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## DECISIONS

### of the Second Org. Conference of the Sections of the C.I.

(10th to 17th February 1926.)

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### *Resolution on Factory and Street Nuclei.*

Endorsed by the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.

#### I.

##### The Most Important Results since the Org. Conference:

1. Since the I International Org. Conference (March 1925) the reorganisation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei has made considerable progress. The ideological oppositions which hitherto appeared in various Parties, or various organisations of the Parties against reorganisation were overcome with the exception of a very few remnants. In the most important Parties of the Comintern (including especially the German, Czecho-Slovakian, French, Italian, British and American) Factory Nuclei have already been formed which have developed and maintained themselves essentially as the basic unit of the Party. In some Parties entire urban, local and sub-district organisations have been reorganised upon the new basis of factory nuclei. In all Parties, even in the smallest, at least some functioning factory nuclei were formed.

2. On the basis of these results of the past period, the practice of practically all Parties has shown once and for all:

a) The factory nucleus is the fittest basic unit also for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries.

b) The reorganisation on the basis of factory nuclei improves the social composition of the Communist Parties and their organs; strengthens the influence of the lower organisations on the Party Executives; creates a close relationship between Party organs and Party membership, it raises the activity of the Party members and thus guarantees the realisation of democratic centralism within the Party.

c) The factory nuclei have shown themselves the best support in the struggle with Ultra-Left and Right groups, and the best guarantee for the carrying out of the line of the Comintern.

d) The factory nuclei, through their daily work in the factory in defending the interests of the workers and in enlightening them, strengthen and assure the influence of the Party among the non-Party as well as Social Democratic working masses: they make possible a fruitful application of the United Front tactics and are an important pre-condition for successful work

of winning the non-Party mass organisations, especially the trade unions.

The factory nuclei comprehended better than the residential organisations the finding of a common language and platform with the Social Democratic workers in the everyday work of the factory. The movement for the formation of the United Front Committee, the campaign for the strengthening of the trade unions through the recruiting of new members, the control of the trade union affiliation of the factory workers, etc., met with the best successes through the activity of the factory nuclei.

e) The arguments of opponents of reorganisation to the effect that, while the factory nuclei might be adapted to the conduct of factory work, they were inapplicable to the waging of political campaigns (e. g. for the election of representative bodies) and that for this reason, the old residential groups (groups of 10) should not be dissolved — have all been liquidated by practice. Experience has shown that wherever the factory nuclei are drawn into the work, they have conducted unexcelled election work and other political mass activities. Thus cases may already be cited in which the factory nuclei through their work in the factories mobilised the workers of entire localities, and e. g. influenced the work of the municipal parliament, etc.

f) The issue of factory papers, where well edited, skillfully circulated and regularly issued, has shown itself an important instrument in the work of the factory nuclei. In many factories the issue of the factory paper is awaited with great interest by the workers, and anxiously demanded when for any reason its appearance is delayed. There are factory papers which pass from hand to hand and overstep the bounds of the factory to continue their excellent agitational effects. Others again found such active circulation that they had to appear in several editions.

g) For the organisation of those members not working in factories (housewives, intellectuals, artisans, etc.) and for the purpose of their most useful application in Party work, the formation of street nuclei is necessary.

h) The street nucleus has shown itself in practice, a necessary organisation. The experience of our reorganisation hitherto has taught that contiguous to the factory nucleus which must constitute as heretofore the chief basis of the Party, the street nucleus for the time is a necessary basic organisation for uniting and drawing into regular Party work those members not engaged in the factories. It has certain additional functions which are either impossible of accomplishment by the factory nucleus, or which can be done but inadequately by it.

Each of these points has been confirmed in different ways in the practice of nucleus work of the various Communist Parties. In this "proof from life itself" is found the decisive significance of reorganisation work of the Communist Parties in recent months.

## II.

### Mistakes and Shortcomings:

3. A careful investigation of the status of work and structure in factory nuclei now existing in the various Parties, discloses along with the afore-mentioned important successes also a number of shortcomings and mistakes, the causes of which are:

a) In a number of objective difficulties in various factories (Economic crises, employers' terror, etc.)

b) Confusion concerning structure and functions of the nuclei.

c) The ideological campaign with regard to reorganisation, although improved, is not always conducted with sufficient breadth and thoroughness.

d) The insufficient training of the Party masses.

e) The prolonged co-existence of organisations based on residential areas and factories (everlasting reorganisation) and.

f) The inadequate support of the nuclei by the lower Party executives (particularly when in connection with reorganisation of the basis of the Party there does not follow the reorganisation of the lower executives up to the district, or county, region executives, especially from the viewpoint of support to the factory nuclei and the predication of their work upon these).

The characteristic mistakes and shortcomings are.

a) On the Field of Forming the Nuclei:

Sometimes the formation of the nuclei is planless and unsystematic in that they are left entirely to the initiative of the workers in the factory instead of beginning and carrying them

to a conclusion systematically, step by step, section by section, city by city. Or else it is together too involved, including a complicated registration which is often never finished and often repeated and which does not enlist on the most extensive scale the initiative of the Party membership in the factories and in the lower executives. In both cases there developed the state of "everlasting reorganisation", the co-existence of factory nuclei and old residential organisations, which seriously impinges upon Party work and often leads to the dissolution of factory nuclei already formed.

On the other hand, there was a real tendency, in view of the weakness of the nuclei after reorganisation, to put the chief weight of work into the nuclei groups rather than into the nuclei, resulting inevitably in a weakening of the work of the latter.

It is undeniably to be ascribed to mistakes in reorganisation when, as happened in various cases, large numbers of members are lost in the reorganisation process. One of these mistakes is the categorical notice that after a certain time Party membership is forfeited by all who thereafter are attached neither to a factory nor a street nucleus, without emphasising the duty of the respective executives and functionaries, 1) to investigate why this or that member was lost in the reorganisation process and 2) to do everything possible to transfer all comrades into the nuclei.

b) In the Structure of the Nuclei:

To some extent too many comrades, who work either in another factory or in none, are attached to the factory nuclei. Cases have arisen in practice where of 37 members of the nucleus only 10 actually work in the factory in question while 27 were attached (France).

In some cases the wives of members were attached to the factory nucleus.

In large enterprises, in cases where a strong nucleus is organised in enterprises extending over several buildings, departments or sections, and where difficulties arise in the work and leadership of the whole nucleus due to distance or factory regulations, the assignment of department delegates, or the formation of department nuclei was neglected. On the other hand, joint nuclei were established for various factories not under one roof (especially municipal enterprises, tramways, etc.) and were sometimes (as in the case of tramway depots) located in various parts of the city.

There were also attempts to form so-called industrial nuclei (branches) of members working in small enterprises of a certain trade.

Numerous nuclei still have no nucleus executive (nucleus bureau), but only a nucleus secretary who often exercises only technical functions. Where an executive does not exist it is often incomplete. No departments are as yet created for important functions (e. g. Agitprop work). To some extent the executives have altogether purely technical functions: dues collection, literature sale, etc., and do not carry out any planful leading activity of the nucleus.

In many cases the nucleus bureau or nucleus secretary were elected for too long a period, e. g. for a whole year.

c) In the Work of the Nuclei:

1) **Deficient Political Activity.** The decisive shortcomings in the work of the nuclei is that in the majority of cases they have not yet learned to develop political activity. They do not concern themselves sufficiently either with the work of the Party nor have they the capacity of combining the purely factory work with the political problems raised by the Party. The nuclei react chiefly only to the everyday questions arising in the factories. Thus it happens that, as is apparent from many nucleus reports, the influence of the nucleus is "economically good, politically negligible", that the Communists have won the confidence of their fellow workers in economic questions, while the Social Democrats influence the workers politically. There are, of course, also cases in which the nucleus restricts itself entirely to abstract political questions, while it ignores completely the defence of the interests of the factory workers, thereby isolating itself completely within the factory.

2) **Incautious Methods of Work.** Another serious defect consists in that many factory nuclei have not yet learned to adopt the proper invisible methods of work, which are conducive to constant and energetic activity on the part of the nucleus members, and save them from falling victims to the terror of employers and governments, or endangering the regular work of the nucleus. In practice this has already led to great disintegration in

nucleus work, especially when unemployment grows as a result of economic crisis and the working forces are reduced in many factories. The employers do not miss such opportunities to clean out Communists who have become known to them. With this there is often connected the neglect of surrounding the nuclei with a panel of sympathisers and in maintaining constant close contact with them.

3) **In the Everyday Work of the Nuclei.** The following shortcomings are noted: a lack of systematic planful work, and painstaking organising and distribution of work. When individual active nucleus members are discharged who hitherto were the initiators of nucleus work the whole activity of the nucleus begins to hibernate because the question of replacing and educating individual functionaries within the nucleus has not yet been considered. The nucleus meetings are still too long, poorly prepared, uninteresting and irregular. The reports indicate that many nuclei meetings do not adopt decisions on the questions taken up.

4) **Communist Factory Council Fraction and Nucleus.** The relationship of the communist members of the factory council to the nucleus is still often unsatisfactory. The factory nucleus executives still give too little direction, and exercise too little control over instructions given the Communist fractions in the factory councils. Many factory councillors refuse to carry out the decisions of the nucleus while on the other hand, in some nuclei the opinion prevails that the work of Communists in the Factory Council is a substitute for their own activity.

There is still lack of clarity on the matter that the function of the Communist fraction in the factory councils differs from that of the nucleus, that the Factory Council fraction is subordinate to the nucleus under whose direction it works.

5) **The Issue of Factory Papers.** A special defect must be indicated in that although the great agitational and organisational value of factory papers has been clearly proved, their number in certain countries in the course of the current period has declined sharply, particularly in Germany and their publication has become much more irregular.

The respective lower executives give too little help to the nuclei in issuing the factory papers by means of instructions, co-operation, examples, materials and other means. On the other hand, these papers are often prepared by the lower Party executives instead of by the nuclei; in this way, one of the most important methods of activating and increasing the self-reliance of the nuclei is infringed upon.

d) **In the Formation of Street Nuclei.** In practically all countries it is to be noted that quite generally comrades were enrolled in the street nuclei whose organisational affiliation in factory nuclei encountered certain but in no way insurmountable difficulties, e. g. unemployed, building tradesmen, railwaymen, harbour workers, transport workers, etc., In addition many such members who opposed the organisation and systematic shop work of factory nuclei, were able to anchor themselves within the street nuclei, (sometimes with the silent support of lower executives and leading comrades who were unconvinced of the correctness of the Party reorganisation). In this connection and for the reason that our Parties, to some extent, lack members in the key industry, we find in many places that the larger part of the membership is organised in street nuclei and that they dominate the factory nuclei.

Lack of clarity still prevails in the question of the size of the territory for street nuclei. Thus it was decided that within the territory of a nucleus group only one street nucleus was permissible in the formation of street nuclei with 350 members.

All the shortcomings and mistakes in structure and work of the nuclei here outlined, can nevertheless not depreciate the important results attained on this field in the course of recent months; be the number of nuclei formed still small, may many of them be still weak and working badly, — the fact that already today in Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain and other countries, there are in important big factories Communist nuclei doing good work, multiplying the activity of the members, directing the worker's struggle against the employer, strengthening and deepening the power and influence of the Party in the political struggles among the workers, has proved that only by the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of factory nuclei can one of the most important pre-conditions of Bolshevisation be achieved.

### III.

#### The next tasks of the Party.

The most important tasks of the Parties are:

a) **Completion of the Reorganisation.** Its systematic and planful continuance in which also the initiative of the members working in the factories and the lower executives must be adequately fostered and considered; complete enrollment of all members of the Party working in the factories in the factory nuclei; those working outside factories, in street nuclei; (according to the instructions on factory — and street nuclei) careful control and application of all measures to prevent the loss of even a single member through reorganisation.

b) **Connection of the reorganisation with a constant and systematic recruiting activity in large factories, concentration upon the winning of members in the large factories where no nucleus could as yet be formed.**

c) **Improvement of the structure of the factory nuclei:** restriction of membership of factory nuclei to the Party members actually working in the said factory, and certain comrades working in no factory or in a small enterprise in the vicinity, where no factory nucleus can be formed, or as individuals in a large factory in the vicinity where a factory nucleus is to be formed with the support of other nuclei; removal of all such comrades ineligible under this rule for membership in the factory nucleus and their organisation in street nuclei, or if employed in factories, in factory nuclei;

Allotment of woman comrades insofar as they work in factories to the factory nucleus existing there, or, in case such cannot be formed, to a factory or street nucleus in the vicinity of the factory with the support of which nucleus they are to take up the work of forming a factory nucleus in their own enterprise. If these women comrades are not employed in a factory (housewives) they are attached to the street nucleus of their residential section. Home workers are as a rule attached to the factory nucleus of the enterprise for which they work.

d) **Constitution of Capable and Really Active Executives in all Factory nuclei.** (All Party executives are to give effective aid through instructors and by organising circles for the various department chiefs.)

e) **Activation of the Factory Nuclei:** we must achieve: the systematic attraction of the factory nuclei in all branches of party work; decision of all party questions in the factory nuclei, attitude towards conferences and congresses; attraction of the factory nucleus in all political campaigns and actions (elections, recruiting campaigns, etc.); the connection of the everyday factory work of the nucleus with the major political tasks of the Party; a systematic training of nucleus members and functionaries; steady work of the nucleus executive; the attraction of all Nucleus members for Party work.

f) **Improvement of the Factory Nucleus Method of Work.**

1. With regard to the daily work among the factory workers by means of constant instruction of individual nucleus members and interchange of experiences;

2. with regard to the avoidance of terroristic persecution on the part of the employers and their State power.

g) **Constant and Regular Publication of Factory Papers by the Nuclei in the Large Factories; Improvement of their Contents.**

h) **Reorganisation of Executives and their Work, Improvement of Party Press, Working out of Directions, instructions, preparation of the Party's Campaigns and actions from the viewpoint of Supporting the work of the Factory Nuclei.**

i) **Many sided aid to the Factory Nucleus of the Y. C. L., Aid in Establishing Youth Nuclei where such do not Exist.**

j) **Correction of the Mistakes in the Structure of the Street Nuclei:** The attachment of comrades who are employed or working in enterprises, of building tradesmen, railwaymen, harbour workers, transport workers, etc., to street nuclei is as a rule impermissible. On the other hand, the allotment of such factory nuclei members who live far from the factory and for this reason are unable to carry on any steady Party work after hours in their factory nucleus, for work in the street nucleus where they live, must be better organised.

The field of activity of the street nucleus must not be larger than one street, one block of houses or similar division in the territory of one nucleus group. Exceptions are permissible only when the number of respective members in such a district is too small.

# Instructions concerning the Structure and the Work of Factory and Street Nuclei.

Endorsed by the Org. Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.

## I.

### STRUCTURE AND FORMATION OF FACTORY NUCLEI.

#### Who Belongs to the Factory Nucleus?

In all enterprises, in all municipal and state institutions, offices, shops, etc., where at least three comrades are employed, factory nuclei of the C. P. are to be formed. To them belong:

- a) All Party members employed in the enterprise.
- b) Unemployed comrades, as long as they have not found work in another enterprise and joined the factory nucleus there.

**Note:** Unemployed comrades, who because of the distance of their place of living have difficulties to participate regularly in the work of the nucleus, can be transferred for work from their nucleus to a factory nucleus near their place of living, but only with the agreement of the respective Party executive.

c) A few comrades who live in the vicinity of the nucleus and are either not employed in any enterprise or are employed in small enterprises in which it is impossible to form a factory nucleus. It is also recommended to attach to the factory nuclei comrades who work alone in big enterprises of the neighbourhood, so that with the help of the nucleus which he has joined it will be possible for this comrade to work for the formation of a nucleus in his own work place. These comrades are to be utilised particularly for tasks which would expose nuclei members employed in the enterprise to the terrorism of the employer (for instance participation in the making up and circulation of the factory newspaper, distribution of leaflets, handbills, etc.).

As to the continued membership in a factory nucleus of the members who have become unemployed in that enterprise, the decision rests in each particular case with the sub-section executive and in the event of the non-existence of sub-section divisions, with the section or Sub-District Executive.

The assignment of the attached comrades mentioned above (c) is also done by the Sub-Section executive (or section or sub-district executives) within whose area the factory nucleus is located. When assigning such comrades, care should be taken that their number should represent only a small section of the number of comrades employed in the enterprise. Opposite cases, as in the past, when the number of comrades employed in the enterprise formed only a small fraction of the nucleus bearing the name of the respective enterprise, are inadmissible. They are not workable because the majority of their members cannot do Party work on the actual field of the nucleus' activity — in the respective enterprise. The comrades assigned to a factory should as a rule constitute only a small percentage of the nucleus membership.

**Note:** In big enterprises, comprising several works or otherwise divided into departments, as soon as the factory nucleus is firmly established, its division into department, works or workshop nuclei should be undertaken. (In mines the division can even be according to pits if their area is very extensive or if the various pits are at a great distance from one another.)

These department nuclei are not independent bodies but are subordinate to the nucleus as a whole. They are formed for the sole purpose of more effective work in the various departments of the enterprise and of a more concrete application of the directions given by the Party. Moreover such nuclei are not to be formed, especially at first, in all enterprises which are divided into departments or works. It will be expedient in many cases simply to appoint department heads for the various departments, etc. On the other hand, independent nuclei can be formed for the various production units in very big enterprises covering a big area embracing various production units when the number of members employed in these various branches of production is big enough for this. In that case, the various nuclei of this big enterprise form a sub-section.

There are certain difficulties in connection with this structure of nuclei in big enterprises where the work is done by shifts. In this case too department nuclei will be as a rule the only possible sub-division. Exceptions can only be made if the shift arrangement is of a permanent character, be it only for a few months. In such cases, in the event that the appointment of heads will not suffice, shift nuclei can be formed within the nucleus, these shift nuclei being subordinate to the nucleus as a whole just as in the case of department nuclei.

#### The General Nucleus Membership Meeting.

This is to take place as a rule once a week on a fixed day. In factory nuclei divided into department nuclei, etc., the general membership meetings of the entire nucleus are to be held fortnightly and at a time (probably on Sundays) when all members can attend. In the intervening week the department nuclei, etc., can hold their meetings.

Apart from these regular meetings, short consultations on pressing nucleus work can be held, especially in their smaller nuclei they can be organised by department nuclei, etc., (during the noon interval or immediately after working hours) wherever conditions permit the holding of secret meetings.

#### Invitations to Meetings

are not to be issued by public announcements in the press etc., but be affected as far as possible personally through members of the nucleus executive, assistant cashiers, or departments heads. Invitations to meetings by post are also admissible, but in no case by means of open post-cards or printed matter.

Invitations to factory nucleus meetings through the press are only permissible in exceptional cases and only when a special cipher or pseudonym has been adopted for the various factory nuclei. And even then the day, hour and place of meeting must not be mentioned. (For instance: "The cover name or number meeting of nucleus will take place at the usual hour in the usual place", or "the nucleus meeting 25 a, is called off", etc.).

#### Time and Place of Nucleus Meetings.

Nucleus meetings are to be held soon after the closing of the factory (the only exception being when all the factory workers live in a settlement attached to the factory), if possible in some hall in the vicinity of the factory or if the number of members is small in the home of one of the comrades. These meetings must be well prepared and must begin punctually. As a rule they should not have more than two items on the agenda and carefully formulated decisions must be made with respect to each of them. Minutes must be kept of all these meetings (in a cautious form, and applying pseudonyms to the comrades) which are to be sent to the higher executive.

Special nucleus membership meetings are to be held every three and at the utmost four months, at which the nucleus executive must report on work done and at which new elections take place.

#### Election of the Nucleus Executive.

The nucleus executive is to be elected at the first membership meeting of the factory nucleus. At first this will be as a rule only a provisional nucleus executive to which the next higher executive can also assign some comrades. When the nucleus is to some extent firmly established and its members have reached a certain degree of activity the final election of the nucleus executive must take place.

#### Size of the Nucleus Executive.

The numerical strength of the nucleus executive depends on the size of the area of activity of the nucleus and also on the size of the nucleus. In nuclei containing more than ten members it should be composed of at least three comrades. As a rule a nucleus executive should never contain more than 15 comrades.



In factory nuclei with a membership of less than ten it is sufficient to elect a nucleus chairman and his alternate if the field of activity of the nucleus in the factory is not too extensive. Otherwise it would be better to elect a nucleus executive of three even if the membership is only 7, 8 or 9.

At its first session the nucleus executive apportions the functions according to its numerical strength, as follows: the nucleus chairman, his alternate, chief of the agitprop work, chief of the trade union and factory council work, women's organiser. In addition the chairman of the Y. C. L. nucleus, also forms part of the nucleus executive.

In accordance with the size of the field of activity, in addition to the aforesaid functions special comrades are entrusted with the following fields of activity: the co-operative question, village patronage, I. C. W. P. R., I. W. R., the Sport Movement, getting information on the activity of the opponents, etc.

If the nucleus executive is numerically weak the main branches of activity, which, according to the field of activity of the nucleus will be of various degree of importance, must be divided among the various members.

## II.

### TASKS OF THE FACTORY NUCLEI.

At present the main task for the Communist Party consists in making possible, gradually and by systematic work, that all factory nuclei carry on regular everyday work on all fields of Party activity, thereby becoming really effective lowest Party units.

#### Drawing Nucleus Members into Party Work.

It must be brought about that all Party members are drawn into nucleus work and become active Party members. Gradually every nucleus member must be given a definite function within the framework of the nucleus.

**Note:** Nucleus members living far from the factory, who for technical reasons cannot participate regularly in the nucleus work which is carried on after working hours, are, upon motion of the nucleus executive, placed at the disposal of the sub-section or section executive of their residential district through the next higher Party executive for work in that district.

#### What Are the Tasks of the Nucleus?

##### 1. Organisational Work.

a) Collection of membership dues, b) financing the nucleus, c) control over the carrying out of decisions and of the various tasks allotted to nucleus members, d) control over nucleus members' adherence to trade unions and other non Party mass organisations and their fractions, e) registering sympathisers, f) admission of members, g) literature sales.

##### a) Collection of Membership Dues

is done in the factory either by the department heads or by specially appointed assistant cashiers, or, if the nucleus be very small, by the nucleus cashier or nucleus chairman. Dues should be collected if possible every week, preferably the same day which wages are paid or at the latest the day after. The collection of membership dues should be adapted to the conditions prevailing in the factory and should be done in a manner that prevents the employers, foremen, etc., and their spies from finding out who belongs to the nucleus and who carries out functions under its instructions. The methods to be adopted in the various factories must be carefully worked out by the respective nucleus by means of cautious experimenting and the utilisation of experiences so obtained.

##### b) Financing the Nucleus.

As the tasks of the nucleus increase in number and its field of activity is extensive, the financing of the nucleus cannot be done only by means of the portion of the membership dues accruing to the nucleus. Also in this connection factory nuclei must work out various methods adapted to the prevailing conditions in the various factories (circulating collection lists where it is possible and where it is warranted that the money collected will be handed over to the nucleus and provided they can be circulated unnoticed among sympathisers, getting sympathisers to help to finance the factory newspaper, collections for a library, literature sales, etc.).

##### c) Control over the Carrying Out of Decisions

and over the tasks allotted to the various members is the task of the nucleus executive. The latter, however, must report on this regularly at the nucleus meeting in order that defaulting members who fail to carry out tasks allotted to them or who infringe decisions, can be convinced, but also be taken to account before the entire nucleus membership, in order thereby to make more effective control by the entire membership and to achieve collective responsibility for the work of the nucleus.

##### d) Control Over Nucleus Members' Adherence to Trade Unions

and other non-Party organisations (for instance, co-operatives, I. C. W. P. R., proletarian defence organisations), control over members whether they are readers of the Party newspaper, over the activity of nucleus members who belong to organisations such as the workers sport leagues or other sport clubs, co-operatives, etc., The nucleus executive must have an accurate survey over those sections of the workers who belong to such organisations, as, for instance, Christian trade unions or other bourgeois organisations. But in this work it must be supported by the entire nucleus membership. If this is not properly carried out, it will be impossible to carry on really thorough trade union work or to get many subscriptions.

Above all it is the task of the nucleus to exercise control over the adherence of the other factory workers to trade unions and other organisations. It is to be recommended that at the trade union factory meetings the nucleus propose to form committees within the factory, to look after the workers with respect to their trade union and co-operative adherence, by means of the control of trade union and co-operative cards.

##### e) The Registration of Sympathisers

and readers of Communist literature is very necessary work in legal Parties. If the nucleus does not know on which of the workers employed in the factory it may look for support in its activity, it will not be able to function properly. In the ascertaining of who the sympathisers are, there are various ways and means, for instance in connection with literature sales, in conversation at the bench or in the canteen, when selling the factory newspaper or when discussing its contents with individual workmen, when the vote is being taken on our proposals at factory workers' meetings, when the candidates' lists for the factory council elections are voted upon, etc. Every factory nucleus must discover the methods most appropriate to it.

##### f) Admission of Members and recruiting.

A factory nucleus must carry on a regular and systematic recruiting activity for the Party based on a thorough knowledge of the circle of sympathisers and connected with the everyday work of the nucleus in the factory and in the struggle for the interests of the factory workers. The success of this recruiting work depends on the ability and persistence with which it is carried on, and also on a knowledge of the peculiarities of the prospective recruits. It should be carried on by comrades who have already won the confidence of the factory workers through their activity. But also the other nucleus members must become well-versed in the methods of individual recruiting by prepared instructions and discussions concerning recruiting methods and experiences.

The newly won members are accepted at a regular membership meeting after the nucleus executive has carefully studied and passed upon their application for admission into the Party.

##### g) Literature Sales.

This is a branch of nucleus work in which members can get very good training for their activity among the factory workers. Moreover, an enterprising nucleus executive can turn the sale of literature into an important source of revenue, securing thereby a sound financial basis for its other work. Agitation for the literature to be sold can be carried on in various ways, for instance debates at factory meetings or discussions with fellow-workers offer a good opportunity for drawing attention to pamphlets and other literature dealing with certain questions. It goes without saying that literature sale methods must be carefully worked out and that all those who participate in it must receive full instructions. This is very necessary if literature sellers are not to become victims of the terrorism of the employers and if they are not to fall into the hands of the employers'

spies. The member of the nucleus executive who is responsible for the sale of literature must make a thorough study of all sorts of "invisible" sales methods and must give careful instructions to his collaborators. He must also see to an ample supply of cheap pamphlets and a good selection of popular literature for sale.

Wherever employers' terrorism makes impossible literature sales inside the factory, they must be organised just before work begins and after working hours at the factory gate (through so-called "flying bookpeddlers") through members who have been attached to the factory nucleus but who do not work in the factory, or through the sub-section executive.

## 2. The Political Work of the Nucleus.

a) Definite attitude to all Party questions, b) carrying out the tasks set by the Party (campaigns, actions, recruiting work), c) carrying out united front tactics in the factory, d) struggle for international trade union unity, e) exercising political influence on the workers, f) definite attitude to all political events, g) bringing pressure to bear on parliaments and municipal councils.

a) **Factory nuclei must take up a definite attitude to all the events in the political life.** They must take as their starting point the high cost of living or wage struggles, employers attempts to reduce wages, etc., in order to agitate against tax or tariff proposals and to show to the workers in a convincing manner that the question of their daily bread depends on the correlation of forces within the social order, and that in the organisation of all the workers in trade unions, in the revolutionisation of the latter and the establishment of international trade union unity, they have the strongest defensive front against the employers. The factory nuclei must make the question of the growing unemployment the starting point for their agitation for the 8-hour day; by pointing out the armament competition which is going on in all the countries, they must expose the mendacity of those who prate about the League of Nations. They must show it up clearly as a military alliance against proletarian Soviet Russia. They must mobilise factory workers for the support of the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. They must take a position on the debates in the parliaments and municipal councils and mobilise the workers of their factories against proposed anti-labour legislation and actions, they instigate (naturally in agreement with the higher executive) delegations which carry on negotiations with the various parliamentary fractions and eventually demand admission into the parliament itself. Such delegations should subsequently report on the result of their negotiations. The discussions on this report can again serve as a starting point for the formation of unity committees which get into touch with other factories in order to induce their participation in action or to give an impetus to the organisation of all factory workers in trade unions, work up demonstrations, etc.

It is in this manner that factory nuclei bring all important political questions to the notice of the factory workers. By cleverly connecting these questions with what is going on in the factory itself, they carry on a steady politisation of the factory workers, increasing the number of their sympathisers and creating the necessary premises for the recruitment of new members and the extension of the Party's sphere of influence.

### b) Factory Nucleus Activity in Election Campaigns, etc.

Factory nuclei are to participate in all campaigns and actions organised by the Party, they must carry on these campaigns, and in fact all the political work of the Party in their field. To do this they must be familiar with the various tasks of the Party; they must be able to adapt these tasks to the special conditions prevalent in their sphere of activity (the situation in the factory, influence of the nucleus on the factory workers, etc.). This must of course be done within the limits of the instructions received. It is the task of the nucleus executive to work out a special plan for the conduct of the campaigns, etc., or it can refer the formulation of such a plan to a commission which (in the first case this is done by the nucleus executive) subsequently reports its proposals at a special nucleus membership meeting on the task before it. The meeting discusses everything connected with the carrying out of the task set, the various methods of agitation, methods of work, the nature of the material which is to be prepared (handbills, etc.), the contents of the factory newspaper to be published, etc. The meeting distributes then the work among all the nucleus members according to their abilities.

Such a thorough discussion of all tasks in the presence of all nucleus members is an important pre-requisite for their successful fulfilment. It throws light on the proposed aim, it makes all the members equally responsible for the success of the work, it makes possible the utilisation of all the experiences gathered by the various comrades in their everyday work, and the connection of great political tasks, with the everyday work.

Particularly important and promising is well-organised election work through the factory nuclei. Our opponents will not find it an easy matter to befool the factory workers with fine phraseology if the factory nucleus is up to the mark and, with the help of facts (be they actions of the employer or the opposition members in the factory council or actions of the bourgeois and Social Democratic parliamentary fractions in contrast to the work of the Communists) it can show the workers who is the true representative of their interests. In this respect too, thorough preparation is of paramount importance.

### c) Definite Position on all Party Questions.

Factory nuclei are to take a definite position on all Party conferences and Party congresses, they must study the agendas, propose motions, discuss the pending proposals and problems, etc. After the sessions, the nucleus receives the report of its delegate or of the comrade delegated by the respective Party Executive, it discusses the decisions made, particularly from the viewpoint of their application on the field of activity of the nucleus. It is to be recommended that the nuclei, particularly after Party Congresses and similar conferences, should appoint special commissions for the elaboration of the most important decisions, such commissions to deal very thoroughly with the application of the said decisions in the area of the nucleus, and after the conclusion of their work to report to the membership meeting of the nucleus and to place before it their proposals.

Nuclei are to take a definite attitude to all important political questions and tasks confronting the Party, **making full use of their knowledge of the mood and frame of mind of non-party and social-democratic workers, and transmitting their expressions of opinion to the leading party organisations.** Thereby they help Party Executives to react correctly and promptly on all changes which take place in political life and within the working class.

## 3. The Everyday Work in the Factory.

Definite attitude to questions of wages and hours, and to questions of methods of production, control of the hygienic conditions and protective facilities in the factory, influencing the activity of the factory council, struggle for its capture, organisation of the struggle against reactionary foremen or department stewards etc. Struggle against factory spies — monarchist and similar rabble, capture of trade union delegates posts in the factory.

Many sided and circumspect work by the nucleus on these fields will make possible the effective exercise of political influence on the factory workers. If the nucleus stands up for the improvement of wage and labour conditions, if it wages the struggle for the strict observance of the 8-hour day and against the introduction of Taylorism, if it exercises control over hygienic conditions and protective facilities and advocates their improvement, if it puts up a fight against reactionary or particularly brutal and exacting foremen, if it exposes factory spies and pillories strike-breakers, in short, if it shows itself to be the best representative of workers' interests in all the everyday affairs of the workers the latter will follow it also in the political struggle. Nucleus members must not allow themselves to be scared by the work which this activity involves and must get over the prejudice that such work is reformist. They must have a thorough knowledge of the labour protection rules, the factory council regulations and such-like matters and must make full use of them in the interests of the workers. Negligence on this field or errors which can subject Communists to the suspicion of hostility or indifference to interests of the workers, can bring to nought all the efforts of the nucleus to gain political influence. But if the nucleus is able to fight actively for the interests of the workers with respect to all these questions the immediate result will be the capture of trade union delegate posts, of positions in the factory council, all of which will then create new opportunities for the work of the nucleus and open new avenues, apart from the fact that thereby the first step towards the capture of the trade unions will also have been made.

A particularly important task is that of influencing the work of the factory council, and also that of energetically supporting, instructing and controlling the Communists in the factory council (by the nucleus i. g. the nucleus executive).

The Communist members of the factory council, organised in a fraction, are subordinated to the nucleus executive of their enterprise.

By means of its everyday activity, and with the help of the results of this work, the factory nucleus must be able to enlighten the factory workers on the experiences won during the struggle. The characteristic of these experiences in the enterprise must lead to rouse the understanding and the recognition of the political struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

#### 4. Work among the Women.

The nuclei in the factories in which women are employed must develop a constant agitation, propaganda and organisational activity adapted to the women. This work is not only the task of the director assigned to it, nor only of the women Communists in the factory, but of the whole nucleus.

The agitational and propaganda activity among the unorganised women is conducted by means of distributing the Party's women's papers, by getting subscriptions for them, by inserting a women's column in the factory papers, by the women worker correspondence in the Party press, by women's meetings devoted to questions of special interest to women, etc.

The organisation of constant recruiting activity to bring the women into the trade unions and co-operatives is also important (the women are far less organised in trade unions proportionally than the men). To get together the sympathising women, circles of non-Party working women should be formed.

For the work among the working girls, who comprise a considerable part of the employees in certain branches of industry (textile) close co-operation of the women's organiser with the youth nucleus is desirable.

Within the confines of the nucleus work carried on outside the factory, the work among the women in neighbouring factories (if no nuclei exist there) must be organised. The same applies to the work among the housewives (wives of workers).

#### 5. The Work of the Nucleus outside the factory.

The factory nucleus, when it has achieved a certain stability in its structure and work, and has sufficient forces, must also carry on Party work outside the factory under the guidance and control of the next higher executive. This includes:

a) Work in neighbouring factories in which no nuclei exist must pursue the aim of seeking out the sympathising workers there in order, with their help to win the factory for participation in the demonstrations organised by the Party, or for support to the Party in elections, etc., or to recruit new members and found a new factory nucleus.

b) Support of weak factory nuclei in neighbouring factories.

c) Work upon the residence on the adjoining streets insofar as these have not been assigned to some street nucleus. This work must consist above all in recruiting for the Party, for the Party press, I. C. W. P. R., election agitation, etc.

d) Regular work in definite villages with the aim either of supporting the local Party group there, or of carrying on systematic propaganda to get the agricultural workers and poor peasants to join the trade unions, revolutionary peasant organisations, or C. P., or to form a new local group of the Party, conduct election agitation, etc.

#### 6. Educational Work in the Nuclei.

If the factory nuclei are to be capable of fulfilling all the tasks dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs, they must proceed to organise a systematic Party training and educational work for their members. Without this, it is impossible to bring under way any good and correct work for any length of time. Such work therefore cannot be begun too early. As soon as the nucleus has become stabilised to any extent, it must proceed to organise elementary circles or courses for its members in which are discussed the most important problems of Party activity and tactics, the theory of Leninism in connection with the real tasks of the

Party. Especially necessary is it to acquaint the Party members in the factories, especially the young ones, with the history of the Party, in order to impart to them the valuable traditions in the process of development of the labour movement and especially of the C. P.

Nuclei unable to organise regular circles or courses, must proceed to apply simpler methods of educational work; for instance, discussion evenings, groups for reading together the brochures, important articles from theoretical organs of the Party, and suchlike.

Another important task of this kind is the education of the nucleus members in the carrying on of their daily Party work — by means of detailed and carefully formulated instructions, by conferences of the comrades entrusted with some task for the discussion of the fulfilment of their task. (Methods of individual activity and recruiting, the distribution of propaganda material and of the factory paper, combatting foes and reactionary bosses, behaviour in the factory meetings, work outside the factories as for instance recruiting work among the peasants, attitude of the Communist Party to the peasant questions, and others.) The real complement of this educational work, is of course the fulfilment of the daily practical work. But it forms an important prerequisite for this work and must therefore be constantly carried on by the factory nuclei.

An important branch of the educational work within the factory nuclei, especially of those in large factories, is the creation of a nucleus library, in which the most important Communist works are collected, above all, of course, the kind which deals with the daily work of the Party, its tactics, etc. This library, which must naturally be located in some safe place, must serve primarily the needs of the nucleus members who are not always in a position to buy the books in question. But it should also lend books to sympathising workers in order to win them over for the Communist cause.

Note: In the majority of cases the nuclei will not be in a position to organise systematic educational work without the support of the higher executives. This fact must be taken into consideration much more than heretofore by the Party executives, which must therefore considerably strengthen their agitprop work so that they can enable the nuclei to carry on educational work (formulating programmes for the factory nuclei circles, issuing of study and methodic material for the circles adapted specially for the nuclei or the nuclei functionaries, etc.).

#### 7. The Active Support to the Y.C.L. Nucleus.

The Youth Leagues, especially in view of their numerical weakness and poor social composition, encounter considerably greater difficulties in the work of reorganisation than do the Parties. They have very little power to overcome these difficulties. The youth nuclei are often so small, that they cannot cover the entire factory in their work. This gives rise to very responsible tasks for the C. P. factory nucleus. They must help the youth nuclei in their work in every way, must carry on recruiting work among the young workers in the factory, and must mobilise the employees of the factory in defence of the interests of the young workers.

In factories, particularly in those in which there are many young workers among the employee, and in which no youth nucleus exists as yet, the nucleus of the Party must do everything possible to help organise a youth nucleus. It must get into touch with the Executive of the Young Communist League responsible for that area, must provide speakers, must conduct propaganda for the factory meetings of young workers, must take into its own hands the organisation of these meetings, and must distribute recruiting material for the Y. C. L. When a youth nucleus has been organised, it must energetically support it.

Note: To Section II: It is clear that not all factory nuclei can simultaneously do equally good work in all the spheres mentioned. Newly-formed nuclei must limit themselves to the discussion of Party questions and doing systematic daily work connected with trade union and factory council activity based on the questions touching the factory workers. Later they shall proceed to take part in the campaigns of the Party. The decisive thing is not that the factory nuclei work in all fields immediately, but that they work well, systematically, and steadily.

## III.

## MEANS AND METHODS OF FACTORY NUCLEI WORK.

Important means of aiding the nucleus work are: factory newspapers, worker correspondence for the press, handbills made up by the nuclei themselves, placards drawn or painted by the nuclei themselves, slogan streamers, caricatures, posting of newspaper clippings concerning the factory.

## 1. The Factory Paper.

## a) Role and Content.

The factory paper shall be issued in every big and medium-sized factory where there is a factory nucleus. It is the **organ of the factory nucleus** and is intended for agitation among the factory employees. Its content must therefore be real, must harmonise with the work planned by the nucleus, and linked up with the situation in the factory. During strikes special numbers shall be issued. It should not contain abstract matters, but should in essence describe simple facts in such a way that the reader will be led to a definite conclusion; for instance, graphic contrast of the life of the employer with that of the worker; facts on the number of unemployed and on the length of the working day in the various industries, the amount of unemployment benefits and the amount of the income of pensioned officers; the League of Nations and international trade union unity. The paper must take a stand on hygienic conditions and on the application of the labour protective legislation in the factory; it shall publish workers' correspondence, and if necessary, set aside a column for agitation among the women and the youth, as well as among the national minorities; also a corner where spies and slave-drivers are exposed. They shall print political notices, recommend the Communist lists in elections, call for subscriptions to the Party paper, point out the important Communist literature and announce where it can be bought. The articles shall be short and written in simple language and restrained style (especially with regards to the Social Democratic workers). Labour poems, satirical notices, caricatures on factory affairs, will enliven the content and appearance of the paper.

## b) Preparation:

The Editorial Board, which is appointed by the nucleus executive, shall formulate a plan for the number to be issued, after it has acquainted itself, through the nucleus executive, with the tasks confronting the nucleus. On the basis of this plan it shall collect materials, going to the non-party and sympathising workers (of course the names of the co-workers on the paper may not be mentioned, and in general the whole work of preparing the paper must be conducted very cautiously). Thereupon the material will be duplicated either by hectograph or wax stencils or even printed if the paper is intended for a large factory, or if there are good opportunities to do so (which must be found by getting in touch with the proper factories, printeries, lithograph establishments, etc., where this work can be done gratis, if possible).

**Note:** Since the appearance of the factory paper is of great importance for the effect on and popularity among the workers, it is advisable to assign comrades to the most important factory nuclei who either have drawing ability or who are printers by profession. On the question of preparing the factory paper the support of the nuclei by the higher executive must be energetic (For instance, by providing cheap paper, cheap paints, multiplying apparatus, etc.).

## c) Distribution:

The paper can be distributed in the most various ways, for instance at the factory entrance, by the members of the nucleus not employed in the factory or by members of the nearest street nucleus or in the factory itself by the comrades scattered throughout the various sections of the factory, in connection with which attempts can also be made to win over sympathetic workers for this activity. The work shall be so organised that the distribution for instance, is done shortly before or shortly after the close of work and in such a way that it shall begin at a time previously determined **simultaneously in all the Departments of the factory**, and finished within a few minutes. This method has already been applied in practice and has proven desirable in that the danger for the distributors has been reduced to a mini-

mum. It is also useful if rumours are circulated, for instance, that "the paper will appear on such and such a day", whereas it is really distributed on another day, best of all before the day, and thus the factory spies are led astray. The study of the methods of distribution, the adaptation of the methods to the conditions of the factory in question, is an important task of the factory nucleus. Whether the distribution of the factory nuclei succeeds, it depends entirely on the initiative and cleverness of the individual factory nuclei.

## d) Finances.

If the factory paper can be sold — which is of course the best thing — the financing of the paper is comparatively simple. If that is impossible due to the caution demanded in distributing the paper, other means must be found, for instance, collections taken circumspectly from sympathising workers or from those known to favour the paper. It might also be investigated, for example, whether the host of a near-by tavern would be willing to receive contributions for the factory paper, in which case the word is simply passed around the factory that whoever liked the last factory paper and desires its continuance should unobtrusively leave a contribution at such and such a place, or something on that order. Here also, everything depends on the resourcefulness of the nucleus in its work.

## 2. Handbills and Posters.

Handbills, posters and similar material can serve as very effective agitational material for the nucleus. Here also duplicating apparatus can be used, while the posters are prepared by comrades with drawing ability. Handbills and leaflets can be either distributed in front of the factory gates or laid at the various places of work before work begins, or during working hours (if the co-workers can be relied upon) simply passed from hand to hand. Posters should be put up where they are easily seen and where they cannot too readily be removed.

## 3. Worker Correspondence.

Another important means of supporting the work of the nuclei and of arousing the interest of the factory employees is the workers' correspondence sent to the press and describing the conditions in the factory or reporting on some factory meeting. The nucleus must therefore do everything possible to win over one or more regular worker correspondents for the various papers from the ranks of Party members and sympathisers. The nucleus executive should, if possible, be informed on the workers correspondances before they are printed.

## 4. Other Methods of Work.

Special attention must be devoted to the factory nuclei methods of work especially with regard to the growing terrorism which employers direct against the factory nucleus. This is everywhere necessary, but especially where chronic unemployment reigns, which gives the employers the opportunity of purging their factories of Communists who have become known and inconvenient to them. The work of the nucleus must therefore be carried on in such a way that the nucleus executive and members, do not become known to the employer and his spies. The factory employees need not know everyone in the factory who is a Communist, but the workers must recognise the activity of the nucleus as Communist work, and be influenced by it in such manner that they follow the Communist slogans. Wherever Communists are members of the factory council, these should assist the nucleus executive in the nucleus work.

In factory meetings in which as a rule the employer has his spies, activity must be carried on in such a way that it is impossible to identify the nucleus members. Wherever it is possible for C. P. deputies or Communist trade union officials to participate in factory meetings, they should do so.

## IV.

## THE TASKS OF THE NUCLEUS EXECUTIVE.

The proper working of the factory nucleus is dependent on the systematic, regular and well-organised work of the nucleus executive. The work of the nucleus executive must therefore get special attention and support from the next higher unit.

The factory nucleus executive is therefore responsible to the members and to the next higher executive for the concrete



application of the instructions given it with reference to work in the factory and for the immediate and rapid dealing with all questions concerning the workers in the factory. It must formulate plans of work for carrying out all of its tasks, and distribute the work in such a way that all the members of the nucleus are drawn into Party activity. It submits reports to the next higher executive on the tasks which have been carried out, receives new instructions, collects dues and forwards the proper payments to the authorised unit. It must be well-informed on the concrete conditions of its field of activity, and must know where and how the workers are organised, which papers they read, and which are their special interests.

The nucleus executive must hold regular meetings to discuss its work; to affect the necessary distribution of the work, to prepare for the nucleus meetings, etc. The executive should meet at least once a week. It is expedient to call these meetings before the nucleus meetings. Besides these, special meetings must of course be held on the occasion of special events in the factory, in order to discuss the procedure of the nucleus.

The meetings can take place, depending on the conditions prevailing in the factory, after the close of work, during the noon-recess, during working hours, either in the factory (factory council office, canteen, etc.) or in the home of one of the comrades living near the factory. They must be called carefully so as not to become known to the employer or his spies. In these meetings all tasks of the nucleus and of the individual members of the Executive must be discussed.

For the purpose of better work on the various kinds of tasks the work must be distributed among the nucleus executive (see the paragraph "Size of the Nucleus Executive", in the paragraph "I. Structure and Formation of Factory Nuclei").

On the basis of division of labour, the following tasks devolve upon the various members of the nucleus executive:

#### a) The Nucleus Chairman:

(Secretary) directs the whole work of the nucleus. He prepares the meetings of the nucleus executive and sees to it that the work of the nucleus is correctly distributed and that the chiefs of the various spheres of work carry on their work in closest contact with one another. He must immediately react to all the happenings in the factory, must call together the nucleus executive (if that is not possible, must plunge in himself and give instructions), and must submit proposals to it. He is responsible for thorough preparation for the nucleus meeting, and for carrying out its resolutions; he must prepare the nucleus for activity in the factory personal meetings, must make regular reports to the sub-section executive and in case of important events in the factory, must report immediately to the proper Party executive; he must maintain close contact with the nucleus of the Y. C. L.

#### b) The Nucleus Vice-Chairman.

Conducts the registration of the nucleus members and sympathisers and checks up the Party or trade union affiliation of the workers of the factory (in this work he must be assisted in large factories by the chairman of the department nuclei), keeps the record of the attendance of the meetings, controls the system of communication, and is responsible for all financial affairs in the factory. He is responsible for keeping the membership lists out of the hands of the enemy. The whole organisational and business activity of the factory nucleus is under his guidance.

#### c) The Director of Trade Union Work.

Maintains contact with the Trade Union Department of the local executive, keeps check on the trade union affiliation of the Party members, organises, together with the Agitprop Director, the agitation for getting the factory workers to join the trade unions, distributes instructions to the nucleus members, entrusted with special trade union work, instructs and controls the Communist fraction in the factory council, and, together with the Agitprop Director, prepares for the factory council elections.

In factories where several trade unions are represented, a comrade shall be assigned for each of the unions, who is subordinate to the Director of Trade Union Work. Among other things these comrades are to get together all the comrades in the factory who belong to a certain trade union before the meeting of this union, and to discuss with them their activity

in the forthcoming union meeting in accordance with the instructions of the nucleus executive.

#### d) The Agitprop Director:

Is responsible for all the agitation and propaganda, (conducting campaigns, recruiting activity, issuing of the factory paper, distribution of literature, organisation of courses, circles, etc.). The Editorial Board of the factory paper, the Literature agent, and other comrades who are engaged in the Agitprop work of the nucleus work under his guidance. He has charge of drawing of worker correspondents from the ranks of the factory workers and nucleus members, for the development of the nucleus library, etc.

#### e) The Women's Organiser.

In factories employing women, a comrade (man or woman) must be appointed as chief of work among women, who is subordinate to the nucleus chairman, and who, if possible, belongs to the nucleus executive.

#### f) The Chairmen of Department Nuclei:

Can, if the nucleus as a whole is strong, belong to the nucleus executive. They are responsible for carrying out the nucleus work in their field and are subordinate, insofar as they are not members of the nucleus executive, to the nucleus chairman and vice-chairman. They are assigned special tasks by him. If the chairmen of the department nuclei are not members of the nucleus executive, it is advisable from time to time to organise joint meetings between the nucleus executive and the chairmen of the department nuclei, at which the carrying out of the current tasks is discussed.

#### g) Cooperation between Nucleus Executive and Factory Council Fraction:

Similar meetings are also advisable, where a Communist fraction exists in the factory council, between the nucleus executive and the factory council fraction. A member of the Communist fraction of the factory council shall take part as regularly as possible in the meetings of the nucleus executive.

**Note: The Work of the comrades assigned to the Nucleus:** The nucleus chairman is responsible for systematically drawing these comrades into the work of the nucleus, and he must maintain close contact with them. These comrades should be drawn into all such work as cannot be done by the members of the nucleus because of employer's terror: distribution and preparing the factory newspaper, distribution of leaflets in front of the factory, arranging for meetings in front of the factory gates, or serving as couriers. In case all the members of a factory nucleus are discharged, these comrades, if the nucleus cannot be maintained, must be assigned to the nearest factory or street nucleus, so that the guidance or control of the further work in the factory can be carried on and the contact with the sympathising workers be maintained.

## V.

### STRUCTURE AND TASKS OF THE STREET NUCLEI.

#### Who belongs to the Street Nucleus?

All the Party members within the area of a street, a part of a street, a block of houses, etc. shall, if they do not work in a factory, or are not assigned to a factory nucleus, form a street nucleus. The area covered by a street nucleus should not as a rule be bigger than a street within the area of a sub-section, a block of houses, or some similar division.

**Note:** The assignment to street nuclei of comrades who are unemployed or who work in small factories, of peasants, railway workers, harbour workers, transport workers — in short, of all comrades employed in some industry where the formation of a factory nuclei for some reason or other meets with difficulties, is permissible only in exceptional cases. As a rule they must be assigned to some factory nucleus of their own enterprise (building workers, railroad workers, harbour workers, transport workers, or unemployed), or to a factory nucleus located near their place of residence. This is determined by the district executive.



### The Tasks of the Street Nuclei:

Consist in carrying out all Party work in the territory covered by them: taking a stand on all Party questions, carrying out the campaigns and actions of the Party (especially in elections), organising house to house recruiting, supporting the work of the fractions in the sport, tenants' and war-victims organisations; co-operatives, sick benefit funds, work in care of the poor, work to establish nuclei in factories in their territory in which no Party units exist, etc.

### Task of the Street Nucleus Executive.

To carry out these tasks on a systematically organised plan and to draw all the members of the street nucleus into the tasks confronting it. (See also the paragraph on the tasks of the nucleus executive.)

## VI.

### SUPPLEMENT

## ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE FACTORY NUCLEI AMONG THE RAILROAD WORKERS, BUILDING WORKERS AND IN HARBOURS.

### 1. The Railroad Workers:

a) At every railroad yard or every station, the comrades working there shall be organised into a factory nucleus. In various departments in which enough comrades are working, department nuclei will be formed, or department chiefs appointed (in railroad shops, locomotive sheds, freight sheds, among section workers etc.). In exceptionally big stations it is expedient to form special factory nuclei for the shops in addition to the station nucleus.

b) The Party members belonging to the traffic personnel will be affiliated to the nucleus of the headquarters station to which they are attached. The executive of the station nucleus has the task of registering these comrades, to record their runs, and to get them to participate in the most favourably timed meeting of some section, department or full nucleus, supply material to them, inform them on the Party situation and the tasks confronting it, and to draw them into the work.

c) The meeting of the Station Nuclei will be held subject to prevailing conditions — either for the nucleus as a whole, by shifts, or by individual departments.

d) The Issuing of a Factory Paper by the station nucleus is one of its most important tasks in order to exercise constant influence (see paragraph on factory papers) over the traffic personnel which exercises so important a function in social life.

### 2. Factory Nuclei in the Building Industry:

The peculiar conditions in the building industry (mainly small and medium-sized concerns, as well as seasonal work), complicate the organisation into factory nuclei of the comrades employed in the building industry, and hinder the work of these nuclei. The general lines to be followed for the nuclei in the building industries are the following:

a) On building projects where at least 3 Communists are employed and where the workers will be on the job for some time, a regular factory nucleus will be organised. Nuclei will also be formed of Communists working in the larger building firms, and also for several smaller firms together.

b) Communist building workers who change their places of work frequently, will be registered by the sub-section executive of their residential district, receiving there instructions for their activity at their place of work, and in addition they will be assigned to some factory nucleus, if possible to a nucleus in some building concern. Only if this is impossible, will they be assigned to a street nucleus.

Note: It is impermissible to organise the Communist building workers territorially in the limits of the sub-section, district or sub-district, as a so-called "trade nucleus". That would mean a hybrid of nucleus and trade union fraction ("industrial branch").

### 3. Factory Nuclei in Harbours.

The harbour workers are to be organised according to the firms for which they work. Isolated Communists working for small firms, can be assigned to the nearest factory nucleus in the harbour. Comrades who constantly change their place of work, will be affiliated to the factory nuclei located in the various harbour districts. If there are no factory nuclei in the various firms in the harbour district, all the Communists in one harbour section will be organised in this harbour section into a nucleus.

## Resolution on Factory Newspapers.

Endorsed by the Org Bureau E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.

The experiences of the various sections have completely confirmed the correctness of the resolution adopted by the First Org. Conference of the C. I. on the subject of factory newspapers. Party practical experience has demonstrated the great agitational and organisational role of factory papers. The number of Sections in the C. I. whose nuclei issue factory papers has increased. Today the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, Norway, United States, Poland, etc., issue factory papers; the number, as well as their circulation, has increased in general, despite certain retrogressions in individual countries. An improvement is to be noted in the factory newspapers, both as regards their contents and appearance.

At the same time it must be stated that the number of factory newspapers, as a result of the still weak activity and solidity of a large part of the factory nuclei, and also of the inadequate attention on the part of the Party executives, still lags far behind the total number of nuclei.

During recent months certain sections recorded important success by means of the factory newspapers. They thereby enabled weak nuclei insufficiently connected with the factory mass, to rally the support of the non-Communist masses, and to augment their influence. By the publication of factory papers by individual Communists, they have succeeded in building around themselves groups of sympathisers in the enterprises and organising factory nuclei from among them. These cases are proof of the important organisational (as well as agitational) significance of the factory papers.

This importance increases considerably in times of economic crises and unemployment because the factory papers are one of the best means of most intensively influencing the broad non-Communist masses, without thereby (given proper publication and distribution) subjecting the nuclei to the employers' terror. For this reason all Party Executives must devote increased attention to factory papers, their creation, their regular appearance, their control and instruction and their support. They must see to it that the factory papers become a regular part of the forms of activity and methods of the Parties.

The Org Conference emphasises particularly the following defects with regard to the publication of the factory papers:

1. Despite the clear formulation of the resolution of the First Org Conference comprehension has not penetrated everywhere to the effect that the factory paper is "the organ of the nucleus" (resolution of the I Org Conference), and its publication therefore devolves upon the nucleus itself. In many instructions of Party Executives this is not yet sufficiently brought out.

2. The systematic instruction to the nuclei regarding the preparations of factory papers on the part of the higher Party executives is lacking, nor is there exercised any consistent control over the factory papers.

3. To some extent the opinion still prevails that the factory papers are intended only for nucleus members instead of for the broad masses of non-Communist workers.

4. The factory questions are still often dealt with inadequately in the factory papers. In some factory papers there is

even a step backward evident with this regard. The treatment of political questions is seldom illustrated with happenings in the factory or such as are of interest to the broad masses.

5. The political tasks and campaigns, e. g., the recent international essential question of trade union unity, etc., and all campaigns of the Party are either almost entirely neglected or else dealt with abstractly.

6. The tone of the factory papers is insufficiently adapted to facilitate the approach to the non-Communist masses (Social-Democrats and unorganised).

7. In certain cases the tendency prevails to conceal the Communist character of the papers in appearance of even in the text (France).

8. The workers' organs of the employers and the factory editions of the Social Democratic newspapers are not combated sufficiently.

9. The factory papers contain too long articles and often give a monotonous impression, there is a lack of drawings, caricatures, etc.

10. In many factory papers citations from Lenin, Marx, etc., are given without sufficient connection with the contents of the papers.

11. The factory papers generally appear irregularly.

12. As yet the great significance of the factory papers has not been realised everywhere. There are factory nuclei which look upon the various factory editions of Party newspapers as a substitute for a factory paper, or who continue to over-estimate the risk of publishing the factory papers.

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To overcome all these shortcomings the Org Conference of the C. I. considers the following measures necessary:

1. To convince the entire Party membership but particularly the nucleus executives, of the importance of the factory papers by dealing with this question in the Party press, conferences, Party meetings (especially the nuclei), and by instructions to the Party organisations.

2. To eliminate preparation of factory papers by the upper Party executives (France) which leads to the "actual exclusion and weakening of the participation of the workers in the respective enterprise" (Resolution of the I Org Conference).

3. To combat the idea that the factory papers are intended for the nucleus members, and also the small edition which corresponds only to the number of closest sympathisers. Excluding of treatment of Party questions which only interest the Party members (Slovakia).

4. To avoid abstract treatment of political questions. These are to be linked up with factory matters in the sense that they should be illustrated with examples from the life of the factory. The factory papers must not forget that they are the heralds of the Party organs among the not yet fully politically developed masses of the factory. Current practical questions, like trade union unity, struggle of the Colonial peoples, unemployment, economic crisis and all campaigns of the Party (including recruiting campaigns) should be made comprehensible through the factory papers to the broad strata of factory workers.

5. Attraction of the Social Democratic workers, by the tone of the factory papers; distinction between the Social Democratic leaders and the workers. Instead of confining the papers to the scolding of reformistic leaders it is far more effective to cite facts against them. The broad unorganised masses must likewise be influenced in a tactically correct manner.

6. To preserve at all times the Communist character of the factory papers.

7. To combat systematically by means of our factory nucleus papers the employers' factory papers with their alluring and stupefaction methods.

8. To enliven the content of the factory papers by letters and notices written by the non-C. P. factory workers themselves. To demand from the workers great literary achievements is a mistake. Nor should the papers be filled with too many verses,

but on the other hand good effective verses contribute to raising the effectiveness of the papers. The attractive power of the papers should be greatly increased by caricatures and pictures, especially when reflecting factory conditions and events. The use of pictures and caricatures is particularly advisable in factories with politically backward workers.

9. To make quotations from Lenin-Marx, etc., coincide with the articles in the paper in order that they may be comprehensible to the broad masses.

10. To issue factory papers regularly without having fixed publication dates. In this connection they must react to every event touching the factory masses (where necessary by special issues). Attention must be paid, that the regularity of the issue is not attained at the expense of the contents.

\* \* \*

The further development of the factory papers, the elimination of existing shortcomings, demands, the constant instruction and control on the part of the higher Party units (sub-section executives, section committees, sub-district executives, etc.) without injuring the initiative of the nuclei themselves. It is especially necessary that they see to the regular appearance in all possible factories, and give attention to their character and ideological content. For this purpose every issue should be appraised. It is important, from time to time, to organise conferences of the editors of the factory papers.

The Org Conference is glad to record that many factory papers have already succeeded in parrying the persecutions, and finding methods of assuring the distribution of the factory papers. In view of the present growth of unemployment in many countries and the resulting menace to our factory nuclei, through making their factory papers work harder the Org Conference recommends the further extension of factory papers as one of the forms of under-cover working methods, as well as the most painstaking study of distribution possibilities. For such distribution the utilisation of members attached to the nuclei and also of members of the near-by street nuclei is recommended.

The Org Conference declares that it considers the publication of factory editions of Party organs useful in certain cases insofar as this is a means of agitation among the factory masses. It at the same emphasises that such factory editions can in no case serve as a substitute or even a brake on the creation of factory papers.

The inclusion in the factory papers of special youth columns and columns for National Minorities must absolutely be realised far more than has hitherto been the case. Also the work of the nucleus among the women workers, should find expression in the factory papers in the form of a woman's column.

The Org Conference considers correct the issue of Youth factory papers but emphasises that where both nuclei are weak it would be advisable for the Party and Youth nucleus to issue a joint paper.

In the various Parties in recent months there has been ample experience concerning methods of raising means for the publishing of factory papers. The principle of self-financing has shown itself correct. This does not exclude the possibility or desirability of financial support to the nuclei by the higher Party units for the publication of factory papers in special cases (for the purchases of memiographs, at election campaigns, etc.).

The manner of preparing the factory papers (printed, memiographed or otherwise) is a question that must be carefully studied. It depends upon the possibilities and the financial situation of the nuclei. In any event attention must always be paid to readable clean script.

The comrades designated by the nucleus must direct careful attention to the provision of technical possibilities for the publication of the factory papers. The higher Party organs must help them in this (by furnishing the necessary technical means such as duplicating apparatus, ink, paper, etc. at cheap prices in the Party book-shop, through the attachment of technically qualified Party members (typographers, etc.), to important factory nuclei, etc.).

## *Resolution on Section and Sub-Section Executives.*

Endorsed by the Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.

### **The Section Executive:**

In consequence of the extension of the large cities in various countries, the Executives of the town and district organisations (in the district headquarters city) in these cities are unable to guide and control all the various Party work in the area of such cities. This necessitates the division of the existing town organisations into sections. But the sections, at the present stage of their development, so long as there is no possibility of creating a Party apparatus for the section executives, and so long as the section executives of the large cities have not a single employed secretary, are also unable to correctly handle city quarters containing heavy industry, to guide the activity of the nuclei (or fractions in the trade unions and other mass organisations) sufficiently systematically, to conduct campaigns thoroughly, etc. Therefore it is necessary to divide the Party organisations of such cities into sections and these in turn into sub-sections.

2. Successful work in the factory and street nuclei of our Party depends to a great extent on the lower Party executives proper direction and support of the activity of the nuclei. The deficiencies in the work of the nuclei can be accounted for largely by the fact that the lower Party apparatus, in its structure as well as in the methods of its activity, is not yet adjusted to guiding the every day work of the nuclei.

3. Even in the structure of the section organisations themselves, deviations from the correct line have occurred in various sections of the C. I. This revealed above all in the way the sections were divided. These must unconditionally coincide with the political divisions of the city. If the sections of the town are not large enough, several can be determined as the area for one section. If the city is not divided into political subdivisions, it will be necessary to divide the town in accordance with the divisions fixed by local customs, or with natural boundaries (a river, etc.). It must be kept in mind at the same time that the divisions of the city into sections which are too small or into too many sections, might weaken the guiding work of the district or subdistrict executives, because they will not be in a position to guide and control the work of the sections and of the nuclei sufficiently carefully with the forces at their disposal.

4. The section executives shall be elected at the sections delegate conferences (or at the general meetings of all the members of the factory and street nuclei of the section). The section executives shall direct and control the whole Party work in its territory, issue instructions and directives to all the Party organisations within these boundaries, organise and direct all the Party campaigns and concern themselves also with the organisation of executives for all Communist fractions.

5. The majority of members of the section executives must be comrades belonging to the most important factory nuclei of the section. The number of members of the section executives must not be very large. For the conduct of current work the section executives shall elect a bureau composed of a director or secretary and several comrades among whom the chief spheres of work shall be divided (organisation, trade union, agitprop, women). The work in other spheres need not necessarily be entrusted to the members of the section executives. It can be attended to by other comrades who are not members of the section executive, but who must unconditionally be under the direction and control of a member of the executive. In view of the great importance of the section executives in the Party organisation, the Sections of the C. I. must make every effort to have a paid secretary in every large section executive.

6. The section has the task of directing and controlling the work of the sub-sections and their executives. Even where these exist, the section executives must maintain direct contact with the nuclei, issue instructions, control the work, and if necessary intervene. It is incumbent upon them to attend the meetings of the various nuclei, to report on work done, and to inform them on the plans for future work.

7. For the correct guidance of the work of the nuclei, the section executives, or their separate departments, shall call to-

gether the nucleus chairmen, as well as the comrades in charge of the other spheres of work in the nucleus (trade union, agitprop, etc.) for instructional meetings. These instructional meetings are an important means of the section executives for transmitting the Party directives and tactics to the lower Party organisations. The executives must see to it in this connection that the agenda for the instruction meetings is well prepared, that capable speakers are supplied, and that care is taken that the agendas of these meetings are not over burdened with small questions of an every day character.

The permanent every day work of the section executives in the various spheres must be attended to by its respective departments, which are responsible to the higher party executive as a whole for carrying out their work.

The members of the Executive can have personal discussions with the individual secretaries of the subordinated Executives etc. for informational purposes and in order to give direct instructions to further the every-day work.

### **The Sub-Section Executive.**

8. The sub-section Executives make it possible to direct the work of the factory and street nuclei more systematically, to apply the directions of the higher Party Executives more concrete to the circumstances in the area and to superintend the carrying out more accurately, as this would be possible directly through the town (city) or section Executive.

The sub-section executive, collects its experiences directly and makes it possible for the Party organs to which they are subordinated (district executive, section executive and others) to take advantage of these experiences.

9. Experience shows that the sub-sections in a number of our Parties, in spite of their importance are underestimated. They were not formed at all, or very lackadaisically. The absence of sub-sections in these sections of the C. I. resulted in that the section executives of the large cities were not in a position to carry out properly the Party directives and work in their territory. They were too far removed from the lower nuclei and could not become sufficiently familiar with their activity and their requirements. With the forces at their disposal they were not in a position to maintain the necessary, regular close relations with their nuclei.

10. But at the same time it must be clearly understood that the sub-sections are not an indispensable lower unit in every city organisation. The first condition for the creation of sub-sections is the division of a city into sections. In case these city divisions, because of their extension or other reasons, do not permit the section executives to guide the various nuclei directly and to the extent necessary, to support their work, etc., then sub-sections must be formed.

11. The tasks of the sub-section executive shall be to control the carrying out of the Party decisions, to assure systematic work of the nucleus executives and of the nuclei themselves, and in connection therewith, to maintain constant contact with all the factories in its territory under the guidance of the section executive, to undertake the formation of new nuclei in those factories where none exist as yet, to see to it that members of the Party get work in factories in order to enliven and organise the work of the nuclei there or to entrust these tasks to the strongest neighbouring nucleus. The same applies to the street nuclei.

In addition, the sub-section executive shall render the nuclei every possible assistance and support in connection with the factory newspapers, shall exercise control over them, shall wherever necessary provide material for the nucleus meetings, shall see that the comrades living in the sub-section but working in other parts of the city are made use of, shall lead all Party campaigns in its territory, and organise the whole Party work within the limits of its field of activity.

12. The sub-section executive (in legal and semi-legal Parties) shall be elected at the general meeting of the members of all factory and street nuclei, or at a delegate conference. A delegate conference of the sub-section may however, meet only in places where the participation of all the members of the sub-section at sub-section meetings is impossible. In such cases the

approval of the district executive is necessary for the convocation of a delegate conference.

The sub-section executive must be elected mostly from members of the more important factory nuclei, although in no case in accordance with the principle of the general representation from all factories of the sub-section, but only from the most important factories. The sub-section executive must not be too big. It must, if possible, appoint a bureau to direct current work, whereby the function of guiding the work in the most important fields — organisation, trade union, agitprop, and also work among women — shall be divided among the members. The other spheres of activity of the sub-section executive can be entrusted to comrades who are not members of the executive, but who must work under its direction and control.

13. The general sub-section meeting of members of the factory and street nuclei or the delegate conference of the representatives of these nuclei, may in no case replace the meetings of the nuclei themselves, or transfer the weight of the work into the sub-section meetings. Therefore the sub-section meetings or delegate conferences of the sub sections, must not be convoked too often, so that the political activity of the individual nuclei can be improved by raising important political and organisational questions for them to solve. The same aim of raising the activity of the nuclei and the qualitative improvement of their work can be served by the convocation of conferences of

representatives of the individual nuclei (delegates, heads of agitprop and other nucleus officials). As a rule such conferences should, however, be called according to sections.

14. In the last few years the experiences in the reorganisation of the Communist Parties — especially the C. P. G. — taught us that the extension of the reorganisation work over a long period of time has led to great hindrances and mistakes because too much time elapses between the formation of the first factory nuclei and the creation of new Party executives based on the nuclei. During this period the already-existing nuclei and those in the process of development remained subordinated, under the old Executives, that is, they remained without a firm leadership and thus retrograded instead of progressed. This crippled the whole reorganisation work and considerably retarded its tempo.

The practice of the C. P. G. shows that the transition from the residential organisation to the nucleus organisation can proceed the fastest and with the least friction when a provisional sub-section executive is immediately organised and made responsible for carrying on the Party work and reorganisation in its territory, while the old residential executives can be used for a short transitional period as technical supplementary organs in support of the new executive. Experience, so far, has shown that the reorganisation can be carried on most successfully in connection with the campaigns of the Party.

## *Instruction on the Organisational Structure of the Party and Addenda to this Instruction.\*)*

(Endorsed by the Org. Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on May 7th, 1925.)

### **The Significance of Party Organisation.**

A properly built up organisation plays an important role in the Party. Apart from the manner in which the Party organisation functions it cannot do justice to its tasks unless the policy of the Party be Communist, namely, a class policy. And vice versa: no matter how excellent the Party policy, it cannot be made a reality and will remain on paper unless the Party organisation is such that it can be carried out also among the widest possible sections of the working class. This is accomplished through the Party members in the factories, through Communist fractions in worker and peasant organisations, at public meetings, through the Communist press, through representatives in official institutions (parliamentary and municipal representatives) — in short: wherever working men and women, office workers, poor peasants, oppressed peoples, etc., are to be found.

But the form of organisation also plays a far from unimportant role. It must be flexible and elastic, namely, it must be adaptable to all circumstances under which it has to function. The leading organs must have a regular connection with Party members, distributing the work among the latter, giving directions, controlling their work, etc., in order to draw them by such means into regular active Party work. Through the members, the Party organisation circulates the slogans of the Party and puts the tactics of the Party into practice among the masses. At the same time the Party organisation is kept informed by the members on the position of the working class and on the frame of mind of the masse among whom they work.

The Party organisation and its Executive should organise fractions in all workers' and peasant mass organisations. These fractions are the authorised representatives of the Party in these organisations. Party campaigns should be organised in such a manner as to enable all the parts of the organisation, all organs wherever they may be to act uniformly and in complete mutual agreement. Therefore, it is essential for the Party Executive to supply always these organs with clear and definite directions and precise instructions concerning the manner in which the campaigns are to be conducted.

The form of organisation proposed below will help to make the above-mentioned organisational aims a reality.

\*) The addenda are in italics.

Only an organisation built up on this model can consolidate organisationally the influence which the Communist Party has over the toiling masses.

### **Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline.**

It is necessary to carry on among the membership of the Party an extensive preliminary campaign for strict discipline, based on the full consciousness of the Party membership, for a centralised, flexible form of organisation in all parts of the Communist Party, for the creation of a fighting apparatus capable to lead the proletariat in its political and economic struggle and to rally the conscious and active elements of the working class into the ranks of the Party. Through the latter, the Party can and must extend its influence over the toiling masses.

With respect to legal Communist Parties, the most adequate Communist form of organisation is democratic centralism. The Communist Party is a live and energetic Party of action. Therefore whenever questions of programme and tactics are discussed, divergence of opinion among Party members is inevitable, such divergence of opinion causing frequently a majority and a minority. In such a case, the minority must submit to the majority, and all decisions, provided they were not annulled by the higher Party authority, must be conscientiously carried out.

Without such a premise there can be neither a proper fighting organisation nor leadership of the proletariat.

### **The Factory Nucleus.**

The basis of the Communist Party is the working class. The Communist Party is the most class conscious, active and revolutionary part of the working class. To exercise influence over the working class, to propagate the programme and the slogans of the Party, to get hold of the working class organisationally and to lead it in the struggle is only possible through the organisational amalgamation of working men and women in factories, on estates and in all other places of employment.

In factories, Communists must be organised in order to be able to carry out the above-mentioned work systematically. They must adapt themselves to circumstances, must take an active part in all conflicts between employed and employers, must formulate the demands of the workers and point the way



in which the struggle is to be conducted. Economic struggles must be linked up with the political demands of the Party.

The factory nucleus has the opportunity to attract the best working class elements of the factory or any other place of employment to the Party nucleus. It must distribute Communist work among the various members. In this manner it will not only draw them into Party work, but will also make of them active Party workers.

1. Party members must be amalgamated in factory nuclei and be active in them. They must submit to all the decisions of the Party and the Comintern, must pay their membership dues regularly and support the Party press.

2. The factory nucleus is the Party organisation in the factory. It is responsible for the entire Party work in the factory.

3. The members of the factory nucleus meet regularly at nucleus meetings.

4. The nucleus meeting discusses and decides all questions, not only local questions, but also internal Party questions, political, economic, trade union and other questions. It receives reports on work done from the nucleus executive, the sub-section or section executive and also reports from individual comrades and from groups who carry out special work for the nucleus. It elects a nucleus executive of 3—7 members and also delegates for eventual sub-section conferences, etc.

5. a) The nucleus executive is the executive organ of the nucleus. It directs and organises the work in the period intervening between nucleus sessions.

b) The nucleus executive organises nucleus meetings, prepares their agenda, appoints reporters, elaborates proposals and attracts nucleus members to the task of presenting reports on foreign and internal policy.

c) The nucleus executive distributes the Party work among the members of the factory nucleus so as to allot to every one a definite piece of work, and reports on such distribution of work to the nucleus executive. The nucleus executive is entitled either to endorse or revise this distribution of work. The nucleus executive also issues directions and controls the manner in which members carry out Party work. Such Party work functions in the factory nucleus are for instance as follows: **trade union work**, work among the women, work in the factory **Council**, **election work**, contact with the **unemployed**, **co-operative work**, **political educational work**, **literature sales**, **editing factory newspapers**, collaboration with the **Youth nucleus**, work in **Sport organisations**, controlling the work in factory departments, work in sick and benefit societies, contact with the peasantry, work among soldiers (also work among foreign speaking workers), I. C. W. P. R. work, etc. The nucleus executive also instructs members to carry on individual propaganda among definite non-Communist fellow workers in the factory, to influence and to canvass them in every possible way.

d) The nucleus executive must regularly present reports on its activity to the nucleus meetings at least once a month. In these reports it must state how the Party work was distributed and carried out. The most important reports of some of the responsible comrades should also be placed before nucleus meetings.

e) The nucleus executive receives applications for admission to the Party, discusses the latter and places them before the nucleus meeting for decision.

f) The nucleus executive receives Party membership dues.

6. The nucleus executive is elected for 3 months.

7. The nucleus executive elects among its members a nucleus secretary and also other functionaries.

8. All the decisions of the nucleus bureau or the nucleus meeting are binding on nucleus members and must be carried out.

**Note:** Party nuclei with the same functions can also be established in shops, offices, workshops, on estates, etc. — wherever there are manual workers (men and women) and office workers.

a) Party members not employed in any factory (housewives, domestic servants, some trades men, poor peasants etc.) can be amalgamated into so-called street nuclei according to the streets where they reside,

b) Street nuclei discuss and decide all Party questions, carry out all Party work in the respective residential district, they do

house to house canvassing, distribute and sell literature, etc. "However, wherever street nuclei are formed they must not interfere with the factory nuclei with which they are not on a footing of equality. The factory nucleus alone is the basis of the Party organisation." (Extract from the resolution of the V. World Congress.)

c) Party members in a factory where they are numerically too weak to form their own nucleus (1—2 men) as well as Party members not employed in factory, but living in the vicinity of a factory with a factory nucleus may be attached to the latter. Whenever this is necessary, the members employed in the factory are always to have a sure majority. The nucleus must also endeavour to recruit new members from the factory in order that the percentage of the merely attached members be reduced to the smallest proportions possible.

d) The unemployed remain members of the factory nucleus in which they were formerly employed. In cases of prolonged unemployment they can with the permission of the section executive be removed from this nucleus and attached to some nucleus in the section of their residential district.

### Local Party Organisation.

1. All members of factories, street, workshop, estate, etc. nuclei hold joint meetings at which they discuss and decide all Party questions which have been previously discussed in all nuclei and to which the nuclei had adopted a definite attitude. They elect the local executive and the representative for the district conference.

**Note:** a) In villages where it is not possible to have street nuclei Party members are amalgamated into a village organisation.

b) Whenever the membership is very big or if the Party is semi-legal, a local conference (with nucleus representatives) can take the place of the members' meeting. In such a case nucleus meetings elect delegates to the local conference on a proportional basis.

2. The local executive conducts the entire Party work, issues directions to the nuclei and carries on all the Party campaigns in this locality. The local executive organises nuclei in all factories, workshops, shops, etc., where none as yet exist. For this purpose it can also send members to such factories, workshops, and shops, etc., to take up the work there; or it can entrust with this work Party nuclei in the vicinity. Through the formation of Communist fractions the local executive directs and controls the organisation of all Communists in trade unions, cooperatives, sport organisations, municipal representative bodies, and in all other workers' and peasant organisations. It gives instructions and controls their work.

3. The local executive elects a secretary and organises in agreement with the next higher Party executive such departments as are necessary for the successful conduct of the entire Party work in the locality, as for instance organisation, agitprop, trade union, women's departments, etc. The secretary directs the work of these departments.

4. At least one half of the local executive must consist of members of factory nuclei directly employed in the factory, in a workshop, on an estate, or in some other place of employment.

5. The local executive is obliged to attend nucleus meetings regularly. At these meetings it has to report on the work done, and on the plan for future work.

6. The members of the local executive must as active Party members, carry on Party work in the most important nuclei.

7. Party comrades living a considerable distance from the enterprise where they are employed must be specially registered by the sub-section or section or local executive. These comrades are at the disposal of these executives and can be attached to street nuclei in their residential district, or they can be instructed by the local executive — inasfar as they have to do special work for their nucleus, — to carry on after work, on holidays, etc., definite work among comrades or other workers in enterprises where Communists are employed, but where no nuclei as yet exist, or in enterprises where no Communists are as yet employed.

**Note:** In the Party organisation of a medium sized town nuclei are amalgamated into sections, they hold their own conferences or meetings and elect the section executive and delegates to the urban conference.



### The Sub District.

Party organisations in medium sized and small towns, in villages, etc., are amalgamated into Sub-Districts. The same rules apply to Sub Districts as to a local Party organisation.

### The Working Area.

The Party can interpolate between local groups and Sub Districts a new organisational unit: the working area. The executive of the working area is the liaison organ between the various local groups and the Sub District executive. It sees to it that Party decisions are carried out in its area. Its main tasks consist in keeping all local groups systematically employed on the development of factory nuclei, the working-area has to amalgamate with numerous scattered small local groups in the rural districts.

### Big Towns.

1. In big towns several nuclei (factory, street, etc.) in a section are amalgamated into a sub-section.

2. All the members of a sub-section come together at members' meetings at which all political questions are discussed and decided, having been dealt with previously in all nuclei. At the members' meetings the sub-section executive and representatives to the section conference are elected.

Note: Whenever the membership is very big a conference of nucleus representatives can take the place of the sub-section meeting. The number of delegates is based on proportional representation.

3. At least one-half of the sub-section executive must consist of members of factory nuclei directly employed in the factory.

4. The nucleus group executive directs the entire Party work in the sub-section, it issues directions to the nuclei, organises and conducts all Party campaigns in the sub-section area. It organises nuclei in all factories, workshops, shops, etc., wherever none as yet exist. For this purpose it may also send members to such factories, workshops, etc. to initiate the work there, or it may entrust Party nuclei in the vicinity with this work. The sub-section executive reports on its activity at sub-section meetings or at sub-section conferences and in the nuclei.

5. In agreement with the section-executive, the sub-section executive can organise departments.

The various functions of the executive are divided into main fields of activity and distributed among the comrades of the narrower executive (bureau): organisational, trade union, agit-prop and women's work. The other fields of activity of the sub-section executive may be handed over also to non-members of the executive who must work however under the control of the executive.

6. The sub-section executive keeps in contact with the section executive through its secretary.

7. Several sub-sections are amalgamated into a section organisation in accordance with the administrative districts in the town.

8. The section meeting or section conference receives reports from the section executives, it deals with all Party questions and elects the section executive and delegates to the urban conference.

9. The section executive directs and controls the entire Party work of the section, it issues directions to all the organisations of the section, it organises and carries on all the Party campaigns in the area of the section, it organises and directs Communist fraction work in its field of activity.

10. Sub-section and section executives are obliged to attend nucleus meetings regularly where they must report on work done and on the plan for future work.

11. The members of sub-section and section executives must be attached to the nuclei as active Party members.

12. The town conference deals with all Party questions, it receives reports from the town and district executive, elects delegates to the district conference and also elects the town executive. Whenever the town executive is at the same time the district executive it is not elected at the urban conference, but at

the district conference, to which section meetings or conferences elect delegates.

13. The town executive directs and controls the entire Party work of the whole town, it issues directions to all Party organisations in the town, it organises and carries on all Party campaigns in the town area, it controls Communist work in mass organisations not directly connected with the Party, in municipal parliaments, etc. It elects a Presidium and a secretary and establishes in agreement with the competent Party executive departments such as the Agitprop, Org, women's, trade union departments, etc. Wherever such departments are not established individual comrades should be entrusted with these branches of work. All instructions and directions issued by the departments must be signed by the town secretary. The town secretary is directly connected with the section executives and if necessary he can also establish direct connections with all the urban Party organisations. The Presidium, the secretary, or the various departments of the town executive may hold conferences with comrades carrying on special work (work among women, literature sales, trade union work, etc.), in the sections, sub-sections, or nuclei. The secretary of the town executive keeps in touch with the district executive.

Note: If the town in question is the seat of a district executive there is no special town Party executive or committee for this town. The Party work in the town is carried on by the section executives. These executives work under the general direction of the district executive which controls how the work of the section executive is done and coordinates their activity. The responsibility for the general Party work of the town rests with the district executive, and responsibility for Party work in the area of a section with the competent section executive. These regulations apply also to the subdistrict executives of provincial organisations.

The decisions re the tasks of the section executive §§ 13 and 14 apply in this case to the respective district and sub-district executives.

14. The town executive or section executive or sub-section executive may convene conferences with nucleus secretaries or with nucleus executives, or nucleus functionaries and also with the secretaries of the Communist fractions in all organisations where fractions function. These conferences have no right to make decisions. They can on no account replace regular Party members' meetings. The competent executive prepares these conferences (reporting, proposals, etc.). The adopted decisions come into force as soon as they are endorsed by the respective executives. Then the executive is responsible for them. For the preparation of Party campaigns and other Party activity it is expedient for the executives to convene meetings of the nucleus and Communist fraction secretaries or the nucleus and fraction functionaries, in order to give them instructions.

Note: Apart from the regular members' meetings, conferences and executives, no other bodies are entitled to make decisions, (delegate meetings, bodies of functionaries, etc.).

### The District.

1. The Party organisation of a certain district, for instance, Party organisations of several towns (big, medium and small towns) and several sub-districts and working areas must be amalgamated into one Party district organisation.

2. The town and Sub District conferences elect delegates to the district conference.

3. The district conference deals with all Party questions, receives the reports of the Party C.C. and of the district executive and elects the district executive and delegates to the Party Congress.

4. The district executive directs and controls the entire Party work of the district, issues directions to all the Party organisations in the district, controls and directs the organisation of Communist fraction work in all the non-Party mass organisations of the district.

5. The district executive elects a bureau of 7-13 comrades (according to the numerical strength of the district organisation) from among district executive members living at the headquarters of the district and a Secretary or a secretariat. (The

latter is composed of 3—4 members of the district executives professionally engaged in Party work.) The current work is carried on by the secretariat, the Bureau meets once a week and if necessary more frequently. The district executive meets once a month. The district executive organises departments for the various branches of Party work within the district (for instance, org, agitprop, trade union, women's, rural district work) and establishes departments for other branches of work, for instance, cooperative, sport etc.

The district secretary alone keeps up the connection between the departments of the district executive and the departments of the respective lower Party organisations in the district. All directions, instructions, and political documents of the departments of the district executive must be signed by the district secretary.

#### Chief Districts.

In some countries several districts can be amalgamated into chief districts provided economic or political conditions demand this.

The chief district 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 chief district executive elects a presidium and a secretary. The election of the chief district secretary must be endorsed by the Central Committee.

The work of the chief district and of the chief district executive consists in coordinating and supporting the campaigns of the C. C. of the Party and in seeing to it that the instructions of the latter are carried out.

#### The Central Committee.

1. The Central Committee of the bigger legal Parties may consist of 25 or more members, and several candidates. They constitute the Plenum of the Central Committee. (In the case of illegal and semi-legal Parties the Central Committee may consist of fewer members.)

2. The Central Committees of bigger Parties elect 2 bureaux, the Pol. and the Org. Bureau.

The central committees of smaller parties elect only a presidium. The latter carries on the same work as the pol. and org. bureaux: to the Presidium apply §§ 3, 5, 6, 7, 15 and 16 of the decisions re the Central Committee.

3. The members of the Pol. and Org. Bureaux and of the Secretariat work mainly in the town where the seat of the Central Committee is, the other members of the Central Committee work mainly in the districts.

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

5. The Pol. and Org. Bureaux deal with the current business of the C. C.

6. The Pol. Bureau consists of 3—7 members of the C. C. and meets at least once a month. The Pol. Bureau deals with political questions and makes decisions on them. The decisions of the Pol. Bureau can only be rescinded by the Plenum of the C. C.

7. The Org. Bureau consists of 3—7 members, it deals with all questions of organisation and directs the distribution of the active Party forces. Against the decisions of the Org. Bureau appeal may be made to the Pol. Bureau which can rescind them.

8. The Plenum of the C. C. appoints a Secretariat of 2—3 comrades (they must be members of the C. C.) which has to carry out the decisions of the Org and the Pol bureaux and of the Plenum of the C. C. and is also responsible for the circulation of the material for the sessions of the three leading organs.

In small parties the C. C. appoints 1—3 secretaries to whom §§ 8, 9, 10, 13 and 17 of the decisions re the Central Committee apply.

9. The secretaries of the C. C. divide among themselves the work of the Secretariat.

10. At least one of the C. C. secretaries must be a member of the Pol. Bureau and all the secretaries belong to the Org. bureaux of the C. C.

11. In order to establish a regular and close connection between the Pol and the Org Bureaux of the C. C. (in accordance with the requirements of systematic uniform work by the two organs) one or two members of the Org. Bureau, apart from the secretaries, must belong to the Pol. Bureau.

12. The following departments are established in the C. C.: Org., Agitprop, (including the educational department) trade union, rural districts, women's, national minorities (not in all the Parties) I. C. W. P. R., Business Management, (including book keeping and treasury), etc.

**Note:** The Central Committees of the bigger Parties must absolutely establish the following departments: org, agitprop, trade union, women's, rural districts and treasury. As to the organisation of separate departments for other branches of Party work (cooperative, sport, municipal policy, national minorities, etc.) there can be various possibilities with respect to these branches of Party work in accordance with the field of activity of the Party:

1. These branches of work constitute sub-departments of the existing departments: for instance, cooperative sub-department of the trade union department, national minorities sub-department of the agitprop department, Municipal policy sub-department of the agitprop department. In such cases the Central Committee appoints a chief for each of the sub-departments who is subordinate to the department chief of the respective department. In certain cases some of these branches of work departments or sub-departments; in that departments whilst for other branches of work independent departments of the C. C. are formed.

2. Sometimes it will not be necessary to form for these branches of work departments or sub-departments; in that case a departmental director is appointed for them.

3. No departments are established for the I. W. R. and I. C. W. P. R. Wherever these organisations exist it is inadmissible for the departments of the Central Committee to replace the committees of these non-party organisations. Party influence in these organisations is exercised through Communist fractions.

13. All departments are subordinate to the C. C. and are placed under the direct control of C. C. secretaries in order that the C. C. be always fully informed on the work of the respective departments. The Secretariat decides if a question is to be dealt with in the Pol. or the Org. Bureau. No decisions can be made in the Org. Bureau with respect to proposals sent in by the departments and examined by the Secretariat without a previous understanding with the competent secretaries.

14. At the head of every branch of work there is a department director (in bigger Parties his deputy) who is appointed by the Secretariat or the Org. Bureau.

15. On its own initiative or at the proposal of the various departments the C. C. (Pol. Bureau, Org. Bureau, Secretariat) convenes representatives of the respective departments of the local organisations to a conference.

16. Apart from the Party conferences, the respective organs of the C. C. (Pol. Bureau, Org. Bureau, Secretariat) may convene conferences with the Secretaries of the district or local organisations.

17. All instructions, directions, etc., of the various departments must be signed by the secretary to whom the department is subordinate. They are not forwarded direct to the respective department of the organisations, but to the executive of these organisations which forwards them to their destination.

18. The Central Committee decides how often (if in writing or orally) all Party organisations have to present reports. The district executives of a legal Party should present a report to the Central Committee at least once a month.

# *Theses on the Structure of the CC (Org. and Trade Union Depts).*

Endorsed by the Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.

## 1. Mutual Relations between the Departments of the C. C. and its Leading Organs.

1. The Departments of the C. C. are those organs of the Secretariat through which the latter performs its tasks.

2. The Departments are subordinate to the C. C. through the Secretariat. Each of the separate departments is subject to the direct control and constant supervision of one of the Secretaries of the C. C.

3. The Secretariat of the C. C. shall determine in which deliberative organs of the C. C. the questions raised and prepared by the Departments shall be decided. The discussion of the questions raised by the Department and examined by the Secretariat and the decision of the same by the leading organs of the C. C. cannot take place without the knowledge of the Secretary of the C. C. responsible for the Department in question.

4. A head shall be appointed for each Department of the C. C. (who has a substitute if necessary) by the Secretariat or by the Org Bureau of the C. C. Department heads may also be comrades not belonging to the C. C., when the requirements of the candidatures in question are met and the members of the C. C. are overburdened with work.

5. The C. C. of the Party (Politbureau, Orgbureau, Secretariat), either on its own initiative or at the request of its Departments shall call conferences of the heads of the corresponding departments of the District or Local Party Executives.

6. All instructions, decisions, directives, circulars, etc., of the C. C. Departments must be signed by the head of the Department in question and by the proper C. C. secretary. Routine correspondence must be signed by the Department chief and does not require the signature of the C. C. Secretariat concerned.

7. The correspondence of the Departments shall not be sent directly to its address, that is, to the Departments of the District or Local Executives in question, but to the Party Executive (Secretariat or Secretary) who will forward it to its destination.

8. The Secretariat of the C. C. is responsible for the co-ordination of the activity of the various Departments of the C. C. Connection between the various departments of the C. C. is kept up by the regular mutual delegation of representatives to the Sessions of the other Departments.

**Note:** For relations between Orgbureau and Polbureau, see "Structure" paragraph on the Central Committee, approved by the Orgbureau of the E. C. C. I. on May 7, 1925).

## DIRECTIONS FOR THE ORG. DEPARTMENT OF THE C. C.

### 1. Tasks of the Org. Department.

1. To formulate, elucidate and provide for the carrying out of the organisational aspect of the decisions of the Party Congress and of the C. C., as well as of international decisions and directives (C. I. Congress, Enlarged Executive, E. C. C. I. and its leading organs).

2) To guide, instruct and supervise the reorganisation of the Party organisations on the basis of factory nuclei.

3. To examine constantly and from every point of view the organisational status of the District organisations of the Party, as well as to supervise their correct and proper organisation on the basis of the existing directions and to perfect the latter in conformity with experiences.

4. To study the structure of the C. C. and of the District Executives of the Party and to formulate concrete proposals for improvements.

5. To formulate policies on the structure and the organisation of the Fractions in non-party mass organisations (trade unions, workers' and peasants' co-operatives, sport organisation, tenants' organisations, economic and political peasant organisations, proletarian defence organisations, International class war Prisoners Relief, International Workers Relief, and other proletarian organisations), in close contact with the corresponding Departments of the C. C., as well as to supervise the correct application of these policies.

6. To formulate concrete policies, directions and instructions for all the spheres of organisational work of the Party in connection with the various tasks of the Party, especially as concerns the organisation of campaigns of an international or national nature, various elections, etc. — on the basis of the directions and decisions of the E. C. C. I. and its organs, as well as of the leading Party organs (Party Congress, Politbureau, Orgbureau, Secretariat of the C. C.), in closest contact with the Departments of the C. C. in question. To supervise the carrying out of the above-mentioned organisational measures.

7. To formulate and utilise all the organisational experiences of Party work and of the reports coming in, to supervise the Party according to its social composition, to exercise control over the membership of the Party members in the trade unions and other mass organisations, according to length of Party membership or former membership in other Parties, to observe the membership fluctuations, the personnel of the leading organs, and the like.

8. To create a uniform system of information and statistics from the lowest organisational unit (nucleus) up to the C. C.

9. To register and select the cadres of the leading Party officials in the centre and in the districts.

10. To prepare organisation conferences.

11. To arrange the press material on the Party's organisation work, to control the contents of the Org columns of the local press, and to instruct the comrades responsible therefor, to edit the periodical organisational supplements for the central organ of the Party, or the special organisation publications (in the largest parties) and the organisational supplements of the theoretical Party organs.

12. To make oral and written reports periodically to the C. C. Secretariat on the activity of the Org. Department and on the carrying out of the decisions of the Secretariat on this question.

13. To maintain regular connection with the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. by sending in reports and materials.

14. To inform the other Sections of the C. I. on the Org work by contributing to the international press.

## II. Methods of Work of the Org Department of the C. C.:

The Org Department fulfills its tasks as follows:

1. By sending instructors from the C. C. to instruct and control the work of the district organisations and the Party organs. The instructors, who are at the disposal of the Org Department of the C. C., are instructors of the C. C. and in their practical activity, not only in the sphere of organisation, but in all the spheres of Party work, must carry on instructive work.

2. By conducting organisational conferences on a national and a district scale.

3. By arranging for periodical discussions with the heads of the various Org Departments of the district organisations and the lower Party units and with the secretaries or representatives of the District or lower Party Executives.

4. By constant personal or written contact with the District Executives of the Party.

5. By sending our circulars and informational material to the District Executives of the Party.

6. By using the Party press (see Point II, first paragraph: Tasks of the Org Department), for the ideological training and enlightenment work in organisational questions and for illuminating the most important and most valuable experiences in various questions of organisational work and of the organisational status of the Party.

7. By issuing brochures and hand-books for Party officials.

8. By using the experiences of international organisational practice (from the information material and circulars of the Org Department of the E. C. C. and of the international press, and from the Party press of the other Sections of the C. I.).

### 3. Structure of the Org Department:

1. The Org Department consists of a chief (preferably a member of the Org Bureau of the C. C.) and his deputy, several responsible and technical workers, one or more instructors of the C. C. (see § II).

2. The current work of the Org Department is distributed among the permanent responsible collaborators. The chief runs the work of the Department, gives the collaborators concrete instructions and work, he sees to it that the instructions are carried out, and keeps up the connection between the Department and Secretariat of the C. C. The current work of the Org Department is divided according to spheres among the responsible collaborators, as for instance reorganisation of the Party, collaboration in the press, liaison with other departments of the C. C. and such like. Responsible collaborators of the Org Department may also be placed permanently in charge of certain Party districts.

3. By means of discussions and periodical sessions of the Department with the responsible collaborators of the Org. Department collectivity in the work is achieved.

The chief of the Org Department convenes regularly departmental sessions. At these sessions important questions of organisational work, instructors' reports and reports of provincial functionaries, as well as reports received from district executives come up for discussion. All decisions on these questions are entered into the minutes. The participants in the sessions of the Org Department are: the chief and the responsible collaborators of the Org Department, the instructors of the C. C., the representative of the Org Department of the district executive of the locality where the C. C. is situated and if possible also some of the nucleus secretaries of big enterprises and for the establishment of close contact with the lower organisations), the representatives of the more important departments (trade union department, the agitprop department of the Young Communist League).

**Note 1:** Whenever questions are discussed which are directly or indirectly connected with the work of the other departments, representatives are invited to the session of the Org Department.

**Note 2:** When questions are discussed which are connected with work in the non-Party mass organisations, representatives of the respective Communist fractions are invited to the sessions of the Org Department.

### 4. Org Department and Org Bureau:

Some Parties are still not clear as to the difference which exists between the functions of the Org Bureau and those of the Org Department. The Org Bureau which exists only in Central Committees, is composed of C. C. members only who are elected by the Plenum of the C. C. for the general superintendence of organisational work, for deciding the fundamental lines of organisational work and issuing directions on the basis of these lines to the various departments of the C. C.

The other tasks of the Org Bureau are as follows: receiving reports from the most important district and other executives, making decisions and issuing instructions for their further work, receiving reports from the various departments of the Central Committee and endorsing their plans of work, ratifying candidates for leading posts on a central and district scale, laying down the general lines of the financial policy of the Party (drawing up the Party budget, deciding on the various items of expenditure, commensurately with the tasks of the Party in the various fields of activity).

With respect to organisational questions the Org Bureau acts on behalf of the Central Committee and is responsible for its work to the Plenum of same.

The Org Department on the other hand, is part of the apparatus of the Secretariat of the C. C. and is responsible to the latter for its work. The Org Department carries out directions issued by the Org Bureau and elaborates draft decisions which are subsequently endorsed by the Org Bureau.

**Note:** The Central Committees of the various Parties should elaborate definite decisions for the formation of Org Departments in district, section, local and sub-section executives.

## DIRECTIONS FOR THE TRADE UNION DEPARTMENT OF THE C. C.

### For Big Legal Parties.

#### I. The Tasks of the Department.

The department has the task:

1. To elaborate the decisions of the Congresses and of the C. C. of the Party dealing with the trade union movement. It has to explain them and adapt them to the conditions prevailing in the country, it must make sure that they are carried out and participate in the decisions themselves on the strength of its experience and its information on trade union work.

2. It must systematically collect and elaborate material in the following spheres; it must observe the following spheres and must see to it that all necessary measures are taken and that Party organs receive timely and full information:

a) The industrial life of the country, particularly the state of industry, the dynamics of its development, raw material questions, questions of production and distribution, reorganisation of industry (trustification, forming of cartels and concerns, internationalisation etc.) organisation, strategy and tactics of the employers' federations.

b) The economic position of the working class, conditions of the labour market, wages, working day, price index, unemployment, social political questions (insurance etc.) Factory Council movement.

c) The situation in the trade unions of the various tendencies, their structure, activity, composition, their relations with the political parties (class unions, Christian, liberal, nationalist, fascist, syndicalist unions, company unions etc.), the study of tendencies springing up with them, dynamics of development, etc.

d) The movement for trade union unity, the development of a Left or oppositional tendency in the trade unions and the labour movement. Study of the international labour and trade union movements. Struggle against all ideological opposition to trade union unity both within the Party and outside of it.

e) The economic struggles of the working class, strikes, renewal of tariff agreements, collective agreements and such like. One can do justice to these tasks only in close collaboration with the competent departments of the C. C.

3. Elaboration of instructions, directions and suggestions in connection with all the questions enumerated in § 2 on the basis of Party directives.

4. Guidance and superintendence of the work of the fractions in the T. U. C. Executive Committee and in central trade union committees, control over the actual putting into practice of Party directions on the part of these fractions with respect to the entire Communist trade union work.

5. Giving systematic instructions to the fractions and departments of the district executive of the Party (through the latter) mentioned in § 4 concerning all political and tactical questions and concrete Party measures with respect to the trade union movement, on the occasion of trade union campaigns, strikes, Factory Council elections etc. (above all before and during the expiration of important wage agreements the initiation of economic strikes, before elections to trade union congresses and conferences of various tendencies and on the occasion of various campaigns).

6. Care that trade union work be carried out on uniform Party lines. Coordination of the activity of the fractions in trade unions of various tendencies.

7. Elaboration and utilisation of the experiences of trade union fractions; organisation of statistics and uniform reporting by fractions, from the lowest to the central fractions.

8. Control of the work of the organisation and consolidation of the fractions in all trade union organisations, organs and federations throughout the country.

9. Control over the correct organisation of the work of the fractions on the basis of the theses for the construction of fractions; supplementing and improving the latter in conformity with experiences gradually acquired.

10. Participation in the work of the central fractions in connection with the preparation of trade union congresses and conferences, and also control over this work.

11. Selection and registration of Party comrades experienced in trade union work on a central and district scale, such comrades to be used for leading posts in trade union organs.

12. Compilation of press material on the state of trade union work in the Party, controlling and watching over trade union columns in the central and local press, editing the periodical trade union supplement of the central organ of the Party.

13. Informing brother Parties on the trade union work of the Party by means of reports and collaboration in the international press.

14. Representing regular oral and written reports on the work of the trade union department to the Secretariat of the C. C., carrying out the decisions of the Secretariat made on the strength of these reports.

## II. Methods of Work of the Trade Union Department of the C. C.

The trade union department carries out its work as follows:

1. It receives periodical reports from the central fractions under the control of the trade union department on their activity (see § 1, point 4).

2. It organises regular conferences with the representatives of the district and local trade union departments and fractions, of factory council fractions and of representatives of Communists active in the unemployed movement, for the purpose of controlling and issuing instructions.

3. It holds joint conferences with the representatives of fractions in the central trade union committees of various tendencies.

4. It sends C. C. instructors to inspect and improve the work of the fractions on a central, district and local scale.

5. It sends out circular letters and information material.

6. It keeps up connection by correspondence with district executives and central fractions.

7. It makes use of the local, central and international Party and trade union press.

8. It publishes pamphlets (reference books on trade union work) for trade union functionaries.

## III. The Structure of the Trade Union Department of the C. C.

1. The trade union department consists of a chief, who should be a member of the C. C., his deputy, the necessary number of responsible collaborators and the technical staff.

2. The current work of the trade union department is distributed among the permanent collaborators of the trade union department. The chief of the department organises the work, gives definite instructions and tasks to collaborators, sees to it that they are carried out and keeps up connection with the Secretariat of the C. C. The various branches of work are divided among the permanent collaborators, for instance a) the economic situation and struggle of the working class in the various industries; b) the economic position of the country; c) unemployment; d) the Factory Council movement; e) social-political questions; f) press work; g) connection with the other departments of the C. C. etc.

3. By means of discussions among the responsible workers of the department and periodical sessions of the department, the collectivity of the work of the trade union department is ensured. Important questions of trade union work are brought up at the sessions of the trade union department, instructors' reports and reports of provincial trade union functionaries invited to the session as well as reports of the various central fractions on past and future work are also dealt with, etc. All decisions must be entered in the minutes.

Participants in the sessions of the trade union department are: the chief and the responsible collaborators of the trade union department, the representative of the fraction of the T. U. C. Executive Committee, the representative of the trade union department of the district executive of the Party which has its seat in the locality of the C. C., C. C. instructors, the representative of the district trades council fraction. The representative of the most important departments of the C. C., of the Org Department, the Agitprop Department and the Young Communist League.

**Note 1.** When questions are discussed which are only connected with the work of the other departments, trade unions or other fractions, representatives of the organs in questions are invited to the sessions of the trade union department.

**Note 2:** The C. Cs. of the various Parties should elaborate definite decisions for the formation of trade union departments in the district, section and sub-section executives.

# *Resolution of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. of 1926 on the Organisation and the Structure of the Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions.*

1. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. endorses the instruction of the II Org Conference on the organisation and structure of the Communist fractions in the Trade Unions and recom-

mends all Communist Parties to adapt the elaborated instruction according to the peculiar conditions of the Trade Union Movement in each country.

## *Model Directions for the Formation and Structure of the Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions.*

Endorsed by the VI Enlarged E. C. C. I. (See above resolution).

The following directions contain the principles in accordance with which the Communist fractions are to be formed by the Sections of the C. I. The varying structure of the trade unions and the varying degrees of development of the Communist Parties render it necessary that the Sections of the C. I. formulate special ways and means for adapting these directions to the special conditions in their country.

### I.

#### THE ROLE OF THE FRACTIONS.

The Communist members of a trade union organisation and its organs (committees, conferences, congresses, etc.) must unite into a fraction and carry on active fractional work.

The Communist fractions work with all their energy to bring the majority of the trade union members under their influence. The more devotedly, practically, and energetically they know how to heed the interests of these members, the better they understand how to defend proletarian class interests in every way,

in all spheres, and on all occasions, and to link up the fight for the immediate tasks with the fight for the final aim of the working class the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence. This Communist trade union work must be conducted within the framework of the statutes and decisions of the respective trade unions.

### II.

#### PARTY AND FRACTIONS.

The Party members must keep in mind that the fractions are not the foundation of the Party and that they therefore can deal only with the questions of their special field of activity.

The success of the fractional work is dependent on the unity, solidarity, and discipline of all the members of the fraction. It is not the individual member of the fraction often not even the fraction itself, but always the Communist Party as a whole that is held responsible by the masses of workers for the activity of the Communist fractions and for every remark of a member of a Communist fraction.



The Party Executive determines the political and tactical line of the Communist fractions, directs and instructs them, and controls their activity.

Important tasks of the fractions shall be discussed in the Trade Union Department in the presence of representatives of the fractions. In case of serious differences of opinion between the fraction and the Trade Union Department, the Party Executive shall decide the matter in the presence of fraction representatives. The decisions of the Party Executive must be carried out unconditionally by the Fraction. Non-fulfilment constitutes a breach of discipline.

Candidates for all Congresses, Conferences, and Committees shall be nominated by the Fraction Executive and approved by the proper Party Executive. If necessary, the Party Executive itself can nominate candidates.

The proper Party Executive is authorised at any time to correct or annul fraction decisions and to remove or appoint Fraction Executives or leaders. In such cases it is necessary to explain these measures to the members of the Fraction.

Within the limits of the general Party directives, the fractions deal independently with the questions of their inner life and their current work. The Party Executive shall not interfere unnecessarily into the daily work, and should give the Fractions all possible freedom of action and initiative.

The Fraction Executives are obliged to give regular reports to the proper Party Executive or to the proper Department and higher Fraction Executive.

### III.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE FRACTIONS.

The Communist trade union work in the factories shall be carried on through the nuclei, and in the trade union organisations and organs through the fractions. No trade union fractions shall exist in the factories.

##### Trade Union Work in the Factories:

Trade Union work in the factories shall be conducted and controlled by the nucleus executive. The nucleus executive shall appoint one of its members as the director of Communist trade union work in the factory. In large factories, where the nuclei are divided according to departments, workshops or blocs, the nucleus executive shall also appoint chiefs for the various departments for Communist trade union work. Departments in which no comrades are employed shall be taken in charge by comrades from other departments. Where several trade unions (various craft unions, or trade unions of varying tendencies, e. g., Red, Amsterdam, Christian or others) are represented in one factory, one comrade for each union shall be appointed by the nucleus executive. These comrades form a trade union commission of the nucleus executive, to which other comrades, particularly the directors of Communist trade union work of the factory departments, can be co-opted. As a rule, a representative of the nucleus of the Y. C. L. should also belong to this Commission. When meetings of the various trade unions take place inside or outside the factories, the director of Communist trade union work shall call together the comrades of the respective trade union to discuss tactics on the basis of the decision of the nucleus executive or of the higher Party Executive. In large factories the Communist trade union officials shall be called together by the nucleus executive for discussions whenever necessary.

The nucleus executive directs and controls the activity of the Communist trade union officials in the factory. It must see to it that in the factory's trade union elections those comrades are nominated as candidates, who are carrying on trade union work under the instructions of the nucleus.

The local fraction executives shall not, as a rule, maintain direct contact with the nuclei. This contact shall be made through the local Party Executive (through its trade union department or the trade union director). In special cases, in order to deal with definite problems (such as, for instance, the calling together of the trade union delegates of certain factories) these fraction executives can, with the approval of the proper Party Executive, deal directly through the nucleus executive with the nuclei.

##### In the Locals:

(1) All Communist members of a trade union shall form fractions in the lower trade union organisation.

The following cases might occur in this connection:

(a) When the territory of the trade union organisation covers several contiguous localities, one fraction shall be formed for the whole territory. When trade union meetings are held in separate localities of this sort, or in parts of the area of the local administration, the Communists belonging to that trade union shall be called together beforehand by the local Party Executive.

(b) In towns where section organisations form the lowest trade union organisations and have committees, section fractions shall be formed.

(c) When the trade unions are divided into branches according to craft, fractions shall be formed there also.

(d) In towns where the delegate system prevails in the trade unions, the Communist delegates shall be united into a fraction. If the fraction of the delegate meeting is too weak, the directors of the Communist trade union work of the respective trade union shall be co-opted to the fraction meetings from the factories which are not represented in the fraction meeting.

(2) All Communists in the organs of the trade unions (executives, councils etc.) shall form a fraction.

The Communist fraction of the local administration of a trade union shall at the same time form the executive of the Communist fraction in the respective trade union organisation. The following cases might occur in this connection:

(a) In towns where the trade union is divided into sections which have committees, the Communist committee members shall form the fraction executive for the corresponding trade union section. This fraction executive is subordinated to the Communist fraction of the local administration.

(b) The Communist members of the branch (craft union) committees shall form the executive of the branch fraction. This executive is likewise subordinated to the Communist fraction of the local administration of the trade union in question.

(c) The fraction of the local administration is the Executive of the permanent delegate-meeting fractions.

(d) When the forces of the local fraction executive of the trade union are insufficient, the fraction executive shall be supplemented by comrades who are elected in a joint meeting of the fractions of the branch committees, and town districts. If there are no branches in the respective trade unions, the election of members to be drawn in shall occur in a meeting of all the Communist trade union delegates from the factories. When this method is also impossible (too few delegates, etc.) the election shall be conducted in the full meeting of the local trade union fraction. This same method is to be taken when there are no Communists at all on the trade union committee in the local in question.

This applies to (a), (b) and (c).

(e) When the fraction executive is too large, it shall have a bureau composed of 3 to 5 members for directing the current work.

(3) All members of the fraction shall be called together for a fraction meeting by the fraction executive whenever necessary but, in any case, prior to every meeting of the trade union in question. The carrying out of the directions shall be discussed here on the basis of the decisions of the respective Party executive. If for objective reasons the decision of the entire fraction cannot be formulated, the instructions of the fraction executive are obligatory for all fraction members in the meeting. Under all circumstances the comrades shall act and vote as a unit.

(4) If the trade unions in a town are united in a trades council to which Communists belong, these shall form a fraction, which at the same time shall constitute the executive for all the fractions of the various trade unions in the locals.

The following cases might occur in this connection:

If no Communists belong to the trades council, or if the forces of the trades council fraction are insufficient or if no Communists represent important trade unions in the trades council, then the Trade Union Department, or the chief for trade union work of the local Party Executive shall call together the fractions of the various trade union committees, in order to form or supplement an executive for all the fractions of the trade unions in the locality.

(5) The work of the fractions of the local administrations of the various unions shall be conducted under the guidance

of the local trades council fraction. The latter carries on its activity under the guidance and control of the Party executive. The Party executive can also establish direct contact with the fraction executives of the various trade unions.

#### In the District:

(1) In the district committees of the various trade unions, the Communist committee members combine into a fraction.

This district committee fraction is at the same time the executive of all the local fractions of this trade union within the district.

The following cases must be taken into consideration in this connection:

(a) If the forces of the districts committee fraction of the trade union are insufficient, it shall be supplemented, with the approval of the proper district Party executive, by members of the local administrative fraction of this trade union in the headquarters city of the district committee, or of suitable trade union officials who are living in the said headquarters city.

(b) If there are no Communists in the district committee, either the local fraction of the said trade union at the district committee headquarters city shall exercise the functions of the district committee fraction, or such fractions shall be elected from among the trade union officials living in the headquarters city of the district committee by the Communist delegates to the trade union district conference where there are a sufficient number of Communist delegates and representatives of the locals, in agreement with the proper Party district committee, and serving until the next conference.

(c) If the fraction in the district headquarters city is too weak, the headquarters of the fraction executive can be transferred temporarily to another place, where there are sufficient forces, in agreement with the Trade Union Department of the C. C.

(2) If the district trade unions are united into a district trades council, on the committee of which there are Communists, these Communists shall form a district trades council fraction. This fraction shall constitute at the same time the executive for all fractions of the trade unions in the trades council area. It shall work under the guidance and control of the proper district Party Executives (trade union department). The district Party executive can also make direct contact with the district fraction executives of the various trade unions.

The following cases may occur in this connection:

(a) If there are no Communists in the trades council, or if their forces are insufficient, or if there are no Communists representing the important trade unions in the trades council, the Trade Union Department of the District Party executive at the headquarters city of the trades council shall call together the fractions of the district committees of the various trade unions, in order to form, or to supplement the executive for all the fractions of the trade unions in the territory of the trades council, from among the Communist trade union officials living in the headquarters city of the Trade Council committee.

(b) The fraction executive for the trades council area can be elected, (provided there are a sufficient number of Communist delegates and local representatives), by the Communist delegates to the district trades council conferences. The fraction executive shall be elected in this manner for the period up to the next conference. This election shall be made from among the ranks of the trade union officials living in the headquarters city of the trades council, in agreement with the proper Party district executive.

(c) If the boundaries of the trades council area of the trade union district do not correspond to the boundaries of the Party district, the fraction executive for the trades council or district area of the various trade unions shall be subordinated to that Party district committee, in the headquarters city or in the territory of which is located the district trades council or trade union committee. In this case the district Party committee shall take its measures with regard to the fractions, in closest cooperation with the other district Party executive involved.

(d) A district trades council fraction executive can also be subordinated directly to the C. C. of the Party, when an adequate executive of the trades council committee fraction is not secured by the Party district executive at its headquarters (e. g. when there is no general Party committee in autonomous provinces).

#### On a National Scale:

(1) The Communist members of the central executive committee of every union shall form a fraction, which at the same time is the fraction executive for the entire union.

The following cases may occur in this connection:

If there are no Communists in the central executive committee of the trade union, the fraction of the district committee of this trade union which is located at the headquarters city of such central committee, shall exercise the functions of the national fraction executive of the trade union.

(2) The Communist fractions of the central executive committees of the various trade unions are subordinated to the Communist fraction of the Committee of the Trade Union Federation. The latter shall work under the direct guidance of the C. C. (Trade Union Department). The C. C. can also deal directly with the various national fraction executives.

The following case is possible in this connection:

In case the Communists are not represented in the executive committee of the Trade Unions Federation (General Council), the C. C. shall call together the Communist fractions of the national central executive committee of the various trade unions in order to form a central fraction executive.

#### Fractions in Trade Unions of Various Tendencies:

If there are trade unions of various tendencies in one trade, (Red, Amsterdam, Syndicalist etc.), a fraction shall be formed in each organisation in conformity with its structure. It is also necessary to organise fractions in the Christian, Hirsch-Dunker, fascist, and company unions. For this purpose the Party organisations must try to win over members of these trade unions as Party members. In order to bring about a systematic, united action of the fractions of the trade unions of the various tendencies on definite occasions, the fractions, or the fraction executives of the respective trade unions shall be called together for joint discussion by the proper Party executive (Trade Union Department) according to necessity.

#### IV.

#### RELATIONS OF FRACTIONS TO EACH OTHER.

(1) The fractions in the committees of the various trade unions in the district, as well as in various localities shall receive instructions on the one hand from the fractions of the central or district executive committee and on the other hand from the fractions of the district or local trades councils. The Party executives shall guide the work of the trade union fractions by sending their instructions to the proper (district or local) trades council fractions. On special occasions, or in cases where the direction of the fractions of the individual trade unions by the trades council fraction is made difficult the fractions of the individual trade unions can be guided directly by the Party executives in question.

#### V.

#### FRACTIONS AT CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES.

The Party Executives shall thoroughly prepare (through elections of delegates, motions, etc.) for congresses, conferences and delegate meetings, through its organs (trade union departments and fraction executives). They shall call fraction meetings in advance, and guide and control the Communist work during the session. For the period of the congress or conference, the fraction shall elect a bureau to deal with current work. The fraction bureau which is working under the leadership of the respective Party Executive is politically fully responsible for its work to the Party Executive in question.

It is essential for Communists to maintain strict discipline and unanimity in their actions at the sessions, because the rank and file workers carefully follow the proceedings at such congresses and conferences, and hold the Communist Party responsible for anything said by individual Communists.

#### VI.

#### FRACTIONS AND OPPOSITION.

Every fraction is obliged to maintain contact with the non-Party oppositional elements of the trade unions. In order to make joint and unanimous action on important occasions

possible, conferences and meetings must be held with these sympathisers. This applies not only to important questions of principles (international trade union unity, for or against Soviet Russia, governmental questions etc.) but also to wage movements, factory council elections, elections on local trade union committees or trades councils, and national and international congress delegates. Previous to these conferences, Communist fractions must discuss all questions among themselves and decide on their tactics and the carrying out of same on the basis of the strictest discipline.

#### VII.

#### FINANCING FRACTION WORK.

The regular revenue of the Party organisation shall provide the means for fraction work. No special fraction dues are permitted.

#### VIII.

#### THE FRACTIONS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

The members of the Y. C. L. who belong to a trade union organisation must join the Communist fraction of the latter and participate in the fraction meetings. Moreover, the members of the Y. C. L. within the fractions shall be organised in youth fractions, which shall deal with the special questions of the young workers of the respective organisation. These youth fractions may have their own executive, and vice versa. The Communist youth fraction receives direct instructions from the proper Y. C. L. executives on the one hand, and from the Communist fraction executive of the respective trade union on the other.

The Communist fraction executive and all the fraction members are obliged to support the activity of the youth comrades constantly and systematically.

## *Resolution of the II. Org. Conference on International Correspondence of the Nuclei.*

(Endorsed by the Org Bureau of the E. C. C. I. on 26. III. 26.)

The Conference having heard the report of the Commission of the C. C., C. P. S. U. on International correspondence of nuclei considers:

1. This correspondence shall cover the following countries: **France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy and Great Britain.**

2. To avoid difficulties of various kinds it is proposed that a commission be formed similar to that of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., attached to the Org Department of the C. C. of Parties actively participating in the correspondence, for the guidance of this correspondence.

3. It is necessary to direct the contents of the correspondence towards an exchange of organisational experiences of the nuclei, and an exchange of political information on the situation in the Party, in the country and also in the nuclei's own enterprise.

4. The immediate tasks, in addition to numerically increasing the number of nuclei connected up with one another, should be to improve the quality of the correspondence by discarding general phrases and by dealing with more concrete question and getting down to businesslike correspondence.

5. On behalf of the conference the C. C. of the Communist Parties should be appealed to with the request:

a) To send a circular to the nuclei in question and encourage correspondence by explaining the significance and tasks of such correspondence;

b) to control the activity of the correspondence commission by means of bringing this question up regularly before the Org. Department resp. the Org Bureau.

c) To charge the C. C. instructors who instruct party organisations to control the nuclei selected for correspondence.

d) To further in every way the speeding up and dispatch of the correspondence.

6. The conference considers it necessary to send to the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. press material and resolutions passed by Party committees in connection with the correspondence.

7. The Conference requests the C. C. to make it incumbent upon its organs, the Inform. Departments of the Central Committees and such like, to write up material on correspondence for publication in the press.

8. The Conference deems it desirable to establish mutual participation in the newspapers of the respective enterprises, both on the part of the corresponding nuclei and also on the part of the Worker Correspondents of these nuclei.

9. The Conference considers the exchange of material, photographs, etc., between the nuclei participating in the correspondence extremely useful.

## *Resolution on the Results of the II. Org. Conference of the C. I.*

(Endorsed by the 6th Enlarged E. C. C. I.)

On the basis of reports by the nuclei and local (section) Committee representatives of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R., Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and France, the reports from the trade union workers of the above mentioned Parties plus the C. P. of Italy, Great Britain and Norway, and lively discussion on the resolutions and instructions on nuclei, lower and central Party apparatus, factory newspapers and trade union fractions, in which there participated representatives also of the C. P. of America, Sweden, and Switzerland and of the Y. C. L., the II Organisation Conference of the C. I. records the following:

1. Practice has fully confirmed the correctness of the Comintern decisions on the reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of nuclei, and has justified the policy of the I Organisational Conference on the question of abolishing the old traditional institution of functionaries, inherited from Social Democracy, and on the necessity of forming street nuclei for the organisation of Communists not working in the factories and for the conduction of Party work in working class residential districts.

During the past years, the organisational work of the Communist Parties has made progress. The reorganisation of the Parties on the basis of nuclei had favourable effect on the participation of Party members in Party work. In some nuclei this has increased the number of active comrades considerably.

At the same time, the reorganisation, the very fact of the existence and the work of the nuclei has considerably assisted in overcoming internal Party crisis in a number of the largest Sections of the Comintern and has hastened the execution of Comintern policy.

Thanks to the formation and work of the nuclei, our Parties have succeeded in drawing into their ranks new working class elements from the factories and in increasing the sales of Communist literature amongst the factory workers. The factory papers have also played an extremely important role in extending and increasing our influence over the working masses; they helped in a number of cases to bring the Communist Party nearer to the non-Party and Social Democratic workers, and

even to find access to the more backward strata, helping to acquaint the factory workers with the Communist Party and awakening in their consciousness questions as to the substance and policy of the Communist Party.

Thus despite all their still existing obvious defects, the work of the nuclei has made possible the rapprochement to the working masses in general and to those strata which stood hitherto under the influence and leadership of the Social Democracy; it has assisted the Communist Parties in many cases to form a United Front with workers in the factories who until quite recently avoided our Party; finally, and this is of primary importance, the Communist nuclei in many countries have aroused the factory workers to re-affiliate where they have left or to join the trade unions.

All this goes to prove that the factory nuclei, are also for the Communist Parties in capitalist countries, whether working under legal or illegal conditions, really that basic form of Party organisation which is most adapted for discussing and executing Party decisions among the working masses, and also for appraising their needs and enabling and aiding the higher Party organs to react to them in good time.

At the same time the Sections of the C.I. must recognise clearly the real difficulties in the road to reorganisation. (The large number of Communists who are out of work, closing down of factories, etc., in the way of sharpened employers' terror, the crowding out of the Communists from large enterprises, and their concentration in small factories, workshops, etc.).

Therefore the Organisation Conference emphasises that still greater attention must be devoted to the nuclei than hitherto; the political substance of their work must be still further vitalised by connecting all their activities with the campaigns and political actions of the Party and by the quantitative increase in factory nuclei, by securing a new influx of members from among the factory workers; all efforts should be made that the nuclei in large enterprises be maintained and strengthened particularly in conditions of the industrial crisis and mass unemployment.

Further, practice has proved that in the majority of Parties one of the chief defects of nucleus work is the fact that their bureaux either do not exist at all or they are represented only by a lone secretary, or else they have developed their activity to a manifestly inadequate degree.

The nucleus bureaux thus do not yet fulfil the functions of leading organs, this reacts very harmfully on their whole work. To a greater extent than hitherto the Communist Parties should devote attention to questions of the formation, work, and structure of nucleus bureaux, and see that by means of pushing forward the most active, experienced and trained members in the nucleus, and by appropriately distributing the various branches of Party work among them, the nucleus be ensured a leading organ (bureau) capable of effecting systematic, permanent guidance of all their work.

With respect to street nuclei, all the defects existing in their structure and composition must be eliminated. Street nuclei must be formed in those Party organisations where they have not yet been established, the factory nuclei being freed from an excessive number of attached members, who should not belong to the factory nuclei but should be in the street nuclei. On the other hand, it is necessary to withdraw from the street nuclei and distribute among the factory nuclei all those Party members who ought not to belong to the street nuclei (such categories of workers as building and transport workers, unemployed, etc.). Finally, there should be avoided the repetition of the error which certain Parties have committed in forming street nuclei of excessive size, embracing in them comrades from the whole territory of a sub-section or section and thus made them resemble the old territorial organisation. To avoid this, there should be formed not one, but several street nuclei covering each the territory of one or several streets or block of houses within the boundaries of the sub-section or section.

2. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to build up from bottom to top the Party apparatus, which in general still functions poorly. Above all, there must be formed a **unified leadership**, removing artificial separation of organisational work from political, abandoning the system of dual leadership in the subsection, section and district committees (mechanical division in organisational and political secretaries) and

proceeding to the election by these committees of **one** responsible secretary who is in charge of all the work of the committee and its respective departments and their chiefs.

The improvement of the lower apparatus of district and section committees (which in very many cases have failed to take on definite form) will be of great importance for strengthening and increasing the success on this field of nucleus work. The Org Conference deems it indispensable to form district (section and subsection) committees in large towns, as the leadership and direction of all work amongst the rank and file from one town centre — and in very large towns by means only of the district committees — cannot be fulfilled. The Conference affirms that this lower Party apparatus although already existing in a series of large city organisations of our Parties, is nevertheless still very imperfect, being without paid district committee secretaries and without systematically working departments with permanent collaborators. As a result of this, the work of the lower Party apparatus is far from satisfactory.

Improvement of the activity of Party committees (central, district, section and subsection) therefore demands that permanently working departments be formed in them, only with the aid of which the Party committees will be properly able to prepare material and work out questions on which they have to pass and carry out decisions. For the larger Sections of the Comintern the immediate task on the field of perfecting the Party apparatus is the strengthening and qualitative improvement of Central Committee departments, both in respect to their composition and the methods and system of their work. Simultaneously with the qualitative improvement of the apparatus there should also be a numerical reduction of their staffs, and at the same time the increasing of the weak apparatus of the district and large section committees. Regardless of its size the central apparatus is incapable to master the whole of the tasks and problems which devolve upon the Party. The C. C. should not do the work of the whole of the Party organs, but should only give directions, which must be carried out by the lower Party organs. This rational distribution makes possible and furthers the numerical entrenchment of the C. C. apparatus, while simultaneously the district, section and other Party executives, would be strengthened.

One of the most important tasks of the central apparatus of the Comintern Sections is to commence a systematic study both of the Party composition as a whole, and also of its cadres in particular. With this object in view the Comintern Sections should begin investigating the Party from the view-point of its social composition, etc., and the affiliation of its members first of all to trade unions and other mass organisations, to control and improve it. There should also be organised a systematic record of the cadres of Party workers, of their distribution and promotions to leading work in various fields of Party activity, etc.

3. The Org Conference notes with satisfaction that a start has been made in forming fractions in mass organisations outside of the Party and that this has already led to certain results. These results are mainly on the sphere of trade union work and are to be seen in the fact that in a number of countries the Communist Parties have gained certain sympathy in the trade unions; the number of votes polled by Communists has increased strongly in some places; in a number of lower trade union organisations, members of our Parties have been elected to various posts in the factories and workshops or in the committees of their respective trade unions; collaboration with the Opposition within the trade union movement has been established to a certain extent, etc.

These first successes must be strengthened and extended by means of more active work of the Communist fractions and by removing the shortcomings in fraction work.

For this purpose the Party organisations should exert all efforts through the nuclei and fractions so as to see that in the near future there be no members left in the Communist Parties who do not belong to a trade union and so that our comrades take the most active participation in the detail everyday trade union work inside the trade union organisations and also in the factories.

The Party committees should establish a close and permanent contact with the fractions under them, systematically guiding, directing and controlling the work of the fractions, hearing reports of their activities, not in any case, however, arrogating to themselves the execution of the everyday work of the fractions.

At the same time it is necessary to abandon the existing practice of Party committees (trade union departments) executing everyday work in the trade unions, this work is to be done by the existing fractions and the comrades working in them. On the other hand the fractions should in view of the present stage of organisation in the sections of the C. I., confine their activities to problems of those organisations in which they function. They shall not deal with questions which can only be decided by the basic organisations of the party (nuclei, party executives etc.), as the dealing with general party questions in the fractions would lead to the substitution of the party by the fraction, as experience has already showed in many countries. The Conference considers that for the present stage of development of the Party and of fractional work, it is necessary to establish the leadership of the lower fraction bureaux by the higher and to establish contact between them with the aim of harmonising their work and of mutual information on work in the trade unions.

The Org Conference emphasises that the establishment of leadership in the lower fractions by the higher units, and the maintenance of the contact between them should in no case lead to the weakening but on the contrary to the strengthening of the general leadership of the Party committees over the work of the fractions under their charge.

While stating that the formation of fractions and their leading organs (bureaux) by the Party committees has been given inadequate attention, the Conference considers that as a rule, the only correct position is that, under which the leadership of the fractions' everyday activity as a general rule is concentrated in the hands of those comrades who are in the leading trade union organs, and who are therefore best informed in the field of everyday trade union practice.

4. The Org Conference notes that more satisfactory contact was established during the past year on organisational questions between Comintern Sections (through the Org Department of the C. C. and the E. C. C. I. through its Org Department). The establishment of this contact is to a considerable extent attributable to the institution of instructors in accordance with the decisions of the I Org Conference which have fully justified their task. The Org Conference therefore, considers it extremely useful to maintain the instructors for the future also.

At the same time, the Org Conference considers it necessary to strengthen still further the contact between Communist Parties and the E. C. C. I. in the field of organisational work, and to establish closer information of the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. by the Comintern Sections.

Simultaneously the Conference considers it useful that the Sections of the Comintern send practitioners for temporary work in the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. This measure enables the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. on the one hand to utilise the organisational experience of the Sections for work on an international scale, and on the other hand to transmit to the Parties by means of these practitioners the international organisational experience as well as that of the C. P. of the Soviet-Union.

Finally, the Org Conference deems it necessary to emphasise the great importance of correspondence between the nuclei of the various countries (mutual information as to the work of nuclei, of the Party, of the trade unions, etc., and on interests and moods of the workers, etc.).

The Org Conference affirms that this field of work has been inadequately developed and calls upon the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. to take steps for extending and improving these connections and of bringing a large number of nuclei into this work.