

## ORGANISATION

### Communist Fractions in Representative Institutions and Extensive Non-Party Workers and Peasant Organisations.

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#### I.

The inter-relations between Party organs and Communist fractions in representative Institutions (Parliament, Municipalities, etc.); Communist Fractions in mass organisations, not national in scope; and the work of such Communist Fractions.

In Federal (or National) and State representative institutions (Parliaments) and also in district, urban and rural institutions (county-councils, municipalities and rural district councils) the work of the Communist fractions is the simplest and the relations between these fractions and the corresponding Party organs, under normal conditions, are also not complicated. During elections to the respective institutions, the urban or district Party committees put forward a Communist ticket. A factory worker, office clerk or peasant in voting for any one of the Communists in the list of candidates votes, not for the individual, but the Communist Party as a whole, for its programme and tactics concerning all the questions of the political and economic life of the country.

Consequently, the mandate held by an elected person to a representative institution (parliament and municipality or rural council) is not given to the individual Communist elected, but to the Party represented by its respective Party organs.

For that reason, the policy and tactics of Communists elected to any public bodies must be not their own policy and tactics, but that of the Party. This applies even when a deputy or a majority of the Communist Fraction in a given representative institution is not in agreement with the policy and the tactics of the Party. Certain Communist deputies fail to understand or refuse to admit this principle, and the repudiation of the exclusive right of the Party to the mandates held sometimes lead to the insubordination of the fraction or of certain of its members to the Party organ.

In carrying out the policy and the instructions laid down by the organs of the Party, the above-mentioned Communist Fractions can help considerably to acquaint the masses with the attitude of the Party towards the important questions concerning the masses of the people. This can be done by means of the speeches made by Communist deputies in the parliaments and municipalities, for the masses are eager to know what is said in these places. Deputies and members of public bodies elected on the Communist Party ticket must, in their speeches and resolutions follow a proletarian class policy. By this they, supplementing the Party press and the mass meetings convened by the Communist Party, help to make clear the policy of the Communist Party.

Communist Fractions as a whole must report on their work periodically to the Party organisation; in addition to this, however, individual deputies and members of public bodies must report on their work to their constituents. The rôle of the Communist Fractions in parliaments and municipal bodies in those countries where the Communist Party must conduct its work underground, as for example, in Roumania, Poland, Bulgaria, etc., is much more important than in those countries where the Party exists legally or semi-legally. In the former case, the Communist Parties are unable to utilise organs of the press or call labour and mass meetings. Consequently in such countries deputies must make use of all the possibilities they have for Communist propaganda by calling meetings of working-class electors and at these explain the attitude of the Communist Party towards all important questions of programme and tactics. In the parliaments, the deputies must clearly and unreservedly formulate the view of the Communist Party concerning the government, the Parties which support it, on the tasks of the working class, etc.

In a word, the Communist Fraction must utilise its immunity to aid the Party in its difficult work of creating, establishing and expanding the Party organisations and must become one of the megaphones of the Party.

In those countries in which the Communist Party is illegal, the most determined comrades and those having closest connections with the Party should be put forwards as candidates for public bodies, for their work is very difficult. It not unfrequently happens, under such conditions that a candidate after election breaks away from the Party on the pretext of being autonomous and independent of the Party. Such deputies do not aid the Party, but on the contrary, cause it harm by disorganising its ranks.

Parallel with the organisation of Communist Fractions in representative institutions in which the work of the Communist Fraction is conducted publicly, Communist Parties must also organise their fractions in all mass, labour and peasants organisations. This must be done irrespective as to whether the particular organisations is permanent (like trade unions, cooperative societies, sport clubs, peasant organisations, etc.) or temporary, (like tenant leagues, organisations for combating high prices, control committees, etc.) and also irrespective of the fact that the work of Communist Fractions in such organisations is of the quiet detailed every day work of a Communist, which is not loudly advertised in the press and not brought to the notice of the masses. In connection with these fractions, reference should be made to Communist Fractions in tenant leagues in which the inter-relations between the Communist Fractions and the Party organ, like that between the Party organ and Communist Fractions in representative institutions are distinguished for their simplicity.

In many towns in France, Germany and England there are extensive tenants' organisations, the membership of which is composed mostly of workers. Members of the Party should join such organisations, work actively in them and form Communist Fractions in them, which in their turn, must work under the guidance and control of the local Party organ. In Scotland, the Tenants' Anti-Eviction Leagues play a great part in the fight against the houseowners and the police, who, of course, wholeheartedly support the houseowners. In view of the fact that tenants' leagues do not represent national organisations the inter-relations between the Communist Fractions in such or similar organisations and the local Party organisations are simple and can be easily regulated. The housing conditions may vary in different towns and the local Party organ can lay down for the Communist Fractions in these organisations a programme of action and methods of work suitable to the conditions prevailing locally.

#### II.

**The inter-relations between Communist Fractions in local and county Management Boards of Cooperative Societies and Peasants Organisations and the Fractions in the Central bodies of these Organisations; the inter-relations between all these Fractions and the Party organs; the work of these Fractions.**

The situation with regard to the organisation of Communist Fractions in cooperative societies, sport societies and similar extensive labour organisations is more complicated.

In the majority of countries, organisations of the kind mentioned above are usually national in scope. Their local organisations are connected with county management committees and are subordinated to them. The latter, in their turn, are connected with and subordinated to central management committees and receive instructions from them. Communist Fractions in such extensive labour organisations, should be organised on lines similar to the structure of these organisations, the various links having the same relation of subordination; that is to say the Communist Fraction in the lower organisations should be subordinate to the Communist Fractions in the higher organisations. To this must be added that Communists who are members of central, provincial or local management committees of such organisations receive instructions from the central, provincial and local Party organisations respectively, and must be subordinate to them and work under their constant guidance and control. The corresponding Party organisations must carefully select suitable comrades for work in the central, provincial and local management boards of cooperative societies, sports societies, peasant organisations, ex-service men's leagues, etc., etc., for if bad selections are made, not only do the comrades so selected discredit themselves, but also the Party as a whole which put them forward as its candidates and bears responsibility for them. The Fractions will be able to work well and properly if they will obtain the constant support both of the Party organisations and of all the members of the Party. The Party organs must lay down the

line of conduct and plan of work for the Fractions in the organisations in which they work.

Communist fractions will be able to work well and on the right lines provided they receive the support both of the Party organisations and all Party members. Party organs must make themselves responsible for the plan of work and the line of conduct of the fractions in the organisations where they work. Besides acting upon the lines laid down by the Party organs, communist fractions should do their utmost to carry out this work in the most effective manner. They must deal with all new questions which arise in the process of work laid down by the Party in the most energetic manner and must do everything towards their solution.

It is only on such conditions acting upon the policy laid down by the Party on the one hand and showing their own initiative on the other hand — that Communist fractions will be able to carry out their functions and spread communist influence among large sections of non-party workers.

The Communist Fraction in the Central Committee of peasant parties or central management committees of cooperative societies must maintain close and constant contact with the Communist Fractions in the provincial management boards of those organisations. In cases where there are no Communist Fractions in the provincial management committees, the Communist Fractions in the Central management committees must establish contact with all the local fractions of the organisation in that province. The Communist Fraction in the provincial management board must in its turn maintain contact with all the local fractions in the organisations in the particular province. The Fractions in the central managing committees must send to the fractions in the provincial managing committees which, in their turn, send to the local Communist fractions material concerning the work of the proposals it has put forward and make their comments upon them. They should also visit the local organisations in order to acquaint the Communist members of the given organisation with the work of the particular managing committee and with the tactics of the Communist fraction in it. After proper preparations have been made, the central fraction should call general meetings of all the members of the particular organisation including non-Communists, etc., etc.

The most important and responsible rôle must be played by the Communist fractions in local managing committees of the above-mentioned extensive non-Party, labour and peasant organisations. Through the nucleus committee of the given enterprise, office, shop, middle or high school, farm, or through the local Party committee in rural districts, they must establish close contact with the comrades working in factories and workshops, amongst students, in middle and high schools, among labourers employed on farms and in the villages, among members of cooperative societies, sport societies, ex-service men's unions and peasants organisations. They must direct the work of all those comrades, provide them with material concerning the activity of the management board of which they are a fraction, inform them of the proposals they put forward and of the tactics they are carrying out on their management committees.

The Communist fraction through the local leading Party body should convene meetings of comrades working among the members of the given organisation and inform them of their work and after proper preparations have been made, to call meetings of all the members of the given organisations (cooperative, peasant, etc.) including non-Communist and at such meetings to explain the rôle of the organisation and the work in it of the Communist and other parties.

To place any question whatever before the general members meeting (that is to say not a meeting of Communists only) of the respective organisation constitutes a responsible piece of work on the part of the fractions. This necessitates careful preparation by the communist fraction of the question proposed to be placed before the general meeting attended also by non-party workers. For this purpose the most important questions on the agenda of the general meeting should be discussed and elaborated by the closed session of the fraction. Besides this, the Bureau submits the most important theses, resolutions, and proposals to the proper Party organ for perusal and endorsement. The decisions of the fraction adopted at the closed meeting of the fraction, which should always precede the general meeting at which non-party workers participate, is binding for all fraction members and must be acted upon by them at the general meeting. Parallel with this work, fraction members must endeavour to influence in the spirit of the adopted decisions, those who sympathise with us and

those who still waver with the view to winning them over to our side. This should take place both before the general meeting in which non-Party workers participate and at the meeting itself.

If all the above-mentioned conditions are fulfilled the work of these Communist fractions will bring colossal benefits to our Party, for they will serve as the conduits of Party influence to the broad masses.

If on the other hand, the Communist fraction is badly organised, if its work is badly conducted and the necessary guidance of the corresponding Party organisation is lacking, the Communist fraction may (and in some countries do) cause considerable harm to the Communist movement.

### III.

Inter-relations between the Fractions in the various bodies of Trade Unions in a given industry; connection between Communist Fractions in the town, provincial and Central bodies of other Trade Unions of the same tendency; the coordination of the work of the Fractions in all Trade Unions, irrespective of tendency (Amsterdam, Profintern, Catholic, etc.); the work of Communist Fractions in Trade Unions, and their subordination to the Party organs.

In many countries, the inter-relations between Communist fractions and Party organs centrally and locally are very confused, and it is therefore difficult to lay down what shall be the proper relations and what should be the proper guidance to be exercised by the Party organs relation to these trade union fractions. This is due to the complex inter-relations between the trade unions themselves and to their lack of cohesion. In America, England and France, for example, we have several metal workers' unions which are affiliated to the same National Trade Union Federation. In a given factory the fitters and turners will belong to the Engineers' Union and the engine drivers and stockers will belong to the Engine Drivers' Union. At the same time, we have in the same factory workers belonging to engineers', engine drivers' and woodworkers' unions which are affiliated to different national federations or international federations (Amsterdam, Profintern). All this hampers the work of the Communists in the factory among the members of the various trade unions and among those workers who are not organised at all, and also renders the organisation of Communist fractions difficult in all the trade unions and their local and central governing bodies.

In France, in Czechoslovakia and some parts of Germany and Holland, there are red or revolutionary trade unions existing side by side with the Amsterdam trade unions, the majority of which are led by Communists, but have non-Communist members also. In these trade unions, Communist fractions have not existed and perhaps have not been organised up to this moment, in spite of the fact that these unions contain a large percentage of Communists, who either voluntarily left or were expelled from the reformist trade unions.

For the reason above indicated, proper methods for the establishment of Communist fractions in these trade unions have not been adopted, the form of connection between such Communist fractions and the inter-relations between the latter and Party organs have not been decided. Among the rank and file of the working mass in many countries, there is a desire for the establishment of unity in the trade union movement, for amalgamating parallel trade unions and amalgamating all the trade unions in a given industry. That being the case, all Communists should work in this direction in the factories and in the trade unions. In order that this work may be fruitful, it is necessary that the work be conducted according to a definite plan and that all Communists in each union be united into one whole, into a fraction which must work under the guidance of the Party organs.

The plan of inter-relations between Communist fractions, in trade unions and the relations between Communist fractions and the Party organs, in my opinion, should be as follows:

1. All the Communist members of a given union, (metal workers, wood workers) in a given town, irrespective of the factory or workshop in which they are employed, should form a Communist fraction in that union in that town. If the union in the town represents a branch of the national union, having a branch committee upon which there are Communists (or only one Communist), the latter serves as the centre for the Communist fraction of that union in the town. If, however, there are no Com-

munists on the branch committee, the trade union department of the local Party committee, or the secretary of the latter calls together and unites the Communists in the given union.

Communist fractions organised on the same lines are formed in all the other unions in the given town in which there are Communists. All the unions of a given tendency, Amsterdam, say, in the town are united by a trade union council (cartel). If on this trade union council there are Communists, the latter form a Communist fraction of this council and serve as the leading organ of all the Communist fractions of all the trade unions affiliated to the council. The Communist fraction on the trade union council, in its turn, establishes close contact with the local Party organ.

If, however, there are no Communists on the trade union council, the trade union department of the local Party committee, or its secretary must call a meeting of all the Communist members of trade union branch committees affiliated to that council and from these form a centre to guide all the trade union fractions in the given town.

2. Separate unions in a given industry belonging to the same tendency are united with similar organisations in other towns in a given province under a provincial committee which, in its turn, is affiliated to the provincial trade union council. The Communists in these provincial trade union committees must form a fraction which must be subordinate to the Communist fraction on the provincial trade union council, which in its turn, is guided by the provincial committee of the Party. If there are no Communists on the provincial trade union committee, the trade union department of the provincial Party committee or its secretary should convene a meeting of all the Communist members of the provincial committees of the respective unions which shall set up an organ to guide the work of the Communist fractions in the trade unions in the given province.

3. Separate trade unions (metal workers, wood workers, etc.) are united nationally under a national governing body. These national unions of a given tendency (Amsterdam or Profintern) in their turn are combined into a national federation of unions (the A. D. G. B. — The General Federations of Trade Unions in Germany — the C. G. T. — General Federation of Labour and C. G. T. U. — The United General Federation of Labour of France, the C. G. L. — The General Federation of Labour of Italy, etc.). The Communists on the national federations of trade unions must form corresponding Communist fractions.

The Communist fractions of the central bodies of separate trade unions are subordinate to the Communist fraction of the central body of the national trade union federation. The latter fraction works under the direct guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party through its trade union department. In the event of there being no Communist on the central body of the national trade union federation, the trade union department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party must convene a meeting of the Communist fractions of the central bodies of the separate national unions which then sets up a central organ to guide all the fractions in the national unions of a given tendency, this organ must be endorsed by the Central Committee of the Party.

Through the trade union departments of the Central Committee, of the provincial committees and of the town committees of the Party can and should be combined into one centre, all the Communist fractions on governing bodies of trade unions of all tendencies in the trade union movement, which must decide on the methods of work, exchange experiences, aid each other and simultaneously conduct campaigns against the high cost of living, against increasing the working day and reductions in wages, for trade union unity and against the discredited leaders of the yellow and reformist trade unions, etc.

The fractions of provincial and local trade union governing bodies are subject to a two-fold subordination: they receive instructions from the fractions on the central body of the given organisation and from the fraction of the provincial or town trade union council. This two-fold subordination is somewhat complicated, but it cannot be avoided. Practice will soon remove any inconveniences that arise from it. As for subordination to Party Organs, I have already stated that as a rule the fractions in separate trade unions do not establish contact with the Party organs directly, but receive their instructions from the Communist fractions of their respective trade union councils. The latter, however, are directly subordinated to the corresponding Party organ and receive instructions from the latter. Of course, the

Party organs may if necessary control, give instructions, appoint suitable workers, etc. to the various fractions on trade union governing bodies, but the Party organ does so with the knowledge of the corresponding fraction on the trade union council which is directly subordinated to the fraction of the governing body of the respective union.

If the above-mentioned fractions are weak, Party organs are in duty bound to support them in every possible way, in order to enable them to carry out their functions. However, this support and guidance on the part of the Party organs must on no account assume a kind of petty tutelage. On the contrary, Party organs must stimulate the activity and initiative of the fractions, for otherwise, no matter how perfect the guidance of the Party organs, the work of the fractions will be lifeless and will not give the results which an active and independent fraction can achieve.

The Communist fractions on central governing bodies of national unions are subordinated to the Communist fractions of the central body of the national trade-union federation and receive instructions from it. The latter is subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party and works under its guidance.

The plan of organisation of inter-relations between Communist fractions in the trade unions and the Party organisations outlined above, may be applied in its entirety to France, Czechoslovakia, Holland and other countries where there are trade unions affiliated to the Profintern. It may be applied partially to Germany, Sweden, Norway, Italy and in those countries where Communists are at the head of separate, local Amsterdam trade unions and in many towns even at the head of trade union councils.

Communist fractions on the governing bodies of separate unions of trade union councils must establish contact with the nuclei in the factories and conduct trade union work and trade union campaigns through them. The above-mentioned fractions must report to the members of their union; they must call general meetings of all the workers of their respective unions and report on the work of the union, criticise the governing body if the majority is composed of compromisers and put forward definite proposals on various questions to be conveyed to the particular governing body and to propose a programme of work if the Communist fraction represents the majority of that governing body, etc.

Communists who comprise a majority in a trade union council, or on a governing body of a particular trade union in a given town, must set an example by their work, their initiative, their contact with the masses of the workers and by the business-like suggestions they put forward to be submitted to the national central body of the given organisation. The nature of these proposals should be communicated to all the fractions in the given union, including also the non-Communist members of the union. The Communist fraction on governing bodies of unions which are led by Communists, must establish connection with the branches of their respective union in other towns and enlist them in the work, combine them on business-like proposals affecting the masses of the workers generally belonging to that union.

Good connection with the Party and the unanimous and conscientious fulfilment of the Party's instructions by all the Communists as one man, is a guarantee of the successful work of the Communist fractions in the trade unions.

To what has been said above, it is necessary to add that Communists must join all trade unions, including fascist unions, national socialist unions, Catholic unions and all other reactionary unions and direct their work towards bringing these unions into the class struggle and towards combining parallel unions into powerful, industrial unions.

#### IV.

##### Fractions in Factory Committees.

I submit the question of organising Communist fractions on factory committees as a separate question. Factory committees exist in Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia and other countries. In some countries their activities are limited by the laws of the country (Germany and Italy), which prohibit them from interfering in the life of the factory. They do not even fulfil trade union functions in the factory. Moreover, the Amsterdam unions in Germany are conducting a campaign against the factory committees. Nevertheless it is extremely important for our Party to capture factory committees for they represent the only organs in factories and workshops which unite all the workers belonging to numerous

parallel unions of different tendencies, as well as workers belonging to no unions at all. In the event of trade union unity being achieved, the factory committee will undoubtedly become the primary organisation of the industrial unions which will enlist into the unions all the workers in the factory.

Finally, the factory committees will play an important part in the class struggle when the labour movement is again on the upgrade. It is necessary to capture the factory committees, to organise active Communist fractions in them, which in their turn, will work under the guidance of the Party nucleus in the factory in close contact with the local Party organisation.

Only such Party organisations can be regarded as flexible, disciplined, well-formed and active which, while simultaneously organising Party nuclei in the factories, will be able also to organise Communist fractions in all the large labour and peasants organisations, and through them extend influence to the general masses of workers and peasants.