

Comrade Piatnitsky :

We have now come to the end of our work, and I should like to say just a few words:

Last year, by reorganising the Parties on a factory nucleus basis we succeeded in making Party members take a more active part in Party work than this was formerly the case. In some nuclei 60% of the membership participate in the work. This is also the case in the bigger nuclei. Through the nuclei and the re-

organisation of the Party quite new elements were brought into it recently and the numerical strength of the Party has also grown. Our Party literature and our entire Party press have now a much greater circulation among the masses than before. As to **factory newspapers**, they have attracted quite a new section of workers who are becoming acquainted with our Party through our newspapers. Practice has made clear the enormous importance of factory newspapers. It has been realised that only through factory newspapers it is possible to influence conflicts, conduct strikes and above all bring the masses into touch with our Party.

Through nucleus work we have made **contact with the masses**, as shown by last year's demonstrations. Moreover, through the activity of our nuclei **new members were brought into the trade unions** in many countries. Through our nucleus work we have come into closer contact with the workers who follow the Social Democrats and in many factories the **united front** has been established. As yet the work of the nuclei is inadequate, but what they have achieved is very significant and important. This we must certainly record. When subsection and section executives will be constructed in such a manner as to pay more attention to the nuclei, nucleus work will continue to improve and gain in importance.

But what is to be done now? How is the work to be taken in hand when the comrades return to their respective countries? First and foremost there must be **coordinated leadership in the district, section and sub-section executives**. The **Org- and Pol-Secretariats** in the district, section and sub-section executives must be **abolished** and there must be a united executive with **one** responsible secretary. The executive must carry on the organisational and also the political work, as org and pol work must go together. Moreover, one must take in hand the formation of the special **departments** which are to carry on Party work on the various fields of activity. There must no longer be a state of affairs as hitherto in **Germany** where there was one Pol-Org-Agit-Propaganda secretary, or as in **Italy** where there was a political and an administrative secretary. One cannot divide Party work into political and organisational work, for these two kinds of work are closely connected with one another. This work cannot be divided except in the central committees of big Parties where matters are different than in the lower executives. Another task consists in carrying out the **registration of the Party membership**. The best Party comrades must be **registered from the top to the bottom** in order to be able to have a **proper distribution of forces** in the Party. This registration of Party forces will give an opportunity to make a serious beginning with the education of functionaries capable of adequately carrying on Party work. We have found that frequently the old functionaries are unable to work properly under the new organisational conditions. **It behoves us to draw into Party work new forces from the factories, to educate these forces, and to make well trained functionaries of them.**

The next task is that **trade union fractions must be further developed**. I am not very satisfied with our discussions concerning trade union fraction work. It is true, our theses were adopted unanimously, but I must say quite openly that there is no full clarity with respect to this question. Conceptions were expressed which perhaps would have figured the situation of five years ago, but are not correct at the present juncture when the Party has every opportunity to become a mass Party. Some comrades think that all the branches of Party work must be carried on by the Party executive and not by the fractions which form part of the Party. They think that Party executives must carry out themselves even the smallest details of Party work, that the role of the Party Executive does not consist in issuing directions and instructions and in exercising control, but in doing the entire work itself. This is a **wrong** and a **very harmful** conception. The whole discussion here on the question of trade union fractions showed that there is still much confusion of ideas on this question.

Comrades must do their utmost to bring ideological clarity into this question, they must write articles on it in the Party press, etc. I am sure that when we meet again the comrades will say that our theses on the fraction question are right and adequate. The Parties will adapt these theses to the concrete conditions in the various countries. But I think that at the same time the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. must endeavour to control the manner of the adaption, in order that it should not

prove an obstacle instead of a help to fraction work in the trade unions.

All theses, resolutions, etc., proposed by the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. were adopted at the conference as a basis and were referred to the commissions. I am glad that the commissions have been energetic and have introduced amendments to the draft resolutions. I can also say with the greatest satisfaction that the basis of the resolutions is the old one. This was achieved only because the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. has of late had a comparatively good connection with the Parties. If there is really the wish that the Org Department of the E. C. C. I. should adapt its work to concrete conditions, **the Parties must send in material regularly in order that we can be informed about the experiences of the Party and can utilise them.** There is one more thing which is essential, namely, that **probationers be sent from the big sections of the C. I. to the Org Department of the E. C. C. I.** These probationers will return after a few months to their respective countries their minds improved by the international experiences in organisational work.

At this conference we have been able to establish very definitely the need for these international experiences. What was it that came to light in the discussion on trade union fractions? The **French** comrades could only see and dwell on **French** conditions, the **German** comrades on **German** and the **Italian** comrades only on **Italian** conditions. Our task was a much broader one, it consisted in adopting a **standpoint based on principles applicable to all Parties.** But unfortunately this was not the case in our discussions, and this can be remedied to a certain extent by the Parties' dispatch of probationers to the Org Department to study the experiences of all Parties, to utilise them in the best possible manner, and to acquire international experience.

As to the question of whether the Org Conference has brought to light something **new**, I must say that it has. We heard here about many new matters on which we were utterly ignorant before, we were given much new material and we have had an exchange of new experiences. I think that we can be well satisfied with the result of the Org Conference.