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The Conference of the Sections of the Communist International on Organisation.

By **Ossip Piatnitzky.**

Invitations to this conference were sent to representatives of the Central Committee and the Berlin and Hamburg organisations of the Communist Party of Germany, to the Central Committee and the Paris and Northern district organisations of the Communist Party of France, the Central Committee and the Turin organisation of the Communist Party of Italy, the Central Committee and the Prague organisations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Great Britain, Poland, Sweden and Norway. Actually representatives of all the Parties represented at the Enlarged Plenum took part in the Conference. Furthermore, representatives of the largest local organisations in Germany and particularly of Czechoslovakia, took part which made it possible for the conference to become acquainted with the state of Party organisation, not only from the reports of the representatives of the various Central Committees, but also from the reports of local representatives.

Considerable interest was displayed in the conference by the delegates to the Plenum. Lively discussions took place on the reports. In this article, we will deal only with those questions dealt with, which in our opinion, present the greatest interest to the various sections of the Communist International.

Prominence was given to the **question of organisation at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern.** In the Organisation Commission of the Congress, the question was discussed as to whether it was possible to reorganise the Communist Parties outside of Russia on the factory nucleus basis. With the exception of a few towns in Germany and in France, and one town in Italy (Turin), nuclei had not yet been formed at that time, and the nuclei which existed in Germany and in Italy were not regular Party organisations with definite Party functions; they dragged out a miserable existence.

Quite a different situation existed at the time of the Organisation Conference. No one disputed the question as to whether the Communist Parties of the West should establish nuclei

and whether the experience of Russia was applicable to the Western Parties. During the eight months that have transpired since the Fifth Congress, the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues have achieved considerable success in organising factory nuclei. According to incomplete returns, in March, 22 Communist Parties had 8,822 factory nuclei and 18 Young Communist Leagues had 2,255 nuclei. The discussions that arose at the conference were over the questions as to how best to organise these nuclei, how to attract the members of the nuclei to Party work and what place they should occupy in the Party organisation. As the debates at the conference centred mainly around these questions, we will deal with them here in detail.

Forms of Party Organisation prior to the Fifth Congress. Passivity of Party Members.

In legal parties organised on a residential district basis, the members of the Party met together once a month and sometimes even once in three months at town meetings, and in large towns at district meetings at which reports from the various Party organs were read and various Party questions discussed.

Connection between the Party committee and the members of the Party was maintained by these meetings and also by the Party dues collector, who visited homes of the members and collected the Party dues.

In illegal and semi-legal Parties organised on a residential basis, the membership was divided into groups of 10, at the head of which was an elected or appointed captain ("functionary"). The various leading Party bodies were connected directly with the functionaries. The groups of 10 organised on a residential basis carry out Party work only during campaigns, during elections, demonstrations, etc. In ordinary ti-

mes, the functionary did the work, and even then, not in all cases. This form of organisation created a mass of passive members, for the work was done without them and it was no one's business to draw them into the work. In the Berlin-Brandenburg district, where Party nuclei already exist, out of 20,000 members only from 10 to 12 thousand members do any kind of Party work (official report of Organisation Bureau of Berlin-Brandenburg Committee), and in Czechoslovakia only 25% to 30% of the members are drawn into Party work.

The Party members belonging to a given group are usually employed in different factories. Consequently, the Communists working in the same factory, prior to the organisation of factory nuclei, did not know each other. Under the old system, the Party members worked among the non-Party workers in a given factory at their own risk, without any guidance, without system or plan. Cases have occurred when Communists unconsciously have acted against their fellow Party members owing to the fact that they did not know each other. Moreover, the district and town Party Committees did not know in what factories there were Communists and in what numbers, because members were registered according to the place of residence. Since factory nuclei have been organised by both legal and illegal Parties, Party work has revived, — as was admitted by many of those present at the Conference, even by those who, at the Fifth Congress, were opposed to reorganisation on the factory nuclei basis. The members of the Party in the nuclei have been drawn into Party work, new members have been drawn from among workers at the bench, new readers have been obtained from among the factory workers for the Party press; the Communists are conducting work according to a definite plan drawn up by the nucleus. The recent large labour demonstrations which took place in Paris, Berlin, Prague and Kladno have shown that through the nuclei the Communist Parties have established connection with the working men and women in the factories.

But the factory nuclei do not work well everywhere where they exist. From the reports of the representatives of the Central Committees and locals of various Parties, it is evident that the proportion of factory nuclei which work badly is very large. In the Communist Party of France, out of 2,500 nuclei, 1,000 worked indifferently, 750 worked badly and 750 worked very well. In the Berlin-Brandenburg districts, out of 1,800 nuclei, 540 worked tolerably well, while the remaining 1,260 have not been drawn into the work (report by the Organising Bureau of the Berlin-Brandenburg Committee), in Chemnitz only 50% of the existing nuclei are functioning. The situation is not better in Czechoslovakia. There, out of 942 factory nuclei, barely 45% to 50% are functioning. The same may be said with regard to the Young Communist League.

The large proportion of inactive and badly functioning nuclei creates a dangerous situation for the further development of these factory organisations. Furthermore, it will be very difficult to convince comrades who belong to inactive or badly functioning nuclei that the further existence of these organisations is necessary.

What is the reason for the existence of so large a number of inactive nuclei?

In the first place, very frequently the competent leading Party bodies have failed to devote sufficient attention to the nuclei after they have been formed. No instructions were given them, the manner in which they worked was not investigated, Party questions were not brought up at the nuclei meetings for discussion and the Party slogans were not explained. In short, the nuclei were not imbued with political life.

Secondly, in certain countries where unemployment is very prevalent and Communists are victimised by the employers, the Social Democratic and trade union bureaucrats usually help the employers to discover the Communists in the factories and secure their dismissal. For that reason, the Communists in the factories fear to develop their work.

Thirdly, in large towns, like Berlin, Paris, London, New York, etc., the workers live at a great distance from their places of employment. The arrival and departure of workmen's

trains are adapted to working time. When Communists stay to attend a meeting or to carry out some Party duty, they have to miss their train, which entails a long wait for the next train.

And fourthly, in Czechoslovakia and Germany the previous forms of organisation according to residence, — the groups of 10, — have been allowed to continue to exist side with the factory nuclei. Age-long Social Democratic habits, victimisation by employers, inconvenient train services, the lack of vitality of the factory nuclei and the continued existence of the old residential district organisation at which the members continue to meet and discuss Party questions, all this prevents the development and the intensification of the activity of the factory nuclei which have been formed after so much effort. For these reasons, the Conference on Organisation in its resolution, which was endorsed by the Enlarged Plenum, calls upon the Communist Parties to devote serious attention to giving definite instructions to the already existing factory nuclei, to transfer the centre of Party work to these factory nuclei, and urged the necessity for establishing closer connection than exists at the present time between the factory nuclei and the respective Party bodies. The resolution urges that in those districts where the majority of the members are already organised in factory nuclei, the groups of 10 and residential district organisations must be dissolved. Unless these latter are dissolved, it will be difficult to induce the members of the Party to attend the meetings of and work in the nuclei*).

Functionaries and „Responsible Persons“.

(Active Workers).

The passivity of Party members to which reference has been made, gave rise to the institution of so-called functionaries and responsible persons, who, as a matter of fact, decided all political and Party questions in spite of the fact that they had no authority from the members of the Party to do so. This in its turn fostered the inactivity of the members of the Party, because as a consequence of this, they were not drawn into the discussion and decision of economic, political and Party questions. Meetings of functionaries and responsible persons began to take the place of district and town conferences, and cases have occurred when such meetings have passed resolutions directly contrary to the decisions of the corresponding Party Conferences. The system of functionaries is widespread in those countries where strong Social Democratic organisations existed (Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, etc), from which the Communist Parties inherited the system. Every year, the Party committee give to Party, trade union, cooperative society, etc., workers a mandate to take part in meetings of functionaries in the given district or town. The competent Party committee convenes these meetings. During the course of this year, the functionary continues to regard himself as such and continues to attend the meeting of functionaries even if he has ceased to perform the work which gave him the right to attend these meetings. The minutes of the Organising Bureau of the Berlin-Brandenburg Committee show that of 48 functionary mandates examined, only one was owned by a comrade who was a member of a nucleus, of 50 functionary mandates in Berlin District No. 15, only two belonged to comrades working in nuclei. Consequently, the nucleus workers (secretaries and chairmen) of Berlin represent only an inconsiderable proportion at the meetings of Berlin functionaries and have little influence on its decisions. In his report on the Kladno (Czechoslovakia) Party organisation, Comrade Kreichl stated that the meetings of functionaries decide all important questions,

*) The instruction on organising factory nuclei endorsed by the Fifth Congress, permits of the organisation of Party members not employed in factories, in street nuclei. Members of the Party who belong to factory nuclei, but who work at a great distance from their place of residence, must in addition to their membership of a factory nucleus, register with the Party Committee in the district where they live. After working hours and on holidays, the Party member may be given definite duties by the residential district committee.

while the Party Conferences, which are rarely convened, discuss only trifling matters.

At the conference and in the commission set up to examine the form of organisation of the leading Party bodies, consisting of representatives of the largest Parties and of the Young Communist International, the question of the **system of the functionaries** gave rise to a very heated discussion. With the exception of the representative of the Communist Party of Germany who proposed that the meeting of functionaries be given the right to decide questions, everybody came to the conclusion that the existence of the system of functionaries in its present form was harmful.

In its resolution, which was endorsed by the Enlarged Plenum, the Conference on Organisation did not object, but even recommended to the local Party bodies to convene conferences of secretaries or of nucleus committees, of secretaries or fraction committees in mass labour and peasant organisations, or of comrades managing any particular branch of Party work, to discuss Party, trade union, cooperative, questions or campaigns; but it opposed the present system of functionaries and strongly objected to substituting district or town conferences by meetings of functionaries. The resolution recommends that periodical district or town Party conferences be called and that the agenda of such conferences be preliminarily discussed in the nuclei, after which the latter are to elect delegates to the Party Conference.

Factory nucleus newspapers.

Factory nuclei newspapers rapidly became popular in Western Europe. In Germany more than 1,000 are published and in France, nearly 500. Such newspapers are also published in Czechoslovakia, Austria, England and in other countries. The factory newspapers in the West differ from the factory newspapers published in Russia, in that the latter are wall newspapers, while in the West, it is not possible to display these newspapers on the factory walls. Consequently, they are published illegally, in various ways (on mimeographs, typewriters and sometimes printed) in hundreds and sometimes in thousands of copies and distributed among the workers in the factory. In most cases these newspapers are got up exclusively by the efforts of the members of the nucleus. Some of the newspapers contain very interesting drawings and cartoons. The nucleus newspaper has become an inseparable part of nucleus work and it has become the principal medium through which the nucleus exercises its influence upon the workers in the factory in which the nucleus cannot act openly. In Italy, the Party Committees, instead of factory newspapers, publish small leaflets dealing with important questions which have considerable influence upon the workers. Many of the factory newspapers still suffer from numerous defects. Some are devoted exclusively to politics and repeat what has been said already in the Party daily, while others are devoted exclusively to affairs connected with the factory, without linking them up with the slogans of the Party. The Conference on Organisation passed a resolution on factory nuclei newspapers recommending the Parties to continue publishing such newspapers and making it obligatory for the secretaries of district Party Committees, or the agitation and propaganda departments of these committees, to devote serious attention to these newspapers and keep them well instructed. The resolution points out the good and bad sides of the newspapers already published.

The Weakness of Local Party Apparatus.

It was established at the Conference on Organisation that in a number of towns in Czechoslovakia, France and England, there is not even one Party worker engaged full time on Party work. The Party apparatus is concentrated principally in the provincial committees. In 39 sections or wards in the Paris area, the sections or ward committees commence Party work after working hours, because even the secretary of the section or ward committee is employed in some factory or office. In some towns in England, the town committees have no full time workers, and of course, full time section workers is out of the question. In large towns

in America, like Chicago and Boston, there are not even section committees, but only town committees.

It is quite impossible under such conditions to build up a strong, disciplined, centralised, flexible organisation.

How can a provincial committee or a town committee in a large town react quickly to events, intervene in labour conflicts, if the section or ward committee have no permanently operating apparatus, and if there is not even a full time section secretary? How can the provincial or town committee quickly give instructions if there are no permanent organs in the districts to convey these instructions to the proper quarters? Such a state of affairs might have been tolerated under the former systems of organisation when the members of the Party were convened once a month or once every three months, and when the functionaries and responsible members decided all the questions for the Party instead of the members deciding them. But this cannot be tolerated when the Party is reorganised on a factory nucleus basis, for we shall be able to establish ourselves firmly in the factories only when our nuclei will be active and intervene in all the conflicts between the workers and employers; when they will be able to direct the discontent of the workers along the correct lines of the class struggle; and this will be possible when the section or ward committee will be able to give proper and correct instructions to the nucleus and will be in a position to see that these instructions are carried out. For this it is necessary for at least one comrade, say the secretary, to be a full time Party worker. The Conference on Organisation called the attention of the Communist Parties to the necessity for intensifying the work of the section and ward committees and to appoint a full time Party worker for these committees.

The Weakness of the Communist Fractions in Non-Party Mass Worker and Peasant Organisations.

It became evident at the Conference that the Communist fractions, where they existed, work very badly, that their relations with the Party organisation are not regular and that the Party organisations have not devoted sufficient attention either to the organisation of Communist fractions or to their work.

The position with regard to **parliamentary fractions** is more or less satisfactory. These are under the control and guidance of the Central Committees of the Parties, but even in these, symptoms of Social Democracy are to be observed in the tendency of the parliamentary fractions to strive to become completely independent of the Central Committee of the Party (Czechoslovakia).

The position with regard to the relations between the Communist organisations and the Communist Party fractions in **Landtags** and similar bodies can be regarded as tolerable, although Communist fractions in bodies functioning in districts remote from the centre still work independently of the Party.

In the peasant parties in many countries (Rumania, Yugoslavia, France, Germany and America) no fractions have been formed and the Communists in these organisations are unorganised.

In many countries no fractions have been formed in **sport organisations**, and in those places where they have been formed, they work isolatedly, without guidance and without local or national organisation.

The situation with regard to fractions in the **trade unions** is no better.

Communists regard it beneath their dignity to join Christian, National Socialist, Liberal and other trade unions, in spite of the fact that in Germany and Czechoslovakia, these organisations still have a considerable working class membership. When trade unions, affiliated to the Profintern, were formed in France, Czechoslovakia and in Germany, the Communists left the Amsterdam trade unions and transferred to the red trade unions. Consequently, the Amsterdam unions were relieved of the Communists and their work, and in the red trade unions, the Communists who principally lead these unions, consider it superfluous to form frac-

tions to work under the guidance of the Party organisations. As a result of all this, a tendency is observed as in Czechoslovakia, for example, for the Communists in the trade unions affiliated to the Profintern to strive to throw off the influence of the Party organisation and to act independently.

In France and Czechoslovakia, the Communist Parties, through their members belonging to the trade unions affiliated to the Profintern, were able to establish connection with the factories. But the fact that no Party nuclei had been formed, prevented the members of the revolutionary trade unions from conducting systematic work (in France) and led to such a situation that members of the revolutionary trade unions were putting up candidates for the factory committees and other bodies without coming to an understanding with the Party organisations concerning these candidatures. (Czechoslovakia).

The Social Democratic Parties in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia have no factory nuclei, but they are so closely connected with the Amsterdam trade unions that, through them, they are able to exert their influence upon the workers in the factories.

The Communist Parties should do the same thing through the medium of the Communist members of the trade unions; they should exert their influence through the fractions. But these fractions must work under the guidance and control of the Party organisations.

In spite of the fact that our Party in England has considerable influence in the Minority Movement, it has not consolidated this influence organisationally and has not formed strong fractions.

In Germany many of our Party members remained in the Amsterdam trade unions and many who left are returning to them. In many places Communists are elected to the provincial management committees of the unions and in some places even have a majority; but right up to this day, neither in town, provincial, area or national bodies have fractions been formed. The work of the fractions in Germany is not conducted systematically and the amount of attention which their importance deserves is not paid to them.

The Conference on Organisation devoted considerable attention to the work of the fractions and drew up a list of instructions making it obligatory upon all the sections to take up this work in the most energetic fashion and to form fractions in all the non-Party mass organisations.

Organisational Forms in the Workers Party of America.

It will not be superfluous to say a few words concerning the Workers Party of America, for it reveals the chaos in Party construction that exists in certain Sections of the Communist International.

The members of the Workers Party of America are organised not in factory nuclei, but according to nationality. The Lithuanians, Letts, Finns, Swedes, Yugoslavians, etc., are organised in separate organisations, each having its own national and local apparatus. Of such organisations there are seventeen. All of these together form the Workers Party. These separate national organisations collect the dues from their members, have their own daily and weekly newspapers, their own printing presses, their own clubs and halls.

Actually the national centre — the Central Committee of the Workers Party, and the town and district committees of the Party are dependent upon the will of these seventeen separate organisations. If the latter desire to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee they do so; if not, then they are not carried out.

These seventeen separate organisations send their representatives to town and district conferences in proportion to their membership. These conferences elect town and district committees respectively. The district conference elects delegates to the national conference.

The district committees and the Central Committee only appear to bear the character of Party centres in the district or in the whole country, but as has been stated, the fulfilment of their decisions depends entirely upon the good will

of the various national organisations; the Party bodies have no independent means of getting their decisions carried through.

Can such a system of Party organisation lead to the establishment of a centralised disciplined Party? Can such a Party work successfully among the nearly 30 millions of the working class in America?

Of course, in a polyglot country like America it is very difficult to establish a centralised Party, and it is very difficult to work among the numerous and varied elements which came to America from various countries, having different customs, and living in various stages of development. But in order that the Workers Party may become really capable of organising the working class and of leading it to the fight, it must be organised in such a manner that all the members of the Party, working in the same factory, irrespective of nationality, join the same factory nucleus. The section or ward committees should be elected at conferences of representatives of factory nuclei and street nuclei; the section or ward conferences should elect delegates for the town conferences and the town conferences should elect delegates to the district conferences. The nuclei section or ward committees, town committees and district committees should serve as Party organs for all the members of the Party irrespective of nationality.

From the reports contained in the "Daily Worker" of March 3, 1925, it appears that the few factory nuclei that have been formed work well, and that they have shown, not only that their existence is possible but that it is absolutely necessary, for some of them have succeeded in organising great mass meetings of protest against the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, have conducted campaigns against child labour and have succeeded in getting their members elected to several local bodies of the Miners' Union.

The nuclei should arrange their work in such a manner that the work be conducted among all the nationalities in the given factory. The district committees should establish agitation and propaganda departments to organise the work among the workers of all nationalities and for this purpose to enlist the services of all the active Party workers who formerly have been working in the various national organisations. The State and Central committees of the Workers Party should also establish their agitation and propaganda departments for the purpose of guiding the work and getting it carried on among the workers of all nationalities and for this purpose enlisting the services of the comrades who formerly worked in the various national organisations. At the same time Lithuanian, Lettish, Finnish, Swedish, Russian, etc., members of the Party who belong to various national non-Party organisations must form local and national fractions in these respective organisations. These fractions must work under the guidance of the section, town, district and Central committees of the Workers Party respectively.

Only when the Party will be organised on this basis, will it become a fit and militant mass Party.

It will not be possible to bring about this reorganisation without some difficulty, but if the necessity is understood and the desire is there, the gradual reorganisation of the Party on this basis is quite possible.

Formerly in America several trade unions were divided into national and language sections, for example, the Miners' Union, but gradually this was abolished. The trade unions did not suffer as a result of this, but now have centralised leadership. If the trade unions managed to do this (and in this they were assisted by the Workers Party), it should be quite possible for the Workers Party to do so.

The Organising Department of the ECCI will devote very serious attention to the reorganisation of the Workers Party.

Conclusions.

The Conference on Organisation for the first time clearly brought out the state of Party organisation in the largest Sections of the Communist International. The good and the bad sides of Party organisation were revealed. It was possible to clear up controversial questions and the harmfulness

of various existing forms of organisations, as for example, the system of functionaries, the parallel existence of groups of 10 organised according to place of residence and factory nuclei, the erroneous opinion regarding the superfluousness of organising fractions in opportunist trade unions, etc. were made clear.

The forms of organisation of Communist fractions were established. A resolution was passed on the work of the nuclei, the arrangement of the work of the nuclei and the attraction of the members of the nuclei to Party work.

A resolution was also passed on factory nucleus newspapers in which their good and bad sides were pointed out and indications given as to how they should be published in future.

The members of the Conference exchanged views with regard to the question as to how Party campaigns should be carried out. They established the utility of linking up factory nuclei in a given industry with the factory nuclei in the

same industry in other countries. Furthermore, the Conference on Organisation passed a set of model rules for various Sections providing for the new form of Party organisation and also a set of instructions on the organisation of the Party apparatus from the nucleus right up to the Central Committee. The Sections of the Communist International and local bodies will be able to apply these with advantage, allowances being made for local conditions.

The instructions, resolutions and that part of Comrade Zinoviev's theses on Bolshevisation which refers to the question of organisation, will render it possible to introduce a uniform system of Party organisation in all the Sections of the Communist International.

The fulfilment of the decisions of the Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI and of the Conference on Organisation will enable the Communist Parties to become real Bolshevik mass Parties.

Theses on the Organisational Structure of the Party.

(Approved by the Orgbureau of the E. C. C. I. on May 4th 1925.)

The Significance of Party Organisation.

A well-built up party organisation is most essential for the Party. Independent of how the Party organisation functions, it can only then fulfil its tasks, if the policy of the Party is Communist, i. e., a class policy. And vice versa, no matter how excellent the Party policy may be, it can only become an excellent one and not remain a mere paper policy, when the Party organisation is so built up that it is able to carry out its policy amongst the masses of the working class. This is done through the Party members in the factories, through communist fractions in the mass organisations of the workers and peasants, in public meetings, through the Communist press, through representatives in public institutions (Parliaments and municipalities) — in short, wherever working men, working women, office workers, poor peasants, oppressed peoples, etc. exist.

But the form of organisation also plays an important role. It must be flexible and elastic, that is, it must be able to adapt itself rapidly to the conditions under which it works. The Executive organs must be in permanent contact with the Party members and must distribute the work to the latter, issue instructions, control their work, etc. in order thus to draw them into regular active Party work. Through the Party members, the Party organisation circulates the slogans of the Party and realises the tactics of the Party among the masses. At the same time the Party organisation is informed by its members of the condition of the working class and of the moods of the masses among which the Party members work.

The Party organisation and its leadership should build Communist fractions in all mass organisations of the workers and peasants. These fractions serve the Party as agents within these organisations. The Party campaign should be so organised that all parts of the membership, all organs, no matter where they may be, always act in conformity and with the most precise mutual understanding. It is therefore necessary that the Party leadership always issue clear and definite instructions to these organs upon the manner of carrying out the campaign.

The form of organisation proposed below can serve to realise the above outlined purposes.

Only an organisation built up on these lines is in a position to consolidate organisationally the influence of the Communist Party upon the working masses.

Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline.

It is necessary to carry on a prolonged preparatory campaign amongst the members of the Party for a rigid discipline based upon the full consciousness of the Party membership, for a centralised, flexible form of organisation in all the sections of the Communist Party, for the purpose of creating a fighting apparatus able to lead the proletariat in its political and economic struggle and to enroll the conscious and active elements of the working class within the Party, through which the latter then can and must influence the masses of the workers.

As long as the Communist Party exists legally the suitable form of Communist organisation is **democratic centralism**. The Communist Party is a living and vigorous Party of action; in consequence, differences of opinion within the Party membership in the discussion of questions of programme and tactics are unavoidable. Very often a majority and a minority are formed in these discussions. When that is the case, the minority must submit to the majority, and must carry out all decisions with the greatest conscientiousness as long as they are not annulled by a higher Party authority.

Without this pre-requisite, an effective organisation cannot be built up nor can the proletariat be led.

The Factory Nucleus.

1. The members of the Party must be organised in factory nuclei and must do active work within them. They must submit to all decisions of the Party and the CI: they must pay membership dues regularly, and support the Party press.

2. The factory nucleus is the Party organisation in the factory; it directs with responsibility all the Party work within the factory.

3. All the members of the factory nucleus meet regularly in nucleus meetings.

4. The nucleus meeting discusses and decides upon all questions, not only those referring to the factory and the factory council, but also inner Party questions, and those of a political, economic, trade union nature, etc. It receives the report of the activity of the nucleus leadership as well as reports of individual comrades and groups assigned to special work by the nucleus. It elects a nucleus executive of 3—7 members, as well as delegates to nuclei group conferences.

5. a) The nucleus executive is the executive organ of the nucleus. It organises and directs work in the interval between nucleus meetings.

b) The nucleus executive organises nucleus meetings draws up their agenda, appoints reporters, elaborates proposals and calls upon members of the nucleus to make reports on questions of domestic and foreign policy.

c) The nucleus executive distributes Party work among the members of the factory nucleus, so that all of them have a definite task, and reports to the nucleus meeting upon this distribution. The nucleus meeting is entitled to confirm or revise the distribution of work decided upon by the nucleus executive. The nucleus executive also issues instructions and watches over the execution of Party work by the members. Functions of Party work within the Party nucleus are, for instance, the following: **trade union work**, work amongst women, work in the factory council, election campaigning, contact with the unemployed, cooperative work, work of political education, distribution of literature, editing the factory newspaper, cooperation with the youth nucleus, work within the sport organisations, directing work in the departments of the factory, work within the sick benefit and insurance funds, contact with the peasantry, work amongst the soldiers (eventually work amongst workers speaking a foreign language), Red Aid work etc. etc. The nucleus executive also commissions the members to influence and win over through individual propaganda definite non-communist colleagues in the factory.

d) The nucleus executive must report regularly, at least once a month, to the nucleus meeting upon its activity; it must report upon how the party work was distributed and carried out. The more important reports of comrades detailed for special work should also be made in these meetings.

e) The nucleus executive receives applications for membership in the Party, discusses them, and brings them up for decision in the nucleus meeting.

f) The nucleus executive collects membership dues for the Party.

6. The nucleus executive is elected for a term of three months.

7. The nucleus executive elects a nucleus leader from amongst the executive members, as well as other officials if necessary.

8. All the decisions of the nucleus executive or of the nucleus meeting are binding upon all members of the nucleus and must be carried out.

NOTE:

Party nuclei with the same functions can also be established in offices, shops, stores, on farms, etc., wherever workingmen, working women and office workers exist.

a) Members of the Party, who do not work in any factory, (housewives, servants, artisans, poor peasants, etc.) can be organised in so-called street nuclei, according to the streets in which they live.

b) The street nuclei discuss and decide upon all Party questions, do all Party work in the respective residential districts, carry on house-to-house agitation, distribute literature, etc. However, the street nuclei, where formed, must not impede the work of the factory nuclei and are in no way on an equal footing with the latter. Only the factory nucleus is the basis of the Party organisation (From the resolution of the Fifth World Congress.)

c) Members of the Party in a factory where they are not sufficiently numerous to form a nucleus of their own (one or two) as well as Party members not working in a factory at all but living in the neighbourhood of a factory with a factory nucleus, may be affiliated to the latter. Care should be exercised, however, in this affiliation. If this affiliation be necessary, the members working in the factory must always have an assured absolute majority. The nucleus must endeavour continually to gain new members in the factory itself so that the percentage of affiliated members grows smaller and smaller.

d) The unemployed remain members of the nucleus of the factory in which they formerly worked. In cases

of prolonged unemployment, they may be released from this nucleus with the consent of the district executive and be affiliated to some nucleus in the district in which they live.

The Party Organisation of a Locality.

1. All the members of the factory, street, shop, farm, and other nuclei meet in joint meetings; discuss and decide upon all Party questions, after they have been dealt with previously in all the nuclei and the latter have taken a stand on the matter; elect delegates to the district conference; and elect the local executive.

NOTE:

a) In villages, where Communists cannot form street nuclei, they should be organised into a village organisation.

b) When the membership is very large, or when the Party is only semi-legal, the membership meetings can be supplanted by a local conference (with representatives of the nuclei). In this case the nucleus meeting elect delegates to the local conference on the basis of proportional representation.

2. The local executive directs all the Party work, issues instructions to the nuclei and organises and leads all the campaigns of the Party in the locality. The local executive organises nuclei in all factories, workshops, stores, etc. where such do not yet exist. For this purpose it can also send members to such factories, workshops, stores, etc. in order to begin work there; or it instructs Party nuclei in the neighbourhood to carry out this work. The local executive organises all Communists in the trade unions, municipalities, cooperatives, sport organisations, and in all other workers' and peasants' organisations into communist fractions, and issues instructions for and directs their work.

3. The local executive elects a secretary and organises with the approval of the next higher Party authority the departments necessary for the successful carrying out of all Party work in the locality, such as, for instance, an Organisation Department, Agitprop, etc. The secretary of the local organisation directs the work of these departments.

4. At least half of the local executive must be composed of members of factory nuclei, who work directly in the factory, in a workshop, on a farm, or in another place of employment.

5. The local executive is obliged to visit nucleus meetings regularly, where it reports upon work already done as well as discusses plans for work in future.

7. Party comrades living far from the factory in which they work must be specially registered by the nuclei group, ward or local executive. These comrades are at the disposal of the executives and may be sent to the street nuclei, in the district where they live, or may be commissioned by the local executive to do definite work on holidays, or after work, etc — in so far as they have no special tasks assigned them by their nucleus — amongst the comrades or other workers of factories in which Communists work, but where no nuclei have existed as yet, or in factories in which there are no Communists.

NOTE:

In the Party organisations of a small town the nuclei are to be united into wards, which hold their own conferences (eventually meetings) and which elect the ward executives as well as the delegates to the town conferences.

The Sub-District.

The Party organisations of smaller towns, villages, etc. are organised into sub-districts. The rules for the Party organisation of a locality apply with the necessary changes to the sub-district organisation.

Working District.

The Party may introduce a new organisational unit between the local organisations and the sub-districts: the working district. The Executive of the working districts is the connecting link between the various local groups and the sub-district

executives. It looks after the execution of the decisions of the Party in its sphere of activity. Its principal task is to exhort the local organisations to do systematic work in the nucleus field. It is the function of the working district to hold together our numerous, scattered, small local organisations in the rural districts.

The City.

1. In a city several nuclei (factory, street, shop, store and other nuclei) in the same part of a ward are organised into nuclei groups in affiliation to a leading nucleus of a large factory.

2. All the members of a nuclei group meet at membership meetings, in which all political questions are discussed and decided upon, after they have been dealt with previously in all nuclei, and after the latter have taken a stand thereon. At the members meeting the nuclei group executive and the delegates to the ward conference are elected. The number of delegates is to be determined according to the proportional system.

NOTE:

When the membership is very large, the nuclei group meeting may be replaced by a conference (of delegates from the nuclei). The delegates are elected on the system of proportional representation.

3. At least half of the nuclei group executive must be composed of members of the factory nuclei, who work directly in the factories.

4. The nuclei group executive directs all the Party work, issues instructions to the nuclei, and organises and leads all Party campaigns within the province of the nuclei group. It organises nuclei in all factories, shops, stores, etc., where such do not yet exist. For this purpose it can also send members to such factories, workshops, stores, etc. in order to begin work there; or it instructs Party nuclei in the neighbourhood to carry out this work. The nuclei group executive reports on its activity to the nuclei group meeting or to the nuclei group conferences, and to the nuclei.

5. With the approval of the ward executive, the nuclei group executive may organise sub-departments.

6. The nuclei group executive is in contact with the ward leader through its chairman.

7. In conformity with the administrative divisions of the town, several nuclei groups are organised according to wards.

8. The ward meeting or conference, receives reports of the ward and urban executive, decides upon all Party questions, and elects the ward executive as well as delegates to the urban conference.

9. The ward executive directs and controls all the Party work of the ward, issues instructions to all the organisations of the ward, organises and carries out all the campaigns of the Party within the province of the ward, and organises and directs communist fraction work within its sphere of activity.

10. The nuclei group and ward executives are obliged to visit nucleus meetings regularly, where they report upon work already done as well upon plans for work in the future.

11. The members of the nuclei group and ward executives must be affiliated to nuclei as active Party members.

12. The urban conference takes a stand upon all Party questions, receives reports of the urban and district executives and elects the town executives as well as delegates to the district conference.

NOTE:

Should the town executives at the same time be the district executive, it is not elected at the town conference, but at the district conference, to which the ward meetings or conferences elect delegates directly.

13. The town executive directs and controls all Party work throughout the town, issues directions to all Party organisations in the town, organises and conducts all Party campaigns on a town scale, directs communist work in the mass organisations outside the Party, municipal councils, etc., elects

a presidium and secretary, establishes in agreement with the corresponding leading Party organs departments such as for instance the Agitprop, the Org Department, the Women's Department, the Trade Union Department, etc. In the event of such bodies not being established, individual comrades should be entrusted with the tasks which would have devolved on such bodies. All instructions and directions issued by the departments should be signed by the urban secretary. The urban secretary is to be in direct contact with the ward organisers and if necessary he is at liberty also to get into direct contact with all Party organisations in the town. The presidium, the secretary or the various departments of the urban executive are at liberty to have consultations with comrades who carry on special work in the wards, nuclei groups or nuclei, such as work among women, distribution of literature, trade union work, etc. The secretary of the urban executive is to maintain the connection with the district executive.

14. The ward or nucleus group executives are at liberty to convene conferences with nuclei leaders or nuclei executives as well as with nuclei functionaries and with the leaders of Communist fractions in all organisations where fractions exist. Such conferences have no decisive function. They can under no circumstances whatever take the place of regular Party conferences or Party members' meetings. The urban executive prepares these conferences (presents reports, makes proposals, etc.). The decisions made by these conferences come into force as soon as they have been endorsed by the respective authority; the latter is then responsible for them. When preparing Party campaigns it is advisable to convene the nuclei and Communist fraction leaders in order to give them instructions.

NOTE:

Apart from the regular members' meetings, conferences and executives, no other bodies with decisive functions (shop stewards meetings, bodies of functionaries, etc.) are permissible.

The District.

1. Party organisations of a definite district for instance those of several towns (large, medium and small towns) and several sub-districts and spheres of work should be amalgamated into one Party district organisation.

2. Town or sub-district conferences elect delegates to the district conference.

3. The district conference deals with all Party questions, receives the reports of the Central Committee of the Party and of the district executives; it elects delegates to the Party Congress and also the district executive committee.

4. The district executive superintends and controls the entire Party work of the district; it issues directions to all Party organisations in the district; it organises and conducts all campaigns in the district; it organises and superintends Communist fraction work in all non-party mass organisations in the district.

5. The district executive elects a Presidium and a secretary who gives all his time to the Party. It establishes various bodies for the Party work of the districts, as for instance Org, Agitprop and Trade Union Departments, etc. The departments of the district leading organ keep up their connection with similar departments of the subordinate Party organisations of the district only through the district secretary. All directions, instructions and political documents of the departments of the district executive organ must be signed by the district secretary.

Regional Organisations.

In some countries several districts can be amalgamated into a regional organisation if economic or political circumstances make it advisable.

The regional executive is elected at a conference of representatives of the respective district executives. The Central Committee of the Party must be represented at this conference.

The regional executive elects a Presidium and a secre-

tary. The appointment of the latter must be confirmed by the Central Committee.

The task of the regional executive consists of coordinating and supporting the campaigns and instructions of the Central Committee of the Party.

The Central Committee.

1. The Central Committee of the larger legal Parties may consist of 25 or more members and a few candidates. These constitute the Plenum of the Central Committee. (In illegal and semi-legal Parties the number of members of the Central Committee may be reduced.)

2. In the larger Parties the Central Committee elects two bureaux: The Political Bureau and the OrgBureau.

3. The members of the Political and OrgBureau and of the Secretariat work principally in the city where the Central Committee has its seat. The other members of the Central Committee work principally in the districts.

4. The Plenum of the Central Committee meets at least once a month and decides all the most important questions as well as questions of principle.

5. The Political and Org Bureaux carry out the current business of the Central Committee.

6. The Political Bureau consists of three to seven members of the Central Committee and meets at least once a week. It deals with political questions and makes decisions on them. The decisions of the Political Bureau can only be annulled by the Plenum of the Central Committee.

7. The Org. Bureau comprises three to seven members, deals with all questions of organisation, and directs the distribution of active Party workers. An appeal can be made to the Pol. Bureau from the decisions of the Org. Bureau and the former can annul them.

8. The Plenum of the Central Committee elects a Secretariat of 2—3 comrades (who must be members of the Central Committee), which must execute the decisions of the Org. Bureau, of the Pol. Bureau, and of the Plenum of the Central Committee, and see to the preparation of material for the sessions of the three directing organs.

9. The Secretaries of the Central Committee divide amongst them the work of the Secretariat.

10. At least one of the Secretaries of the Central Committee must be a member of the Pol. Bureau, and all secretaries must belong to the Org. Bureau of the Central Committee.

11. For the establishment of permanent and close contact between the Org. Bureau and the Pol. Bureau of the Central Committee, (as required for methodical and unified work of both organs) one or two members of the Pol. Bureau in addition to the secretaries must belong to the Org. Bureau.

12. Departments of the Central Committee are established for the following spheres of activity: Organisation Department, Agitprop Department (this includes the education department), Trade Union Department, Agricultural Department, Women's Department, Department for National Minorities, (not in all Parties), Red Aid, business management, (this includes accountancy and the cashier's office), etc.

13. All the departments are subordinate to the Central Committee, and are under the direct control of secretaries of the Central Committee, so that the latter may be continually informed about the work of the various departments. The Secretariat decides whether a question in the Pol. or Org. Bureau upon the motions made by the Department and previously examined by the Secretariat, cannot be made without notifying the respective Secretary.

14. At the head of each department there is a department chief (in big parties a deputy as well) who is appointed by the Secretariat of the Org. Bureau.

15. Upon its own initiative or at the request of different departments the Control Committee (Pol. Bureau, Org. Bureau, Secretariat) calls representatives of the corresponding departments of the local organisation for consultations.

16. In addition to the Party conferences, the organs of the Central Committee (Org. Bureau, Pol. Bureau, Secretariat)

may convoke conferences with the secretaries of the districts or local organisations.

17. All the instructions, etc. of the different departments must be signed by the secretary under which the department stands, and do not go directly to the corresponding department of the organisations, but to the executive of the organisations, which transmits them.

18. The Central Committee determines how often all organisations in the Party should report (and whether in writing or orally). The district executives of a legal Party should report to the Central Committee at least once monthly.

Communist Fractions.

In order to render effective communist influence upon the masses of workers and peasants outside the Party, every Communist Party must possess organs carrying on a communist policy in the non-communist fractions. To a large degree the success of Communist Parties depends upon their firm organisation, rigid Party leadership and energetic activity, the living contact of the CP. with the masses. On them also depends the unity of the execution of the instructions of the Party — the uniform tactics of the Party — altogether the correct activity of the CP.

1. Communists in a definite organ or organisation (trade unions, factory nuclei, cooperatives, organisations of the unemployed, sport, cultural, educational and other organisations, of the working class, tenants' and peasants unions, war veterans' associations, world war veterans, national revolutionary organisations, congresses and conferences of these organisations, municipalities, city councils, parliaments, etc.) form a communist fraction.

2. As soon as a communist fraction has been formed it elects a leader, and if the membership and the sphere of activity of the fraction is very large, an executive as well.

3. According to whether the organisation in which the fraction is formed is a local, sub-district, district or national organisation, the fraction is subordinated to the local executive of the Party, the sub-district executive the district executive or the Central Committee.

4. The respective Party executives of Party organisations (local membership meetings, local, sub-district, and district conferences) determine and control the application of the tactics and the political line of the Party in the work of all the fractions subordinate to them, receive the reports of the elected officials, (union executives, etc.).

5. The leaders elected by the fractions as well as their executives, must be confirmed by the respective Party executives. This is also true for the candidate set up by the communist fractions for election to the trade union executives, cooperative executives, etc. With regard to the parliamentary fractions, and the communist fractions of the town councils and municipalities, the Party executive or members' meetings or Party conferences (where the Party is illegal, only the Party executive) must decide before the election which Party members should be set up as candidates for the institutions in question. The same is true of the recall of elected Party members. The final decision upon mandates rests with the Central Committee.

6. In the daily work of the fractions (in so far as the instructions of the Party are followed and there are no important differences of opinion within the fractions themselves), they have full freedom of action and possibilities of work. The respective Party authority must receive a report on the activity of the fractions at least once a month.

7. The Central Committee has permanent contact with all the fractions on a national scale through the departments (or directly). (Parliamentary fractions, the fraction in the National executive of the trade unions, the fraction of the Executive the Co-Operative Federation, the fraction of the Central Committee of the Peasants' Party, the fraction of the headquarters of the Workers' sport organisations, etc.).

NOTE:

In the countries in which there are no communists on the National Executive of the Trade Union Federation the Central Committee must maintain contact with

the communist fractions in the executives of the various trade unions.

8. Besides being subordinate to the local Party authority, a communist fraction in a cooperative, sport organisations, etc., is subordinate to the communist fraction in the next higher organs of the same organisations.

9. The Communist fractions in the various trade union executives are in direct contact with the Communist fraction in the National Executive of the Trade Union Federation and work in accordance with the instructions of the latter. The Party Central Committee is entitled to enter into communication with all the trade union fractions of the national trade union executives, if it deems it necessary.

10. The fraction of a single trade union executive can, with the approval of the Central Committee, issue instructions to the fractions, which at the same time receives instructions from the fraction of the district trade union councils, and which maintain contact with the latter. The fractions in district organs work under the direct leadership and control of the district executive of the Party.

11. The Communist fraction of the district executive of a trade union can issue instructions to the fractions of this union in the district. The respective fractions at the same time receive instructions from the communist fractions of the local trade union council. The fraction of a local trade union council works under the direct leadership and control of the local executive of the Party.

NOTE:

The instructions of the Party may also be issued to the district union executive directly through the district Party executive, or even directly from the Central Committee, in the cases in which it deems it necessary.

12. The rules which govern the competence and subordination of the Communist fractions hold good for all trade union organisations down to the communist fractions in the factory council.

13. Should the National Executive of the Trade Union Federation contain no Communists and the formation of a Communist fraction therefore be impossible, the Trade Union Department of the Central Committee of the Party must create an organ to supplant this fraction composed of representatives of the Communist fractions of the National Executives of the various trade unions. The same policy should be followed in the districts and locally.

14. In the same manner, through the trade union departments of the Central Committee, and of the district and local Party executives, all the communist fractions of the trade union executives in the unions of all tendencies in the trade union movement can and must be united into a central body, where methods are worked out, experience is exchanged, mutual aid is rendered in their work, campaigns are organised according to a common plan, and the like.

Experience of Nucleus Work.

1. In the case of the majority of the Sections of the Communist International the practical work of building up nuclei began only after the Fifth Congress. Nevertheless, the period that has elapsed since then has been sufficient to allow us to draw certain fundamental conclusions from the experience of the largest of our West European Communist Parties in regard to the work of the factory nuclei in the capitalist countries.

The first and most general, and, at the same time most essential, of these conclusions must be the answer to the question — were the factory and workshop nuclei an artificially disseminated form of organisation? The practical experience of all our parties forces us to the directly contrary conclusion.

The factory nuclei have by no means proved to be a form of organisation mechanically transferred from Russia and inapplicable to Western European conditions. They have justified themselves in the West too as the fundamental basis of Party organisation, most closely associated with the working class masses and the most capable of studying the moods of the masses and of winning them over for the Communist Party.

2. In spite of the fact that the functions of the factory nuclei have been admitted in principle, there nevertheless exists in certain sections of the CI or in certain of the organisations of these Sections, a lack of confidence in the new form of organisation and a fear of the final break with the past which is involved in the transition to the factory and workshop nuclei. The recognition of the necessity of reorganisation is in some places accompanied by a preference for the old form of organisation, and by an endeavour to combine both forms of Party structure, or, at least, to delay reconstruction on the basis of factory and workshop nuclei. This organisational conservatism and preference for old forms often results in the creation of dead or passive nuclei. The practical work of transformation must be pursued with the utmost determination. The nuclei must be connected up directly with the corresponding Party organs, and after the establishment of such connections between the nuclei and the corresponding Party organisation in the respective ward, city division or town the former local residential organisations must be dissolved.

3. It cannot be denied that there are many obstacles in the way of putting the factory nucleus, on a working footing.

The chief of these are the growing persecution exerted by the government and the masters, unemployment, which is prevalent in many countries, the fact that the worker lives at a distance from his factory, the scattered condition of Communists in small works, etc., etc. As a result of these difficulties (especially if the reorganisation is not encouraged by the leading Party organs) the Communist worker may develop an attitude of passivity and apathy towards the nuclei, a disinclination to pass from the old settled and peaceful order to the new order which demands a certain amount of sacrifice. The Party will only be in a position to prevent these moods arising or to eliminate them where they exist by recognising the absolute necessity for reorganisation, and only if its leading organs make the Party policy clear to all its members and direct the efforts and attention of the latter towards work in the nuclei, towards issuing true, tried and vital slogans, and to explaining them to the members. Unless the nuclei have grasped the Party slogans, there can be no question of the Party developing, and still less of mobilising the wide masses of the workers for these slogans.

4. In certain sections the nuclei have obviously served to enliven the work of the Party, and in France, Bulgaria and Italy have enabled the Party to get into closer contact with the non-Party masses. This fact alone is enough to awaken the activity of the nuclei members. But we must endeavour to create such a situation that the nucleus feels itself to be an integral part of the Party, **participating in its activities, manifesting and carrying out its aims.** To attain this, all leading Party organs, from the top down, must take care that the nuclei take part in settling fundamental Party problems or in the campaigns led by the Party.

5. The leading Party organs should therefore never decide on questions of any importance to the Party or the working class other than in conjunction with the nuclei except when a quick decision is indispensable. This applies most of all to questions which directly affect the lives and material interests of the working masses (as for instance, the cost of living, trade union unity, scandalous trials affecting the social democrats, unrest in the army, etc.). To pass over any of such questions in silence, or to react to them by means of one or two ordinary articles in the press, or to restrict them to the decisions of the superior Party organs, without setting the nuclei into movement, would mean working for the destruction of the latter and to pursue a path leading away from **Bolshevism.**

6. Even in the sections of the C.I. where the factory nuclei have been definitely set up and have been made the basis of Party organisation either in the whole or certain parts of the country, comrades have noted a lack of political life in the nuclei. This is to be explained not only by the fact that the nuclei do not discuss all Party problems, but also by the fact that functions have not been properly distributed among the nuclei members, and to a large extent because questions are not made sufficiently clear. In order that the factory nuclei should carry on political life it is essential that they should be absolutely clear as to the tasks which face the Party at any given time and of the most essential and vital tasks of the moment. While being clearly enlightened as to the final aims of the Party, the nuclei should be given clear and concrete understanding of the immediate tasks on which they are to be active.

7. The leading Party organs must therefore take care that the questions which are entrusted to the nuclei should be presented in the most corresponding and most appropriate form. Such questions must be dealt with in the nuclei in a manner most accessible and comprehensible to the Communist worker; this, for instance, can be very easily done in connection with the question of Leninism and Trotskyism, the expulsion of politically dangerous groups (Rosmer-Monatte) etc. It is to a still greater extent essential to treat in this manner the great political questions directly affecting the whole of the working class of a given country (the Dawes Plan and its effect in worsening the position of the working class, the fight against fascism, etc.)

8. All this demands a certain "mobilisation" of the Party apparatus for increased activity in the nuclei. Beginning with the most careful preparation of the Party slogans and Party problems so as to make them accessible to the understanding of the working class masses, the task of the whole Party apparatus, and especially the local Party organs, should be to instruct the nuclei, and to prepare and work out material for the use of the nuclei, so that the widest participation of the nuclei in the discussion of questions and forming of decisions should be possible. This requires above all the summoning of conferences of secretaries of the nuclei, the arrangement of instructive meetings for them, and for instructors and propagandists, the sending out of information letters to nuclei, etc. The agitational and propaganda committees, the Party press, etc., should similarly adapt their activities for the supply of the nuclei with materials.

9. It is particularly important that the local Party committee should supervise the work of the nuclei bureaux. The bureau must enjoy influence and be capable of giving instructions as to how tasks entrusted to individual members in the factory nuclei are to be carried out and supervising the fulfilment of these duties. Moreover, the local Party organ must see to it that the bureau draws up proper agendas for general meetings of the nuclei, appoints speakers from among the members of the nuclei, and through the local Party Committee invite more powerful speakers when questions are discussed which are too complicated for the nuclei to deal with itself. It must finally see to it that the bureau rapidly carries into effect the decisions of the general meetings of the nucleus.

Should the nucleus happen to be weak and unable to set up an effective bureau from among its own members, the Party Committee should appoint competent and capable comrades not working in the very factory to take charge of the nucleus work in the factory concerned. This measure is particularly applicable in countries where the best of our comrades are driven from the factories by the masters. In particular this

linking up with factory nuclei should wherever possible include leading Party workers (members of the C.C., parliamentary fractions, etc.).

The strengthening of the bureau will be also revealed in its capacity to distribute the work properly among all the members of the nucleus, entrusting to each member such tasks as he is most inclined and most capable of carrying out and which forces him, to get in closer touch with the workers of the factory by which way the latter will get in closer contact with the nucleus. At the same time the nucleus must embrace all fields of the multifarious work in the factory — above all, the creation and guidance of the fraction in the factory committee, trade union work, workshop activity, work among women, the youth and foreign workers, etc., etc. (for the distribution of nucleus work, see the resolution on Party Structure adopted by the Org Conference). The French comrades must develop, test and carefully study the methods they use of work in nuclei commissions, in order that their experience may be made available in other countries.

10. A peculiarity of our nuclei is the secret character of their activities, which is necessitated by the persecution to which the nuclei are liable by the employers and the police. It must be categorically stated that the tendency to shield the factory or workshop nucleus for this reason from contact with workers who are not members of the nucleus and to prevent the entrance of new members from the workers' midst is a dangerous deviation liable of doing the utmost harm to the activity of the nuclei and to the influence of the Communist Party over the working class masses.

11. As a rule, questions affecting the life of the factory occupy, and rightly occupy, a most important place on the agenda of the general meeting of the nuclei. Nevertheless, a tendency is observable on the part of the nuclei to regard such questions from a too narrow and local point of view. This narrow and local outlook is one of the weak points in the work of the nuclei, and it is the duty of the respective Party organs to endeavour to associate all local questions with the general policy of the Party and to use them as examples for illustrating fundamental political and tactical principles.

But also in connection with wider questions, such as municipal and parliamentary elections, fights for amnesty, etc., in which all Party nuclei should take active part, every Communist Party should be able to illuminate the more fundamental side of the question, and to make use of it in order to train the members of its nuclei by practical work in the spirit of Bolshevism.

12. Varying attitudes have been displayed towards the street nuclei by our West European Parties. While the French Communist Party is opposed to the setting up of such nuclei in its country, other Parties (Italian, Czechoslovakian, etc.), recognise the need for street nuclei.

In this connection it should be stated that the creation of street nuclei has two aims in view: firstly, not to leave out of the organisation Party members who cannot belong to the factory nuclei, and secondly to make possible communist work among workers and employees according to their place of residence for Party members working at a great distance from their homes by the corresponding Party committees.

Experience, although still not sufficient for a general conclusion, seems to show that haphazard dissolution of the street nuclei and the distribution of their members among the industrial nuclei should be avoided. At the same time it is necessary to study the work of street nuclei on the basis of practical experience.

Resolution on Factory Newspapers.

(Approved by the Orgbureau of the E. C. C. I. on May 4th 1925.)

1. The reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei is aimed at building up the Parties in such a way that their influence can penetrate deeply into the working class masses. Factory newspapers, which even in capitalist countries are spreading more and more, represent one of the means for the factory nuclei to approach the workers in the factories, to penetrate deeper into their midst, and by means of the factory newspaper exercise Communist influence which furthers the work of drawing the broad masses of workers and employees into political life. For this reason, the Sections of the CI must devote great attention to the factory newspapers.

2. In contrast to the large Communist press, the factory newspapers cater only for a comparatively limited circle of readers, (the workers of a certain factory or of several factories). The contents of the factory newspapers are consequently based on factory events, on the events and everyday experiences of the workers in the factory. By means of factory newspapers it is possible to reach also the more backward workers for whom the general Party press is unsuitable, to develop the class-consciousness of these proletarian sections by explaining the actual facts of the world surrounding them, and to illuminate these facts politically. They bring them closer to the normal Party papers and secure subscribers for them. The factory newspaper has an advantage in comparison with the general Party press in this respect — it can penetrate deeper into the working class masses, it can link up with the facts of the workers life, give answers in the Communist spirit to those questions which are most concrete, most closely connected with and most easily understood by the workers.

3. In consequence of this peculiarity, the factory newspaper is one of the most effective instruments of the factory nucleus for extending the circles of sympathising masses gathering round the nucleus, increasing their political activity, and drawing them into political life. The factory newspaper represents not only an intensive agitator for the factory. It makes the first step in the direction of rallying and organising the working class masses round the Communist Party.

4. The factory newspaper is very well adapted for calling forth the first impulses for participation in the Party press, and then to develop them further in this direction. By means of the factory newspaper, the corps of worker correspondents men and women, can be trained for the big Party papers.

5. In the course of time which has elapsed since the appearance of the first factory newspaper, great results have been achieved especially in Germany and France. In Germany alone the number of factory newspapers is already near a thousand. In France they are already running into hundreds. There are factory newspapers in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Italy and Switzerland, and other Communist Parties are also engaged in organising factory newspapers. The experiences collected until now show that in many places various kinds of mistakes have been made. The following are the most important:

a) In many places there is a tendency to regard factory newspapers as organs for dealing solely with economic questions, without connection with the policy of the Party; indeed, even excludes the discussion of political questions.

b) Others, on the other hand, deal with political questions, but without linking them up with the questions, of the factory or without concrete essential facts.

c) Some newspapers are filled up with long uninteresting facts.

d) Some newspapers are written by comrades who are not familiar with the internal situation of the factory, who are unacquainted with the factory nucleus, and thus do away with the spirit of the factory newspaper, and compose and edit them on the same lines as the big newspapers.

e) Prohibited Party papers are often replaced by factory bloc newspapers. Thus it happens that when they appear, the individual factory newspapers are consciously abandoned. In

this way the fundamental demands made upon the factory newspapers are left out of consideration, namely, the greatest possible initiative of the masses and the deepest penetration of the masses.

f) The issue of many factory newspapers is regarded as an occasional, transitory task and is thus limited only to definite rare campaigns.

But the development of some factory newspapers show that these mistakes are being gradually overcome.

6. In order to fulfil their tasks factory newspapers take the following into consideration when determining their contents:

a) To deal with the questions simply and briefly.

b) To put the questions in such a way that the worker can quite naturally draw direct political conclusions.

c) To avoid abstract matters, and discuss everything in a concrete way. The great political questions must not be treated abstractly: whenever possible, the discussion of these questions must lead to local questions, however small.

d) To describe the conflicts of the workers with the employers and the questions concerning the life of workers (also the life in other factories) insofar as they interest the workers. (Differences in wages in the same branches of industry, the course of the greater strikes, the reasons for their defeat, how a victorious strike must be conducted, etc.)

e) To eliminate the stereotyped character of the newspaper. Every factory must place its imprint on its factory newspaper. From beginning to end newspapers must act as a mirror of the factory, and not a product of professional journalists.

7. The factory newspaper is the organ of the nucleus. Its appearance is a test of the stability and vitality of the factory nucleus. That is why the enemy, the employer and the state, mobilise everything against the factory newspapers. In issuing the factory newspaper, the following must be taken into consideration:

a) Under the pressure of the terror of the employers, open issue of the factory nucleus paper is impossible even for legal Parties. The editors and also the technical compilers must be known only to the leaders of the nuclei. The distribution of the paper must be conducted in conformity with conditions, also entirely on the quiet.

b) The tendency of a centralised composition and make up of the factory papers by the higher Party officials, which results in the actual exclusion or weakening of the participation of the workers of the factories in question in their factory newspapers, can have nothing but bad results. The paper must be compiled by the members of the nucleus. Only in this way will it be possible to draw more and more workers to participation in the paper, and thus to bring about the desired activity and political development of the masses.

c) The nucleus papers must be financed by the nucleus itself. A constant regular financing of the paper by the higher Party organs, which would eliminate the efforts of the workers in the factory to contribute their own means, would have had effects and most probably lead to a very rapid collapse of the nucleus paper.

d) As a rule the factory nucleus must issue its own paper. Papers of entire concerns or of neighbouring factories are admissible, but they must not become an obstacle to the issue of individual factory papers.

e) The good technical composition of the factory newspaper facilitates the achievement of the aim which we have adopted. The title of the sheet must be well chosen, drawings and cartoons make the nucleus paper attractive — slogans, brief quotations, political humor contribute to the variety of the paper and facilitate the approach to the masses.

8. The factory nucleus puts a column of its newspaper at the disposal of the Youth unless this is rendered unnecessary by the existence of special Youth nuclei papers.

9. In factories in which workers are engaged who speak a foreign language, it would be desirable to have special columns which are edited in the languages in question.

10. The publication of the factory paper is subject to the

guidance and control of the factory nucleus committee. The respective Party committee endeavours to provide for the publication of factory newspapers in those factories where none exist as yet. For the Party the instructions of the factory newspapers is of great significance. The respective Party committees must achieve this by discussion, conferences, written directions, etc.

Model Statutes for the Sections of the C.I.*)

(Approved by the Orgbureau of the E. C. C. I. on May 5th 1925.)

The model statutes for the sections of the Communist International were compiled by the Org Department. They will occupy a special place at the International Org Conference. They are being published in *Inprecorr* for the purpose of giving the sections the opportunity of dealing with the questions and of preparing any proposals or alterations which they consider necessary for their own countries.

I. Name of the Party.

1. The Communist Party is a Section of the Communist International and is called: Communist Party Section of the Communist International.

II. Party Membership.

2. Whoever recognises the programme and statutes of the Communist International and of the Communist Party, who is a member of one of the basic sub-organisations of the Party, who is active in this organisation, who subordinates himself to all the decisions of the Comintern, and of the Party, and who regularly pays his membership dues, may be a member of the Party.

3. New members are accepted through the Party nucleus. The acceptance must be ratified by the municipal district leadership or the sub-district leadership.

(Note: In countries in which the Parties work illegally or semi-illegally the recommendation of several Party members is required in accepting a new member.)

4. In cases of the entrance of groups from other political organisations or entire Party organisations in the Communist Party, the Central Committee must decide whether or not to accept them into the Party.

(Note: In cases of transfer of leading persons from other parties, their acceptance by the town district leadership or sub-district leadership must be endorsed by the Central Committee.)

5. In cases of change of jobs the member of the factory nuclei must report both to the old and the new factory nucleus leadership. In cases of change of residence the member of a street nucleus must report both the old and new street nucleus leadership.

In case a Party member emigrates to another country he must obtain the permission of the Central Committee of the Party. (See Paragraph 35 of the CI Statutes.) The application to the CC in this respect must be made through the proper Party authority.

III. The Structure of the Party.

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

*) The purpose of these statutes is to give the sections of the CI a model on the basis of which they can substitute their out-of-date statutes by new ones in accordance with the new demands.

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

b) 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.

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

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

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

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

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

(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 foundations, 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 subdistrict 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 form street nuclei. If there should be no factory nucleus, estate or agricultural enterprise, then the Communists residing in the village should be united in a village nucleus.)

§ 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, distribution 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. The nucleus executive elects the nucleus leader.

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 Sub-District Organisation.

§ 20. 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.

§ 21. 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 as a rule at least half yearly. The Sub-District Committee elects the Sub-District Secretary in agreement with the District Committee.

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

of the Sub-District Committee and elects the Sub-District Committee.

§ 23. 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.

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

VII. The District Organisation.

§ 25. 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.

§ 26. 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 District Committee also elects the District Secretary, whose 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. The district committee is obliged to consider the candidacy of the secretary together with the central committee before the election of such.

§ 27. 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.

§ 28. 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.

§ 29. 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.

VIII. The Party Conference.

§ 30. The Party Conference meets twice every 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 discussion of the Party conference in an advisory capacity without voting rights.

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

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

IX. The Party Congress.

§ 33. The Party Congress is the highest authority of the Party and as a rule is called once a year by the Central Committee 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 should a number of organisations, which represented the half of the members of the Party Congress, demand the convention of a 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 consist 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.

§ 34. 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.

§ 35. 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.

X. The Central Committee.

§ 36. 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.

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

§ 38. The Central Committee elects from its midst a Political Bureau for conducting the political work, an Organisational Bureau for conducting 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: § 38 applies only to the larger Parties; in the smaller Parties it is sufficient if the Central Committee elects a Presidium from its own members.)

§ 39. The Central Committee organises bodies for definite branches of its work, as well as for organisation, Agit-prop, trade unions, peasant, women, etc., whose task it is to conduct the work under the complete control of the Central Committee in their particular spheres, along the general policies laid down by the Central Committee. These bodies are to carry out the decisions through the Central Committee.

§ 40. 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.

XI. The Central Auditing Commission.

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

XII. Party Discipline.

§ 42. The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all the Party members and all Party organisations. The decisions of the CI, 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.

§ 43. 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 exercise 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.

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

§ 45. 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 comes into effect after the 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 organ as a general rule.

(45a — 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.)

XIII. The Finances of the Party.

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

§ 47. 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.

§ 48. 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.

XIV. Fractions.

§ 49. In all non-Party worker and peasant organisations and branches (trade unions, cooperatives, cultural societies, educational societies, sport and other clubs, war participants, factory councils, unemployed, at Congresses and Conferences, in local administrative 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.

§ 50. 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 question 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 higher Party authority. But in spite of the appeal, the fraction must carry out the decision of the Party Committee.

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

§ 52. 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 reason for such measures have been explained to the fraction.

§ 53. 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.

§ 54. 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 these who break this rule are subjected to disciplinary measures by the Party authorities.

XV. Relation to the Communist Youth.

§ 55. Between all executives of the Party organisation and the Communist Youth from the nucleus up to the Central Committee, mutual representation with voting rights is established. Further, the Communist Youth receives the right to representation at all Party Conferences in accordance with its strength.

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