

guide on the way to the further economic and cultural development of the federated republics.

This cannot be fully appreciated by the nationalities whose economic and cultural development was deliberately retarded previous to the October Revolution by the czarist government, and which were only subsequently enabled to use the right of self-determination and to develop their economic and cultural forces.

Therefore, the forthcoming Tiflis session of the Central Executive Committee will bring the Transcaucasian republics into still closer contact with the other republics within the U. S. S. R. which is the first and only workers' State in the world where power is entirely in the hands of the workers and peasants.

ORGANISATION

Distribution of Party Functions among Nucleus Members.

By Ossip Piatnitsky.

In an article "Nuclei and Local Party Organisations"*) I dealt with the necessity of continuing the organisation of nuclei in factories and of putting before the already existing nuclei all questions connected with the political Party and trade union life of the country and all questions appertaining to large sections of workers and peasants.

But here I want to deal only with the work of the nuclei in the factories and with the distribution of functions among nuclei members, which among other things should give an impetus to the activity of all Party members, thereby providing an opportunity to draw the best elements of the working class into our Communist Parties.

Let us take for example a medium nucleus of 20 to 30 members in any factory.

At the first meeting, which generally takes place in the presence of the representative of the district or town (in a little town) leading organ of the Party, the leading organ of the nucleus (bureau or presidium) is elected. It generally consists of three to five comrades. The latter after getting to know the members of the nucleus, distribute the work among them, taking into consideration the capacities and inclinations of the nuclei members for this or that kind of Party work. At its meetings, the nucleus as a whole lays down the lines of work, it draws up the plan of Party campaigns, makes decisions on contentious questions which are binding for the nucleus, receives reports from the nucleus bureau and from comrades entrusted with definite functions and defines its relation to them. All the decisions of the general meeting of the nucleus, and the entire work are carried out by the nucleus bureaus and by various nucleus members. I will therefore deal very fully with the distribution of work among nucleus members.

It seems to us that the distribution of work within the nucleus should be as follows:

1. If there is a factory committee in the factory including nucleus members, it should carry out the instructions of the Party in the course of its work; these are at the same time the instructions of the nucleus. In the factory committee they form the communist fraction which is connected with the nucleus bureaus. But in the event of the factory committee not including any communists, the nucleus bureau should instruct some of the nucleus members to keep systematically in touch with the work of the factory committee, to elaborate various proposals on questions of interest to the factory workers and to place these proposals before the factory committee and the general meetings of the factory, which proposals should be submitted by the members to the nucleus bureau for approval.

As these comrades become familiar with the work of the factory committee and with the questions it deals with, they can be put up as candidates to the factory committee when the time for re-election comes, their candidature being promoted either by the nucleus or by a group of factory workers in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the country (in accordance with the legality or illegality of the Communist Party) and in the factory.

2. Abroad there are in factories and works members of various trade unions (for instance in the railway workshops, carpenters and joiners belong to the woodworkers' union, the locksmiths and turners to the metal workers' union and the unskilled workers to the general workers' unions). It frequently happens that there are in the same factory members of metal workers, wood workers and other unions adhering to the Amsterdam Federation, to the Profintern, to Catholic and other federations. The nucleus bureau of such a factory should appoint one or several nucleus members for work among the adherents of the various trade unions and also among workers of the same trade who have not yet joined a trade union.

Party members entrusted with trade union work must study very thoroughly all questions concerning the respective trade union conditions of labour, wages, working hours, etc. They should watch the work of the administration of the local trade union branch, as well as the work of the national and international administrative bodies. They must be regular readers of the trade union press, etc.

It is only by familiarising themselves with all questions connected with the respective union that they will be able to agitate among the workers in favour of adherence to the union, to criticise the activity of the leadership of the unions and to introduce at the trade union meetings of this or that undertaking proposals concerning the unity of the trade union movement and the introduction of necessary changes in the personnel of the administration should the latter be unsatisfactory.

I have dealt in such detail with the work of the nucleus members entrusted with trade union work in the factories, because it is of the utmost importance at the present juncture to draw all unorganised workers into the trade unions and to agitate among trade union members for trade union unity. We must realise that these are the two necessary conditions for a successful struggle against capitalism, as the experience of the last few years has shown.

It goes without saying that agitation for trade union unity must be the concern of all the members of the nucleus, but the comrades specially entrusted with this work must make a deeper study of this question in order to provide the other nucleus members with the material necessary for agitation.

During elections to trade union conferences the above-mentioned comrades, as trade union experts, can be put up as candidates from the nucleus. These comrades should, and in fact, must be connected with the Communist members of the administration of the respective local trade union who will give them information and instructions concerning trade union work.

The work of the Communist fraction in the trade union administration will also be much easier if it can depend on comrades doing systematic work among trade union members, in the factories where the nucleus functions. The comrades should of course work in the factory under the guidance of the nucleus bureau, and if the latter deems it necessary, periodical reports on the results and the methods of work should be presented by these comrades at the nuclei meetings.

3. The idea prevails in some of our sections that election work is not the business of factory nuclei, but is mainly the business of street nuclei in the residential districts of the workers. But this is not so, for work connected with municipal, state and national elections will also require the continuous attention of several comrades. It is essential to ascertain in good time where workers live, to have them entered in the lists of voters, to provide them with election literature, to gather information concerning the opponents and to place this information before the members of the nucleus in order to give them material for agitation and to organise mass attendance of workers at the election meetings of our Party, etc. etc.

4. If the said factory has different shops, the nucleus bureau is to appoint a responsible nucleus member for work in each one of the shops. These comrades will have to be in charge of the entire many-sided Party work in the shops.

5. If women are employed in the factory, one or several nucleus members should be instructed to work among them in accordance with a plan elaborated by the department of the local or district committee for work among women. Even if the factory does not employ women, efforts should be made through the workers of that factory to draw their wives and daughters into the communist movement.

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Working women and housewives (workmen's wives) can play, and are playing an important rôle in the labour movement: in the movement against high cost of living, during strikes and election campaigns. At the recent elections in Great Britain and Germany a considerable number of workmen's wives voted for the conservatives in Great Britain and for the Catholic centre, the social democrats and the nationalists in Germany.

Working women and workingmen's wives must be drawn into the working class movement, and the best way of getting at them is in the factories and workshops and through their husbands and fathers. This work is of the utmost importance and our nuclei must pay due attention to it.

6. Several nucleus members should be entrusted with keeping up a connection with the nucleus of the Young Communist League. If there is none in the factory, they should proceed to establish such a nucleus. Party members appointed for this work should work jointly with the youth nucleus among the young workers according to a plan drawn up by their Party committee, paying special attention to the young workers of military age.

This work is of the utmost importance, and factories and works are the best ground for work among army recruits as they provide an opportunity to establish close contact with these young men for the time when they will be already in the army.

7. One of the nucleus members should concentrate on the cooperative question which plays a fairly important rôle in the life of the worker. He should find out to what cooperatives the workers belong, he should collect information concerning these cooperatives and also get into touch with the Communist fractions of the administrative bodies of these cooperatives.

8. One or more comrades should work among workers who have not yet lost touch with their villages. Through them relations could be established with the agricultural labourers and poorest peasants. They can also be the means of supplying the latter with literature.

Relations established in this manner could be handed over through the proper Party organs to the Party organisations working in the district where relations with the agricultural labourers and poorest peasants must be maintained.

9. In many factories foreign workers, not knowing the local language, or workers belonging to the national minorities of that country play an important rôle. The nucleus bureau should appoint several comrades with a knowledge of the languages of these workers for work among them. The local committee will probably be able to procure literature in the desired language and agitators and propagandists for these workers. In America, France and Czechoslovakia, such workers play a very important rôle in the labour movement.

10. One nucleus member should keep in touch with former workers of the respective factory now unemployed. He should help them to organise, agitate among them, provide them with literature etc.

11. One or several nucleus members should be entrusted with work among men and women factory workers belonging to various sporting, choral and musical organisations. The said comrades should collect material concerning these working class organisations and get into touch through the nucleus bureau and the local leading Party organ with the Communist members of the administrative bodies of sporting, choral and musical organisations and societies.

12. One or more comrades should take up the work in connection with the protection of labour and various forms of social insurance.

13. Comrades should be allotted to tasks of distributing literature, collecting correspondence for the Party press and for the factory newspaper of the nucleus. Several comrades will also be required for the printing and editing of the paper.

14. The same applies to the organisation of political education circles and of circles for the study of Leninism.

15. A couple of nucleus members will also have to be spared for International Red Aid work — collection of information about arrested persons, etc.

It is a matter of course that all nucleus members take part in all agitational campaigns, in the recruiting of new members etc., but all the same every nucleus member must concentrate his or her attention especially on the work which the bureau assigns to them.

It would be preferable to distribute the work in such a way that every member should have only one kind of work to do. But if circumstances demand, and when it is useful, several kinds of work may be assigned to one person.

Many more kinds of works could be enumerated which nucleus members could perform. With a rational distribution of Party duties all Party members will have definite work to do, and this will bring them into contact with the factory workers. In this way the factory nucleus will not be isolated from the workers, it will be easy to draw the best elements among them into the Party and finally it will be possible to agitate systematically in the works and factories against the social democrats and other opportunist "labour" parties.

In carrying out party duties the Party members will be drawn into party life and will become active members. This, of course, will be achieved only if the nucleus bureau itself is active, if it will give instructions and indicate how the work is to be carried out and if it will supervise the execution of the tasks given to the respective members of the nucleus. The nucleus bureau should receive reports from the various comrades on their Party work already carried out, or in the course of achievement. The most important of these reports should be also placed before the general meetings of the Party nucleus. The nucleus bureau has to prepare the agenda for the nucleus meetings very carefully. It must secure reporters on the questions on the agenda and must prepare its own proposals in regard to these questions. The nucleus bureau has to carry out promptly all the decisions of the nucleus, for if these decisions remain on paper the interest of the members in the nucleus meetings will flag.

On the other hand, nuclei and those in charge of them (the bureau) will work well and systematically if the district or town leading organ of the Party keeps proper control over its work, and provides the nuclei bureaus with the necessary information and directions.

Not to give sceptics occasion to say that my statement concerning the possibilities connected with the distribution of work among nucleus members and with making them participators in Party work is exaggerated, I will give a few quotations from the central organ of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party "Rude Pravo" of 5/2/25. The letter from the nucleus of a sugar factory in Central Bohemia contains the following statement:

"When the Party decided to organise nuclei in the factories, I selected three comrades to whom I gave a general outline of the tasks of the nucleus during dinner. We decided that everyone of us four would have to bring one comrade in the next three days. And thus we were eight. Our factory employs 150 workers, 32 of whom are already members of the nucleus. But this did not satisfy us, and we therefore decided that by the end of January every nucleus member was to secure one new member for whom he would make himself responsible. We have elected a bureau and have elaborated a series of proposals for the general meeting of the factory. We instructed six comrades to pass on our Party and trade union papers to workers who belong to other Parties and trade unions in order to show them how untruthful their own Party papers are.

Four comrades were instructed to make up a list by the end of January of all those wishing to subscribe to our press. At present we are engaged in collecting material for the publication of the first number of our factory paper.

Work in the factory nucleus presents some practical difficulties because comrades are accustomed to the old forms of organisation. But the importance of factory nuclei consists in the fact that they give an opportunity to bring all comrades into the work. Moreover, the nucleus itself works systematically and everyone of its members does a definite branch of Party work under the control of the nucleus."

In the same number of "Rude Pravo" we find the following statement in a letter from a tobacco factory: "Nucleus work has the advantage that the entire Party work does not devolve as before on one or two comrades, but is distributed among every member of the nucleus, each one of them doing a definite task, which is very valuable from the point of view of Party education."

It cannot be otherwise. As soon as nuclei come into being in the works and factories, their members immediately realise the superiority of this kind of organisation over the old form of organisation. Once adopted, they will not relinquish it. On the contrary, they do their utmost to make nuclei live active organs, capable of attracting and absorbing the best elements of the factory. In order to achieve this, they distribute the Party work among all their members. Our slogan should be: "No Party members without duties or outside Party nuclei."