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The Role of the Worker Correspondent in the International Communist Movement

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ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSES

INTRODUCTION: ~~PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES~~ (OF WORKER CORRESPONDENT SYSTEMS)

Lenin advocated the establishment and use of worker correspondent systems as instruments ^{by which} ~~whereby~~ Bolshevnik newspapers could maintain contact with the masses and function as a soundingboard for their struggles and aspirations. Simultaneously, the work of producing a paper--procuring information for it in all parts of the country, with mass participation in this effort,--was seen by Lenin as a means of developing a Party organization:

"But the role of a paper is not confined solely to the spreading of ideas, to political education and to attracting political allies. A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer...With the aid of, and around a paper, there will automatically develop an organization that will engage, not only in local activities, but also in regular, general work; it will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods of influencing these events through the revolutionary party."

1. Pre-Revolutionary Status The worker correspondents, popularly referred to as the "rabkors" from the abbreviation of the Russian term, rabochiy korrespondent (worker correspondent), were, in the pre-revolutionary period in Russia, Party or non-Party workers who ~~submitted to Bolshevik publications~~ submitted to Bolshevik publications as shown in Lenin's writings, accounts of their daily struggle for livelihood. It was the Bolshevik plan to develop as many of these correspondents as possible, and gradually to transform them into active organizers for their movement. Thus, they were to function not only as sources of information on which to base the Party's propaganda and political policy, but also as essential parts of the core around which would develop a Communist organization.

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Prior to the establishment of a Communist regime, the worker correspondent~~x~~ system has been ostensibly an overt development which was part of the Communist Party's attempt to improve the quality and extent of the news coverage of its principal newspapers. In some areas, however, it is known that the system has functioned as a vehicle or instrument for clandestine operations of the Party or of a Soviet intelligence service. ~~R~~ In two countries at present procedures are reported to be in effect whereby the systems ~~can~~ be exploited for illegal work; in both of these instances, workers have been assigned numbers which ~~ix~~ they can use as substitutes for their signatures; their reporting must be comprehensive and cover facts which may involve investigation. Revelations made by a defector of the French Communist Party who worked in the rabkor office attached to Humanite in the late ~~192~~ 1920's, as well as other cases of that period which have been exposed by French security authorities, very well illustrate that the rabkor system, as it was operated in France, facilitated Soviet intelligence operations in that country.

The fact that the worker correspondent systems were ~~ixix~~ initially designed to extend into the military services of the non-Communist nations is shown in an early Comintern article entitled, "The Forthcoming All-Russian Congress of Worker Correspondents," in which it is stated: "The worker correspondence movement is as yet in its infancy abroad, and nothing is as yet known about village and military correspondents."^{1, 2}

2. Post-Revolutionary Status or people's Following the establishment of a Communist ~~ix~~ regime, the worker/correspondents have served in another important capacity: both in the Soviet Union following the Bolshevik Revolution, and in at least

^{1, 2} International Press Correspondence, Volume 1, No. 82, December 1924, Bulletin of the Comintern. (In subsequent footnotes, International Press Correspondence will be abbreviated to "Inprecor".)

one of the Satellite states, the worker correspondents have been developed as additional systems of control over the population--in Communist jargon, as "the eyes and ears of the Party", reporting on all manifestations of activity hostile to the regime.

Thus, like all other elements of the Communist movement, the worker correspondents have been developed ~~xxxx~~ so that they both legally and illegally serve the advancement of the Communist cause. The correspondent system has been designed to support overtly: ^(a) (1) the agitation-propaganda program of a Communist Party (or Communist-dominated trade union); ^(b) (2) the development of the Party's organization; and ^(c) (3) the security services after the establishment of a Communist regime. Covertly or illegally, the worker correspondent system has served as a means of spotting and developing intelligence agents and as a ~~way~~ way of procuring information which has sometimes been considered confidential by the local, non-Communist government; such information has sometimes been passed by those administering the worker correspondent program to a Soviet intelligence service. Certain of the worker correspondents have supplied information on an unwitting basis directly to a deep-cover Soviet agent who represented himself as ~~being~~ a Party functionary. In other instances, the correspondents have been developed to the point where they worked wittingly and were ~~xx~~ eventually recruited and trained to act as professional intelligence agents.

At the present time great emphasis ~~is~~ is given to the development of the worker correspondent systems appended to international or national trade union publications. Soviet leaders at WFTU headquarters appear to be particularly anxious to develop the worker correspondent systems within the trade union internationals (professional trade departments) of the WFTU.

3. Purposes of a Communist Newspaper. Since the role of the worker correspondent figured in the four principal purposes of ~~the~~ a Communist newspaper, it may be well to establish these clearly in thought as they were conceived by Lenin:

a.
(1) To propagate Communist doctrine, the Party publication was to carry on systematically and extensively sound propaganda and agitation--"the principal and constant duty of all Communists." The worker correspondent who was also a member of the Party was under this universal obligation to carry on agitation-propaganda among his co-workers.

(2) To educate and train the Party worker; the press was, according to Lenin, a means of broadening the perspective and experience of the Party worker who was almost invariably involved in purely local Party work. In widening his horizon, the paper would in turn "affect the conspiratorial skill" of the individual worker. The worker correspondent, more interested in the paper than a casual reader would be because of his active participation in its production, would, therefore, to an even greater extent, be taught by it, and his "conspiratorial skill" would correspondingly be affected.

c.
(3) To expose the abuses of the capitalist regime; a Communist newspaper must expose economic and political evils and with these exposures, "fertilize the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." Here the worker correspondent was to play an extremely important role by exposing economic, labor, and political abuses in his locality.

d.
(4) To develop an organization; the work involved in the writing, production and distribution of a paper would automatically develop an organization required for this regular work. The worker correspondent--the individual worker reporting from all parts of the country--and the printers, editors, distributors, etc., working on the paper, were to form the embryonic organization which would eventually

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develop into a vast "political" organization. As expressed by Lenin:

"The mere technical problem of procuring a regular supply of material for the newspaper and its regular distribution will make it necessary to create a network of agents of a united party.... This network of agents will form the skeleton of the organization we need...." ⁴

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Elsewhere in his discussions of the Party press, Lenin emphasized the dependence of the press upon the individual worker-reporter in all parts of Russia, as a means of unifying and strengthening the power of the working class and the revolutionary party:

"...and we are obliged to encourage every one to send us information concerning even the most common facts in the hope that this will increase the number of our ~~xxxx~~ contributors in this field and will train us all at least to select the really most outstanding facts... unless we collect it (material) from all parts of Russia we will have very little to train upon at all." ⁵

⁴ Lenin, Selected Works, Volume II, pp. 21-22
⁵ Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, Volume IV, "The Iskra Period," 1900-1902, page 237.



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1. Pravda conceived as a "daily mass political newspaper designed for the broadest sections of the workers," Pravda, the daily paper of the Bolshevik Party, in every issue (according to the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.)) set^s forth "dozens of letters from workers describing their life, the savage exploitation and the various forms of oppression and humiliation they suffered at the hands of the capitalists, their managers and foremen."⁶

The organizational work accomplished by Pravda among the worker correspondents is ~~pointed out~~ given special mention in the same official history of the Soviet Party which states that in one year alone Pravda printed over 11,000 letters from workers.

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"But it was ^{that} not only by letters ~~the~~ Pravda maintained contact with the working class masses. Numbers of workers from the factories visited the editorial office every day. In the Pravda editorial office was concentrated a large share of the organizational work of the Party."⁷

By December 1924, the worker correspondents in the Soviet Union were "an army 100,000 strong...keeping watch over the interests of the working class." They were described as stirring up public opinion and exposing all ^{vestiges} ~~remnants~~ of the old capitalist order ~~which~~ (which the Party admitted were still numerous). The Party ^{was} ~~is~~ described as ^{being} appreciative of the worker correspondents' movement.⁸

By the end of 1924--~~and~~ after the establishment of the Soviet Union--the worker correspondents were ^{continued} ~~used~~ and utilized as instruments for ^(a) ~~(1)~~ the Bolshevization of the Communist Party and ^(b) ~~(2)~~ reporting on the adversaries of the Communist regime. With respect to Bolshevization of the Party, ~~Xi~~ Zinoviev reported:

- 1. ⁶ History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.) pp. 149-154,
- 2. ⁷ Ibid. IV,
- 3. ⁸ Inprecor, Volume 4, No. 82, 4 December 1924

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An article in the Comintern bulletin of 4 December 1924 entitled, "The
Forthcoming All-Russian Congress of Workers' Correspondents," ~~shows the evidence~~ indicates
the ~~and~~ respect with which the workers' correspondents were regarded by ~~this period.~~ *Soviet officials*

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"It is but natural that the Party and all Soviet institutions should pay attention
to the voice of the workers' correspondents." These people had proven their
value as an additional police service for the new Soviet government:

"Prosecuting magistrates accept the information supplied by workers' correspondents and institute immediate investigations. Experience has shown that the number of unfounded statements in workers' correspondents' letters is decreasing daily. At one of the conferences, the representative of the prosecuting magistrates' office declared that 90% of the workers' correspondents' communications on the strength of which investigations were instituted were absolute facts and were instrumental in necessary measures being taken and an end being put to the abuses. As it is to be expected, workers' correspondents have many enemies...."

~~...the CPSU... to extend the Rabkor system in the Soviet Union...~~

2. Present Interest in Expansion of Rabkors System in the Soviet Union. The April 1955 issue of Communist, monthly publication of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), contains an article concerning the Soviet press, written by M. Strepukhov, ^{and} entitled, "Powerful Instrument for Mobilization of Masses to Fulfill Party and Government Decisions". The article explains that the worker and peasant correspondent systems continue to have an indispensable function in order that the Soviet press may retain its "genuine national character" in its portrayal of the "varied life of the Soviet people". The following passages, pertinent to the question of worker correspondents, are quoted verbatim from the transla-

^{IV}
1. ⁹ Inprecor, Volume 4, No. 82, 4 December 1924.
2. ¹⁰ Ibid.
3. ¹¹ Ibid. In the present period, worker or people's correspondents of the Satellite People's Democracies, appear to have a mission similar to their Soviet counterparts of the early 1920's.

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tion of this article:

"The Soviet people are always willing to share their experience and their knowledge. The worker and peasant correspondents are the aktiv of our press, its militant army. They are the links which connect the press with the broad masses of the workers. Life confirms that a pithy newspaper is published by those editorial staffs which have a ramified network of worker and peasant correspondents and listen carefully to their voices. It is a mistaken idea that the worker and peasant correspondent movement must be curtailed at the present time. On the contrary, in our time the worker and peasant correspondent movement must not only not be liquidated but must receive greater expansion. The raising of the cultural level of the Soviet people, their political and productive activities create the most beneficial conditions for an increase in the worker and peasant correspondent movement.

"The energies of the newspapers and magazines must wage war against the phenomena of bureaucracy and must be concerned with giving full scope to the creative initiative worker-peasant correspondence and must systematically publish the letters written by workers.

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"The workers see their interests expressed in the newspapers and magazines. It is natural that they write to the editors regarding the most varied questions in which they are vitally interested and which concern the common (public, social) and state business. In the past year, the central newspapers received more than a million letters from their readers. The fact that hundreds of thousands of people write letters to the newspapers and magazines indicates the genuine national character of our press and its high, ~~and~~ public (social, etc.) authority. Those newspapers which do not publish the letters received from the workers are making a mistake. For example, last year "Izvestia" received 35,945 letters and published only 805, whereas the newspaper "Agriculture" received 42,189 letters and used only 2,579 of these.

"Some of our editorial staffs have a bad habit of mechanically forwarding the letters received from their readers to different departments and then sending a formal-bureaucratic answer to its authors. Such practices can be observed in numerous papers. Such practices also weaken the contact of the newspaper with the aktiv and with the readers.

"The letters received from the workers are a living source which feeds our newspapers and magazines giving them the possibility of expressing the varied life of the Soviet people more fully and more clearly." 12

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Translated article from Communist, No. 6, April 1955.

It is to be noted that there is no mention here of the worker correspondents as a kind of police force for the Soviet authorities. Apparently, they have outgrown their usefulness for this service. Rather, they are regarded as a militant propaganda force appended to the press, a source of information ~~on~~ on topics of live interest to the Soviet people, and a means for the press to keep in close touch with the masses--~~x~~ to ascertain their interests and problems. The material submitted by the worker correspondents is seen as one way of combatting stultified bureaucratic ~~emissions~~ emissions.

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3. Comintern Use of Worker Correspondents. The Comintern bulletin, Inprecor, of 4 December 1924, carried the following notice:

"Under the above heading, 'Workers' Correspondence', we shall from time to time publish letters from Russian workers, dealing with life and conditions of work, etc., in the Soviet Union from the direct point of view of the worker in the factory and workshop."

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A survey of all available issues ~~of available issues~~ between the years 1924 and 1938 shows that only three letters were subsequently published in the "Workers' Correspondence" column: one from a Soviet soldier, one from a Soviet factory worker, and a third from a Soviet youth who signed his letter as, "Youth Correspondent of the paper, "The Young Leninite", Moscow...." All three letters were purely propaganda pieces written in praise of the accomplishments of the Soviet Union. No correspondence from workers of other countries ever appeared in the Inprecor "Workers' Correspondence" columns.

Articles discussing the subject of worker correspondents did appear, however, in Inprecor, apparently written by Comintern or Communist Party functionaries. All ~~these~~ ^{these articles} indicated that the development of the correspondence systems in the national sections was considered an essential step. An Inprecor article of 9 April 1925 shows that the Comintern regarded the development of these systems essential to the recruitment program of the international Communist movement:

"The real purport of the extensive Worker Correspondent movement now being called into life is to bring wide masses of the workers into the ranks of the Party, and to make these into conscious and active Party members." ¹³

A resolution adopted by the First Conference of Workers' Correspondents of the Berlin Rote Fahne, held on 28 December 1924, was printed in Inprecor of 22 January 1925. ¹⁴ It is largely an echo of ^{Lenin's} statements ~~of the~~ ^{states} ~~the~~ ^{of the} ~~pur-~~ ^{poses} of the worker correspondents. It concisely ~~lays down~~ ^{states} the principal

activity of the worker correspondent which ~~was~~ consists mainly of "reporting as to conditions in work places, on the life of the working people and on the bourgeois State." The resolution emphasizes the role which the worker correspondent ~~can~~ play during election campaigns. It urges the establishment of connections with the worker correspondents of the Soviet Union as ^{being} of "extreme importance". The degree of success ^{of} this undertaking ~~had~~ is not known.

March 9

An Inprecor article ⁹ of April 1925 discussed newspapers published by several of the national sections of the Comintern. ^{N 5} ~~In~~ As a means of correcting their weaknesses, the ~~work~~ development of worker correspondents systems was offered as a universal panacea. The author recommended to the Minority Movement of England the establishment of a worker correspondents system as a prelude to the founding of a daily mass newspaper. In speaking of the ^{publication of} Communist movement in the United States, the Daily Worker, ~~the author (G. Smoljansky) wrote~~ and ^{of} the way by which it might be converted to a mass newspaper, the author (G. Smoljansky) wrote: "The organization of a Worker Correspondent movement is one of the first tasks imperative for this newspaper."

Reports from worker correspondents published in Unità, the Italian publication, were criticized ^(because they gave) the impression of having been written in the editor's study; ^{they shed} giving no light upon the life and interests of the workshop and factory, but referring ^{etc} exclusively to the opinion of the respective worker on questions under discussion by the Party, "or other abstract subjects."

Humanité, ^{of the} French Communist Party, was mentioned favorably as the only Communist publication outside the Soviet Union which had attained a circulation of 200,000, ~~copies~~ but it was criticized for devoting very little space to letters from workers.

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An ^{other} Inprecor article of 9 April 1925 stressed the fact that worker correspondents should be recruited among non-party workers. It criticized the Rote Fahne resolution for containing no provision which induced non-party worker correspondents ~~to~~ to contribute to that publication. The author noted that in the very elementary stage of the development of the worker correspondent system, it ~~was~~ was to be expected that the majority of them ^{correspondents} would be Party members. But the worker correspondents' movement ~~should~~ ^{would}, in the opinion of the Comintern writer, "sever itself from its chief sphere of utility were it not to aim at inducing precisely the unorganized workers to ~~a~~ take part in the movement. He strongly urged that the non-partisan worker be given the opportunity to express his wishes in the Communist press.

This article ~~also~~ also stresses the close ties which should exist between the Communist Party's official ^{daily} newspaper and the factory newspapers. The former should assist not only with material and technical support, but "uninterrupted organizational contact must be maintained between the editorial staffs of the communist daily press and the worker ⁱⁿ editors of the factory newspapers of the corresponding town or district."

~~Summary~~ With regard to Comintern interest in worker correspondents, it may be stated in summary that the Comintern, through its bulletin, issued instructions for the formation of corps of worker correspondents within national Communist Parties, who would/keep the Party in touch with the masses of the workers, ~~which~~ by reporting on conditions and events in the workers' ~~line~~ daily life, ^{would} function as an organization ^{and} recruitment aid. One statement appearing in a Comintern bulletin shows that the correspondents were to be recruited from the towns and villages and from armed forces personnel. Space was provided in its bulletin for a ~~limit~~ very limited number of communications from Soviet workers.

4. Although in its general outward form--public notices were printed to solicit workers to write to the paper--the worker correspondents system was an overt procedure, the exploitation of it for intelligence purposes required standard clandestine techniques--use of numerical code for signatures, a camouflaged listing of the correspondents, disguised methods of approach to correspondents in requesting information, etc.

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5. Special campaigns initiated by the Comintern, were advantageously used by Humanite to extend the system and to carry out intensively the information collection program; e.g., the Comintern declaration of an international day against ~~war~~ war in 1929 ^{provided the} gave occasion for ~~the~~ publication of denouncements of ~~against~~ war preparations ~~in letters from workers.~~ ^{set forth}

6. The system did not rely solely on the coverage provided in the workers' letters; it initiated questionnaires asking for detailed, specific information about the number of workers in the factories, whether or not the work being done was of military nature, etc. Thus, two techniques which have been exploited in the post World War II period were initiated in the 1920's:

(a) ^{a.} Reaping of intelligence information through the establishment of special "peace" days ^{via the worker correspondents system:}

(b) Use of special questionnaires to ~~elicit~~ ^{elicit} illicit information which, in its collated form, constitutes intelligence information.

7. The intelligence product of the worker system, ~~linked with~~ ^{linked with} Humanite was considered of such importance ^{and} that a ^{commission} special ~~committee~~ of six Party functionaries, ~~of~~ ^{were submitted as} one of them of Secretariat status, was set up to exploit the information. ~~were submitted as~~ The following paragraphs ~~xxx~~ the personal ~~story~~ account of a former member of the French Communist Party. The paragraph headings (except for those

included within quotation marks), footnotes, translated titles of organizations which were abbreviated in the original, and underscoring of significant statements, have been added to the original account to facilitate reading and understanding.

Establishment of a Rabkors Office at Humanite

"In June or July 1928, the French Communist Party Secretariat at Comintern instigation set about organizing a Rabkors--or worker correspondent--system which would hinge from Humanite. It was to be set up under the direction of a member of the Central Agit-Prop Committee (Andre Raymond) who left the Communist Party about 1930.

"He was installed in an office in the Humanite building with a staff of his own--two professional Party workers and a stenographer. A special staff was considered justifiable because of the hostility of Humanite editorial staff to have to use material submitted by readers and to develop correspondence with workers. For professional self-defense reasons, Humanite writers feared being replaced by workers who had become correspondents--since in some respects the journalists were looked upon as being bourgeois elements. Actually it was (a Comintern idea to use the ~~the~~ correspondence system to develop newspaper writers) of proletarian origin--although this was not Moscow's sole aim.

"First Phase. The rabkors are therefore a creation of Moscow. The Comintern had moreover created an international bureau of worker correspondents. Its center was in Moscow and ~~its~~ ~~direction/~~ ~~was~~ ~~provided~~ over it was provided by the editor-in-chief of the Soviet publication, Troud.

"The objective of the international bureau was:

- to direct the networks of worker correspondents
- to permeate the Party press in diverse countries with worker and peasant grievances
- to organize the exchange of correspondence between workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and French worker and peasant correspondents."

Method of Operating and Communication Techniques

"The French organization began to function as soon as it was set up. Workers were urged to write in for this new column put at their disposal telling of their experiences in the factories, offices, etc. Internal Party circulars were distributed among the cells pointing out the necessity of participating in the rabkors program and encouraging Party members to write. As soon as the letters were received, the writers were indexed and assigned a number. All communications were answered--interesting or otherwise. In each reply, it was pointed out to the correspondent that henceforth it was not necessary to sign letters with his name, but with the number which had been assigned to him which would avoid any possible repression. Also, where necessary, further details were asked about the information the correspondent had contributed, and his reporting was turned toward subjects in which the Party was interested--particularly those useful for its agitation-propaganda program of the moment."

Maintenance of Rabkors Personnel Records

"The stenographer who had charge of the card index did not retain it. The card index was kept in two notebooks:

- (a) a notebook where the names were placed in alphabetical order
- (b) a notebook where the names were listed in numerical order according to the numbers assigned to the correspondents. The notebooks offered the most practical possibility for camouflage. They were never kept at Humanite. For months at a time the notebooks were stored in the printing plant of Dangon, 123 rue Montmartre, without the knowledge

of the of the plant management. A Humanite printer took charge of the

'cached'.

"For a certain number of months the correspondents' letters were utilized only in the special page for the worker correspondents which appeared once a week and in the column of the 'Workers' Front.' The other departments of the paper refused to use information furnished by the correspondents."

Correspondence Routed to the Secretariat.

"Only letters having special interest or requiring verification through Party efforts were sent to the Party secretariat. On these occasions the names of the correspondents were not given, except in a very special case. In any case, the correspondents were never put into contact with lower party units--cells, sections, etc. These units were only asked to verify the truth of the information submitted by the correspondents and to transmit to the secretariat the result of this checking."

Comintern "Peace" Campaign

"Second Phase. When the Comintern had decided to establish an international day against war--that of 1 August 1929--the order was transmitted by the secretariat of the Party to all Party units--including the rabkors, to slant all their work toward the founding of this day. The correspondents received the order to prepare several special pages of Humanite where preparations for war would be denounced."

Questionnaires Sent to Worker Correspondents

"A very detailed circular with an important questionnaire was sent to all the correspondents. It specified that all details, even the most ~~in~~ minute, must be mentioned. It again stressed that the correspondence should relate the facts to the particular situation of the factory or of the locality. The questionnaire covered among other points:

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- a. the name and address of the enterprise; the number of workers; of women and young people employed; the work done; the military characteristics of the work; the progress of the orders; measures taken by the management to insure its products; the destination of the orders; the methods of transport, etc. Railway worker correspondents were asked to report about military supply shipments, their importance; about transports of troops, supplies, etc.
- b. salaries for each category, morale of the staff and the workers; their affiliation to political groups, etc.
- c. to establish claims which would be the most popular (salaries, security, hygiene, worker delegates, canteens, etc.)
- d. all local information which could be exploited to show military preparation, material or psychological in their city or town.

Numerous letters were received by Humanite which published several effective pages about preparations for war and about the importance of an international day for 1 August 1929. "

Direct Contact between Soviet Intelligence and the Humanite Rabkors

"It was about this time--June or July 1929--when the rabkors service of the French Communist Party was contacted by the illegal apparat. This was done in the following manner: A former functionary of the Jeunesses Communistes (Communist Youth), expelled from the Party for two years and who had become secretary to a socialist deputy, came to find the Rabkors service at Humanite. He asked one of the administrators of the Rabkors whom he had known for six years, to meet an important person who wished to see him. The rabkors man--whom we shall call Jean--was surprised by this proposal and refused to agree to the meeting which looked suspicious

The former French Communist apparently uses the term, "illegal apparat" throughout his account. He refers to an underground service.

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to him. The visitor then asked that he check with the functionary at Party headquarters, 120 rue Lafayette, who was responsible for trade union questions--a man named Caralp, who directed Party trade union fractions in the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail) and in the CGTU (Confederation Generale du Travail Unitaire).¹⁹

"The Rabkors functionary saw Caralp who confirmed what his visitor had said, and requested him to have the meeting because it was a question of a delegate from Moscow. The meeting was held; the person Jean met was introduced to him as Paul. The meeting took place in a small cafe in the Observatory quarter.

"Paul explained that in Moscow they had been interested in the campaign which denounced imperialist preparations for an anti-Soviet war² and he asked for details about the correspondents and the functioning of the service. Other meetings took place between Jean and Paul. These were held at a fixed date, for example, every Tuesday at 9 a.m. In case of the absence of one of them, the meeting was postponed to the next day, the same hour. If one of the two was not present, the first rendez-vous was valid for the same day, same hour the following week, until the contact was reestablished. This arrangement had been considered necessary in view of the possible absences of Paul. The meetings were held in the most diverse locations: Buttes Chaumont, Cimetiere du Pere-Lachaise, Musee de l'Indochine, rue de la Boetie, Parc Monceau, Square de la Pepiniere..... Each place was designated at the time of the last meeting and was known only to Jean and Paul."¹¹

Soviet Intelligence--French Communist Party Secretariat Liaison

"As a rule, Jean submitted to the Secretariat of the Party letters of the correspondents. Paul knew about these through the Secretariat with which he had liaison. He then requested that Jean either contact the correspondents directly or that Jean

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furnish him with the addresses so that he could contact them. When Jean was assigned to make contact and to arrange a rendez-vous with Paul, it was agreed that the correspondent drop out of the Rabkors circuit. His name was maintained however in the card index."

Remuneration for Worker Correspondents

"Only transportation expenses for Jean and the correspondents were paid by Paul. Jean, already a salaried employee of Humanite never accepted a centime of remuneration, considering that the assistance which he gave in this manner against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union was normal for a militant Communist. Paul tried however to give him presents on several occasions, but these were never accepted."

Other Party Contacts of Paul

"Besides Caralp, no one at Party headquarters knew about the liaison Paul-Jean, but the latter knew that Paul was in contact with several Party functionaries. Paul worked especially with the director of the page of the "Front Social" at Humanite. Paul had known this man since the war of 1914-1918 when both of them were in Switzerland. Paul lived in the Leysin region.

"Paul was in contact with Marthe Potosniak, political organizer for the second section of the Party (20th, 11th districts of Paris). On at least one occasion she was assigned to find temporary lodgings for Paul. She sent him to the home of a Party member who at that time lived on the Boulevard Richard Lenoir. Paul worked also with Laetitia Reynaud, wife of Henri Reynaud, present director of the Communist CGT. Laetitia Reynaud recruited agents for Paul."

The Secretariat Chooses a Rabkors Delegate to Travel to Moscow

"Third Phase. A trip to Moscow for worker correspondents had been planned where they were to be put into contact with Russian Rabkors. The Rabkors service of

Humanite had chosen some of its best correspondents for this trip. The Party Secretariat informed Jean that it desired that a ~~Rabkors~~ chosen by the Secretariat be included in the delegation. This was obviously an order, which was carried out. The ~~Rabkors~~ chosen by the Secretariat was called Philippe Liogier, a metal worker originally from the Loire. ¹⁹ He went to Moscow for a very short visit and, soon after his return to France, was assigned by the Secretariat to the Humanite ~~Rabkors~~ service. ¹¹

Establishment of the "Commission of Six Members"

"A short time after Liogier entered this service, Paul informed Jean that the Party Secretariat intended to create a commission of six members which would be assigned to collect all correspondence pertaining to war preparations and to military matters. ²⁰ He considered this step a mistake (here, it was a question of a ~~mm~~ commission which included among its members, Duclos, Liogier, and Bir).

"Paul forbade Jean to have contact with the Party Secretariat and to participate in the work of the commission. Jean was not to know what it was doing; he was persuaded that that would come to a bad end. The Party Secretariat appointed Liogier as responsible for the ~~Rabkors~~ service, to ensure the work and the liaison with the commission.

"It is to be noted that Paul did not disassociate himself from the work of the commission, since Bir took part in it. This third phase of the work of the ~~Rabkors~~ proves that Liogier must have been a member of the apparat for a long time. It was without doubt upon the order of the apparat that the Party Secretariat designated him for the trip to Moscow in the place of an excellent militant of long standing. It was again on the order of the apparat that Liogier was designated to take over the management of the ~~Rabkors~~ and Jean was transferred to another section of the

1. ¹⁹ This name appears later in the account as Jean Liogier; he is described as now directing a ~~Rabkors~~ Communist newspaper in the Saint Etienne area.

2. ²⁰ This is apparently the committee which is referred to later as the "little

newspaper....."

Recruitment: Methods of Approach

"When Jean contacted a correspondent he presented himself if possible simply as a Party member and did not use his title of Humanite editor except as it was necessary. He never indicated that he was a functionary of the Rabkors service. When it was a question of a correspondent who was not a member of the Party, he was obviously obliged to use his ⁺title of journalist and the official reason for his visit was to obtain details on the facts supplied by the correspondent in his letter to the paper.

"For members of the Party, Jean showed a letter of reference from Caralp, trade union responsible of the Party. In every case, Jean had to obtain an account of the exact situation of the correspondent, of the services that he could give to the paper, to the party and to the apparatus.

"The only problem explained to the correspondent was that of the struggle against the anti-Soviet war. The workers' part in this consisted of furnishing a maximum amount of accurate information on the material and ideological preparation for war. It was necessary to convince and enlighten the population about the dangers of war and about the threats which were directed against the country of the workers, the Soviet Union.

"According to the importance of the correspondent, Jean was to explain the worth of his work for peace; he had to convince him of the necessity of continuing his information work. To facilitate this work and to avoid the postal service where letters could get lost as well as suppressed, a direct contact was necessary--hence, presentation to Paul, who subsequently kept the liaison with the correspondent.

"In principal, the correspondent accepted, for this method ~~was~~ permitted him to

operate without risk and to serve the cause of peace avoiding suppression from employer or the government. He did not have the feeling of being dragged into an espionage network, but more that of playing a very important role in an effective struggle against war.

"To a Party militant, the clandestine character of the work appeared immediately, but, a communist, he knew that illegal work was a necessity and he was happy to have been chosen by the Party to serve in a dangerous post."

Rabkors Work Procedures

"Jean's work was done without the knowledge of the newspaper but under ~~its~~ cover of it. As a general rule, Jean, after having finished his editorial work, took the train in the evening, traveled during the night and returned the next day in the afternoon to continue his task; or, he used his days of leave. No one could learn that he had just made a trip into the country.

"From 1928 to 1935, if not until later, the worker correspondents never had Humanite correspondent cards nor press telegraphic cards. Jean did not have to explain the reasons for which the correspondents had to break contact with the newspaper because from the beginning of the direct liaison between Paul and the correspondent, the latter was convinced that he continued to serve the paper but that this direct contact was only a way of additional security. It was Paul or his agents who had to direct the work of the correspondents thus recruited; if necessary, they had to explain the reasons why the correspondent had to become politically inactive in his locality. Investigations made on the correspondents were never carried out by the Rabkors service, which did not have the means of doing this, but by the Party, with the aid of the Paul-Caralp liaison or with the liaison, Paul--Secretariat."

Soviet Intelligence--French Communist Party Liaison\

"Compartmentalization. At least up to the time of the nomination of Duclos as responsible for the liaison between the apparat and the members of the Party (this period dates from the creation of the commission of six), the Party Secretariat did not know about the relations between Jean and Paul, but it could not ~~have~~ be ignorant of the fact that a number of things ~~xx~~ were escaping its control at the very center of the Party.

Paul's connections

"Among ~~the contacts of Paul~~ with the Party, the contacts which eluded him are not all known; nevertheless, it is necessary to point out:

- liaison between Paul and the chief of the worker column of Humanite
- liaison between Paul and Caralp
- liaison with a certain number of federation or section functionaries (such as Laetitia Reynaud, Marthe Potosniak, etc.)

"The appointment of Liogier as head of the ~~Rabkors~~ service must be considered as a regularization of Secretariat-~~appar~~at relations, at least as far as the ~~Rabkors~~ was concerned. This did not at all prevent the procedure whereby individual contacts took place between Paul, his apparat and some militants of the Party who felt themselves linked closer by work at the international level than by internal discipline of the French Communist Party.

"Jean practically stopped working for the apparat at the beginning of 1931. However, he saw Paul or his successors from time to time (among these there was an old militant of the generation of the ~~xx~~ Bolshevik Party who went by the name of 'Senor', then a young military attache of the Soviet Embassy who was called 'Andre'. During these rendez-vous the conversation pertained to politics, the Party's

~~SECRET~~

activities, doctrinal questions, etc.^^

Soviet Plans for the Training of French Nationals in the Soviet Union

"The last rendez-vous with Paul took place several days before his arrest. Paul had come to France with a special mission: to recruit three students for an international revolutionary school which trained specialists. Jean was one of the three students chosen by Paul and he was to leave with him. Jean was advised that the courses would last six months; that during this period, he would be permitted to have no contact with France or with his family; that when the course terminated, he would undoubtedly be sent on a mission. According to Paul, it was Voroshilov himself who supervised the work of the international school. The arrest of Paul prevented the departure of the students from France. The identity of the other students is not known. This international school had no connection with the international Lenin School which trained Party cadres, nor with certain special schools which were located in Moscow and to which were sent militants of the Communist Youth like Gassiot, the leader of the anti-military apparatus, in 1930, at Humanite (soldiers' column) or Latour (cadre of the Paris region).

"Information Furnished by the Rabkors. The sorting of the correspondence was done at Humanite. Only certain letters having a specific interest were transmitted. The forwarding was done by the newspaper's messenger with the address simply indicated as: Secretariat of the Party. The messages were subsequently brought back directly by Liogier. Among the letters transmitted were ~~were with notices: xxx~~
a. those which were of political or social interest. A part of a letter might have been used by Humanite. The other part might serve the agitation or the organization of the Party.

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- special
- b. letters of a ~~particular~~ interest which could not be used in the paper but had to be controlled for use. Letters from correspondents from large department stores were in this category; the newspaper administrators prohibited the publication of letters which would risk the loss of advertising for the newspaper.
- c. letters pertaining to military information or about factories and the production of war materiel (transport of materiel, railroad traffic, arsenals, air bases, troop movements, military manoeuvres, etc.) The information was sent upon leaving Humanite to the Party Secretariat, by bicycle messenger, as we have indicated, then by Liogier. They landed in the service of Paul through the intermediary of the little commission. It was this little commission which had to use the correspondence and to make contact with the correspondents. Hence, the liaison with the apparat was in the hands of three men: Duclos, Liogier and Bir. The first two had direct ~~to~~ contacts; the third had been a member of the apparat for a long time.
- d. The importance of the presence of Duclos on the commission was that it permitted covering with the name and the authority of the Secretariat, the work of the apparat. Caralp was out of circulation following a very serious illness which had necessitated a protracted absence. The apparat therefore no longer had a guarantor for contact with Party members or

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1.2c This is a verbatim translation of the original text. Presumably it is meant that the messages of import were taken to the offices of the Party Secretariat by a Party courier and were subsequently returned to the Rabkors office by Liogier himself.

with the correspondents. The liaison and the authority of Duclos reestablished easier methods of work."

Duclos: A Soviet Intelligence Contact in the French Communist Party

"The mission of Duclos had been designated by Moscow. Probably it was the apparatus of Berzin which had chosen Duclos, through the Comintern. It is not certain that the other members of the political bureau of the Party knew in detail the role of Duclos, but they knew that he was a member of the little commission responsible for exploiting the information collected by the correspondents. Probably Duclos originated the procedure whereby the deputies presented written questions to the ministers about war preparations. Humanite then took up again the Journal Officiel, publishing the questions, enlarging upon its platform of propaganda and agitation in divulging the facts--under the cloak of the Journal Officiel--and thereby avoiding lawsuits."

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Resurgence of Rabkor System in France

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8. During 1951, there reportedly was a resurgence of interest in ~~and~~ the redevelopment of the rabkor system. One anti-Communist observer in France attributed the renaissance of the rabkor system in France to the fact that the Party had been losing key positions in the army, air corps, police, nationalized industries, etc., and therefore recourse to the rabkor system was once again a necessity.

RCPz

~~In November 1954 at a meeting of the Federal Bureau of Paris~~

~~at~~ In December 1951, ~~at~~ Seine Federation Communist Party meeting, André Stil, editor-in-chief of Humanite, reportedly spoke about ^{worker} correspondents, and stated that as of that date they numbered 873; of this number, 522 had been recruited in 1951.

FCP

~~at~~ November 1954 ~~at~~ meeting of the ~~Federal Bureau of Paris~~, the problem of strengthening the network of correspondents was taken up again. At this time, 700 party members correspondents for the Paris area alone allegedly were counted. The "Federal office" at this time (November 1954) gave orders to perfect a network grouping 1200 correspondents (presumably in the Paris area), of whom 821 would be in the factories, a number which would correspond to the number of local or factory cells.

at a meeting of the Central Committee on 13 November 1954, Party Secretary Etienne Fajon, is quoted as having stated that Humanité had a number of un-salaried correspondents, "some 2500 all over the country in various fields of endeavor."

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1. ~~FEBA 10147, 18 December 1951.~~

25
2. ~~OPD 4755, 27 January 1955.~~

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FOI/NIA

If these figures are approximately accurate, then the number of worker correspondents appears to have increased threefold between the years 1951 and 1954. Subjects which the correspondents have been encouraged to write about are anti-military activity, war transports, and military communications. Letters which appear in the weekly column of Humanité for readers who are ⁱⁿ military service are possibly collated and processed by the Union de la Jeunesse Republicaine de France (UJRF) which controls the associations of recruits (amicales de conscrits) set up in the Communist municipalities and in the factories by the CGT trade union sections or the factory committees directed by the ~~Communist~~ FCP.

Prominent Party functionaries who appeared to be involved in organizing and/or exploiting the worker correspondents in the early 1950's were Marcel Servin, chief of FCP Cadre Section, ~~and~~ Octave Rabate (a Humanité ^{social column} editor) and Andre Marty. Servin was reported in December 1951 as reviewing all reports from correspondents which pertained to armament production, military activities or to anti-Communist personalities. Rabate reportedly was personally active organizing worker correspondents in French ports. One report names him "chief of the correspondents of Humanité". Marty was generally known as a military expert of the French Communist Party; ~~in addition~~ he has also been accused of being a Soviet intelligence agent (MGB) in the French Communist Party.

It is ~~normal to expect that~~ reasonable to assume that worker correspondents will disregard "bourgeois"-government classifications and will, therefore, in reporting information to Party publications, include classified as well as

1. OFF-1455, 7 January 1955. 29-4-105-17

2. WPPA-10147, 18 December 1951. 29-4-1-231

23 ~~100~~ According to one report, Rabate was implicated in a Soviet intelligence case which was brought to court in France in 1918. ~~(see page 4 March 1954)~~

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unclassified information. The encouragement that the Communist Party gives to worker correspondents to report comprehensively on all phases of activity in their places of employment is indicated in an FCP-edited brochure issued after a lecture given by Andre Stilk, in December 1951. The latter cautioned the correspondents writing from the factories that they must not conduct a "first selection" in the information they collect; on the contrary, they must ~~inform~~ report in detail because the Party organ alone can judge the worth of the information submitted. The brochure cautioned that

"an event which might appear important in a given circle, a factory or a street, might have less importance for the journal. But unfortunately the danger is not yet that too much is sent to the (party) newspaper—and in these cases, when there is doubt, it is better always not to refrain from sending it in but, to make assurance double sure, to send it in to the paper....."

"The danger is in the reverse: there are some facts which, in one factory may seem to be secondary if one sees them from the narrow perspective provided from within the factory, but which, when seen in the light of the "general struggle" of the Party, assume great value for the paper."

The "active and devout" correspondent must not limit his activity to information in plain sight or within his immediate environment; he must, according to Andre Stil, make an effort to investigate facts sometimes less apparent, but which "have no less significance and weight."

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W.H. | D

East Germany

As in the Soviet Union in the immediate post-revolutionary period, so in East Germany at present, worker or people's correspondents have been organized and assigned to (a) assure the Bolshevization of the country, to promote and support its reform programs, and (b) to eliminate the enemies of the Communist regime.

W.H. F

It was reportedly at the instigation of Walter Ulbricht, Vice President of the German Democratic Republic and Secretary General of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), that the "people's correspondents" were organized in Germany at the beginning of 1948. Max Schneider, member of the SED Central Committee, was reportedly assigned to organize the networks of correspondents.

Handwritten scribbles and marks on the left margin.

Upon the formation of the system, the specific tasks of the correspondents were: ~~the~~ reporting ~~of~~ the reaction of the masses ^{to} ~~upon~~ the Five-Year Plan, ~~was~~ put into effect and ~~to~~ ^{influencing} direct public opinion so that it conformed to the Party line. A number of conferences of the correspondents of various Communist publications were held in late 1949 and early 1950 to define their functions and goals. Some of the information reported by the correspondents was used in Party publications to support the Party's agitation-propaganda. An ultimate goal (in establishing the people's⁽¹⁾ correspondents) was to set up an organization, which, as in the post-revolutionary period in the Soviet Union, would develop the capability of moulding the population into a mass Communist Party.

The people's correspondents are not only active in East Germany but ⁱⁿ West Germany as well, apparently under the ultimate direction of the Central Committee of the SED,

1. "Les Correspondants Populaires en Allemagne", OFPA-3574, 5 January 1954, Union.

+ ²⁴ see Lenin's statement describing the role of a paper as "collective organizer" in the Introduction of this study.

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although directly appended to press agencies or a radio station of the East Zone, or to a KPD publication, ~~are active in West Germany as well as~~ ^{In West Germany,} they have been obliged to support all forms of "national resistance" as defined by Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic. Reported statements of several SED officials show that the peoples' correspondents were also to serve as an additional system of control over the population for the East German government: Bernhard Koenen, SED provincial chairman for Saxony-Anhalt ~~in early 1950~~ ^(in early 1950) is ~~xxx~~ quoted as having stated that (among other duties) the "Peoples' Correspondents" must help defend (the regime) against "agents and saboteurs"; Heinz Ferdinand Padberg, described as a Party writer and contributor to the Cominform journal, ^{stated while} outlining missions of the peoples' correspondents, ~~stated~~ that they must "unmask unscrupulous elements...disclose and report sabotage plans;" Padberg called the peoples' correspondents "the eyes and ears of the ~~enterprises~~ enterprises," a term commonly used by other SED leaders in referring to the peoples' correspondents. Robert Korb, a member of the press section of the SED Central Secretariat in 1950, stated (at a press conference on 9 and 10 February 1950) that the peoples' correspondents represent public opinion and have to "make the masses understand and execute the economic plans." ^{Thus} they are seen as a force for educating the population so that public goals are understood and more easily achieved.

1. SO 61058x, 9 April 1951. MGL-12040: "National resistance reportedly involved resistance against occupation statutes, militarization of ~~of~~ East Germany, armament production, import of American commodities, etc. which could be manufactured in Germany, the support of the peace, /
2. SO 40178x, 17 May 1950. MGL-5656.

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study

In East Germany, the people's correspondents are attached directly to a Party organ, each organ having its own network of informants. Two or three editors of each publication are responsible for the utilization of material submitted by the people's correspondents. Some of the information is directed to the Press Service which contains a unit called "Information Control," which is ~~xxx~~ reportedly responsible for routing the material to the appropriate Party and Government organs. Some of it probably ^{has been} ~~was~~ of interest to the Ministry of State Security and to the Soviet occupation authorities.

2. Recruitment

The most effective way for the recruitment of people's correspondents is the selection made by editorial staffs of the Communist press among ~~people~~ readers who have sent in letters to the newspapers. Lectures and discussions organized in the factories and in the countryside ~~xxx~~ also ^{are stated to} facilitate recruitment.

3. Qualifications of a Correspondent

Qualifications which a worker correspondent should ^{possess} ~~have~~ been defined in an "internal publication" of the ^{Communist} Party St ~~is~~ which has been translated into several languages and ~~is~~ is entitled, "Guide for a Worker Correspondent" ("guide du Correspondant d'entreprise"). Certain ~~passages~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{stated} its provisions

OFFA 3574

- a. The correspondent must be an honorable person, of irreproachable reputation, favorably known in his sector. The credit and the respect from which the newspaper will benefit will depend in large part on the ~~xxx~~ genuineness of the information furnished by the local representative.
- b. The correspondent should not submit information until he has checked its veracity himself to avoid having the newspaper ~~lose~~ lose its prestige. The best way to check information is to submit it to workers of the factory concerned.
- c. The correspondent must have had thorough political instruction in order that his information ~~is~~ will pertain to the significant political problems of the Party.

This "Guide" is included in Appendix B of OFFA 3574, 5 October 1957, Union.

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Once recruited, the correspondent is ~~manipulated~~ ^{in a way} manipulated by the editorial staff of the newspaper to which he is attached. Each month the work received is examined, ~~studied~~ ^{studied by} the staff which submits its conclusions to the Party. Directives are given to the correspondents during practical work sessions, and during different conferences, according to whether the correspondents work in a factory or in the country. Often editorial staffs organize training schools lasting from ^{eight} 8 to ^{fifteen} 15 days. The aim of these training schools is not only to give to the correspondents elementary practice in journalism, but especially to give them instruction ~~from the~~ ⁱⁿ political points of view, in order that they may fulfill efficiently the mission that ~~is~~ ^{is} expected of them. In principle, the correspondent is not reimbursed; he may receive in certain cases a bonus or reimbursement ~~for~~ his expenses. He must not resell his articles, or work for several papers at the same time.

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In East Germany
According to one report, ~~only~~ ^{only} persons who are ~~more~~ reliable SED members are eligible to be ~~P.C.~~ ^{P.C.} people's correspondents.

~~OTPA-3574, 5 January 1954, Union.~~
~~SO 40178x, 17 May 1950, MGL-5656.~~

Wade
A West Germany.

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As previously stated, the peoples' correspondents system organized by the SED/extended into West Germany where many of the correspondents are connected with the press agency, ~~the~~ Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtenagentur, (ADN), or with the Berliner Rundfunk (radio station). The chief correspondent of the ADN in Bonn appeared to be responsible for collating information from ADN ~~correspondents~~ peoples' correspondents in West Germany. The information he collected was sent by certain ~~to~~ trusted couriers and by a variety of clandestine channels into East Germany. Reportedly, Soviet functionaries have attended meetings which the ADN chief correspondents in Bonn had in the East Zone with ADN headquarters functionaries.

The network of peoples' correspondents of the Berliner Rundfunk in West Germany on the whole corresponded to the organization of the KPD, with a central office in Duesseldorf, regional offices (in principle, one for each "Land"), and with about ^{thirty} 30 volunteer correspondents for each "Land". Information collected by the latter ~~is~~ has been transmitted either by regular mail, by telephone, or, in certain cases, by more secure methods--trusted ~~railroad~~ railroad employees or special ~~couriers~~ couriers. The correspondents have regularly been called to Berlin where they report in detail about ~~the~~ conditions in their localities, perfect their political education, and receive directives.

Along with their assignment^{ment} of collecting information, correspondents of the Berliner Rundfunk reportedly have to recruit listeners for the East German radio broadcasts, and to investigate the effect of these on the West German population. ^{Much} ~~Most~~ of the reporting ~~is~~ done by the correspondents' networks of ADN and Berliner Rundfunk is ~~used~~ stated to be used by the SED for its political action. The information is sent to information services of the East German govern-

ment which routes it to the SED, the different ministries, and particularly to
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1. OFFPA-3574, 5 January 1954, Union. "Les Correspondents Populaires en Allemagne,"

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the State Security Service.

Subjects on which correspondents in West Germany have been requested to report allegedly have included the following topics:

- anything pertaining to the remilitarization of West Germany (is it directed against the Soviet Union)
- manufacture of war materiel in the factories
- military requisitions, construction of airfields, barracks
- Allied forces, armament, manoeuvres, gasoline and munition depots, etc.
- information ~~x~~ about traffic in West German ports
- means of replenishing supplies (presumably by the Allied forces)
- industrial statistics
- scientific discoveries
- machinery tools
- all information about recruitment for the Foreign Legion.

In addition to these military and economic questions, more specific information reportedly was requested in 1952 by the chief ADN correspondent in Bonn concerning information and intelligence services of the West German government. In 1953, the West German Communist Party, ^(KPD) reportedly showed special interest in the selection and development of peoples' correspondents—a group which it considered as an "inexhaustible reservoir of writers for its press".

Directives were issued by the Central Committee to the Provincial Federations to choose correspondents of working class origin and to have them take a "qualification course". In July 1953, the SED was allegedly planning a four-months' course for peoples' correspondents. Candidates were chosen at the Federation level of the KPD, and a preliminary examination ~~conducted~~ was given the candidates under the supervision of delegates of the Education Section of the Central Committee.

At the end of World War II, simultaneously with a series of Party reorganizations, there was an attempt to "Bolshevize" the CPN organ, De Waarheid, to pattern it more closely after Pravda so that it would perform the same tasks for CPN which Pravda carried out for the Bolshevik Party. An important aspect of De Waarheid's reorganization was the establishment (or reorganization) of a worker correspondent system or "Arcors" (from the Dutch arbeiders correspondenten). ~~system~~ There is fragmentary reporting about a ~~Dutch~~ CPN Arcors system which existed prior to 1940.

At any rate, shortly after World War II, all factories ~~and workshops~~ were provided with worker correspondents. Toward the end of 1947, there was an important meeting of some ^{two hundred} ~~200~~ of the Arcors. Several Party editors apparently had immediate supervision over the Arcors, but the CPN leadership had ultimate authority over the entire "Arcors" apparatus from top to bottom. One report states that the Arcors network is handled by the District and Section committees of CPN who appoint the Arcors in the factories.

It is reported that the "Bolshevization" of De Waarheid progressed very slowly and results from the Arcors were less than expected. Conferences were held throughout Holland to stimulate interest and activity; many workers in the factories "thought too little of the scheme to run certain risks." The result was that the Arcor apparatus functioned only in those places "where paid forces were willing to work at it."

In late 1949, interest in the Arcor system again was shown. A conference of CPN Central Committee members on 23-24 December 1949 took up the problem of De Waarheid's decreased circulation and its poor financial status. Among other resolutions made, it was decided that a network of correspondents should be built up in the factories and in the towns.

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~~pendents~~ ^{should be built up} ~~in the factories and in the towns.~~ "The first corps of worker correspondents" had, according to De Waarheid of 1 December 1949, met at Amsterdam under Harry Verhey, described as the "spiritual father" of the Arcors system. One report states that the Arcors are recruited ^{ed} from the readers of De Waarheid and ^{that} their task is to submit reports on factories, trade unionism, and club life. This report refers vaguely to "another system of voluntary worker correspondents dating from 1940 which is charged with the same duties." Whether ~~is~~ this means that there are two separate networks of worker correspondents operated by GPN is not clear. ^{According to the same ~~report~~, report,} ~~Reportedly~~ GPN wished to extend the system of reporting so that it would include "photographs and special reports to be handed on."

This ~~same~~ report noted that a guide book for worker correspondents was being completed, and that "Arcors" bulletins would be circulated as a means of contact between the editors and the correspondents of De Waarheid. Since the guidebook for worker correspondents was simultaneously appearing in several countries, it is obvious that it was the result of a central (^{possibly} ~~probably~~ Cominform) directive.

Another report states that the worker correspondent system was again given much publicity in Holland, in January 1950, at the time De Waarheid was starting its own rotary printing press. It was also been reported that in 1951, 388 ~~communi-~~ques from the Arcors were published in different editions of De Waarheid. 25X1C8b

According to CPN publications, the one essential qualification of a Dutch worker correspondent is that he must be "Communist-minded". He is appointed upon the recommendation of the leaders of the Party district in which he lives. Like French worker correspondents attached to Humanité, the ~~Dutch~~ Dutch worker correspondent is issued a number by editors of De Waarheid, and he uses this (in place of a signature) when submitting reports. The latter are allegedly checked by the district committee, "as reporting must follow the general political line of the district in question." De Waarheid "agents" in various Dutch cities and towns supervise the worker correspondents. These "agents" are responsible for having an ~~adequate~~ adequate number of worker correspondents for ^(sufficient) ~~adequate~~ news coverage.

In addition to the "Guide for Correspondents," ~~(which was published in several languages by European Communist Parties), in Holland~~ there was to be a special bulletin for the ~~Arcors~~, the first issue of which ~~had~~ ^{two hundred} appeared in early 1950. It was then printed in ^{two hundred} 200 copies and was to appear bi-monthly. Personal contact between editors and the worker correspondents was to be maintained by periodic regional meetings. The ^{product} ~~work~~ of each worker correspondent was to receive special attention and commentary.

Additional evidence that CPN was especially concerned ^{in early 1950} with the ~~subject of~~ ^{development of} worker correspondents is ~~found in~~ ^{found in} the fact that the January 1950 issue of Politics and Culture ^(a CPN monthly publication) contained an article pertaining to that subject. A statement ^{in it is quoted in one report from the area;} ~~in it is stated:~~

"Economic conflicts do not start with the news of a strike, they always have a history leading up to them. Of this history, the editors of De Waarheid should be informed long before the conflict breaks out, so that they may support the workers in their action....Timely information is also most valuable for the actions of the EVC and the factory sections in other factories."

The ~~Arcors~~, stated Politics and Culture, are the first link in the chain of coordinated action (to be taken by the Party and the trade unions).

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Although some of the national Communist Parties have organized or reorganized networks of correspondents, the greatest current effort toward their development and use appears to be exercised by the Communists world trade-union fronts, (WFTU) the World Federation of Trade Unions, its trade union internationals (TUI's), and ^{WFTU} its national affiliates.

1. WFTU Instructions about Formation of Worker Correspondence Nets. One of the Resolutions of the WFTU Third World Trade Union Congress, October 1953, reads in part:

“ A consistent correspondence must be ^{DEVELOPED} with the correspondents and the distributors, so as to help them and to enable them to exchange their experiences.

“ One of the main ~~tasks~~ tasks of all the trade union organizations and the correspondents is to send regular info^{rmation} to the ^{World Federation of Trade Unions} WFTU and its review, on the position of the workers, on the main events in trade union life, on the forms of the struggles of the workers for their vital interests and of the problems of unity, so that these experiences may become the property of the workers of all countries, and workers' international solidarity be continually strengthened.

“ Within the framework of this task, the Congress recommends the trade union organizations to set up networks of correspondents (workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and young people) for the review "World Trade Union Movement" to persuade all active trade unionists and workers to contribute effectively by supplying news, studies, surveys, articles of an educational nature, etc., for the constant improvement of the review, and to make of it an increasingly useful weapon for the active workers, for all the workers, at whatever level they may be in the trade union movement. 33 36

1. ²⁶ Manifesto, Resolutions and Messages adopted by the Third World Trade Union Congress, Vienna, October 10-21, 1953. Supplement to "World Trade Union Movement", Nos. 21-22, 1953. Page 14.

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In spite of the call for worker correspondents by the WFTU, a survey of the WFTU bulletin of recent years shows that nearly all its articles have been written by prominent Communist or trade union leaders. Therefore, ^{it would seem that} letters are being submitted to the WFTU publication, World Trade Union Movement, by factory workers who are not prominent trade unionists, other use is being made of such correspondence. ^{in 27} To date it appears that letters from rank and file workers, or from trade union ~~persons~~ ^{merely} functionaries of ^{merely} local prominence, are published only when such persons are members of delegations visiting an Iron Curtain country; on these occasions, letters of their impressions (invariably ^{always} highly favorable) of living and working conditions in the Peoples' Democracies appear in World Trade Union Movement.

That the development of the worker correspondent system continues to be of interest to the WFTU is shown in ^{an article in} the April 1955 issue of World Trade Union Movement, in an article about press and propaganda month, entitled, "For a New ~~Step~~ Step Forward in 1955". In a discussion of "what needs to be done in 1955", ~~are the~~ ^{the} following recommendations appear:

"--holding conferences of readers and correspondents so as to benefit from their experiences, their needs, and their criticisms."

"--exchanging experiences on building circulation, collective work in editing, improvement of content, establishing networks of correspondents from among workers on the job, etc."

Some of the communications published under columns headed, "Workers Fight for Their Rights" or "Struggles and Victories of the Workers," appearing in World Trade Union News (a WFTU bi-monthly publication) could conceivably have been written by rank-and-file trade union members. ^{However,} since all these communications ~~seem~~ seem to pertain to whole groups of workers within a given industry, and never to the daily experiences (struggles) of an individual worker, it is more likely that the columns are a compilation of reports submitted by trade union officials of WFTU affiliates.

see p. 27

invariably and uniformly are syndicated

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2, Development of Correspondent Networks for the TUI's. Among the foremost purposes of a ^{WFTU} Trade Union International are: the detailed study of the complex problems of the industry in which its membership is employed; the workers' exact situation; the coordination of the workers' struggle to attain their immediate objectives--improved living standards, social security measures, etc.; the organization of effective solidarity for workers on strike. Much of the information ~~is~~ needed for detailed study carried out by headquarters officers of the TUI's is ~~primarily~~ based on information submitted by national ^{and local} ~~international~~ trade union ~~is~~ officers. Additionally however, ~~the TUI's encourage submission of, and appear to rely on, information submitted by individual rank and file workers who do not have access to statistical data usually available to trade union officials, but who are in a position to report about conditions in a specific factory, railroad, terminal, village, etc. As described in the World Trade Union Movement article of April 1955 just cited, these "workers on the job" are the ones who also must be encouraged to submit information, to the international trade union organizations.~~

Another purpose of a TUI is to provide assistance for the unions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the formation of national unions where local unions have existed. Closer contact and better liaison with these countries is advocated; ^{WFTU officials believe that} one means of achieving this objective is the establishment of worker correspondents. For example, at the Second International Conference of the TUI of Metal and Engineering Workers in Vienna, 3-7 July 1954, P. Yefanov, the Soviet delegate, voiced criticism of that TUI's activities and made suggestions for the improvement of its work. He censured the TUI for failing to develop adequate contacts and to publicize its activities in England, Scandinavia, the United States, Latin America, India, Indonesia, Japan, and the colonial and semi-colonial areas. He called for reactiva-

tion of liaison committees which had formerly existed in some of these areas and ~~the~~
the development of a net of ~~x~~ correspondents.

3. Advocation of ~~the~~ Correspondents for WFTU Regional or Liaison Bureaus. WFTU regional bureaus must also develop correspondent networks in order ~~to~~ properly to execute their function of assisting trade union organization in a given group of countries. At a meeting of WFTU leaders in Vienna, Austria, on 29-30 November 1954, the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina (CTAL) was criticized for its lack of progress in spreading WFTU propaganda in Latin America. One of the measures which WFTU leaders advised the CTAL to adopt in order to overcome its shortcomings was the establishment of a network of reporters in every Latin American country for all WFTU and CTAL publications who are "capable of reporting all local news of interest to headquarters."

4. Worker Correspondents as Sources of Information for National Trade Union Publications. National affiliates of the WFTU also show interest in the development and use of worker correspondents. An article entitled, "Problems of Propaganda and the Trade Union Press", written by Fernando Santi, Secretary of the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, (CGIL), Italian General Confederation of Labor, which was published in the May 16-31, 1953 issue of World Trade Union Movement, discusses the weekly Lavoro (Labor), the fortnightly Notizario della CGIL, and the numerous papers issued in Italy by factories and local trade unions. Santi writes:

"All these publications are regularly supplied by an evergrowing number of worker and peasant correspondents, who, through this proletarian journalism, are developing their understanding and creative spirit."

~~SI~~ International Communism Intelligence Report, Department of State, No. 5650-35,

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5. Worker Correspondents to Furnish News for Factory Papers. Also on the level of the factory newspapers, worker correspondents are to be utilized. In the spring of 1955, the Kommunistische Partei Oesterreichs (Communist Party of Austria, KPOe) held conferences, training sessions, etc., regarding the founding of factory newspapers which would be under the supervision of the Fraktion der gewerkschaftlichen Einheit (Fraktion for Trade Union Unity), a trade union fraction sponsored by the KPOe. Speakers from this fraction from Vienna stressed the importance of publishing newspapers in the various shops which would truly represent the interests of the workers and clerical employees. These KPOe functionaries urged that workers should be encouraged to submit to the editors of each plant newspaper, "bits of information and articles of interest."

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Evidence of a much earlier date that the worker correspondents were to contribute to factory newspapers is seen in paragraph 9 of the "Resolution of the Conference of the Worker Correspondents of the Berlin 'Rote Fahne'" which is reproduced in ~~the~~ Appendix 3 from Inspektor, Vol. 5, No. 7, 22 January 1925.

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~~Resolution of the Conference of the
Correspondents of the Berlin "Hole" Palace~~

PTA Summary:

For special version only (78 copies)
appendix B to follow - here
(another "B" from desk)

For numbered copies
appendix B to appear
at end of handbook
in sequence of appendix