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Introduction.

In conformity with the resolution of the Orgbureau of the ECCI, the Organisation Department is convening a Conference of the representatives of the largest sections of the CI. before the meeting of the Enlarged Executive, to discuss the Org Questions. In order that these questions may be examined with sufficient care for this Conference, the Orgbureau adopted a resolution to issue a special number of Inprecorr, devoted specially to organisation questions. Thus we are printing articles in this special number which especially reflect the achievements and the status of the organisational work in the larger sections of the CI. in the various countries, as well as material prepared by the Org Department which also point out the immediate tasks of our organisational activity. This material will also indicate how the Org Department solved individual questions which, however, applied to several parties.

The Org Department hopes that the publication of this special number will facilitate the preliminary work for the Org Conference and give the Communist Parties and their various organisations the opportunity to put questions at the Conference through their delegates which arise in the practical work of organisational activity.

The agenda of the Conference will be as follows:

1. Information of the Activity of the Org Department of the ECCI.
2. Reports of the Delegates on the Status of the Work.
3. Experience in Connection with Nucleus Work.
4. Fractions.
5. Structure of the Central and Local Party Apparatus.
6. Model Statutes.
7. Connections between the Nuclei of various Countries
8. Factory Newspapers and Workers Correspondents.
9. The Organisation of Campaigns.

In connection with this Conference the Org Department repeats its request to send in the necessary material promptly with reference to the whole activity in the organisational field (organisation of nuclei, nuclei activity, fractions, regional and district organisations and their leadership, central committee, organisation of the press, of campaigns, etc.).

The Org Department.

Party Construction in the Sections of the Communist International.

By Ossip Piatnitzky.

Party construction and the building up of Party organisations in Europe and America have differed greatly from the structure of our Russian Party organisations which came into being with the very commencement of a labour movement in Russia.

In other countries at the dawn of the labour movement, there were, comparatively speaking, suitable political conditions which gave the workers an opportunity to organise legal political parties of the working class, as well as to establish local and provincial branches. The latter had the right to convene Party meetings and workers' mass meetings. They could also have their own Party press. Therefore, Party organisations led from the beginning an existence **apart from factories and workshops**. This was perfectly comprehensible, for why should the German social democratic party organise workers' public meetings and Party meetings in the workshops and factories (besides, the German capitalists would not have allowed them), when they could easily convene them after working hours, and in any locality where the workers lived, meetings which were actually very well-attended by the workers.

It should also be said that in New York, Paris, London, Berlin and other large towns the residential quarters of the workers are not in the vicinity of workshops and factories, and that in some places there are few late trains. The latter circumstance is even now a great obstacle to making the workshops and factories the main centre of communist work.

There were also two other features in which the Party construction and Party work of the social democratic parties of other countries differed from the construction of our Russian Party organisations. Side by side with the political proletarian parties of Germany, Austria, France and Italy, there existed trade unions. Between these two forms of labour movement there was so to speak a division of labour: the trade unions had to make a stand for all the economic demands of the working class, while the social democratic parties stood for their political interests. The social democratic parties cultivated "high" politics and left it to the trade unions to settle all conflicts between the workers and the manufacturers. (In some countries the trade unions, although connected with the factories and workshops through their treasurers, did not hold their trade union meetings in the factories and workshops.)

The other differentiating feature was that all the political parties of the proletariat (social democratic) in Europe aimed at conducting "the struggle" with capitalism within the framework of the existing order, chiefly by means of the vote (at present it has become an established fact that all social democratic parties are no longer "opponents" but defenders of the capitalist order). Therefore the constituency was the basis of working-class organisations.

In Russia conditions were utterly different. The Russian working class, even before it made its appearance on the political arena, was deprived of the right of having its own press and its own Party and trade unions. Neither did it enjoy the right of meeting. Therefore, the only places where workers could discuss their needs, the political situation of Russia and the tasks of the working class were the factories and workshops where class-conscious workers had an opportunity to agitate, to carry on propaganda, and to form their small factory and workshop political organisations. As trade unions in the European sense did not exist in Russia (except during the short period 1905—1907) until 1917, the political social democratic organisations in the factories and workshops and the local committees of the Party, which coordinated the latter, entered into all the details of the employers' exploitation of men, women and young workers, formulated the demands of the workers and took the lead in their economic strikes. Moreover, the social democratic organisations of Russia connected the economic demands of the workers with the political struggle of the working class against the feudal-bourgeois czarist regime of Russia.

Owing to the above-mentioned facts, union was established between the political organisations in Russia before the February revolution, and also after the revolution of 1917 this union was maintained when trade unions were organised which brought nearly all the workers of Soviet Russia into their ranks.

Until 1905, there were no parliamentary (Duma) elections in Russia, and even after 1905 workers elected their Duma representatives through factory and workshop electoral colleges. Moreover, Russian revolutionary social democrats used the Duma election not as an aim in itself, but only as one of the means for the overthrow of the czarist regime through armed rising and through the establishment of proletarian and peasant dictatorship. Therefore, Party organisations were built up territorially in accordance with the workers' and party members place of employment, and not on a residential qualification.

Revolutionary social democrats (now communists) in Russia built up their Party organisations on the basis of factories and workshops, offices, shops, barracks and schools situated in the respective ward, district or small township. But in other countries working class organisations were based on the constituency in which voters resided. This difference must be taken into consideration when studying the Party construction of the Communist Parties of other countries.

It would be as well to point out yet another difference between the Russian Communist Party (formerly the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party [Bolshevik]) and the communist parties of Europe and America, although this difference has perhaps no direct relation with Party construction.

Because of its 20 years illegal existence the Russian Communist Party produced a type of professional revolutionaries — "the Lenin Guard", which has gone through "the ordeal of fire etc.". The members of this Lenin Guard have gained great experience in the building up of Party organisations dependent on political conditions.

This experience was lacking in the former members of the social democratic parties of Europe. It is for this reason that our brother communist parties find it so difficult to adapt their party organisations to the illegal conditions which have been forced on them by their bourgeoisie.

Nearly all the communist parties throughout the world were formed between 1918 and 1920 from the left elements of the social democratic parties (and the French and Czech communist parties formed from the majority of the French and Czech socialist parties). Although the communist parties aim at the conquest of power by the working class and at the organisation of production on a communist basis, they have taken over, **by social democratic force of habit**, the old social democratic organisational forms of building up Party organisations. This being so, they have been unable to form strong Party organisations of the right type and to get into contact with the factories and workshops.

The ideological influence exercised by the Communist Parties of Western Europe over the working class was enormous: at the time of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Austrian workers organised in Vienna enormous demonstrations before the premises of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, suggesting to the latter to become the leader of the mass movement.

The seizure of factories in Italy in the year 1920 would have taken a different turn if the Italian Communist Party had had a proper and adequate leadership, and finally, if the Communist Party of Germany had had for its basis the factories and workshops, the German October events in 1923 would have had better results, not only for the German but also for the International proletariat.

The old social-democratic organisational methods in building up Party organisation did not give our brother Communist Parties an opportunity to consolidate organisationally their

ideological influence over the masses. The above statements are not mere theorising, but are based on numerous facts of which the organisation department of the E. C. C. I. has documentary proof.

In this article I will limit myself to a few facts from the German experience. In 1923 factories and workshops in Germany were, with a few exceptions minus Party nuclei, but in the big factories and workshops communists were members of factory and workshop committees. As there were no nuclei even in the factories where communists served on factory committees, there was no lead or control of the committees, through any nucleus. Besides, the communists in the factory and workshop committees had no definite standing, because they had no proper support due to the fact that the communists in the factories were not coordinated into one body. The result was that the discontented workers of these factories and workshops were led and controlled by trade union representatives and members of the social democratic party who played up to the mood of the workers, proposing radical resolutions, etc. But when these humbugs were given the leadership of the movement by the workers they did their utmost to hinder the movement, and certainly did nothing to encourage it. As yet there was no one who could have exposed all these Judases to the factory workers, for the communists among them were not coordinated, they had no uniform leadership and were not all of them working for the same aim. And Germany provided examples in the first half of 1924 during the big strikes in the Ruhr and the Hamburg district which showed clearly the difference in the leadership of the movement in factories, mines, and docks; wherever nuclei existed, the leadership of the movement was entirely in the hands of the nucleus, while in factories where no nuclei existed, communists acted against communists and in some places communist chairmen of meetings refused to put to the vote resolutions proposed by communists.

The same might be observed lately in Italy, in Milan and Turin. In works and factories with properly functioning nuclei the latter become the leading centres of these works and factories. The recent demonstrations of the Milan Metal Workers against the agreement of their fascist trade union with the metal industry employers were under the guidance of the factory nuclei of our Party. Big workers' meetings which take place in Italy when the workers leave their factories at the end of the day's work and which are frequently attended by as many as 5,000 workers, have only become possible after the organisation of nuclei in the factories, for it is they who organise these meetings and carry them through.

On the other hand, where factories in Italy have no Party nuclei, or where these nuclei are not very active, there are no meetings no demonstrations against fascist trade unions and other fascist organisations.

Everything has been done by the Communist International to make the Communist Parties of Europe and America realise the importance of creating correct forms of organisation.

The theses and report of Comrade Zinoviev on the role of the Party in the revolution presented at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Lenin's statement on the same question and nearly every one of the 21 conditions adopted at the same Second Congress gave to the Sections of the Communist International minute instructions on the building up of Party organisations and on the nature of their tasks. The question of organisation was also very prominent at the Third Congress of the Communist International. The theses on organisation which were elaborated with the help of Lenin, explained very minutely why nuclei and other forms of Party organisation are necessary, how they should work, etc.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International Lenin pointed out that the theses on organisation adopted by the Third Congress had remained on paper, although all the delegates to the Congress had voted for them. In fact, previous to the lesson of the German revolution, none of the decisions on the question of organisation had been carried out by any of the foreign sections of the Communist International, except the parties of countries which previous to 1917 had formed part of the Russian Empire. What is the explanation for this?

Many active comrades thought that nuclei which had been readily adopted in Russia, could not be mechanically transported to other countries because conditions in these coun-

tries differ from conditions in Russia. And finally there is the force of habit. There are even now communists who imagine that the destruction of the old form of organisation would also mean the destruction of the Communist Party. They see in the organisation of nuclei the destruction of local Party organisations.

There is also another element which resists, and quite consciously, the reorganisation of the Party on the factory and workshops nuclei basis. This element is not very numerous but it is the worst element in the Party — Party officials and a few members of the Party who have become members of Parliament, of municipal councils, trade union and cooperative administrations, etc.

Under the existing old forms of organisation Party members are not active. They only meet when they are summoned to meetings before elections or campaigns connected with elections. Party members do not discuss and make decisions on all Party questions, they very seldom meet among themselves and therefore the above-mentioned Party officials and candidates to elective posts are able to carry through anything they like at the Party meetings which they convene.

The above-mentioned elements see, and quite rightly, in the organisation of nuclei, their coordination according to districts in big towns and on a city scale in the smaller towns, the end of the almost unlimited control which they exercised in the Party organisations. In Italy, in Turin and in some French towns, after the organisation of nuclei in the workshops, the leadership of local organisations went entirely into the hands of workers recommended by the nuclei. Through the failure of some active workers of the section of the C.I. to understand the importance of the organisation of nuclei in the workshops and of Communist Fractions in non-Party workers mass organisation, etc. and through the obstacles which were put in the way of the proposed reorganisation by certain obstructive elements of the Party, the favourable moment of the Labour Movement boom in 1919—21 was missed, a time when it would have been very easy to form and consolidate nuclei in the workshops. Now the organisation of nuclei is much more difficult.

In Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland and America, communists constitute a big percentage of the unemployed, which renders the organisation of nuclei still more difficult. There is wholesale unemployment; there is unprecedented terror on the part of employers. Not only Communists are dismissed but also all those who sympathise with them if this fact can be established. Employers are helped in the matter of spotting Communists by members of social-democratic parties and by opportunist trade union officials. And yet in spite of all the difficulties, this year has witnessed the practical reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei in the big industrial centres of Germany, France, Italy and of some parts of Czecho-Slovakia and of Great Britain. An animated discussion on the organisation of nuclei in enterprises has also been initiated in America. In many countries the Young Communist Leagues have acted as the forerunner in this matter.

It should also be stated that in Germany and France nuclei publish periodically papers for their or several kindred factories, which have, in addition to political articles, also special columns describing factory life. These newspapers are varied and interesting. In Italy the Party organisations publish instead of factory newspapers small leaflets on various subjects, which are distributed among the workers. In Germany, France, Italy and Norway workers' correspondents from factories and workshops have begun to function and have already achieved a certain amount of success.

All this is most decidedly the right way to the transformation of our brother sections of the Communist International into mass parties supported by large sections of the urban and rural proletariat.

New life has been put into the Party organisations of the above-mentioned countries. They have become imbued with the revolutionary energy of the factory workers. The recent demonstrations of the Paris workers, with whom the Paris Party organisation has come into direct contact through the factory and workshop nuclei, have shown how much the latter were needed and how important they are for the proletarian and revolutionary Communist Party.

We have chosen the right path. The experience of the Communist nuclei in the west has absolutely proved that these

are not something peculiarly Russian, not adaptable to European and American conditions. They have stood the test also under western conditions. It is necessary to overcome the difficulties and to organise nuclei in all the factories, works, offices, shops, barracks, estates, etc. etc. — in fact wherever there are wage workers, whether they be men, women, young workers, mobilised soldiers, sailors, etc. Nuclei should be co-ordinated into wards and districts, the latter on a town or gubernia scale, and these in their turn on a national scale.

If something has been done in connection with the organisation of Party nuclei in factories and workshops and in connection with the creation of the correct forms of local Party organisations in the industrial centres of some countries, very little has been done in connection with the formation of Communist fractions in non-Party mass organisations of the working class and in connection with placing Communist fractions under the control of the Party. And yet the few Communist fractions which exist mainly in parliaments are, because of their short-comings a source of much harm to the Communist Parties.

Central and local committees of a considerable number of Communist Parties did not pay sufficient attention to this que-

tion. The minute instructions of the ECCI. of February 1924 on the organisation of Communist fractions, their work and their relations with Party organs compiled on the basis of the experience of the Russian Communist Party and other sections of the Communist International, have hitherto remained on paper, and in the meantime the actions of individual members of the Communist fractions are doing great harm to the Communist Parties.

In many countries Communist members of trade unions, cooperatives and other workers' organisations are not yet co-ordinated into Communist fractions. Hence it is so easy for the trade union and cooperative bureaucrats from the social-democratic party to drive the Communists out of the above-mentioned mass organisations.

It is essential to organise nuclei in the workshops and to form Communist fractions. At the same time these nuclei and fractions must be given a proper lead by the Party organs.

With a correct organisation of the Party and with correct and flexible tactics applied through nuclei and Communist fractions Communist Parties will be victorious in the struggle with capitalism.

The Activity of a Factory Nucleus in Germany.

By Max Hesse.

The chief task in which the German Party is now engaged is the reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. Although this activity has been developed really intensively only since the Fifth Congress, certain results are already evident. The reasons for the great progress hitherto made in the German Party after such a short time are due to the fact that since the very foundation of the Communist Party of Germany a certain amount of fractional work has been carried on in the factories. In contrast with the present nucleus activity, fractional work formerly was more of a subordinate matter. The principal centre of gravity of the political agitational work was in the residential districts. Thanks to the ever progressing Bolshevisation of the Party, especially under the direction of the new Central Committees, the recognition of the role of the Party and especially of the importance of anchoring it in the factories became more wide-spread.

Many difficulties of a personal and organisational nature became manifest in the application of the factory nucleus work in Germany. But the new Party leadership succeeded to a great extent in overcoming these difficulties. It may be affirmed that in most of the important large industries of Germany (2000), we already have established our nuclei. The factory nuclei papers have proved a very important factor in the building up of these nuclei. The circulation of these nuclei papers increases with every number; for instance, the factory nucleus of the Finkenwerder Docks shows the following publishing record: No. 1, 250 copies; and No. 3, 3200 copies.

The recent Party Congress of the Berlin-Brandenburg District was attended by 90 delegates elected directly from the nuclei.

The publication of the experiences of individual factory nuclei was especially helpful in conducting factory nuclei work. In order that the proper questions be answered from the very beginning, the Orgbureau of the Central Committee formulated a general questionnaire and the answers to the following questions were systematically utilised and distributed to the other districts.

1. How I organised my factory nucleus (railway, post, telegraph, gas works, electricity works, metal works, mines, docks harbours, warehouses, building construction, etc.).
2. How I am trying to draw all the members of my factory nucleus into regular activity.
3. How I get all the members of the nucleus to take part regularly in the nucleus meetings.
4. How I collect the Party dues in the factory.

5. How I organise the distribution of the Party paper in the factory.

6. How I organised the distribution of pamphlets in the factory.

7. How I am reorganising my local group on the basis of the factory nucleus.

The following paragraphs are to show how such a nucleus functions, how it is guided, and what value it has for the Party. Every single nucleus elects its own leadership of from three to five comrades. This leadership is responsible politically and organisationally to the Party. The activity of each nucleus naturally depends on the social and economic structure of the factory. A description of the nucleus in the Siemens Works is a sector out of the national organisation. One might say that throughout Germany in the most important nuclei, a similar activity, or perhaps even better, is conducted.

The Siemens Concern is one of the most important factories in the Berlin Metal Industry. It employs 35,000 people (workers and administrative employees). Our nucleus is about 400 strong. The nucleus is subdivided into individual sections for the various departments. The chairman of the entire nucleus is a member of the Berlin District Party leading organ and also member of the Central Committee of the Party, and a newly elected member of the Prussian Landtag. In every single department of the concern a nucleus meeting takes place once a week, and every fortnight the entire nucleus assembles. In its systematic work in the factories, the nucleus has succeeded in increasing communist influence to such an extent that at the elections of the factory council, the majority of the employees voted for the communists. In these weekly meetings, all questions of propaganda, agitation, and the activity of the nucleus in the factory are discussed. The communist members of the factory council are obliged to give an account of their activity at these meetings. They have no voice in the control of the complete nucleus, and are subject to the decisions of the nucleus. Each comrade reports his experiences in the departments and subdivisions of the concern. The chairman of Agitprop distributes the latest party brochures for sale in the factory. The Editorial Commission of the factory newspaper reads its manuscripts. A comrade reports on the decisions of the Party.

Since nearly 40% of the employees of the Siemens-Works are women, the nucleus devoted special attention to agitation among women. When the nucleus considers it necessary to organise a factory meeting, the comrades in the factory council are entrusted with preparing for it and conducting it. The

subject of the factory meeting, indeed, even the debaters, are determined by the nucleus so that any possible differences between the communists are not given expression to in public. In the nucleus itself these differences are thrashed out. The organ of the nucleus, the "Siemens-Zeitung" is, of course, edited and financed by the nucleus. It has already succeeded in increasing its circulation to 4,000 copies. The Siemens Nucleus sends its own delegates independently to the Party organisations (District Conferences, Party Congresses, and such like). For instance, at the last Party Conference of the Berlin-Brandenburg District in October, the Siemens Nucleus sent four delegates. The members of the nucleus are *ex officio* delegated members to the leading organ of the District in which the factory is located.

This systematic activity on the part of the nucleus has naturally called forth a reply from the management and the social democrats in the factory, i. e. attempts have been made to remove the responsible comrades from the factory, especially those issuing the paper. Hence the activity of the nucleus is carried on mostly illegally. In spite of the offensive on the part of the management, it can be asserted that the influence of the communists so far has not been broken, even though it has been interfered with here and there. The Siemens-Concern has proved, at all events, that it stood in the front ranks in the fights of the proletariat.

The activity of the nucleus described here is naturally not the only activity it carries on, for the fights in connection with wages and conditions of work, which are a current problem in the Siemens-Concern, demand important co-operation on the part of the nucleus. All economic questions which affect the workers are thoroughly discussed in the nucleus and the communist tactics determined. Through this systematic work it has come about that strikes in certain professions (turners, tool makers) immediately spread as a result of the nucleus activity. Last August the turners in the cable department, which employs 4,000 persons, made certain wage demands. The small group of turners (150) went on strike, but the department continued working.

Then the systematic propaganda of the nucleus was set in motion and only two days later all the employees adopted the demands of the turners, and struck in sympathy. As a result of this activity on the part of the workers, the management was compelled to give in and the demands were partially granted.

In the Dynamo Department, employing 3,500, a similar situation exists at present. In July 1923, on the occasion of the great metal workers strikes, the Siemens-Concern was the first to enter the fight practically without reservation, which was a surprise to the reformist leaders in the German Metal Workers Union, who believed that the Siemens workers were tired of the fights. These noble gentlemen had simply neglected to reckon with the activity of our communist nucleus.

In addition to all of these tasks, the nucleus is constantly engaged in fighting the daily attacks of the Social Democrats.

Every possible opportunity is used to tear Soviet Russia to pieces. At the present time the Social Democrats are carrying on propaganda in the factories in connection with the bad living conditions of the workers in Soviet Russia, the alleged starvation and the treatment of political prisoners. Against this campaign of villification the nucleus naturally fought with every available means. But in order that we can be equipped with effective weapons in this fight, we would welcome the receipt of reports from Russian workers on how they live, their wages, the administration of the factories, the criminal acts of the Menshevists and the Socialist Revolutionaries, and other matters. For such reports would unmask the social democrats more effectively than anything else. The Party has issued the slogan:

entrench yourselves in the factories:

To strengthen and extend these entrenchments is now the chief task of all communists in the factories. Although these activities may still be difficult today, we hope soon to have developed so far in Germany that we can say: Every factory is a fortress, and even beyond that: Every factory is our property! The path of the German Revolution is a difficult and painful one. But it will be trod to its goal — that is guaranteed by the Communist Party of Germany and by its work in the factory nuclei.

Whereas the activity of one individual nucleus is described above, certain facts must be given here to show that the Party in general has made even greater progress. During the period from May to August, 1092 factory nuclei were organised capable of work. During the same period 830 factory newspapers were issued. Both these figures are an underestimation rather than otherwise and it may be assumed that at the present time additional nuclei and papers have come into existence, for the recent election campaign showed that the nuclei were already effective.

The fact that the idea of the factory nuclei is a live one throughout the whole International, and that the necessity of the idea is not only recognised but is being practically applied is happily shown by the activity of the comparatively smaller parties. In Austria we already have several well-functioning nuclei in Vienna, including one (in the Vakhlovsky Locomotive Works) with a membership of 600 members. In Holland the organisation of factory nuclei has begun and the Communist Party of Switzerland is also working on this question.

The results of the activity of these parties are still meagre, but

"Every Factory is our Fortress",

is becoming more and more recognised by the Communist International. Though in the process of transformation difficulties are encountered, these must be overcome, for the political significance of the factory nuclei in the fight for power has been demonstrated by the Russian Revolution. We must learn from experiences in order to reach our goal, the liberation of the working class of all countries.

The Transformation of the French Party.

By G. Marrane.

Great efforts have already been made since the Fifth Congress to reorganise the French Party on the basis of nuclei.

In the Paris district the old sectional organisation has already disappeared and the members in the factories and establishments have been distributed among nuclei.

There was some hesitation at first among the workers. The chief cause was the fear of being sacked and of not finding employment owing to the solidarity of the employers against the communists.

A proof of this was the example of the factory nucleus of the Delage Works, where the seven members were sacked in a few days.

That experience was an excellent lesson to the workers, who thereupon became prudent and constituted their nuclei illegally. They thus learnt that it was very easy to escape the vigilance of the factory police. At the N. works, as a result of curtailment of work, 2000 workers were discharged.

Of the 50 members of the nucleus, only three comrades were discharged. This was obviously mere chance and proved that the management do not know who the members of the nucleus are.

Sometimes a nucleus secretary was marked and discharged. The next day, thanks to the connections between the nuclei a job was found for him in a neighbouring factory and he became a member of a nucleus in the same district. Such examples are not isolated. The constitution of the nuclei permits the placing of our members in employment through communists who are not known, or through sympathisers.

The hesitation which at first existed has given way to great enthusiasm.

One of the difficulties in forming nuclei is the small number of members in the little factories.

To fulfil the duties demanded of them our comrades felt that recruiting ought to be undertaken. They have shown in-

genuity in organising propaganda and have brought into the Party the comrades in whom they have confidence. In a small factory in the District of X, employing about 150 workers there was only one communist who was attached to a neighbouring nucleus.

With the help of that nucleus he made 17 new members in three months, which has since made it possible to organise a nucleus in that factory. This case is apparently exceptional, but since the Fifth Congress the Federation of the Paris Region has made 3000 new members with the help of the nuclei.

The nucleus has a bureau consisting of 3, 5, or 7 members, according to the size of its membership. A member of the young communist nucleus is a member of the nucleus bureau, and vice versa. The bureaux meet frequently. In the large nuclei, such as that of the M. works, the bureaux meet almost daily.

Each member of the bureau is responsible for a special piece of work. In the M. nucleus, the bureau of which consists of 9 members, there are 8 commissions: political, organisation, newspaper, women's, trade union, foreign affairs, contact with the factory and documentary committees.

Each member of the bureau is secretary of one of the commissions and therefore responsible for its work.

Propaganda in the factory is organised in a secret manner. The factory paper is distributed before the arrival of the workers, on a day and at a time fixed by the bureau. The same is the case with leaflets.

In all the factory offices, as for instance, the washing-rooms, the cloak rooms, the lavatories, etc., the factory news-

paper is stuck up together with the quotations from Lenin which are printed daily in "Humanité" side by side with the title.

The factory management has taken measures and is having the offices especially watched. As soon as a paper is noticed it is torn up. Our comrades then organised "posting". Every nucleus member has a fixed time for posting with the result that the newspapers and tracts follow each other in succession every quarter of an hour, and in spite of the vigilance this form of propaganda reaches the whole staff.

The nucleus meets once a week after work, and once a month on Sunday mornings in the case of factories which have several shifts.

At these meetings there is always a report on the agenda, usually by a member of the bureau.

The secretary or the delegate reports on political questions to the conference organised once a week by the federation. The same with the delegates on the district committee. The bureau then reports on the work of the commissions and the work for the week is determined. Discussion is then opened and a vote taken on the political questions under consideration.

Although our comrades on the whole have not had a theoretical training, the discussions are even more interesting than they used to be in the sections. With this new organisation the workers understand that the Communist Party is their Party. This is one of the essential reasons for the increase of our influence in the Paris Region. The workers are not alone in understanding this, it is understood by the employers too. They are conducting a furious campaign against the Communist Party which no doubt will end in making it illegal in the near future. That is proof that it is proceeding along the right lines.

Organisational Work in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

By D. Kostolansky.

Comrade Zinoviev was right when he stated at the 5th Congress of the Communist International that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in point of membership, was the best Party in the world. In a country with a population of 13,624,112, the Party has 138,196 members, according to Comrade Zapotocky in his statement at the last Party Conference. This means that the number of the organised members of the Party constitutes 1.02% of the total population (in Bohemia the rate rises to 1.31%). Of course these figures furnish no clear conception of the Party. This we obtain only by analysing the Party from the standpoint of its social composition. We then find that 64.78% of the members are factory-workers, 7.71% of the members are agricultural labourers, 14.76% are housewives (mainly proletarian), 3% peasants, 2.31% artisans, 6.34% employees and 0.9% are intellectuals. These figures show that the Czechoslovakian section of the Comintern is a purely proletarian Party, and this is of great value to us.

However, like all the parties of the West, which had their origin in social-democracy, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party was not organised on the proper lines. Already in the CC. of the Party there was no separate Politbureau and Orgbureau, which hindered and encumbered the settling of political questions on the one hand, and the carrying out of organisational measures on the other hand. A year has past already since the ECCI. decided on the reorganisation of all the sections on the basis of factory nuclei, but only recently this work has been started in Czechoslovakia. At the same time it should be noted that the question of reorganisation was already raised in the summer of 1923 within the Czechoslovakian Party. It was the Pressburg organisation of the Party which decided to adopt the principle of organising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei (emulating the example of the Russian Party), in view of the unwieldiness of the territorially-constructed organisations and the resultant inadequate contact with the industrial proletariat in the factories. At the same time the whole problem of organisation, from the standpoint of the Party as a whole, was discussed in the "Volksstimme" (voice of the people), which was then being published by the Party at Pressburg. The first organisation which responded to this

initiative was the Reichenberg organisation, which was enabled by its proximity to the German border, and by its ideological contact with the CP. of Germany, to appreciate the fact that the reorganisation of the Party was the first essential prerequisite for the victory of the proletarian revolution. Nevertheless in Czechoslovakia as a whole, this question was brought up for discussion only after the well-known decision of the ECCI. upon this question. Although there was no unanimity in the Party in the acceptance of the decision of the ECCI., the CC. of the Party issued instructions for the preparation of the reorganisation. The question of reorganisation was also placed by the CC. upon the agenda of the Party Conference at Bruenn, which was held shortly before the 5th World Congress. But neither the instructions of the CC. nor the resolution of the Bruenn Conference upon this question were clearly drawn. On the contrary, the question of reorganisation was even rendered more difficult by the confusion of such terms as fractions, sections and nuclei.

The Party discussion, which flared up particularly after the 5th World Congress of the Comintern and which continued until the 2nd conference of the Party (held at Prague from the 1st to the 5th of November 1924), brought clearness into this question. Not only was it made possible to consolidate the existing factory nuclei at Pressburg, Reichenberg, Vrutky, Kachau, etc. but also new factory nuclei sprang up at Prague, Bruenn, Koeniggratz, Koenigshof, etc., etc. Lately the organisation of factory nuclei has assumed a mass character, so that they number several hundreds. The Party has steered out of the blind alley. The work has begun, and there can be no doubt that the enthusiasm and devotion of the active elements in the Czechoslovakian Party will carry the work on to a successful issue. According to the decision of the Orgbureau of the CC. of the Czechoslovakian Party, the reorganisation of the Party must be completed by the 1st of May 1925. But already some districts have almost completed the reorganisation of the Party.

The organisation of the factory nuclei was the cause of great anxiety in capitalist circles in Czechoslovakia. They could see the danger lurking to them in the reorganisation of the

revolutionary Party on the basis of factory nuclei. Our members were driven out of the factories, in the hope that by such means the Party members would be prevented from carrying out the decisions of the Comintern and of the Party. But the CP. of Czechoslovakia will doubtlessly take the proper measures to frustrate the plans of our class enemies.

How do the existing nuclei of the Czechoslovakian Party function? At the head of each nucleus there is the presidium, which guides the whole work. The nucleus meets once a week, either in the vicinity of the factory (sometimes in the factory itself) or in one of the workers' homes. The meeting discusses all the questions that are put on the agenda by the presidium. The agenda consists of political, Party, trade union and factory questions. The meeting deals with the Party discussion, the political situation, communal matters, factory elections, trade union matters, distribution of the press, newspaper correspondence, the question of Party contributions, admission of new members and so on. In the town of Kaschau, for instance, all the nuclei were united by a Commission for the organisation of nuclei. In this town the nuclei meet once weekly, and weekly meetings are also held by leaders of the various bran-

ches of the nuclei, e. g. the leaders of the agitation work, of the newspaper correspondence, and so on. The meeting of these leaders of the various branches elaborates the plan of the further activity of the nuclei.

In the town of Vrutky, the first factory newspaper was published. It attracted great attention not only in the local railway yards, but also throughout the Czechoslovakian Republic. There is no doubt that the example of Vrutky will be emulated by other centres. In fact there is already a tendency in other towns to follow this example.

The considerable amount of work accomplished by other sections of the Comintern in the creation of factory nuclei, and particularly the great experience of the Russian Party will doubtlessly help the Czechoslovakian Party in finding the proper way for the rapid realisation of the organisational prerequisite for the Bolshevisation of the Party. It is the task of the Organisational Department of the ECCL to help the comrades in Czechoslovakia in overcoming the difficulties which hinder the liquidation of the organisational survivals of social-democracy, and thus bring into being a strong and militant section of the Comintern in Czechoslovakia.

French Bourgeois Newspapers on Factory Nuclei.

By B. I.

The entire French bourgeois press (including the "Socialist" press) has initiated a fierce campaign against the Communist Party. There is no doubt whatever that this campaign is only part of a general plan and is only one of the operations of the anti-communist campaign. The main aim of this campaign is to scare the petty-bourgeoisie and to enable the government to increase and bring to a logical conclusion the repressions which it has launched against the Communist Party.

Nothing is more apt to instil fear into the hearts of the ordinary citizens than the dissemination of all sorts of nonsense and improbabilities about the terrors of Communism. With this object in view a number of papers, led by the organ of the left bloc the "Quotidien", publish a voluminous "secret circular" purporting to have been issued by the French Central Committee. In it the authors of this fraudulent document begin by dilating at great length on all manner of communist machinations which are a direct menace to the existence of the State, and end with preposterous absurdities, such as for instance the assertion that the communist centre pays the nuclei for procuring reports, "useful information", etc.

But the general tone of all these articles and statements concerning the Communist Party betray genuine and unconcealed fear caused by the growth and consolidation of the Communist Party and by the organisational measures which are a guarantee of the further consolidation of the Party.

Under the title "The New Organisation of the Communist Party", the "Temps" began to publish on December 6th 1924, a series of articles on the reorganisation of the French Communist Party on a nuclei basis. In these articles the "Temps" endeavours to familiarise its readers with the nature of the reorganisation of the French Communist Party and with the possible dangerous consequences of such a reorganisation. These articles show that our enemies are well aware where the danger of losing influence over the workers comes from, in spite of the help they get from their "socialist" friends — the direct channel of this influence.

The "Temps" starts by complaining "that the Sections have been converted into factory nuclei", namely, that the Communist Party has got rid of the obsolete social democratic form of organisation which it inherited from the Socialist Party. This is what the "Temps" has to say on this matter:

"Since time immemorial the parties of the extreme left were organised into "sections" which were distributed in Paris according to districts, and in the provinces, according to communes or cantons. But such grouping, which admitted the inclusion of members belonging to various social strata, (there were cases when employers, representatives of the bourgeoisie, joined the Communist Party), members of the "intelli-

gentsia" generally gained considerable influence, were delegated to congresses and gradually began to play a leading role.

The Communist Party decided to change all this. Henceforth there are no more sections, they have been replaced by nuclei in factories, enterprises, mines and railway stations. Thus, the internal structure of the Party is in strict conformity to the forms and conditions of labour. 'The Citizen' has made room for the 'producer' (namely, lawyers have made room for the workers B. I.). This evolution has not only been called forth by the theoretical tendency towards an exact application of the Marxist doctrine, but also by the desire 'to proletarianise' the Party by, so to speak, the automatic expulsion of the 'intelligentsia', etc."

The proletarianisation of the Communist Party and its obtaining contact with the masses is not at all to the liking of the bourgeois organ. The latter knows very well that it is not a question of a wholesale exclusion of the intelligentsia, but rather a question of introducing a change into the social composition of the Party, on the hand through the elimination of elements for whom there is no room in the CP., but mainly **through the influx of large numbers of manual workers into the Communist Party.** What the gentry of the left and national blocs fear most is the consolidation of communist organisation through the growing sympathy of the masses for the CP.

When it comes to facts, they do not even attempt to conceal their fear of a Communist Party organised as a truly Bolshevik Party. A few days later (in its issue of 12/12/24) in an article of the same series the "Temps" unreservedly **sounds the alarm** because of the success of the Communist Party in the ranks of the working class.

We read: "As shown by the foregoing statement, nuclei are entered into the lists and everyone of them has its special number. The same applies to the members of the Party. After all, **this is a regular workers' army, recruited under our very eyes** in the enterprises of the Paris districts and in other industrial regions" (the italics are ours B. I.).

And to show that all this is not a mere threat, and immediate danger really exists, the "Temps" is compelled to give examples taken from real life which show better than anything else the success achieved by the recently formed nuclei of the French Communist Party. It is with profound indignation that the "Temps" tells its readers what a handful of communists organised as a factory nucleus can do even under most unfavourable conditions and in places where no respectable bourgeois ever dreamt that communist influence would make itself felt.

We will quote this example verbatim from the "Temps":

"One more document to show what the methods are like which the Communists adopt for the purpose of gaining influence over the masses. This is what is taking place in the Berliez works in Lyons. In these works where 4000 workers uncontaminated by the strike movement are employed, there were barely 20 trade unionists. When the Communist "nucleus" was formed the situation changed entirely. When a young metal worker was dismissed the nucleus took up his case and passed a resolution in favour of an immediate strike in VS3 workshop, where the dismissed workers had been employed, which employs 600 workers altogether. The Italian strike lasted until the evening. The nucleus, having reviewed its for-

ces, boasted about this strike in its little Party organ as a great manoeuvre."

The nucleus did not of course boast, but only endeavoured to demonstrate through its communist organ to the backward comrades of other enterprises what a great power a nucleus can be. Our French comrades are fully aware that the nuclei have many weak points, but the testimony of the bourgeois organ is very significant, and better praise could hardly be imagined. If there are in Western Europe still some comrades who have their doubts about the reorganisation of the Party on a nuclei basis, the outpourings of the "Temps" must set these doubts definitely at rest.

Report of the Organisation Department at the Meeting of the Organisation Bureau of the ECCI. on dec. 15, 1924.

I.

From the Report and Concluding Speech of Comrade Piatnitzky.

Since the Fifth Congress great progress in the reorganisation of many of the larger parties may be recorded. At the Third Congress a very detailed resolution was adopted not only on the structure of the nuclei but also on the tasks of the nuclei. All that merely remained on paper. At the Fourth Congress Lenin said that the resolution was too Russian. Until January 24, the nucleus work had been carried on only in Germany and in the other countries, nothing at all had been done. In Germany also much more was done in the ideological field than in the organisational. In January, after the October defeat in Germany, the question was taken up very seriously. The resolution of the EccI, formulated at first in January only for Germany, on the question of the reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei, was applied to all countries. While a definite time limit was set for the carrying out of this resolution in Germany, the resolution was submitted for discussion in the other countries. We knew that the nucleus work would be actually carried out only in the larger parties.

In February we decided that it was not sufficient merely to receive information, but that it is also necessary to issue detailed instruction, especially for the fractions. Without work in the communist fractions, gaps will arise in the organisational reconstruction. Since in the formation of fractions a different method must be used from that in the building up of the actual party organisation, we issued entirely popular instructions. But it became evident that this was too difficult to be understood by our comrades.

Until the Fifth Congress, the resolution of the Third Congress was discussed but nothing practical was done about it. I carried on long conversations with Czech comrades in an unofficial conference of the Balkan countries with Yugoslavian, Roumanian and Bulgarian delegations, and also in Italy. In Germany it was impossible before the Party Congress to devote any great attention to organisational questions. A great deal was achieved at the Fifth Congress. In our Org Commission we discussed the matter not only with the individual comrades, who were entrusted with the work of organisation, but with whole delegations. The Commission was a miniature congress. Discussions were carried on as to the basis of a Party organisation, which organisation should serve as the foundation, on democratic centralism, who may become a member of the Party, etc. Those were the fundamental questions which were discussed. The second group of questions was the question of the organisation of nuclei. Unfortunately none of the representatives of the parties argued with us on fundamental questions. There was only a small difference of opinion with the Czech comrades who said that the local organisations will be annihilated if the reorganisation is undertaken immediately. We not only discussed, we published articles. Immediately after the Fifth Congress the work of reorganisation was begun in the various parties. We decided not to begin immediately with all parties, but to concentrate

at first only on the more important sections, because we would have been unable to follow and control the course of the work everywhere from Moscow. However, the stimulation was so effective that in some countries work was started voluntarily, as for instance, in America, where the work of reorganisation has been started.

Ideologically, not only the larger but also the smaller parties are prepared for reorganisation. Since the factory nuclei offer such tremendous advantages, as the experiences in France, especially in the Paris District, and in Italy showed, the parties want to do everything possible to establish these factory nuclei. But organisationally the work which has been done has been far from adequate, although to a certain extent we may be satisfied. During the period subsequent to the Fifth Congress more was achieved in the organisation work than in the four years from the Second to the Fifth World Congress of the C. I. The greatest work was accomplished in Germany in this connection, where there are more than 1,000 nuclei. In Czechoslovakia there has been much talk but very little actually done. I wrote a letter to the Czech comrades pointing out that only five lines were devoted to nucleus work in the written report of Comrade Zapotecky to the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The reply stated that the question has been thoroughly discussed. And to-day we already have some real results. Affairs have developed in Italy. Nuclei have been built up there although the Central Committee was not very energetic in the matter.

Progress can also be noted in France. Great interest was shown there in nucleus work. The entire delegation to the Fifth Congress has done some good work. The Parisian District has already been reorganised into nuclei. In the Parisian District and in certain of the larger cities in France, contact has been established with all the great factories, over 60,000 workers took part in a demonstration in Paris at a time when the social democrats and bourgeois parties were holding a miserable demonstration. Humbert-Droz tells us that in Italy the nuclei thoroughly exploit all conflicts. The workers refused to accept a contract drawn up by the fascist metal workers union. The nucleus placed itself at the head of this movement. After work our party comrades speak outside the factories and often as many as 5,000 workers listen to them. Without a nucleus this would be impossible. Whoever believed that the nucleus was nothing but a Russian affair, mechanically transferred to the West, can see excellent evidence here that this is not the case. We can see that our parties will never become mass parties without the nuclei.

Great progress was also made in the factory papers. According to reports from Germany, we have 830 factory papers, which is a great achievement. In France the work was carried on rather too primitively. The papers were composed in the regional committees; this was incorrect. The main thing is that the workers' language is used, no long articles, but matters vital to the factory and everything which

the Party cannot print in its own paper. In Italy there are as yet no factory papers, but the Central Committee is issuing small handbills and proclamations; the local organisations ought to conduct such work also on their own initiative.

Less was accomplished in the extension of the reorganisation. Only in France have any beginnings been made. At the regional conferences, nuclei were elected.

In Great Britain we already have 30 nuclei, something I certainly never expected. In Norway and Sweden the organisation of nuclei has been seriously begun. In the smaller parties something in this direction has also been accomplished. We sent letters to the congresses of the parties of Switzerland and Holland. The political representatives tried to carry out our instructions.

The situation with regard to fractions looks bad. Absolutely nothing has been done in this direction. Take Czechoslovakia, for instance. When the budget was discussed in Parliament, our Politbureau decided to instruct our fraction to hand in a declaration and then leave Parliament. The representatives of all the national minorities did this. The fraction questioned the expediency of the decision of the Politbureau. Time was lost and the favourable moment passed. That was thoroughly exploited in the enemy's press. As far as France is concerned, it is said that they already have well-organised fractions in the trade unions, but I believe this is somewhat exaggerated.

The best conditions with reference to fractions exist in Germany. The party formulates the policies, and the fractions carry them out, but in the trade unions we are still very weak in this respect. The parliamentary fractions are excellent. All elected comrades must sign a declaration that they will relinquish their seats at any moment at the request of the Party.

The youth has made great progress, even in the organisation of fractions.

The principal task of the Org Department is to achieve the organisation of fractions and to control these fractions in such a way that they do not harm the Party, but assist it.

From the Concluding Speech of Comrade Piatnitsky.

The Bolshevisation of the party must begin with the creation of a foundation, which for us is represented by the factory nucleus. Bolshevisation for a communist party means close contact with the masses. When the party issues slogans, they must be understood by the masses, and hence followed by them. Secondly, we need an organisation which can actually carry out the decisions formulated.

Many parties have not yet completely understood what nuclei are. The nuclei will degenerate if they do not work well, if there is no life in them. We must show the comrades how the nuclei must be used and how from them they are to form the actual basis of the party.

As far as the agrarian districts are concerned, it must be admitted that conditions in Western Europe are much more favourable than those which existed in Russia. We had few agricultural labourers who were located permanently or for any length of time on the estate. In Western Europe the workers on the large estates can quite easily be united into nuclei. Those whom it is impossible to include in these nuclei, must be organised into street nuclei in the villages. It is very important that the comrades who live in the villages and work in factories, maintain contact with the villages.

I believe that the publication of an international periodical on the Org Question and experiences in this respect, is impossible. The development does not proceed rapidly enough, and we will not have sufficient material at our disposal to make such a periodical permanently alive. It would be better to start a special section in *Inprecorr* on this subject.

The arguments with respect to America show that this comrade did not entirely understand the organisational method, even as regards America. We were very careful in this case and followed the controversy with great attention and issued instructions. This comrade said that we will never succeed in getting more than 5 comrades together, in one American factory. But these five comrades are certainly in a position to work as a nuclei. Wherever there are communists, they must be organised into a nucleus, no matter what their nationality is. The language groups must be retained as clubs for purposes of propaganda.

II.

Review of the Work of the Organisation Department of the ECCI.

Jan.—Dec. 1924.

By Comrade Mizkevitch.

In commencing its work after the Fifth Congress, the Organisation Department drew up for itself the following tasks:

1. To bring about the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on a factory nucleus basis.
2. The organisation of communist groups in non-party labour organisations.
3. To change the whole structure of organisation of the sections of the Communist International, including the central and local Party organisations, on bolshevik party lines, and in this connection to change the rules of the respective Sections.
4. To conduct an organisation campaign.

1 The Reorganisation of the Communist Parties on a Factory Nucleus Basis.

The organisation Department directed its attention mainly on carrying out the decisions of the Fifth Congress regarding the reorganisation of the Parties on a factory nucleus basis. In this work, the Department met with considerable difficulties. In the first place, the rapid transfer to a factory nucleus basis, was hampered by the old social democratic habits and traditions of organisation that have been acquired in the course of decades. Secondly, there was the difficulty arising from the impossibility of communist nuclei meeting in the factories, and the great distance between members' places of employment

and their residences, which is sometimes one or two hours railway journey. Thirdly, there was the persecution to which active members of the nucleus were subjected by their employers and their dismissal from the factories, and fourthly, the different nationalities employed in a given enterprise and the difficulty of workers understanding each other owing to difference of language (America). Nevertheless, in spite of these obstacles, the reorganisation of the Communist Party on a factory nucleus basis is progressing and is beginning to cause our enemies considerable fear and alarm. They apparently understand much better than some of our rather prominent comrades, that this reorganisation will bring the Communist Party closer to the masses, will proletarianise it and increase its activity, and consequently they are raising the alarm.

The results achieved in this work will be seen from the review of the position in the various countries given below.

Germany. The reorganisation of the Communist Party of Germany on a factory nucleus basis was commenced prior to the Fifth Congress of the Comintern. In no other Section, has this question been so widely discussed as in the German Communist Party. According to the report of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party presented to the Organisation Department up to August 1st, 1092 nuclei had been set up. At the present time, their number is considerably larger. The factory nuclei fulfil all the functions of the minor party or-

rganisations. They concern themselves not only with general Party questions, but with the pressing needs of the workers in their respective factories, they strive to take the lead in the struggle of the workers against the exploiters and in this way win the sympathy of the masses of the workers. The results achieved by the Communist Party of Germany in the recent so-called "penal servitude" Reichstag elections are due to a considerable extent to the work carried out by the factory nuclei.

Eight hundred and thirty nuclei publish their own newspaper (the number now is much larger), the extent to which the idea of publishing nuclei journals, has grown is seen from the fact that two such journals are published by nuclei in the police force and one by a nucleus in the army (the latter, of course, is printed and distributed secretly). Almost all the nucleus journals in Germany are printed and published by the nuclei themselves. The copy is provided by the workers themselves. The circulation of these journals is constantly increasing. The managers of the factories energetically seek out the editors of these journals and discharge them. The Social Democrats and even the fascists have also learned the enormous importance of factory newspapers and in some places have commenced to publish them.

The larger factory nuclei in Germany endeavour to establish connection with nuclei in the Russian Communist Party and conduct regular correspondence with them.

Communists not employed in factories (housewives, servants, house-porters, etc.) join street nuclei. However, the centre of activity of the Party is transferred to the factory nucleus.

The German Young Communist League has completely reorganised on the factory nucleus basis in Berlin, Thuringia, the Ruhr, Cologne and Halle, Merseburg. It has about 600 factory nuclei. These latter also publish their newspapers printed in the majority of cases by means of hectographs. Of such papers, there are already about 100.

France. The Communist Party of France has achieved considerable success in reorganising on a factory basis since the Fifth Congress. In the Paris district, the reorganisation on the new basis has been completed. The former Sections no longer exist and all the members have been distributed among factory nuclei. Street groups in the Paris district have been entirely abolished. In the Paris district, there are more than 500 factory nuclei organised in 30 sub-districts. In the North at the beginning of December 196 factory nuclei were functioning and 37 were in the process of organisation. Owing to persecution by the employers, these nuclei had to be formed as closed organisations (i. e. meetings are held in private). In other districts also the work of reorganisation has been commenced. Thanks to the establishment of factory nuclei, party work in France has considerably revived. All members are enlisted in party work. Connection with the masses of non-party workers is being improved. As a result since the Fifth Congress, the Party in France has made 3000 new members. In the North, several nuclei during October and November doubled their membership; 350 candidates having joined. The circulation of the Party organ doubled, increasing by 14,000.

In France also, the Communist factory nuclei have begun to publish their own papers. The organisation Department has received from Paris copies of 80 factory newspapers. In the North, in the beginning of December, 90 such papers were published. It must be stated, however, that the French factory newspapers are much inferior to the German. The former are far too stereotyped. Frequently, they publish no comments on life in the factory. The workers in the factory do not take sufficient part in them. For all that, the work has progressed.

Czechoslovakia. Although the question of reorganising on a factory basis was discussed in the Czechoslovakian Party already prior to the Fifth Congress, nevertheless, such nuclei were formed only in Brateslav and Reichenberg. Prior to the Fifth Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia had only issued instructions on the formation of communist groups in the factories. Such a tendency was observed in other Sections of the Communist International also. They did not desire a radical break with the old forms of organisation. They wished to limit themselves merely to forming communist groups in the factories, but at the same time to leave intact the former branches based on place of residence.

The resolution of the Fifth Congress stimulated the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia also to greater activity in this respect. The discussion which took place within the Party after the Fifth Congress gave a fresh impetus to the work of establishing factory nuclei. According to the returns published in "Rude Pravo", several hundreds of factory nuclei have been formed. According to a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the reorganisation of the Party on a factory nucleus basis is to be completed by May 1st, 1925.

Up till now, only one factory newspaper is being published in Czechoslovakia, and few of the workers appear to contribute to it.

Italy. The reorganisation of the Communist Party of Italy is being conducted under conditions of illegality. Consequently, the successes achieved are not as great as those achieved in France. Nevertheless, they are fairly considerable. In Turin, the work of reorganisation was commenced prior to the Fifth Congress, and this considerably increased the flow of new members into the Party in that town at a time when the membership in other towns was diminishing. After the Fifth Congress, the work of reorganising the Party on a new basis was commenced all over the country. At the present time, there are in Milan 50 factory nuclei with a total membership of 450. Altogether in Milan there are 1000 members, about half of these are organised in street groups. The Italian factory nuclei differ from those in other countries in that many of them comprise not only members of the Party but also sympathisers. This laxity in the Italian nuclei undoubtedly prevents them from becoming real Party nuclei. Nevertheless, the factory nuclei show a far greater activity than the former "groups". In those factories where there are nuclei, the comrades have learned to organise impromptu meetings as the workers leave work. As a result of this revival in the Communist Party of Italy and the growth of the anti-fascist movement generally, the membership of the Party during the last few months has doubled and now stands at 25,000.

England. The Communist Party of Great Britain is devoting considerable attention to the question of reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis. The work of reorganisation is hampered by the fact that the Party is numerically small. Nevertheless, 30 factory nuclei have already been organised, chiefly in London and Glasgow and several more are in the process of being organised. Extensive plans for the reorganisation of the Party have been drawn up.

United States of America. A lively discussion is going on in the American Workers' Party on the question of reorganising the Party on a factory nucleus basis. Reorganisation here is very difficult owing to the variety of nationalities prevailing among the American working class, the inability of immigrants to understand English and the numerical weakness of the Party. At the present time the Workers' Party of America actually represents a federation of national sections loosely connected in which the immigrant element is predominant. Consequently, reorganisation has to be conducted with extreme caution. The Organisation Department of the ECCL is of the opinion that the national sections should be preserved, but that their functions should be limited to agitation and propaganda work among the respective nationalities. The main political and Party work generally should be conducted in the factory nuclei, which should include all the communists employed in the given factory irrespective of nationality. In spite of all the obstacles in the way, several communist nuclei have been set up in various factories. The League of Labour Youth has been almost completely reorganised on a factory nucleus basis.

Scandinavian Countries.

Norway. The Norwegian Labour Party from which the Norwegian Communist Party emerged was organised on the basis of the collective membership of the trade unions affiliated to it and had no individual members at all. The trade unions affiliated to it as a whole. This practically subordinated the Party to the trade union and hampered the development of the activity of all the members of the Party. Consequently, the first task of the Communist Party of Norway was to complete the transition from collective membership to individual membership. This has now been done, and work has been commenced on the organisation of factory nuclei. In Christiania there are already 38 factory nuclei. Members not

employed in factories are united in street nuclei. One factory newspaper is published.

Sweden. In Stockholm and in the larger industrial centres, factory nuclei have already been established. Prior to the split in the Party, when the Party was still under the old leadership, nuclei existed, but merely on paper. The new Central Committee is exerting every effort to carry out the resolution of the Fifth Congress on reorganising on a factory basis.

The Baltic States. The Communist Parties of Finland and Lithuania have to a considerable degree become reorganised on the factory nucleus basis. In Esthonia, the reorganisation is complete. In former Latvia, the Bolshevik Party was organised on a factory basis. In independent Latvia, owing to the absence of large industry, the factory nuclei disappeared. They are now being restored.

Poland. The old social democratic party of Poland as well as the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) were organised on a factory nucleus basis. However, under the former leadership of the Communist Party of Poland, the nuclei lost their activity and in several places they even ceased to exist. Where they did exist, they represented loose circles with a floating membership of not only members of the Party, but also of those "near the Party". Unfortunately even under the new leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland is so absorbed in clearing out the opportunist tendencies of the Party, that it is able to devote little attention to reorganising the Party on a factory nucleus basis, and to revive the activity of the nuclei. It should be added that the incredible persecution of the movement in Poland extremely hampers the work of our organisation. In spite of all, however, the number of factory nuclei is increasing. The position is most favourable in the Dombrov Basin, Upper Silesia and in Warsaw.

Austria. The Communist Party of Austria is weak and moreover, constantly torn by internal strife. The information in possession of the Organisational Department indicates that in Vienna there are 100 factory nuclei, including one in the Balakhov locomotive construction works having a membership of 600. Three factory newspapers are published.

The Balkans.

Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communist Party was able very quickly to adapt itself to the conditions of underground work amidst the fascist reign of terror. The work of reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis is being conducted but is not yet completed. Members of the Party not employed in factories, are organised in "block" groups (covering a block of houses) and village nuclei.

Yugoslavia, Roumania and Greece. The work of reorganisation has commenced. In each of these countries, factory nuclei have been established.

From this brief review we see that in the majority of Parties, the work of reorganisation has only just commenced. And that definite results have been achieved already. This should be clear now to all communists.

As a consequence of the persecution to which the factory groups are subjected by the employers and the discharge of members from the factories, it was found necessary to abandon the system of open organisation, even in those countries where the Communist Parties are legal organisations.

Simultaneously with the increasing persecution of the Communist Party, particularly in those countries where they are completely driven underground, the question of organising cadres of professional revolutionaries has become a burning one.

In its bitter struggle against its numerous enemies, headed by the social-democrats, in spite of the severe persecution of communists in the majority of countries, and in spite of the existence in the Communist Parties of many survivals of the old social democratic organisations, the Bolshevik Party is slowly but surely being forged.

2. Communist Fractions.

The importance of communist fractions in non-party, labour and other organisations, and the difference between these fractions and party nuclei, was understood by the majority of the sections of the Communist International only in 1924, and only now, has the work commenced for the extensive organisation of such fractions.

Germany. In this connection also, the Communist Party of Germany is forging ahead. There, communist fractions already function very well in factory committees, in trade unions, in sporting clubs, workers' cooperative societies, tenants' leagues, etc. But even in Germany, these fractions do not always carry out the policy of the Party. This is what happened for example in the trade unions: The Fifth Congress of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany expressed their determined opposition against leaving the trade unions; nevertheless, many German communists did leave the unions. The Reichstag fraction and the fraction in other State and local bodies are wholly subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party.

Czechoslovakia. The organisation of the Communist fractions in non-party organisations was commenced only recently, and does not exist in all possible organisations. For example, there is none in the Red Trade Unions or in the sport clubs. The communist fractions that do exist work badly. Even the parliamentary fraction sometimes fails to carry out the instructions of the Central Committee. The case is still worse with regard to the communist fractions in municipal bodies and cooperative societies.

France. In Paris, the communist fraction in the Red Trade Union Federation (CGTU), in the sport organisations and in the tenant leagues, work very well. They work a little less well in the cooperative societies and in the ex-soldiers' leagues. In the reformist unions there are no communist fractions. The parliamentary fraction is subordinate to the Central Committee, but the communist fractions in the municipalities, do not always submit to the Central Committee.

Italy. The Communist fractions work badly.

England. The Central Committee has established a department for work among the left wing minority movement. In some minority groups there are communist fractions. But in other labour organisations (cooperative societies, etc.) there are no definite communist fractions.

United States. There are no definitely formed communist fractions, but there is a Trade Union Educational League, which has branches in all trade unions and these take the place of communist fractions.

Poland. Here, so-called "red fractions" consisting of communists and sympathisers function well in trade unions, workers' cooperative societies, sick clubs, etc.

The Balkans. Communist fractions only function well in the trade unions in Bulgaria. In Yugo-Slavia, the absence of well knit communist fractions in the trade unions subordinate to the Party has led to a serious Party crisis. The communist fractions in the localities work better than those in the centre. In Roumania, there is a communist fraction only in the United Unions (Red Unions) but none in the Amsterdam Unions. In Greece no communist fractions in the trade unions exist, although the influence of the communists is considerable.

With regard to communist fractions in other countries, it should be said that where factory nuclei are properly organised, there the communist fractions in the non-party labour organisations also work well; as for example in Esthonia, Finland, partly in Latvia and Lithuania. In the majority of countries however, considerable work has yet to be done to strengthen the communist fractions, for only then will the Communist Party be in a position to conduct systematic work in the direction of gaining influence in the non-Party labour and other organisations.

3. Change in the Structure of the Party Organisations. The Reorganisation of Central and Local Party Organisations. Party Rules.

The question of changing the general structure of the Party organisation and the reconstruction of the central and local party organisations and party apparatus is closely connected with the question of reorganising the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei, as the old form of organisation of the Communist Party inherited from the social-democracy is totally unsuitable for the militant tasks which now confront the Communist Parties. The Organisation Department was obliged to devote considerable attention to the reorganisation of the French, Italian, Czechoslovakian, British and Dutch Communist Parties. Considerable results have been achieved in France.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at its Second Congress, passed a new set of rules, the draft of which was made by the Organisation Department of the ECCL.

New Bolshevik rules were passed also by the Communist Party of Holland, but it is a long way yet from putting them into force.

The Organisation Department of the ECCL has drawn up a set of model rules which will be submitted to the forthcoming organisation conference which is to take place prior to the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCL.

4. The Conduct of Campaigns.

It is important not only to decide to conduct campaigns, devise correct slogans and the necessary theses, but it is important also to carry through these campaigns successfully. Yet, the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties do not know how to conduct a campaign properly. In many of them a campaign is limited to one or several articles being devoted to a particular question in the Party press and then things are allowed to run their course. On the other hand, too many campaigns are undertaken involving appeals for demonstrations which are impossible to arrange. Taking this into consideration, the Organisation Department, in complete agreement with the agitation and Propaganda Department, now issues instructions how to conduct campaigns and strives to give them definite plan and system.

5. The Methods of Work of the Organisation Department.

1. The Organisation Department studies the reports and other material received by the ECCL, on the question of organisation, gives the Sections of the Communist International suitable advice and instructions, and consults with representatives of various Communist Parties arriving in Moscow. Special attention was devoted to the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on a factory nuclei basis. Special reports and material dealing with organisation began to be received by the Organisation Department only after the Fifth Congress. The German Communist Party was the only exception to this. Unfortunately, even now some Parties do not send such reports to the ECCL.

2. One of the most important measures for carrying out the reorganisation of the Communist Parties, in the opinion of

the Organisation Department of the ECCL, is to send instructors and organisers to the more important Sections of the Communist International.

3. The study of the experience of the Russian Communist Party and applying it to other Sections of the Communist International. The Organisation Department makes it its task to acquaint comrades visiting Moscow with the work of Party nuclei, nuclei bureau, district committees, the Moscow Committee and the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The Organisation Department arranges connection by correspondence between communist nuclei in factories in various countries. Several of the larger factory nuclei in Germany have already commenced this correspondence; exchange of factory newspapers, etc. with the larger factory nuclei of the Russian Communist Party. The Organisation Department has set itself the task of arranging live by interchange of correspondence between the factory committees of Germany, France and Czechoslovakia and between these and the factory nuclei of the Russian Communist Party.

5. The publication of literature on questions of organisation. Up till now the Organisation Department has published only one pamphlet in the German language entitled "Lenin über Organisations-Fragen" (Lenin on Questions of Organisation). Another pamphlet entitled "Organisation Questions at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International", containing as an appendix resolutions, etc. of the Congress on this question, is now in print. Another pamphlet in German by comrade Koganovitch, secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, entitled "How the Russian Communist Party is Constructed" and another pamphlet on the factory nuclei of the Russian Communist Party containing a summary of the report of the conference of nuclei secretaries, is being made ready for the press. In addition to these, preparation is being made to publish in the German, French and English languages brief extracts from the works of Lenin, concerning organisation, with commentaries, of the work of the nuclei of the Russian Communist Party prior to and after the Revolution, the history of Party organisation in the Second International and in the Bolshevik Party and a programme of studies of Party organisation for Communist circles, Party schools, etc.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Commission of the Organisation-Bureau on the Question of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

(Held on Nov. 22, 1924.)

Present: Piatnitzky, Mizkevitch, Pollitt, Bennett, Fried.

Agenda: 1. The organisation of Factory Nuclei.

2. The Question of Fractions.

3. The Distribution of Work among the leading Bodies.

Comrade Piatnitzky: The organisation of nuclei in Great Britain is hampered by the organisational and numerical weakness of the Party. The question arises whether it is worth while to organise a nucleus in a large factory where we have only three members. The reply to this question should be in the affirmative; even where we have only three members, a nucleus should be organised. The whole strength of the nucleus lies in its members being able to explain correctly the abuses that take place in the factories and thus obtain the sympathy of the masses.

It is not necessary for all the members of the nucleus to make themselves prominent. If this slogan should be the correct one, the nucleus will inevitably become the leader of the movement. In Europe and in America the situation is entirely different from that in Russia. In Russia, we had no old established trade unions, and the Party occupied itself with all

questions affecting the life and conditions of the workers. The Party was therefore able to influence the whole of the masses. In the Western countries there is a traditional division between politics and economics. As a result priest castes developed, one to lead the economic and one to lead the political movement. Nevertheless, in spite of this, the numerically small nuclei will always be able to approach correctly even economic questions and show that the trade unions, led by reactionary leaders do not properly protect the interests of the workers, and will thus be able successfully to conduct the fight for changing the composition of trade union bureaucracy.

(Comrade Pollitt here pointed out that officials of some unions are elected for eight years.)

Piatnitzky continuing. Even under these conditions the fight could be carried on. The Russian proletariat managed to overthrow a czar then why should not British workers be capable of overthrowing reactionary trade union officials. To prevent any possible loss of contact with the masses, the Party must have direct connection with the factories, if it is to lead the struggle successfully. That can be achieved even through a small nucleus. Therefore, the fact that a nucleus

may be composed of only three members is not a sufficient argument against it being formed.

(Bennett: these nuclei should serve as the initiating body for the formation of factory committees.)

Piatnitsky continuing: What should be done in those factories where we have only one or two members? First of all, we must try to obtain sympathisers. This is not difficult. If we succeed, then a factory nucleus should be formed with them. If we do not succeed, then the one or two comrades must join the nucleus in the factory nearest to them, if possible in the same industry. What should be the work of the nucleus? The nucleus in the factory should influence all the bodies and organisations in the factory, such as the factory committee, the cooperative society, trade union, etc. All the questions brought up for discussion at these organisations should be previously discussed by the nucleus. The nucleus should draw up the agenda and put forward candidates for the official posts in these organisations. If there are no communists in the factory to fill these posts, then non-Party workers sympathising with us should be put forward. Experience shows that if we make our plans beforehand, then it is usually easier to get our points carried.

Can a district organisation, say, London keep in close contact with all the factories in that district, even if it is well organised? Of course not. In order to establish good connections, the district should be divided into a number of sub-districts or wards over which there should be a ward committee, based mainly on one or more of the largest factory nuclei. This ward committee will then be able to unite the factory nuclei in its area and carry on the work of organisation in those factories where there are as yet no nuclei. It is much easier to work in a **small part** of the town than in a large one. The ward committee is elected at a meeting of representatives of nuclei or a general meeting of members of the nuclei working in the respective wards. The questions that are agitating the Party should first be discussed at meetings with the nucleus.

Up till now we have been speaking exclusively of factory nuclei, but we have members who are not employed in factories. What are we to do about them? Of course we must organise them, but these can only be organised in **street nuclei**, and they also take part in conferences and the elections of Party organs.

Street nuclei are an inevitable evil. We should endeavour to eliminate them and to attach their members to the nuclei in the enterprises where they work.

Now about the work of the nuclei itself. Who does the work in the nucleus? All the members of the nucleus, but the nucleus as such works privately, not officially. But this does not mean that it must hide itself from the workers. The contact with the masses of the workers in a given factory must be as close as possible, and the nucleus should react to every injustice that is committed against the workers in the factory. The experience of the Russian workers shows that it would be very useful if the nucleus could make use of an influential non-Party skilled worker who would act in the spirit of the decisions of the nucleus. By this means, the source of the ideas could be kept a secret. There is yet another method of influencing the masses, and that is by issuing factory leaflets and newspapers. Leaflets attract the masses to the nucleus. Of course, here too, care must be taken that the source of the leaflets is not divulged.

If these conditions are maintained, then when a district committee in London, say, is set up, it will have its tentacles in all the factories and workshops and would be able to carry out its policy. Actual contact will thus be established and the Party will never strive to carry out what is impossible to be carried out, whereas at the same time, it will be able to attain what it desires. Let us now see to what extent the All-London Committee elected by all the districts of London will be connected with the masses. Of course, it will not be suspended in the air as it is at present. But should the Committee not have command of an apparatus with which it can carry out decisions which in themselves may be good, then nothing will be attained. Therefore, in every organisation it is necessary to have an apparatus, however small, if good resolutions are not to remain merely on paper.

To prove that these are not merely words, we will quote several examples from actual practice. In July 1917, news was received in Moscow of the workers' demonstration in

Petrograd. Certain intellectuals argued in favour of immediate action on the part of the Moscow workers. The Moscow Committee however, consisting mainly of comrades having close connections with the masses, knowing the temper of the masses, objected to such immediate action. Therefore, it was resolved that only a demonstration should be organised. It turned out afterwards that not even all the Party members participated in this demonstration. Because of its connection with the masses, the Moscow Committee avoided a fiasco.

Take another example in connection with the October days in Germany. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party, not having proper contact with the masses, did not know the temper prevailing amongst them, and resolved to retreat at the very moment when the temper of the masses was in favour of an advance. At the Chemnitz Congress cooperators, trade union bureaucrats, etc., etc., were represented, but there were no representatives from the factories. Chemnitz decided to retreat, but Hamburg displayed a somewhat different temper. These examples show how tremendously important real connection with the masses is. Other countries too, may have their October.

If the Party in England has such a foundation and the Party leadership does not hang in the air, then the position of the Central Committee will be firm. Connection and control in the hands of the Central Committee guarantee the fighting capacity of the Party.

We will now deal with the question of fractions. There are organisations not affiliated to the Party, which exist outside of the Party, as for example, the trade unions. In the Parties of the Second International the work is divided. The trade unions do one kind of work, the cooperatives another and the Party a third. In Germany, for example, where the leadership of all working class organisations was in the hands of the Social Democrats, sharp contradictions occurred. The Party, say, would be in favour of a strike, guided in its opinion by political considerations, but the trade unions led by the very same Social Democrats, would be opposed to the strike for other considerations.

At a congress of German trade unions, held in 1905, influenced by the events in Russia, the question of a general strike was discussed. The congress passed a resolution repudiating the general strike. In the same year, the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany was held. At this Congress also the question of the general strike was discussed, and a resolution was passed in favour of it. Differences sprang up between the trade unions led by Social Democrats, and the Social Democratic Party. The latter was obliged to set up a coordinating committee on this question, in which the trade unions took part, i. e. social democrats working in them together with the S. D. P. of Germany. Is such a state of affairs in order? Bearing this in mind, we must emphasise that every communist, no matter where he may be, must carry out the instructions of the Party. He must regard himself as the agent of the Party in the given position. The Party can always recall its members and who should never regard this procedure as a sort of punishment. The Communist Party controls all its members. Members of the Party and particularly members working in different institutions, should bear in mind that they must reflect the opinion of the Party and not their own personal opinion. Take the case of Bombacci. The Party takes responsibility for him. After all this, he takes up a position on behalf of the Communist fraction and does it not in accordance with the spirit of the Party. This cannot be permitted. A similar case occurred in Norway in connection with the metal workers' strike. The Party was in favour of extending the strike, but one member of the C. C., chairman of the Norwegian Metal Workers' Trade Union, and member of the secretariat of the trade unions of Norway, Halwart Olsen, was against this tactic and rendered its realisation impossible. The masses, on learning of this difference of opinion, got a very bad opinion of the Party. Such conduct discredits and weakens the Party. The Norwegian Party expelled Olsen, but nevertheless his activity was detrimental for the Party.

These examples show that the Party must interest itself in the work of its members working in any kind of organisation whatsoever. The Party must give definite instructions to its representatives and strive to avoid a repetition of any such occurrences as those already mentioned. It should put forward its best members for positions in non-Party organisations

worthy of representing the Party. It is not a matter of indifference to the Party as to how trade unions, for example, are organised. Trade unions are mass organisations. If we wish to influence the masses, we must be active in the trade unions. The organisation of fractions is as important as organising nuclei. But the work in a fraction does not render work in the Party nucleus superfluous, for the latter is the foundation of the Party.

Let us now deal with the question of division of Labour in the Central Committee and the local organs of the Party. In order to work properly the Party must examine and intervene in all questions of interest to the masses. The organisation should be sufficiently authoritative to enable the masses to obtain from it a reply to all questions and to give to the masses the key to the right solution of all these questions. Consequently it is dangerous to separate certain kinds of work from the work of the Party itself. If for the solution of all questions and for work, separate organisations were formed, the Party would be reduced to a mere cipher. Therefore, it is necessary that the work connected, say, with an election campaign should be the work of the whole Party and its organisations and not only of certain members or of parliamentary candidates. This of course does not mean that the Party should not conduct election campaigns. The local organisations as well as the Central Committee direct all their efforts towards dealing with all questions which daily life puts before us. Capable comrades should be appointed to carry out the various tasks. In appointing these comrades expediency should be the guiding principle, that means their capacity to do the work for which they are chosen. Comrades appointed to carry out certain work must be wholly under the control and guidance of the corresponding Party organisation.

Another word or two about large district organisations. Unless there is definite need for them, we should not organise them. If certain districts represent an economic or political, or only an economic unit, then such regional organisations may be set up. Otherwise, it is better to link up the local organisations directly with the Central Committee in order to avoid all unnecessary barriers.

The fact that the Central Committee has begun to arrange open central committee meetings in conjunction with the local organisations, is a step of extreme importance.

Comrade Mickiewicz: First a word or two about organising nuclei. This is difficult work. The conditions for it in the British Communist Party are rather bad. Only 2,000 members

are employed in factories. Since in many factories we have but one or two members, we must then form nuclei composed of members employed in neighbouring factories. It is extremely important that the nuclei already organised should extend their influence over the neighbouring factories where nuclei have not yet been organised.

How about unemployed members? They must remain in the nuclei in the factories wherever they were employed. That is, of course, if they do not live too far away from this factory. But even in that case, the unemployed should not immediately break off connection with the nucleus. The Party may transfer this unemployed worker to a nucleus in a factory close to where he lives, but dismissal from work in itself should not be the cause of a member leaving his nucleus. It must be emphasised that the British Party has already done much in the direction of organising nuclei, but must not stop at this, but continue the work. These questions must be discussed in all Party organisations. We should welcome the fact that it is now being done to a certain extent.

It should be borne in mind that the nuclei are unofficial and the meetings should be held privately outside of the factory.

Now a word about the tasks of the nuclei. The centre of our activity should be the factories. But we shall have nuclei organised according to place of residence. Of course, even in England these latter nuclei will not be of great importance. The tasks of the local residential nuclei is to deal with general Party questions and local questions.

Comrade Piatnitsky: In order to avoid misunderstanding, it is necessary to emphasise that members of communist factions are by no means on that account relieved from carrying on work in the nucleus. It should be borne in mind that the nucleus and the Party decide all questions of that organisation in which the fraction work. The fraction is only an auxiliary organ of the Party of the corresponding party organisation. This point is dealt with in detail in the instructions of the Comintern about fractions.

With regard to the question of sympathisers, it is clear that no central organisation need be formed; they should be organised locally or in districts. For this purpose the Party organisation should appoint certain comrades to carry on this work. It should be borne in mind that the leadership of this group must be in our hands. We must secure the best of these sympathising comrades for Party work.

Extract from Letter of the Org Department to the Central Committee of the C.P. of France.

The Question of the Central Apparatus.

On the basis of the experience of a number of sections of the Communist International, it has been possible to adopt for our Central Committees a structure which should enable them to function properly. The division of the Central Committee (as this is also the case in your Party) into a political and an organisational bureau and a Secretariat (as well as the existence of a number of departments of the Central Committee), is an arrangement which is working satisfactorily. But this demands:

1. That all these parts of the apparatus be well organised and

2. That there should be a proper division between them.

Arising out of this, the apparatus of the Central Committee should be as follows:

a) The Central Committee elects the **Polit Bureau** which has to superintend the entire **political** work of the C. C. and to decide all political questions where principle is involved. (A Polit Bureau of 5 to 7 members is evidently sufficient for the C. C. of the Communist Party of France.)

b) The C. C. elects the **Org Bureau**. It superintends the organisational work of the C. C. It is not an organ which functions regularly, but is convened as a permanent commission for the decision of all questions of **general superintendence**

of organisational work. The numerical strength of the Org Bureau is 5 to 7 members. Its members can be at the head of the various departments of the C. C. — and this is even preferable. Some of the members of the Org Bureau are at the same time members of the Polit Bureau. And the Org Bureau must have in its midst at least one secretary of the C. C. Members of the Org Bureau of the C. C. of the French C. P. must live in Paris, must always participate in the work of the C. C. and must be well up in this work. Care must be taken that there is no over-lapping in the work of the Org Bureau and of the Polit Bureau.

c) The C. C. also elects the **secretariat**, which is the executive organ of the Central Committee. The Secretariat of the C. C. superintends all the current work which is of an organisational and executive character. It puts into practice the decisions of the Polit and Org Bureau and places before them all questions which are within its competency. Three members for the Secretariat of the C. C. — the number adopted by the French C. P. — seems to be an adequate arrangement. It is also a good plan that secretaries of the C. C. form part of the Polit and Org Bureau, and another (or 2 more) from the members of the Org Bureau.

The secretariat is directly connected with the departments of the Central Committee, and not the Org Bureau, as is the case in your Party. The secretaries divide among themselves the departments of the C. C. as far as the super-

intendence of their work is concerned. The Secretariat selects the questions with which the Polit and Org Bureau have to deal, and sees to it that the Polit Bureau does not handle questions which could be dealt with by the Org Bureau and vice versa. By this means, over-lapping which would greatly interfere with the functioning of the apparatus and with a correct distribution of labour within it, would be avoided.

Being subordinate to the Secretariat, the departments of the C.C. submit to it for decision, questions which arise in the course of their work and which cannot be decided by them. Some of these questions the Secretariat can settle itself, while the other questions are handed over by it to the Org and Polit Bureaus whose decisions are subsequently carried out through the Secretariat and the proper departments attached to it.

We think that the C.C. of the French C.P. should have the following departments: 1. an organisational department, 2. an agitprop department, 3. a trade union department, 4. a department for work among the peasantry, 5. a colonial department, 6. a department for work among foreign workers, 7. a department for work among women, 8. a cooperative department, 9. a financial and administrative department.

The number of the departments can be restricted by combining several functions in one department. This would mean a considerable saving in the numerical strength of leading comrades in the apparatus of the C. C. One must see to it that an amalgamation of departments should not be detrimental to certain branches of Party work. It is desirable that members of the C. C. be at the head of departments.

As to the central apparatus, it is not only desirable, but even absolutely necessary to have in it instructors — comrades who would keep up the connection between the C. C. and the federations and local and party organisations, and would help to carry put the directions of the Party in the various districts and provinces. This would be a very desirable measure in view of the weakness of the provincial branches of the Party.

Questions of Nuclei Work.

Under this heading we will deal in this letter with the following questions: a) agendas for nuclei meetings, b) division of labour between members of nuclei, c) nuclei according to streets, d) factory newspapers.

A well-thought-out agenda for nuclei meetings is of the greatest importance in the life and work of nuclei. For the latter can only develop, gain in strength and become the real basis of the entire Party work, if the work of the nuclei — and the agenda is to a certain extent an indication of such work — reflects on the one hand the general political line and work of the Party, and on the other hand, draws all the members of the nucleus in the Party. This being so, the agenda must help to throw light on the big and vital questions of the moment in the solution of which the Party is interested. These problems must not be approached in an abstract but in a thoroughly concrete manner, comprehensible to every rank and file members of the nucleus. This can only be achieved if the nucleus approaches all big questions through the everyday events and struggles which take place in the life of every working class communist. The high cost of living can, for instance, serve as a basis for questions of international politics, such as the Dawes Plan, etc. In this way nucleus members will get accustomed to Party work in connection with the general problems which confront the Party, and they will widen their mental outlook on the basis of their own political experience.

Moreover, the agenda of the nucleus must concern itself with the direct everyday interests of the workers of the respective factory, branch of industry, district, etc.

The latter category of questions, being more closely connected with the life of the worker, naturally induces him to greater activity, and teaches him to approach all questions in a party-communist spirit. Therefore, these kind of questions, apart from their intrinsic value, are also of special educational value.

The leading party organs must immediately begin to revise their experiences on this field, and must pay the utmost attention to the proper conduct of general nuclei meetings.

The discussion of abstract theoretical questions must be eschewed more than anything else. Neither must questions of

pure theory (including even the ABC of Communism etc.) occupy the whole agenda.

Another matter to which we want to draw your attention is division of work in the nucleus. How the Bureau is to divide the work among its members in order to draw into it as many comrades as possible, is also a question of great importance. No time should be lost in revising the experience of the work of the commissions into which some nuclei are divided. The question arises if such a division of the nucleus into commissions is a help to the Bureau of the nucleus and its secretary, or if it takes him partly or entirely away from the bureau of the nucleus. We are of the opinion that the organisation of commissions is only admissible in nuclei with a large membership. But the Bureau of the nucleus must keep a careful watch over the work of the commission by introducing into it a member of the bureau and by presenting regular reports on the work of the commission at the sessions of the Bureau. This is absolutely necessary in order that the Bureau should not lose control over these commissions and in order that the latter should not become too independent of the Bureau and the nucleus as a whole. As a general rule, nuclei instead of organising commissions, should see to it that there is a proper division of labour among party members, the Bureau allotting to every member his or her share of the work for which the Bureau is directly responsible. It goes without saying that all active members must account regularly for their work to the Bureau, which must criticise the work and make the necessary corrections and also take into account the experience gained etc. In connection with this it is also of the utmost importance to ascertain to what extent the commissions are doing justice to their task of drawing members of the nucleus into Party work.

As to nuclei according to streets, Comrade Marranne has told us that there are no such nuclei in Paris. There was a time when the Ecce considered the formation of such nuclei as a transition measure, being of the opinion that the Party should not lose even a small number (for Paris) of members who are not employed in industrial and other enterprises. It would be perhaps advisable to go into this question once more, especially as far as the provinces are concerned, where industrial workers do not form the predominant part of the membership of the Party. If one were to introduce into these provincial organisations industrial nuclei Party members who are not employed in the factories, this would only lead to the dilution of the nuclei which would assume an utterly different character.

We have several faults to find with the newspapers published in the factories. First of all, their uniformity, which probably arises out of the fact that these newspapers are prepared centrally. Their articles, and especially the leading articles, are not written by correspondents in the factory, but are taken from the same sources as supply our big newspapers. This being so, the political articles of factory newspapers are as difficult to understand for a rank and file worker as articles in the "Humanité" or any other big organ. There is also a great deal of uniformity in the outward form of the newspapers. No time should be lost by the biggest nuclei in changing this state of affairs. They must see to it that their newspapers are real factory newspapers, prepared and got up by local workers without the help of the centre or even of the district. This would make factory newspapers, which are at present rather dry, much more interesting.

As to the short notes, specially those which expose abuses or shortcomings, as a rule, these deal with the question from a too narrow viewpoint, touching only upon local interests. They should be treated from a wider political viewpoint. One should see to it that articles appearing in factory newspapers should combine a correct description of factory life with a correct treatment of questions of general interest.

Such shortcomings are, of course, only natural and even inevitable in the beginning. But they also show that it is absolutely necessary to give the right instructions to those in charge of the publication of these newspapers. Special attention must be paid to factory and workshops newspapers. Workers employed in the factory must be encouraged to become contributors to these papers. If this is done, factory newspapers will grow in importance and will be able to perform a very great service to the Party.

to the C. C. in this respect must be made through the proper Party authority.

III. The Structure of the Party.

§ 6. The Communist Party like all the sections of the Comintern, is built on the basis of democratic centralism. Its fundamental principles are:

a) Election of the subordinate as well as the upper Party organs at general meetings of the Party members at conferences and congresses of the Party.

b) Regular reporting of the Party organs to their electors.

c) Binding recognition of the decisions of the upper Party organs by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact application of the decisions of the ECCI, and of the leading Party organs. Any organisation whose activity extends over a certain area, is considered superior to those Party organisations whose activity is limited merely to certain parts of this area. The discussions on Party questions can be carried on by the members only until the proper Party organ has decided them. After a decision has been adopted at the Congress of the Comintern, at the Party Congress or by the leading Party organs, it must be carried out unconditionally even if some of the members or of the local organisations are not in agreement with this decision.

§ 7. Under conditions of illegality it is admissible for higher Party organs to set up subordinate ones or to coopt on the endorsement of the higher Party organs.

§ 8. The Party organisations are autonomous in local questions within the framework of the existing decisions of the Communist International and of the Party.

§ 9. The highest authority of each organisation is the general meeting of Party members, conferences or Party congresses.

§ 10. The general meeting, conference, or Party congress elects the leading body which serves as leading organ in the interim and conducts the current work of the organisation in question.

§ 11. The scheme of the Party structure is as follows:

a) For the whole nation: the Party Congress — the Central Committee.

b) For a district: the District Conference — District Committee.

c) For a sub-district: the Sub-District Conference — Sub-district Committee.

d) For a town district: the Town District Conference — the Town District Committee.

e) For a small town, village, etc.: the Conference of local Nuclei (conference of Village Nuclei) or general meeting of the town membership (or of the village) — Local Committee.

f) For individual factories, workshops, offices, stores, estates, streets, etc.: Meeting of the Nucleus — Nucleus Committee.

§ 12. For the accomplishment of special Party tasks, departments are organised by the leading bodies, for instance: Organisational, Agitrop, Trade Union, Women's, etc. Departments. These departments are subordinated to the leading organ and work in accordance with its instructions.

(Note: to § 12. In parties which include workers and small peasants belonging to another nationality, the members, regardless of belonging to this or that nationality, must in any event be organised in the Party nucleus in their factory.

For purposes of conducting the general agitation and propaganda of the Party in the native tongue of the national minorities, special departments for work among the national minorities are formed in the organisations in question, under the guidance of the Party authorities in question.)

IV. Nucleus.

§ 13. The basis of Party organisations, their foundation, is the factory nucleus (in factories, mines, workshops, offices, stores, agricultural enterprises, etc.) which all the Party members, working in these places, must join. Newly-created Party nuclei will be endorsed by the town district committee, or the sub-district committee should that comprise at least three members.

§ 14. In factories where only one or two members are employed, they are affiliated to the nearest factory nucleus or form a factory nucleus jointly with the members of a neighbouring factory.

(Note: Party members who are not employed in factories, are usually affiliated to the factory nuclei existing in the locality, or otherwise they form street nuclei.)

§ 15. The nucleus is the organisation which links up the workers and small peasants with the Party. The tasks of the nucleus is to conduct Party work among the non-party masses of workers and peasants by means of systematic communist agitation and propaganda, to recruit new members, to distribute Party literature, to issue a factory newspaper, to conduct cultural work and activity for the enlightenment of the Party members and the Party workers, to strive tenaciously and constantly for all official positions in the enterprise, to participate in all economic conflicts and demands of the employees, to interpret them from the standpoint of the revolutionary class struggle, to win the leadership of all the struggles of the employees by obstinate and unwearied nucleus work.

§ 16. The nucleus elects a committee to conduct its current work, which consists of from three to five members. This committee conducts all nucleus work, distributes it among the individual members of the nucleus, for instance, propaganda, distributions of papers, fraction work in the trade unions and factory council, work among the women, connection with the youth nucleus, etc. The nucleus committee is responsible for this work.

V. The Local Group.

§ 17. The Local Group is the combination of the nuclei of one locality, a town district, etc.

§ 18. The Local Group Committee is at the head of the Local Group, and is elected at the general members' meeting, or, in case of illegality, at the Conference of Local Nuclei. At least one-half of the Local Group Committee must consist of members of factory nuclei. The Local Group Committee elects a responsible secretary or a chairman. The Local Group Committee is responsible for the work of the Local Group. The Local Group Committee conducts the work of the fractions within the limits of the locality.

§ 19. The general members' meeting of the Local Group should be held once a month generally speaking.

VI. The Town District Organisation.

§ 20. The highest Party authority in a town district is the Town District Committee, elected by the Town District Conference. The rules with reference to representation in the town district conference are determined by the District Committee.

§ 21. The Town District Committee carries out the decisions of the higher authorities and conducts all the Party work in its town district. At least every quarter year it convenes a town district conference. The Town District Committee elects the Town District Secretary in agreement with the District Committee.

§ 22. The Town District Conference is composed of representatives from the nuclei. It hears and accepts the reports of the Town District Committee and elects the Town District Committee.

§ 23. The Town District Committee conducts the work of the fractions within the limits of the Town District.

VII. The Sub-District Organisation.

§ 24. The highest Party authority in a Sub-District is the Sub-District Committee which is elected by the Sub-District Conference. The rules for representation at the Sub-District Conference are determined by the District Committee.

§ 25. The Sub-District Committee carries out the decisions of the higher authorities and conducts all the Party work in the sub-district. It calls a Sub-District Conference at least half yearly. The Sub-District Committee elects the Sub-District Secretary in agreement with the District Committee.

§ 26. The Sub-District Conference is composed of representatives from the nuclei. It hears and accepts the reports of the Sub-District Committee and elects the Sub-District Committee.

§ 27. In the town in which the Sub-District Committee has its headquarters, the Party work within the city, is conducted by the Sub-District Committee.

§ 28. The Sub-District Committee conducts the work of the fractions within the limits of the Sub-District.

VIII. The District Organisation.

§ 29. The highest Party authority in a District is the District Conference. The regular District Conference meets once every half year. Extraordinary District conferences may be called by the District Committee at the request of half the Party organisations in the district or by the Central Committee. The District Conference hears the reports of the District Committee and the District Auditing Commission and elects the District Committee and the District Auditing Commission.

§ 30. The District Committee is elected at the District Conference and is the highest Party authority in the District, in the interim between two District Conferences. The District Committee must be partially composed of factory workers. The District Committee must include the representatives of the chief town of the district as well as representatives of other important localities. The District Committee itself determines how often the plenary meetings of the District Committee are to be held. These must be convened, however, at least once a month. The District Committee elects a bureau for conducting current work. The number of members of the District Committee and of the Bureau is determined by the Central Committee. The District Committee also elects the District Secretary, whose appointment must be endorsed by the Central Committee, his membership record should be from (for young parties) one year to three years. Exceptions may be made only with the endorsement of the Central Committee.

§ 31. The District Conference elects an Auditing Commission whose duty it is to control all the administrative and financial activity of the District and of the Party enterprises in the District.

§ 32. The District Committee carries out the decisions of the Central Committee and is entrusted with organising special organs for various work (organisation, Agitprop, trade union, small peasants, women). As a rule members of the District Committee are placed at the head of these bodies who arrange their work under the guidance of the District Committee. The District Committee appoints the editors of the District Party paper in agreement with the Central Committee. The District Committee conducts all the Party work within the limits of the district in question. The District Committee is responsible for its work to the District Conference and the Central Committee, to which it is obliged to tender a written report of its activity every month.

§ 33. The town in which the District Committee has its headquarters has no Party committee of its own. The work of this town is conducted by the District Committee. The chief town of the district can be divided into sub districts under the guidance of the sub District Conference and sub District Committee.

IX. The Party Conference.

§ 34. The Party Conference meets twice a year as a rule. The rules for representation and composition of the Party Conference are determined by the Central Committee. The representatives of the Districts are elected by the District Committee. The Central Committee may coopt individual Party workers to the discussions of the Party conference in an advisory capacity without voting rights.

§ 35. The decisions of the Party Conference come in force after endorsement by the Central Committee.

§ 36. The Party Conference elects the delegates to the World Congress of the Comintern in case it meets immediately before the World Congress.

X. The Party Congress.

§ 37. The Party Congress is the highest authority of the Party and as a rule is called once a year by the Central Com-

mittee in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Extraordinary Party Congresses are called by the Central Committee either at its own initiative or at the initiative of the ECCI., or at the request of at least half the total attendants at the last Party Congress. The Extraordinary Party Congress is held, however, only in agreement with the ECCI. The convocation of the Party Congress and its agenda, are submitted to the membership at least one month before the meeting. A quorum of the Party Congress consists of representatives of no less than half of all the Party membership.

The rules for representation at the Party Congress are determined either by the Central Committee or by the Party Conference meeting before the Party Congress.

§ 38. The Party Congress duties comprise:

- a) hearing the reports of the Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Commission;
- b) deciding the questions of the Party programme;
- c) formulating resolutions on all political, tactical, and organisational questions;
- d) electing the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission, etc.

§ 39. The Party Congress is composed of delegates elected at the District Conferences. In case of illegality, an exception can be made, and the delegates sent by the District Committee in agreement with the ECCI., instead of being elected. The Party Congress can also be replaced by a Party Conference in agreement with the ECCI.

XI. The Central Committee.

§ 40. The Central Committee is the highest authority of the Party in the interim between Party Congresses. It represents the Party as a whole over and against other Party institutions and other institutions, organises various organs of the Party, conducts all its political and organisational work appoints the editors of the central organs, who work under its leadership and control, organises and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party, distributes all the Party forces and controls the central treasury. The Central Committee conducts the work of the fractions within bodies of a central nature.

§ 41. The number of members of the Central Committee is determined by the Party Congress.

§ 42. The Central Committee elects from its midst a Political Bureau for the guidance of the political work, an Organisational Bureau for the guidance of the organisational work, and a secretariat (a secretary) for conducting the permanent current work. The Central Committee also appoints the leaders of the various organs, at the head of which members of the Central Committee must be appointed whenever possible. (Note: § 42 applies only to the larger Parties; in the smaller parties it is sufficient if the Central Committee elects a Presidium from its own members.)

§ 43. The Central Committee organises bodies for definite branches of its work, as well as for organisation, Agitprop, trade unions, peasants, women, etc., whose task it is to conduct the work under the complete guidance of the Central Committee in their particular spheres, along the general policies laid down by the Central Committee.

§ 44. The Central Committee divides the country into districts and alters their boundaries in case of necessity. The Central Committee has the right to combine and divide existing organisations, either according to territory or otherwise in conformity with their political and economic characteristics, in accordance with the administrative division of the country.

XII. The Central Auditing Commission.

§ 45. The Party Congress elects a Central Auditing Commission for the control of the treasury, book-keeping, and the business of the whole Party.

XIII. Party Discipline.

§ 46. The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all the Party members and all Party organisations. The decisions of the CL., of the Party Congress, of the Central

Committee and all higher Party organs must be rapidly and promptly carried out. At the same time the discussion of all questions which give rise to differences, is completely open so long as no decision has been made.

§ 47. A breach of Party discipline calls for punishment by the proper Party organ. The punitive measures with reference to organisations include the following: censure; replacement of the committee by a provisional committee, which exercises the functions of the committee until the next Conference meets; dissolution of the organisation and re-registration of the members. The following punitive measures can be applied to individual members: censure; public censure; dismissal from office; temporary expulsion; final expulsion.

§ 48. Breaches of discipline are dealt with by the Party organs.

§ 49. The question of the expulsion of a Party member is brought up by a meeting of the Party organisation in question (nucleus), to its superior Party committee. The expulsion takes effect after endorsement by the District Committee. Appeal may be made to the highest body. The member in question must be deprived of all Party work before the endorsement of his expulsion.

The expulsion must be published in the Party organs as a general rule.

§ 49 a — for the adjustment and settlement of above-mentioned breaches of discipline, the party may create special bodies whose decisions must be submitted to the proper Party organs for endorsement.)

XIV. The Finances of the Party.

§ 50. Finances of the Party organisations are obtained from Party dues, special collections, Party undertakings, contributions by higher Party organisations, etc.

§ 51. Party membership dues must compose no less than of the income. The question of Party dues is determined by the decisions of the Party Congress or the Central Committee of the Party.

Part of the dues are allotted to the treasury and another part to the treasury.

§ 52. Membership of the Party is to be regarded as lapsed of those who without sufficient reason fail to pay their dues in the course of three months. This should be announced at the meeting of the Party members in question.

XV. Fractions.

§ 53. In all non-party worker and peasant organisations and branches (trade unions, cooperatives, cultural societies, educational societies, sport and other clubs, factory councils, unemployed, at Congresses and Conferences, in local admini-

strative bodies, parliaments, etc.) where there are at least two communists, communist fractions must be organised for the purpose of increasing the influence of the Party and applying its policy in the non-party sphere.

§ 54. The fractions are organs of the Party within non-party organisations. They are not independent fully authorised organisations, but are subordinate to the competent local Party Committee.

In questions of internal life and also of current work the fraction is autonomous. In case of differences arising between the Party committees and the fraction, the Party committee must investigate the questions anew together with the representatives of the fraction and come to a decision which must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. In case the decision is appealed against by the fraction, the question is finally settled by the next highest Party authority. But in spite of the appeal, the fraction must carry out the decision of the Party committee.

§ 55. If questions are discussed by the Party committee which concern fractions, the committee co-opts the representative of the fraction concerned to the meeting in an advisory capacity.

§ 56. The communist fractions elect their own leaders, who require the endorsement of the competent Party committee. The fractional leaders are responsible for the activity of the fractions to the competent Party committee.

The Party committee in question has the right to send members into the fraction leadership or to recall any member from that body, after the reasons for such measures have been explained to the fraction.

§ 57. Candidates for all important posts in the organisations in which the fractions are working, are put forward by the fraction in agreement with the Party organ in question. In the same way individual comrades can be transferred from one fraction into another.

§ 58. Every question up for decision in the body in which the fraction is working, must be discussed beforehand in the General Meeting of the fraction or by its committee.

On every question on which a decision is reached in the fraction, the fraction members must act unanimously in the general meeting of the organisation in question and vote solidly. All those who break this rule are subjected to disciplinary measures by the Party authorities.

(Note to § 12: for parties in countries including various nationalities:

For carrying on party work among the national minorities (in the national area), special organs of the party are created which act under the guidance of the competent party authorities.)

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