

**From Isolation
to the Masses: An
Analytical Study**

R. Gyptner
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**FROM ISOLATION
TO THE MASSES**

BY
R. GYPTNER

—
AN ANALYTICAL STUDY
OF ORGANIZATION



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FROM ISOLATION TO THE MASSES

A Text Book for Young Communist Leagues

By

R. Gypiner



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I N T R O D U C T I O N

AFTER an analysis of the work accomplished since the Second Congress, it has been made clear to the Third Congress of the Young Communist International that "the Young Communist Leagues have not yet become mass organizations in the sense of having a close contact with the masses of young workers; of the participation of their branches and individual members in the daily struggle of the young workers for the betterment of their conditions; and in the sense of the improved revolutionary enlightenment of the masses by means of an interesting communist educational work conducted on a mass scale". (*Resolutions and Theses of the Third Congress of the Y.C.I.*)

The causes of their failure are clearly set forth in the resolutions of the Third Congress in which it is pointed out that the Leagues have definitely failed to reorganize themselves on the basis of the shop nuclei, as was provided for by the decisions of the Second Congress.

The Third Congress having explained the nature of the nuclei and their work, voted unanimously for the immediate formation of nuclei in the workshops and it is this decision with which this booklet proposes to deal.

When discussing an organizational question of such far reaching importance it is difficult to avoid making either one of two mistakes. To treat the organization as tho it were a rigid structure, unchangeable, no matter what the particular conditions in which it must work, or to go to the other extreme and ignore completely the question of structure trusting that, as the work proceeds, it will build itself.

Of these two mistakes the first is probably the greater, leading as it does to a pedantic and hide bound reliance on formulae. And the second is productive of a waste and muddle in which one would not be able to see the wood for trees.

The solution is a middle course steered with intelligence and with constant reference to the conditions of work and the experience gathered on the way. A form of organization must be built which can adapt itself to the particular conditions in which it is proposed to work, without a stiffness and rigidity bound with red tape on the one hand and a confusion of method on the other.

Only recently have many of our Leagues begun systematically to establish nuclei in the workshops or indeed to attempt to accomplish anything at this vital point of capitalist production. In this task we are entering upon a new phase of our activity, we are leaving completely behind us the old form of organization which, with the advance of modern industry has become useless. We have before us a heavy task which must not be lightly undertaken. It is a work which will demand the unselfish efforts of every one of our members. The new form of organization must be one which will use the best in *everyone* of our members. The old form of organization used the best in a faithful few only. We must collect our experiences both large and small and in our forward march refer constantly to them. Having mapped out our course, scorning with cruel thoroughness all half measures and compromises, we must follow it to the bitter end.

The nature of our basic principles and the tasks before us are known to us all. What remains to us is to build an organization which will most effectively pursue our struggle and in this we require the whole hearted efforts of each and every one of our members.

Many of the subjects treated in this booklet could have been dealt with at greater length. We have, however, not done so for two reasons. The first of these is that we do not possess any reliable and detailed information of the fluctuation of the membership of our Leagues, on their composition, of the activities of their branches or of the conditions of the young workers. And secondly, it should be remembered that this booklet is written from an international view point and does not contain specific instructions applicable to every possible form of local or even national conditions, which must

vary from place to place and even from time to time particularly in this period of transformation.

In conclusion, comrades, no conceivable form of organization, no matter how theoretically perfect, can succeed if it has not the willing energy and cooperation of many hands behind it, and the form of organization outlined in the following chapters demands above all this self same will and energy. Let us take as our slogan "To work".

Moscow, January 15th, 1923.

THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND ITS DEFICIENCIES

THE first organizations of the working class youth were called into being by various circumstances and as various have been the forms of their construction.

The first Leagues almost twenty years ago were either apprentices' unions which were launched to organize the resistance of the young workers against the small masters or were anti-militarist organizations resisting the maltreatment of the young soldiers in barracks, or they were literary and political discussion circles. The apprentices' unions were by their very nature most fitted to admit large numbers of the young workers into their ranks and because of this they gained a considerable influence. In general their activities were propagandist in character tho in some places they conducted an energetic and bravely lead guerilla warfare against the small masters. The lack of assistance by the old Social Democratic Parties, the persecution of the police authorities and the barriers which existed and still exist between the adult trade unions and the apprentices rendered it impossible for these nascent organizations to gather huge masses of the young workers into their ranks for any decisive struggle. Only was it when the rapid development of the adult labor movement, which took place about this time, permitted, that the effects of the propaganda in favor of the youth unions became evident in a considerable accession of membership and a corresponding increase of influence. The program of the youth movement has varied according to the country in which it has worked but always it has included economic anti-militarist and educational activity.

The second stage of its development is marked by the increasing persecution of the police authorities, the confining influence of the trade unions and Social Democratic Parties, and the increasing participation of youth organizations in political life, in their struggle

against reformism and in the assistance rendered by them in the building up of revolutionary political parties.

During the war and the period of revolution in Central Europe these latter activities became the chief task of the youth organizations and the special work amongst the proletarian youth being temporarily abandoned, the membership decreased considerably thruout this period.

Given a body of individuals held together in a community of interest and pursuing a single end, it is axiomatic that the form of organization adopted should be the one most suited for the business in hand and the conditions under which it is necessary to work. In these circumstances therefore the forms of organization used by the first Leagues were subject to continual modification, amplification and changes generally according to the changes predicated by the varying forms of activity. Thus, for instance, on the economic field secretariats with consulting hours were established for the protection of young labor. In the workshops, committees of special representatives were formed for the purpose of convening mass shop meetings to the same end. If the work were chiefly educational it reflected itself in an organization designed chiefly to advance the cause of working class culture. It created libraries, reading rooms, classes etc. to cater for the educational needs of the youth. It formed rambling and games committees and used all the resources at its disposal for these purposes. Similarly when working under the dictatorship of a ruthless militarism, its form of organization and its methods were changed so as to effectively resist the encroachments of the militarists, to hamper the recruiting of the youth, to circumvent the delimiting influences of the military and police persecution and to carry on its special work in spite of the official oppression. Thus in these circumstances much of the organizational work was illegal including the shop committees, rendering the tasks of the war period increasingly difficult and the form of organization necessary to cope with them one special to the peculiarities of this abnormal period of strain.

A particularly clear example of the theory of organization advanced in this booklet can be seen in the form of organization built by the Social Democratic Party of Germany. This body working in the halcyon days preceding the war, before the crushing effects of militarism had appeared, pinned its faith to a constitutional policy; grossly overestimating the importance of elections,

peaceful propaganda etc., its organizational structure was moulded upon those lines with political ward areas as a basis. In many places this method persists still despite the radical changes in working conditions brought about by the international upheaval. The youth movement is not and cannot be outside the political labor movement and the tendencies of the adult movement have their inevitable effect on the organization of the youth.

Despite the great changes undergone by the youth organizations in the course of time, the typical organizational features of their originating period have been maintained. The parochial nature of their branches, their general club character, the concentration of their work inside their own organization, their separation from the great masses of the working class youth, all these faults of organization render much of the work done futile, and fritter away useful energy; indeed, it may be said that the youth organizations are suffering from a social democratic heritage which cramps and narrows their movements. It is from this hoary tradition that our Young Communist Leagues must ruthlessly tear themselves.

Even with the new phase of the youth movement spelt by the formation of our Leagues this old form has not yet been changed. At the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International the role and the tasks of the Young Communist Leagues were clearly defined: The gathering and enrolment of the broad masses of the proletarian youth in the militant struggle against the master class and their revolutionary education to this end; the training of the youth of our class to take their place in the gigantic task of communist reconstruction after the social revolution. It is the breadth and vision of our task that constitutes the essential difference in the work of the Leagues and demands such a profound change in our organizational structure. To attempt to accomplish a task of such dimensions with the methods at present in use would be like attempting to produce the world's food with a hand-plow. The hand-plow must be scrapped and the motor tractor installed.

The Young Communist Leagues must engage in the every daily struggle of the proletarian youth for the amelioration of their lot, for the shortening of the hours of labor, for increases of pay. No grievance of the proletarian youth must be too small for the attention of the Young Communist Leagues. In this way they will earn and enjoy the confidence and respect of the young workers who will listen to their counsel and follow their leadership. Thru

all this the main object must never be lost sight of—the mass organization of the youth for the proletarian revolution. With the advance of modern industry, with its new methods of mass production, with its specialization, its division and subdivision of labor, with the modern tendency to force all workers down to a general level of unskilled labor, machine minders in short, and the gradual elimination of the skilled worker, the conditions of labor have changed to such an extent that no useful work can be accomplished by our Leagues on the old lines. The present state of affairs is crying out for a complete change of methods and organization and we must respond to the demand or our Leagues will be swept into the backwash where they will be of use only as mutual admiration societies open to the select few, as utterly apart from the masses as are the two poles apart. It is this danger that we must avoid and it threatens us not only on the economic field but in every phase of our activity. Unless we adopt the new methods demanded by the new conditions our failure is already writ large, but we will not fail, we must not fail. The old organization is effete, it is useless, it is worse, it lies across our path like a dead weight. Away with it!

THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE

It is not proposed to deal here with the superstructure of the organization. Nor with the other problems inseparable from it—i. e. the discipline, division of work, centralization and etc., but with the basic unit of our present organization, the local branch.

There is no essential difference between the branch form of organization at present in existence and that in being twenty years ago. The basis of both is a territorial one and it is just in this that its main weakness lies. The branches are mostly established from young and inexperienced members who have joined at a public meeting. It is fathered as far as possible by head quarters, but inevitably it is left a great deal to itself, it must work out its destiny alone and invariably its first months of life resolve themselves into purely a struggle for very existence. The fatal mistake is that the young comrades, brought together for the first time in the new branch, have no material community of interest such as they would have if the workshop were made the basis of organization. Here then is the line of our new development, in the workshop where the young comrades share each others work, share the hardships,

and the extortions of the master class and together feel the same burning sense of wrong; here is opportunity for a solidarity such as before we have not known. It would give us a power which could effectively be used to support our demands whereas now we can support them only by passing resolutions. As matters stand, the existence of the branch is often a question of whether a strong enough friendship springs into being between the young comrades who meet for the first time. That such a friendship may become a very strong basis is not denied but it is not a scientific one and it leaves too much to chance. Our members must have something more in common than mutually agreeable social qualities and it is only in the workshops, offices, factories, mines etc. that this something more can be found. Altho branches may be formed in various ways, by the method already described, by a large branch splitting into two smaller ones, by an older comrade gathering friends around him and informing the district committee of the formation of a new branch etc., yet the same basic fault exists in one and all—the form of organization adopted is divorced from the place of production. In the one branch will be found comrades who work in a dozen or more factories etc. which means that they are in touch with their organization perhaps once a week at the branch meeting. This is not good enough. Our organization, if it is to make good, must become a live thing something to be felt and used in the day to day struggle, not a thing of skin and bones into which we breathe a semblance of life once a week. Members who are organized according to where they live, as at present, cannot be given instructions for work in the shops, they cannot be detailed or organized on any particular plan, in short the branch structure is clumsy, inefficient and impossible to use effectively. It must go. The place of work of the members, the first and most important field of activity for the League, is thus isolated from the branch by the present form of organization. It has no immediate connection with it, it is situated outside the jurisdiction of the branch and the more the formation of the branches progresses, the farther (in an organizational sense) is the branch from the real ground of our activity.

Our branches as they exist today have the character of a cultural and educational organization, and if the League contented itself with only this form of work our present structure would be quite capable of carrying it on. But we have a greater task. To gather the vast masses of the working youth into a revolutionary

political organization, to perform militant work in the interests of the whole working class, this our present organization is unable to do. If our organization is to attempt this task it must get outside its own narrow boundaries, it must get at the heart of the masses. At present it touches but the fringe of the problem, and it is just this word "outside" that explains much of the helplessness of the Leagues. There is an "inside" and an "outside" and it is much easier to work "inside" the branch (socials, indoor meetings, committees etc.) than "outside". Therefore in the circumstances the perfecting of the branch machinery gets rather more attention than it deserves and the "outside" work, shop meetings, propaganda etc. gets correspondingly less. In most of our branches this unfortunate division is made with the same regrettable results. Our members are tempted to remain within the narrow and peaceful confines of the branch and to neglect the most important work of all, the capturing of the mass of young workers outside the League; until we become a *mass* League in the true sense we can exercise no real influence on the course of events nor can we become a danger to the master class.

There is no personal responsibility for this state of affairs and it is not to be remedied by any change of leadership. We are passing thru a transitional period and the fault is an organizational one. The leadership of a branch is generally in the hands of a chairman or two, a secretary, a treasurer, a literature secretary or two according to the size of the branch, plus two or more members elected from the general body of the members. These together form the branch committee with perhaps various committees for literature, propaganda, rambling etc. Together with a body of members who hold no office and usually do nothing but attend the branch meetings and listen to what other comrades have done, this completes the obsolete form of branch structure which today exists in all the social democratic youth organizations and which has not yet been radically changed by many of our own branches.

In the larger Leagues the new shop organization has been brought into being, the shop trade union and school representatives are nationally combined thus establishing direct connection between the national head quarters and the actual places of production. This has had the effect of rendering the old branch more than ever isolated as the shop representatives go straight to the district committees and on to headquarters and not thru the branch. The

resultant has been a parallel organization, of the shops etc. on the one hand and the branches on the other. As it has been found impossible to mobilize the branches for the outside work, the members are combined in a new form in nuclei in the workshops, in fractions in the various labor organizations. The leadership therefore of the most important work of the movement to wit: the work in the shops, trade unions etc. is controlled direct from the National Executive Committee and not thru the branches, which, where they still exist based on a territorial membership, are useless in the greater work of industrial organization. Such a branch is thus completely isolated from the useful work of the League. Only if a branch constitutes a combination of League members in the workshops of a given district can it be a living part of the League organization. It is then in direct contact with the young proletariat at the most important point, the workshop. Until our branches reorganize themselves on these lines the wrong and wasteful division of internal and mass work can not be abolished.

FRACTIONS AND SHOP NUCLEI

As the territorial branch still forms the basis of our present organization, as previously explained, it is inevitable that the fractional work in other labor organizations should take a place of secondary importance in the minds of the members. The main interest of the leading bodies as well as of the members is centered in the well-being of the branch; how its organization develops, whether it can live, or, if it is a large branch, whether it should be divided, whether it has money in its treasury, whether its meetings are bad or good, whether it has an able chairman or otherwise and what steps should be taken to remedy any internal deficiencies. All these things receive primary attention, and in consequence the important fractional and nuclei work is correspondingly neglected, being dealt with less frequently and usually only by the department directly concerned.

The work of a fraction or a nucleus is something very definite and varies according to the material to be dealt with; for instance a *fraction* in a definitely labor organization will have a very different task to that of a fraction in a neutral organization, say a sport organization. Yet experience has shown that our branches completely overlook this important fact. In the labor organizations we work amongst the masses who have already the first glimmerings of truth,

about the class war, the necessary opposition to the master class etc. Our work amongst them is only a partial one with very definite limits. In the workshop on the other hand, we approach a body of workers not necessarily organized in the unions and usually indifferent if not actually opposed to us and our work. It is evident therefore that we have to perform not merely a partial task but that the work will demand our whole energies. To organize the masses of the workers in their respective unions, to educate them politically and to draw them into the massed League of the young communists. This is a task of no ordinary difficulty and it demands that our organization shall be on the spot. We must have our basic units, our roots in the workshops. It is here from which our power must come. The combination of our members in a workshop is not a fraction as in a labor or other organization it is the nucleus upon which our organization must rest. The work then of these nuclei transcends in importance all other work. **The nucleus is the unit of the new organization.**

OUR FATAL ISOLATION

Let us return to the present unit of our Leagues, the branch. This form is not able to place us into direct and close contact with the masses of the young workers. We must face the fact that "*Hardly a young worker in the quarter of the city or the locality knows whether and where a branch of the Young Communist League exists. Even less does our influence reach the shops and factories, where the masses, or rather a large number of young proletarians meet every day. It is of course easier to work in a branch, where one sometimes makes a revolutionary speech, participates in classes and study circles, fills oneself with a great amount of book knowledge, always excuses oneself with the work in the branch if one is asked to do this or that work in the shop, school or trade unions and has to confront no other danger than to burst one day from knowledge, and has never to do tiring petty work at the point of production for winning of the sympathy of the workers there.*" (From a report of the leader of an important district of the Young Communist League of Germany.) The young workers see the Leagues from a distance only. They do not attend their meetings, socials etc. in large numbers and it is only occasionally that the Leagues approach them in propaganda campaigns in the shops. They

do not carry on any continuous and intensive propaganda amongst them, and in consequence—altho in some places they have been warmly welcomed—they have remained numerically weak and industrially ineffective. These facts lead us to further considerations which help us in the task of retrenchment and reveal to us the nature of the social as well as organizational deficiencies of our Leagues.

THE ROLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

The Russian League only of all the sections of the Y.C.I. has been a mass organization from the beginning of its career. The Petrograd branch at its foundation numbered 19,000 members mostly recruited from the large work-shops.

In other Leagues the situation was and is different. We will mention here only the larger Leagues. What is their present composition? In the strong Finnish organization the majority of the members are rural workers. The Bulgarian League has four fifths of its branches outside the towns; to every seven members in the cities there are nine in the country. The Italian League has innumerable small branches tho its industrial basis is almost negligible; its membership is divided approximately as follows:—The province of Trieste, 800 members, in the city 180, the other members are in 55 branches in the country.

Two thirds of the Leagues in Czecho-Slovakia and Germany are composed of workers in the small shops, the remaining third only being engaged in large scale production. Even this low percentage seems to be exaggerated, as statistics prove that we have either no members at all or very few in the large scale works. Unfortunately the data available on the composition of the Leagues are incomplete and unreliable. In many cases no data of any kind are obtainable. It is incontestable, however, that the number of our members actually engaged in industry is small and that the number engaged in large scale industry is still smaller.

The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. Partly it has been given previously in these pages, in the weak and unsystematic form of organization previously used, the absence of shop nuclei and the almost complete lack of shop work. A contributing factor is that our Leagues have not paid sufficient attention to the interests of the young industrial workers. The stress that

was laid and rightly laid on the necessity of work amongst the rural youth and amongst the apprentices in the smaller shops lead unfortunately to the neglect of the work in the large shops and the wrong conclusion that the work amongst all sections of the proletarian youth was equally important. This latter conclusion is not correct; the young workers in large scale industry are the most important section of the working class youth and it is on them that our greatest efforts must be directed.

Our Marxian knowledge tells us that the workers in heavy industry play the most important part in the labor movement, and this theory has been proved to be correct by the revolutionary development of recent years. The present mode of production with its ever increasing trustification, with its gradual elimination of the small master, with the continual combination of industrial concerns into still larger ones, with the increasing industrialization of the rural districts, is gathering the working class into huge masses concentrated into small areas. Capitalism has here created a Frankenstein. It dare not allow the process to come to a standstill. It must keep on; and as every year the process intensifies so is builded up the merciless machine which ultimately with relentless certainty will take and crush the life from out the capitalist system. And in the shops and mines of the vast machine are gathered the grave diggers, the proletariat, who will gladly inter its rotting corpse. The workers of the large shops, both young and old, must lead the struggle against the master class who will confront them with the whole forces of the capitalist state, and it is in the economic struggle in the heavy industries that the decisive battle will be fought. The young workers in the heavy industries are therefore the most important section of the working class youth.

In the large shops the conditions of the youth are generally better than in the smaller shops, as the adult workers are usually strongly organized and are able to protect their interests. On the other hand the conditions in the smaller shops continuously deteriorate as the mass production of the large works renders it possible for them to undercut the smaller shops, who must inevitably reply by depressing the price of labor. Thus the number of young workers who do not enter into apprenticeships in the small shops but who go straight to the larger shops increases from year to year. Those young workers who do apprentice themselves either go into the large shops at the completion of their indentures or they

become unemployed. Thus a large and ever increasing army of young workers has been formed. This part of the youth is by far the most important for us, tho we must not go to the other extreme and completely ignore the interests of the young workers in the smaller industries, and in agriculture. The young workers of large scale heavy industry must be captured, if the Young Communist Leagues are to be mass organizations strongly set on an industrial basis. They need them in their organization for the maintenance of their proletarian policy and to offset the influence of the semi-proletarian, peasant and intellectual elements. Without the young industrial workers the policy of the Young Communist Leagues will become unbalanced.

THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF OUR LEAGUES

There is another important barrier existing, in Central Europe at least, between the Young Communist Leagues and the mass of the large scale workers, and that barrier is psychological. This fact is illustrated by the composition, which is chiefly made up in the most important towns and industrial cities of artizan's apprentices, young workers of small shops and unimportant trades, clerks, girls from small shops, tailor's workshops etc. and the character of the organization has been determined by these members. Thus the workers in the heavy industries, whose outlook is so totally different, have not been able to work in our Leagues. The German delegates to the last World Congress were even compelled to admit that the young workers in the large scale industries were repelled by the social character of the League and that it was therefore impossible to attract them to the League meetings. In many places our members alienated the young workers of the large shops by leading a mistaken campaign in favor of complete prohibition of alcohol and nicotine, by adopting what the young workers considered freak methods of dressing with long hair etc. These unfortunate tendencies our Central European Leagues have inherited from the old social democratic youth organizations.

The significance of these facts, at least for the Central European Leagues, is, that with the social composition of the League as it is at present we cannot gather in the broad masses of the young workers whose outlook on life is so totally different from that of the present membership, in other words the League is so constituted

that it cannot fulfil the task that circumstances have allotted it. The lack of representation of the young workers in large scale industry is made abundantly clear in our leading bodies and at our conferences where decisions are often taken affecting the policy to be pursued amongst the youth of the heavy industrial shops without the necessary knowledge of their daily work and without understanding their needs and desires. Instead of these bodies being composed of a majority of the representatives of heavy industry the presence of such representatives is exceptional and therefore very confused ideas prevail amongst our members as to how to carry on the work amongst them. Knowledge must precede all intelligent action and until we establish our organization on the basis of the shop nuclei we can know little or nothing of the workshop life. Our aim is to retransform our social composition and to capture the most important section of the youth, the workers in the heavy industry. This can only be done in the workshops. Similarly if this course is followed the difficulties already enumerated can be overcome.

THE NECESSITY OF THE WORK IN THE SHOPS

ALL these deficiencies of our present form of organization became obvious at the moment when our Leagues attempted to accomplish the completely new tasks without changing the organizational form. Let us mention some typical experiences:—

RECRUITING WEEKS

In these weeks it has been the custom of the Leagues to set definite tasks to be performed each day. Only in very few cases has an exact survey of the results been carried out. With the general result it is possible to express satisfaction, but if an analysis of the results were conducted the same organizational weakness would be discovered, as witness the report of the League in one of the largest cities in Germany:—

"The following tasks were set in the recruiting week: (a) house agitation, (b) parents' evenings, (c) work in the shops, (d) Red Sunday in the country. The tasks (a) and (b) were carried out comparatively well. The tasks in the shops, and the Red Sunday in the country were almost complete failures. In those districts where the first two tasks were carried thru successfully, the tasks (c) and (d) were a complete failure and the whole results of the week were thus diminished. We will have to make up for the lost time and carry thru these important activities in shop, school and trade union."

There can be no objection that this is merely an individual case for there is good reason to believe that the same is universally true. The deficiency lies in the fact that, whilst the purely territorial tasks, house agitation etc. were carried thru successfully, the so-called "outside" tasks, which require for their success an organization which we do not possess, were completely failures.

The present form of organization is well able to do any form of territorial work, but, having no connection with the workshops, it is useless in the greater tasks of organizing the young industrial proletariat. Here again then is clearly indicated the chief cause of our failure. In these recruiting weeks that part of our membership which should be the most important has failed altogether to actively participate.

CAMPAIGNS

In our many local, national and even in the international actions we have experienced the unfortunate truth that our demands in the form of slogans penetrate the masses but slowly and with great difficulty on our part. The Party Press is read very little by young workers and the League organs appear only once a month and often with considerable delay. These circumstances point again with an unerring finger to the same weakness. We have no direct and continuous contact with the mass of young workers. In the present order of things there can be no direction from our leading bodies in an unbroken chain straight to the shops. Assuming that a certain line of action is decided upon by the National Executive Committee to be followed in the shops; the instructions are sent to all branches which discuss the question. The chairman religiously hammers home the importance of the matter to "the comrades in the shops" and thus is the slogan passed on. But as in this case it is everybody's work, it ultimately resolves itself into nobody's business; every member is employed in a separate shop and most of them outside the territory of the branch, there is no leader to control the accomplishment of the work, it is left to chance and the individual efforts of the members, and generally our members are alone in the shops without the support of any organization. The branch committee can not know how the work succeeds or fails (and it is generally the latter) nor can they know why. This means actually that our slogans reach our branches and go no further. They almost entirely fail to reach the masses of young workers.

In cases where we had formed shop *fractions* (as opposed to *nuclei*) for particular work, it was discovered that when the work was completed the fractions, having no permanent organizational form, had disappeared and had to be re-formed on every occasion

it became necessary to do new work. The interest of the members being chiefly centered in their various branches, the fractions inevitably decay and have to be built up perhaps on two, three or more occasions. In this way our slogans, if they reach the masses at all, do so only with considerable delay.

Another fruitful cause of failure is our method of propaganda which, in accordance with our organizational structure, is always carried out on a territorial basis. The public meetings which are held with a considerable expense of money, time and energy gather only a small proportion of the young workers in the territory (if indeed, any but our own members attend) and of this small percentage a still smaller one comes from the large and important shops, so that our ideas penetrate but hardly to the young workers employed in large-scale industry. The solution of the problem is to arrange our meeting at such a time and place that the young workers can attend in a body and this can only be done if our organization is actually in the workshops and can organize direct shop meetings "*It is not so long ago that we worked in the shop fractions and dared to ask, whether it would be possible to call a shop meeting. Today we discuss no more, but call shop meetings. There we had an opportunity to speak not only to a small circle of members, but to quite other young proletarians.*" (From a Report.)

The Y.C.L. of Germany has proved in action that these things are possible. On the occasion of the shop councils movement, in which more than 200,000 young workers took part, the election of the youth representatives was carried out almost entirely by workshop meetings. It is only by such methods that the vast masses of the youth can be organized.

RECRUITING MEMBERS

Having obtained recruits to our Leagues, a problem then arises which should not arise. It is the problem of keeping them, and by our present form of organization this is rendered extremely difficult. Indeed it is true to say that we lose a heavy proportion of our recruits because the bonds which hold them to our organization are loose and can be slipped with ease. New members are won in the general agitation, in public meetings or in the shops. The recruits won in the first two instances can not easily be acquaint-

ted with the League work in the shops, for, as has been pointed out, the branch is divorced from the shop and can neither adequately instruct them nor control and guide their activities when it has done so. The unfledged novice is therefore flung completely on to his own resources or on the support of some comrades in his shop who, in the vast majority of cases, are members of some other branch. This is unfair and in the face of the difficulties opposing him the temptation of letting things slide is usually too great, and in this way many new comrades who, if accorded the necessary help and advice in the first place, might become loyal and energetic League members, are completely lost to us.

It is even more difficult to bring the members won in the shop into the branch. The *fraction* in the shop is not constituted to admit new members. It forms itself each morning of the working week and breaks up each evening when the factory whistle blows. Often individual members of a fraction belong to different branches, and when the new member is assigned to his territorial branch it may often be that not one of his comrades in the shop belongs to his particular branch. He is therefore flung amongst a body of strangers with whom he has nothing in common, and unless he very quickly finds something, the chance of lapsing becomes almost a certainty. The stupidity of such a course is obvious, yet at the same time, with our present form of branch organization, there is no alternative. Because of these great difficulties the winning of new members for our Leagues is hampered to a quite unnecessary degree and the increase in our membership is almost negligible. We can alter all this by adapting our organizational form to our conditions of work. *The combination of the members of the Young Communist League at the point of production must become the organizational unit and the center for the admission of new members.*

OUR ECONOMIC WORK

In our actual experience the clearest and most deplorable example of the inefficiency of our present structure was shown in the strike of the apprentices employed at the Hamburg docks which took place in September of last year. Our organization was not merely ignorant of the pending strike, but even after the strike had commenced, it only received an intimation of the condition of things on the evening of the same day when a delegation of the strikers

presented itself at the branch headquarters. Fortunately, thanks to the energy and determination of a handful of comrades, it was possible, despite the weakness of contact between the branch and the workshops, to make up for the lost time and to formulate the correct demands. The exact relation of the League to this strike, with all its deficiencies, can be seen in the following criticism written by comrades who were actually engaged in the strike:—

“The action was lead by five or six comrades, instead of the whole branch. These comrades worked day and night and the others knew hardly anything about the strike and the revolutionary work connected with it The importance of mobilizing the entire organization for this revolutionary work, was underestimated. The few comrades who, in response to the appeal of the local organ, reported themselves for service, were given neither concrete tasks nor definite instructions as to how they could render service to the strikers and be enrolled in the struggle.”

This is indeed a thoro self-criticism, and it must be remembered that this strike was no isolated instance. Spontaneous apprentices strikes are becoming ever more frequent and in almost every case the League is confronted with the accomplished fact; yet the strikes are always preceded by a period of discontent when the material for the outburst is being prepared. If the Leagues had their basis in the workshops it would be easy to take control of the agitation and even to time the strike so that it might occur at the most convenient time for the workers and not take the League by surprize. The fact that the Leagues are everywhere caught unprepared by these happenings proves that the merely fractional form of organization, with the main body of members gathered in the branch, is not sufficient for modern conditions of industrial struggle. Even in cases where the branches have warning of an impending strike it is not possible to use the full forces of the organization. The financial support of the strikers is delayed. The propaganda amongst the general public in favor of the strike by our press is left to incidents, the mobilization of the members of the League not actually involved in the strike is difficult and takes a long time on account of the cumbersome nature of our branch structure.

This became evident not only in strikes of the young workers but also in general strikes when large numbers of young workers

are necessarily involved and attempts are always made by the masters to use the apprentices as scabs. The League must actively participate in any such struggle to prevent the use of the young workers as scabs, to keep the particular interests of the youth before the minds of the adult workers and to ensure that they shall not be overlooked in any settlement. These things can only be effectively accomplished by shop nuclei. These nuclei would prevent the recurrence of strikes in which the Leagues had no part. And recently there have been many. The work in this field of action is great and, if it is to be performed, our venue must be changed from the territory to the shop.

But not only in our economic work in the large shops, but also in the struggle against the small masters we have gained one experience. A practical example is given in the following report:

“In the workshop of a locksmith in A., there is an apprentice. He receives small wages, works 10 hours and suffers corporal punishment. What is the branch in A. doing? Unfortunately nothing. What could it do? There are thirty comrades in the branch; everyone of them would write a leaflet with a black or a red pencil and in very simple language. We paste these leaflets at the windows of the master, at the neighboring houses, give him a serenade, make a revolt in the whole quarter, etc.”

The apprentice lives in the quarter W. There he will probably attend the meetings of his branch. Which branch will have to assist him now? Branch A or branch W? Of course only branch A can assist him, for the workshop is situated in its territory. It results therefrom that the branch must be composed in such a manner, that it can pay attention to the shops of its territory. Thus the branch should consist of shop nuclei of A and these nuclei should also pay attention to the small and artizans' shops in their area. Today this cannot be done, as the members of the branch work in W.F.G. and elsewhere. This does not apply to small places, of course, but there we generally find, that for considerations of all kinds which are inadmissible for the Young Communist Leagues, the branches do not carry on their struggle, especially in the small workshops and apprentices' sweating places.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

Altho our successes on this field of action have been neither many nor great, yet we have by our experiences learnt much. We have arrived at conclusions in this matter which coincide with our conclusions on other fields of work. It is plain to us that this work in common with all our other forms of activity cannot meet with any great measure of success within the bounds of our present organization. Particularly evident in our educational work is the injurious division into "inside" and "outside" activity. In many of our branches the "education" consists of literary evenings, socials, indoor lectures, discussions etc.; where this occupies a great part of the program it has the inevitable effect of completing the isolation of the branch from the young workers in the shops who usually have no interest in such functions and certainly do not attend them. The results of this form of activity benefit neither our own comrades nor the masses outside the League. The type of the knowledge gained is quite divorced from reality where as *our* Marxism must be combined with our actual experiences in the shops.

The field for our educational work is at the point of production, where we may verify and confirm our own knowledge and pass it on to our fellow workers still outside the League. Mass educational work carried out in this fashion must be productive of good results, indeed, it is the only possible meaning of "mass" education. In our present form of organization the latter term has no meaning. The study circles, classes etc. resolve themselves into little coteries of the enlightened few and completely ignore the masses, and the more they form themselves and proceed with their learning the farther away from the masses do they go. Only if we succeed in gathering the masses of the young workers to our educational meetings, classes etc. can the term "mass" education have any meaning. Thus only in the workshops can we successfully attack and break down the barriers of bourgeois educational customs and traditions.

OUR PRESS

Until quite recently our organs have paid very little attention to the conditions in the workshops. Almost all the reports published deal with the small shops and usually with particular cases of exploitation. The work of reporting the shop activities has been

left to chance and the individual energies of the comrades. Naturally like all other unorganized work, it has been done badly. The papers should be centered on the workshop life of the proletarian youth so that they may be of interest and concern to the broad masses of the young workers who must be made to feel that there is a definite connection between themselves and our Press.

The same deficiency is visible here as in all other phases of our work. We have yet to find the solid ground on which to base our activities. As yet it is our basis in theory only and until we make it our basis in very fact we cannot develop, and our ambitions will remain chimerical. The work in the shops and its organizational foundation has become a problem upon which depends our development into a mass organization.

SHOP NUCLEI DEMANDED BY THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Apart from the various experiences already mentioned, the present trend of political events will compel us to go beyond the very limited field permitted to us by the present form of our organization. A structure must be built in the factories, workshops and mines to improve the political and economic conditions of the workers, to organize the resistance of the masses to the attacks of the master class which threaten to deprive the working class of all countries of even the elementary rights that they have won so hardly in the past. The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International has therefore decided for all Communist Parties:—

"No Communist Party can be considered as a serious and solidly organized communist mass party if it does not possess solid communist nuclei in the shops, factories, mines, railways, etc. Especially will the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for the control of production fail, if the communists have not at their disposal solid mainstays in all shops and if the workers have not created their own militant bodies in the shops (shop councils, etc.). The Congress therefore considers it as one of the main tasks of the Communist Parties, to sink their roots more than hitherto into the factories"

In its attacks against the working class, capitalism uses not only its economic power, but also its political weapons. In a reactionary tide it attempts to break the resistance of the working class and to destroy its political and economic organizations, and, if necessary for this purpose, it will use the fascist organizations to prepare an armed fight against the workers. In this situation the struggle of resistance can start only from the shops. The German communists therefore have appealed in their papers to the working class: — —

"The organization for defence must start in the shops. Everywhere, especially in the large shops, the workers must gather immediately and form committees to recruit proletarian guards which must be ready to resist the Fascists in an open fight. The various shops must get into touch with each other and by a combination of the proletarian guards under central leadership create organizations which must be ready to take up the struggle."

To successfully conduct the resistance of the working class the whole efforts of all our members will be necessary, and the only form of organization capable of accomplishing this is the combination of the shop nuclei under direct leadership of the Party and League headquarters. Realizing that in the present struggle a strengthening of the efforts in the shops is necessary, the leaders of the Berlin shop nuclei have decided:—"that every comrade is obliged to accept a junction in his shop. If he refuses to do so he is responsible for it to the Party. The higher officials of the Party (secretaries, editors, speakers, trade union employees) are instructed to participate regularly in the work of a definite shop nucleus".

All this applies with equal force to the Young Communist Leagues. The national propaganda, house agitation, public meetings etc., are no longer sufficient for the important work we have to accomplish. We must win the young workers in the shops before our opponents are able to tamper with their loyalty to the working class.

THE ILLEGAL SIDE OF OUR MOVEMENT

In the immediate future it is not impossible that several of our Leagues will meet with the same fate as befell the Italian

and Checho-Slovakian Leagues. We must be prepared therefore for such a contingency. As we are organized at present it would be impossible for our Leagues to carry on their work should they be declared illegal. The territorial structure lends itself very readily to police activity, shooting or beating up meetings, the introduction of agents provocateurs etc. The only efficient method of procedure is in the workshops where the daily meetings cannot be interfered with, where instructions may be issued, and in short where our organization may be kept intact despite police or fascist hostility. In this manner can our Leagues be saved from the complete destruction which almost certainly awaits them if they retain the territorial form of organization and have to submit to a legal suppression.

In the shops we can keep in direct contact with the masses of the young workers and exert our influence in almost complete disregard of any police orders for disbandment.

The probability of this illegal period should induce us to realize the fatal weakness of our present organizational structure and in this possibility we have the strongest reason for immediately adopting the new form of shop organization.

THE LEAGUE NUCLEUS AS THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL UNIT

OUR new form of organization adapts itself to the demands of modern industry. It not only aims to gather in the young workers in the small shops and offices, but to capture also the vast masses of the working youth in the heavy industrial factories. Wherever there are numbers of young workers there must our nuclei be. Our object is to build up an organization which, acting as a complement to the adult Party organization, will ensure the victory of the proletarian revolution and place the working class youth in the strongest position both for the struggle before, and the long and trying task of communist reconstruction after, the revolution. Both organizations must grow out of and have their basis in the point of production; here only can the mass organization of the proletariat be accomplished. The shops must become the center of the proletarian movement; where we are exploited, where we are hit by the capitalist class, there must we hit back, returning blow for blow until our hereditary enemies are crushed in the grip of the circumstances they have done so much to create.

The new organizational basis of the Y.C.L. must be the shop nucleus which will carry on the struggle and bear the brunt of the fight and the blows we must expect inevitably to receive. It will combine the young communists at their place of work and it will be in direct contact with the masses of the working class youth in their daily struggles, it will guide them and persuade them to participate in all the fields of League work. Every happening that directly affects the young workers will directly affect the League also, and our decisions and actions must immediately communicate themselves to the young workers who will recognize in us their comrades and will place an ever increasing trust in our leadership. Our organization will be with them and visible to

them every day in the shops; they can, when convinced, join it and participate in its actions without leaving the company of their fellow workers. With these nuclei the League will be enabled to fix its roots deeply and solidly in the masses of the working class youth and lay the basis for the mass organization without which we can accomplish nothing.

SCHOOL NUCLEI

In general as has been repeatedly stated the shop nucleus is the basis of the organization. In the schools (continuation, vocational, commercial and trade schools) the members of the League are combined into *fractions*. In schools, however, which are attended by large numbers of apprentices from innumerable small shops who could not very well be organized at their places of work, *school nuclei* are formed. These, like the shop nuclei, are basic organizational units and are combined into branches with the shop nuclei of the particular district in which the school is situated. As the economic activities of the school are by their very nature extremely limited, it is necessary to establish a definite connection between the members in their places of work and the branches in the districts on which the shops are situated.

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE BRANCHES

The branch which today combines the members according to their places of living must disappear and be replaced by the branch which will unite the industrial nuclei of a particular district. Thus the branch will still remain to a certain extent territorial, but the vast difference in structure is too obvious to need much comment. In the case of members of the League belonging for some good reason or other to no shop nuclei they would join the branch which united the shop nuclei covering the particular district in which they happened to live. All branches must be reorganized on this principle.

The application of the principle may and will differ according to local conditions. In large cities where the most nuclei can be formed, these are combined into branches according to quarters of the city. (In addition, the unattached members living in the territory belong to the branch.) Several quarters of the city and branches together form a district which is called a city organiza-

tion. Thus the leadership of the entire League goes from the National Executive Committee to the branches and from there to the shop nuclei.

In middle-sized towns where there are fewer nuclei, perhaps from two to five branches can be formed which are combined into a city organization.

In smaller towns there is in many cases only one large shop. The nucleus of this shop forms the branch together with other members of the locality. Where there is only small industry and handicraft, in the individual shops of which very few young workers are employed, no nuclei can be formed. There the branch must pay the main attention to these small shops in order to win over the apprentices and young workers employed there.

In the country and in the villages nuclei can only be formed on large estates. The structure of the branch in the country is often based on the principle of the place of work, as in many cases the dwelling of the young workers is situated on the property of the landed owner.

The unemployed members should enter the branch at their place of living. At the labor exchanges the members of the League are formed into *fractions* for work amongst their fellow unemployed. In those Leagues where a large number of the members are unemployed these fractions are extended into *nuclei* with the same organizational basis as the shop nuclei. No uniform rule can be formulated applicable to all countries, all particular action must be regulated by the existing circumstances.

The shop of the students and intellectuals is the university, college, school etc., where they form a nucleus which affiliates with the branch of the respective territory. In accordance with the special regulations on the work of these strata in our League the isolation of such a students' nucleus from the membership must be avoided by inducing individual student members to participate in the work of certain shop nuclei of the territory.

In some Leagues there exists the system of territorial groups of tens. The membership is divided into small groups according to territory, mostly for organizational and information purposes. These groups of ten lose their usefulness after the shop nuclei have taken over their tasks and may be dissolved. The city organization must register the names and addresses of the members of all branches and nuclei so that in the case of a dissolution of a nucleus

the transference of the members to the branch of their place of living can be controlled. For this purpose in larger cities (but only where it is necessary!) every branch may also have a list of the members living in its territory but belonging to nuclei of other branches. The possible work in the quarter can be fully done by the individual members of the branch; in special cases they can be supported by the nuclei affiliated with the branch.

THE NUCLEI IN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF RUSSIA

The Young Communist League of Russia alone of all sections of the Young Communist International has had experience of an organization based on shop nuclei. Since its inception two forms of organization have existed, the one based on shop nuclei and the other on a territorial division according to the places of living of the members, and gradually the latter form has been discarded for the very reasons that we now are about to discard it in the other Leagues. The Moscow organization in the first months of its existence in 1917 was the representative of the now effete form, constituting a combination of young workers which was directly affiliated to the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party and had no relation to the places of work of its members. The newer organization was represented in Petrograd, where the young workers were combined actually in the factories and thanks to this fact were able to unite many thousands of youths under the banner of the League. The further development of the Moscow organization once again completely justified the newer method, for not until it was united with another Moscow organization of youths based on the factories did it become a mass organization. All branches of the Russian League pursued this policy and it has led them to their aim. They have become a *mass* League and can and do exercise a decisive influence on the proletarian youth of Soviet Russia.

Let us consider some essential features of the nucleus in the Russian League. Its leadership of the young workers and its position in the shop and the League.

The economic activity of the nuclei does not take the form of campaigns. It is a steady striving day after day for the improvement of the condition of the young workers and the perfection of the League organization. The establishment of a four or six hour day,

the abolition of night work and work injurious to health, the division of the young workers for special wage scales, the control of hygiene, protection for their dwellings, for four weeks' vacation, — all this belongs to the economic activity of the nuclei which, however, do not take the place or the functions of the factory or shop committees. Their task is to observe the conditions of the young workers, to investigate them from the point of view of our program on the reorganization of youth labor, to define the point of view of the working class towards them and to fight for the demands corresponding to the needs of the entire working class. At the same time the nuclei support by their members all measures improving the situation of the young workers, as for instance the medical examination of the young workers, the establishment of factory and shop schools, or the various technical changes which allow shortening of the working day.

As the nuclei always stand in the center of the life in the shop they are able to observe all the features of the daily work of the youth which are not visible to those comrades who look at the shop from outside, whatever theoretical knowledge they may have.

The nuclei can look after the health of the young workers as no other form of organization could, as they have intimate knowledge of the particular conditions under which each young proletarian works and lives. The detailing of sick young workers to the sanatoriums, recreation homes and colonies can mostly effectively be carried out by the nuclei which in every particular can foster the interests and furnish the needs of the youth in the best possible manner thus proving to them that the Young Communist League is their strong refuge and support.

The shop nuclei are, furthermore, the source from which the political education of the young workers must flow. It is the task of the nuclei to take initiative in all matters referring to the work of the shop school. To strive always to perfect its mechanism, to provide it with material support, with tools, machinery, school materials, etc., to supervise the theoretical and practical instruction given, and to introduce to an ever increasing extent the self administration of the school members.

The nuclei also explain to the young workers the organization and needs of their particular industry, the necessity for shop schools, for general taxes, the nature of the relations existing between

the factory administration and the Soviet Constitution, the differences between the latter and those existing in capitalist states, and in general to educate and inform them on all the multitudinous problems arising out of their daily toil. This work in Soviet Russia is extended and given a firmer foundation in the study circles, classes, etc., formed by the nuclei. Large nuclei even establish schools and newspapers, stage the performance of plays written by any of the young workers with a dramatic gift, supplement the practical education by mass visits to the museums, etc. There need be no limits to the educational influence of the nuclei which can become such a part of the life of the young workers that they shall consider them as their very own and indispensable organizations.

The political activity of the nuclei of the Russian League consists in the conducting of the political campaigns, soviet elections, the explanation of the international situation with its changes from time to time, as for instance when the Lausanne Conference was called, when the last World Congress of the Communist International opened, when the French occupied the Ruhr Valley, when new regulations on taxes etc. are issued by the Soviet Government, etc. etc. This mass education enabled the League on the occasion of the trial of the social (anti!) revolutionaries to call vast masses of the workers into the streets to demonstrate in favor of the Soviet Government. The power of the League does not end with the young workers it also exercises no mean influence upon the deliberations and decisions of the adult workers; for instance in February 1923 when the League conducted an energetic campaign on behalf of the Red Fleet it was successful in persuading the whole mass of the factory workers, youths and adults alike, to sacrifice one day's wages for the support of the Soviet Navy. The following incident is characteristic of the influence wielded by the League:—

When the workers in Moscow received the news of the Ruhr occupation, in the course of a few hours the entire working class of Moscow demonstrated on the streets as a protest against the action of the French government, this without any preparatory work by the Party or the League, merely at the instance of the shop nuclei. Hundreds of thousands of workers in their factory clothes streamed out of the works and with banners and torches paraded in mass protest. The influence of the nuclei becomes evident also in the increased intensity of production obtained by explaining to the young workers the urgent necessity of improving the Soviet economy, and

again in the excellent revolutionary spirit of the non-partizan conferences of the Russian working class youth, altho generally not more than 30 per cent of the delegates is composed of League members. The nuclei have in many cases strengthened the trust of the young workers in them by holding their sessions publicly before the members of the shops, thus giving the youth an opportunity of observing the methods of the communists in dealing with the questions arising out of workshop life.

The nuclei system enables the Russian League to perform another all important task—the training of the youth to take their place as officials of the adult party. The member of the League can observe at close quarters the activities of the Party members in the factory administration. He can learn from the examples before him how he may ultimately and worthily take his place in the Party; as in the shops the contact between the Party and the League is of the closest. This is not so in the branch where every member is not in action and feels diffident of self expression before the leaders of the League, and the relation to the Party is a theoretical one only. In the shops every member of the various nuclei has his particular job. One member is the representative of the shop committee in the Party nucleus, another is a member of the cultural and wage-scale commission, a third belongs to the club and cooperative administration, others are in the council of the factory school, or in the pupils' executive, where they collect dues, distribute papers, keep up the contact with the district committee, organize the preparatory military training of the young worker, correspond with papers, work in study circles, etc. Everyone receives his task, in which he can become perfect. In the shops our members are not afraid to express their opinions before their fellow workers with whom they are on thoroly familiar terms, they are in an atmosphere to which they are well used, and on these terms they can become more fitted to lead the masses as party officials, being, as they are, not merely in contact with the masses but definitely of the masses. The close connection of the young workers with their nuclei is the distinguishing feature of this form of organization. This is shown when for instance the young workers leave the nuclei and join the Red Navy etc. The absent members of the League flood their nuclei with letters describing life in the Red Navy and the nuclei respond by sending parcels greetings etc.

The Russian Young Communist League intends to analyze the results of its five years of work; for this purpose it has arranged a national efficiency competitions for the nuclei. All nuclei must report their activities in full, the number of young workers who have joined the League, the campaign for the Red Navy, the work in the factory and the shop school, the labor protection of the youth, the theoretical level of the members of the nucleus, and in general all matters connected with the work of the nuclei. The winning nucleus will receive a special prize. It will receive free literature, participate in scientific excursions, receive a banner of honor and other marks of appreciation. The more permanent results of the competition will be the knowledge gained by the League which will be able to introduce on a national scale the methods adopted by the successful nucleus. This will result in an increased perfection of the Young Communist League organization.

THE TIME FOR RE-ORGANIZATION

The Russian example and the difficulties of reorganization of the Leagues in the capitalist countries give rise to the opinion that a successful reorganization could only be accomplished after a seizure of power by the proletariat, in short, after the revolution is an accomplished fact. The old form of our organization and the consideration of it as an end in itself is responsible for this mistaken opinion. Actually the organization must be a means in the struggle for power. Its form must and will grow out of, and be determined by, the condition of the struggle. The conditions after the revolution will be different from the conditions existing in the capitalist countries at the moment. After the revolution the task will no longer be the conquest of power, it will be the successful consolidation of the revolutionary gains, the frustration of the machinations of the defeated and furious bourgeoisie who will make every effort and use every means in an attempt to fling the victorious proletariat in the dust. In this task the League will receive the support of all the power of the proletarian state, in contradistinction to the state of affairs before the revolution when the Leagues worked under the greater or lesser difficulties produced by the particular nature of the persecution adopted by the capitalist state. It is therefore obvious that the forms of organization will radically differ. In between the old and comparatively useless form of organization and the perfected

form which will evolve after the revolution lies the period upon which we are now entering:— The period of the shop nuclei form of organization.

The possibility of the introduction of the new form of organization has been conclusively proved by the experience of the Russian Communist Party in conditions of oppression far more difficult than those at present existing in the most brutally governed capitalist states. The Russian Party established its organization on shop nuclei in the height of Tsarist oppression, and this form continued to exist to the time of the revolution.

The Young Communist League of Russia was established on the shop nuclei system during the Kerensky regime in Petrograd where, as already stated, it met with considerable success.

The difficulties at present existing in capitalist countries, the conditions of transport from the homes to the workshops etc., are still present today in Soviet Russia, and in other countries they will be diminished only in a limited degree after the conquest of power, indeed, during the inevitable period of civil war they will be intensified. The work of the nuclei, however, will be considerably facilitated by the removal of the capitalist pressure.

THE TRANSFORMATION

The subjective difficulties of the Party in reorganizing itself are probably much greater than those of the League. This will especially be the case where the Party has taken over considerable portions of the old social democratic organizations which are formed on the territorial basis. The more limited capacity of the adult comrades for radical changes will militate against the facile achievement of the transformation; their attachment to the "old, tried and trusted" methods will need a considerable effort to overcome.

On the other hand, however, the objective difficulties of the Party are less than those opposed to the League. According to its strength the Party has a much greater number of shop *fractions*, which are capable of forming the Party *nuclei* than the League. Further the Party has certain supports in the nature of shop councils and committees, shop stewards, trade union representatives, all of whom will facilitate the formation and work of the nuclei. Where it is possible it will be of mutual advantage for the Party and the League to conduct together the work of forming the nuclei; if this

is done, they can support each other and exchange experiences. The League, however, must not wait for the formation of the Party nuclei. On the contrary—the League must be an example to the Party and our local organizations must proceed with the formation whether the Party is moving in that direction or not and thus act as an urge on any recalcitrant branches of the adult movement.

THE formation of a nucleus is not bound up with the existence of a branch. In a shop where some young workers are ready to join the Young Communist League, a nucleus may be immediately established.

In localities where branches of the old type are in existence, registers will have to be drawn up in order to discover where the members work; nuclei may then be formed after a thoro discussion of the local conditions. Generally this can be done if five members work in one shop. If the number be less some measures should be taken to ensure systematic work and the development of a nucleus. In large nuclei, subdivisions may be made according to the departments of the shop.

INITIATION

At the inaugural meeting a discussion of the activity should take place and *every* member should be given a definite job. For the leadership of the nucleus a chairman (secretary) should be elected. In a large nucleus a committee of three or four members should be elected. The chairman will represent the nucleus in the Party nucleus and in the local delegate meetings of the nuclei and he will convey to the shop committee the opinions of the nucleus. For every form of work within the range of the nucleus, collection of dues, distribution of literature, political, anti-militarist and economic work, sport and educational activities, some member or members must be definitely responsible, also the representative of the Party nucleus in the League nucleus can be best connected with us by giving him a job. The most important fields of work should be in the hands of the committee which naturally should be composed of the most experienced and trustworthy members.

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING

For ordinary business meetings a room in the workshop or a corner of the canteen will prove to be sufficient. For longer and

more important discussions a private hall or comrade's house near the workshop must be found; if a close cooperation is established with the Party members it should be possible to use the room of the Party without, or at a nominal, charge. The time of all meetings must be fixed according to local conditions. The longer regular and extraordinary meetings can take place in the evenings after working hours as well as on holidays whilst short discussions should, where possible, always take place in the factory either during the dinner hour or immediately after working hours.

RECRUITING AND REGISTERING OF NEW MEMBERS

From the beginning of its career the nucleus must endeavor to increase its membership and to gather in all the young workers in the shop. It must discover the labor organizations (if any) to which the young workers belong, their individual interests such as sport, literature and etc. and its recruiting campaign must be regulated by the information obtained in this way. The nucleus members should each be charged with the general work in particular groups of young workers outside of our organization. So that they may make themselves a part of the daily life of the young workers, and winning their confidence, may gradually lead them into the nucleus of the Young Communist League. Suitable literature must always be at the disposal of the nucleus committee which, with the knowledge of the youth at its command, should have little difficulty in effectively placing it to the best advantage.

Every member can enrol new members, the committee of course having the right of veto. Further, the district branch in which the nucleus is organized must consent to the admission of the member, having also the right of veto. It is of course understood that this latter right would only be employed in extraordinary cases as, for instance, where the district authorities might have some knowledge of the applicant which would render him in their eyes an undesirable member. It is extremely valuable, psychologically to give the admission of a new member a public character. Definite days may be fixed for this purpose and the ceremony may be even somewhat "solemn". Care, however, must be taken to avoid melodramatic Ku Klux Klannism. The registration of the members of the nucleus must be made in the nucleus, the branch and the district committee.

THE COLLECTION OF FINANCES

The members of the nucleus pay their dues in the shop. A treasurer is charged with this work and its control. The payment in the shop has the effect of closing the ranks and binding the new members firmly to the organization. Experience proves that the dues can be more easily collected in the workshop as the treasurer can do this work immediately after the members are paid. However, the members should be trained to pay their dues on their own initiative at the correct time. The treasurer should further organize the scale of the stamps of the various funds calling upon the other members of the nucleus to assist him in this work.

The nucleus must hand over to the branch a certain portion of the money thus collected, which in its turn must contribute to the higher district authorities and may be called upon to meet any exceptional expenditure incurred by the nucleus such as the rent of large halls for public meetings or other such disbursement which the nucleus may not be able to make from its own limited treasury.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

Every member of the nucleus must regularly receive a copy of the League organ, a copy of the *International of Youth* and a copy of any other periodical; care must also be taken by the literature secretary that the members each receive a copy of every pamphlet of the League as published.

The distribution of the League papers etc. amongst the young workers in the shop must receive the close attention of the literature secretary who will call upon all the members of the nucleus to assist in this important work. The literature distributed need not be confined purely to League publications. Good communist papers and pamphlets of all kinds should be pushed. This should prove a profitable source of revenue for the nucleus. Should the hostility of the employer prove strong enough to render the distribution in the workshop dangerous, it should be accomplished before or after working hours, at meetings, in the streets, trams, trains etc.

POLITICAL WORK

Every day the nucleus has opportunities for political work. The political situation is often warmly discussed by the workers young and old. It is the business of the members of the nucleus to take

part in the discussion and to present the communist point of view; they will find that it will be easy to control the nature of the discussion and to ensure that it always centers round the main problems of the working class. They should persuade all the young workers to express their point of view when the misconceptions can be eradicated and the young workers will imperceptibly adopt our methods of thought. It is essential that our political opponents in the shop, no matter of what brand, shall be forced into a statement and defense of their point of view. This is perhaps one of the most difficult of tasks, but it may be accomplished by ridicule and insinuations of funk when for very shame they will attempt to justify their position. Here is the chance of the members of the nucleus. In the discussions that follow the superiority of our point of view will become evident to the young workers who will come to our members for the solution of knotty political problems. Should a shop meeting be held it is essential that the speaker of the League nucleus should be in complete agreement with the speaker of the Party nucleus. During the shop council elections, from which the young workers are excluded the nucleus must conduct a campaign amongst the adult workers in favor of the communist candidates.

THE ECONOMIC WORK

As has been stated the economic activity of the nucleus is its main task. It must be well informed on all the labor laws affecting the young workers and on the particular agreements controlling the employment of the young workers in its own shop, whether as apprentices or unskilled workers. It must pay particular attention to the hygienic conditions of work of the canteen, the toilets, etc. It must be thoroly conversant with the questions of the vacations, night and piece work, overtime and, in short, every circumstance affecting the interests of the youth in the shop. The trade union work is definitely shop work and should not be separated from it. The members of the nucleus in the trade union must continually bring forward the case of the young workers for almost invariably the unions will conduct negotiations and come to agreements without any reference to the interests of the youth unless they are continually reminded of the existence of the youth by the nucleus members.

The work in the school is also a part of the activity of the nucleus which must inform itself on all matters relating to it; Time of instruction, curriculum, training, treatment etc.

It is important that the work of the nucleus should be reported continually to the branch so that it may be of a uniform nature with the work of the other nuclei in the district and so that if necessary the district nuclei may act in concert on any question of urgency. If the nuclei in general effectively perform their particular tasks and constantly refer their experiences to the branches which in their turn will pass on to the League headquarters the knowledge gained, it will be possible for the League to organize the work on a national basis and combine the activity of the Young Communist League with the general working class struggle.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The nucleus can best combine political and educational work which must be done in connection with all other forms of activity.

The first educational task of the nucleus is the training of its own members in the militant political work awaiting their hands. The nucleus should hold regular members meetings to discuss the political or local situation and its relation thereto. It must discuss the resolutions and decisions of the various conferences, etc.; it must read and discuss the national and international organs and pamphlets, the communist dailies and the papers of our political opponents. This should give the members the knowledge necessary for their work amongst the youth in the shops. Apart from this practical knowledge the nucleus must extend the theoretical knowledge of its members, the history and development of the youth, labor and trade union movements. The history of revolutions the mode and why of capitalist production—all these matters are connected with the daily work of the nucleus and must be treated by the nucleus in its meetings, classes, etc. The educational work of the nucleus does not only consist of this difficult theoretical work, it must conduct a campaign against penny dreadfuls and similar "literature" endeavoring to replace them with good books from the labor literature. There are many of the latter at our disposal, of fascinating interest, novels, etc., which, whilst stimulating the imagination and satisfying the desire to leave the workaday world behind and experience a little romance, at the same time point the moral and adorn the tale of our daily struggle with the master class. The nucleus should, as it develops, arrange musical and dramatic or social evenings giving them a mass character for the young

workers. The possibilities for agreeable educational work of this kind are indefinite. At the same time the results are very tangible and definite. The nucleus should take advantage of all working class anniversaries to arrange mass meetings of the young workers. It should band them together for the purchase of banners, flags, etc. Where possible, a special nucleus bulletin should be issued to which the young workers in the shop may contribute articles, news items and the other workshop news of interest to the general mass in the shop. This bulletin which may be duplicated is not by any means so difficult as it would appear. A labor library should be collected to which the young workers may have recourse for their reading matter. All these tasks, and many others not mentioned, of greater or lesser difficulty face the nucleus which need have no excuse for inactivity.

ANTI-MILITARIST AND SPORT ACTIVITIES

In countries with a standing conscript army, it is the duty of the nucleus to pay particular attention to those workers who are about to be called upon to serve their term with the army or navy. It must explain, to them the position of the working class in capitalist society and the uses to which particularly the army may be put, and appeal to them to retain their loyalty to their class. When the young workers actually leave the shop to join the state forces the nucleus must keep in touch with them always by letter. This may well be the task allotted to some individual member of the nucleus.

In this way a close contact is established between the workers in uniform and those in dungarees and the possibility of the use of the military in industrial disputes is considerably lessened, not to consider the possibility of their use in a revolutionary situation. In the case of a military occupation of the factories it is the duty of the nuclei to carry on the dangerous work of disruption amongst the soldiers and to attempt to persuade them to declare common cause with their fellow workers.

Where there is no legal conscription the antimilitarist activities of the nuclei must take other forms, viz. agitation against the bourgeois organizations which are thinly disguised preparatory military training schools, Boy scouts, Boy brigades, Church Lads' brigades, etc.

The nucleus members must join bourgeois shop sport organizations and work amongst the proletarian youth within them, whom

it must always endeavor to lead back to the class struggle. Where labor sport organizations exist, the nucleus must carry on a propaganda in their favor, attempting to persuade the young workers to leave the bourgeois sport clubs and join the labor clubs. It must point out to the workers that sports cannot be the only occupation of their leisure hours and must seek to connect their sporting activities with the political organizations of labor. Should no labor sports organization exist, then the nuclei of the district must take the initiative in forming one and in counteracting in every way possible the influence wielded by the capitalist in the world of sport.

PRESS ACTIVITY

The nucleus must always give the greatest measure of publicity to the situation in the workshops and must provide the League press with stories, articles, etc., of general interest to the young workers. Thus our papers will become suitable for the non-communist youth in the shops. The League press must receive regular reports of the activities of the nuclei in the factories and in this way the nuclei will assist in perfecting the communist organs.

RELATION OF THE NUCLEI TO THE PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The League nuclei must work in the closest contact with the nuclei of the Party. A delegate should be sent from each League nucleus to the corresponding Party nucleus which in turn will send a similar delegate to the League nucleus. The members of the League nuclei participate in the discussions and meetings of the Party nuclei and must induce the latter wherever possible, to support the League work. The League Delegates communicate all the decisions of the League nuclei and its proposed actions to the Party and arrange for joint action where it is necessary or desirable. Each shop nucleus must also establish contact with the trade unions, which contact will probably not have the character of mutual recognition and support, particularly in the case of the reformist unions. Altho in the shops several trade unions are represented, yet as a rule one particular union controls the greater number of the workers. The nucleus must appoint its members both to the important and less important unions for leadership of the League *fractions*. All members of the nucleus must take part in the trade union branch and shop

meetings. The nucleus should endeavor to have its own members elected as youth delegates to the trade unions and must carry on a propaganda amongst the workers to ensure that the shop is 100 per cent organized.

THE CONVOCAION OF SHOP MEETINGS

The convocation of shop meetings must result from the particular workshop needs. Nevertheless the nucleus should endeavor to organize such meetings regularly so that the workers may become used to them as a permanent feature and in matters arising for solution may themselves call for them without the pressure of the nucleus.

It depends upon the particular conditions prevailing, whether these meetings are called by the shop committee, the trade unions or the nucleus. In any matter of urgency the nucleus must move without waiting for the other bodies. In any case, the nucleus must make a thoro preparation for any such meetings, as if it has previously decided on its course of action it may with organization carry its point in the face of a numerically stronger but unorganized opposition.

LEGALITY AND ILLEGALITY

In general the form of the nucleus work is determined by the position of the League as a whole. If the League works legally then the nucleus must work in the shop known to all under its proper name. As far as possible this must be done even in dangerous situations. The effect of coercive measures, the persecution, arrest etc. of prominent comrades must result in workshop demonstrations against the master class, organized by the nuclei. If the bosses conduct a systematic campaign of victimization against the members of the nuclei, by spies stoolpigeons, etc. then each nucleus must take protective measures accordingly. It must secure the safety of its shop meetings, it must strictly control the admission of new members and so on. Should the pressure from above become too strong then it will have no recourse but to go underground and attempt to conduct its work thru the trade union fractions and by any other means that may remain open to it. If the entire League should be forced underground then each nucleus must adopt the methods most suited to its own conditions of work in the shop and whatever methods of contact which may be established by the national organization.

THE NUCLEUS AND THE LEAGUE AS A WHOLE

COMBINATION of the nuclei into branches is of great importance for the leadership of the work of the nuclei and the utilization of their experiences. Each nucleus must therefore have a great influence on the branch committee and play a significant role in the branch.

The branch meeting comprizes all the nuclei of the shops in its locality, and those members who are living in the district but belong to no nucleus. It elects a committee of five to seven members. The majority of the committee members must, however, be taken from the nuclei.

In the hands of this committee lies the entire registration and administration. It has a list of members, a treasury, it receives propaganda and organization material from the higher committees, as well as the League organ, and it provides the nuclei and individual members with the necessary literature. It has to lead the activity of the nuclei and to combine the various fields of work. Accordingly the work is distributed among the members of the committee. The individual committee members have the duty of cooperating permanently in the work of a definite nucleus. As far as possible they participate in the meetings and sessions of the nucleus and even in the shop meetings of the young workers. Each committee member must maintain a permanent connection with the nucleus committee; he must not only occasionally meet it, but have long and thorough discussions with it on the activity and the development of the nucleus, and deal with all plans for the forthcoming work. The leaders of the various departments in the branch committee must have special conferences with those comrades of the nucleus who are responsible for the work on their field. These departmental leaders must carefully watch the activity of the nucleus on their field, make proposals and give directions. The branch committee furthermore prepares the formation of new nuclei. It may also charge members with this

task. The individual members can be charged with work in a special nucleus. The branch committee furthermore provides organizers for the work and speakers for the meetings of the nuclei. It establishes archives of newspaper clippings, a collection of material on the most important fields of work, archives of report and correspondence and a library, which is open to the nuclei for their work. The branch paper (if any) is furthermore edited and controlled by the branch committee.

The meetings, etc. of the branches are adapted to local conditions. If there are only weak nuclei or only one nucleus affiliated to the branch, the meetings of the latter will be more frequent, perhaps twice a week. If there are more and stronger nuclei affiliated to the branch, then possibly only two branch meetings a month would prove to be necessary. These meetings first discuss the work of the League and then that of the nuclei. They are above all meetings for the training of the members for the forthcoming work in the locality, shop, school, trade unions and in the country. The branch meetings are furthermore continuations of the meetings of the nuclei, supplementing the political, educational and social activity of the latter. At the branch meeting the agitation in the rural districts, games, etc. are organized.

The branch meetings have in general a public character. They are often carried thru in connection with a meeting of a nucleus, which is too weak to carry it thru alone. The nucleus organizes the meeting, and is supported in this work by the entire branch. The branch as a whole participates in it; the young workers of the respective shop are invited to attend it. Such a meeting which is larger than it would have been if the nucleus had organized it alone, will make a good impression on the young worker. For such larger meetings, propaganda should be carried on in the respective quarter of the city or in the whole locality. The nuclei must utilize this occasion in their shops and induce the young workers to attend all our meetings.

Always with the consideration of the work of the nuclei, the branch carries on that part of the educational work which requires more qualified teachers. It organizes study circles, classes, etc. in which all members of the branch participate.

For the support of the work of the branch committee, regular officials meetings and (in places with several branches) delegates' meetings take place. Apart from our general work the discussion deals especially with our activity towards the opponents, in the trade

unions, schools and sport organizations. The fractions in these organizations are specially combined and send representatives to such meetings. At the officials' and at the delegate meeting as well as at the special conferences of the fractions in their locality the nuclei are represented by their committees, or the leaders of the respective department. The representation depends upon the strength of the nuclei.

On special occasions apart from these general officials' and delegate meetings special conferences of the nuclei leaders and departmental leaders of the nuclei may take place.

PARTICIPATION OF THE LEADING BODIES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE WORK OF THE NUCLEI

The nuclei must play an important role in the entire organization. This can best be done by electing from the nuclei the delegates to the district and national conferences or by having the nuclei propose the delegates. A conference of such a composition will be well able to deal with the problems arising from the nuclei work.

The members of the district and National Executive Committee, who in many cases, on account of the great amount of work they have to do, are relieved from taking special functions in the nucleus or branch, must place themselves at the disposal of a definite nucleus and cooperate in its work. The experiences of practical work, which are thus directly conveyed to the leading bodies, will have a favorable effect on the directions and decisions of these bodies. If a member of a leading committee visits other towns or cities in order to attend a conference or meeting, he must get into contact with the most important nucleus for the purpose of discussing with it all important problems.

FROM ISOLATION TO THE MASSES

THE transition from the present territorial branch to a branch organized on the basis of shop nuclei, which is a practical task for the coming period of development of the international young communist movement, demands a certain time and the overcoming of many difficulties. The existing organization is already a factor in the solution of the problem, it is at the beginning of the transition period and urgently demands the change. If this were not so, the problem would not be so important and the necessity for reorganization not so immediate.

Each Young Communist League is faced with a great problem of its own demanding the whole efforts of its members. In Italy there is the struggle against the Fascisti, in France the struggle against militarism, in Germany the resistance to economic enslavement and nationalist incitement, in Austria the struggle for the unemployed, in Finland and Checho-Slovakia the struggle against reaction, and in Great Britain, America, Switzerland and the Balkans the gathering of the proletarian youth under the banner of the Young Communist International.

Each League must combine the reorganization with the solution of its particular problem and its accomplishment will take the form demanded by the circumstances of its task. The newly formed nuclei must commence immediately the work which faces the national organization and whilst accomplishing it the Leagues will be taking the direct route to mass organization.

In these circumstances the first steps of the various Leagues will differ according to the conditions of work. For instance:—

In Germany where our organization carries on a strong economic campaign, special attention will have to be paid to the conquest of the shops of large-scale industry where there are already strong Communist Party fractions and where we will receive the support of the communist shop committees. The German League

will therefore commence immediately to form nuclei in shops of large-scale industry.

In Finland where we have already 3,000 members in Helsingfors alone, and have at our disposal an excellently constructed system of small working groups, some of which will have to be charged with the formation of shop nuclei.

One rule, however, must be universally applied— "That old forms of organization must not be blindly destroyed before the new organizational apparatus has been solidly established."

Therefore a League should not begin its organizing work simultaneously everywhere in the whole country, but at first in those places only where it can be most easily done. The fact, that in the cities we have generally a few members only in one or two big shops, will facilitate the transition. Under such conditions we will generally not pay great attention to the other shops, but concentrate our attention on those where we have already members, until we have formed there working nuclei. A good example will have a greater effect than all lectures to shop officials. Therefore, we must from the beginning strongly support the new nuclei and assist them in the perfection of their meetings and socials. In places, where a territorial branch does not yet exist, the formation of a branch should best be done immediately on the shop basis. Here the branch committee will from the beginning be composed correctly. The members of a shop will be combined into a nucleus, they will be quite different from that of a territorial branch. In small towns where, on account of the economic structure, the formation of nuclei is impossible, the branch must be transformed ideologically, so that it does not merely interest itself in its own branch matters, but pays attention to the situation of the apprentices in the workshops of the locality. If this work is done systematically, and under the control of the leading committees, we need not worry about the fact that after some time one part of the organization is already built up on the new basis, whilst the other part has still maintained its territorial structure.

In large and well constructed organizations of our Leagues we will have to take a number of transitional measures. The greatest part of the task is to see to it that the majority of our membership consists of young workers from the middle-sized and large shops. But until this end is attained, a number of steps can be taken which lead us on this road. The leaders of the present shop fractions may

be subordinated to the branch in the locality of the shop, there they must regularly report on their activity, or they can be elected to the committee of their respective branch. Later on joint meetings of the nucleus and the branch can be called, until the nucleus with all its members is closely bound up with the branch; then the members are crossed out on the list of their territorial branch. In this way the new branch is formed. In the transitional period the members may also from time to time attend the meetings of their territorial branch. With the progress of the reorganization these exceptions will disappear. The mutual exchange of experiences of the practical work will show many more of such transitional measures.

By commencing the transformation of their organizational structure, the Young Communist Leagues have drawn one of the most important conclusions from the results of their past work. The difficulties before us are great and can hardly be overestimated, only after the sustained effort of our entire membership can we succeed but the reward will be worth the endeavors and *THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES WILL BECOME THE ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH.*

Supplement

RESOLUTION ON THE ORGANIZATION OF SHOP NUCLEI

Adopted at the Third Congress of the Y.C.I.

(1) The Organization and Activity of the Nuclei

IN all localities with large and medium sized industrial concerns, the branches of the Young Communist Leagues must immediately begin the organization of nuclei. At the outset of this activity, the branches must ascertain where their members are working, collect information regarding the general conditions within the shops and on the qualities of our branch members. There must be at least five branch members in the factory or workshop for the organization of the nucleus. Nuclei must first be established in the most important shops and in those where the least difficulties are encountered (for instance, in industries with workers' colonies, with strong communist tendencies among the workers, and in the shop council, etc.). In those shops where only a few of our comrades are working, they must carry on a systematic activity to increase their membership within the factory and to organize a nucleus as soon as possible.

At the first meetings of the nucleus, a secretary, or (if the numerical strength warrants) a bureau consisting of three or five comrades, should be elected. As soon as the nucleus has been organized it must get into touch with the party nucleus or fraction, or (if no Party organizations are in existence within the shop) with the individual members of the Party, as well as with the communists or sympathizers in the shop council and with the representatives of the trade unions.

Immediately on its inception, the nucleus must elaborate a plan of work for the immediate future. The nucleus must begin its mass

activity by concentrating on the questions which are of greatest interest to the young workers in the respective factory.

The permanent work of an average nucleus consists of:—

(1) The economic struggle of the working class youth which is the chief task of the nucleus. The nucleus must be well-informed on all wage-agreements, payment of wages, working hours, strikes, holidays, treatment of the young workers, the hygienic conditions in the factory and in the workers' dwellings (if such are in existence), on sick benefits, and all school matters. Only thus will the nucleus be able to discuss all these questions with the young workers, with the shop council, the trade union representatives, as well as within the trade unions thru the fractions of the League. All this work must be conducted on the basis of the decisions of the Y.C.I. on the economic campaigns of the League within the factory.

(2) Political agitation, individual, as well as at meetings, and by the distribution of literature.

(3) Recruiting of new members, whose admission must be endorsed by the local branch which is in charge of the registration of members.

(4) Educational work in its simplest forms, as for instance, short political reports, discussion of problems of the labor and the youth movement, distribution of books from the branch library, arrangement of revolutionary evening gatherings, hikes, singing of revolutionary songs, publication of a branch or nucleus paper. The educational work of the nucleus must not push into the background the economic and political work which is the most important task of the Young Communist Leagues. It must correspond with the tasks of communist education, and must be very carefully adapted to the psychology of the industrial young workers.

(5) Descriptions of the life of the young workers and of the work of the nuclei within the various factories must be given regularly in the Party and League press.

(6) Convocation of shop meetings of young workers.

(7) Collection of membership dues, a definite percentage of which must be handed over to the branch which has charge of all financial matters.

The nuclei must work legally, semi-legally or illegally according to the prevailing conditions in their particular country, town, or shop, all of which will have a bearing on the possibility or the methods of fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks.

The nucleus must meet at least once a week. According to circumstances, the time of meeting can be fixed either for the dinner hour, immediately after working hours, or later in the evening. The meetings may be held on the shop premises (room of the shop council, canteen, school), or in the dwelling place of some League, Party, or trade union member in the neighborhood of the factory, in the nearest local headquarters of the Young Communist League, the Party, the trade union or the cooperative society, in a nearby hall, etc., or (during the summer months) in the open air. The agenda of the meeting must be carefully prepared. It must be interesting and not tiresome, so that it will attract the attention of the audience.

It is very essential that every member of the nucleus should be drawn immediately into some kind of practical work, no matter how simple it may be.

In the event of a member becoming unemployed, he is transferred to the local branch of his residential district. The Young Communist League must organize branches of the unemployed comrades at the Labour Exchanges, etc.

(2) Guidance and Support of the Work of the Nuclei

The shop nuclei cannot carry on systematic and successful work without the careful and continuous supervision of the branches. This must be based on an exact knowledge of the local industrial conditions. The leaders of the branches must inform themselves several times a week on the work of the nuclei, and must give directions to the latter either by visiting the secretaries or bureaus or by inviting them to the headquarters of the branch. The branch committee may instruct its members to carry on special activities in the shop or shops in their respective locality. If possible, all the nucleus meetings should be attended by members of the branch committee. In capitals and country or provincial towns it is essential that the members of the National Executive Committee and the district committees should on certain days do regular work in the most important shops. From time to time meetings of nuclei representatives must be organized according to the territorial and the trade union principles. The leading bodies of the League and all their departments must continuously be informed on the experiences gained in nucleus work and must utilize them to the best advantage; they must define and elaborate their tasks, publish the necessary material for their

activities, give publicity to the latter in the League's press, etc. Comrades especially fitted for teaching must be used for the educational work of the nuclei and of the branches. Through the medium of the corresponding Party and trade union bodies we must enlist for the nuclei the help and the support of the Party and the trade union organizations and their members in the various shops.

(3) Reorganization of the Branches

Transition from the present territorial branch to branches organized on the basis of shop and school nuclei (constituting as it does one of the immediate tasks of the international young communist movement) is a lengthy process during which numerous difficulties will be encountered. A beginning should be made wherever it is easiest (for instance, in towns with only one branch) transferring the work gradually to those localities where difficulties are greater (for instance, large cities). Transition of the territorial branches is only possible, however, once the nuclei have been carefully and systematically organized and placed on a working basis. As long as the old branch is not yet reorganized, it continues its present functions. However, this old branch must take the following steps preparing for its complete reorganization:—

- (1) Subordination of the nuclei to the present territorial branch.
- (2) Joint meetings of the nuclei representatives with the local branch committee.
- (3) Joint meetings of nuclei and local branch members.
- (4) Organization of branches in industrial centres on the new basis.
- (5) Election to the local committee of several comrades who work in the industries of this territory, but who live elsewhere.

All the measures taken for the present can naturally be only of a provisional character. The branch committee shall be elected on the new basis and the members shall participate in the educational work of the branches where they are domiciled.

All the above examples are suggestions for practical measures, to be carried out on the basis of actual conditions, situations, and experiences.

The organization of the branches being completed in certain cases, (but not generally) individual members may simultaneously belong to the branch where they are domiciled and to the branch of which their nucleus is a part.

(4) *Report to the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I.*

The Leagues are requested to send to the International Executive Committee every other month a special and detailed report on their activities in connection with the organization of the Leagues on the new basis.

RESULTS
OF THE REALIZATION OF THE DECISIONS
OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE Y.C.I.

Extract from the Resolution of the Third Congress of the Y.C.I.

It is only by concentrating on regular and well-organized activity in factories and workshops that the Young Communist Leagues will become *mass organizations* of the working class youth in the true sense of the word.

The practical task of the Young Communist Leagues consists in gradually *reconstructing their organizations* in accord with the following principles:—

The basic unit of the League is the shop nucleus. The shop nuclei in the cities are combined into branches which thus include those comrades working in the industrial concerns of the said territory. Direct affiliation with these branches is permissible only to those League members who, residing in the district of the branch, are not working in large or medium sized industries where a factory nucleus is possible.

The *chief tasks of the nuclei* are:— political agitation, economic struggle, recruiting of new members, collection of membership dues, distribution of literature, discussion of the work of the League within the factories and workshops, educational activities, as far as they are possible, and the convocation of shop meetings of young workers. After its reorganization on the basis of a combination of nuclei, the local branch must continue to carry on a considerable part of the League's work. Above all it must control the entire activities of the factory nuclei, centralize the management of the latter, carry on propaganda in the rural districts, work in the children's groups, and organize the advanced educational activities.

Only such a formation of the Young Communist Leagues will guarantee us a close and permanent contact with the masses, a

systematic influence over the latter, the possibility of an increase in membership, and the coordination of the internal and mass activity of the Leagues. The branches of all Young Communist Leagues must therefore *proceed at once to establish and to develop shop nuclei by concentrating their attention upon the most important shops in their localities.*

The tempo of the *transition from the system of the old territorial groups, based on the residential principle, to that of local groups organized on the basis of factory nuclei,* depends on the concrete local conditions. In order to obtain practical experiences and facilitate a rapid development in the above mentioned direction, the transformation must first of all be carried thru in the strongest and most suitable branches of the Leagues.

HIGHROADS TO PROGRESS

The Minutes of the Third Congress of the Y.C.I.
held in Moscow December 4th—16th 1922

Here in detail are the discussions on every problem with which the Young Communist Leagues are faced.

It is a book which should be a familiar of every League member wishing to have more than a superficial knowledge of the place of their League in the scheme of things.

MANUAL FOR LEADERS OF CHILDREN'S GROUPS

A practical and detailed work of instruction on the problems confronting the organizers of communist educational work amongst the proletarian children. It is not a theoretical treatise. It is a sure guide in a field long neglected. It is based on the experiences of the Communist Children's Groups in Central Europe, and is written by an authority on the subject who has spent his time and energy in the practical work of the children's movement.

Issued by the Publishing House of the Young International
Berlin-Schoeneberg 1923

THE PROGRAMS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Containing the first Program, adopted November 1919 / The tentative Draft for the new Program as adopted by the Third Congress of the Y.C.I., December 1922 and other material relating thereto.

RESOLUTIONS AND THESES

Adopted by the Third Congress of the Y. C. I.

Containing the results of the eleven day congress of December 1922 in relation to the most important matters at issue.

* * *

The above two books contain the justification of the Young Communist International. To say that they are important is to understate the case. They are the important documents of the Youth Movement

Our members must possess and study these two books.

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