

~~SECRET/CONTROL U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

25X1A2g



25X1A2g



COMMUNISM

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATION

*As shown by a manual on organization
issued by the CP Cyprus (AKEL).*

2 March 1954

Copy N^o 49

~~SECRET/CONTROL U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

PREFACE

One of the best ways to gain an understanding of how a Communist Party works is to study a Communist organization manual, in which the Party discusses its problems in its own terms and presents its own solutions. The question of organization--meaning, how Communist theory and policy can be turned into practice--has always been of tremendous importance to Communist leaders everywhere. Theory and practice together are the keys to successful revolution, as taught by Lenin. "Without a revolutionary theory," he wrote, "there can be no revolutionary movement. . . . " On the other hand, "in the struggle for power, the proletariat has no other weapon but organization." "The proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class."

In the terms of this formula, it is the fundamental task of the Communists to develop an elite, single-minded, totally disciplined organization, conditioned and deployed to exert maximum influence over the entire working "class."

Communist Party organizational manuals treating these problems in simple, practical terms are relatively rare. One of the best known is the so-called "Peters' Manual" (The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization, by J. Peters), which for many years was the basic instructional text of the Communist Party of the United States.

Another such textbook is the one herewith presented. Although published by a small Communist Party, *this manual, entitled Organizational Lessons, presents principles and practices of Communist Party organization that are generally valid for larger CP's in other parts of the world. (That general principles and practices may be transferred is demonstrated by the fact that the AKEL manual is acknowledged to have been based upon an earlier text published by the CP Greece.)

*The CP Cyprus, founded in 1924, took its present name of AKEL (Anorthotikon Komma tou Ergasomenou Laou: Reform Party of the Working People) in 1941. No up-to-date figures on its numerical strength are available. In 1952 it had an estimated membership of 4,000; its influence was, however, greater than this figure would suggest, for it controlled the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Union (EAK). In the summer of 1952, an internal crisis developed within the Party, ostensibly over the question of union with Greece ("enosis"), and a number of its top leaders were expelled. The crisis seems to have been brought to a head by the direct intervention of the CP Greece (KKE).

Of special interest are the sections on Party security-- Party vulnerabilities and counter-measures (pp. 32-49). The need expressed (p. 45) for bolstering the Party Information Branch is one not often publicly acknowledged by CP's, most of them preferring to conceal the mere existence of a counter espionage organ.

Lessons 4-6, dealing with the qualities of a "good" Communist, are also of interest. Here, again, AKEL describes in substantial detail desired characteristics that one seldom finds mentioned in Communist documents.

The manual, as published, did not include a table of contents. One has been prepared for the convenience of readers.

It will be noted that the text contains minor aberrations of spelling and grammar; in the interest of speed, the manual is being distributed unedited, as it was originally received from a friendly foreign official source.

	<u>Page</u>
Lesson No. 9	
"Elements. Their Selection and Nomination" (Principles of developing Cadres.)	29-32
Lesson No. 10	
"Methods Employed by the Enemy in His Campaign against Our Movement" (Includes case histories of "spies"; weaknesses which permit penetration of the Party)	32-39
Lesson No. 11	
"The Party's Protection" (Selectivity in recruitment, supervision of work, and criticism as security measures. Creation of Information Branch for counter- espionage.)	39-46
Lesson No. 12	
"Organizational-Technical Preparation" (More organizational security measures. Rules of personal conduct.)	46-50

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Lesson No. 1	
"The Parties"	1-7
(The Character and function of the AKEL as a CP)	
Lesson No. 2	
"Organizational Structure	7-9
of AKEL"	
(Functions, composition, method of selecting members of Party leadership organs)	
Lesson No. 3	
"Organizational Principles of AKEL"	10-12
(Basic definitions: "Party democracy," centralism.")	
Lesson No. 4	
"Party Members. Rights and	12-15
Obligations"	
(Includes requirements of membership and types of discipline.)	
Lesson No. 5	
"Party Education"	15-18
(Qualities of the ideal Communist)	
Lesson No. 6	
"Control, Criticism, Self-Criticism,	18-20
Party Penalties."	
(Criticism and self-criticism as an important control device.)	
Lesson No. 7	
"Organizational Leadership"	21-24
(Relationship of organization to policy. Organizational purity and efficiency.)	
Lesson No. 8	
"Organizational Work"	25-29
(Various social and economic groups as targets for Communist organizing efforts. Principles: distribution of labor and maximum participation. Necessity for secret ("illegal") work at all times. How deviations are expressed by attitudes towards organizational work.)	

Pamphlet entitled "Organisation Lessons"
published by the Central Committee of A.K.E.L.

Prologue

Today we present this pamphlet, which is based on the "Organisation Lessons" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, published in 1947. It is useful and indispensable not only to our Party as a whole but also to all other conscientious elements of our popular movement which are outside the Party's organised limits. This pamphlet might also serve the District Committees as a series of lessons which probationary members should, in any case, go through.

We consider it expedient not only to make the necessary adaptations to conditions in Cyprus but also to quote some fundamental and cardinal points from modern experience, with special regard to provocation, espionage and vigilance.

This pamphlet should be the A.B.C. of the organisation of the Party's members and of the followers of the popular movement in all their organising work because, as Stalin has wisely emphasized, "organised work alone can determine the fate of a political course". That is why this pamphlet has been given an instructional character in the form of lessons which, on the one hand make it fully understood and, on the other, require teachers to collect all essential observations which might be made during the lessons so that the pamphlet's new edition might be more complete and richer.

September, 1950.

Publicity Department
of the Central Committee
of A.K.E.L.

LESSON No.1

The Parties

Parties, which represent the interests of the working class and of the working people and whose fundamental object

is to organize

- 2 -

organise the classless socialist community on the basis of the abolition of human exploitation, are Progressive parties. Parties which represent the bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes and seek to perpetuate the present-day régime of exploitation are Reactionary parties.

A.K.E.L., which is the party of the working class and of the working people, is a progressive party because national liberation and the replacement of the exploitative régime by another régime are its aims. Its members, unlike the members of other bourgeois parties, believe in principles, not in persons. A.K.E.L. is a party of principles with definite fundamental aims which no one can alter. A.K.E.L. is a new type of party. It is the new edition of Leninism.

Our Party leads the working class and the workers in the national rehabilitation struggle, that is, the union of Cyprus with Greece and the incorporation of A.K.E.L. in the Greek people's organised and progressive forces which guide the working class and workers in the struggle for power and for a non-exploitative socialist community.

Main characteristics of the New Type
Party

The New Type Party's main characteristics, as determined by Stalin, are:-

- (a) The Party is the vanguard of the working class.
- (b) The Party is an organised section of the working class.
- (c) The Party is a superior form of organisation of the working class.
- (d) The Party is an organ of proletarian dictatorship.
- (e) The Party is a unit incompatible with intra-Party 'fractions'.
- (f) The Party gathers strength from its purge from opportunist elements.

Let us now examine these distinctive characteristics one by one.

1. The Party as Vanguard of the working class

A.K.E.L.

- 3 -

[A.K.E.L.] is the basic power of the national-liberation movement and of all radical democratic and socialist changes. It is the vanguard of the working class and working people of Cyprus. It is the political party of the working class which, as a section of the working class of Greece, forcibly detached from it, is entrusted with the task of national-liberation and of socialist moulding. As vanguard in the struggle against Imperialism and capitalism it achieves the emancipation not only of the working class but of all the working people as well. Consequently A.K.E.L. is, in this respect, the Party of all the working people also. It is the political guide and 'General Staff' of the struggle of the working class. No army can do without an experienced 'General Staff' in time of war. Without a 'General Staff' an army is automatically doomed to defeat. A.K.E.L. is just this kind of 'General Staff' for the working class and working people. At the same time it is the vanguard of the working class which is closely knit with the working class and workers.

Differences between A.K.E.L. and the remaining part of the working class as well as differences between the Party's members and persons outside the Party will exist so long as classes exist. But, in order that A.K.E.L. might guide the working class, it should be closely associated with the non-party masses. The Party is an indivisible part of the working class and all working people.

A.K.E.L. incorporates the best leaders and most enlightened elements devoted to the proletarian cause. It incorporates elements recruited chiefly from the working class. But it also has elements from the peasantry, from the popular classes of the towns, from the intellectuals who understand the historic role of the proletariat, and from all the working people. A.K.E.L. is the 'General Staff' which directs the class struggle of the proletariat and of all the working people.

2. The Party as the organised section OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Party's obligations during the period of Imperialism are great. It must lead the workers' struggle in very difficult circumstances. Moreover, it must infuse into the non-Party masses the sense of discipline, of struggle, of organisation, of courage. But, to be able to do this, the Party itself should be a well-disciplined and organised part of its own class. Without itself being

organised

- 4 -

organised it cannot conduct the working masses' struggle. The view that the Party is an entity is based on that point in the Charter laid down by Lenin which says: "The Party is the sum-total of its organisations and its members are members of the Party's organisation".

The Mensheviks had proposed that any person who in any manner whatsoever supported the Party should be considered a member of the Party without affiliating himself to any of its organizations. But the Party is not only the 'ensemble' of the Party organisations. It is also the singular system of these organisations. Their unification is expressed in the senior and junior leading organs with the minority's submission to the majority and with practical engagements for all its members.

3. The Party as the supreme form of organisation of the working classes

As an organised and leading Party, A.K.E.L. is not the only organisation of the working class. The working class has another set of organisations with which it carries on the struggle against capital. For example, it has societies, associations, trade unions, etc.

How, then, should working class leadership be achieved since that class has a set of organisations? Who is to determine the general direction of the movements of all these organisations? A.K.E.L. alone will determine and guide because it embraces the best elements of the working class and of all the other working people, and also because it has greater experience and is a school which produces leaders able to organise the working class struggle. Moreover, it has the authority to transform all the non-Party organisations of the working class into auxiliary organs, thus uniting the working class and working people with the Party. The Party is, therefore, the supreme form of the proletariat's class organisation. It is for this reason that the opportunists and capitalists uphold the non-Party organisations' "independence and neutrality".

4. The Party as organ of Proletarian Dictatorship

In order that the working class might attain proletarian dictatorship or popular democracy with a view to the reconstruction of socialism the Party is needed as an indispensable 'General Staff' for seizure of power, "The power of habit in millions of men is the most terrible

habit"

- 5 -

habit" says Lenin. Without a Party as hard as iron and as strong as steel, capable of winning the working people's confidence, and without a Party able to influence the masses, peaceful, pedagogical and economic struggle after seizure of power cannot succeed. The Party is, consequently, the organ of proletarian dictatorship or popular democracy.

Cyprus is not a capitalist, independent country. It is a colony. As a matter of fact it is a special type of colony. It is a colony that possesses all the characteristics of a national entity in common with "independent" capitalist Greece. Therefore A.K.E.L. shoulders all the duties of colonial progressive parties. It has to fight for the country's right of self-determination before seizure of power. Our country's right of self-determination lies in its union with the mother country - Greece. As a parcel of the progressive party of Greece, A.K.E.L. will thus become an organ of Popular Democracy.

5. The Party a single will incompatible with intra-Party 'fractions'

In order that the Party might possess iron discipline it should, first of all, secure the single will and single action of all its members. This does not mean that party discussions are not permissible. On the contrary, iron discipline postulates party criticism and party discussions. Moreover, it does not mean at all that discipline should be blind. Discipline should be conscientious. Once discussions are over and criticism has done its work and decisions have been taken, single action on the part of all members is a sine qua non. Without it there can be neither a Party nor iron discipline in the Party. "Whoever in any way weakens the Party's iron discipline, especially during proletarian dictatorship, actually assists the bourgeoisie", said Lenin. It follows, therefore, that 'fractions' are incompatible with the Party's unity and that they lead the Party to laxity and disintegration. It is for this reason that Lenin insisted on the complete elimination of the 'fraction' spirit and threatened with expulsion all members who did not comply with this injunction.

6. The Party becomes strong when it is purged of opportunist elements.

"Opportunist elements are the source of intra-Party
'fractions'

- 6 -

'fractions' says Lenin. The working class admits into its ranks various elements, such as elements of the bourgeoisie and the intellectual class which infiltrate into it on its way. Similarly, with the strengthening of capitalism there comes into being a class called labour aristocracy. Lenin describes this class of people as agents of the bourgeoisie who infiltrate into the labour movement and bring reformism and chauvinism. These bourgeoisie groups penetrate into the Party and introduce into it the spirit of doubt, disintegration and diffidence, etc. They are the source of intra-Party divisions, of discontent, of the dissolution of organisational work, and of the Party's destruction from within. Merciless war against these elements and their expulsion are indispensable prerequisites of victory.

The theory that opportunist elements can be defeated by means of an intra-party ideological campaign and that they can be dissolved and assimilated into the Party is a dangerous theory that might paralyze the Party and might condemn it to inertia which might result in the working class and the working people being left without a revolutionary party.

The Bolshevik Party owes its acquisition of power to the expulsion of the Martov type Mensheviks from its ranks.

On the eve of victory and of the hardest struggle for victory the slightest hesitation in the Party can demolish everything. The removal of hesitant leaders at the right moment does not weaken the Party, or the working class, or the revolution. On the contrary it strengthens them.

Questions:

- 1) What is the New Type Party?
 - 2) What are its main characteristics?
 - 3) Why is the Party the vanguard and the organised section of the working class?
 - 4) Why is the Party the supreme form of organisation of the working class?
 - 5) Why is the Party an organ of the Proletariat and of Popular Democracy?
 - 6) What is the basic objective aim of A.K.E.L.?
- 7)

- 7 -

- 7) Why is the Party incompatible with intra-Party 'fractions'?
- 8) Under what conditions does our Party gather strength?

LESSON No.2

A. Organisational structure of A.K.E.L.

Party Groups

The Party Group is A.K.E.L.'s basic organisational unit. It consists of at least three Party members. Where necessary the Party Group is split into sections for the best execution of Party work. Each Party Group is led by an elected three-member bureau. The Party Group links the Party with the masses. It elaborates and channels to the masses the Party's decisions and mottos. It recruits new members for the Party. It provides for the members' education and for the organisation of the masses among professional and other organisations. It participates in the investigation and settlement of questions which concern the Party and takes drastic action in the economic and political campaigns. It mobilises the masses in the struggle for the achievement of the Party's aims and, finally, it provides for the organisation and education of youth.

B. District Organisations

The District Organisation comprises all the urban and rural Party Groups. Our Island has 5 District Organisations functioning in Nicosia-Kyrenia, Famagusta, Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos.

The District Organisation is led by the District Committee which is elected by the District Assembly. The District Committee leads the District Organisation and works out its activities on the basis of the Party's decisions. Each District Committee elects its secretariat which consists of 3-5 members. The secretariat performs all the routine functions on the basis of the District Committee's decisions. The election of the Party's leading organs, from the Party Group's secretariat to the Central Committee, is carried out after the Party's elected members have been supplied with an autobiographical record and self-criticism

note

- 8 -

note concerning each candidate together with the criticising committee's observations.

District Committee plenary meetings are convened once every two months. Extraordinary meetings are convened if necessary.

C. Senior Organs

Congress is the Party's supreme organ. Regular congresses are held once every two years. An extraordinary congress may be summoned either at the Central Committee's instance or at the request of one-third of the Party's members who have been represented at the previous congress. Congress hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. It examines and amends the Party's programme and statute. It determines the Party's procedure. It elects the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee of A.K.E.L. and fixes the number of regular and supplementary members.

The Central Control Committee holds its plenary meetings at least every six months. Supplementary members participate in the plenary meetings and have an advisory vote. In important matters the Central Committee convenes a wide plenary meeting in which representatives of District Organisations also take part.

The Central Committee assumes leadership of the Party's entire work during congress intervals. It elects, from among its members, for the management of current affairs, the Politbureau which is answerable to the Central Committee's plenary meeting. The Politbureau represents the Party in its relations with the other parties, organisations and services and organises the Party's various services whose activities it regulates. It determines the salaries of the various central organs which it directly controls. It issues permits for the publication of Party newspapers in the Districts, organises and leads the Party's enterprises and sets up the Party's Treasury.

The Central Committee appoints a secretariat for A.K.E.L.'s organisational work.

The Central Control Committee controls the manner of implementation of the Party's and Central Committee's decisions by the Party organisations. It holds to accountability those

who

- 9 -

who are responsible for contraventions of the Party's programme and statute and for breaches of Party discipline. It audits the Party's accounts and sees to the expeditious investigation of matters by the Party's central organs (the Central Committee and its Politbureau and secretariat).

D. Leading Organs

(a) The Group members' meeting which elects the Party Group leaders constitutes each Party Group's leading organ.

(b) The District meeting which elects the District Committee constitutes the District Organisation's leading organ.

For current work the Committees elect a bureau which is responsible to their plenary meetings.

All these leading organs hear and sanction the respective organs' reports and they discuss matters relating to Party affairs.

District meetings are convened by the District Committees once a year. Extraordinary meetings may be held when one-third of the members ask for them or if a senior organ so decides.

Questions:

(1) Which is the Party's basic organisational unit? How is it set up and what is its significance?

(2) Of what organisations does the District organisation consist and how is it led?

(3) Which are the Party's senior organs?

(4) When is a Party Congress convened?

(5) What is the Politbureau?

(6) What is a Central Control Committee and what are its functions?

(7) Which are the leading organs of the Party Groups and District Organisations?

LESSON No.3

- 10 -

LESSON No.3

Organisation Principles of A.K.E.L.

A.K.E.L. is not like other parties. It is a Party of the working class which embraces in its bosom free men who joint it spontaneously without any pressure or force and of their own free will. They must, therefore, know not only their rights and obligations but also the Party's aims, its organisational principles and the nature of its constitution. Our Party - the New Type Party - is founded on the organisational principles of democratic centralism. There have been frequent misunderstandings on this point. Some friends think that when we speak of the development of intra-party democracy our Party loses its basic characteristic of centralism. Let us explain:

(a) What is Party democracy? Democracy enables all members of the Party to express freely their views on every matter with which the Party is concerned. It enables them to participate in meetings and to discuss and work out the Party's decisions and political course. It enables all members to criticize and exercise control in all directions. It ensures election of all the leading organs from among the members themselves. These are the genuine principles of democracy which are applied in the Party. But the Party's members have certain duties to perform, just as the Party itself has duties to perform.

(b) What is Centralism? To enable it to march on, to possess single leadership and to be uniform in its function, the Party must have centralized leadership. This means that our decisions are taken in a democratic way. We all express our opinion and we then decide by vote. Once a majority decision is taken we must all obey it. Our leaders, too, must guide the Party in the application of the majority's decision. We, in our turn, must submit to the leadership. Without it there cannot be Party unity, nor can the Party's decisions and policy be put into effect.

Our Party is centralized on the basis of democratic centralization. That is to say, it is founded on intra-Party democracy, on strict centralized leadership and iron discipline. Intra-Party democracy secures for all members active participation in the Party's life, in the elaboration of its procedure and in the discussion and settlement of all its questions. Intra-Party democracy means self-criticism. That is to say, scrutiny of the accuracy of Party decisions and ascertainment of the weaknesses and shortcomings of all party organs and of all members and elements in the performance of their functions. It means systematic control in the carrying out of decisions.

- 11 -

Intra-Party democracy means development of the initiative of all members of the Party, of all Party Groups and of all Party Committees in the execution of the Party's instructions and in the direct facing of all facts within their respective spheres of action. Intra-Party democracy means active participation of all members of the Party in the nomination and election of the Party's leading organs and in the replacement of those organs which prove themselves not quite efficient by other more suitable organs. Intra-Party democracy means submission of the minority to the majority and the unconditional execution of the Party's decisions by all members of the Party and the Party Organisation. Intra-Party democracy means election of all members of the Party - from the Party Group Bureau to the Central Committee - and their responsibility to the organisations which elect them.

In cases of offence and in other difficult circumstances democratic centralisation allows exceptions such as the admission of members into the leading organs with the senior organs' approval, the appointment of junior organs by senior organs, and account-rendering in such manner and form as should not expose the Party Organisation to attack and dissolution.

In the event of disagreement, all those who differ in the execution of a majority decision may have recourse to senior organs. It is thus evident that there are circumstances where we must restrict the Party members' democratic rights.

We are a Party surrounded by enemies. Difficult conditions therefore arise which embarrass the Party's task and the application of democracy. It would, therefore, be foolish on our part to favour the application of democracy in the Party to its fullest extent because only the enemy would benefit from it. It would cause great harm and destruction to the Party. All the efforts of our members should be so conducted as to enable the Party to do its work in the best possible way. Thus, since the full application of democracy in certain circumstances would harm the Party, it would not be right to apply it in full measure. In such circumstances the senior leading organs intervene and often make appointments to junior organisations from among senior organs without it being necessary for them to hold meetings as this would be a difficult matter. This should be done with care and, so long as we are afforded even the least of possibilities to apply democracy in the Party, we should do IT because it would make our Party more energetic and stronger.

According

- 12 -

According to Lenin's teaching "the Communist Party can carry out its task if it is organised in the most centralised manner, if iron discipline bordering on military discipline prevails, if the Party centre is an organ of power and authority with wide jurisdiction, and if it enjoys the general confidence of the Party members".

Questions:

- (1) What is the Party's basic principle?
- (2) What is meant by intra-Party democracy?
- (3) What is centralization?
- (4) What is meant by Party discipline?
- (5) In what circumstances is centralization applied in the Party?
- (6) What is the position of a member of the Party in the event of disagreement?
- (7) Why should the Party be a well-disciplined, solid block?

LESSON No.4

Party Members, Rights & Obligations

Whosoever accepts the Party's set principles, works in any of its organisations, submits to the decisions of the Party's organs and pays his subscriptions regularly, is considered to be a member of the Party.

A. Obligations

A Party member's primary duty is to protect and strengthen the Party. Unity is the first and foremost requisite for effective action and for the achievement of the Party's policy. The class enemy is constantly seeking to break this unity by every means in his power because he understands the great importance of unity for our very existence. The enemy's guns are always trained in that direction. He exploits everything he can exploit. He exploits our weaknesses and mistakes, and anything wrong done by us, in order to be able to strike at the Party's unity. The Party's unity should, therefore, be preserved fanatically by all members.

Each

- 13 -

Each member's first duty should be to guard the Party's unity. His other duties are:-

To strive untiringly to enhance his ideological level and cultivate his political conscience; to observe strict Party discipline; to take an active part in the Party's inner life and in the country's political life; to apply in practice the Party's policy and the party decisions. To work untiringly for the enlightenment and organisation of the working people, and to play the role of vanguard in daily affairs and in the struggle of the masses; to weld and persistently and steadfastly strengthen the Party's influence among the workers whom he should conquer with his own example. He should always be at the forefront in the struggle against Fascism, against the reactionaries and against all the enemies of the people. He should be affiliated to his society or some other mass organisation. At critical moments, in particular, he should display sangfroid, initiative and courage. He should protect the Party with ever-increasing revolutionary watchfulness. He should observe in the strictest manner the rules of precaution in his practical work, during interrogations, and before the Courts.

B. Rights

A Party member may participate freely in discussions concerning the Party's policy and procedure both at Party meetings and in the Party's Press. He may also take part in the discussion of decisions taken by the organisation to which he is affiliated. He may freely express his opinion, at Party meetings, on the activities of any Party element, organisation or leadership. He may participate in the election of leading organs and he may also be elected to them. He may approach any leading organ of the Party hierarchy to which he belongs, as well as the Central Committee, on any personal or Party matter.

C. Conditions of Membership

Any person who desires to become a member of the Party should, in the first instance, go through a period of probation. He should become a probationary member for a minimum period of three months. To be accepted as a probationary member he should be proposed by two Party members and he should submit an autobiographical record. Before an applicant is admitted to the Party his case should

be

- 14 -

be considered and decided upon at a meeting by a Party Group and his admission should be sanctioned by the District Committee.

Leading elements of other political organisations are admitted to the Party subject to the Central Committee's approval.

Party members who propose applicants for membership are responsible to the Party for the truth of their recommendations.

If a Party member defaults, without reasonable cause, in the payment of his subscription for three successive months and disregards consequent warnings served on him he is considered to have relinquished the Party.

Removal of a Party member's name from the members' list is decided upon at a Party Group meeting and the decision is put into effect following the Central Committee's sanction. Decisions for the removal of members from the lists should be taken with the utmost care and in a spirit of comradeship. Charges should be verified before action is taken.

An expelled member of a Party organisation has the right to object to his removal from the members' list. Objections should be examined by the senior party organisation within 15 days. They might even go to the Central Committee.

A.K.E.L. was created in 1941 with its doors wide open. Many persons, not only opportunists and suspicious adventurers, but also a great number of friends who did not possess the required qualifications for membership, joined the Party at once. Naturally, as our Party is the vanguard of the working class, it should admit into its ranks vanguard elements of other classes also. We have let whole masses of unorganised friends get into the Party without control. The vanguard thus became , assimilated into the masses and the Party's character suffered a change which prevented the Party as an entity from responding to its duties. We have seen the bad results of this wholesale rush into the Party. As soon as objective conditions became difficult, there set in a mass leakage from the Party with its consequent damaging results. The Party's purge now, especially following the 6th Congress, which still continues, will enable the Party not only to get rid of all the elements which are unfit for the vanguard but also to consolidate its course organisationally on the basis of the Party members'

devotion

- 15 -

devotion and strict conscientious discipline. This purge has no connection at all with the leakage.

The adoption of the probation rule - with the District Committees' full understanding - is a guarantee that the elements which join the Party are tested and educated in such a way that when they permanently enter the Party they are efficient elements possessing all the required membership qualifications.

Questions:

- (1) Who is considered a member of the Party?
- (2) What are the duties of members of the Party?
- (3) What rights have the members of the Party?
- (4) What are the conditions of membership?
- (5) When are members struck off the list?

LESSON No.5

Party Education

A. Clear Mind.

A communist must think clearly. He must be alert and must possess sangfroid, flexibility and resolution.

B. Sound Body.

A communist must always have a sound body. He must preserve and develop his physical powers. He must do his best to secure healthy conditions of life. He must sleep with windows open. He must love water and should take plenty of it. He must take regular exercise in the mornings. He must be fond of fresh air, the mountains and the sea. Our organisation, which is wholly devoted to Party advancement, should give attention to physical occupations also. This applies to the intellectual class in particular. Our workers should not ignore their specialities. They should improve them technically as far as possible because they will always need them in their Party life. Without making it their special object, our members, apart from those who work in a special capacity in this domain, should give, each

- 16 -

each one according to his individual aptitude, some of their time to athleticism, an innate tradition, so to speak. Our Party members and elements should also take an interest in swimming, hunting, target-practice and other athletic sports. The fundamental object of these exercises is to enable us to maintain a balance of intellectual and physical strength such as might enable us continuously to secure higher records of achievement. All these things constitute a domain which a good communist and our organisation cannot and must not ignore. Naturally our Party and elements do not always possess the material means which are often necessary even for a very primitively tolerable life. Nevertheless, we should do our best in this respect with the possibilities we may have at our disposal on each occasion.

C. Every Communist a Leader and Renovator

A communist's intellectual horizons embrace the entire world. This means that a communist stands generally on a high level of civilisation of his epoch, always holding the front-line in the social and political fields. What does this mean? The communist, who is an element of A.K.E.L., apart from the school where he is a model pupil, apart from his speciality in which he should be proficient and which he should promote in order to become a leader and renovator, possesses also the necessary encyclopaedic culture in the principal domains of the worldwide civilising, intellectual and scientific movements. He continuously modernizes himself. He takes an interest in the world's leading intellectual class, in its prominent members and in their work. Much more than that, he follows the local intellectual movement. He takes an interest in literature, the Theatre, music and the plastic art. He cultivates his aptitudes. He is also interested in the progressive work of the Cinema and in local and foreign Radio transmissions. He avails himself of all these things, always with wise moderation, from the viewpoint of Party expediency. Here we should pay special attention to foreign languages. Party members and elements should have the ambition to learn at least one foreign language in addition to their mother tongue - the commonly spoken language - which they should know well. These attributes, linked with a communist's intellectual horizon, constitute a communist's general encyclopaedic outfit. But, necessary and useful as these may be, they of secondary importance in the intellectual equipment which our elements and members should possess because their principal and basic mission is to

enlighten

- 17 -

enlighten, organise and lead the masses in the struggle for their social liberation, for popular democracy, for socialism, and for communism. Therefore, study and creative assimilation of Marxism-Leninism - science of the world's knowledge of its change - take first place in a communist's theoretical-political formation.

D. Organisation of Individual Life

In his family life and domestic environment a communist seeks always to secure civilised relations no matter how poor. A communist wants to be a good son, a good daughter and an affectionate and model parent and paterfamilias. In this domain, too, he is a model. He knows that normal family relations and conditions are a great help to him in his Party functions and in his individual achievements. A communist takes care to regulate, as far as his financial means permit, the hygienic conditions of his home, his food, his clothing and his appearance. The Party naturally helps, as much as it can, those of its members who are fully devoted and, particularly, those who, due to privations, hardships, persecution and torture, are in poor and broken health. The class enemy always does what he can to knock out physically our best sons. A communist is born and bred in penury and in the hard and cruel struggle against exploitation. He faces the greatest and most difficult trials of life. The better he is prepared to meet them the greater will his success be. In this respect a communist's physical endurance and state of health are an important pre-requisite which we should always try as far as possible to preserve in our favour.

Our Party naturally does not make any political or party discrimination between the old and sick. But from the point of view of Party usefulness there is bound to be a difference between the two. The old man throws all his forces into his work. The Party must pay attention to the sick and weak but these should also take care of themselves. The young man or woman who has entered the community and has just embarked on political activity enriched with our experience should pay great attention to this point. They should prepare themselves and should harden their bodies so that they might be able to encounter and overcome the difficulties of the class struggle to which they have devoted their lives.

Questions:

- 18 -

Questions:

- (1) Why should a communist have a sound body?
- (2) Why is a communist a pioneer and renovator?
- (3) Why should he know a foreign language besides his mother tongue?
- (4) Why does creative assimilation of Marxism-Leninism take first place in a communist's theoretical and political composition?
- (5) Why should a communist regulate his individual life and become a model?

LESSON No.6

Control, Criticism, Self-criticism.

Party Penalties

A. Control

Control of the execution of decisions exercised by a Party Organisation over another organisation constitutes the synthetic element of Bolshevik leadership and of the Bolshevik education of our members because it enables us to understand better the abilities and weaknesses of the members of an organisation. Moreover, it educates the controllers themselves because it helps them cultivate a Bolshevik leader's good qualities. Control of the carrying out of decisions promotes in members the spirit of Party discipline, of higher exigency and of Bolshevik responsibility. It trains them in the work which has been entrusted to them. Furthermore, control renders possible the timely discovery of mistakes and facilitates their remedy. Control discloses weaknesses and blunders. It quickens the backward and prevents the good elements' downfall. It helps them get on and achieve fresh successes in their work. Control should not, however, be carried out in the office. It should be carried out on the spot, not with promises and statements but with practical results. This enables us to familiarize ourselves better with the elements and to determine their actual abilities. Control from above is, therefore, indispensable. But control from above should be coupled with control from below. Those who are led should control their leaders whose mistakes they should note and should indicate the manner in which they could be remedied. Stalin says: "What leaders can see is

more

- 19 -

more or less limited. Leaders see things, facts and men from one angle only. They see from above. Whereas the masses look at things, facts and men from another angle - from below. They see things in a limited way". We must combine these two angles for the right solution of a problem. Only then would leadership be correct. A leader should, therefore, value the experience of the masses. He should avail himself of advice for improvement of work.

B. Criticism and Self-criticism

Criticism and self-criticism which Lenin and Stalin have introduced in the Parties constitute one of the basic principles of Leninism. They are distinctive characteristics of all Communist Parties. Criticism and self-criticism are a serious means of Bolshevik education of our Party's elements and members.

Bolshevik self-criticism is a basic method of securing the timely recognition and remedy of weaknesses and errors in work. Correct education of the elements helps the Party to give the elements correct political education because the concealment of mistakes ruins the elements. Moreover, self-criticism is a safeguard against the repetition of mistakes. Correct and fruitful criticism is truly educative among Bolshevik elements. The Lenin-Stalin Party teaches us that fruitful criticism and self-criticism alone can educate the Bolshevik Party elements to whom selfishness and arrogance are unknown in their individual lives and work. A Bolshevik does not compromise with his weakness. He is exigent towards himself as he is towards others.

Strict criticism of weaknesses, not concealment, and strict exactingness, not compromise with errors, are the only means that facilitate the education of worthy elements.

This is what Molotov says on this point: "We must not relax but must tighten criticism of weaknesses in work. We must get rid of the bourgeois arrogance from which we are suffering. Only then will our leaders not deviate from the line of political leadership in their work. On the other hand they will not ignore small matters the neglect of which often does us harm. When criticism and self-criticism are actuated by the desire for the best and quick settlement of a question, with the object of destroying red-tape methods - bourgeois relics of backward people - the result is not laxity but mobilisation of our forces for victory".

There

- 20 -

There can be no Bolshevik leader without Bolshevik control and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

C. Party Penalties

The object of Party penalties is not to punish but to correct a member or element that has blundered, in order that the Organisation might be protected. Moreover, their object is to protect and educate the Party members and elements. The Charter of the Communist Party of Greece makes the following observation on this point:

"Undermining of Party unity and discipline, attempts to create Camps and Groups, and violations of rules for conspiracy are punished with all severity even to the extent of expulsion from the Party. Failure to carry out the Party's decisions, breaches of Party discipline, and other actions prejudicial to the Party's interests entail Party penalties such as that of drawing offenders' attention, administration of warnings, degradation if the offender holds an office, suspension for a maximum period of six months, and expulsion from the Party. In the event of a collective offence, penalty might be extended to the dissolution of the organisation and its subsequent reconstitution.

Members whose actions and conduct are not of the standard required of a member of the Revolutionary Proletariat Party - especially members who betray the Party to the class enemy and the security authorities, members who expose the Party to interrogations and cause it to appear before the Courts, and members whose party conduct and individual behaviour are incompatible with the demands of communist party spirit and morality - are definitely expelled from the Party.

Questions:

- (1) What is the meaning of control, and how should it be exercised?
- (2) What are criticism and self-criticism, and what part do they play in a member's and Party leader's party life?
- (3) What is the object of punishment, and what are the penalties imposed?

LESSON No.7

- 21 -

LESSON No.7

Organisational Leadership

1. Significance and Essence of Organisational Leadership

Various problems and the methods of organisational leadership constitute one of the most fundamental and decisive factors in the status, functions and activities of A.K.E.L. It is a general rule that wherever there is Bolshevik leadership there is also success in the application of the political course, and the Party's expansion is thus assured.

A good leader is half of what is needed for the good operation and progress of an organisation. A leader always analyses and clarifies the Party's political course and decisions which he follows and controls their practical application. He studies, selects and puts the best elements in the best places. He helps and leads in a practical and concentrated manner. The essence and functions of organisational leadership are:-

- (a) Control of the execution of decisions and of the application of the political course.
- (b) Correct selection, nomination and appointment of elements.

2. Political Course and Organisational Policy

To understand the essence and role of leadership one must analyse another very important matter which is connected with it and with the action and reaction between one leadership and another. This is the Party's political course. We know that the Party always sets before it a definite aim such as, for example, the formation of a National Front for the despatch of a National Delegation abroad. This course is determined by this or that internal and international state of affairs. It changes in accordance with the political situation and, as we have already said, it is called the Party's political course.

The political course is the general direction which the Party gives to the organisations and its members for a fixed period. Determination of the political course is not, however, enough for its implementation. A set of measures and forms of organisation and struggle for its practical application are also needed.

All

- 22 -

All the forms of organisation and struggle which are used by the Party, in accordance with this or that political line of action, and for the latter's implementation, constitute what we call organisational policy. Organisational policy is thus subject to the requirements of the political course. The political course and organisational policy are interdependent and constitute an inseparable entity. Moreover, they depend on the Party members' and elements' organised work. "The political course expresses the Party's desire to win but does not concern itself with victory. Victory and the political course's fate are determined by organised work alone", says Stalin.

3. Vigorous Staff Leadership

Vigorous staff leadership makes correct distribution of the forces which it utilizes for the attainment of set objects. It deals firmly with the question of the nomination and employment of elements. It gives positive, fruitful, definite, fundamental, help. It assists the organs in their functions on the basis of collectivity and of collective and single effort. It helps in the distribution of work so that work might become more useful. It controls the enforcement of decisions of the Party's political course and contributes to the proper functioning of the Party's open and secret mechanism.

4. New Organisational Policy of the Communist Party of Greece.

The new organisational policy, which was laid down by Comrade Zachariades at the 12th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece and which has decreed that one of the elements' important duties should be/get down to the rank and file, has made substantial progress, in accordance with the assertions of the all-Greece Organisational Conference of April, 1946.

The decisions taken at the 12th plenary meeting in the presence of Comrade Zachariades as leader, laid down an organisational policy which the Communist Party of Greece has been pursuing successfully. The 12th plenary meeting decisions carry the seal of the luminous and vigorous Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought in the organisational domain also.

The greatest mistake which the 12th plenary meeting discovered in the organisation field was the serious discomposure in the social structure of the Party's members (the ratio of workers was found to be not more than 18%).

The

- 23 -

The following ruling was emphasized in the plenary meeting's decisions:

"The Party should remain principally and fundamentally the Proletariat Party of Greece".

The meeting emphatically underlined the grave danger to the Party, namely "the very low theoretical standard of the mass of the Party's members and elements". It pointed out the heavy responsibility which a set of senior Party elements carried for this state of affairs and ordered that these elements should get down to the rank and file and work among the masses. Furthermore, the 12th plenary meeting recorded a state of weakness in dealing with rebellious anti-Party manifestations and indicated the need for a concrete and individual re-investigation of the manifestations, the need for development of intra-Party life, and the need for more vitality among the Party members. It stressed the importance of Party vigilance and pointed out practical and organisational measures.

The Communist Party of Greece has since made important and positive strides in a forward direction and has overcome its basic organisational weaknesses. In raising its organisational policy to the high standard of its political course the Party has achieved the following results:-

- (a) It has purged its ranks.
- (b) It has substantially improved its social status.
- (c) It has secured a Party structure which constitutes a guarantee that problems will be effectively dealt with as they crop up.
- (d) It has created reserve leadership.
- (e) It has developed initiative in the Party's rank and file.
- (f) It has created mobile and simple Party machinery.
- (g) It has achieved a qualitative improvement of its members and elements.
- (h) It has, to a great extent, remedied leadership's detachment from the rank and file and has done away with red-tape methods of leadership.

Today,

- 24 -

Today, following these results, the creation of the go-ahead spirit and the development of new elements are the main points of the Party's organisational problems.

In our own Party - A.K.E.L. - the 6th Pancyprian Congress has brought about an important turn towards organisational policy. First of all it has emphasized the importance of criticism and self-criticism to which it has given concrete substance. It has adopted the system of autobiographical and self-criticism notes and the formation of criticising committees. It has organised the Central Committee's Publicity Department and has established cultural lessons. It has ordered the readjustment of the Party's rank and file to labour and vocational organisation. With this organisational policy as a basis we purify the Party's ranks. We improve its social structure. We create true reserve leadership. We develop initiative at the Party's foundation - its rank and file. We get rid of red-tape and we contribute to the advancement of the Party's members and elements.

/qua- The Party's correct political course, its correct
li- organisational policy, the serious reflection of its mass
ta- activities and the daily/improvement of its elements and
tive their political maturity, constitute the Party's sound
foundations which will enable it to overcome the
difficulties and obstacles that stand in its way. They will
enable the Party to deal with all things effectively.

Questions:

- (1) What is meant by organisational leadership?
- (2) What is the essence of organisational leadership?
- (3) What is a political course? What does it express?
- (4) What is Staff leadership?
- (5) What is organisational policy?
- (6) When was the new organisational policy of the Communist Party of Greece and A.K.E.L. established?
- (7) What has the Party achieved following the raising of its organisational policy to the level of its political course?

LESSON No.8

- 25 -

LESSON No.8Organisational Work

When we speak of organisational work, having in mind the Party's functions as the immediate object, we mean the activity and implementation of the Party's political course and decisions with a view to the preparation and achievement of the Party's strategic aims for final victory. The significance of organisational work is tremendous because it is the other leg of proletarian philosophy. It is practice in relation to theory. Organisational work will determine the political course's fate. How and where shall we organise the masses? Where shall we start? With what vindications shall we set out for the people's mobilisation?

The political course was laid down at the 6th Conference and in the decisions of the Central Committee's plenary meetings. The organisational work of the Party and of its members and elements will give life to these decisions and will make them a reality. This is the task of organisational work. The following basic points form the essence of organisational work:

(a) Daily mobilisation and participation of all Party members in the activities and life of their organisation. This means that every one, from the plain member and new element to the highest element, should have a share in the Party's activities and life by undertaking certain duties. Only then will the organisation become vigorous and the Party's political course will have the best chances of success. Moreover, Party members will progress through experience gained in their daily struggle and activities.

(b) Organisation of the people's struggle in their own environment. This means that we should analyse, acquaint ourselves with and study the environment of labourers, peasants, etc, in which we work. It also means that we should begin with the smallest vindications and most immediate problems such as the question of wages, etc., over which these elements are sensitive. In this way, slowly but surely, we shall organize the people's struggle and shall extend it to more general questions such as the struggle for national rehabilitation.

Organisation of the people's struggle entails the following tasks:

(a) We should enable our Party, by means of/ the right combination of its open and secret work, to carry on its

task

- 26 -

task among the masses under all conditions, and we should organise and mobilise the people.

(b) We should organise the majority of the workers, employees and farmers in their professional unions. We should establish unity among the factory committees. We should organise the struggle of the unemployed and the struggle for work, gratuities, bread and free meals.

(c) Through political unity in the villages we should make rural societies organs of defence of the countryside's economic interests by extending these societies to every village.

(d) We should organise the professional and industrial masses and should strengthen their cooperation with the working class.

(e) The intellectual class, which fundamentally belongs to our own community, we should organise and readjust ideologically so that it might contribute to the work of enlightenment of the people.

(f) With a dense network of mass organisations we should embrace the entire poor class in the towns which should include the youth, A.O.N. (Progressive Youth Organisation), students, democratic clubs, excursion societies, etc.

(g) We should organise and firmly establish ourselves everywhere led and sheltered by E.A. S. (National liberation Front) by means of protests, assemblies, strikes, and all manner of mass mobilisations. We should persuade the masses, on the strength of their own experience, that in order to live they must fight.

Furthermore, organisation of the people's struggle means the organisation of women who comprise half of the population and without whom there cannot be a national-liberation struggle.

(h) Daily recruiting for the Party. This means that it is each member's and element's duty to recruit new members in the daily struggle for the organisational growth of the Party. This duty is never put aside altogether. It depends on conditions and exigencies; that is to say, sometimes we have mass recruiting and sometimes limited recruiting. The development and assimilation of new members are closely connected with this task. The 6th Conference decisions gave this factor the character of one of the Party's foremost organisational duties.

Principles of Organisational work

- 27 -

Principles of Organisational Work

The following are basic organisational lines on which Bolshevik organisational work and the activities of every Communist Party function.

Distribution of labour and collective work: Distribution of labour in the Party means classification of work for the Party's various problems, duties and departments of activity. That is, we should split the whole organisational work and should allocate certain definite duties to elements among the higher and lower organisations, down to the ordinary new element, so that no communist should remain without work or duties or without a share in party life. In this way no organisation is entrusted with a single concrete task. This applies particularly to the Party Groups. Distribution of work should be strict and concrete. It should be practicable and according to each member's organisation's capacities.

In order that an organisation might carry out successfully the duties undertaken by it after distribution of work, every member of that organisation should work collectively. Members should not work separately. They should help each other and should cooperate both before and during their work.

Distribution of work alone is not sufficient. It should always be coupled with collective work. It has been proved that collective work is the highest form of work both as regards results and the advancement and education of the elements and organisations.

Combination of Open and Secret Methods of Work

Our Party does not act under the same conditions always. Sometimes its actions are lawful, sometimes they are semi-lawful and sometimes altogether unlawful. We should always combine open forms of struggle with secret forms of struggle. When our Party acted in an unlawful manner after the October events our organisations in the towns acted unlawfully also, but, at the same time, the Party did not let the least chance of lawful action go by. Rather, it never gave up the effort to legalize the actions of certain extra-Party organisations, syndicates, clubs, etc. Both forms of struggle constitute 'dialectical' unity. Each one acts on the other effectively. We should employ both methods of struggle, continuously changing position and weight according

to

- 28 -

to political conditions without abolishing either. Every deviation which favours one method alone should be struck down mercilessly. Open action is 'Right'. Secret action is 'Left'. In the end both lead to direct or indirect class capitulation either through the Parliamentary form of struggle -(social democracy)- or through sectarianism and isolation -(anarchy). All Parties have committed such blunders. In his book entitled "Child Disease" Lenin speaks of such deviations. The right combination of open and secret work definitely protects us against internal espionage also.

Deviations in the role and significance of organisational work. Deviations noticed in the role and significance of organisational work are of 'Right Wing' and 'Left Wing' character.

(a) 'Right Wing' deviations: They recognise and deify the political course but they underrate organisational work saying "If we have a correct political line of action all is well".

(b) 'Left Wing' deviations: They recognise and deify organisational work but they underrate the correct political course saying "Let us have a good organisation and that is all we want".

Both of these conceptions are bad and destructive. Political course and organisational work constitute a 'dialectical' unity and completeness. Neither can exist without the other. Each one determines the other's fate. Organisational work, however, will decide whether or not a given political line of action shall be applied and whether or not it will succeed.

There are deviations, too, that are noticed in organisational work, such as saying: "Now we should organise and then struggle, or, now is the time for struggle and not for sound organisation and action for other vindications", etc. Such deviations have been noticed in almost all Parties, as well as in our own Party, old and recent. These deviations have been the cause of 'fractions' and sectarianism and have uselessly delayed the Party's expansion. They have brought us organisational sectarianism and isolation from the masses instead of a vigorous intra-Party life. Every deviation of this nature must be struck down mercilessly. We must link sound organisation of daily politico-organisational work with the people's struggles.

Questions:

- 29 -

Questions:

- (1) What is meant by organisational work?
- (2) What is the essence of organisational work?
- (3) What is meant by organisation of the people's struggle?
fundamental
- (4) What are the / organisational lines on which every Communist Party's Bolshevik organisational work and activity are based?
- (5) What is meant by combination of open and secret methods of work?
- (6) What kinds of deviations are there in the role and significance of organisational work?

LESSON No.9

Elements. Their selection & Nomination

Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the Party's elements are its gold capital. The Party's political course and organisational leadership are dealt with by the elements. The political course's fate and its success or failure depend on organisational work and standard of organisational leadership. Political leadership and organisational leadership are inseparably interlinked. Lenin said: "We cannot determine which question is political and which organisational. Every political question might also be an organisational question, and vice versa. Technically we cannot separate the one from the other".

The correct political course which has been tested in practice, having been worked out, the Party's elements become a decisive force of Party leadership.

The foremost and most important task is to secure a correct political course. But this is not enough. We should not merely proclaim the correct political course. We should also apply it. But, to do this, there is need for

elements

- 30 -

elements and men who can understand, assimilate and appropriate it. There is need for men who can apply it in practice and are able to explain and defend it and to struggle for it. "Without this, the correct political course is exposed to the danger of remaining on paper", says Stalin.

There are many organisational talents in the Party. Organisational leadership's efficiency lies in its ability to discover these talents, to apply them to work and to develop them, because without cultured elements neither can the question of the elements' education be settled nor/ petit-bourgeois weaknesses be eliminated. can

Selection of Elements

When Lenin wished to be informed about an element's merits he wanted to know if, from the standpoint of conscience, and in the political sense, it possessed experience and abilities.

An element's selection should be made according to the political criterion, that is, whether the element enjoys political confidence, and also in accordance with the criterion of work, that is, whether it possesses abilities.

We should not confine ourselves to the first criterion, nor should we restrict ourselves to the criterion of abilities alone. Methods of distinguishing elements should be such as to enable us to form a clear idea of both their loyalty and abilities.

An Element's Characteristics

This is what comrade Zachariades says on this subject: "A loyal and able member leads in the workers' organisation and struggles. He is always a model of discipline, heroism, resolution and self-sacrifice. He always listens to what the workers say. He persuades and is persuaded. He creates new elements, pushes on, encourages and leads in a paternal way. He puts the right man in the right place. He is not despotic. He is distinguished by his spirit of party comradeship. He is simple and intelligent. He is patient, explains things and persuades. When he decides he acts promptly, energetically and without delays. He is plain and simple and is party-conscious. He possesses party integrity of character and party honesty. He never forgets the Party when he thinks of his personal and family interests. He is not family-conscious. In this respect Stalin has exposed all the

harm

- 31 -

harm done by familiarity which he has characterised as anti-Bolshevik and contrary to party spirit. He has shown that correct selection of elements means selection on the basis of objective qualities. He has taught us that in our work for the elements we should invariably adapt ourselves not only to the old elements but to the new elements as well. The old elements possess leadership experience. They have been welded into the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. They are conscious of the task entrusted to them and are adaptable. These are their advantages over the new elements.

The new elements have not got the abilities of the old elements, but they have their own special merits. They are conscious of being new. This is a valuable quality of every Bolshevik element. They develop and push on so vigorously that they quickly catch up with the old and stand side by side with them as able substitutes.

Stalin says: "Man - the elements - are the most precious and decisive capital in the world".

Correct Selection of Elements

Correct selection of elements means:

(a) That we should value and preserve the elements as a gold deposit of the Party.

(b) That we should know them and should examine carefully the abilities and weaknesses of each. We should know the right place where their abilities could develop more promptly.

(c) That we should nominate the elements with care and should help each developed element to advance without grudging the time needed for it.

(d) That we should nominate new elements at the proper time and with courage. We should not let them rust in one place.

(e) That the elements should be so located that each one should feel that it is in the right place so that it might be able to make the maximum/ of its abilities. use

Work for the elements does not end with the elements' correct selection and location. Their Bolshevik education comes first in importance.

Stalin

~~SECRET/CONTROL U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

- 32 -

Stalin said: "We should accept as an axiom the fact that the higher the elements' political criterion and Marxist-Leninist conscience the better and more fruitful their work. Contrarywise, the lower their standard the more probable are bankruptcy and failure in their work".

Stalin further says: "Nine-tenths of our problems would be solved if we could raise our elements to a high ideological level and if we could weld them politically so that they might freely adapt themselves to the internal and international situation and be able to solve without serious blunders the country's leadership problems". Leaders cannot be produced by means of books. Books help leaders advance but they cannot create them. Elements and leaders develop through work only.

Questions:

- (1) On what does success of the political course depend?
- (2) What is the elements' role in the application of the political course?
- (3) What must we bear in mind in the selection of elements?
- (4) What is meant by correct selection of elements?

LESSON No.10

Methods employed by the enemy in his campaign against our movement

A. Calumnies and Terrorism

A.K.E.L. is the unique Party of the working class and of the working people whom it leads in the struggle against Imperialist slavery and capitalist exploitation. It is a thorn in every Imperialist's eyes and in the eyes of all exploiters of the people. It is, consequently, a target on which all Imperialists have openly and secretly concentrated their fire. They use every means of attack against our Party. To begin with, they have launched a fierce campaign against our movement as though it were a movement directed against the Fatherland and religion and serving the "Red Tsar" - Stalin. They present us to the simple-minded as the enemies of Greece, as

"Slav-ridden

- 33 -

Slav-ridden countryless people", as "destroyers of the family" and as "corruptors of the children's soul". They make use of all their organs in their attack on us. They use the Church and all its Bishops. They use the schools, the newspapers, the Courts, the Police, the Radio, the Cinema, the theatre, etc. They do not confine their activities to the use of these organs only because they know that they cannot achieve their objects by means of deceit and calumny alone. They resort to violent methods also. They prohibit assemblies and demonstrations. They impose restrictions on the Left Wing Press. They imprison our organisation's leaders, our popular combatants. They dismiss Municipal Councils that have been elected by the people. They dismiss patriotic schoolteachers. They forbid popular street collections. They carry on economic terrorism against conscientious workers and industrialists. They adopt most violent methods and the hooliganism of the 'Hi-tes' (a Right Wing Greek organisation, Tr.), especially during election campaigns. They terrorize members of the People's Front. In other words, in their campaign against our movement for freedom, the people's enemy continuously contrives to make a splendid combination of calumny and terrorism.

A. Provocatsia. (Mise-en-Scène and Provocation)

is

Combination of these two methods, however, / not sufficient. To intensify their calumniations and acts of terrorism our enemies need provocation, that is, they stage acts which rouse hatred and indignation against the leading combatants of the people. This dirty method of provocation is a well-known ancient method. Nero, in order to justify his persecution of the Christians, set fire to Rome and accused the Christians of having committed the act. Two thousand years later Hitler copied Nero's example by burning down the Reichstag in order to justify his persecution of the communists. It was only due to Demetrov's grandeur and valour that this provocation was crushed and the fact that the Fascists had set fire to the Reichstag was revealed to the whole world. In order to calumniate the Soviet Union the British Conservatives forged Zinoviev's letter. In order to incriminate the communists the Bulgarian Fascists blew up the Cathedral of Sofia. In Greece, in order to strike at the Greek Communist Party, the Monarcho-Fascists fabricated stories of agreements between Ioannides and the Bulgarians and between Zachariades and the Serbs, etc. In our little Island, also, we have witnessed such methods of provocation. The dumping of pamphlets and prohibited books in the houses of members and elements of our Party in order to incriminate them was a common feature during the period of unlawful actions.

Recently

~~SECRET/CONTROL H. C. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

- 34 -

Recently we have seen exhibitions of provocation through the placing of dynamite fuses in buildings of progressive elements (Pendayia). Provocation is the most favourite method of the people's enemies especially at a time when class struggle and anti-Imperialist campaigns are acute.

C. Espionage

Provocation is of no avail without espionage. One of the main concerns of the enemy has been, on the one hand, to follow, by means of agents and spies, the activities and movements of the Party members and elements- (for more information he often seizes the Party's and Popular Organisations' files and censors the Party's and its elements' correspondence) - and, on the other hand, he either introduces spies into communist ranks or picks them out from those ranks.

The enemy picks out these secret agents:

(a) From among inexperienced members of the Party who have no faith in the Party's struggle and our national-liberation movement.

(b) From among corrupt elements which have penetrated into the Party's ranks.

(c) From among elements which have opportunist, selfish and adventurist tendencies.

(d) From among the pusillanimous and cowards. These persons the enemy either introduces into or secures from the Party's ranks by various means such as money, terrorism, women, etc. The aim of these agents is to spy the Party's positions and activities in order that the blow might fall at the right moment and to help the enemy use the method of provocation. Moreover, their aim is to distort the Party's line of action so that mass struggles might fail and the Party might go bankrupt among the working people. Furthermore, their aim is to inflame the 'fraction' spirit in the Party's ranks.

Naturally, the enemy is careful not to confine the activities of his spies to the Party alone. He spreads them out to all the mass popular organisations such as the Trade Unions, the Cyprus Farmers' Union, the Small Shopkeepers' Association, Youth, etc. The enemy's agents can do a great deal of harm in these organisations both as regards the organisation of provocation and betrayal of the various

struggles

- 35 -

struggles, especially the strikes, with the object of terrorizing the strikers and of undermining their morale. The creation of the enemy's own organisations in the popular movement, with Leftist phraseology, is another form of espionage. Trotskyist organisations, third Party organisations, etc., are examples of such organisations. The manifestation of Tito's régime, which has been playing the role of an agent of international Imperialism in the international revolutionary movement, is a classical example of these manifestations in the international sphere.

D. Examples of Espionage

World history of the labour movement is full of examples of espionage which should serve as a lesson to all the elements and members of the popular movement.

(a) Espionage in the Bolshevik Party

We have had Malinovsky's case before the Russian revolutionary movement. Malinovsky was an agent who managed to penetrate into the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. On the one hand, as a member of the Party's Central Committee he organised strikes. On the other hand, as member of the Police Administration he suppressed them. He was soon found out and paid the penalty for his crime.

After the revolution we have had Trotsky's, Zinoviev's, Buharin's and Rikov's cases. Eventually it was proved that these "Opportunists" were members of a cursed gang of spies who went so far as to become linked with Hitler's General Staff and to work in the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee on Hitler's behalf. All these things were revealed to the whole world during the sensational trials of 1937 and 1938 shortly before the outbreak of World War No. 2. It is dreadful even to think of what humanity would have suffered had the Bolshevik Party failed to discover these vipers and to have purged its ranks of them before war broke out. The Buharinists and Trotskyists were the men who on the one hand sent Gorky and Kirov to their graves and, on the other, paid the highest post-mortem tributes to them in the Party's central organs. They were the men who daily betrayed Stalin's policy to Hitler and, at the same time, filled newspapers with pages of articles in praise of "Great Stalin, the architect of socialism". The Greek Communist Party, too, has received severe blows from espionage throughout its stormy life. The most

outstanding

- 36 -

outstanding instance is Damianos Mathesi's case which the "Organisational Lessons of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece" has described in the following terms:

(b) Damianos Mathesi's Case

"Lack of Party vigilance has permitted Mathesi's spying activities revealed in the Central Control Committee's decision". This decision contains the brief life-story of Mathesi. It analyses in detail his activities from the time he joined the Party in 1924 until recent years. It states that the Security Department made it possible for him to rise in the Party by helping him organise successful reactionary movements of elements of the Communist Party of Greece while in Prison.

Mathesi always undertook the most confidential tasks and employed divers methods of betrayal of the Party in such a manner as not to rouse suspicion. He unfolded his spying activities as soon as he joined the Party and during the 'fraction' strife of 1929-31 when he delivered the representatives of (? K.D.) to the Security Department; when he went abroad and returned to Greece in 1935; when, without the Party's knowledge, he placed in a Soviet ship alleged political fugitives and subsequently got the Police to arrest them. He thus sought to expose the Soviet Union also. His spying activity reached its climax during the 4th August period. The decision says: "Sometimes Mathesi throws out hints against elements, surreptitiously nourishing suspicion against them and thereby incriminating innocent people. There have been instances of comrades having been victimized by this systematic and artful nourishment of suspicion on Mathesi's part. Sometimes he points out to the Security Authorities men entrusted with special confidential duties so that, the authorities, aware of the duties of a man they had caught at Mathesi's instance, tried by all inhuman means to wrest confessions from him".

Whenever Mathesi succeeded in this device - there have been a number of instances where he actually did succeed - there followed mass arrests all of which were attributed to confessions made by the man caught first. Thus, though Mathesi was the principal source, he always escaped suspicion since arrests were invariably explained away. Another method employed by him was to betray mass movements whereby dozens of anti-Fascists were caught and entire organisations were thus dissolved.

The Central Control Committee's decision emphasizes the responsibility for Mathesi's actions. It says that all

- 37 -

these circumstances which should have aroused suspicion in responsible quarters were allowed to pass unnoticed. It was not until November, 1938, that comrade Zachariades, while in Prison at Corfu, combined various circumstances connected with the mass arrests, concentrated his suspicions on Mathesi, and informed the Party accordingly. Only then was Mathesi isolated.

The decision gives a record of Mathesi's activities after his isolation, especially since 1941. Mathesi sets up an alleged liberation organisation of "the people's friends" which he introduces to the Party. He repeats Maniadaki's endeavour to form a Party - an organ of foreign espionage - under new conditions and with new slogans: As soon as the Party exposes him he launches an open campaign against the Communist Party of Greece, indulging in virulent calumnies against the Party and its elements. The decision refers to passages from an open letter which Mathesi circulated in July, 1942, in which he calls the Party's leaders spies and invites the Party's members to place themselves in a "state of war".

The decision ends with the following declaration:

"Damianos Mathesi is one of the worst spies that have appeared in the Party. As a man possessing ability, skill and artifice he was one of the enemy's most dangerous agents in the Party. Working treacherously and with initiative, which indicates that his instructors excelled Greek capacities, and employing with the elements' help all the devices of secret activity ranging from espionage to political provocation and intra-Party strife, he managed, over a number of years, to do serious harm to the Party where he held important positions from which he securely delivered his blows". "This example of espionage carried out by this type of spy is very instructive because Mathesi could never have developed such activity had there been the necessary vigilance in the Party throughout those years. A three-year-old member of the Party is entrusted with confidential work with indescribable superficiality and without investigation of his past record such as his trip to Egypt and his relations with Meimari. Arrests are made in which he is somehow or other mixed up. No investigation of any kind is made. On the contrary, they also try to establish contact between him and arch-spy Lambrianopoulos. This contact, however, did not materialize because Lambrianopoulos was too clever for him. The 'fraction' strife of that period explains

all

- 38 -

all this negligence and Party destruction. This state of affairs helped Mathesi go abroad "unstained" in order to be vested with new authority. He carried on his work during Monarcho-Fascist dictatorship with renewed skill. Provided with freedom of action by the character of his job he was fully enabled to continue his work with impunity". "There was no control over him. Obviously suspicious circumstances passed unnoticed. Even in his responsible duties (anti-dictatorial military union) the leaders did not realize that, despite the apparent increase in the number of members shown by Mathesi, nothing substantial was done. Bureaucratic control, the worst enemy of our work, prevails here also. All the leaders of the anti-dictatorial military union are caught and it does not occur to any one that this could not have been accidental. We must declare openly that through this inadmissible lack of Party vigilance alone have Mathesi's spying activities been possible".

"The Central Control Committee holds this wretched creature up to the Party's and Greek people's contempt and considers it its duty to draw the Party's attention to this example which shows how much damage lack of watchfulness can do to the Party. Mathesi's case should be a lesson to the Party. It should teach the Party how and with what satanic devices the enemy is trying to strike at it. It should teach us how vigilant the communists and their leaders should be in the preservation of the Party".

Control

The Central/Committee of the Communist Party of Greece decides that Mathesi's case should become a lesson of watchfulness for the whole Party, and that it should be the cause of a general development of the important party duty of vigilance".

Our own young movement, too, in its early stages, especially soon after the October events, received heavy blows through the recruitment of spies from among its leading ranks. Most of the Party elements were, at the time, sentenced to long-term imprisonment because the Police succeeded in discovering agents among young Gymnasium graduates, who had no party life at all in them, and were members of the District leadership at Limassol. Another act of espionage in our Party was the disclosure in the Press of the decision of the Central Committee of A.K.E.L. concerning its self-criticism and self-dismissal (March, 1948) before the matter had come before the Party as a whole.

The

- 39 -

The trial of Raik and Costov has unravelled international Imperialism's dreadful endeavour to establish headquarters of espionage among leaders of the Communist Parties and Ministerial Councils of Peoples Democracies.

the

The trial of eleven leaders of the Communist Party of America has revealed that John Leuder, Chairman of the Revision Committee of the Party Organisation of New York, was for many years a spy in the Party's ranks. Unfortunately similar instances may be found among many Communist Parties.

Questions:

- (1) What are the principal weapons used by the enemy against our Party?
- (2) Which are the basic organs employed for the enforcement and maintenance of the capitalist regime?
- (3) What is provocation?
- (4) Which are the most characteristic instances of espionage in world history?
- (5) Which are the basic factors which enabled spy Mathesi to ravage the Communist Party of Greece?
- (6) What have the trials of Raik and Costov shown?

LESSON No.11

The Party's Protection

It is evident that especially under present-day conditions the class enemy is trying with cruelty and artifice to strike at his most consistent, determined and integral opponents - the Communist Parties. Imperialism, which is in the throes of death, is using every means to win its cause through slander, espionage and open attack against the popular movements. Organisation of vigilance in the Party is, therefore, of the first and utmost importance.

The spirit of watchful protection of the Party and the profound consciousness of the need for full measures, in

every

- 40 -

every concrete instance, for the frustration of our enemies' plans and attempts to harm the Party should be the concern not only of the sentinels who stand by every Party Committee's side but of the whole Party also.

The considered, careful and unbiased continuation of the physical purge of the Party's ranks - "the Party gets strong when it purges itself" says comrade Stalin - ; popularization of experience gained from the class enemy's blows, especially during the post-October years; onlightenment on the methods and devices employed by the class enemy to penetrate into the Party in order to strike at it from within or to distort the political course; watchful protection of the elements - "we should not forget to be vigilant" says comrade Stalin - ; daily systematic control carried out in a spirit of comradeship; complete devotion to work in a spirit of comradeship; correct distribution and decentralization of work in all the branches of technical mechanism so that each responsible person should mind only his own business and not interfere with the other branches of that mechanism, are some of the basic duties with which Party organisations should be constantly occupied. The presence of enemy agents in our midst is neither fatal nor inevitable, unavoidable. We can purge our ranks and we can protect ourselves from the harm done by these men, provided we develop our perspicacity to the utmost limit and provided we always adopt measures which, even if agents were to succeed in getting into our Party, we might be able to prevent their expansion and to clear them out. These are the essential points on which our attention should continuously be concentrated.

(1) Proper functioning of Party organisations

Our chief concern should be to secure the proper functioning of our Party Organisations, big or small. We should see to the correct application of our Party's political and organisational lines of action. The people consider this course as the greatest and most consistent force needed for the defence and promotion of their Enosis and social causes.

Our Party Organisations should work clockwise. We should carefully watch every point of bad functioning and of the wrong implementation of correct Party decisions. We should watch carefully every point of disharmony among Party organisations and of intra-Party crises. We should find out their sources and their causes. An intra-Party

crisis

- 41 -

crisis may not have been brought about by the enemy. We should, nevertheless, have no doubt that the enemy will eventually benefit from it.

2. Party Elements

We cannot have proper Party organisational work without good elements. The elements, that is, the comrades who lead all big or small Party work, are the Party's and popular movement's backbone. Without elements - senior, medium, junior - a Party cannot stand, and the people's interests remain unprotected.

The following should be a Party element's distinctive qualities:

(a) An element is a popular organiser and leader wherever he is posted. He is distinguished by his self-sacrifice and self-denial. He is totally devoted to the People and the Party. He is sober and knows his job. He is decent and modest towards his co-workers and Party members in the environment in which he lives and works. He always exhibits a spirit of cooperation and collective work. He continuously studies the Party's and the international movement's principles and lines of action and gains experience from his daily contacts with the Party's rank and file and the popular environment. He is deeply conscious of personal responsibility and adheres to what he says. Boastfulness, opportunism, megalomania, conceit, self-sufficiency, vanity and selfishness are incompatible with the qualities a Party member should possess.

(b) How to acquire good elements

To acquire good elements we should continuously study our members, their activities, their lives, their abilities and their shortcomings. We should study their good and bad points and the results of their efforts in this or that branch of work. We should continuously study their mistakes and failures. We should investigate the causes of their blunders and should ascertain whether or not they were justified and how they could be remedied. We should, in particular, help them overcome their weaknesses. We should continuously lift them up to higher levels on the basis of their previous good work and we should replace them if they are unable to remedy their mistakes and failures. An element's origin, that is to say the fact that he might be a labourer, peasant, or an intellectual,

etc.,

/social

- 42 -

find/ etc., should not escape our attention. We should also examine our elements' way of life. We should find out whether they work or live as parasites. We should discover their special weaknesses and tendencies. We should ascertain whether their environment is a labour environment or a petit-bourgeois environment and whether it is of our own environment or foreign. We should /out what Party and financial difficulties they encounter in their lives and how they stand up to them. All these things we should examine carefully with the object of helping our elements. We should not let them fall.

In the selection of our elements we give full preference to labourers who work and are connected with production. This does not, however, mean that we stand in the way of the development of elements who come from the employee class, the intelligentsia, the peasant class or the class of honest breadwinners in the trades and professions. We are only careful that they should belong to a healthy environment and that they should be free from foreign tendencies and influences. We avoid the pusillanimous and parasites whom we call "Lumber".

We never make hasty nominations or promotions of elements. We always proceed at a normal pace - carefully, not superficially. In this manner we exclude persons who may have joined the movement in a casual way and may have in them the element of capitulation or betrayal, and we can discover suspects and agents who might have infiltrated into our ranks. We thus close our doors to the enemy and purge the Party's leadership mechanism from top to bottom. The purer and chaster the leadership mechanism is, the more invulnerable our Party becomes.

3. Good distribution of work and Combination of open and secret work.

No Party can advance without proper distribution of work. All cannot work for everything. Each person should be devoted to his own work and there should be someone who should be/responsible for each job.
personally

This

- 43 -

This enables the work to advance and the elements to be selected according to their vocation. Distribution of work has another advantage. If the enemy strikes, the blow can be localised. The enemy's nest is discovered, useless elements are eliminated and the party mechanism remains intact. The Party rightly treats as a criminal any member who discloses his mission to another member, irrespective of whether or not he is his senior, and looks with suspicion on any one who meddles in anything that is not his business. There cannot be absolute loyalty in communist work under capitalist conditions and, much more so, under conditions of Imperialist occupation and rule. The Party should, therefore, always combine open work with secret work. In order that this combination might be creative and constructive it should always aim at the preservation and extension of loyalty and the Party's freedom of action. At the same time it should protect the Organisation and elements against the enemy's blows. The Party should always be ready to pass to any state of unlawfulness (underground actions, Tr.). It should maintain its connection with the masses even under the stiffest conditions of unlawfulness, and it should always make use of all forms of struggle among the lawful popular organisations - the trade unions, cooperative organisations, civilising societies, etc. Such conditions postulate strict distribution of work among the comrades who carry out open and secret work. In this way, blows of open work may not influence or affect the secret Party organisation.

4. Caution against superficiality, disorderliness and gossip - sources of food for the enemy.

Superficiality and disorderliness are two major evils which, unfortunately, we still have in the Party to a large extent. These evils always lead to bad organisation of work and failure in every kind of work. Because of superficiality and disorderliness the rules of precaution are never kept, Party meetings are never properly organised, the Party's files are not preserved and proper combination of Party and extra-Party work is not effected. All these end in arrests, degradation and ruin of the

organisation

- 44 -

organisation. Moreover, where superficiality and disorderliness prevail we can never discover the real causes of arrests. The result is that the enemy's agents in the Party remain concealed.

Gossip is another major evil in the Party. It enables the enemy to learn our secrets even without the presence of agents amidst us. Gossip prevents us from discovering the source of the leakage of secrets and from thus localising the enemy's blows and discovering the agents present in our ranks. We should, therefore, do well-husbanded and clean work. We should mercilessly combat disorderliness, superficiality and gossip.

5. Party and Individual Control - an
indispensable weapon for purging
our ranks.

The principle of criticism and self-criticism is coupled with the daily control of our work. Exercise of control for the correct execution of a decision by an organisation, element or member, is an indication of this factor's great importance. It exposes the weak and dubious points. Control of the mode of work, of leadership and of the comrades' social and private life may indicate the need for help or the need for purification measures. There is need for control. Friendships and excessive family-consciousness to the Party's detriment are not tolerated. Blunders committed by any friend, no matter in what position he may be, should be made known to the Party, the Party Group, or a senior organisation.

A.K.E.L.ist who does not control his comrades facilitates the concealment of evil deeds in the Party. He does not contribute to the Party's purification. Likewise, an A.K.E.L.ist who does not accept control from the Party or his comrades, for his shortcomings and errors, is a hopelessly bad comrade.

6. Development of the spirit of self-sacrifice

A.K.E.L.ists, and above all the elements, should be armed
with

- 45 -

with faith in their struggle. They should be inspired by the people's struggle and the sacrifices of their comrades. They should cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice and should face the enemy courageously. There should be no retreat before the enemy. Retreat opens the way to treachery.

7. Organisation of Vigilance

A policy of constant vigilance should prevail in the whole Party and, above all, among all Party organisation leaders. This is a duty incumbent on all. It should be established in all party organisations by sober, cautious and impartial comrades. We should be affectionate towards members and implacable against hostile elements. Vigilance should give positive help to the Party Organisation for the better knowledge of our men - members and elements of A.K.E.L. It should organise elements to guide new Party recruits. It should watch every possible endeavour of the enemy to strike at us. It should forestall distortions of the Party's course and it should set itself the task of clearing the Party of dubious elements. Vigilance is the Party's eye and ear. It is the Party's and the movement's security. It therefore controls everybody, every time.

8. Information Branch for recording

the enemy's movements

We should organise an Information Section, for recording the enemy's movements in all reactionary organisations, with the help of reliable persons or through friends of the movement. The principle which we should bear in mind should be the fact that, through timely knowledge of the enemy's movements and of his plans and possible blows, we can encounter them more effectively.

Questions:

- (1) In what way should the Party be organised so as to be able to frustrate blows of espionage and provocation?
- (2) What are the distinctive qualities of the Party's elements?
- (3)

- 46 -

- (3) How can we develop our elements?
- (4) Why do we need distribution of work?
- (5) What is the basic object of combination of open work with secret work?
- (6) What are the bad results of superficiality, disorderliness and gossip?
- (7) What is the significance of Party and individual control?

LESSON No.12

Organisational-Technical
Preparation

Preservation of the Party's functions and of
our Organisations

The preservation of the Party's functions and of our organisations is one of the most important problems of our organisational-technical preparation. By this we do not mean the Party's leading organs only, namely the District Committees and the Central Committee. What concerns us most, and is the most effective factor also, is to ensure the proper functioning of the Party's rank and file. No leading organ can function without proper contact between leadership and the rank and file. To preserve the Party's proper functioning and our organisations we should have:-

(a) A sound mechanism. An organisation's mechanism needs constant renewal. It should be adapted to current conditions. Sound mechanism requires us to entrust its operation to the most loyal and devoted comrades whom we should elect with very great care.

(b) Good organisation, even of the most unimportant work, carried out on the basis of precautionary measures and the education of the Party's members and elements. All the efforts of the enemy can be neutralized in this way. If there is good organisation there can be

no

- 47 -

no situation, no matter how grim, that could not be faced. Good organisation of our work means that we should give serious attention to the manner in which our organisations function and that we should organise our gatherings and meetings properly and with due regard to the peculiarities of each town and area. Well organised work postulates decentralization and resort to divers forms of activity carried out to the best of our ability. When we organise work we should bear in mind that the Party's interests are at stake and that the least carelessness, superficiality, etc., will damage our Party at the people's expense.

(c) A set of organisational measures which might represent our organisations under new conditions. Our leading organs should consist of a few members and should be mobile so as to be able to get together and decide with ease. The Party's rank-and-file organisations also should be small. In many cases, especially in places where our organisations are put to severe test, we might have Party Sections consisting of five or three members. In places where terrorism almost frustrates the functioning of Party Groups we should, naturally, firmly insist on Party Sections, but we should, at the same time, pursue the system of individual contact with Party members.

(d) Intensification of Party and popular vigilance. Experience gained from Party activities in all countries of the world during the past few decades has shown that the enemy cannot do much by watching alone. He therefore tries to send agents into our ranks to corrupt our men in order to strike at us from within and paralyse our work. Experience has also shown that internal blows are dangerous to our organisations. In order to avoid these blows we should always be alert. We should so distribute our work and we should take such precautionary measures as to be able to discover the enemy's agents with comparative ease. In a quarter or business centre every one knows who are good and who are bad. If, therefore, we keep our ears open and listen to what people say we can easily find out the wretched fellows and spies and we can thus preserve the functioning of our organisations.

Organisation

- 48 -

Organisation of the Technical Publicity
Mechanism and of the task of Enlightenment

Organisation of the technical publicity mechanism in order to ensure the issue of our publications under all conditions is another very important matter that concerns our organisational-technical preparation. It is a well-known fact that Fascist terrorism, blows, arrests, etc., exercise a delaying influence on mass work and on people's struggles especially when the enemy succeeds in wrecking our organisations. In such circumstances printed matter becomes an essential method of struggle because its function is to enlighten the people and popularize our slogans. At the same time it can prepare the people for their new struggles. We should, therefore, make printed matter secure at all costs.

The Ten Rules of Precaution

Knowledge, on the part of every member and element, of the elementary rules and principles of vigilance and precaution is not sufficient for the protection and Bolshevisation of the Party. Full understanding of this need through the creation of a spirit of movement against Provocation and Espionage, in the Party and its organisations and among the people, is also necessary.

We must nurture and stir profound hatred against the class enemy's dirty methods of spying. In every man there is an innate disgust for spies and espionage. We should make this feeling a matter of conscience and duty in the popular masses especially during the present historic moments. We should develop in the Party, to the utmost degree, the spirit of Bolshevik vigilance which means constant attention, denunciation of curiosity and gossip, denunciation and exposure of the class enemy and of the 'Right Wing' and 'Left Wing' agents and daily struggle against them, and non-tolerance of any relaxation of vigilance. We would thus be able to raise a granite wall between our Party and its enemies for the protection of its mass political stand and its secret and technical operation. Superficiality and the spirit of laxity, in which fields the enemy and his agents work almost undisturbed, should be checked.

The following are the most fundamental rules of precaution:

(1) You must not talk or gossip to any one, not even to your mother, either about your work or about matters concerning your organisation, unless your work

necessitates

necessitates it. Otherwise you give cover to internal espionage.

(2) You must be regular and careful in your work and in your appointments. In the streets you must not look behind you or make suspicious movements. You should dress normally and should carry a normal appearance like everybody else, especially in the environment in which you work and move.

(3) When you are occupied with Party work you must not carry on your person anything, such as cards, badges, etc., which might incriminate you in case you are arrested. You must clear your house of every unnecessary object or, you should have such object kept in an absolutely safe place. You had better destroy it. You should observe this precaution especially if you hold a responsible post or when you are on a hazardous journey or when you go to a rendezvous, gathering, demonstration, etc. If you must carry something, you should make sure that you could destroy or dispose of it at once.

(4) You must not ask questions, nor should you allow others to ask you questions, by reason of friendship, comradeship or familiarity, about the functioning of the secret technical mechanism.

(5) You must not salute any unlawful person whom you may meet in the street, nor should you pretend to know him.

(6) When you suspect a comrade you must not trust him nor should you speak about him to any one except to a responsible Party member or to a responsible Party organisation you may meet.

(7) Every responsible organisation must at once try to find out the causes of a blow. If, for the time being, it fails in this task, it must not conceal the matter but should continuously pursue it. Each accusation must be carefully investigated and every precaution must be taken by us. If a comrade is accused we must watch him or we must change his occupation. We should even isolate him. We must, in any case, proceed with caution and skill.

(8) When you are travelling or are detained, or in prison, exile, etc., you must never talk about your organisation, job or post. There always be the listening ear of a spy. will

(9) When you are arrested you must remember that the best thing for you and especially for your organisation to do is always to say "I do not know". You must not attempt to answer or try to be clever in order to deceive your interrogators. The least confession may be

- 50 -

(10) You must not make statements either to the Police or your interrogator except when you have an advocate to defend you. Otherwise you should not speak at all except before the Court. This is a lawful right. Your statement should be solemn and calm and it should not betray nervousness. At the same time it should be firm insofar as it concerns your principles. Before the Court you should use every means in your power to show the grandeur of a popular combatant and Greek patriot.

Questions:

- (a) What is organisational-technical preparation?
- (b) What are the basic organisational measures indicated for the organisation's protection?
- (c) What is the significance of organisation of the technical publicity mechanism?
- (d) Which are the ten rules of precaution?

Epilogue

These 12 simple organisational lessons should be, during the present exceptionally important period, the A.B.C. of every A.K.E.L.ist and of every member of the popular movement. Only by organising our work on the basis of principles which have been explained herein and by protecting and promoting our Party on the basis of rules explained herein, can we be certain that we are performing our patriotic duty towards our suffering people and that we are leading our national and social liberation cause to victory. Every A.K.E.L.ist, with faith and conviction and with intense and enthusiastic devotion to his work, should march on steadfastly in accordance with these immortal lessons which are based on experience of the world's proletariat, and with the sure knowledge that he is doing his duty of demolisher of a rotten community as a pioneer of a new life where world peace will reign supreme and where exploitation of man by man will no longer exist.

~~SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~

~~SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY~~