

Comrade Piatnitsky (Org. Dept. of the E. C. C. I.):

Comrades, I think that we are justified in saying that the nucleus system has already stood the test abroad. The instruction that the Parties abroad should reorganise themselves on the factory nucleus basis was adopted already by the Third Congress. But it is only during the last year that this principle was put into practice. We can say that active nuclei already exist. We have received reports from nucleus secretaries on the work done by the nuclei. We could not say that much at the time of the I. Org Conference in March 1925. We have in the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. plenty of material on nuclei which are really working. It may be that they do not always work quite satisfactorily, but they do work. I can give you a few figures: according to the reports we have in Germany, 1,900 nuclei, and more than a thousand of them now collect membership dues.

There are reported to be 2,300 nuclei in France, 1,300 in Czecho-Slovakia, 120 in Great Britain, 300 in America, and so on. One can say that there is not a single country where factory nuclei do not exist. Factory nuclei have been formed even in the far-away South-American countries which up to quite recently had none. Moreover, some of the nuclei have done magnificent work. There are nuclei which although small, have all the factory workers behind them. Formerly, the conditions were such that comrades employed in an enterprise did not know each other because they were organised in their residential district. The result was that Communists could not discuss what should be done in the factory and it must have frequently happened that one Communist did something that another Communist fought against. This is no longer possible and this is a great step forward.

But not all the nuclei work in such a manner as to have all the factory workers behind them. There are yet a number of still-born nuclei. But it is much easier to put life into a nucleus which is not working well than to bring Communist work into an enterprise in which the Comrades do not know one another. Now it behoves us to do our utmost to make all the nuclei active in the true sense of the word. Such is the main task of our activity at present.

I will now deal with nucleus work according to countries. In Germany nucleus work is as yet weak. There are various difficulties there: the terrible unemployment, a strong Social-Democracy, a trade union bureaucracy in the factory. The trade union bureaucracy and other opponents make use of every possible method, including denunciation, to drive us out of the factories. The Party must all the more concentrate its attention on work in the factories and must overcome all obstacles. We have had cases in Germany when comrades for fear of this terror did not join factory nuclei and sought refuge in street nuclei. This resulted in street nuclei having too many and factory nuclei too few members. The Party must bring all the comrades employed in the factory into the factory nucleus.

The street nuclei in Germany, instead of taking in on every street the comrades not employed in the factory, amalgamate almost all the comrades from several streets into one nucleus. This makes their membership very big. One should amalgamate the Communists in every street or in every two streets, making the sub-section or section executive responsible for their general Party work. There are in Germany many unemployed who in some cases are not allowed to remain in the nuclei of the factories where they were formerly employed. In these particular cases they can be attached to street nuclei so that new enterprises be canvassed by them. This can be done by the street nucleus, but only under the control and leadership of the higher Party Executive. Because of the widespread unemployment the Party must apply new methods in the work of the nuclei, in order that nucleus members be not recognised by the spies of our opponents. New methods must be adopted to influence the workers, and the best of these methods are: hand-bills, and factory newspapers. Moreover, comrades must act with more caution in the factories than before.

In Czecho-Slovakia unemployment is not as great as in Germany, and the conditions are utterly different. The Party is strong, it has part of the trade unions on its side and can bring a certain amount of pressure to bear. Nevertheless, not all the comrades employed in one factory are organised in the factory nucleus. There are still many factory workers organised in the residential organisations. The organisation of the Party is not yet complete. There were in almost all our Parties comrades who imagined that factory nuclei could not do any election work and therefore they retained the old residential organisations. In Czecho-Slovakia factory nuclei did not take a very big part in the last election campaign. Only a few nuclei carried on election work, but these few did work splendidly. Through the factory nuclei considerable influence was exercised over the villages. I am convinced that if the Party had done more effective election work through the nuclei its successes would have been even greater than they were.

In France we have only factory nuclei. At the I. Org. Conference last year the French comrades opposed us and said that they do not need street nuclei in France. We on the contrary were of the opinion that one cannot do without street nuclei. The result was that the municipal elections in France gave very poor results for the Party. Why? Because they had these provisional organisations in the shape of work groups for

the elections and the latter, instead of turning their attention to election work, carried on Party politics and neglected election work. Later on a decision was made to organise street nuclei. But the decision remained on paper. On the other hand the comrades attached to factory nuclei impeded the nucleus work. There are for instance in a factory nucleus 9 comrades employed in the enterprise and 25 attached comrades. How is it possible for such a nucleus to turn its attention to factory questions when 25 comrades sit there and do not know what it is all about? Therefore there is no life in the factory nuclei, meetings are poorly attended and the politisation of the nuclei has not made any headway. It is essential to organise these attached comrades into street nuclei, and it is also essential to put new life into the factory nuclei.

We have nuclei in France which carried on an effective campaign against the Morocco war etc. But then again other nuclei do not do any work. Why? Partly because too many outside comrades have been attached to them.

In Great Britain there are but few nuclei. Some of them work very well. Wherever factory campaigns have been carried on the result was satisfactory: 300 new members were gained and 59 new nuclei organised. In Great Britain, too, the Party must pay more attention to the factories.

What is it that we must do? We must find ways and means for the politisation of the nuclei so that we shall have all campaigns carried on through the factory nuclei. Party executives must give instructions to the nuclei and must help them. Above all, we have in the factory newspapers a very effective means which we have not yet utilised to the proper extent. Our big press does not reach the workers in the factories. But if a factory newspaper is published in which political questions are connected with factory questions, this factory newspaper will wield considerable influence over the workers. To make workers read our daily press we have to carry on an energetic agitation. But they are eager for factory newspapers without any special agitation on our part.

Street nuclei must be formed, but only very few comrades employed in factories i. e. those who live far away from their place of work should be attached to them. The influence of our Party members on the non-party masses must be exercised in the factory. Campaigns alone are not enough, it is the everyday work in the factory which is very important. Factory newspapers must be well got up.

Such, in my opinion, are the tasks which should be discussed at this conference in a manner to enable the comrades on their return to carry them out in the way they have carried out the organisational work between the First and the Second Org. Conference.