

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A factory nucleus, for example, decided:

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

Another nucleus reports:

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

A comrade from Lanark reports:

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

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

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

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

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

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

At the previous congress the ratio of delegates was:

Reformists	70%
Maximalists	19%
Communists	11%

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

Reformists	33%
Maximalists	37%
Communists	30%

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

Reformists	25%
Maximalists	36%
Communists	39%

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

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

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

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

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

A comrade reports:

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

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

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

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

definite advantages to Party organisations are perfectly clear and defined.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A nucleus from Berlin reports:

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

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

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

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

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

Bordiga declares:

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

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

Lorient expresses his opinion on nuclei thus:

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

Bubnik in respect of factory nuclei and fractions states:

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

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

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

Lore in an article on this subject:

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

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

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

Factory nucleus E reports:

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

The factory nucleus of several municipal enterprises from Berlin writes:

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

A factory nucleus from Z reports:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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