District issued the following notice to all factory nuclei:

"All nuclei in the Paris District should put the following points on the agenda of the nuclei meeting:

1. The Morocco War and the Caillaux taxes;
2. Organisation of the Workers' Congress of July 5th.

They must work actively inside the factory in order to organise a general meeting of the factory to elect delegates to the Congress. In this connection they are to keep to the circular issued by the OrgBureau of the Rayon which gives full instructions. Further, the nuclei should aim at issuing a factory newspaper dealing with the slogans of the Congress. The editors of the factory newspapers and all members of the Rayon press commission must be present at the meeting of the editors of the factory newspapers."

The Proletarian Unity Commissions in the Factories formed by the Party in conjunction with the CGTU, the Young Communist League and the Ex-Soldiers League developed extraordinary activity. The extract from a resolution at a meeting of the Proletarian Unity Commission in **Barbier Factory** in **Ormaing** shows best how the factory nuclei succeeded in uniting all the workers in the factory by means of this commission; the resolution runs:

"This meeting of workers in the Barbier Factory records with pleasure that, after the formation of the Presidium of the Proletarian Unity Commission, all trade union and non trade union, Communist, Social Democratic and non-party workers are united and that in this way unity of all victims of employers has been established; this alone is able to guarantee victory of the workers' demands against exploiting capitalism and the capitalist State which acts as dictator both over consumers and producers.

The general meeting of the Barbier factory declares that the Presidium of its Proletarian Unity Commission has the task, besides defending the immediate tasks of the workers in the factory, of taking the initiative in **convening a meeting of the already existing Unity Commissions**, and forming a local and eventually a regional **Union of the Proletarian Unity Commissions**, which will include all exploited without regard to Party or Trade Union in the struggle against the common enemy: capitalism, and is to work for the realisation of trade union unity."

In the Paris Urban District alone in the first week after the notice of the Paris District Executive (21/27 June) 85 factory meetings took place in preparation of the Workers' Congress. All these meetings were without exception well attended. Similar success was reported from the numerous factory meetings in the Paris suburbs. (For example in **Bilancourt**, **Salmson Factory** 2,500 workers; **Issy** — Citroen Auto Factory — 2000 workers; **Ivry** — shell factory — 2,500 workers, etc.)

It was already evident at the time of the **Information Conference** June 24th, which the Committee of Action convened for the orientation of the workers as to the meaning of the Workers' Congress, that the factory nuclei had really circulated the slogans in the ranks of the masses by means of the Proletarian Unity Commission. One thousand two hundred delegates were present, composed as follows: 205 Communists, 84 Social Democrats, 325 members of the Unitarian Trade Unions, 96 members of the Reformist Trade Unions, 118 members of the Ex-Soldiers, 140 members of various organisations (Sport Organisations, etc.) and 130 non-Party.

But a still better proof of how the slogans of the Committee of Action had been circulated among the masses than the Information Conference itself was the Paris Workers' Congress. 1,443 delegates were present at this Congress representing 705,412 workers, these comprised: 130 Social Democrats, 165 Reformist Trade Unionists, 160 non-Party, 312 Communists, 484 Unitarian Trade Unionists, 77 members of the autonomous Trade Unions and 175 sympathisers.

The success of the Paris Workers' Congress showed that the Factory Nuclei are not only capable of carrying out all the tasks of the Party, but that only by means of the Factory Nuclei and the Communist Fractions is it possible to mobilise large masses for the slogans of the Communist Party.

Practical Experience of Nucleus Work.

The Chicago Organisation Organises Courses on Nucleus Work.

The Chicago Organisation is now organising courses for a number of comrades to be trained for responsible nucleus work.

These courses will give practical instruction on factory nucleus work based on correct Communist theory and on the functions and the activity of factory nuclei as the basis of our organisation. The superintendence of these courses will be guided by the experiences which the Chicago organisation has had in connection with factory nuclei work since reorganisation has taken place.

The courses will consist of six lectures. The first three will deal with the following three problems: "How a Nucleus is to be Organised", "Activity of a factory nucleus", and "How a Factory Nucleus Bulletin should be written".

These first three lectures will be closely connected with the current work of the factory nucleus, and advice and many hints will be given on the strength of the experiences in Chicago.

At the first meeting of the courses all comrades who have as yet no function in any nucleus, will be allotted to existing nuclei or to nuclei which it is proposed to form later on. At the second or third meeting there will be a full discussion of the basis of their present factory nucleus work.

At the third meeting which is to deal with the character of the "factory nucleus bulletins", comrades will be taught to make up a bulletin, by inducing every member of the courses to make up a bulletin. These bulletins are to be discussed and criticised at the courses by all comrades, and it is hoped that by such means the Chicago organisation will acquire many new editors".

The subjects of the fourth, fifth and sixth lectures are to be: "Preparing an agenda and conducting a meeting", "Nucleus officials and their tasks", and "General survey of nucleus work."

Since its reorganisation the Chicago organisation, which knows now exactly where its various members work and which has been able to unite into one group the members who work in the same enterprise, has come to the conclusion that only an organiser is needed to make many of the nuclei efficient organs. Apart from the nuclei which are already properly functioning, there are many which could be made efficient by giving them an organiser with a good and clear notion of nucleus work. The object of the courses is to train such organisers, and it may be expected that factory nucleus work in Chicago will receive a great impetus as a result of these courses. About 20 comrades who are among the most active and responsible comrades of all the groups were selected for these courses.

The Formation of a Nucleus.

I worked in a medium enterprise (a port enterprise) where there was no nucleus. The difficulties were great: about 185 men were employed in the enterprise, and **most of them were organised in the SPG.** The works manager (an ex-officer) was an out and out reactionary. By means of conversations with fellow workers I was able to ascertain that **there were about 20 comrades in the works.** As it was impossible to get hold of the comrades after working hours, I had to do so in the works. There was not a corner where we could converse undisturbed. As we were loading a train, we held **our first Nucleus meeting in an empty waggon.** I succeeded in getting nearly all the comrades to this first meeting. The nucleus was formed, the various functions were allotted and the work began, with the result that **in a very short time the membership of the Nucleus grew from 25 to 60 by means of transfers and new entries.**

By working systematically among the SPG fellow workers we also succeeded in **getting into our hands representative Trade Union Posts.** When we felt ourselves strong enough as a nucleus, we began to bring together our fellow workers in the **dinner interval,** and to discuss with them questions of an **economic and political character.** We soon ascertained that our SPG. fellow workers, with the exception of a few officials,

were in agreement with all the resolutions and proposals elaborated by the nucleus.

At present I am employed in a **fairly large ship building yard** where a nucleus has been in existence for some time, **doing excellent work.** To ensure progress to a nucleus one should arouse the interest of the workers in the **Trade Union idea.** Once this is done, one can proceed to the next task — to get all the trade union functions in the enterprise into the hands of our comrades. If this can be done, the nucleus will function properly.

Even if under certain circumstances difficulties are great, with a little initiative they can be easily overcome. In my opinion, for a Communist there should be no obstacle and no resistance which he cannot overcome.

The Nucleus Newspaper. As soon as the nucleus is formed the comrades must proceed to discuss the matter of the nucleus newspaper. That factory newspapers are successful is shown by the fury of the capitalists concerning the already existing factory newspapers. The question of a nucleus newspaper is also a financial question. **If the Nucleus funds are in such a flourishing condition that a newspaper can be published, this is to the good. But if not, comrades must take upon themselves to produce a Nucleus newspaper by means of hectographs, copying by hand, etc.**

If no hectograph apparatus can be obtained, comrades must take the trouble to produce the paper in writing. The comrade made responsible for the production of the paper, should invite 5 or 6 comrades to come to him in the evening. One comrade reads and the other writes. With practice and by using carbons it is not so difficult after all to produce **quite a number of papers in a short time.**

All nucleus comrades should be obliged to notify the **Nucleus Bureau immediately** of any incidents in the factory. **There is not one incident which is too unimportant to be used by the nucleus in the interests of the movement.** But nuclei newspapers should not only deal with factory incidents but also with **political subjects** and above all with trade union questions. Unfortunately we still have to admit that a considerable number of factory workers are **readers of the bourgeois press.** It is for the sake of these indifferent workers that **special attention should be paid to the contents of the Nucleus newspaper.** When all comrades in the nucleus are actively engaged, the newspaper question will present no difficulties.

Factory Agitation in Enterprises without Communist Workers.

We cannot carry on propaganda in factories as none of us work there. We therefore asked a young comrade to stand at the gates of the factory at the time when the workers are going home, in order to get into touch with the young workers of that factory and to get to know how they are treated. By such means we established a connection with the factory and we proceeded to produce small handbills pointing out the shortcomings and the speeding up system in the young workers that they should not stand this sort of thing. The handbills were naturally signed: **Young Communist Factory Nucleus of the respective factory.**

These handbills did their work. In our subsequent conversations with the young workers they told us: "It is right that something is done here at last for us!" This was the beginning. On the following day a young comrade sold pamphlets outside the factory gates. And what is more, on the third day handbills were distributed the contents of which were as follows: "Young workers, be on the watch! Another Haarmann has made his appearance in your factory!" At the same time the workers were urged to come to the meeting where an explanation would be given. In this we were also successful. We were able to organise a public factory nucleus meeting, which was attended by 50 young workers, and we formed at the same time a factory nucleus. At the meeting a young comrade gave an address to the young workers present, explaining to them that not only people such as Haarmann in Hannover, but the entire capitalist system are guilty of mass murder. One speaker told his audience that consequently the capitalists of the firm for which they were working are so many Haarmanns.

At the end of the meeting the workers were in full agreement with the speaker that it was now their duty to join our ranks in order to fight against the capitalist system and to help at the same time to expose the mass murderers.

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How Our Factory Nucleus Came into Being.

There had been already much talk about the factory nucleus question. All the comrades were of the opinion that in theory it was all right, but utterly impossible in practice and especially in our factory. But the "damned" District Executive was of a different mind. We were worried all the time to hurry up and form a nucleus. Well, we were fed up with the thing and decided to have a try at the nucleus.

We convened a **meeting of the young factory workers**, but alas only three turned up — and they were our members. But this did not discourage us, once we had made up our minds.

We wanted then to try our hand at a **factory newspaper**. We bought a hectograph apparatus, 2 marks worth of paper and ink and proceeded to compose the articles and reports. But this was not so easy. We could not think of anything. However, we gradually got some material together and set to work. In two or three hours time the newspaper was ready. An unemployed workers was to distribute it at the factory

gates, in order that we should not be caught and the factory be left without Communists.

We waited anxiously for the next day. What effect will the paper have?

There had never been such excitement before. Our foreman ran about the factory like one possessed. Who has published the paper? He cursed and thundered all day long. He was in the mood to give us all a hiding. — And what about the young fellow workers? They stood about in nooks and corners and were bursting with laughter about the trick they had played on their foreman. But they did not only laugh, they discussed the question seriously. They were enthusiastic about the paper. In the dinner hour our real work began. We had to be very careful in order not to be tracked down as the criminals. We discussed with all our fellow workers the question of the newspaper and the tasks of the Communist Youth. The result was that we recruited **6 new members** for our nucleus. We were as pleased as punch with our success, for we had now actually a nucleus capable of doing effective work.

We held a nucleus session once a week after working hours in a private apartment where we discussed our work and all political events. In future our nucleus newspaper is to be published once a fortnight. In any case, we have made a beginning and have achieved good results. The whole thing required only a little energy and perseverance.

The Leuna Hell.

By Lehmann.

Some time ago, an article appeared in the factory supplement of the "**Klassenkampf**", the CPG. organ for Central Germany, dealing with the experiences of the workers in the Leuna factory. The article described the origin of the factory, anti-war propaganda and the organisation of the opposition during the war; further the activity of the workers during the revolutionary struggles, 1918-1919, and during the March rising, 1921. A subsequent article gave details about production in the Leuna factory, and the present article deals with the exploitation of the Leuna workers; whilst a further article will be devoted to the immediate tasks of the workers there.

It is of the utmost importance for the Party in general to carry on this kind of minute and systematic examination during the time of struggle, of the experiences of workers, of production, of exploitation and the immediate tasks which confront the workers.

The Communist press, by dealing in its supplements with questions in factories, thus addresses thousands of factory workers, combines concrete factory questions with the general political situation, such as taxes, the reduction of real wages of factory workers, the increases of wages which workers should demand in view of the ever-increasing cost of living, the taxes levied by Parliament which reduce the standard of living of the workers, the percentage of workers' wages allotted to taxation, for the army, justice, or as at present in France for the Morocco war. These disclosures will support and facilitate to a great extent our agitation and propaganda in the factories which we will be able to win over with the help of Communist nuclei.

It is to be hoped that this example will be followed by the Communist press of all sections of the Comintern.

Why Inhuman Exploitation in Chemical Works?

In the first article, "The Production of the Leuna Hell", the production and extent of the Leuna works, together with the exploitation of the workers and the profits of the shareholders, were described, and in connection therewith the question was put, **why all this is so**, and why the workers must lead such a dog's life. In answering this question, a number of causes and facts will be brought to light which will determine our work for the immediate future and play an important role in our work generally.

Every worker and employee in the **Leuna Factory** can still remember the inflation period when the wages earned in paper marks per shift or per hour were only worth a few gold pfennig of the agreed wages. Even these agreed wages

were less by half than before the war. Thus the chief workers in the chemical industry in **Hamburg**, received only 35 pfennig for example per hour, in accordance with the wages' agreement of November 7th. In **Bitterfeld** the highest wages per hour, calculated in gold pfennigs, during the period from December, 1st, 1922, to June 30th 1923, averaged 18 to 20 pfennig. Even in this instance, wages were still less, owing to the quickly increasing depreciation and delayed payments.

It is quite clear that the low wages were a splendid thing for the employers themselves, for they sold their products at world market prices and as long as they did not exceed this, they lived in luxury. They cultivated a taste for these low coolie wages for workers and employees — the aniline kings were not badly placed, as their gains and the increase of their capital clearly proves — and endeavoured when **gold wages were introduced** in December 1923, to **maintain this low standard**. And indeed they succeeded to a great extent for a series of circumstances strengthened their position in regard to the workers.

In August and September, 1923, German prices exceeded prices in the world market and from that time on the favourable market for industry which had been gained, thanks to the ever-increasing inflation, became reversed. **Almost four million workers and employees were thrown out of work in Germany**. In the Factory Workers Union, at that time one fourth of the members were unemployed and two fifths worked on an average of only three and three and a half days per week. This enormous unemployment, unsurpassed even in the worst crisis in Germany before the war, **was used by the employers to force through their wage policy** with the workers.

Another circumstance which was favourable for the employers, was the financial weakness of the Trade Unions, for inflation had absolutely emptied the coffers of the Free Trade Unions. In addition to all this, there came the old-fashioned idea of the trade union leaders that no strike could be carried on unless the unions had adequate funds in hand and also the fact that they had determined after the war to build up again the **Capitalist** economy of Germany. If it had not been for this conception, utilised to the full by the employers, the Factory Workers Union would have been well able to counteract the intentions of the dye kings, for at that time, the fourth quarter of 1923, it had 522,000 members.

These tendencies helped the employers in the chemical industry to attain their aims in the wages question after inflation. Encouraged by this fact, they **proceeded in like manner to deal with the question of working hours** and here too

the Trade Union leaders gave in. Thereupon the workers in the Baden Aniline and Soda Factories left the works after eight hours and struggled ten whole weeks without any regular financial aid in the hope that the workers of the Leuna Factory would join them in the struggle for the maintenance of the eight hour day. It is well known that at that time the majority of the Leuna Workers gave credence to the promises of the managers that their eight hour day would remain untouched and hence they left their comrades in Ludwigshafen to struggle alone. This too brought about the result that also here the employers in the chemical industry could register complete success.

Hence, from about 482,000 working members whom the Factory Workers Union registered in 1924, 219,000 workers are obliged to spend over 48 hours a week in these poisoned chemical dens.

Such defeats naturally called forth great disappointment in the ranks of the workers organised in the trade unions, and disappointment was greatest amongst that section of workers who joined the organisation only after the war and mainly came from the agricultural population into the ranks of industry. The report of the unions in 1924 which appeared in the "Proletarier" of June 20, 1925, showed to what extent the workers in the chemical industry left the Factory Workers Union. The membership figures were:

In the 4th quarter	1923	522.000	members.
" " 1st "	1924	425.000	"
" " 2nd "	1924	366.000	"
" " 3rd "	1924	336.000	"
" " 4th "	1924	326.000	"

These figures show that the largest decrease in membership took place in the first two quarters of 1924, the period when the employers had their greatest success in the questions of wages and working hours. A hundred and fifty six thousand members at this time left the union. The trade union leaders and especially the Factory Workers Union, declared that the Communists were responsible for this reduction in membership on account of their "unconscientious" agitation, and on account of the "foundation" of their own trade unions which led to the undermining of trade unions generally: it is quite clear that when the reformist trade union leaders want to seek a scapegoat for their faults, where they will look for it!

Their accusations, however, have only one drawback, and that is that they are very badly founded, for they cannot expect any Communist trade unionist, any class conscious worker, to remain silent about their attitude towards the wages and hours questions after inflation. Neither can they expect that we should keep silent about the attitude of the Union President, Brey, in the matter of the various laws affecting the workers. Least of all, can they make the Communists responsible for forming independent unions, when they by ruthless expulsions and by their attitude during the Ludwigshafen struggle created the conditions for the formation of Independent Unions.

The position of the Trade Union Organisation in the Leuna works is a proof of how little the Communists are to be blamed, for there no industrial Union was formed, and in spite of that in the spring of 1924 in the Leuna works only 10 per cent of the Leuna workers were organised in the Free Trade Unions. This fact has also been proved in other big chemical industries, therefore, we see that the causes of the reduction in the Trade Union membership cannot be explained away as the trade union leaders wish. We must know the real causes, for only in this way will it be possible to find the right way for our future work.

Today, in the Leuna and Ludwigshafen works, there are 25 to 40 per cent of the workers organised in the Free Trade Unions, a fact which proves that now the workers are again accessible as members of trade unions, and that they regard their flight from the Trade Unions as a grave error. Our task is now to convince unorganised workers of the necessity of joining the trade unions.

This work is now a basic one in our entire work, for workers who are organised in trade unions feel themselves, much more responsible to their fellow-workers in the factories for their actions. They will not be prepared to consent to do overtime or be gulled so easily by the special privileges which especially the aniline kings offer in order to split up the ranks of the workers. We must carry on this agitation on behalf of winning over the workers to the trade unions with the utmost patience and without interruption, for as long as there is a big army of unorganised colleagues in both factories without any obligations it is impossible to attain anything like uniform dealings between these two factories.

In our campaign on behalf of the union it is advisable to endeavour to organise the workers in one union, if possible the Factory Workers Union. In the Ludwigshafen Factory the position is absolutely impossible, for there the workers are organised in 35 Free Trade Unions. Every union pays different strike pay, grants for unemployments, sickness or death bonuses, a state of affairs which greatly interferes with joining trade unions. The majority of the union papers, like for example, the "Metallarbeiterzeitung", pay scarcely any attention to questions in the chemical industry. Hence it is evident that there are quite a number of other facts which ought to be rectified during our present agitation on behalf of trade unions.

The whole work will be absolutely without meaning, if good capable representatives are not provided in the factories. Of late there are hardly any in the Leuna Works so that here we must begin by finding out those colleagues who can be absolutely trusted and will not fail us at the critical moment.

In the course of our campaign for new members the factory councillors in the factories and our authorised representatives should endeavour to wipe out the differentiation amongst the workers which the employers have been utilising with such success and so extensively for the past year. Therefore, we should endeavour to ensure that the difference in wages between the various categories of workers should be reduced to the minimum. Further, a well conducted struggle should be carried on against the increase in piece work and the premium system.

By such measures it is possible to increase the circle of workers today struggling for an improvement in their mode of living. As long as a large section of the workers in the factories has a better position than the other workers it is difficult to create a big block of workers ready for the struggle. Hence in our campaign on behalf of the Trade Unions we must explain what advantage the employers get from this differentiation between the workers, whereas the advantage for the better paid workers is only an apparent one.

In our work on behalf of the Trade Unions, care must be taken that at last the closest union be created between the Leuna and Ludwigshafen Factories, for the non-existence of this union is to a large extent the cause why the workers have so little faith in their own struggle. All these minor tasks which must be carried out without fail will advance Trade Union Unity and increase the readiness for the struggle in the ranks of the workers. Simultaneously, with our intensive Trade Union work the questions of reformist or revolutionary Trade Union policy will become more defined in the eyes of the workers who will endeavour to realise their wishes in the question of the leadership of the Trade Unions, in quite a different manner from that hitherto in vogue.

II. The Tasks of Factory Nuclei.

Agitational Work in the Nuclei.

By R. Dornbusch.

Organisation and execution of agitational campaigns for the Party as a whole is no doubt one of the most important tasks of a Communist factory nucleus. Agitation cannot be real mass agitation unless it is concentrated in the factories. We will deal now very briefly with the manner in which this is to be done.

To put the question into a concrete form: the Party intends to carry out an agitational campaign in connection with some important political event. First of all, the Central Organ decides on the campaign and indicates very clearly and distinctly what the **political** nature of the campaign should be. Suitable slogans are chosen and the time and fundamental nature of the campaign are decided upon. By „fundamental nature” we mean decision if the campaign is to take the form of public meetings or even demonstrations, or if it is to be limited to a press campaign.

Then, in conformity with the decision, the campaign is **prepared** by the various departments of the Central Organ, the Agitprop Department prepares agitational and propaganda material, subject matter for speeches or theses, and literature, posters, etc., are printed and sent to the district organisations with clear and detailed instructions, though guarding against making these instructions go into too great details. Scope must be left to the initiative of the Districts themselves in order that the campaign be adopted to local conditions. Then the local organisations forward to the managing committees of the Nuclei the material and instructions based on the directions received from the Central Organ. It is not advisable to send written instructions to the Managing Committees of the Nuclei through the local organisations. Personal exchange of opinion is much more effective and more likely to ensure the success of the campaign than dry bureaucratic office instructions.

Contact between factory nuclei and the local executive can be best established by **Instruction Lectures**. The Party executive convenes a meeting of all the managing committees of the Nuclei of the respective locality and instructs an experienced official to make a report on the political meaning and the technical preparation of the campaign under discussion. After the report, the participators must be given an opportunity to ask questions on anything which was not clear in the report. Questions should be followed by a discussion. Many sound proposals may be made in the course of the discussion. It is of the greatest importance to encourage members of factory nuclei to display as much as possible their own initiative, for this is a good means for training capable Party workers. Moreover by applying such methods, the campaign can be made much more successful. It is only after the decision made by this instruction meeting that the real work of the nuclei begins.

Naturally Nuclei members, that is to say, the Communists in the factory, must have a clear notion of the work before them. To achieve this, after a preliminary consultation between members of the managing committee of the Nucleus, a general Nucleus meeting should be convened, at which the political and organisational, as well as the methodical and

agitational side of the campaign must be thoroughly discussed. The main thing is to make the campaign **popular** among the workers employed in the enterprises, to explain to them the importance of the questions and to convince them of the absolute necessity of the most energetic participation in the campaign.

How is this to be done?

There are various ways according to the stage of development of Party and trade union work in this or that enterprise. We will deal with some of these ways and methods.

1. Influencing the various workers' organisations, in the enterprise, above all over trade union organs. **Influence in Factory Councils** is of paramount importance. Success will naturally greatly depend on the degree of organisational connection between the Communists in the enterprise and the leading organ of the Factory Council. The task consists in making the Factory Council accept the decision concerning the campaign and in inducing the leading organ of the Factory Council to interest the workers in the campaign.

2. The Factory Newspaper should be on principle placed at the service of the campaign. Articles should be published in the factory newspaper illuminating in a popular and agitational manner the necessity of the proposed campaign emphasising this necessity by examples taken from the life of the respective factory. The proclamations and slogans of the Party in connection with the campaign should also be published in the factory newspaper.

3. A good effect can be produced by clever and attractive **posters and handbills** giving simple but convincing facts about the political meaning of the campaign.

4. Great attention should be paid to **individual agitation**. Every Communist in the enterprise is to keep in touch with a small circle of the non-Party factory workers, or at least with one or two such workers. One can frequently achieve better results in private conversations and discussions with these workers, then on „officials” occasions. In this case, success depends of course entirely on the persuasive powers or popularity of individual Communists. But the Nucleus executive is in duty bound to encourage comrades to carry on this kind of work systematically and also to control their work.

These are only a few of the many methods which can be adopted for the preparation of agitational campaigns. Most of these methods come generally to the fore in the course of the general work of the nucleus. In this respect, we draw attention to the examples of our German brother Party which has to its credit several extremely well-organised agitational campaigns. It should also be emphasised that Nuclei must not wait for the executive to suggest the organisation of any special campaign. The Nucleus must on the contrary, follow political events, and should take upon itself to initiate campaigns and to discuss everything connected with it with the local executive.

The most important thing is that **Factory Nuclei should take root among the factory workers and should be able to draw the necessary conclusions from the good and bad experiences of agitational campaigns.**

Marxist-Leninist Propaganda Work in Factory Nuclei.

By M. J.

Almost all our Sections are now confronted with the task of getting down seriously to the work of Marxist-Leninist propaganda in factory nuclei. However it is of the greatest importance to adapt our elementary educational work by which we are to win over the masses to the reorganisation of our Parties on a Factory Nuclei Basis which will make their Bolshevisation possible. This task is by no means a mere formality. Lenin has said: „An idea becomes political, when it permeates the consciousness of tens and hundreds of thou-

sands of people”. This must be the aim of our propaganda work, and we will hardly be able to achieve it in any other way than through the factory nuclei.

This is as clear as daylight if one takes the trouble to examine what our educational work proposes to do:

1. It should imbue all the members of the Communist Party with the desire to make Marxism-Leninism a guide for their activity.

2. Our propaganda activity must extend beyond the limits

of our own membership. Through our members it must penetrate to the sections of sympathisers and subsequently into the thick of the proletarian class as a whole.

3. Marxist-Leninist propaganda must concern itself with the realities of life, that is to say, it must become the spiritual focus of the requirements and interests of the Party members and of the entire proletariat, reflecting these requirements and interests in a clear and **conscious** manner.

In other words: our educational work must not float in the atmosphere of "pure theory", but must be directly connected with the **actual** political interests of the existing situation and the process of its development. Taking this as its point of departure, our educational work must, through the study of Marxism-Leninism, assume a uniform and systematic form.

If these three conditions are not fulfilled, our entire theoretical propaganda will on the one hand assume a totally abstract academical character, especially as theory is — as in old Social Democracy the mysterious heritage of "Socialist Academicians" and quite beyond the ken of the masses — and on the other hand our Parties will for this very reason never be able to become the conscious, determined and progressive part of the entire proletariat, the vanguard of their class. But these conditions can only be fulfilled if factory nuclei, as the elementary unit of the entire organisational apparatus of our Party, be made through propagandist education a mass factor of the ideological life of the Parties capable of fruitful participation in all their theoretical discussion, whether they be concerned with actual problems of the day or with Marxism-Leninism as a whole.

It could be easily objected that by connecting our propaganda work in our factory nuclei directly with the interests and requirements of the Party members, and beyond it, with the entire proletariat, we could easily become Khvostists, that is the followers of somebody else's policy instead of initiating our own, or in the best of cases we would „only“ be able to carry on our Marxist-Leninist educational work in the form of intensified agitation.

We must have the courage to say quite openly that this is the crux of propagandist nucleus work which we have to organise now. We are so to speak in a dilemma; on the one hand all our Parties (especially the big Parties) which are engaged in a really political everyday struggle with its manifold complications, crises and sudden changes, will carry on propaganda **above all** in the form of intensified agitation, for instance they will connect it with any agitational campaigns which have to be organised. On the other hand one will have certainly to endeavour to separate Party education from current every-day tasks and actions, in order to give our factory nuclei an opportunity to acquire solid political knowledge of Marxism-Leninism (perhaps with the help of a Marxist-Leninist Manual).

But this dilemma can be overcome, if the entire propaganda work in the nuclei be carried on according to a definite plan elaborated by the Central Agitprop Department. In drawing up this plan one must take into consideration that propaganda must be connected with the existing political and economic situation and also that it must be systematically planned out. Moreover one should ensure that the plan be properly carried out. In how far and in what manner „actual propaganda can be connected with systematic educational work, will of course depend on the political situation, the degree of theoretical development, the numerical strength of the Party etc.

The main task before our various Agitprop Departments consists in finding out how these two tendencies of our propagandist-nuclei work are related to each other, and to draw up a plan of work on this basis. Generally speaking, „actual propaganda“ will at the present juncture form the main part of our educational work in a considerable number of our Parties, because financial prerequisites are lacking for a systematic education of all our members. But it will do no harm if this stage of the organisation of propaganda will be made utilised by the Parties to gain methodical experience which may serve as a basis for the next stage — concentrated study of Marxism-Leninism in the nuclei.

But when organising our present propaganda activity we must not leave out of account this higher aim. Therefore **it behoves** all our Sections to establish in some of our best and largest factory nuclei, without any further delay, **proper**

Marxist-Leninist Circles with a fixed curriculum endorsed by the Central Agitprop Department. Subsequently such courses should be extended over **the whole network** of our Factory Nuclei, always in accordance with a definite plan. Here we must mention for general information that in our British Section systematic teaching is already taking place with the help of an elementary manual.

General methodics are of course dictated by the nature of the propagandist nucleus work. In connection with this a clean-sweep must be made of all prejudices, as though we have to deal with quite raw material in our propagation of Marxism-Leninism among our rank and file members. Every propagandist who had an opportunity to get into personal contact with rank and file comrades and to get to know their opinions and range of ideas, will admit that many conceptions and questions such as for instance, "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "Imperialism", "How can one organise the struggle against War" etc., have been so to speak rubbed into them by revolutionary experience itself.

It should be emphasised (because this is generally neglected) that the way has already been paved for the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism not only among our own members, but also among the proletarian masses by the revolutionary development of the past few years. Therefore the question now is to take advantage of this and to elaborate general impressions and frequently instinctive conceptions into clear ideas, ideas which could be dealt with by our comrades especially in discussion with non-Party people, in contra-distinction to Social Democratic assertions.

But we cannot limit ourselves to this alone. Our nucleus propagandists must endeavour to find out what specific problems have awakened the political consciousness of our members and what questions have quickened the desire to find a practical way out of their present position and to obtain theoretical clarity. Can it be ascribed to chance that for instance large proletarian masses in Great Britain are at present endeavouring to solve the State problem — the question of the relation between politics and economics, or that in France questions of imperialism, pacifism etc. have become particularly acute? These facts make a differentiation of our propaganda work in the various countries possible. They also enable us to give a definite form to the unconscious aspirations of the masses, bringing them into harmony with revolutionary theory.

But justice cannot be done to all these tasks unless the Central Agitprop Departments organise propaganda work in the nuclei on the basis of centralisation. Special attention should be paid to selection of propagandists. There is still a tendency in some Parties to under-estimate the importance of propagandist work and to entrust with it any "intellectual willing to undertake it". We must put an end to this and must henceforth entrust only capable and tried comrades with propagandist nucleus work. The Central or District Agitprop Department is to guide and control these comrades by selecting definite subjects for the classes in accordance with the existing situation and by preparing exposés on special questions which can be subsequently coordinated. For the realisation of proper courses in Marxism-Leninism, one will have to make sure that a political anthology, an elementary manual be compiled. The Parties should proceed with these tasks without any further delay.

We can give here only a general outline on the manner in which the organisation of educational circles should be conducted. Of course small nuclei must be formed into groups, and larger nuclei must be divided into several such circles or groups. The average number of students in a circle should not exceed 30. As far as this is possible propagandists should not be continually changed, for it is essential that there should be close personal contact between instructors and students.

Apart from the propagandists every nucleus should appoint a so-called "Agitprop Organiser" who should share with the propagandist the responsibility for the work of the Study Circle. This Agitprop Organiser should control the organisation and activity of the Study Circles (subjects to be discussed, attendance, students, etc.) and is to report **regularly** on all this to the higher Agitprop organs. The latter have to collect the material sent to them in a methodical manner and should on their part inform the Central Agitprop Department and submit to its control.

In conclusion we would like to say that the teaching should not take the form of lectures, but rather the form of collective conversations. The subject of the collective conversation or discussion, consisting of 5 to 6 main items, must be distributed among the students. In connection with this one should not omit to state what literature should be used for reference, or what quotations from Marxist-Leninist works are to be used as a basis for those collective conversations, which

should not last longer than two hours. From the pedagogical view-point, the most important thing is to encourage students to self-activity. Another matter to be observed is that there should be a connection between the subjects of the various conversations, even in the case of questions of ordinary everyday propaganda. As to other methodical problems of propagandist nucleus work, the various parties will only be able to solve them on the strength of their own experiences.

Tasks of Literature Secretaries In the Factories.

The dissemination of Communist literature among the masses is of the utmost importance. The more Communist literature is read by the masses the greater will be the influence of the Communist Party. Previous to the reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis, the circulation of the literature was mainly, in the hands of the literature secretaries of the local groups. But the reorganisation of the Party necessitates a change in this respect.

At present it is the literature secretary of the factory nuclei who is mainly responsible for the sale and distribution of Communist literature in the factories. Just as formerly every local group had a literature secretary who collected a staff of collaborators, every factory nucleus intent on doing practical work in a Communist spirit, will have to appoint a literature secretary. **The slogan: No Factory Nucleus without a Literature Secretary should be realised by every Communist Party.** The task of the literature secretary consists in spreading among the workers of the factory all the literary productions of the Communist Party, including scientific and everyday political and agitational literature.

It is obvious that the literature secretary of the factory nucleus must work in harmony with the entire activity of the factory nucleus. The greater the influence of the factory nucleus, and the greater the privileges which the workers have been able to obtain from the employer, the easier it will be as a rule to sell and distribute large quantities of Communist literature.

The literature secretary of the nucleus of a big enterprise with several departments should secure in every department and in every work room a literature secretary who will make it his special business to circulate Communist literature in his department or workroom.

The literature secretary of the enterprise should have a weekly consultation with all the other literature secretaries in his enterprise. At this consultation the work for the following week should be arranged. A selection should be made of the most important and suitable literature in connection with the Party campaign likely to ensure the success of the campaign. With the help of quotations from this literature one should point out how the dissemination and study of this literature may be used in the struggle against the employers, against opportunism and for winning over more sections of workers to our side.

The literature secretary should point out at every factory meeting what literature it is most advisable to circulate in the given situation.

The literature secretary should draw the attention of all reporters to literature which has a special bearing on the subject of their reports, on the existing situation and on the special campaign. The reporters should say something about this literature at the meetings, and should urge the audience to get a supply of it at the literature stall.

A comrade should be made responsible for the sale of literature at public and members meetings. This comrade should distribute the literature sellers throughout the hall in such a way that everyone of them should only have a small definite section of the audience to supply.

The following methods have given good results: In factories, building places, and workshops where the workers take their meals, in a common room, the literature secretary addresses the workers during the dinner interval. After a few introductory remarks he reads short previously selected extracts from some pamphlet or book and explains to the workers on the strength of these quotations, how communist literature may be used in the struggle against the exploiters. In places where this method of agitation is regularly used, good literature sales can be obtained.

Of course distribution of illegal or prohibited literature will have to be organised in a different manner. For the distribution of illegal literature every worker will have to be approached individually. It will be easiest to distribute illegal literature in places with a well-seasoned factory nucleus where the literature secretary can place every comrade under the obligation to sell at least one pamphlet to a friend or acquaintance.

We will give a few concrete examples as an illustration of the work of literature secretaries.

We have factory nuclei in enterprises where the management has hitherto not dared to prohibit the sale of literature in the enterprise. In a large enterprise in Dresden the literature secretary of the nucleus has a literature stall in the room of the factory council. Every worker can have a look at the literature there and can write down his order on a list to be found at the stall. The literature ordered in this manner is delivered on pay day. In connection with the more expensive literature, arrangements are made that workers can pay for anything they have selected by instalments of 10, 20, 50 pfennig or one mark according to their ability to pay. By this method we kill two birds with one stone — we make it easier for the workers to acquire Communist literature and we increase our literature sales. In this enterprise the literature secretary can also indicate to the workers the most important literature at the factory meetings.

In another enterprise a book fund has been established. Every nucleus member pays at least 50 pf. a week into the fund. He is credited to the amount of his contributions and can receive literature from the literature secretary who draws on the book fund.

Some factory nuclei organised book lotteries, the prizes being restricted to our Party literature.

In another place the factory nucleus organised a public meeting charging 20 pf. for entrance. In return every member of the audience received the red picture sheet, or an agitational pamphlet. One factory nucleus has decided to charge every member 10 pf. extra per week. **In return the members of the Nucleus receive one book every quarter.** In this manner the nucleus provided all its members with the following books: "Ten Years of War and Civil War" by Paul Frölich, "Lenin and Leninism" by Stalin, and "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism" by Lenin.

In Leipzig we have a literature secretary for workers engaged in the building trade. This comrade has put up a contrivance against the wall in the shelter of these workers on which he displays our literature. **In the intervals between work this comrade gives from time to time a short address on the importance of our literature.** On the strength of quotations of the exhibited literature he shows the workers how important it is for the working class to study this literature.

But not in all enterprises is it possible to sell literature in this manner. There are factory managers who would dismiss a literary secretary if he were to attempt to offer literature for sale in the enterprise. In such enterprises literature must be sold at factory meetings outside the factory, or at the factory gates, or the literature sales must be carried on illegally, namely by hand to hand distribution by the literature secretaries of the various departments and workrooms and by members of the factory nucleus behind the backs of the factory manager or his watchdogs.

In enterprises where a still stricter watch is kept even this method of selling literature will be impossible. In such cases the only way to sell to every worker separately is outside the enterprise. **One Factory Nucleus has made a list of all the home addresses of the fellow workers. These addresses are distributed among all the members of the Factory Nucleus**

every one of whom has to call on ten to fifteen fellow workers with the literature. The members of the Factory Nucleus have undertaken to call once a fortnight on the fifteen indifferent workers allotted to them, and to urge them to buy our literature. This gives an opportunity to agitate on behalf of the Party press and to recruit new members for the Party. This method of selling literature is more difficult, but more effective and of greater importance. However, it can only be applied by a model factory nucleus. We are not betraying a secret when we say that there are but very few factory nuclei capable of carrying on their work in this manner.

Experience has shown that the best work in the enterprises is done when there are healthy relations between the indifferent workers and the factory nucleus of the CPG, where there is a literature secretary who has been able to organise the sale of our literature on a large sale.

The sale of our literature in the Trade Unions is also of considerable importance. Therefore there should not be a single trade union fraction without a literature secretary. The sale of our literature is just as important in all other workers organisations (Gymnastics and Sports Clubs, Freethinkers Societies, etc.) This being so, the Communist Fractions in these organisations should elect a very capable comrade as literature secretary, and should give him their utmost support in the sale of our literature in these organisations.

No Factory Nucleus without a Literature Secretary. Moreover every factory nucleus member should be put under the obligation to support the literature secretary in his work, and then we will be able to bring our literature to the notice of the masses. The result will be that the masses will understand us better and will be willing to fight and to conquer with us.

Capturing Factory Women Through Factory Nuclei.

By Hertha Sturm.

The Third International Conference of Women Communists decided that one of the main tasks of Communist work among women consists in capturing large sections of working women employed in industry in connection with the reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis. The policy decided upon at that time was supplemented and made more concrete by the May resolution of the OrgBureau on work among women after the last session of the Enlarged Executive.

Generally speaking the Sections have as yet done very little on this field. The reasons for it can be easily ascertained by a perusal of the reports of the Women's Sections (Women's Secretariat) of the various Parties. Apart from such abnormal cases as for instance, Belgium and the USA, where, in spite of the existence of a large female industrial proletariat, the Communist Parties have as yet not organised work among women from the centre, three specific reasons predominate for the as yet small activity of factory nuclei among working women:

1. Ideologically, some of the Parties still cling too much to the traditional organisational forms of Party work. In most cases the Party apparatus for work among women is on a wrong organisational basis, it is a slave to old traditions and cannot therefore be easily reorganised for the different aims which we pursue. This refers particularly to Czechoslovakia and Norway where **alongside of the general Party work, work among women was conducted** on a fairly independent basis.

2. In most Parties work among women is, politically and organisationally, not yet sufficiently part and parcel of the general work for the general Party organs and especially **Factory Nuclei to initiate themselves the capture of working women.**

3. In all Parties the percentage of women members is on the whole small (maximum 25% down to 6% and 2% even in important Parties). Among these women members only a minority are working women (the majority are working-class housewives), and even these few working women have had but little political training or systematic preparation for their tasks. Thus there are only small cadres at our disposal for the initiation of this work.

In view of these objectively unfavourable premises, and the general rather slow process of the construction of factory nuclei, it is all the more important to study very carefully the few beginnings which have been made for the capture of working women by means of the factory nuclei, and also the methods applied in this process and the successes which have thereby been achieved.

Certain reports and material are available from Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Poland. But actual results of the work have only been obtained from Germany.

We will proceed now to deal with a few facts:

1. **Germany.** Although the Women's Secretariat of the CPG. (subsequently the "Women's Section"), had already at the Women's Conference in May 1924 issued a slogan that the chief activity for work among working women be transferred to the factories, no positive results could be recorded until the late summer. The Women's Section therefore decided to concentrate the work on certain districts of the Reich, in

order to gain experience and to form a basis for the extension of the work.

Three districts were selected, where large numbers of women are employed in industry, and where there is at the same time a good Party organisation or a capable cadre of officials, — Erzgebirge-Vogtland (Chemnitz), West Saxony (Leipzig) and Thuringia (Erfurt-Gera). To every one of these districts we sent for a short time (one to three weeks) an experienced woman comrade, who in close collaboration and agreement with the district executive **established a connection with the large industries where women are employed**, and initiated the work there.

The woman organiser discussed matters with the District Executive, and the latter organised in the most important localities meetings of Factory Nuclei Chairmen and Trade Union Officials, at times also general members' meetings and in some cases meetings of women Party members, at which the tasks and the organisation for winning over working women in the industries were discussed. In this way it was ascertained with what factories employing women the Party had personal connection, in which factories Communist women were employed, and where organised nucleus work is already being done. All this material was partly supplemented by a perusal of the written monthly reports of the factory nuclei to the district executive and of the register of Party members.

In Leipzig, one of the main centres of the textile industry, we succeeded in getting into contact with a number of big industrial enterprises through the Trade Union Fraction of the opposition textile workers. These enterprises employ about 3,000 women including 20 women comrades, **who had not yet joined their Nucleus and were not systematically organised for work.** All these data were very helpful as they gave valuable hints to men and women comrades for their activity in the enterprise. This encouraged the formation of new factory nuclei — there are in Saxony a number of textile factories where, because of lack of male Communist workers, the entire factory nucleus consists of Communist women. Moreover, active women comrades were sent into already existing nuclei, or nuclei in factories employing women where there were as yet not working women among their members, and were mobilised for work among the women employed in the factory.

Two tasks were placed before the factory nuclei and the liaison officials in as far as working women were concerned. One of the tasks was to circulate Party newspapers in the factory, the "**Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung**" being given a special place. It should be stated that in the three above-mentioned districts there is now a revolutionary working women's newspaper. These papers are published on the model of the Berlin "**Arbeiterin**" and two of them came already into being during the May Reichstag election. Through the activation of women comrades and subsequently also of considerable circles of working women, the make-up and tone of these newspapers were considerably improved, one of their features being contributions by the factory women themselves. It also became possible for this same reason to organise from within the circulation of these papers in a considerable number of enterprises.

This "Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung" forms, so to speak, a nucleus for work in the factories, and is the precursor of proper factory nucleus newspapers. In the course of the work, the working women were drawn into the work of the already existing factory nuclei, whilst on the other hand nucleus newspapers came into being to which only working women contributed and which are entirely edited by women. There was a very characteristic case in Chemnitz where the first number of a nucleus newspaper was published in two to three hundred copies. This was in connection with a very high-handed action of the employer towards the women employed in the factory. The case was at first discussed in the daily press of the Party and thus circulated in the factory. The second task consisted in utilising general factory meetings by bringing forward at them the demands and needs of the women, and by announcing at them special factory meetings for women.

This method was particularly successful in Thuringia, where one factory set the example for a big campaign among the working women of the whole district. In Gera where the Party had at that time (September 1924) 7 women factory nucleus organisers, a number of women's Factory Councillors and a considerable number of other active women nucleus members, **the working women of one factory were met as they were coming out from work and were taken along to a meeting on wage questions.** The working women were interested and decided to convene a **factory meeting to which the working women of the other Gera factories should be invited.**

Prior to this meeting the nuclei and representatives of various other local factories held meetings for the working women. After this preparation, a plenary meeting of working women was held in Gera in October. At this meeting 23 factories were represented by working women. The meeting dealt with questions of wages and working hours and adopted a programme of action similar to the Gotha fighting programme, which was then the subject of a big campaign not only in Thuringia but throughout the Reich. The meeting issued a proclamation to all the working women of Thuringia inviting them to take part in this action. It also elected a **Working Women's Committee** for the conduct of the action, and this committee got into touch with the Textile Workers' 13th committee of action. This proclamation was taken up and discussed also in the Gotha, Erfurt and Jena factories, where women are employed.

But Gera was the only place where a working women's plenary meetings was held and a Working Women's Committee was elected. Subsequently, the action died down, partly because of the lull in the general movement and partly because of lack of continuous personal initiative by some stronger motive force. Later on, the Working Women's Committee devoted its energies to the establishment of educational courses for working women. The Berlin organisation had already done energetic work as far back as the winter of 1923-24 in a similar manner as to how it was done in Saxony and Thuringia. Particulars about this were already given at the Third International Conference of Communist Women. (See Special Number of the "Inprecorr" of October 6th, 1924.)

A conference of Communist working women was also held in February 1925 in Stuttgart (Württemberg) **which was attended by 21 working women from 16 factories in Stuttgart and the neighbouring Districts.** This conference dealt with the formation and organisation of factory nuclei for the capture of working women. It heard reports from the factories, and on this basis decided what our tasks in the factories should be.

The experiences of the factory nucleus work from the various districts were utilised in the CPG, at the sessions of the women collaborators of the Women's Section attached to the Central Committee, and also in written reports to the Central Committee of the Party in circular letters of instructions addressed to District Executives and District Women's Committees as well as in the "**Kommunistin**" and the working women's newspapers of the district. Moreover, the women's section works systematically for the inclusion of the question of factory nucleus work among women into the so-called "Women's Conferences" of the Party.

In addition to the **Women Organisers of Work among in the Districts (28), working women from the big factories of the most important Industrial Districts were invited to the last Reich Conference held in January. 15 working women attended and took an active and able part in the discussion of the special item on the agenda: "Work in the Factories and Trade**

Unions? The forthcoming Women's Conference in connection with the Party Congress, will this time stipulate that every district should send in addition to the woman organiser of the work a working woman from some big enterprise to the conference. The last circular letter of instructions of the Polbureau of the Central Committee enjoins all Party organisations to invite especially working women to Women's District Conferences.

2. **France.** The Paris section of the Party decided at the end of 1924 on a plan of work for agitation among women, the main part of which deals with the work of the factory nuclei. The most interesting part of this plan, the main features of which are in keeping with the international decisions, is the very practical concretisation of the immediate tasks and the fixture of definite dates.

1. The nucleus of every factory where more than 20 women are employed, should appoint within a week a woman or man comrade as organiser for working women. This organiser should be a member of the nucleus bureau.
2. The first tasks of the working women's organiser are:
 - a) Within two weeks of his appointment he should present a report on the number, position and demands of the working women in the factory.
 - b) He must find a woman correspondent for "**L'Ouvrière**" (working women's weekly organ of the CPF.), and act as a correspondent in the meantime.
 - c) He should collaborate in the editorial board of the factory nucleus newspaper and should encourage working women to become regular contributors.
 - d) He should do his utmost to organise with the help of the nucleus bureau a working women's factory meeting, and should bring up at these factory meetings questions of interest to working women.
 - e) He should find a suitable woman comrade in his factory for the Paris educational course for Communist working women.
 - f) He should carry on individual propaganda among the most intelligent and active working women of his factory in order to bring them into the Communist Party.
 - g) He should supervise the circulation of the "**L'Ouvrière**" in the factory, this circulation to be at least 10 per cent of the number of women employed in the factory.
 - h) He should try to ascertain what impression the "**L'Ouvrière**" is making, communicating to the editorial board the criticisms of the working women. He should also urge at Party meetings that work among women should be extended and intensified.
3. Factory organisers are convened twice a month by the women's commission of the district (Región) according to town districts (Rayon) or groups of town districts, for the purpose of reporting on their work, exchanging experiences and receiving instructions.

No reports have as yet been received on the results of this work. However, progress has already been made: during the last months there have been already letters from working women in the factories in "**L'Ouvrière**" whilst formerly they were conspicuous by their absence.

The plan of work of the Paris Section was sent to the other districts as a model. In North France and in Lyons, which are both big centres of the textile industry, employing large numbers of women, **Party Conferences for the organisation of work among women factory workers** have been held. In these conferences representatives of political leading organs and of factory nuclei and also trade union officials and women employed in the factories took an active part. On this too, no full reports have yet been received. But through this mobilisation of the factory nuclei the circulation of the "**L'Ouvrière**" which was hitherto almost entirely limited to Paris, has been extended to the provinces where it has been brought to the notice of large sections of working women. The circulation increased from 3 to 4,000 in January and to 7,500 in April 1925.

3. **Poland.** Here the Party already had before the Fifth World Congress a fairly well-established connection with women factory workers, which, however, lacked systematic or-

ganisation. During the past year Nuclei of communist working women and also women's circles into which working women sympathisers were drawn, were created in various districts with big factories employing women; these nuclei and circles had to work illegally. The reports show that there are in some cases in Warsaw two Communist nuclei in one and the same enterprise, one consisting of women and the other of men workers. This practice of forming separate Party nuclei for working women was strongly condemned by a Women's Conference of the CP. of White Russia. In its resolution on questions of organisation, this conference decided among other things:

To appoint responsible leaders for the work among women in every Party Nucleus in whose district women factory workers are to be found.

To establish close collaboration with the Youth League which in view of the lack of party women comrades should assign its nucleus members for work among women.

To organise so-called Free Women's Circles, into which average working women whose class consciousness is not yet developed, should be drawn. These circles should gradually educate their members in a Communist spirit.

To utilise Trade Unions, Co-operatives and schools for the mobilisation of the working women.

As a means for the political class education of working women, the resolution recommended the organisation of economic actions for higher wages and better working women's protection laws, as well as for bringing forward working women's demands at elections of all kinds — to sickness funds administrations, to organs of self-government etc.

In support of this agitation it was recommended: to elaborate a plan for talks and reports among working women, for the establishment of small libraries, and collection of material on the women's question.

4. **Czechoslovakia.** The Women's Secretariat of the Party has published a pamphlet on nucleus work and has compiled an informative pamphlet on work among women in Czechia. It sent an instruction on factory nucleus work among working women to the district organisations of the Party and has compiled statistics on factories and the number of women employed in industry throughout the country. Reports on practical results have not yet been received.

And now we come to the deductions from these facts.

Although we must be very cautious because of the scanty material at our disposal, we can draw some conclusions which may to a certain extent be considered as a guide for successful work.

1. The necessary premise for the Party's concentration on the tasks which factory nuclei have to fulfil among working

women, is a thorough and practical study of the principle of the question by the women's sections in close collaboration with the Party executives and with the special organisers of Party work in factories, and trade unions.

2. The work should not be allowed to depend on the presence of **communist working women** in the factory, as this cadre is for the time being decidedly too weak. In the beginning the work must rather rest on the factory nuclei as a whole, that is to say, also on the men comrades.

3. The women's sections (Women's Committees) of the Party should not passively wait for the "Party as a whole" to take the initiative for the organisation of planned-out systematic work. It is rather the duty of the women's sections to focus the attention of the Party as a whole on this task by their own initiative and activity, and to make sure that justice be done to it, especially in such cases when the Party does not go about this work in a sufficiently energetic manner.

4. In connection with certain enterprises, localities and districts it would seem expedient to create first of all favourable conditions for the work, and to concentrate on this all efforts in order to gain the first practical experience. Such practical attempts can and should be made everywhere without any further delay, without waiting for the results of detailed statistics, the usefulness of which cannot be disputed.

5. The factory nuclei should be given definite tasks to fulfil. The circulation of the Communist women's press in the factory, the number of working women secured for trade unions and the Party, the number of working women's letters in the press, all this is an absolute criterion for the activity and success of nucleus work.

6. The cadres of the Communist working women in the factories should be systematically registered, organised, instructed and trained.

7. The special women's propaganda material of the Party should be adapted to the requirements of work in the factory. This applies to report material as well as to periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. used for recruiting purposes among the masses.

8. The Communist Youth should be encouraged to support this work especially among the young working women.

9. The experiences of this work should be carefully collected and utilised. This necessitates: regular reporting by the nuclei to the higher Party organs and regular reports and instructions of the higher Party organs to the nuclei, preparation of all kinds of questions for mutual discussion at Party meetings and conferences as well as exhaustive reporting and discussion in the press: political daily press, bulletins on questions of organisation, and **International Press**.

The Question of the Organisation of Communist Co-operative Work.

By M — n.

Apart from the Soviet Union where co-operatives play an important role in economic life and are one of the main factors of Communist economy, there are only two countries where Parties and co-operative organisations work in close contact. These countries are Belgium and Austria.

In Belgium co-operatives are also connected organisationally with the Party: the "Office Cooperative Belge" is an organic part of the Belgian Labour Party. In Austria co-operatives whilst seemingly "independent", and "autonomous" are in reality dominated by the Social Democratic Party through personal union and other internal arrangements.

In the other countries where consumers' co-operatives — and it is with them that we are dealing here — are under the leadership of petty-bourgeois co-operative ideologists, they are not in touch with the other organisations of the working class, and even take up a hostile attitude towards them.

All the more so is it the duty of Communist Parties to draw the mass organisation into the revolutionary struggle of the working class. In connection with this one must bear in mind that among the members of co-operatives there are

apart from those who are organised in Trade Unions a considerable number of workers who do not belong to any other working class organisation. Such are, for instance, the proletarian housewives, and the big army of small officials and employees in private enterprises. Therefore two different methods should be used for the organisation and activation of this section of the working class.

Workers in factories and workshops should be influenced through the Communist nuclei. The method adopted by the Austrian Social Democrats is as follows: **They attach to the Factory Councils dominated by them a trusted representative whose business it is to carry on co-operative work.** These representatives are combined into a co-operative body of councillors for the Factory Councils. Through this body the Party and also the co-operatives carry out all the necessary measures, campaigns, etc. in the industrial enterprises.

Another form of organisational connection consists in the local Trade Union Cartels forming a co-operative council, in which the various free trade unions and the Social Democratic Party are represented. All questions of principle and those of

organisation of the co-operative movement are discussed by this co-operative council of trade union cartels. The policy and activity of the Co-operatives are influenced through the Co-operative Council of the Trade Union Cartel. It depends on the strength of the various parties in this Co-operative Council to what extent Co-operatives carry on their work in the interests of the proletariat. This latter method is applied, for instance, in Switzerland.

Thus, if we want to do systematic work in the Co-operatives we must draw Factory Nuclei and also Factory Councils into the work. There should be in every nucleus a comrade instructed to carry on co-operative propaganda. This comrade should be considered as our authorised representative for co-operative work in the factory. These representatives in the various factories should be formed into a body on a local scale, and these bodies are to be organised on a district scale. Members of the Communist fraction of the Central Co-operative authorities and a few leaders of co-operative fractions from the district are to be formed into a co-operative body of councillors for the Central Committee. Such bodies of councillors should also be attached to the local and district executives organs.

It is of paramount importance to influence the Factory Councils in the co-operatives themselves. In co-operatives where Communists have a majority, we must endeavour to create in close collaboration with the co-operative executive organ model labour conditions, worthy of serving as an example to other enterprises. Representatives of manual and office workers are to be consulted on all questions of co-operative work.

The activation of co-operative members can be achieved by inviting to the conferences also authorised co-operative representatives from other enterprises, and by placing regular reports on the work of the co-operatives before the factory meetings. In co-operatives where Communists are in the minority, we must by bringing pressure to bear on the Factory Council demand that representatives of manual and office workers be invited to the conferences of co-operative officials. These joint conferences are of the utmost importance in the case of labour conflicts — strikes, lockouts, persecutions, legal proceedings, etc. The manual and office workers of the co-operatives should insist on the management of the co-operative helping the workers in their struggle. This can be done in the form of granting credits to the strikers or locked-out workers, or in the form of supporting the women and children of arrested or sentenced comrades.

If the initiative for such actions comes from the workers in the co-operatives themselves, this will help to win the sympathy of other workers for the revolutionary class-conscious co-operators. Any extra expenditure will be fully repaid by the increased interest of the workers in the co-operatives.

If we want to gain influence over housewives, employees in private enterprises and civil servants, our comrades must get into personal contact with them. House to house agitation, distribution of co-operative literature, propaganda among women, whilst they do their shopping in co-operative stores, distribution of Party literature through stall holders and shop assistants, co-operative social evenings at which in addition to co-operative questions general economic and political problems are discussed, reports followed by free discussions and by eventually supplying women with co-operative produce in small quantities, — such are the methods which we must use in this work.

But we cannot do justice to these tasks unless we increase considerably our propaganda activity in the consumers' co-operatives. It is the duty of our comrades to attend all meetings, or do not hold them frequently enough, we must. Wherever the co-operative bureaucrats fail to convene such meetings, a do not hold them frequently enough, we must take the initiative in the organisation of regular members' meetings. Activation of rank and file members is the most important prerequisite of revolutionary co-operative work.

But activation of the membership requires above all active work by our own comrades within and for the co-operatives. Therefore, we recommend that the following measures should be taken immediately:

1. All Party members should enter consumers' co-operatives. Organisation of all Communists into co-operatives

fractions under the leadership of the committee which is to be confirmed by the local or district leading organs.

2. Communist co-operative members should carry out their duties conscientiously, taking an active part in all elections to the administrative and control organs of the co-operatives. Abstention from voting is breach of discipline for a Communist.
3. Communists elected to administrative and control organs should take an active part in the work of these organs. It is essential that as many women Communists as possible take part in the work of the distributing centre commissions where ever such commissions exist, and in the formation of shop or distributing centre commissions in localities where none as yet exist.
4. Propaganda for entry into the co-operatives should be carried on by the factory nuclei, periodical control by the latter and their authorised representatives over such entries.
5. Adequate support and control on the part of district and local leading Party organs over work in the co-operatives. This control and support is to be carried out as follows: Regular reporting by the executives of the fractions of the various co-operatives and co-operative societies on the work and the position of co-operatives as well as on the actions carried out by the fractions. Periodical conferences of district and local executives with Communist co-operative officials; regular convocation of district co-operative conferences.
6. The Party press should be placed under the obligation to write regularly about the work of the local co-operatives and co-operative societies. The leading organs of the fractions should also be placed under the obligation to send to the Party press regular reports on events in the co-operatives and co-operative societies, as well as on the activity of the fractions.
7. In order to arouse the interest of Communist and also other co-operative members, one should organise, wherever co-operative fractions are strong enough, the publication (even if it be not periodical) of co-operative wall and factory newspapers. One should endeavour first and foremost to induce the manual and office workers of the co-operatives to become contributors to the paper. Experience in the Soviet co-operatives shows that these wall newspapers, which deal with the seemingly petty every day questions of the co-operatives are very effective in making even the most backward members realise that the co-operatives are their own organisations, and that through little more activity on their part these organisations could be made what they really should be, namely, organs of the struggling proletariat.

But all these practical measures cannot be carried out if the decisions of the World Congress on the organisation of co-operative work in the national sections of the Comintern, in the Co-operative Departments of the Central Committees, District and Local Labour organs, and Fractions in all Co-operative Organisations, remain on paper. In this respect there is still much work to be done for our Parties. But, as recent events have shown, this work can contribute a great deal to the reorganisation of the Communist Parties into mass parties.

In this respect we merely draw attention to the elections to the co-operative council in Basle (Switzerland) at which Communists were very successful. The Swiss Party press and also the press of our opponents place on record that Communist action in the co-operatives has considerably strengthened the influence of the Party. Increased Communist activity in the co-operative movement of Czechoslovakia has also been a contributing factor in the process of the Bolshevisation of the Party. Localities which were hitherto entirely under the influence of the Social Democrats are being captured for the Party through the co-operatives.

Deduction — more attention to this hitherto neglected work!

In conclusion, we should like to draw attention to the

question of Communist co-operative work among the peasantry. Up till now Germany and Czechoslovakia are the only countries where a beginning has been made with the establishment of relations between the urban consumers and rural producers and co-operatives. It is essential to pay more attention

to co-operative questions in our agitation in the rural districts. Direct relations between rural and urban co-operatives do not as yet exist in any country. Thus this part of our work is almost virgin soil, which claims our special and very careful attention.

Factory Sport Organisations.

By Fritz Reussner.

"If we mean to carry on a sensible labour policy and to have peace with labour, the State and the employers should proceed systematically to establish sports grounds and to support all sport enterprises. This is an investment which will yield high interest." Karl Diem, General Secretary of the German Reich Physical Culture Committee ("Deutsche Allg. Zeitung").

The bourgeoisie uses every possible means to bring the proletarian class into complete spiritual and economic subjection. If formerly we said that the best opportunities of the bourgeoisie were the schools, the church and military service, we can today add also sport.

Sport has become an important feature in the general life of the people. Millions of persons take an active part in sports. From the political-economical standpoint too, sport is far from being unimportant. The workers in particular are taking up gymnastics and sports, namely, physical culture.

With its keen instinct the bourgeoisie has long ago felt that here is a field of great possibilities for winning over the masses, and is therefore giving liberal financial support to bourgeois gymnastic and sports organisations. It is generally said: "Sport is a neutral factor and has nothing to do with politics and class questions". This is just to lure the workers into the bourgeois organisations. The million figures showing the membership of bourgeois gymnastic and sport organisations show that many workers have allowed themselves to be misled by this bourgeois swindle and have joined the organisations of our class enemies.

The capitalists are not satisfied with the fact that the workers are mostly organised in bourgeois gymnastic and sport organisations. They want to bring the workers still more under their control and to bind them to their respective factories. Capitalists long to control the leisure of the workers. Moreover they are anxious to form in the factory a nucleus of right-minded workers in sympathy with the "benevolent" employer, in order to establish "class co-operation". Among other institutions they also form Factory Sports Clubs.

These clubs are mostly formed in the big industrial enterprises. The big industrialists are actuated by purely capitalist considerations. The first and foremost of these considerations is to divert the attention of the workers' from political and trade union life. The second consideration is the recognition that a healthy and physically trained worker is a better producer, and the third consideration is that their own sport grounds are a good investment of surplus capital and "this investment yields high interest". Increased productivity of labour means bigger profits.

Factory sport organisations are already fairly widespread. They are an international phenomenon, particularly developed in America, France, Italy, Great Britain and Germany. We get a good insight into factory sport organisations from an article of a bourgeois gymnastics instructor. This article contains the following statement:

"Various big industrial enterprises have complied with the wishes of their manual and office workers and have given sympathetic support to their endeavours on behalf of sports and gymnastics. For instance, Krupps in Essen have built an up-to-date swimming bath, two first-class gymnastic halls and a big sports ground. Berliners are familiar with the magnificent sports grounds of the Siemens workers which consist of a sport field with a con-

crete race-course and stand for spectators, dressing rooms which can be heated, bath rooms with douches for men and women, tennis courts, several fields for games and a boat house. The grounds of Schwartzkopf in Wildau consist of: a boat house, a swimming bath, a gymnastic hall, a football field. Those of Borsig, Tegel, consist of two football fields, a hockey ground, a gymnastic hall, and a swimming bath. There are also the sport grounds of the Werner, Bamag and Osram Companies, and many others. With this support it has been possible to form good and capable sport organisations within the works: The Krupp Gymnastics Society, the Siemens Sports League, etc.

A Conference of superintendents of technical schools held in May 1924 in Berlin, resulted in the formation of a League to which the technical schools of the following firms are affiliated: A. E. G., Reinickendorf, A. E. G., Kabelwerk Oberspree, Borsig, Siemens, Löwe, Werner, Stock, Zwietusch, Mix & Genest, Bergmann, Knorrbrämse and Daimler.

The league was formed with the object of **giving an opportunity to all apprentices, that is to say also to those who have already definite political views, to go in for sport on a perfectly neutral basis.** (Underlining mine. F. R.)

One can see by this that the capitalist gentry do not mind spending something in connection with the matter. They hasten to explain the object, namely to give also apprentices who have already definite political views an opportunity to go in for sports on a "perfectly neutral basis". To put it bluntly, this means that their attention is to be diverted from political and trade union questions.

An extract from the list of participators from factory sport organisations in the Berlin Gymnastic and Sports week, shows the extension of the organisation in the various enterprises. In this list there were: the German Reichs Post, the Dresdner Bank, the Reichshauptbank, Osram, Daimler Motor Company, Schultheiss Patzenhof Brewery, Berlin Handelsgesellschaft, the Bank of the Berliner Kassenverein, etc.

One could multiply these examples from various countries. For instance, the Electrical Company in Chicago, has a factory sport league with over 10,000 members, all of whom are employed in the enterprise. The Renault works in Paris and other Paris works have strong sport leagues, and the same may be said of Motor Car and other factories in Italy.

The firms are endeavouring to give their factory sport leagues high qualifications and use this at the same time as an advertisement. In order to attract highly qualified sportsmen they are offered good positions and higher salaries. By various favours and privileges the workers in these factory sport organisations are corrupted and made willing tools of the employers.

It is obvious that the privileged members of these factory sport clubs and leagues become strike breakers and informers. They will mostly keep at a distance from trade union and political organisations. They will be in fact hostile to the endeavours of the workers. Through the sport organisations employers will transplant the spirit of class co-operation to the factories. By means of joint banquets and probably also by active participation in the sports themselves employers will endeavour to demonstrate their brotherly feelings to the workers and will thereby blunt the class-consciousness of the latter.

Trade Unions and political organisations must realise these facts and must therefore pay special attention to factory sport organisations. The slogan must be to place the factory sports club under the sole control of the workers and to affiliate it to the central workers sports federations, to win the members

of factory sports clubs for the trade union and political movement. In this connection the factory nuclei of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League have still a big task before them.

Collaboration between Party and Y. C. L. Factory Nuclei.

In many lower Party organisations there are people who dispute the necessity of special YCL factory nuclei. It has been frequently the case in Germany, France and Belgium that Party and also YCL comrades ask why there should be two factory nuclei in one and the same factory. They say that the YCL and the Party should have a joint factory nucleus. We are decidedly against such a conception, as it would lead to the liquidation of the youth organisation in general.

The session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern made it incumbent on Communist Parties and YC. Leagues to win the young generation for Communism. To carry out this important task it is essential to extend and intensify still more mass work, and most of the YCLs have already made a beginning with this. The reorganisation of Parties and of YCLs on a factory nucleus basis, which is now the main feature everywhere, makes it possible to get control over young workers on a large scale. Through the establishment of more YCL nuclei an organ is formed around which we can rally the young factory workers. Attention has already been frequently drawn to the inadequacy of the relative strength between the YC. Leagues and the Parties. In Berlin for instance the numerical strength of our YC. Leagues is 26 times less than of the Party. In Paris 6 times less, in London 10 times less, etc. How many big enterprises are there where Party comrades are employed and where factory nuclei exist and where nevertheless nothing or very little has been done to win the young workers over to our side and to form a YCL nucleus.

A YCL Nucleus side by side with every Party Nucleus!

With the exception of the RCP, the above slogan has not been acted upon by a single Party. In connection with the Factory Nuclei campaigns the Parties should not only draw attention to the necessity of forming YCL nuclei, but also to find out where it is possible to form them and to proceed with their formation. The influence of the Parties is more far-reaching than that of our YC. Leagues. Therefore the Parties are able to form youth nuclei in far more enterprises than the YC. Leagues can.

But if we make it incumbent on our Party comrades to win young working men and women for the Communist Youth movement, we must at the same time show them the necessity for it by means of practical examples and experiences from the factories.

Why is it necessary to have a special YCL nucleus side by side with the Party Nucleus?

We will answer this question by giving here a few reports sent in by young workers correspondents. A young Berlin workers correspondent writes as follows:

"The Batterie- and Elemente-Fabrik Krautwurst in Berlin is a 'fine firm' indeed. Conditions prevailing there beggar description. The nine-hour day is the rule there, but the young workers must grind away for 12—15 hours. They are engaged as unskilled young workers, but are kept continuously at pushing the wheel-barrow. A young worker 17 or 18 years old receives 23 pf. per hour."

What is there important in this report for the adult workers?:

1. The fact that young workers are kept at it for 12—15 hours whilst their adult fellow workers only work 9 hours.

2. For the same work the young workers are paid only 23 pf. per hour, which is much less than their adult workers receive.

Other YCL reports run:

"Apprenticeship.

The fascist firm — the precious stone polishing and cutting workshop of Gillmann Brothers, Oberstein/Nahe employs 3 improvers and 5 apprentices. The apprenticeship period expired at Easter, but up to now not one of the apprentices has had anything to do with stone-cutting, but only with polishing and other subordinate work. Blows are a frequent occurrence, and all this for 7—8 mark. What is to be the fate of these apprentices whose apprenticeship will be over at Easter but who have not learned anything? As unskilled workers they will have a miserable existence, that is to say if they are not left entirely without work, for it has already been hinted that when their apprenticeship expires they would be dismissed."

Extract from the report from a young worker of the Bernsdorf Glass Works:

"The Bernsdorf Glass Works is a model enterprise for the exploitation of young workers. Here the young workers are paid per shift although piece-time rates are the rule in glass works. Young workers more than 20 years old receive the princely wage of 15 marks per week, whilst those still younger far still worse: they receive only 9—12 mark for extremely injurious and monotonous work. With present prices these wages are nothing but starvation wages. But if money is scarce blows are plentiful."

These reports show that in capitalist society apprentices are not there to learn but to be exploited.

Therefore the third fact is: **An apprentice must do the same work as adult workers, and even piece-work but he receives for this work only a small fraction of the wage of an adult worker.**

The lessons which adult fellow workers have to draw from these facts are:

1. That young workers and apprentices are used to cut down wages.

2. That employers being able to produce goods much cheaper with apprentices and young workers, endeavour to employ more and more such workers.

Young workers are in a worse position than their adult fellow workers, and their role is that of **strike breakers**. Therefore it is essential to organise the young workers of the factory into a YCL nucleus.

It is the business of the YCL nucleus to represent the interests of the young workers with the employer with the Trade Unions and with the adult workers who very often have not the right understanding for the miserable conditions of the young workers. The latter are part of the workers as a whole and they need the support of their adult fellow workers if their demands are to be conceded. Thus the YCL nucleus which is under the control of the Party nucleus has to look to the latter for the protection of its interests. Therefore, there should be close contact between the YCL and the Party nucleus, and where this is not the case, steps should be taken to bring it about. Some important reports sent in by young worker correspondents show that this is not the case.

Such a correspondent wrote as follows from Cologne in the beginning of February:

"The young workers in the Cologne firm Keller asked for a rise of 10 pfennig per hour. Their demand was refused and they went on strike. They appealed to the German Commercial Clerks Union which got immediately into touch with the firm through our fellow worker Winklhof. The latter insisted on the tariff wage, whereupon Keller said that he fixes the wages himself. Then Winklhof proposed to agree to 45 pfennig. Keller refused, but was willing to reinstate three fellow workers on condition that they should only do piece work. Young workers earn less on piece work than if they work for a fixed wage. On piece work they have a 63 hour week. For Sunday shifts and overtime they receive the ordinary pay per hour. The strike in this firm is still going on. We think that the adult fellow workers who have not downed tools, and among whom there are also Social Democrats, will soon show their solidarity with the young workers."

This report shows that whilst young workers go on strike their adult colleagues continue to work. This also happened in a **strike of young workers in Bernsdorf**. A comrade from the YCL nucleus wrote about this strike as follows:

"The article on the labour conditions here, which appeared in the **"Junge Garde"** (central organ of the German YCL.), caused great excitement and indignation amongst the young workers.

They approach us every day with the question, if it were possible to go on strike. We said: 'Yes, if all of you are united, a strike will be possible'. We knew that the firm had pressing orders. One day the Reichsbanner Hero, Max Gregor, shoved Kurt Göring's hand on purpose into a red hot should. There was an uproar among the young workers. There were big meetings during the intervals and our comrades carried on their agitation. Together with the non-Party workers we convened a meeting of assistant workers for Sunday but only 25 people turned up. They elected a committee of 2 YCL. members, one Socialist young worker and two non-Party people. This committee approached the manager for a rise of 20 per cent and the abolition of speeding up.

At the next meeting, which was already attended by 60 to 70 young workers, a resolution was moved to carry on any struggle which might arise without the foreman of the factory, Otto Herzog (SPG.). This resolution was adopted unanimously. The representatives of the young workers called on Monday and Tuesday at the office, but in vain. The excitement grew.

The young workers waited for the result of the negotiations in front of the Wanne works. As the rise was not conceded, everyone left the works. The workers of the Wanne works went straight to the manager. He received them and said: 'Those who want to work can do so, but those who are not willing to work can do as they like'. He gave them half an hour to think the matter over.

A meeting was held in the sports grounds. Suddenly there appeared among us a detective who had been bribed by the SPG. member Hertzog and told us that we were to go back to work as the 20 percent rise had been conceded. He had spread the same fairy tale already on Sunday. We would not listen to him but in the course of the afternoon 50 to 60 people turned up to work. The tariff of the Union had in the meantime been made known, and the old man had made fairly good concessions under our pressure. United action could no longer be thought of. Some went back to work because they were starving, many, because they were afraid of the employer and 30 had already asked for their papers before that. The leading organ of the YCL nucleus decided to await the results of the meeting which was to be held on Tuesday morning. This meeting was attended by most of the workers. The timid ones had allowed themselves to be deluded and 30 men decided to go back to work on Wednesday."

Although there are Party and YCL. nuclei in both factories, the two nuclei did not get into touch in connection with these two young workers strikes. The result was that the struggle of the young workers was only partially successful

for without the support of the adult workers it could not be otherwise.

Sometimes it is the other way about. Adult workers go on strike and apprentices have to go on working and acting as strike breakers without their older fellow workers making an effort to draw them into the strike.

At the factory Nuclei Conference held some time ago in the Ruhr basin, a representative of the Höllstein & Kappe, Dortmund factory nucleus made the following report: He as the only Communist formed the factory nucleus. In a very short space of time, the nucleus gained so much influence that the apprentices of the factory who at first feared victimisation, if they joined the nucleus, demanded during the strike that our comrade **should fetch the adult workers in order that they should make the apprentices leave the factory because they were not willing to be blacklegs.**

Even during the great metal strike in South Germany the apprentices had to act as strike breakers without our Party nuclei making an attempt to mobilise the adult workers against such a thing.

It is high time that Communist Parties and YC. Leagues alike having set themselves the task of reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis should draw the necessary lessons from these examples: **Close collaboration with the Party and YCL. Nuclei is essential and must receive our fullest attention.**

The report of a YCL. nucleus in the Ruhr district shows already signs of improvement. The nucleus makes the following statement:

"Our local group was reorganised on a factory nucleus basis some time ago. I will now endeavour to give a brief account of our activity for the benefit of the Communist Youth. At 6.30 a. m. we go down, about 350 metres into the bowels of the earth, to work there for the profit of our exploiters. In the mine we meet once more to encourage one another for our propaganda. Every comrade is provided with a piece of chalk. We have of course to be very careful, for everyone knows how employers and their hirelings are always on the look out for anything in the nature of Communists.

But this does not prevent us doing our bit for the proletarian revolution. From every shaft we hear encouraging remarks as for instance **"Long live Moscow!"**, **"Join the YCL. or the Party!"**, **"Fight with the Communist Youth against the one year obligatory labour service!"**, **"Fight for trade union unity!"**. **In addition to these we have issued the following slogan in honour of the red recruiting month of the Party: "Read the Aix-La-Chapelle Labour Paper!", "A Communist paper in every house!", "Away with the bourgeois newspaper from workingmen's homes!"**

We naturally do not limit ourselves to written propaganda. We continued with the miners in their places of employment."

This report shows that the YCL. nucleus has done clever recruiting work for the Party organ and the Party during the latter's recruiting week. Only it was done without joint preparation and still rather inadequately. But where is the Party nucleus which has done that much for the Youth?

It is just during the epoch of retarded revolution when there is the danger of a certain estrangement between parties and YC. Leagues that closer and better collaboration of Party and YCL. nuclei is essential. The reorganisation of Parties and YC. Leagues on a factory nucleus basis does not only enable all members to participate in League and Party work, but ensures also harmonious and close collaboration. YCL. members work in closest proximity to Party comrades, they watch their attitude and their Party work in the factory, they take part in this work and profit by it.

But the nucleus should also organise this collaboration. This necessitates mutual representation in the leading organs and meetings of the nuclei. Apart from the separate functions of Party and YCL. nuclei there must also be joint functions, at which common tasks and activity are discussed. YCL. nuclei should give their help in Party campaigns, and vice versa. To this more attention should be paid in future. It is only in this manner that Parties can help to educate YC. Leagues into active Party officials.

Connection Between Parliamentary Fractions and Factories.

By P. Schlecht.

In all capitalist countries, parliaments are one of the most important and dangerous weapons of the bourgeoisie for the subjection of the working class. Workers are deluded by fine phrases about democracy and the fallacy that they can get rid of their fetters through the ballot box. Unfortunately these fraudulent manoeuvres have created illusions among the workers which have prevented them hitherto from carrying on a united struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

To destroy these illusions is one of the main tasks of the Communist fraction in parliament. Workers must be made to realise that compromise with the bourgeoisie, as exercised by the SPG, through its class co-operation with Stinnes, Kloeckner, and others, only leads to the maintenance of the profits of the employers. Therefore members of parliament should keep in close touch with the workers in enterprises. They should discuss with the workers in the enterprises the questions and proposals brought forward in parliament, in order to expose the workings of this class weapon by giving illustrations from proceedings in parliament and the voting of the Parties. Such a method of contact is the instruction of Factory Councils through its members of parliament.

At Factory Councils Conferences in which Factory Councils participate regardless of Party tendencies, all questions raised in parliament and also the political situation at home and abroad should be discussed by the members of parliament. In this manner Factory Councils must be shown that nothing can be gained for the workers by parliamentary voting. The fact of dealing with social politics, taxation and tariff questions, amnesty, foreign and home policy at such conferences where Factory Councilors have an opportunity to get information and clear up misunderstandings by direct questions to the members of Parliament, helps to raise the interest in the proceedings. Factory Councils have generally made immediate use of the material thus obtained in the factories and at factory meetings, thereby bringing about workers participation in the discussion of such questions.

SPG workers attend such conferences in spite of the prohibition of their Party leaders. They realise themselves that their representatives either misinform them or do not inform them at all. Thus the following remark was made at the conference by a SPG Factory Councilor when we were dealing with the proposals concerning social legislation:

"Our fraction has not yet discussed this question with us".

At the head of the conferences there is a parliamentary Advisory Committee consisting of Factory Councils whose business it is to discuss important questions with the parliamentary fraction, to convene the conferences and to keep up a close connection between the factory workers and the Parliamentary fraction. In this manner it is possible to make the workers familiar with all the important events and to supply the Factory Councils with material enabling them to answer adequately all the questions put by the workers.

Moreover members of Parliament should be allotted to the factory nuclei as responsible Party workers. Their business

is to lecture in the nuclei and factories on Parliamentary work, to study the attitude and frame of mind of the workers on the spot (in the factories), and to collect material in the factories for the purpose of making parliamentary work more effective. When lecturing in the factories and nuclei, care should be taken to show difference between the various questions and proposals made in Parliament, in order to show the workers how such proposals react on workers condition.

When in this manner close connection between the Parliamentary fraction and the factory nuclei and various enterprises has been established, and factory workers are regularly informed of everything of importance, it will be possible to rouse these workers from their apathy and to make them participate in the parliamentary struggle by making proper use of such important occasions as the introduction of taxes and tariff bills, or the amnesty question. The factory delegations are such a means for the struggle outside parliament.

Cabinet Ministers who appreciate such delegations at their right value, generally make themselves scarce before the arrival of such delegations, because they are afraid that the pressure which these delegations can bring to bear through the factories might affect their decisions. They know that if a promise made by a Cabinet Minister to such delegations is not subsequently acted upon, this would have a revolutionising effect on the workers. As they cannot possibly send the delegations home without some promise or other, they generally refuse to receive them or beat about the bush during the negotiations with the intention of showing the uselessness of such delegations.

On such occasions it is the duty of Communist members of parliament to establish relations with the Cabinet Ministers and to introduce the delegation themselves.

Such mass delegations have frequently had a salutary effect on parliamentary decisions. This applies to national as well as to provincial parliaments and municipal councils. The larger the number of delegates and the greater the unity of the factories behind them, the more striking the success. But when delegates come back to the factories with the tale of Cabinet Ministers treating them in a high and mighty fashion, or turning a deaf ear to all their wishes, it has a very depressing effect on the workers. When on the strength of their experience at negotiations with the various parliamentary parties, the representatives of the enterprises have to tell the workers that all parties from the SPG down to the Nationalists are united on the side of the bourgeoisie, the workers will easily realise that energetic class struggle against these enemies must be the order of the day. They are cured of their illusions and thus won over for the Red fighting front.

A satisfactory connection between Parliamentary work and the workers in the enterprises, adequate educational work in the enterprises through the Communist parliamentary fractions, means a mighty step forward in the revolutionary struggle.

More Village Patronages!

Even though the agrarian question is not of such immense importance in Germany as in Russia, still it ought to be taken sufficiently seriously. Therefore, we should utilise Russian experiences in the land question and already today lay the foundation for the organisation of a new economic system in accordance with the dictums of Lenin.

The first step in this direction is to win over the agricultural workers and small peasantry. When, however, comrades convinced of the necessity of gaining the land, sacrifice their so-called "free Saturday evenings and Sundays" to enlighten the proletariat in the country, it often happens that shortsighted comrades spoil their taste for this difficult propaganda work in the country by their absurd remarks, quite apart from the financial difficulties which are put in their way.

It happened to me once that a political group leader said to me when I wanted to go out into the country after a four weeks' interval: "What, you want to go there again!" This lack of understanding for rural propaganda is absolutely sometimes catastrophic. Many comrades have simply never thought what an important role the transport of commodities plays in in the workers' struggle for power. In addition to that, there is the incipient nationalist incitement in the country; for the monarchists know that their best support and troops have always been, and still are, those young fanatical peasant youths.

On this account it is one of our most important tasks to drive a wedge in amongst these supporters of the bourgeoisie. The mere fact of winning over one of these rural proletarians

from the bourgeois front is a certain success for us. To gain one man as a connecting link in the village or small town and the formation of several comrades into a local group, should be the primary task in rural education. **The Local Party Group in the country should act the part of a Nucleus, which hears and sees everything just like the Factory Nucleus.** Owing to the fact that hitherto no systematic or permanent work existed, we have lost very quickly anything that we may have won. Our local groups, as a result of insufficient or even no support on the part of the Party district, have had very little possibility of coming out into the open. Many are compelled to work illegally because of the unspeakable terror of the peasantry, the Junkers, and the priesthood.

In cases such as these the Party organisation ought to come to the rescue. A District is divided into Sub-Districts; every urban District organises a Sub-District. Up to the present, few comrades only carried on the work in the Sub-Districts which comprised so many locals with the result that at most only half of these could be visited once a year. It is quite clear that organisation carried on on these lines is of no assistance to us. We must learn from this and similar shortcomings and overcome them by better forms of organisation. For example, my practical experience shows that the best method for Berlin is: The Sub-Districts to be divided by the urban Districts in the largest locals; each group in a District to have patronage over a local. Example: Sub-District Küstrin, to be organised by District 4; Group 1 to organise Sonnenburg; Group 2, Alt-Drewitz; group 3, Göritz, etc.

The grouping of all the rural leaders of the groups in which the district leader is made the president and consequently responsible to the centre is a necessary prerequisite for successful results. Propaganda and agitation must be discussed at the regular meetings; the group leaders watching only over the welfare of their village wards, who then in accordance with their ability, either alone or with the urban comrades, carry on propaganda in the small villages.

The Third Group of the Fourth District in Berlin has been carrying out this plan since the First Red Rural Sunday and has attained such wonderful success thereby, that this method must be introduced generally. On November 30, 1924, we began the first agitation in our peasant village ward, Göritz on the Oder, and secured our first point of contact. Every three or four weeks we held regularly meetings there and in the intervals carried on correspondence, sent packages, and such like. Our endeavours were crowned with success.

The SPG. Elective Ward fell from seventy to six members, the Reichsbanner from thirty to four. We ourselves in this locality of 2000 inhabitants, had formerly not even one supporter! Today we have **forty Party members, sixty members** of the Red Front Fighters' League and with careful estimation we may count on the development of **up to eighty members of the Jungsturm.** During the election campaign our comrades of themselves went into the adjoining villages, carried on house to house agitation and held open air meetings; the votes we secured in the villages, varied between one and fifteen, six to twenty five, twelve and thirty. This signified a wedge driven into the black-white-red Sub-District Küstrin, which the Fascists really feared. Their military organisation, "The Red Eagle", which is very widespread in the Küstrin district has been forced very much into the background. Formerly, they used to carry on their military preparations (riding, skirmishing, shooting practice, etc.) openly in the village, these heroes lie low now.

We organised a general meeting between the Fourth Town district and all the Küstrin local groups in order to cement our friendship; this meeting took place May 2nd and 3rd. A Workers' Choir of 250 comrades and sympathisers from six local groups, including 45 from the 4th District in Berlin, assembled on Saturday evening; on the following Sunday, May 3rd, a long demonstration marched through Göritz, disturbing it from its usual philistine peace. The close of the celebration was a May festival on the church square. Our Party in the afternoon found it hard to say farewell, for it was the first time since our Party had been formed that our comrades in the Sub-District had met such a large number of the Berlin organisation. The success of this meeting will bear fruit in the entire Sub-District.

The next Red Rural Sundays must be organised in outlying places in the provinces, for there is every reason to cultivate these points of vantage in the provinces to secure favourable election results. No time should be lost in transforming our method of agitation in the country on to the basis of forming patronages in the villages, from which methods we will have quite different and more favourable results, so necessary for us in the interests of a victorious revolution.

Every group a village patronage!

Build up the Red class front in town and country!

(Signed) Walter Schmidt, Rural Chairman,
4, Urban District, 3rd Group, Berlin.

Extract from "Der Funke", functionary organ of the Berlin-Brandenburg district of the CPG.

* * *

Rural agitation of the Communist Youth.

To carry out in a systematic manner propaganda in the country and to give groups directions and incentives with special reference to agrarian conditions in the various districts, it is absolutely necessary to create a special centre in every Sub-District Executive. In the Local Group Executives, a special comrade must be responsible for agitation and propaganda. The task of the responsible comrade for the country, first of all will consist in **establishing contact with the village youth.** Where already we have village or estate nuclei, we should of course support and strengthen same in order to go still further forward. On no account should our propaganda be aimless. On the contrary we must organise the rural workers in such a way that **certain Factory Nuclei of urban groups concentrate on certain villages and estates.**

Only when we understand how to enter fully into the interests of the rural youth, will we be able to have any notable success in our rural propaganda. We must get to know the position of the youth in the villages, in order to be in a position to put definite demands. Above all, we must secure **exact facts about the work and wage conditions** of the rural youth in the various districts.

The aim of our works should be to create in the country **a network of responsible representatives**, so that we can proceed to the **creation of village or estate nuclei**, when these various representatives are sufficiently trained.

Extract from the "Roter Organisator" No. 8, Functionaries publication for the East Prussian District CPG.

International Correspondence between the Nuclei.

International correspondence between nuclei is still in its early stages and has many obstacles to overcome in order to attain the desired results.

First of all let us consider the object of this correspondence. Apart from the nuclei in Soviet Union all other nuclei are still very young and, in spite of the great enthusiasm which we observe amongst the working masses everywhere where this work has been rightly started, experience is still inadequate and it often happens that the nuclei are allowed to fall into decay and drag on a pitiable existence. New life

can be given to the newly formed nuclei by means of an exchange of opinion between the various nuclei, especially with the nuclei which have had long years of experience (Soviet Union nuclei). Even nuclei which have already taken root, are often unable to find the right path or the right methods of work, for this can only be attained through long experience.

Such a position could be avoided if an exchange of opinion between the workers were not confined to the nucleus itself, but were extended to the nuclei of the Russian Communist Party. Still we cannot expect to derive full benefit

from such correspondence if it should be unorganised, if the nuclei correspond with one another without system and without the supervision of the superior Party organs. First of all there would be no possibility of collecting the experiences of the individual nuclei or communicating the experiences of individual nuclei to other nuclei, etc. Further, at the outset of this correspondence, obstacles arose in transmitting letters to the desired recipients, and also in respect of translation and selection of the nuclei with which correspondence should be carried on. Since there was no organisation which devoted attention to this matter, letters often remained on the way and only arrived several months after despatch.

The ECCI. has created a special Commission to surmount these difficulties. This Commission is to overcome all the technical obstacles connected with the semi-legal or totally illegal position of many nuclei, and to provide for the translation of letters received and the collection of material (copy), to group together the corresponding nuclei according to the production principle, to ensure that the correspondence does not develop into empty correspondence as regards the contents, to sift the collected material, to issue and compile surveys which may be of service to the nuclei in organising their activity.

We already remarked that correspondence amongst nuclei is still in its infancy, but even as such it is already of immense importance in order to enable the Party and the ECCI. to follow up the life of the primary organisation, the Party nucleus; they must know how it lives, how it struggles, and what interests it has at heart, etc. etc. Official reports do not always provide this information, whereas letters from nuclei give a clear picture of the entire life of the nucleus. Thirty five letters have been received up to the present for Russian nuclei; this correspondence is not yet scheduled according to any definite form, very often replies are missing to many letters but still the information they contain is of great value. The opinion of the nuclei themselves of this correspondence is best seen from the following extracts from letters:

Factory Nucleus Haulison & Co.: "The desire of late is becoming much more defined amongst the workers to get into touch with foreign comrades. Since proletarians in various countries are not in a position to make the acquaintance of their foreign comrades in person, at least they can learn through letters, how they live and what their conditions are."

Nucleus of the Coal Yards at the Hamburg Harbour: "We have long had the intention of starting correspondence with our foreign comrades in order to exchange our mutual experiences in our struggles and work. Such a correspondence will form the basis of firm contact with our foreign comrades in the struggle."

Nucleus of the Coal Yards at the Hamburg Harbour: "We are delighted to hear that you wish to enter into correspondence with us, for we are simply longing to hear something from the land of freedom from the lips of our brothers."

Nucleus of the Railway Repairing Workshops, Tempelhof: "We have heard about the desire of your nucleus to get into connection with us. This letter is to assure you of our great wish to start a real live correspondence with you to exchange our thoughts and experiences."

Nucleus of the Employees of the Ullstein Publishing House, Berlin: "We wish to carry on a continuous correspondence with you. The reason for this lies in the fact that although seven years have elapsed since the proletarian revolution, there is still unclearness and many contradictory and false reports circulated about you not only in bourgeois, but also in the Social Democratic press. It is of great importance for us to know how the printers live in your country and in what state your enterprise is, etc."

Nucleus of the Leipzig Electric Trams: "We are delighted to enter into correspondence with a foreign brother nucleus. Up till now, within our nucleus, we had a big organisational and political struggle which prevented us from entering into

correspondence with our foreign comrades; but now we shall endeavour to make up for lost time."

Nucleus of the Bagel & Co. Mill and Quarry: "We write these letters convinced that international thought, contact with foreign comrades, should not exist only in theory but should be realised in practice."

Nucleus of the Janson and Schimlinski Wharf, Hamburg: "Our nucleus has long felt the desire to enter into contact with foreign nuclei and to extend our Communist activity by the exchange of experiences in our struggle and work."

Nucleus of the German Co-operative Wholesale Society, Hamburg: "The desire for contact between the workers of all countries in the struggle against international capital is becoming more palpable than ever. An important step in this direction is the collection of a large section of the proletariat in the Red Comintern. To intensify this contact and to demonstrate that unity it not only amongst our leading organisations, but that the workers themselves are its bearers, we consider it necessary for the workers in the different countries to get into contact with one another that they exchange notes about their daily life in factories and trade unions and report about their home life and the political position."

Nucleus of the Reiherstieg Wharf in Hamburg: "We have often suggested an exchange of experiences which have been gained in our activities and struggles; our correspondence is the first practical step to realise this."

This is the definition of the aim of the international correspondence which the German nuclei give in their letters to the Russian comrades. As was to be expected, the chief request is for information about the position of workers in the Soviet Union. Foreign comrades are interested in the progress and growth of the economic and political power of the first Workers' Republic. This correspondence has an important duty to perform in explaining away the calumnies which the bourgeois press, and their imitators, the Social Democratic press, continuously circulate about the proletarian revolution.

Nearly every letter contains queries as to the correctness of one or other allegation about the miserable position of the Russian workers. To answer these letters, the Soviet Union nuclei give extensive descriptions, and statistics and send photographs.

We must continuously stress the fact that the intensification of correspondence between the nuclei is a powerful weapon for the formation of the workers of all countries into a united proletarian army. International unity will be intensified thereby, and the nuclei will be helped to overcome the difficulties which arise during their work and struggle.

Up to the present, letters are rather on the lines of information about former activities. But once this chapter in the correspondence has been told, then the nuclei will get to know and understand one another and make speedy progress on the road to the establishment of international contact. Every nucleus must endeavour to write such a letter and send it to the Central Executive of the Party. Even if the reply should be delayed, this should not deter comrades, for practically every new beginning takes root slowly. There are many difficulties to be overcome.

The letters themselves should concentrate great attention on the life of the nucleus, its history, the difficulties of the daily struggle, their relations to the Factory Council and to other organisations within the factory, such as Trade Unions and Co-operatives, their contact with the Party Committees and activity and distribution of work amongst the nucleus members.

We issue the request to comrades and working members of nuclei to write to their nucleus comrades abroad; for in this way they will participate not only theoretically, but also practically in the international fraternisation of the workers of all countries.

International Nucleus Correspondence
Commission

The Party Nucleus of the Petrovsky Works. (Founded 1898.)

We take the following extract from a long letter from the Secretary of the Petrovsky Works, Ed.

We are writing to you now with a view to establishing constant correspondence in order to exchange our mutual experiences in work and to inform you about the conditions under which we live and work and how we have struggled. In 1913, 9,000 men worked in our factory, and in 1924 the number was 11,000. We have a Party nucleus in our factory composed of 232 Party members and 423 candidates.

Workers in our factory and the Party organisation can point to a thirty years history in revolutionary work. Although the factory itself was built only 1886, already in 1894 we had our first Social Democratic circle composed of 12 members, who were arrested in 1895 and banished to Siberia. In 1898 there was discontent in the factory of an elementary nature, but which formed a basis of the further struggle of the working class against Tsarism. **A year ago our Party celebrated its 25 years jubilee, for it was formed in 1898.** As a kind of illustration of the most important instances in our participation in the October Revolution we give a few extracts from the memoirs of some of the participators in the overthrow of the capitalists:

Early in December 1917, when the arms and ammunition destined for the Ekaterinburg workers were sent from Tula, the Whites endeavoured to seize these weapons. But that was no easy matter, for when the workers heard that the arms had arrived and that the Whites wanted to take possession of them, they mobilised themselves quickly into a Red Guard of a 100 strong, armed with guns and rifles of all descriptions, and made their way to start the struggle with the white regiment which was keeping guard over our arms at the railway station. When we arrived at the tramway station, the bourgeoisie smiled contemptuously at our ragged people as much as to say how could they be a match for these clean-shaven and well-dressed soldiers.

Our troop was a gay looking one in its many coloured garments, for some wore bedroom slippers, others shoes, and other even straw-sandles; others were just in their shirt-sleeves or were wearing overcoats. All were dirty and dusty, which made us look particularly ridiculous, but at the same time all the more dangerous.

When we saw that our plan to seize the weapons, had failed and that the soldiers were endeavouring to take possession of them, we informed the nucleus committee, which gave an official signal. You ought to have seen that wonderful picture, of how 12,000 workers thronged the railways tracks at the station, even women and children joined them. They came running along armed with all kinds of weapons, hammers, axes, shovels, bits of train iron, etc. To the question: Well, comrade, could you not find anything smaller?, the answer came that was the nearest thing at hand. I had no time to choose.

A new locomotive arrived from the factory, and in 10 or 15 minutes we had loaded all our weapons. The procession went slowly in the direction of the factory, and the mass of workers, numbering 12,000, surrounded the wagons and followed them singing revolutionary songs. A nucleus meeting was held at the factory at which the workers swore that they would not give up these weapons without a struggle, saying that the weapons could only be taken when no worker remained alive; the Bryansk workers remained faithful to this oath.

When it became known that the soldiers were planning an attack on the Soviet for the 15th of September, we armed 3,000 men on that day and demanded an immediate attack. A worker from the iron section group especially distinguished himself. Comrade Ukol-Yermelin in shaking his weapon, said: "Why should we look at these horrors any longer, we should simply trample on them and finish". Just at this moment Quiring and Gottner same on the scene, and said that it was too early in the day to attack and that their Bryansk workers would not hear of it. Only after the second attack at 12 midnight, Comrade Gottner agreed to give the order for attack on behalf of the Soviet.

On December 25th, old style, we learned that soldiers from Alexandrovsk had brought along an armoured car that

they had loaded on the station and brought the arms to the Fire Brigade Depot next to the prison. Again the Bryansk inhabitants saw themselves faced with the task of taking possession of this new batch of arms by some means or other. A troop of 17 men went to the place where the auto was parked. When the soldiers heard the noise, they rushed to the assistance, but were forced back by our salvo and thus we were able to take possession of the arms and transfer them to the town fortification. Thereupon the soldiers sent us an ultimatum demanding that we should return all the weapons seized. December 25th was the last moment for returning these, by 12 o'clock the auto and weapons were to have been returned, otherwise there would be an artillery attack.

At 12 o'clock the factory committee held a meeting and discussed the question of the ultimatum which the soldiers had presented. On hearing a short statement from Comrade Aberin as to the details of the negotiations, the factory committee decided not to return either auto or weapons, to cease all negotiations, give the alarm, to assemble the workers and without awaiting the attack, to take the offensive ourselves.

At 1 o'clock sharp the Bryansk signal was given to call all the workers together to prepare the workers for the strife, the Trubny works followed suit and also others. The soldiers started an artillery attack 1.30 with the result that 26 innocent, unarmed, Austrian prisoners of war were wounded and 6 of them died. After a struggle which lasted for two days, the soldiers were driven back and the Soviets were in possession.

The youth, who prior to this success behaved rather differently as to organising a Red Guard, now began to storm the Red Guard after this event; they displayed such a warlike revolutionary enthusiasm that armoured trains were prepared at the factory, troops organised which were employed in military encounter in Kiev, Byelayatserkov and on the Don. The Bryansk factory was simply transformed into an arsenal of war, but the organisations at the same time did not forget to attend to production. In addition to the factory committee, a factory management was organised and groups of professional Commissars appointed; at the head of the management well-tried Communists were placed.

During the last days of the return march when the Soviet invited the workers' deputies to defend the revolutionary achievements the Bryansk workers came up to scratch as was to be expected. All through the three years warfare, the Bryansk comrades were to be found everywhere: in peaceful agricultural pursuits and Soviet work on all fronts. In Siberia in the struggle against Koltchak, in the Caucasus. in the West on the Polish front, in the North against the British where at the greatest danger point they carried away by their enthusiasm all the other Red Army men.

In conclusion I should like to describe with what love the workers treated their revolutionary leaders. G. I. Petrovsky, who on several occasions made speeches at the factory, was held back for several hours by the workers who simply surrounded him and hung on his every word. "Vasja", as the works called Averin, was the favourite of all the Ekaterinoslav proletariat and especially of the Bryansk workers. Quiring, called "little father", was very popular and well liked and was under the protection of the Bryansk workers during the struggle against the Whites. The Petrovsky workers, especially juveniles, greatly cherish the warlike past and the services of the Bryansk comrades in the revolution and grow up in the spirit of Bolshevism and follow in the footsteps of their leaders.

In conclusion to this our first letter we wish to ask you to enter into a regular correspondence with us.

Dear comrades, we especially ask you in your reply to describe everything concerning your work. **Write to us about the activity of your Nucleus, how many members you have, how often your meetings take place, where and how they are held, how work is divided amongst the Nuclei members, with what intensity you are working and what discipline and communist steadfastness there is among the members of your Nuclei.**

Describe to us in what way you are fighting Social Democracy, what is the attitude of the workers to the Com-

unist Party, what proportion of workers have joined the party, and what are the questions at present of most moment to the workers? Have you got a Factory Committee, and what is the nature of its work? Have you got a Wall Newspaper? Are the workers sufficiently informed about the Soviet Union? In what Trade Union International are your workers organised? What is their material position? And finally we should like to receive a short sketch of your Factory itself.

We hope to be able to assist one another mutually by

an exchange in experiences in work and struggle and thereby advance the solution of our common revolutionary task in the struggle against capital.

With the torch of Leninism, for the Leadership of Comintern, for Soviet Russia!

With Communist Greetings,

Secretary of the Party Nucleus of the
Petrovsky Works, Skefshiny.

III.

Factory Newspapers.

Origin of our Nucleus Newspaper.

By O. T.

The article we give below is taken from the "Funke", the organ of the Party workers of the Berlin-Brandenburg district of the CPG.

It was about 3 weeks before the Reichstag election. In our district we discussed the question of the manner in which we could mobilise factory nuclei for the struggle and also how we could utilise the election campaign for the activation of our nucleus work. In this connection we naturally came to speak of nucleus newspapers. A big nucleus had just then started a newspaper on its own initiative and had found a ready sale for it — but that was all. We had a common factory newspaper for all the enterprises in our district, but we of course realised that this was a more than doubtful expedient. **for the value of nuclei newspapers consists just in the fact that they are written for the workers of one enterprise or may be of a few kindred enterprises,** and can therefore be much more adapted to their particular mentality and their special interests, than the "ordinary" Party organ.

A common factory newspaper for a number of different enterprises is nothing but a far from improved new edition of the "Rote Fahne" necessitated by publication difficulties and lack of suitable forces among the workers concerned. Factory newspapers for several different enterprises are in my opinion only admissible as an emergency substitute for the small enterprises which are too weak to publish their own organ. In that case their scope must be limited (if the ideal of the factory newspaper is to be reached), and the workers of the one enterprise must be at least slightly acquainted with the workers of the other enterprises in order to take an interest in the concerns of their fellow workers there. Thus the factory newspaper should not be for a whole district, but for the smallest possible part of this district.

We had therefore to establish factory newspapers in every enterprise, big enterprises of course taking precedence. But how? Newspapers do not come of themselves. Apart from the above-mentioned precursor only one enterprise on its own initiative got the idea of a factory newspaper, and got it ready so far that we had only to see to the printing. As far as the other enterprises are concerned, it was only with the greatest difficulty that they accepted the idea of a factory newspaper in principle. Be it said to the honour of our comrades that only in isolated cases fear of employers and police terrorism was at the back of the various pretexts which were made. In such cases nothing of course could be achieved in a hurry: we focussed our attention on these nuclei in order to make real revolutionary fighters of these comrades by systematic educational work.

But, as I say, these were only exceptional cases. As a rule comrades welcomed the idea as a new opportunity to spread our ideas among the masses. They were only at a loss to know how to go about it, for to publish a newspaper is by no means easy! **Firstly to write it, is something what an ordinary proletarian has not learned to do! Secondly, where is the money for the printing to come from? Thirdly, how is the newspaper to be made up illegally, for legal methods are**

impossible, if the whole nucleus is not to be thrown on the streets in a very short time. And finally the circulation! It is not at all so difficult to solve these questions, but it is extremely difficult to convince our comrades that they can be solved. Once a beginning is made, this most difficult part of the work does no longer come in question.

Well, our nucleus met, and objections were coming thick and fast. How were they to be met? We had taken our precautions against No. 2 and 3. A printer had been found and the money too; it did not come from Moscow, but the workers of some comparatively better placed enterprises had made certain sacrifices to enable the Bolshevik bacillus to be introduced into the factories.

So I said: Dear comrades, you have to write and to circulate a newspaper, and we will help you in both cases. Let all the rest be our concern **for the time being.** Subsequently you will have to use your ingenuity and collect as much as you can. But proletarians cannot write newspapers? Really? Just tell us any news about your factory!

Then came a perfect avalanche of accounts of incidents, so that the chairman had to use his full authority. I made notes of anything that was striking in these accounts and wrote down the name of the person who was telling the story.

Is that all? There was silence.

All right, Karl, you have to write down by the day after tomorrow what you have just told us about the last wage negotiations, and you, Erich, have to write down the beautiful story about your foreman

Uproar among the said comrades, but there is no help for it. I finish reading the list of names and tell them where the manuscripts have to be the day after tomorrow. I also tell them that they should write quite naturally, and any grammatical mistakes will be put right by us (by the by I had hardly ever much to add or correct).

A poet was discovered in our midst who sent a satirical contribution.

Then the question arose if this was a good paper for our campaign. Everyone admitted that it was not political enough. Stories about factory life are a good thing, for otherwise our fellow workers would not read the paper, but the Communist bacillus must be added, otherwise we miss our aim. Above all we give after every report quite briefly the conclusions which the workers have to draw from the report, then we give some extracts from the papers of our opponents hardly had I said this when proposals came thick and fast. A few strong telling slogans, and the thing is done.

I say, we have forgotten something very important: we must deal with the errors which still stalk among the workers. One of the workers promises to write down a conversation which he had that day at the bench with an SPG. fellow worker. But I have suddenly a vicious thought. There was a comrade at the table who still believed in the heresy that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions. I said to him: My dear fellow, there is one point on which you could make yourself useful — state in a letter why you do not want to go back to the Free Trade Union! He consented

willingly and someone else promised to reply to this letter.

Then I said: Do you know, the paper is complete! General surprise. But what should its make up be like, what should be at the head and how should the second, third and fourth papers be made up in order to make a good impression and to focus the attention of the readers on the most important points? What is comparatively unimportant and can be left out if there is not enough space? The questions were answered much quicker than in some of our famous editorial boards.

The most difficult part of the work was done. The comrade who made himself responsible for the editorial work, has to spend a few hours after all the contributions have come in (which as I said before do not offer much difficulty) to do the necessary corrections. If one or other of the promised contributions does not turn up, he has himself to write a few lines. The larger newspapers with bigger editions are printed, whilst the smaller ones with only 100 or 200 copies are stencilled by some woman comrade behind the back of her boss, and subsequently duplicated.

Then the great day comes. One evening the nucleus meets, and the next morning every fellow worker finds the Spartacist bacillus on his breakfast table. If this cannot be done, unemployed workers living in the neighbourhood come to the factory gates to distribute the paper. As soon as they notice the approach of the police, they make themselves scarce. In the factory there is a regular fight for the paper, as the edition was too small. And the authorities cannot cope with this. Raids are made on all Factory Councillors, everything is turned upside down, but the result is nil. We have produced 12 newspapers in the manner described above: not a single comrade has been caught by the detectives.

And the result? The whole factory discusses for several days the contents of the newspaper. SPG. workers cannot help agreeing with the criticism of the factory conditions, but they naturally will have nothing to do with that part of the paper which deals with general politics. Nevertheless they have become thoughtful, for something is sure to make an impression. And all those who were hitherto indifferent or merely timid, begin to see that the CPG., which was supposed to be dead and buried, is very much alive.

When the agents of the Criminal Investigation Department make their appearance and rummage in the drawers of the suspected fellow-workers, the whole factory rejoices at their failure to find anything. The feeling becomes general that after all these Communist fellows are not so bad! And without any effort on our part, money comes in for the next number of the newspaper — but not from Moscow but in pennies out of workers' pockets. (One must of course be care-

ful: some bring money only to get to know who takes up the collections — but the detectives are in most cases so clumsy that they are themselves at once detected).

The second number is much easier. Some comrade has taken courage and has made himself responsible for the work. All he wants from us now, is advice occasionally. At times the first number was far from perfect: Such a large number of the promised contributions had failed to arrive that one could see that part of the paper was not made up in the factory. But this has never discouraged us: for the first imperfect newspaper made all fellow workers come up to the scratch, and so many contributions came in for the second number that it was a hard job to sift the material in order not to leave out something important for the lack of space.

The nucleus which formerly existed more on paper than in reality, is now a live institution: Its work which is common work, has welded all the members together. Some of the black sheep have become white, for instance the above-mentioned fellow worker who did not believe in Communists working in reactionary Trade Unions. It was not so much the reply to his letter which affected the change, but the fact that he saw in practice how a revolutionary Party can appeal to the masses even under the most difficult conditions. He asked himself why should not this kind of thing be also possible in the Trade Unions? And he no longer believes in St. Schumacher, (the man who initiated this idea) but in his own strength.

Of course everything is not always as it should be. The first newspaper came out a week later than it should have done, but the comrades put up with it. But if the same thing happens with the second number, they are wild about it, and it takes some time and trouble to explain to them that this is a little more difficult than having a newspaper printed legally when all one has to do, is to send the manuscript to the printers, to pay up and to fetch the copies at the appointed time.

But one cannot blame the workers for their impatience, for we have much to learn in the matter of organisation. We must create an apparatus which can function as though legal authorities and their lackeys do not exist, and as if, as in capitalist enterprises, an overseer stood behind every compositor seeing to it that he does his task.

Of course everything is not as it should be, but we can nevertheless say that we have now instead of one paper ten factory newspapers and that 20,000 workers in 20 big industrial enterprises are waiting to see what the Communist Party has to tell them after the election.

The Mouth-Piece of the Factory Nuclei.

The Agitprop organisers of some factory nuclei have begun to write the history of their nucleus newspaper, in order to show how factory newspapers are to be published and what success such papers have. These examples are intended to encourage the factory nuclei of enterprises where no factory newspapers have as yet been published to start publishing such newspapers regularly. It is very useful when as many factory nuclei as possible report to the competent leading organ of the success of their factory newspapers; thus passive elements in the factory nuclei are roused from their apathy and are made to realise the necessity of factory newspapers. One year "Leuna-Prolet".

In the Autumn of 1923 when money was reckoned in billions, we Leuna prolets also had a miserable time of it. We suffered pangs of hunger and there was general excitement in the works. These "magnificent" conditions had to be made absolutely clear in the eyes of our fellow workers, and therefore some of the comrades began to publish a kind of memorandum. No special encouragement was needed for it, for conditions in the Leuna-penitentiary were crying aloud for a factory newspaper. But unfortunately the manuscripts for the "Anilin-Skandalanzeiger" — that was the name of the paper

at that time — came into the hands of people who had nothing to do with it, and the publication did not come off that time.

Then in February 1924 we tried our luck once more, we collected material, and the "Leuna-Prolet" was started. We began to circulate it in the March days, just when the Ludwigshafen chemical workers began the struggle for the preservation of the eight-hour day. The "Leuna-Prolet" went like hot cakes. We offered it for sale publicly: "The Leuna-Prolet, 10 pfennig!" The effect on the workers was truly amazing. In a very short space of time the first edition of 3,000 copies was sold out. The management of the Leuna-penitentiary was taken by surprise and had to listen how the workers in every workshop and in every department discussed the 'Leuna-Prolet' with approval.

On the title page of our newspaper we gave the picture of a strong proletarian, his hands tied behind his back, so that everyone could recognise in it the symbol of the Leuna workers. A manifesto of the "Factory Nucleus of the revolutionary Leuna workers" explained the object and aim of the "Leuna-Prolet", and declared war on the management of the Leuna-penitentiary in the interests of the entire Leuna proletariat. On the third page there was an illustrated account of the explosion calamity of January 29. There was also a description in verse of the hunger-demonstration in building 24, a humorous reminiscence of "The rebellions of the Leuna workers in October 1923". The other articles, one of which

dealt with the "steamhelmet epidemic" were also very much to the point.

In the meantime the situation in Ludwigshafen had become more acute, and in Leuna the class conscious workers had formed together with the chemical workers of Bitterfeld and Piesteritz the "District militant leading organ of the chemical workers of Central Germany", for the purpose of giving active support to the struggle of the Ludwigshafen fellow workers. In connection with this the editorial board of the "Leuna-Prolet" published immediately a special number in which Leuna workers were urged to refuse to act as strike-breakers and to join the struggle in a body. The Leuna workers did not join the struggle — they were undecided and the will to act was not firmly rooted in every one of them. They went about looking dejected, but they did their work, although one could see that it went against their grain.

To get rid of this depression in Leuna, we published the second number of the "Leuna-Prolet". This time the Manager of the Office, Herr Platak, figured on the title page, and two pages further was the chief controller of the gate-keepers, Herr Hartmann. Everyone was jubilant, and it was also a particularly good number. Space will not allow us to deal in any great detail with spicy articles in connection with the Factory Councils election etc. We will only reproduce a poem which our editor received from a worker in Lutzen, which expressed the frame of mind of the workers at that time:

To the "Leuna-Prolet":

You came just as the sunshine's rays
 Into this sordid murder den.
 You sped away our darkest thoughts
 You gave the watchword "fight, ye men!"
 From out the cities came the call
 From every district came the cry:
 "We want to break these iron thains,
 We slaves of the chemical industry".
 But long oppression has benumbed
 The spirit and the will to act,
 Indeed we have, alas, succumbed
 To fear to act in force compact.
 And so the Leuna newspaper,
 The beacon for those in prison cells,
 Must shine and shine and rally yet
 The bravest fighters when time compels.

This edition too was sold out. But the administration became uneasy, and workers were called over the coals. Some of them were asked where they got the "Leuna-Prolet"; and were warned against this "revolutionary paper". The "Leuna-Kings" thought this an opportune moment to influence public opinion. The socialist Employees' Council was induced to publish an article in a bourgeois newspaper on the "vulgar revolver paper", and on the "CPG. apprentices who have gone mad". Poor Employees' Council! There was also some croaking on the art of an "overeducated" highbrow, probably a member of the Board. He concluded his sermon with the words: "Videant consules" which means: "The State is in danger!". Those whose business it is, must be on the watch!

We of course accepted the challenge of these artists, and published our third number. On the title page we had a picture of the merchant Heinrich Reuss from the export office, building 26. He had in one hand a money bag with his Easter bonus. The lines underneath the picture made it clear to everyone that this gentleman keeps himself on strike breaking and hush money. The Communist hater, the "chief foreman" Adamfritz, was also given a place in this number, and this place was on a chamber. But the main feature of the paper, was the article "We and the Employees". This article explained the attitude of the Communist factory nucleus to the most important groups of employees. The article set many querulent people thinking, because it made everything so perfectly clear. Of course the Employees Council and also the over-educated "high-brow" got something for their stupid attacks.

The Leuna Management was furious, almost beside itself. As it was not very successful in its attempts to capture public opinion it had resource to violent methods. Leuna workers caught with a copy of the "Leuna-Prolet" on them were immediately dismissed. We encountered considerable difficulties in our attempts to sell the paper. The police had been notified and they took away our previous paper from our sellers in the railway carriages, in the streets and in fact every-

where. The Management had promised 3000 mark reward to anyone who would find out who was responsible for the paper.

Our answer to all this was another number of the "Leuna-Prolet", a special number for the recruiting work of the Leuna nucleus. In the meantime a special publication made its appearance, which invited the Leuna workers to take part in the General Workers' Day in Halle on May 11th. The June number with its recruiting article "Something on Nucleus Construction and the Secret of the Revolutionary Pioneer work in the Leuna Work", and "The Mobilisation of the Leuna Army" was again a tip top number. On the title page was the picture of the factory manager of the wood workshops, Schlehvogt, in a Gessler attitude, a plough in Adam's costume. This was followed by another outbreak of infuriated persecution on the part of the Leuna kings. A considerable number of workers who had on them the "harmless Leuna-Prolet" were thrown into the street. The sale of the paper was peremptorily forbidden and we had to distribute it free of charge.

But it is not such an easy matter to silence Communists; they will always find a way out. The Leuna nucleus too found a way out, for the cost of the production of the July number which appeared very soon after, was covered by collections among the Leuna workers. In a manifesto of the factory nucleus the Leuna workers were urged to contribute to the "fighting fund" of the chemical workers. Clever comrades undertook the collection. In this number the builder Kleinboel, a councillor, and the engineer of the factory, Kornfueller were reproduced. The heading was: "What is not good enough for the devil, is good enough for the Leuna works". The leader "The Town of Steel and Iron" branded the conditions in the Leuna penitentiary, and exposed the bourgeois press whose custom it had always been to throw a romantic glamour over this model works. All the hypocrisy of the "benevolent" management was exposed in this article, which was food for thought to many of the Leuna workers.

Another short article contained the following statement concerning the dismissals resulting from the publication of our newspaper: "You will not succeed in breaking our spirit, we will not come to you begging for mercy. We will come in a unit form to take your factory gates by storm! You will get taste of the power of the proletariat, and the revolution will pass judgment on you! Go on taking repressive measures, and you will see!"

The political enlightenment of the factory workers was also not neglected, for the number contained a splendid article under the title of: "Victory or Destruction? The Political situation as viewed by the Leuna Proletarians". A tale "The History of a Chief Controller", described the development of a man from a radical locksmith to a respectable chief controller, a fact which happens so frequently in life. Unfortunately, it is true that born proletarians undergo an inner change as soon as they begin to rise on the social ladder, losing their class-consciousness and their class pride. But this kind of thing will not impede the onward march of the masses. The working class will achieve its aim even if a few fighters get caught in the capitalist snares.

Our fine July number had also a supplement under the title "From the Oppau-Ludwigshafen Penitentiary!" The material for this supplement was sent by the factory nucleus of the Ludwigshafen sister works. This supplement, too, was read with great interest in Leuna. Leuna workers had realised long ago that it was a great mistake to have abandoned the Ludwigshafen fellow workers in their struggle. To make up for it, somehow, the Leuna workers had sent a load of foodstuffs to Ludwigshafen. In those days the Leuna Administration was cock a hoop. It was almost impossible to circulate our paper, and as to selling it, that was quite impossible. Neither could we collect for the "fighting fund of the chemical workers". An army of detectives was at work. The Leuna nucleus was fighting against great odds, it did not know where to take the money from, and the "Leuna-Prolet" went bankrupt.

The Management of the Leuna Penitentiary had conquered. For a full three months the voice of the revolutionary factory nucleus was silent. The exploitation and the treatment in the Leuna hell went from bad to worse. Staff reductions were the order of the day. All the comrades were of the opinion that the "Leuna-Prolet" should be published again, but no one knew how. Then when the need was greatest, we received a contribution from the Ludwigshafen factory nucleus, which enabled us to publish another number. The management of the Leuna Penitentiary had another disagreeable

surprise, for it had already considered the "Leuna-Prolet" dead and buried. There was great joy among the Leuna workers, when they saw again their old comrade the brave "Prolet". One could hear again in the Leuna penitentiary the only voice which spoke the truth.

This time too, the "Leuna-Prolet" introduced himself with a manifesto, and went again into the struggle for the welfare of all oppressed. By way of illustration, this number gave the picture of a dismissed foreman of the woodworkshop, whose class consciousness was awakened through his dismissal. On the second page there was a dream picture by Dr. Oster. By some lucky chance we received news that Dr. Oster attended in his dream a session of the Communist factory nucleus, as represented in the picture. Two articles which dealt with the Reichstag election exposed the People's Party and the SPG. A musical advertisement invited the Leuna workers to send songs in "praise" of the Leuna works. The circulation of this number went off very well. Our comrades were acquainted with the routine of the work and the factory workers were not long in learning it. A few workers were of course victimised, for the Leuna kings could not do without it.

Just before the election on December 7th we published one more number of the "Leuna-Prolet". On this occasion the permanent Factory Councillor, Daniel, was at last given something to think about. The demagogic behaviour of the "man with the honeyed words" was depicted on the title page. Every Leuna worker underlined this heading. This number contained also two explanatory election articles, an article on the controller Callus as well as two Leuna songs. We received reports from all the departments of the Works — a sign that the factory newspaper aroused considerable interest. From employees' circles we received endless suggestions as to who should be caricatured next, since they deserved it long ago, etc. The persecutors of the "Leuna-Prolet" were again busily at work, but as usual they came too late!

In February, another number of the "Leuna-Prolet" was published, and set the tone smartly and concisely for this year's factory council election. The slogan was: "Only red factory councillors!", victory can come to the Leuna proletariat only under the Red Banner. Workers can no longer be hoodwinked they know now what their "breadgivers" are like. The situation in the Leuna works was vividly illustrated by the article "Produce your own factory newspapers!" A fairly long illustrated poem: "Ballad of the Fat Krause" completed the number. The circulation was satisfactory, but it is rumoured that the printer has been discovered. We do not know as yet if this is true. But one thing we know, — that a new year begins in March for the "Leuna-Prolet", and that it will be published in spite of everything.

The last number, February 1925, closed the business year of the "Leuna-Prolet". The factory nucleus of the revolutionary Leuna workers has held a survey of past events. Incidents passed before the mental eye in a kaleidoscopic form. This survey will cause many a comrade to smile contentedly, for instance, when he thinks of the process by which we brought the trunks filled with the dangerous "Leuna explosives" to their place of destination. The police stood in the doorway and did not interfere with us. We, the criminals, were also very amused about the many suppositions which came from the various workshops concerning the "reporters".

Apart from these humorous incidents the "Leuna-Prolet" gave us also many serious things to think about. The work of the Communist factory nucleus in the Leuna penitentiary has always been laborious, but it was never without result. The general depression which had taken possession of the Leuna workers, gave way when our "Prolet" came out again — satisfaction, rebellion and malicious joy were fighting for precedence in the minds of our fellow workers. They rubbed their hands with glee when we were successful in the face of great odds. They felt that the "Prolet" was written by fellow-workers who know everything about the troubles of the Leuna slaves. The rank and file Leuna workers are with us Communists, and we must not be discouraged if they have at times bouts of passivity and indifference. The treadmill of the everyday work has robbed them of their stamina, and the treachery of the Social Democrats made them despair of the future of the working class.

We who know that under the Dawes Plan Germany's burdens are such that the workers will break down under them, if they are not determined to put up a resolute fight, must look to the future with a clear eye. Leuna workers have stood

their man before, and they will do it again. **The management of the Leuna penitentiary does not trust its workers.** The ruler of all the concerns, Dr. Oster, said in connection with the hunger strike in the autumn of 1923, when he had to flee from the infuriated workers: "The symptoms of March 1921 are with us again". You are right, Herr Oster. The symptoms of 1921 have already made their appearance, and they will do so again. No one will be able to stop the avalanche, not even the gates of building 24, everyone will be carried with it in the onward march of the victorious revolution. The Leuna angels, the seven times sifted workers, will be filled with war like fury when the ice breaks, when they will give vent to their resentment of the petty tyranny and insults heaped on them in the course of many years. Leuna kings, you can say as much as you like that this is as yet far ahead!

We as members of the Leuna nucleus are first and foremost Communists, and then only Leuna workers. We work steadily and assiduously to awaken the rank and file workers of the Leuna penitentiary whom you may hold down only by police methods and relentless terrorism. Although you exploit our bodies, our spirit remains free, and at the end of the first business year of the "Leuna-Prolet" we say once more:

The Leuna penitentiary must fight in the interests of the entire Leuna proletariat! Good luck for the new year!

Long live the "Leuna-Prolet", the conquerer of the Leuna penitentiary!

(signed) Bill.

* * *

The Newspaper of the H. Nucleus.

In giving a retrospect of the factory nucleus newspaper of the H. works, I find it necessary to say something about how it started. The nucleus was formed in 1923.

In July 1923 the first paper made its appearance, naturally not in its present form. For this purpose we had provided ourselves with five black boards which we hung up in various departments. The boards were 20 cm wide and 30 cm long. At the head of the boards were the words "Factory Newspaper of the H. Works". The contents of the paper consisted of newspaper cuttings, caricatures of various public personalities, and leaflets which were pasted on the board as circumstances and space would permit. Notices in manuscript were also used. The result was that every board had a different aspect and different contents. It was not always possible to paste the cuttings in a uniform manner because of lack of sufficient material and also because the comrades did not always do the pasting as indicated.

As long as the newspaper dealt with political and other affairs which had nothing to do with the factory and the workers it employed, everything was allright. But as soon as we began to expose foremen and employees because of their attitude towards the workers, some of the boards began to disappear. We could not always get the boards back, and had to get new ones. When the Reichswehr entered Saxony, the boards were removed by order of the management, and there was a strict order not to hang up any more boards.

When the Party had to go underground, this did not only put a stop to the further publication of the newspaper but had also a detrimental effect on the nucleus, as there was no illegal connection between the comrades, the nucleus not having been prepared for a state of illegality. Hitherto it had not been necessary to establish illegal connections, as the comrade in charge of information work had time to run about for two or three hours in the factory notifying the comrades. The order prohibiting the board was accompanied by the order that any workers found in a department other than their own, will be immediately dismissed. All these orders and prohibitions had a dire effect, so that the nucleus had to work hard to bring its members together again.

During the illegal period only one newspaper was published. It was a small paper and dealt principally with the treachery of the SPG. Fifteen copies of it were prepared in manuscript by comrades, and these copies were distributed. In March 1924 we bought a hectograph apparatus. The financing of the newspaper was the most difficult task. We had of course a certain revenue through the sale of pamphlets, but this was not enough to cover all expenses.

At present the nucleus newspaper is published in an edition of 120 to 150 copies, whilst the number of workers employed in the factory is 1,200. At present the necessary

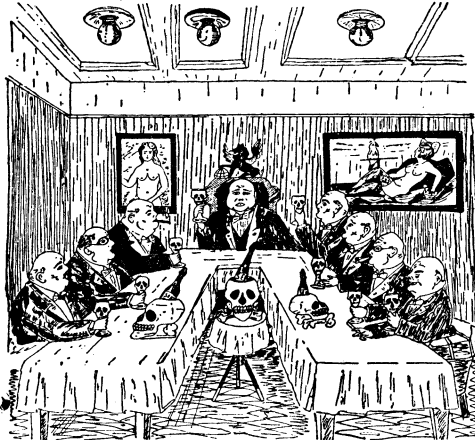
funds for the production of the nucleus newspaper are raised through the sale of the paper itself, through voluntary contributions, and percentage on literature sales.

What are to be the form and the contents of the factory newspaper? When dealing with this question, one should take

The Leverkusen Dyer (Leverkusen, Germany).



„Aus den Schädeln der Arbeiter wollen wir Sekel saufen --!“



So sagte Geheimrat Duisberg auf einer Konferenz der chemischen Industrien in Stockholm im Jahre 1912.

“Let us drink champagne out of the skulls of the workers . . . !”

Thus spoke Mr. Duisberg at a Conference of the Chemical Industrials at Stockholm in 1912.

into consideration the mental development of the factory workers and their attitude to the factory newspaper. An illustrated paper is more effective. Articles should not be too long. Another remark: although the poem in the “Leuna-Prolet” is very fine, it is too long to remember its subject even after reading it twice. Articles, poems, etc., should be written in a manner to enable our fellow workers to take in their contents and to impart them to others. It is on this practical experience that we have built up our factory newspaper which we intend to continue publishing in the same spirit.

Nucleus Bureau of the H. Works.

The Newspaper of the E. A. W. Nucleus.

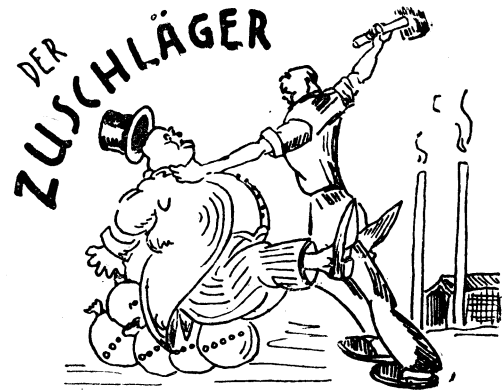
The foundation of the paper was laid by six comrades who wrote articles extracts from which were used in the papers. The illustrations in the paper are the work of a young locksmith, who does heavy physical work. 300 copies were produced by a comrade of the district leading organ without any changes in the original material. Thus the paper, such as it is, was entirely the work of the nucleus. We do not allow any authorities to introduce improvements of their own into our paper. If such a thing is tolerated the paper is no longer a factory newspaper, but just a well-conducted ordinary paper like any of the other dailies. (We are workers and speak like all workers without collars and cuffs who unfortunately . . .)

The effect was excellent; some of the more wide-awake comrades distributed the paper in the factory. We had a meeting attended by 6 comrades. Everyone of them was allotted his share of work. The comrades were selected a couple of days before, and were instructed as to their attitude. Their attention was drawn to the usual attitude and behaviour of foremen, of the police, the officials and to the sneaks amongst our fellow workers. We pointed out to these comrades the various places where papers could be deposited without being noticed. I gave minute instructions about everything. When I was satisfied that everyone had carried out the instructions given him, the papers were given to the selected comrades at a Party meeting. Everyone of them knew what would be his fate if he were caught.

In the morning, as soon as the signal was given everything was in readiness at the factory gates. The papers were not sold or distributed openly, but deposited in various places at the time when the others were changing their clothes in the dressing room. If it was impossible to distribute the paper in this way, it had to be done during working hours, leaving copies in the lavatory or in an unobtrusive manner in the workshops, on carpenters benches, etc. By eight o'clock no one was to have more than one paper on hand.

We were as pleased as punch about the success of our work. Foremen, engineers were running about asking our comrades who usually sell literature about the “Buffer?”. But they knew how to send such people about their business, partly by strong language and partly by taking such inquisitive fellow

The Striker



No. 1 **BETRIEBSZEITUNG** No. 1
Der S.M.F. Hartmann, Zweigwerk Dresden.

Motto: Wen Gott will strafen für seine Sünden,
den lässt er bei Hartmanns Arbeit finden.

WAS WIR WOLLEN.

Der „Zuschläger“ erscheint als eine Zeitung der Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen des Betriebes S.M.F. Hartmann, Zweigwerk Dresden. Er will auf alle Frechheiten und Übergriffe der Direktion, der Meister und sonstigen Anreiber mit derben Schlägen antworten.

Der „Zuschläger“ wird alle Schmarotzer rücksichtslos anprangern.

Er wird die Nöte aller Arbeitenden des Betriebes vertreten, er wird mit derben Schlägen dazwischenfahren, wo die Ausbeuter die Arbeiter den peinigern und unterdrücken. Wir hoffen, viele Freunde und Käufer zu gewinnen.

Factory Paper of the Branch Factory of S. M. F. Hartmann at Dresden (Saxony).

workers to places where old iron buffers were kept, remarking that they could pick out here what they wanted etc. A comrade who distributed literature was hauled before the management, as one of the renegade lot had betrayed him. The

The Leverkusener Dyer (Leverkusen, Germany).

Ein Handbuch gebucht.

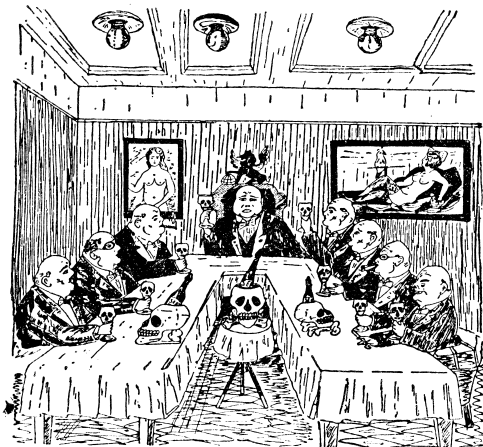
№. 5 1. Jahrgang

Der Leverkusener ★ Farbenkumpel

Betriebszeitung für die Leverkusener Arbeiterkluft.
Herausgegeben von der Kommunistischen Betriebsstelle
Einheits- und Verband. Preis der Nr. 0.20 RM.

Verantwortliche Redaktion: Gustav Duisberg.
Hilfsredakteur: Dr. Gänge, Dr. Wettrand, D. Spatz.
Druck und Verlag: Sozialverlag Düsseldorf.

„Aus den Schädeln der Arbeiter wollen wir Sekt saufen --!“



So sagte Geheimrat Duisberg auf einer Konferenz der chemischen Industriellen in Stockholm im Jahre 1912.

“Let us drink champagne out of the skulls of the workers . . .!”

Thus spoke Mr. Duisberg at a Conference of the Chemical Industrials at Stockholm in 1912.

The Striker

DER
ZUSCHLÄGER



Nr. 1

BETRIEBSZEITUNG

Nr. 1

Der S.M.F. Hartmann, Zweigwerk Dresden.

*Motto: Wen Gott will strafen für seine Sünden,
den lässt er bei Hartmanns Arbeit finden.*

WAS WIR WOLLEN.

Der Zuschläger erscheint als eine Zeitung der Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen des Betriebes S. M. F. Hartmann, Zweigwerk Dresden. Er will auf alle Frechheiten und Übergriffe der Direktion, der Meister und sonstigen Antrieber mit derben Schlägen antworten.

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management asked this comrade who the distributors were, and wanted him to tell them at least the name of the editor. His answer was of course "I do not know anything about the matter".

*
*

How we Circulate our Nucleus Newspaper.

I should like to say something on this subject: there can be no hard fast rule in this matter. The nucleus should endeavour to use different methods every time a new number is published. We have up to the present published four numbers. This is how we proceeded with the first number:

A nucleus meeting was convened, at which every member was given 20 copies. Those who could not attend received the copies in their homes. Stress is laid on the papers being sold within the appointed time. For instance if the order is: sale of the paper at 7 a. m., comrades should on no account sell the paper already on the previous evening, for anyone doing this will make the work more difficult for the others. Since our nucleus is as yet not strong enough to undertake the sale of all the 1,000 copies, we get the unemployed to help us. Our mode of procedure was as follows:

The factory has four main entrances. We post one seller and one collector in all the streets leading to these entrances, and behind the sellers and collectors we post other comrade, who must be on the lookout for policeman, detectives, etc. Our experience is that everything went off alright, if these rules were adhered to, but in two places this arrangement did not work: 180 copies were taken away from a young comrade, but he tore them again out of the hands of the police and threw them to the workers who had just arrived by train, they picked up the copies in spite of the policeman, and our success was all the greater, as this was a splendid advertisement for the paper. The name of the author of the paper must be kept secret even from the nucleus as a whole.

This was how we managed for the first number. Another of our methods consisted in convening all the nucleus members and instructing them to sell the paper throughout the locality, or to board tramcars leading to the works, to sell the paper and to vanish. These comrades are told not to waste time over giving change.

As I said before we must continually change our mode of procedure, for you see that by so doing we are always able to keep going.

(signed) L., Chairman of the Nucleus.

Extracts from Communist Factory Newspapers.

The extracts given below are to show how factory newspapers deal with various questions.

Shipbuilders as Blacklegs on the World Market.

In the German Shipbuilding yard Finkenwarder, the keel of the first of the 15,000 ton ships ordered by the British shipping company Furness, Withy & Co. has been laid.

According to British newspaper reports this shipping company tried already a year ago to have the ships built in Great Britain, but had to give up the attempt because of the very high estimate of the British shipbuilding yards. The order for these 5 motor boats went to the German shipbuilding yard because its estimate was L 6 less per ton than the British estimate. The latter was L 60,000 to L 100,000 higher per boat than the German estimate. Although the shipping company offered the British competitors L 10,000 more than the offer of the German firm, the British shipbuilding yards could not accept the offer, being unable to build the boats even at this price. Moreover, the German firm can deliver the first boat sooner than its British competitors.

In Great Britain workers employed in shipbuilding yards work 8 hours a day. Their pay is almost double that of the German workers who work 9 hours a day. There is enormous unemployment in the shipbuilding yards of Great Britain. On the strength of these proofs that orders for ships go to Germany because of the 9 hour day and the low wages, attempts will be made in Great Britain to also introduce a 9 hour day in order to be able to compete with the German shipbuilding yards. The London "Times" made already the following announcement which speaks for itself:

"This incident concerns in a very serious manner the entire British industry, and especially the shipbuilding industry for it is only because of low wages and longer working hours that Germany can build ships at such low cost." (Re-translation from German.)

All this shows what a great danger the long working hours and the extremely low wages of the German workers is for the workers of all countries. One would think that this danger would make the Amsterdam Trade Union International come up to the scratch and make them bring pressure to bear on the German Trade Unions to take up the struggle for the immediate re-introduction of the eight-hour day.

'Workers of German shipbuilding yards, you particularly can see how you are being exploited through the scandalous piece-rate system. The undertaking to build these five motor-boats, shows that you work cheapest and produce most, that you are exploited more than any other workers. When will you at last start thinking and realise that you only do your-

selves harm by working overtime, that you should demand more from your life than merely work and sleep? The struggle for high wages and the eight-hour day must be a united struggle."

"Rote Fahne" of the German Shipbuilding yard Finkenwaerder, Year I, No. 24.

What the Dawes Thumb-Screw is Getting out of our Bones.

The Dawes State Railway has published its March report. According to this report its revenue from October 1st to the end of February amounted to 1,668 million mark — 467 million mark from passenger and luggage traffic and 1,102 million marks from the goods traffic. The expenditure amounted to 1,449 million marks — 945 million for salaries and wages, 500 million wear and tear and 4 million mark for interest. This leaves for the period from October 1st to the end of February a surplus of 217 million mark. Nearly one half of this goes to the first instalment of the Dawes contribution of the State Railway, namely, 100 million mark, whilst 116 million marks went for extra expenditure the nature of which is not definitely stated. The 945 million marks expenditure for salaries and wages include above all the enormous salaries of the Dawes-Oezer and the chief officials.

It is the rank and file railwaymen, the lower and middle railway officials who with their starvation wages and starvation salaries and overtime produce the Dawes Tribute of the State Railway. The Dawes surplus revenue of the State railway is accompanied by reductions of staff. There are to be further staff reductions effected through the dismissal of workshop, auxiliary, and time-rate workers.

"Der Rote Eisenbahner", Factory Newspaper for the Offices, workshops, etc. of the X district (special number in connection with the Factory Councils Election).

Who is Otto Braun?

He was for many years the Premier of Prussia. He had an opportunity there to show if he is for or against the working class population. We will let his deeds speak for themselves. Under his government the Prussian economic plan was as follows:

a) Expenditure against the workers:	
For Justice	183,000,000 marks
For the Police	245,000,000 marks
For the Church	54,000,000 marks
Total	482,000,000 marks

b) Expenses for horse racing:

For racing clubs	15,000,000 marks
For race prizes	8,000,000 marks
Total	23,000,000 marks

c) Expenditure for the workers:

For the fight against Tuberculosis	100,000 marks
Fight against infantile mortality	300,000 marks
For rescue work among the Youth	125,000 marks
For reformatories	8,000,000 marks
Total for Social Welfare	8,525,000 marks

The Factory Paper of the H.-Nucleus (Saxony).

Thus horse-racing is more precious than social welfare. Such are Otto Braun's deeds.

Extract from "Das Gewissen" ('The Conscience'), Newspaper published by several factory and street nuclei.

Lament of a Social Democrat.

Have I, an old dissenter, to vote for a priest? I, who have not been to church for the last 20 years? Bebel, Liebknecht, our leaders, taught us that the spirit is free. Have they deserved to be thrown today on to the rubbish heap? No I cannot deny them, my colour is red and not black, tell me merely for whom I shall vote, comrades, say for whom you are going to vote?

For the workingman Thälmann!

The "Scheinwerfer" ('The Searchlight'), factory newspaper of the S. & N. Factory.

"Die Pfeife" ('The Siren'), factory newspaper of the Siemens-works, published the following notices:

Riddle: How is a woman worker at Siemens to make both ends meet with a wage of 29 pfennig per hour?

Factory Nucleus Newspaper of the Communist Youth. (A German Paper.)

Betriebszellen-zeitung
 No. 4
 Betriebsorgan Kom. Jugend.

Reichsbanner
 Schwarz, rötlich, Senf, halt in Bodum eine Jungkommunistin halbtöt' geschlagen. Denkt daran!

HERAUS MIT DER BÜRGERLICHEN PRESSE!!

7000 Proleten schmachten in Kerker Deutschlands unschuldig! Rote Hilfe! Schafft!!

Nur der Kommunismus kann uns retten. Tretet ein in die Kom. Jugend Bergmannsglück SCHAFFT BETRIEBSZELLEN.

Was willst du im Reichsbanner? Ja da sind doch nur Arbeiter drin! So siehste aus, Bürger! findst du und Polizisten, die uns bei Streiks wegknallen.

Nachrichten von hier | **Hier kann man feststellen, das hier überall Arbeiter fehlen! warum werden keine eingestellt. Der Arbeiter verdient sehr schlecht und wird obendrein schlecht behandelt. Sündert mal, und rüft eine Versammlung ein. In H. G.**

Im Redaktionszimmer der Dresdner Volks-Zeitung.

Was könnte man denn noch schnell über die Kommunisten bringen? Na wenn's auch nicht wahr ist, wer unsre Zeitung in den letzten 10 Jahren nicht abbestellt hat, glaubt sowieso alles!

Allelei Wissenswarter!
 In der schwarz-rot-besänftigten Republik verzehren in einer Woche:
 4 Jagdhunde des Herrn Commerzienrates Arnold:
 7 Pfund Rindfleisch.
 Eine fünfköpfige Familie aus der Clemens Müllerschen Arbeiterschaft: 160 Hunde fleisch.

Arbeiter die für ihre Klasse, für die Untere niedrigen kämpften, wirft man auf Jahre in Zuchthäuser und Gefängnisse, die Raube des sterbenden Kapitalismus!
Gebt Rote Hilfe!
 Das Weihnacht's fest naht!
 Last des Volksblott.
 Wänt am 7. Dez.
 Liste 4
 Kommunisten.

DRUCK VON OBEN
 VERLAG VON UNTEN

(The first picture shows the "Editorial Board" of the Social Democratic Daily "Dresdner Volks-Zeitung"; the second picture says: "Press from above — Publisher from below.")

Solution of the riddle, in the factory newspaper under 0.29. Riddle: Why is it always snowing now? Solution: Ebert is now in heaven and has throttled the strike of the snow-sifters.

Factory Inspection (called the Murder Commission).

When there was a factory inspection a few weeks ago, the foreman Figge surpassed himself. No work was allowed to be done from morning to midday, in order that there should be no smell of poison gas or any sign of dirt. Then the Social Democrat Jumpertz appeared on the scene, he looked round and found everything as it should be. Thereupon Figge went to the telephone, and a few minutes later the murder commission arrived. The CG. factory known for its dirty condition was now a marvel of cleanliness before the eyes of the murder commission, — the finest and healthiest of factories.

Question???

Why does not the Murder Commission visit the factory unawares and during working hours???

Answer:
 Because it is in the service of the capitalist and not of the workers!

"Der Leverkusener Farbenkumpel" ('The Leverkusener Dyer'), Year I, No. 5.

Announcement by the Factory Management.

In view of the very high cost of living, our workers can no longer by their earnings secure for themselves a peaceful old age. We have therefore established a funeral fund which

Factory Nucleus Newspaper of the Communist Youth. (A German Paper.)

Betriebszellen-zeitung



Betriebsorgan Kom. Jugend.



Reichsbanner
Schwarz, rötlich, Senf-
hatt in Bochum eine
Jungkommunistin
habt ot geschlagen
Denkt daran!



Ein Hitlerjüngl.



Reichsbanner // Frontkämpfer



7000 Proleten schmachten
in Kerkern Deutschlands
unschuldig. / Rote Hilfe!
Schafft !!

HERAUS



MIT DER
Bürgerlichen
Presse !!

Nur der Kommunismus kann uns retten
Tretet ein in die Kom. Jugend Bergmannsglück
SCHAFFT BETRIEBSZELLEN.



Was willst du im Reichsbanner?
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The Factory Paper of the H.-Nucleus (Saxony).

Im Redaktionszimmer der
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Allerlei Wissenswertes!

In der schwarz-rot-besänftigten Republik verzehren in einer Woche:

4 Jagdhunde des Herrn
Commerzienrates Arnold:

7 Pfund Rindfleisch.

Eine fünfköpfige Familie
aus der Clemens Müller'schen
Arbeiderschaft: 100 Hundefleisch.

DRUCK
VON
OBEN



VERLAG VON
UNTEN

Arbeiter die für ihre Klasse,
für die Unterdrückten
kämpfen, wirft man auf
Jahre in Zuchthäuser und Gefängnisse,
die Raube des sterbenden Kapitalismus!

Das Weihnachtsfest naht!

Gebt Rote Hilfe.

Last des Volksblatt.

Wählt am 7. Dez.

Liste 4

Kommunisten.

(The first picture shows the "Editorial Board" of the Social Democratic Daily "Dresdner Volks-Zeitung"; the second picture says: "Press from above — Publisher from below.")

will enable our workers by life-long contributions to secure a decent burial for themselves in a cardboard coffin.

The Management
"Die Zündkerze" ('The Magneto'), factory newspaper of the Adler Works. Editor: "Chief Detective Sander".

Extracts from Wall-Newspapers of RCP. Nuclei.

In Connection with Re-elections to the Soviets.

In a fortnight's time Moscow workers will have to elect new delegates to the great Moscow Soviet and to the various district Soviets.

The Awakening Brickmaker (Austria).



byhint
Schriftleitung der Ziegler:
November 1924
7. Jahrgang
Juli 1924

Was geht in Österreich vor.
Kollagen is gäht, im Pulverfass brodelt es die Luft ist zum
erdünnen die Proletarier decken sich in Bewegung zu setzen habt Ihr
noch nicht bemerkt in der letzten Zeit. Metallarbeiter, Eisenbahner u.s.w.
stöhnen vor Hunger vor der überamtschlichen Sanierungsschraube durch
die man uns Proletarier zum weißbluten bringen will, die berühmte
Fajpel Regierung sie wackelt innn Ihren Grundfesten, die besten Plü-
kten scheitern zu versagen. Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen wir müssen auf der
Wacht sein, uns zuzammen schließen eine feste Kampffront stellen, sich nicht
die Augen mit Sand verstreuen lassen, durch schöne Reden, wieer wir
zum Tod schreiten, die schon in sich selbststürzende Regierung infernen zum
Teufel jagen und an deren Stelle eine Arbeiter - Bauern - Regierung
stellen

The task before us is to carry on our election campaign in a manner to make all manual and office workers of our factory participate in the election.

During this preliminary campaign we must also make decisions concerning the candidates whom we are to nominate, and also receive for the last time the report of the old delegates.

In the course of the year 1925 our Soviet organisations will have to do very much creative work. Therefore we must be careful to select our candidates from among the most respected and prominent comrades.

Our business during the next few days will be to make this selection.

The old Moscow Soviet laboured under the disadvantage that many of its members could not be very active on it as they were already filling one or more other posts. In other words, they were overburdened with public and social work.

The deduction from this is: In selecting candidates one should make sure that they are able to give all their time to the Soviet.

Let us then make a good start with this work!
Every department and workshop, every Communist and every manual and office worker should get ready for the re-elections and should nominate his candidate.

(Signed) W. Arkhipov.

A Reminiscence.

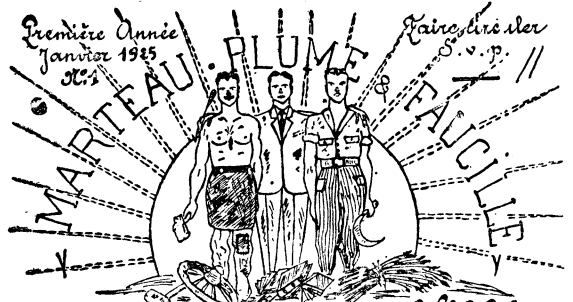
Prior to the revolution, I never had an opportunity to see Comrade Lenin, to speak to him, but we Bolsheviki listened of course very attentively to every one of Lenin's words which reached us from beyond the border. More than once stress has been laid on the fact that Vladimir Ilyitch considered it his first and foremost duty, whilst living abroad, to be in as close contact with the masses as possible, to breathe so to speak the same air with them.

I well remember the following incident: In 1907 I was a member of the Managing Committee of the first Moscow Shop-Assistants Union (one of the biggest Moscow Trade Union at that time). We Bolsheviki were only a small but strongly welded together group which was persecuted and derided by the Menshevik liquidators. Mockery and derision, demagogic attacks of the lowest kind, nothing was bad enough to serve as a weapon against us.

But we did not allow ourselves to be intimidated, and it happened frequently that the Mensheviks were defeated, whilst we managed to get our proposals accepted and to win the sympathy of the non-Party workers.

During one of these struggles — I do not remember what it was about — the Mensheviks behaved very badly indeed, and we related this incident in a letter to Vladimir Ilyitch.

Hammer, Pen and Sickle.



Organe de la cellule communiste de la B.M.C. Le Peletier

"Les capitalistes ne peuvent plus renoncer à leurs intérêts qu'un homme ne peut se soulever par les cheveux" (Lenine).

Voilà pour le moment et de vérité —
L'amarades,
Il ya une cellule communiste, oui,
une cellule communiste à la B.M.C.
Elle vous présente son journal, votre
journal. Et le plus drôle — et le plus
drôle en même temps pour ceux qui
sont trop intéressés à nous le faire
avoir — c'est que nos camarades
de travail qui composent cette cel-
lule ne sont pas le moins du
monde des gens sans cervelle, des
individus à la mine patibulaire et
avec leurs tonnes, qui ne révoquent
plais et bossés et d'oune sait quel
réveil rouge, ces amis de ami-
dables mitrailleses à ces chaudes
auprès desquelles elles du fibre de
poches, et des généraux fascistes...
savaient que de la quognette, ils se
dilateraient la rate en redoublant
pouder celle des bourgeois débarrés...
Car du tout, le sont comme vous et
simples employés de la B.M.C. qui
vivent avec vous les mêmes vexations,
qui subissent avec vous la même
exploitation du patronat le plus
arrogant — le léchique symbolique
en tête — parce que le système financier
actuel est la chef de route de tout
l'édifice capitaliste que nous,
exploités, avons construit pour la
bourgeoisie et avec lequel elle nous
à rase.
le journal est le votre, camarades,
il est écrit pour vous et par vous si
vous le voulez, car vous jouez et vous
ourez tous y collaborer en adressant

Organ of the Communist Nucleus of Le Peletier (France).

As the incident was very commonplace and not of particular importance, we did not expect to get an answer from Ilyitch. But it came almost by return of post. What struck

The Awakening Brickmaker (Austria).



Beilage
Nr. 3

Betrieblernen Zeitung der Ziegler:
1. November 1924

30mal Monatlich
Preis 500 K

Was geht in Österreich vor.

Kollegen es gähet, im Pulverfass brodelt es, die Luft ist zum erstickten die Proletarier drohen sich in Bewegung zu setzen habt Ihr noch nicht bemerkt in der letzten Zeit, Metallarbeiter, Eisenbahner u.s.w. stöhnen vor Hunger, vor der übermenschlichen Sanierungschraube, durch die man uns Proletarier zum weißbluten bringen will, die berühmte Geißel Regierung sie wackelt innn Ihren Grundfesten, die besten Stützen scheinen zu versagen. Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen wir müssen auf der Wacht sein, uns zusammen schließen eine feste Kampffront stellen, sich nicht die Augen mit Sand verstreuen lassen, durch schöne Reden, wie er unisono zur Tat schreiten, die schon in sich verrottete Regierung entfernen zum Feufel jagen und an deren Stelle eine Arbeiter - Bauern - Regierung stellen.

Hammer, Pen and Sickle.



Organe de la cellule communiste de la B.N.C. Le Peletier

"Les capitalistes ne peuvent plus renoncer à leurs intérêts qu'un homme ne peut se soulever par les cheveux" (Lénine).

Un peu d'humour et de vérité -
camarades,

Il y a une cellule communiste, oui, une cellule communiste à la B.N.C. Elle vous présente son journal, votre journal. Et le plus drôle - et le plus triste en même temps pour ceux qui ont trop intérêt à nous le faire croire - c'est que nos camarades de travail qui composent cette cellule ne sont pas le moins du monde des gens sans cervelle, des individus à la mine patibulaire et aux yeux torves, qui ne tiennent que flâneries et bosses et d'on ne sait quel réveil rouge, ni armés de redoutables mitrailleuses à eau chaude auprès desquelles celles du Bloc des Fochs, et des généraux fascistes.

seraient que de la guignotte, ils se dilateraient la rate en réduisant en poudre celle des bourgeois déarmés. En fait, ce sont comme vous de simples employés de la B.N.C. qui vivent avec vous les mêmes vexations, qui subissent avec vous la même exploitation du patronat le plus arrogant - le hideux et symbolique en tête - parce que le système financier actuel est la clef de voûte de tout l'édifice capitaliste que nous, exploités avons construit pour la bourgeoisie et avec lequel elle nous érase.

Le journal est le votre, camarades, il est écrit pour vous et par vous si vous le voulez, car vous foncez et vous crevez tous y collaborer en adressant

us in this letter was that Lenin wrote, as if he were in our midst. But he did not limit himself, as we had done, to mere comments on this everyday incident. As it was his wont, he dealt with this insignificant incident from the viewpoint of principle. For him insignificant questions did not exist, where the revolutionary struggle of the workers was involved.

We were victorious and we will go on from victory to victory as long as Lenin's spirit lives in us.

Golenko.

What Form did our Support of the Victims of Capitalism Take?

The IRA. nucleus in the Moscow Soviet was formed in April 1924. The summer months were not propitious to the development of its work, and it was only in September that it began to be active. In August the IRA. nucleus had 345 members. From September onwards membership increased continually, and in December our nucleus did not only embrace the workers of our institution, but also the members of their families. This means, of course, more contributions to our fund. During this period there was also a theatrical and a

cinema performance and a collection on behalf of the IRA. The latter alone brought 200 roubles to the IRA. nucleus fund.

Moreover a wall-newspaper was published dedicated to the IRA. week. Two general meetings have been held at which about 200 roubles worth of literature, badges, and postcards were sold.

Thus the characteristic feature of the life of our IRA. nucleus during the last few months has been the inclusion of our manual and office workers into the IRA.

At present our nucleus has another and not less important task before it: the capture of the peasantry of the villages under our patronage for the IRA. The IRA., which is the reserve force of the revolution, cannot do justice to its tasks if the peasantry remains outside its ranks. We have already done something in this direction. The comrades who visited the villages under our patronage have been very well received by the peasantry. This work is only in its initial stage, it is only beginning to take root among the peasants. But we are convinced that in the very near future our nucleus will do its utmost to win over the peasants of the villages under our patronage for the IRA.

Tzyrlov.

IV.

General Problems of Organisation.

Re the Party-Candidate System.

There has been lately a tendency noticeable in the various sections of the Communist International to effect the activation of the Party by the introduction of a candidate system. In this respect the action of the Tyneside district of the Communist Party of Great Britain just before the Party Congress is very characteristic. This branch of the British CP. thought of realising the aim of the Party to become a mass Party by extending the period of probation, that is to say by making the candidate system stricter. This incident compelled the Org. Department of the ECCI. to bring the whole question of candidates before the Org. Bureau of the ECCI. The latter dealt therefore with this question at its Session of 16th June 1925 and resolved to instruct the Org. Department to send instructions to all the legal sections of the CI. advising decidedly against the introduction of the candidate system. In accordance with this decision we draw your attention to the following:

Among other things, Bolshevisation of the Parties means that the Sections of the Comintern should endeavour to get into as close contact as possible with the masses. This object can be best attained by the Party itself becoming a mass Party.

One of the means towards this aim consists in increasing numerically the membership of the Party by recruiting new members from working-class circles. For this reason it is essential for all Parties to make certain that no unnecessary obstacles are put in the way of workers who want to join the Communist Party. But just in this respect we find that some legal Parties put such obstacles in the way of the workers in the form of the candidate system. For instance there exists in Great Britain a so-called probation period, that is to say a candidate system which does not give an opportunity to those who have just joined the Party to fully participate in all Party work, and to see how the lower Party organisations work. It is obvious that the candidate system as applied in the Western countries is nothing but the automatic application to those countries of the candidate system of Russia. These Parties evidently forget that the candidate system is necessitated in Russia because of the special position in which the RCP. finds itself, namely:

a) The Russian Communist Party is working in a country where the working class is already in power.

b) In view of this position of the Party in the land of proletarian dictatorship, there is the danger, on the one hand, of elements out to make a career for themselves, and on the other hand of elements unsuited to the Party (with petty-bourgeois digressions, elements from other Parties and with a different ideology, vacillating elements, etc.) gaining access to its ranks.

c) The preservation of the Communist Party is under such circumstances an important feature in the life of the Party which realises the proletarian dictatorship of the working class. It is for this reason that it became necessary to fix a certain probation period for the new recruits in the ranks of the Party in the form of the candidate system.

So long as the Communist Party of Russia was not in power, there was no necessity for it to introduce a candidate system and it did not exist at that time. Moreover the latter would not then have been expedient.

Parties not in power are in an utterly different position from that of the present RCP. For them the introduction of the candidate system is not expedient, as this system is only a hindrance to them in their efforts to get into contact with the masses.

a) By introducing the candidate system, one creates two categories of Party members — privileged, that is to say, fully-fledged members of the Party who take part in all the branches of Party work and in all meetings, and unprivileged and not fully-fledged members, viz. candidates who can only go through a course of training. We think that the new re-

cruits should be given an opportunity to see the Party at work and to take part in this work, as fully-fledged members.

b) By this kind of sub-division of working-class members within the Party, one creates unnecessary difficulties for those desiring to join and this kind of thing can in a way have the effect of driving away from the Party workingmen who otherwise would have liked to join it.

c) The candidate system is particularly harmful in cases where workers in sympathy with the CP. are, for various reasons, not very much inclined to join it (for instance in Great Britain).

Some Communist Parties justify the introduction of the candidate system by saying that in this way one can prevent undesirable elements, spies and careerists joining the Party. The only answer to this is: 1) Undesirable elements cannot be kept out of the Party in this way. Experience has shown that undesirable elements are generally working very actively. 2) Careerists have no interest whatever to join a Communist Party when it is oppressed and persecuted. They prefer to get into touch with Parties which can offer them something.

Control can be best exercised by receiving new members through the Factory Nuclei. A nucleus actively at work in a factory has the best opportunity to get a good idea of the comrades who wish to join the Party. Moreover the nucleus has the duty and full opportunity to watch and control the work of these now comrades after their admission. Control by the nucleus in the factory is worth more than all the possible candidacy and probationship obstacles.

We also find the rule superfluous according to which one or several Party members must recommend the new member. It is much more expedient if the request for admission is examined and dealt with by the entire nucleus.

The doors of legal Communist Parties should stand open to all workers who wish to join them. There are, of course, elements who cannot be allowed to join the Party in an off-hand way. It must be borne in mind that there are workers also among the active members of Parties which are hostile to us. When such elements want to join the Party, caution and special care on the part of the nucleus are not at all out of place.

Whilst doing away with the above-mentioned obstacles to entering the CP., Communist Parties must also pay attention to the work among those sections of the working class which are particularly near to the Party (for instance, to the members of the Minority Movement in Great Britain, of the CGTU. in France, of the Red Trade Unions in Czechoslovakia etc.). Of course this must not be interpreted as if we were to content ourselves with work among these sections of the labour movement. But sympathisers and those who stand near to the Communist Party, are the reservoir from which the Parties can first of all draw new forces.

This question of drawing new forces into the Party is of special importance for the development of the Party. Therefore, Parties must be always doing their utmost to secure new members. But the practice of some Parties to increase their membership only by holding so-called recruiting weeks is by no means to be encouraged. Such recruiting weeks have been held even quite lately in various Parties and in Youth Leagues. (Czechoslovakia, Germany etc.) There are of course special circumstances under which such campaigns are permissible and practical but as a general rule the thesis holds good that recruitment of new members is not extraordinary, episodic work, but part of the regular everyday activity of the party. Our slogan must be: Not to rely on new members to put fresh life into the Party, but to create through the energetic activity of the Party organs the necessary conditions for drawing new members into the Party.

The Secretary of the ECCI.
Acting Director of the Org. Department of the ECCI.

More System In Our Work!

By W. Ulbricht.

I.

It is still apparent that Party organisations concentrate only on questions that happen to arise in the ordinary course of events and which require the least trouble for their solution. The result is that either nothing is done, or in times of political tension thousands of tasks are begun at once without concentration on the most important tasks and without any live contact between the individual branches of Party work.

Such a system makes it impossible to organise Party work systematically amongst comrades in such periods of important work. It is wrong for a Party organisation, which just loosely organises its members in local groups, possesses no nuclei and no trade union fractions to begin by creating a fraction in sport organisations or by issuing the slogan, to found Red Aid organisations in the factories, for thereby they divert their best forces from the most important task.

Under normal conditions, therefore, nuclei should first be formed, and our best forces should be concentrated on winning over bodies of trade union functionaries in the factories, and the creation of trade union fractions. Only when this has been accomplished should forces be assigned to what are for the moment comparatively less important tasks. It is also an incorrect policy for Party organisations to start to form nuclei in co-operatives and to neglect the workers struggles in those large factories because that is somewhat more difficult. This lack of system in our work necessitates waste of energy, prevents systematic distribution of Party work amongst comrades and makes it impossible to exercise control on the performance of Party decisions.

Comrades who are working in factories, have daily an opportunity of getting to know the organisation of factories and observing numerous organisational measures which would be useful also in Party organisations. Apart from the exploitation side of large factories, the following basic methods in factory organisations may be formulated:

a) Production is in accordance with a prearranged plan determined by the directors for a period of one or more months.

b) On the basis of this plan of production, distribution of work to the various sections, workshops, etc., is carried out subject to a given term of delivery.

c) Regulation of raw material and distribution of same to the sections and to the various workers.

d) Control of the execution of this plan of production and regular weekly or monthly reports on the condition of the work.

What lessons could we not learn from the chief questions in factory organisations. Just as every factory has a plan of production, of work, in order to carry out the given tasks by the fixed dates, and to divide the work amongst the various departments and workshops so that these are kept busy without unnecessary pauses caused by technical shortcomings of workers and shortage of materials, just in the same way every party executive must carry out its work in accordance with a definite plan of work. Just as work is distributed in factories to individual workers, so too, work must be distributed in the Party Executives and Party nuclei to individual comrades.

Just as in factories, the Party Executives must also make certain that agitation and propaganda work is carried out to time and that the work does not suffer by material coming too late whereby very often it is rendered absolutely useless.

The most important thing, however, that our organisations must learn, is regular control over the execution of directions for the plan of work. In factories registration takes place at least once a week or monthly, as to the stand of the work. Regular reports must also be made in our organisation and Party Executives should control the Party organisations under them in order to make certain that decisions are put into practice.

By using the example of large scale factories, there is no intention of implying that capitalist organisation methods should be transferred bodily into Communist organisations. In factories the endeavour of the management is to schedule the various sections of work and thereby lead to the stamping out of the mental and bodily capabilities of the workers. Unfortunately in certain party organisations, tendencies may

be noticed which also point to a certain mechanisation of party work. Party Executives must issue instructions which in as far as possible permit initiative on the part of the Party membership. Party nuclei and the individual Party members must be trained to adapt general instructions to special topographical conditions.

With this end in view, directions should not only be in writing, but as often as possible discussions should take place with the leading officials. Officials should work much more in nuclei than has hitherto been the case, and thereby assist the comrades in the nuclei by their more extensive experience of Party work. By this method, collective work between Party executives and Party organisations will gain in vitality, then decisions of comrades will not be carried out simply because of discipline but because of conviction, and Party organisations will learn to adopt suitable measures on certain occasions without previous instructions from the Party executive.

II.

Every Party Executive should decide a composite plan of work to be accomplished within a given time. In this plan of work, the tasks of the individual branches of the Party work must be determined in accordance with their significance. The plan of work must contain:

a) Indication of the tasks on which the work is to be concentrated. (It is assumed that current daily work will of course be continued.)

b) Who should fulfill the tasks, and when they are to be fulfilled.

c) How and with what measures the tasks should be carried out.

d) Indication of the material and the terms of the delivery of same. Indication of what information should be issued by the minor organisations.

Systematic organisational work necessitates that in the plan of work of a District Executive should be indicated, where local groups should be founded, what factories should receive special attention, and where the construction or the support and control of trade union fractions should take first place.

This plan of work should be brief and should determine clearly the most important tasks. Questions which arise during the course of the work and are mere exceptions, should not be treated in the plan of work. Such questions should be dealt with individually by the competent Party organisations.

The Party forces should be divided in accordance with the tasks laid down in the plan of work. The most experienced comrades will be allotted the most important tasks. Those tasks which are of less importance should be assigned to those comrades who have little or no experience of Party work. These comrades should carry out the work under an experienced party worker, but under no condition should individual capable party workers be overburdened, because such a state of affairs renders execution of Party decisions absolutely impossible. A comrade who has too many tasks to perform, is incapable of performing any properly.

It is advisable, wherever possible, to publish the plan of work in the press so that in localities where the Party Executive fails to function, members learn what tasks have been decided upon by the upper Party Executive and thereby are in a position to exercise pressure on their own executive.

Control over the performance of tasks in accordance with the plan of work may be carried out by fixing certain tasks to be done within a certain time. Such details, however, can only be decided on individually in the various districts and should be adapted to the circumstances in the districts, locals, and nuclei.

For example, it would be inadvisable to fix on a certain Sunday for land agitation for an entire district where there are only very few active Party forces. In cases where there are such occurrences, as a rule the superior Party executive is not in a position because of shortage of assistants, to support the comrades. If, however, a different day is decided on for land agitation for each larger local group, then it is possible to secure mutual support for individual localities and a more extensive support on the part of the superior Party Executives.

Neither is it advisable for a town organisation to fix a certain week day on which nuclei and trade union fraction meetings are to take place. Present conditions under which individual nuclei and fractions work, are so different that such a general regulation only complicates nuclei work, because very often these meetings are convened on unsuitable days with the result that they are badly attended. The work of nuclei and fractions should be carried out in such a way that this kind of mechanical schedule of meetings becomes superfluous. In other words, individual organisation is essential in individual nuclei and fractions.

However, definite dates are necessary for the execution of the control of trade union membership, of the Party members, etc. It is very useful for individual districts to determine on a certain date by which all Party members must have joined the trade unions, and this date just be so arranged that, where comrades are really willing, this tasks can be easily accomplished.

The following extract from a plan of work of the Neiderheim District of the CPG. shows how tasks should be arranged and how special dates should be determined. Furthermore, the competent district executive determines in what locals, factories and fractions work should be done. These items, however, should not be mentioned in the published plan of work.

Preparation for Factory Council Elections.

a) In connection with the district conference, from the 2nd to the 8th instant, functionary and membership meetings are to take place in all local groups where reports will be delivered on the conference. These meetings should discuss generally tactics of our Party prior to the pending Factory Council elections. (See special instructions.)

b) In February, from the 2nd to the 15th, meetings will be convened according to work in districts, of factory nuclei officials, (representatives in those factories where no nuclei exist) and functionaries from working districts and local groups in order to discuss with these comrades our tactics in individual factories. The basis of these discussions should be a plan confirmed by the district executive of the sub-district Executive and a general meeting of the district executive. In difficult cases, district executives make special decisions.

c) In February, 1st to 28th, meetings of the workers should take place in all factories, at which the subject "Factory Council Elections" should be discussed.

The district executive will issue material for these workers' meetings, and reports should be published in the press about all such meetings. It is advisable for local group executives and sub-district executives to provide the press with frequent brief reports inciting to action during the month of February. Local group executives and the press must support the factory nuclei in the preparation of these factory workers meetings. When such meetings are being prepared in larger factories, it is advisable to issue handbills as a preparation of same.

There is a whole category of factories which will require special attention in reference to Factory Council Elections; this special work will be determined in the conferences already referred to. The sub-district Executive will receive detailed instructions in the course of the preparation of Factory Council Elections as to the progress which is being made.

Generally speaking this plan may be regarded as a good example. It shows weakness insofar as in the introduction nothing is definitely said on what economic and political main question the campaign for Factory Council Election is to be conducted.

In the "Humanité" the following plan of work for Communist Youth nuclei is given:

1. Anti-military campaign.

a) Preparation of political and military slogans against the Entente; against the maintenance of the occupation of Cologne and the Ruhr district; against the colonial war: Morocco and Syria, against the treachery of the Left bloc and against its new military intentions.

b) Organisation of the campaign: meetings should be convened in reference to military service; farewell festivals in the factories, preparations for farewell festivals for those of military age and for the main anti-militarist meeting.

In point two of the plan of work, it is briefly indicated on which actual political fields discussions in the nuclei is to be conducted. This plan of work may be taken as an example for nuclei, as it points out in a definite form the most important question, and at the same time indicates how the campaign is to be organised. Many comrades may say that this plan of work is too brief, that it is a mistake and that a detailed explanation of definite points should not be included in the plan of work, but should be treated in a special article in the press.

Systematic work should not signify mechanical work. To mechanise Party work shows that the Party Executives schedule everything according to one pattern and pay no attention as to how or whether decisions are realised. The plan of work should on no account be an iron unchangeable one, for situations may arise which demand alterations in a plan of work. If for example it should be marked out that organisations in view of the preparation of a strike movement among the metal workers should concentrate primarily in the factory nuclei and fractions in the metal industry, and should by chance this strike movement suddenly take a turn during negotiations and be substituted by a movement for wage increases among wood workers, then the organisation must understand that the plan of work must be immediately changed in accordance therewith.

Various comrades consider the plan of work as a lexicon in which the thousand and one Party tasks must be contained. A plan of work compiled in a pamphlet is never read by a Party comrade, and no Party executive is in a position to control whether the directions given in the plan of work are really put into operations. In a plan of work no more instructions should be given than can be actually controlled by the superior Party Executives, because otherwise these instructions are not taken seriously by comrades.

In an organisational plan of work published in the "Der Pionier des Bolschewismus" (an information periodical of the Ruhr district of the CPG.) we find point one reads as follows:

"There must be a thorough discussion on the political position of the tasks of the Party at every functionary and members meeting; a report of work done should also follow. Further the plan of work for the immediate future and its distribution amongst the comrades should be distributed.

All personal complaints should be vetoed in functionary and members meetings and should be allocated to the various Party instance and the arbitration courts.

Individual pettiness should be eliminated, for now we have really no time to waste over such matters in view of the enormous amount of serious work on hand.

We must finally learn how to utilise functionary and members meetings for the clarification of theoretical questions and scientific discussion.

Leading Party functionaries in districts and sub-districts must endeavour to secure a thorough knowledge of the position and immediate tasks."

It is certainly no wonder that comrades do not read a plan of work if such commonplaces are dealt with as in the above example. Such a literary production is not of the slightest use, for, if the Party Executives devote themselves sufficiently to the work in the lower organisations and take a practical part therein, then they know that such ponderous remarks in the plan of work have no actual effect on the real state of affairs. Only practical instructions and assistance can really be of use in fulfilling political and organisational tasks.

In another plan of work we find the task for three weeks indicated as follows: "Performance of internal Party work." No comrade can really know what to do with such an instruction; a plan of work which gives such a confused picture, is of no use whatever.

III.

There is only one object to be fulfilled with mapping out a plan of work, if the execution of the instructions is to be exactly controlled. It is not mere chance that many organisations have an objection to a plan of work, especially if a given date is determined, because they fear the control of the work. In connection with determining the plan of work, the questions of personal instruction, of regular reports and

of personal control should be regulated. The superior Party Executive should as far as possible send instructors to the lower Party Executive in order to discuss with them questions concerning the plan of work. In a similar manner comrades from superior Executives should go to the lower organisations in order to instruct and control the lower groups and nuclei.

Lower organisations must be made to realise that they should submit regular reports in a simple manner. The Party Executive has the best survey of current work from statistics; for example: number of members, number of subscribers, number of publications sold, number of factory nuclei papers published, number of workers' meetings that have been held, nuclei meetings, and how frequented, etc. Further, if the report contains data of how often the Executive members visited the local group and nuclei, then the superior Party Executives have a comparatively good picture of how the Party is working and wherein their weaknesses lie. It can therefore determine in what way certain organisations should

be helped and what questions should be concentrated on and receive serious attention in the coming month.

It is essential as far as possible to publish good organisational reports in the press and to discuss all weaknesses in a critical manner. Only by such a public exchange of experience is it possible to incite those local groups to active work where the majority of the membership and the Executives are passive, but where there are a few members who have the will to vitalise Party work. Party Executives still exist who regard organisational work something after the manner of Egyptian priests as a secret science. Such an attitude is only injurious to Party work, for if we have not the courage to lay bare the errors in organisational work, then we shall not be in a position to mobilise large sections of the Party membership to obviate such errors. Questions of organisational work should primarily be criticised at conferences of nuclei chairmen, and there comrades should be educated in self-criticism, since on the development of nuclei successful political Party work is dependent.

Material re Questions of Organisation.

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