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A CONGRESS WHICH HAS BEGUN A NEW EPOCH OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY

THE 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets summed up the results of the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and opened up a new epoch in Soviet democracy. The whole of the work of the Congress was carried on with a comparison made between two lines of world development, namely, the line of development of the socialist world and of the capitalist world.

On the eve of the 6th Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin delivered a speech at the 16th Congress of the C.P.S.U., in which he pointed to the fact that an historic change had taken place in the development both of the capitalist countries and of the U.S.S.R., but a change taking two opposite directions.

"While the turn for the U.S.S.R.," said he, "meant a turn towards a new and more important economic advance, for the capitalist countries it meant a turn towards economic decline. Here in the U.S.S.R., there is increasing progress in Socialist construction, both in industry and in agriculture. In the capitalist countries, there is a growing economic crisis, both in industry and in agriculture."

More than four years have passed since this turning-point, years of uninterrupted struggle between the two antagonistic social systems (a struggle which does not, however, exclude a certain collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, a certain collaboration for the maintenance of peace). And the further events advance, the more powerfully has this contrast between the two lines of development displayed itself.

Two Lines of Development.

In the U.S.S.R. during the recent years the Five-Year Plan has been fulfilled in four years, and a classless socialist society is being successfully constructed there. The U.S.S.R., which was a backward and agrarian country, with highly developed industry, has become transformed into a country of metallurgy, heavy engineering, tractor construction, etc. Unemployment has been abolished and poverty has vanished from the villages once and for all. The kulaks have been crushed, and the petty-commodity peasant farms have, in their overwhelming majority, been reorganised into artels (collective farms) on socialist lines. The collective farm system has been victorious finally and irrevocably, and this implies that the basic masses of the peasantry have finally, under the leadership of the proletariat, severed themselves from capitalism, and taken the path to socialism. At the 17th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin summed up the results of these all-round and ever-

growing developments in the U.S.S.R., and was already able to declare that

"the socialist system is the only dominant and the only commanding force throughout the whole of our national economy."

As against this upsurge and the socialist reconstruction taking place in the U.S.S.R., the position in the capitalist countries is that an economic crisis is raging which is unheard-of in its depth and its devastating after-effects. Class contradictions are growing sharper. In a number of countries the preconditions of a revolutionary crisis, the preconditions for the proletarian revolution, are ripening. At the same time the dominant classes are reorganising their ranks and attempting to head off the proletarian revolution by passing over to open fascist methods of government. Fascist Germany and the military fascist cliques in Japan have taken the path of open preparations for war against the Soviet Union, while Japan has seized Manchuria and Northern China. The threat of a new imperialist war, and primarily of war against the Soviet Union, hangs over the world as an immediate danger. At the 17th Party Congress Comrade Stalin summed up the results of the decline in the capitalist system which is growing deeper in all capitalist countries (in spite of the fact that the economic crisis began in 1932 to pass over into a depression of a special character), and declared that

"The victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war."

The estimation made by the Bolsheviks of the historic moves being made on the international arena was that there was an increase in the power of socialism, a growth of the forces of the proletarian revolution, and the weakening of the forces of the bourgeoisie, in spite of their temporary victory over the proletariat in a number of countries. As opposed to this estimate the social-democratic leaders, as is well known, prophesied that "a counter-revolutionary epoch," a lengthy period of the undivided domination of fascism was approaching, and advanced the illusory

dreams of the capitalists regarding the beginning of "a thousand years of the domination of fascism" as a reality.

The Bolshevik Estimate Confirmed.

But only a year has passed since the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was held, and the line of the Communists has been splendidly confirmed, while that of the social-democratic leaders has been smashed to bits by the whole process of historic development. Particularly so by such tremendous events as the armed struggle in Austria, the armed battles in Spain, which grew into an uprising, and the struggle for Soviets in Asturia. Further, the revolutionary upsurge in the U.S.A. and the growth of the national liberation movement in the colonial countries show this. The considerable successes achieved by the Communist Parties in the struggle for the united front against fascism, the danger of war, and the capitalist offensive are of exceptional importance.

And at the 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets the Bolsheviks were fully justified in pointing to THE FURTHER STEPS TAKEN BY CAPITALISM TOWARDS ITS DOWNFALL, AND TO THE SPEEDING UP OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS, WHICH FINDS ITS MOST POWERFUL MAINSTAY IN THE GROWING POWER OF SOCIALISM IN THE SOVIET UNION.

As far back as the First All-union Congress of Soviets Comrade Stalin set before the Soviet State the mighty task of

"developing into a serious international force, capable of influencing the international situation, and of altering it in the interest of the toilers."

This task has now been translated into life.

Now, in his report made to the Congress, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, Comrade Molotov, contrasted in full the two lines of world development and posed the question of the importance in principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. and of its importance "AS A STATE WHICH IS GROWING UNINTERRUPTEDLY in the economic and cultural spheres, and as the only state untroubled by crises."

And this is really so. For six years we have seen the continuation of the world economic crisis of capitalism, which has developed on the background of the sharpening general crisis of the capitalist system. In spite of the fact that the crisis has passed into a depression of a special kind, the capitalist countries have NOT EMERGED FROM THE ECONOMIC CRISIS. For the growth of industrial production in the years 1933-34 was only so by comparison with the lowest point reached in 1932.

As for the economy of the U.S.S.R., it has been all this time uninterruptedly on the upsurge. And it is precisely in the year 1934 that it achieved its victory in respect to the metallurgical industry, which Comrade Orjonikidze (Commissar for Heavy

Industry) reported to the Congress, a victory expressed in the fact that the U.S.S.R. has assumed first place in Europe as far as the production of pig-iron is concerned, having reached a figure which is 208 per cent. of the 1930 figure. Comrade Orjonikidze was able to report that in these years when capitalism was undergoing a very deep economic crisis

"heavy industry in our country has uninterruptedly continued its triumphant march forward, and has increased its production by comparison with 1928 by more than four times, whereas the U.S.A. remains on a level equal to 67 per cent. of 1928, Germany 81 per cent., France 84 per cent., and Great Britain 104 per cent."

These successes expose the demagogic statement uttered by Hitler at the Congress of Labour held in Berlin on the 16th of April, 1934, to the effect that

"Soviet Russia calls to mind a person who is travelling in a bog, and who clings to the arm of a strong man," i.e., is dependent for support on the capitalist states. Comrade Orjonikidze was fully justified in declaring that

"all these boastful declarations made by Herr Hitler only bear witness to his complete ignorance in questions affecting the economic and technical growth of Europe in general, and of our country (the U.S.S.R.) in particular."

While a very deep agrarian crisis has continued to rage throughout the whole of the capitalist world and efforts have been made by the capitalist governments to artificially reduce agricultural production for the sake of enriching the large-scale landowners and kulaks, the U.S.S.R., thanks to the victory of the collective farm system in the village, is undergoing an all-round advance in agriculture. In 1934 a turn took place which indicated an advance in the sphere of cattle-breeding. This fact enabled Comrade Molotov to declare that the recent decline in cattle breeding is "a stage passed by" as far as the Soviet Union is concerned.

The Red Army.

The general rise in the economy of the U.S.S.R. and the uninterrupted work of the government and the Party to increase the defensive power of the Soviet Union have in their turn conditioned a speedy growth of the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, of its technical equipment, of tanks available and of aeroplane construction, of the defensive fortifications on the borders of the U.S.S.R., and a growth of the Soviet Navy.

The political might and the revolutionary power of the Red Army are invincible. The Red Army sets itself the task of so learning how to utilise the technique at its disposal, that no other army in the world should be equal in this sphere to the strength of the Red Army. The task set is being successfully fulfilled.

The army of the Soviet Union is a mighty instrument of peace. Under these circumstances, the German fascists or the Japanese military clique,

who are the chief instigators of war, need to weigh very carefully the following words uttered by Comrade Stalin before they dare to undertake an adventurous onslaught against the Soviet Union. At the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin declared that

"there can hardly be any doubt that a second war (Comrade Stalin had in view the intervention of the imperialist states in 1918-1920, Ed.) will lead to the complete defeat of those undertaking such an offensive, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois landowning governments of these countries."

The two lines of world development are no less striking in the sphere of social relations.

The Contrast in Social Relations.

In spite of the fact that the economic crisis has passed into a depression, the astronomic figures of unemployment in the capitalist world do not decline. Everywhere in the capitalist countries there is a decline in the percentage of productively engaged workers, while in some countries, in the U.S.A., for instance, there is an absolute decline in the number of workers engaged in industry. The army of chronically unemployed, numbering millions, have no prospects whatsoever of ever again returning to production under capitalism. The passage to the depression is being brought about at the expense of the direct and indirect robbery of the workers (through the reduction of real wages by inflation, and the intensification of labour), and of the peasants, town petty-bourgeoisie and of the oppressed colonial peoples. Alongside of this, tremendous profits were received in 1933, and especially in 1934, by the capitalist trusts, and even in the heaviest years of the crisis (1930-1931) 32,000 million dollars were paid to the parasites and rentiers in the shape of dividends. The burden of militarism (which in Japan, for instance, amounts to almost a half of the State budget) has never, since the first imperialist war, been so unbearable as far as concerns the toiling masses in the capitalist countries.

In the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, further transformations have taken place in the social structure, as a result of which the Soviet Union has become a socialist country not only because the foundation of socialist economy has been constructed there, but also because the majority of the population have finally linked up their lives with socialism. The capitalist elements in the U.S.S.R. have been almost completely abolished in 1934, amounting altogether to 0.1 per cent. of the total population, and numbering 170,000 people (while in 1928 the urban big and petty-bourgeoisie constituted 4.5 per cent. of the total population). Comrade Molotov declared at the Seventh Congress of Soviets that the bourgeois elements in the U.S.S.R. have remained "in the nature of

a memory." The total number of proletarians (workers, office employees, etc.), on the other hand, has increased from 26 millions in 1928 to 47 millions on the 1st of January, 1934 (correspondingly their relation to the total population has increased from 17.3 per cent. to 28.1 per cent.). And the collective farmers and the handicraftsmen in the towns who have been drawn into co-operative forms of work, and who together constituted 2.9 per cent. of the population in 1928, amounted to 45.9 per cent. of the population in 1934, while the individual peasant sector in the village has been relegated to a secondary position.

"And so now we can say that N.E.P.* RUSSIA HAS BECOME TRANSFORMED INTO SOCIALIST RUSSIA. Our country has become transformed. In the main the great task set by Lenin has been fulfilled. The vow given at Lenin's tomb eleven years ago by Comrade Stalin has been fulfilled." (Molotov.)

The workers and toilers of the Soviet Union, however, know that their socialist fatherland is growing wealthier, and that their standard of living is rising uninterruptedly. The second All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers bears clear witness to the tremendous steps taken by the Soviet Union in the direction of achieving a well-to-do and cultured life for all the toilers on the basis of socialism. But the main thing which both the Congress of Soviets and the All-Union Congress of "shock" collective farmers showed, was that tens and hundreds of thousands of talented organisers of the new life have arisen from among the masses of toilers. Wide masses of brigade leaders, tractorists, milkmaids, combine operators and farm directors have developed and continued to develop, people who but a few years ago had seen nothing further than their own little farm, and who are now learning to manage large-scale socialist production and to think and to solve problems from the State, proletarian point of view, and to rise to participation in an active political and cultural life, on the basis of the collective farm socialist structure.

And the women collective farmers have also developed so far as to participate in the active struggle for socialism, for a life which is well-to-do, and for the achievement of Bolshevik collective farms. It is not so long since these women were forgotten and held down by the backward character of their farms and by lack of culture. But now they are in the front ranks of those who are building the new happy life of the collective farm. There is a point included in the new statutes recommended for the agricultural artels (collective farms), which entitles women engaged on collective

* Soviet Russia of the period of the New Economic Policy, when the capitalist elements were allowed certain limited facilities for development.—Ed.

farm work to two months' leave prior to and after childbirth, to be paid for out of the funds of the collective farms. Where in any capitalist country which cries about its "civilised character" and its "culture" are social measures possible on such a scale? Where can the peasant woman count on receiving but one hundredth part of the care which she is receiving in the Soviet Union. Nowhere. Only in the U.S.S.R., in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the country where the toilers enjoy extensive democracy!

Two Lines in the National Question.

The two lines of world development are no less clearly displayed in the *national* question as well. Whereas capitalism seeks a way out by robbing the colonies (the seizure of Manchuria and the North of China by Japan, the war of Italian imperialism against Abyssinia, etc.) and in national oppression of every kind, the Bolshevik Party, armed with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question, brought about after the October revolution the unification of the peoples of the former Tsarist Empire into the impregnable Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Successful steps are being taken to abolish the inequality of the nationalities which were formerly backward and oppressed, and which under Soviet power have entered on a period of stormy economic development. An unheard-of development is taking place of the culture of the numerous peoples which populate the U.S.S.R., culture which is national in form and Socialist in content. Whereas in the colonial countries we see the ripening of the revolutionary hatred of the toiling masses against the imperialist oppressors, and the growth of national liberation wars, as well as the growth and the development of the Chinese Soviet State and the heroic Chinese workers' and peasants' army, at the same time the peoples of the U.S.S.R., who joined together on a voluntary basis, are full of revolutionary Soviet patriotism. And this Soviet patriotism is the clearest expression of the tremendous international importance of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the mainstay of the world proletarian revolution.

At the Congress dozens of delegations of the national republics that constitute the U.S.S.R. gave reports about the victories they were achieving. Delegations from the Ukraine, Georgia, Tadjikistan and Tartary brought figures to show that the path traversed by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party is the path of the development of their socialist industry, of the establishment of mighty industrial states. This is a path where, for instance, the engineering industry of the Ukraine, which in 1912 produced commodities valued at 83 million roubles, in 1934,

under Soviet power, had a total production of 2,200 million roubles. This is the path where the best among the collective farmers, shock workers on the collective farms in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and other regions in the U.S.S.R., each earned 2½ to 3 tons of grain and 1,500-2,000 roubles of clear income for the labour days* earned during the year. The best collective farmers in the Karbardino-Balkar region earned 4,700 poods (almost 8 tons) of agriculture products for the year 1934. This is the path where during the last two years about 250,000 collective farm-women have been advanced to responsible positions, while the circulation of the central and the regional newspapers in the Ukraine amount to two millions.

And the other path along which, for instance, the Polish imperialists have compelled the Ukrainian people in the Polish state to take, is the path along which the Ukraine is transformed into an agrarian and raw material appendage of Poland. It is the path of poverty, unemployment, of a half-starved existence, and of mass executions. It is the path where the national culture of the Ukraine is destroyed. It is a path where eight millions of the Ukrainian population in Poland have 300 miserable Ukrainian schools, and only two daily newspapers, while the circulation of these papers, according to the *Novy Chass*, gives place even to the circulation of papers among the Eskimos.

Herr Rosenberg, one of the leaders of German fascism, is pursuing this path of national enslavement and of the bourgeois landlord exploitation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. under the flag of the struggle against "the Mongol forces" which allegedly "have achieved victory over the Northerners in the organism of the Russian people." German fascism, which hopes to cast Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia under the heel of German imperialism and militarism, graciously handing over Soviet Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Armenia to British imperialism, now treats the Uzbeks, Tartars, Tadjiks, Ukrainians, etc., who are free Soviet citizens, as a "lower race," as apes. Can we be surprised that, faced with this, capitalist barbarism, the 7th All-Union Congress of Soviets showed the whole world that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are united in a firm alliance as never before, united by the great common cause

* NOTE: A labour day is the norm of work per day fixed to be done by each collective farmer. Work done above or less than this norm is counted, as a fraction more or less of a "labour day" to the credit of the collective farmer. The share of the collective farmer in the net income of the collective farm is calculated on the basis of the number of labour days he has to his credit in the course of the year.—Ed.

of the construction of socialism which ensures an unheard-of development of national culture in all of the national republics of the Soviet Union?

Democracy.

But the oppositeness of the two lines of world development was most sharply displayed on questions of democracy as they affect the toilers.

Soviet power, as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the very moment that it arose, in the fire of the October revolution, ensured the very highest type of the development of democracy, one unknown in the world (the right of all toilers over 18 years of age to electoral rights, complete equality for women, etc.). From the very first moment when it came into existence Soviet power embodied democracy for the toilers, implying that the widest masses of workers and peasants are drawn into the management of the State, and that the exploiters are suppressed by all the measures at the disposal of the State power. In the past the special features of this proletarian democracy (including the special features of the electoral system, namely, indirect, open, and not completely equal* elections) ensured that the proletariat played a leading rôle in relation to the small peasant owner in the economically backward country, and that the widest masses of toilers would be trained by the proletarian vanguard in the difficult task of the management of the State.

From the very beginning it was clear that these limitations of electoral rights were of a temporary character. Furthermore, in the Party programme on Comrade Lenin's suggestion, the following paragraph was included, which indicated the further line of the Party in the direction of further democratising the electoral system, to the extent that the social structure of the Soviet State altered:

"The task, it stated, facing the Party of the proletariat is to carry on uninterruptedly the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, to carry on a struggle of ideas against the deeply-rooted prejudices regarding the unconditional character of bourgeois rights and liberties, and at the same time to explain that when we deprive certain people of political rights, and when we undertake any limitations whatsoever of freedom, these are necessary exclusively as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts of the exploiters to defend or to restore their privileges. To the degree that the objective possibility of man exploiting man vanishes, to that degree the necessity of applying these measures will also disappear, and the Party will strive to narrow their scope and to abolish them altogether."

The alteration in the social structure of the Soviet Union (the tremendous growth in the numerical strength of the proletariat, the abolition of the kulaks, the victories of the collective farm system and of social property) have at the present

* As between workers and peasants, the former having certain advantages hitherto in representation.—Ed.

time rendered it necessary to introduce alterations in the Soviet Constitution, and to make it correspond to the changed social relations in the U.S.S.R. And only bourgeois philistines do not understand the consistency of the Bolshevik line in this question. It was on Comrade Stalin's initiative that this question was dealt with at the February (1935) Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. With supreme Leninist-Stalinist simplicity and clarity, points were formulated regarding the necessity for introducing alterations into the constitution of the U.S.S.R., in the direction of (a) the further democratisation of the electoral system in the sense of replacing the not fully equal, by equal elections, indirect by direct elections, and open by closed elections;* (b) the more exact definition of the social-economic basis of the constitution in the sense of making the constitution correspond to the present correlation of class forces in the U.S.S.R. (the establishment of a new Socialist industry, the abolition of the kulaks, the victory of the collective farm structure, and the establishment of socialist property as the basis of Soviet society, etc.).

The proposals made by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. were unanimously adopted by the Congress, following a report made by Comrade Molotov, and opened up a new epoch of Soviet democracy.

The New Epoch of Soviet Democracy.

What does the adoption of these decisions signify? What is meant by the new epoch of Soviet democracy?

The new epoch of Soviet democracy is the recognition of the fact that N.E.P. Russia has become Socialist Russia, that Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has achieved victory finally and irrevocably, that social property, recognised by Soviet law as sacred and inviolate, has achieved victory in fierce struggle against the hostile class forces. In the Soviet Union the road is opened up to a full life for all honest toilers, and to the degree that the classless socialist society is successfully built up, and the last of the capitalist elements are destroyed, to that degree does the time come closer when all limitations whatsoever over general electoral rights will be abolished.

The equalisation of workers and peasants in the electoral system of the Soviet State is an expression of the fact that the workers and collective farmers are now engaged in the common cause of socialist construction. This equalisation is at the same time an instruction calculated to do away with all distinctions whatsoever between the workers and peasants, and to destroy the contradictions between town and country.

* i.e., the so-called "secret ballot."—Ed.

The term, "the new epoch of Soviet democracy," is at the same time the clearest expression of the fact that the bourgeois order which is developing from bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism to the undisguised terrorist domination of capital over the toilers, under the fascist flag, has already a "foot in the grave," whereas in the Soviet Union "the growth of the proletarian state and its certainty in victory are to be seen in both the small and large and various State reforms and in the alterations in the electoral system now proposed."

Hence in the Soviet Union the replacement of "many-stage"* methods of the election of the higher Soviet bodies (the "indirect" method) by direct elections, and closed by open elections, as the expression of the indissoluble connection of the Soviet government with the masses, of the tremendous confidence in the Government of the masses of the people. This is the expression of the authority of the Soviet government in the eyes of the widest masses of the toilers, and of the efforts of the Soviets to place the work of its bodies under the increased control of the workers and peasants, and still further develop self-criticism and to check the links between the organs of Soviet power and the widest masses of the people. Hence the adoption by the Soviet government of all that is best in the universal, direct, equal and secret electoral law, and hence the idea of a sort of soviet parliamentarism.

And precisely because the capitalist world is doomed to destruction and even bourgeois statesmen see this fatal doom and recognise the proximity of proletarian insurrection which will overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie and destroy the system of private property, wage-slavery, landlord oppression and national and colonial oppression—precisely for that reason is capitalist reaction so wild and ferocious throughout the world, and just for that reason has fascism become so brutal in Germany, Poland, Japan, etc., and so irreconcilably hostile to even formal bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism.

* * *

Bourgeois "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."

At one time, in the 18th and 19th centuries when the bourgeoisie advanced to power by driving the feudal landlords away from the helm of state, they proclaimed the slogan of "Liberty, equality and fraternity." This freedom was freedom for the few, for the rich. This equality was the equality

* The system under which the Deputies elected by the masses of workers and peasants to the town and village Soviets elect delegates to the District Congress of Soviets who, in turn, elect delegates to the Regional Congress of Soviets and so on, till the All-Union Congress of Soviets, which elects the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.—Ed.

of the commodity owners, the equality under which the capitalist was considered "equal" to the workers. This fraternity was the fraternity of the capitalists, who jointly exploited the workers and toiling peasants. And even the limited formally democratic rights (freedom of the press, strikes, assembly, and trade union organisation, etc.) were achieved by the workers and poorest peasants at the cost of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But as far as the advanced workers were concerned, equality had only one meaning, namely, that of struggle to destroy classes, for socialism. But the bourgeoisie have always used the bayonets of their armies against those really fighting for socialism, and for the abolition of class domination, proclaiming the principle of private property the sacred inviolate foundation of bourgeois democracy. And now along with the progressive decline of capitalism, the turn has also come of formal bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism, which, in the conditions of the direct threat of the proletarian revolution, had become useless and a hindrance as far as the preservation of bourgeois domination is concerned.

The democracy of the electoral systems of the past century bore testimony to the certainty that the bourgeoisie felt in their own power, and their own ability to subordinate the toiling masses to their class will, and to present their own bourgeois interests as the will of the "people as a whole."

The crisis of bourgeois democracy began with the epoch of imperialism as an epoch of parasitic, rotting and dying capitalism. It became sharpened in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, in the period when the world became split into two systems. And it has assumed exceptionally sharp forms in the period when the advantages of the Soviet system, of planned socialist economy, have shown themselves with all their force. On the other hand, it has become clear that the bourgeoisie can artificially extend the existence of the rotten and decaying capitalist system only by methods of civil war directed against the working class, by the organisation of military penal servitude for the workers, by methods of fascist terror and by stirring up national and race hatred. Under these conditions the DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS FASCISM HAS BECOME THE BASIC LINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN BOURGEOIS STATES.

But fascism, without distinction as to its national forms, lays bare the existence of bourgeois power as that of the open terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Bourgeois power loses its last remnants of the appearance of being a government "of the people," and openly exposes the character of fascist power as being directed against the people, as one adopting the most hateful methods of government (white terror,

concentration camps, the abolition of the right to strike, and of the freedom to organise in trade unions, etc.).

* * *

It is difficult to overestimate the world historic importance of the decisions made by the February Plenum of the C.C. C.P.S.U. and of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets, and it will become clear in the not far-distant future, in the still greater stormy growth of the love and loyalty of the workers and toilers throughout the world to their socialist fatherland, to the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the most powerful and freest country in the world.

The task facing the entire international Communist movement is to make full use of the international importance of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets to organise the passage of the world working class movement to a counter-offensive against the attacks made by fascism and the capitalists, and the war danger. A counter-offensive must be carried through on the basis of the united front, and a wide popular anti-fascist front of struggle. The alterations introduced into the Soviet Constitution are a most powerful blow directed against social-democratic ideology, and they must be utilised to expose the reformist agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. They smash up the last arguments advanced by the social-democrats to defend the so-called above-class but actually bourgeois democracy, a democracy which is advancing towards fascism everywhere.

The Social-Democrats and the Seventh Congress of Soviets.

The social-democratic press presents a picture of complete helplessness and confusion. The majority of the social-democratic papers attempt to pass over in silence the world-historic decisions made by the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets. Others of them limit themselves to publishing the resolutions of the Congress regarding the further democratisation of the electoral system in the U.S.S.R., without comment.

However, it should be stated openly that the majority of the sections of the Communist International have, as yet, not made use of this confusion existing among the social-democratic parties, have not made use to a tenth part of what they could, in their struggle to win the majority of the working class against the bankrupt "socialism" of the Second International, of the mighty weapon given to the world proletariat movement, by the decisions which open a new epoch of Soviet democracy in the U.S.S.R.

The social-democratic leaders are utilising the feeble activity displayed by the Communist

Parties, and attempting to concoct a new system of "arguments" in defence of bourgeois democracy for the rich, and to discredit the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the only real widespread democracy for the toilers.

Thus, the Menshevik interventionists, following on the heels of the bourgeoisie, are attempting, for instance, to prove that the decisions of the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets serve to

"proclaim and rehabilitate the principles of that very 'formal democracy' which since October, 1917, was counterposed to the principles of 'soviet democracy.'" (See the *Socialist Vestnik*.)

Your labour is wasted, Messrs. hirelings of the capitalists!

The formal democracy, which the proletariat overthrew by its uprising in October, 1917, will never return to life in the Soviet Union, for it was based on the domination of the bourgeoisie, in its turn based on the sacred principle of private property, masked by "democratic" institutions (the Constituent Assembly), and by universal, direct, and secret suffrage.

Soviet democracy, on the other hand, differs fundamentally from the formal democracy of the bourgeoisie, and is the dictatorship of the proletariat which operates proletarian violence against the bourgeoisie, and directs the toiling masses in the reconstruction of the whole of the national economy and of culture as a whole, on socialist foundations. The basis of the Soviet system is socialist, social, and not private property. Social and not private property is sacred and inviolate. And when all that is best in universal, direct and secret suffrage is fully introduced into life in the Soviet Republic, IT TAKES PLACE ON THE BASIS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND SERVES TO STILL FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, TO RENDER SOCIAL PROPERTY MORE FIRM, TO CONSTRUCT SOCIALISM AND TO ABOLISH CLASSES.

At one time, many years ago, the passage of the Soviet Union to the new economic policy (N.E.P.) caused hopes to rise in the hearts of many capitalists that the U.S.S.R. would return to the lap of capitalism. And now, the contemptible leaders of social-democracy and the counter-revolutionary Menshevik interventionists are feeding themselves with hopes of the re-establishment of "formal" democracy in the Soviet Union, i.e., of the re-establishment of bourgeois democracy. In vain, the illusions of the capitalists connected with the passage of the Soviet Union to N.E.P. were very quickly shed. How many weeks, if not days, will the present illusions of the social-democrats last? It is true that none of the social-democratic hacks take seriously what they write. This version serves only one purpose, namely, that of supporting the democratic illu-

sions which the masses are losing. Maybe those backward sections of the workers not well up in politics will believe that the U.S.S.R. is turning back to the formal (i.e., bourgeois) democracy, so beloved of the social-democrats. But can we conceive that any wide masses of workers in the capitalist countries will believe that the Soviet Union is abandoning the Soviet democracy which has destroyed unemployment in the towns, and poverty in the villages, and ensured an uninterrupted advance in the standard of living of the toiling masses, as well as their participation in the management of the state, and the complete reorganisation of the whole of national economy and culture on a socialist foundation? Of course not! And this argument about the turn of the Soviet Union to formal bourgeois democracy bears clear witness to the *helplessness* of the social-democrats in their struggle against Communism, in the struggle against the Soviet democracy being put into operation by the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

Distortions of the Meaning of Equalisation in the Soviet Electoral System.

The social-democratic press, taking the extreme weakness of the version they put forward into account, are hastening to make use of purely Trotskyist arguments in the struggle against the Soviet government. The equalisation in the electoral system between workers and peasants, is, they allege, an attempt made by the Bolsheviks to rest on the peasants as against the worker. It implies, allegedly, that the reform is "to the benefit of the village and, what is more, to the village as a whole, including the peasant proprietors." It can "be interpreted as a desire to attract precisely the kulaks" (see the paper of the Polish Socialist Party, the *Robotnik*). Added to the foul anti-Soviet lie about "attracting the kulaks" as being the essence of the alterations in the Soviet Constitution, are the still more hypocritical doubts of the *Robotnik* as to "whether the individual peasants in the Soviet Union who still constitute 35 per cent. of the agricultural population have the right to vote"!

Can there be any doubt that even the most backward social-democratic worker will expose this anti-Soviet onslaught of the social-democratic press? He will clearly see that the equalisation of the rights of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union is the result of the fact that the overwhelming masses of the former peasants, of the former peasant proprietors, have taken the path of the collective farm life, the path to socialism, whereas the kulaks have been smashed up and abolished as a class. The former kulaks can only obtain civil rights again if they become re-educated and prove that they will work honestly, as toilers and

not as exploiters. This equalisation is a factor which will assist in still further abolishing the difference between the town and the village, between the workers and peasants, by transforming them into toilers in a classless socialist society.

However, it is useless seeking for consistency in the arguments of the social-democrats, contradictory as they are. These arguments are all good if they serve one purpose, namely, that of counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet Union. Therefore, after only just announcing their "discovery" to the effect that the Bolsheviks are abandoning the principles of Soviet democracy and are returning to the principles of formal democracy, or that the reform allegedly means attracting the kulaks, the social-democratic writers are attempting to convince their readers that the democratisation of the Soviet electoral system is of "no practical importance." And here they give themselves away as open agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, as counter-revolutionary fighters for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Previously the social-democrats speculated on the indirect, not fully equal, open and not universal, electoral system in the U.S.S.R. Now they can no longer speculate in this regard. It must be recognised that nowhere in the world is there such a universal electoral system as in the U.S.S.R., since only an insignificant handful of exploiters in the land of the Soviets are debarred from the right to participate in the elections. Whereas, in "democratic" France, for instance, one-half of the population (women) have not the right to vote. In addition, young people under 21 years of age, people who live in France but were born in the colonies (and French at that), foreigners, and soldiers are debarred from participation in the elections.

The "Democratic" U.S.A.

In the "democratic" U.S.A. young people from 18 to 21 years of age also have not the right to vote, while in the Southern States of America, negroes are in fact deprived of the right to vote (for an educational qualification is required). In various States a property qualification or a payment of an electoral tax is required, which excludes the unemployed from participation in the elections. But even among those who have the right to register their votes it is usual that slightly more than 40 per cent. make use of their right, whereas in the Soviet Union we see an unheard-of growth in the activity of the electors. In the 1934 elections to the Soviets, 93 per cent. of the town electors (men and women) registered their votes, while the corresponding figure in the village was 83 per cent. As regards democratic rights

and voting by the people in fascist countries (Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, etc.), the bourgeoisie there have transformed these into a foul comedy, the success of which is ensured by bayonets and the employment of savage, unbridled, nationalist demagoguery. The whole system of the Soviet elections ensures competition at the elections between the shock workers ("Udarniks) of socialist industry, agriculture and Party work, and the free election of the most popular and beloved fighters for socialism, the best of the best builders of the classless society.

The social-democratic leaders have now to declare themselves openly in favour of those very features of the bourgeois democratic system, the introduction of which into the Soviet Union would imply a step towards the restoration of capitalism, namely, freedom of the press FOR THE BOURGEOISIE, and freedom for BOURGEOIS political parties to participate in the elections. The social-democrats thereby would like to do away with the basis of the proletarian dictatorship, namely, the employment of violence against the bourgeoisie, and the leading rôle of the proletariat in relation to the toilers as a whole, for the destruction of classes and the construction of classless society. But every worker clearly understands that the U.S.S.R. is surrounded on all sides by capitalist countries, that freedom of the bourgeois press (and, what is more, for bourgeois parties) is freedom for the capitalists to bribe the unstable elements among the toilers and to deceive them by their bourgeois ideology. The influence of the bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. is not exhausted by the existence of 174,000 kulaks, speculators, etc. Remnants of capitalism have continued to be maintained in the consciousness of the masses (and not only of individual farmers, but also in the consciousness of collective farmers, and even of the backward sections of the proletariat). The contrast between the town and country, and, what is more, between physical and mental labour, have not yet been abolished. The struggle is a fierce class struggle against the anti-social, anti-state, anti-collective farm relics in the consciousness of the people, and this means the protection and strengthening of social property, the basis of the Soviet system, by the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat—and this struggle has assumed still greater importance precisely now, in connection with the victory of social property.

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The Victory of the Line Advanced by Comrade Stalin.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress of Soviets regarding certain alterations in the Soviet Constitution throw a clear light on the political and theoretical struggle waged by the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, against the anti-Leninist line of

Zinoviev and Kamenev, who have slid down to the camp of counter-revolution, and against the counter-revolutionary, Trotsky.

Zinoviev distorted Lenin when he attempted to introduce the thesis of the "dictatorship of the Party."

What did this thesis imply? This thesis counterposed the Party to the Soviet government, the Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, this thesis proclaimed a break between the Party and the broad masses of non-Party workers and peasants, and excluded the possibility of developing Soviet democracy. This thesis is social-democratic, counter-revolutionary slander against the Soviet government.

Following Zinoviev, his fellow-champion in the struggle against the Party, Kamenev, declared that the vitalising of the Soviets would lead to the "lower rungs of the Soviet system being swamped by the petty bourgeois elements." And Trotsky's "theory" to the effect that the system of war communism is characteristic of the whole transition period by no means allowed for the development of Soviet democracy.

It is only the untiring struggle of Comrade Stalin against the counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, which advanced the thesis to the effect that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country, not believing in the revolutionary power of the proletariat and its ability to take the lead over the peasants, that made it possible to bring about the destruction of the anti-Party groups, and to victoriously build socialism and announce a new epoch of Soviet democracy at the Seventh Congress of Soviets.

Messrs. the Mensheviks are attempting in their struggle against the Soviets and against the dictatorship of the proletariat to make use of the remnants of the capitalist elements, and the relics of capitalism in the consciousness of the masses which have been smashed up (but not as yet finally wiped out). Hence, their dissatisfaction at the way Soviet democracy is being carried through to the end, and is serving to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to destroy classes, and to destroy the relics of capitalism in the consciousness of the masses. When the social-democrats come forward in favour of freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie, and in favour of making bourgeois parties legal, they are carrying on a desperate struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., for the restoration of capitalism, and of bourgeois domination. The toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., on the other hand, led by their mighty Bolshevik Party, and by the mighty leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin, are making a tremendous step forward to the classless socialist society.

History has passed its sentence, namely, that the cause of socialism, the cause of the U.S.S.R., the cause of Lenin and Stalin, is invincible. And the miserable contemptible social-democratic leaders will not be able to stop this triumphant

march of socialism, which is taking the place of the bloody fascist barbarism of capital, now in a frenzy in its vain efforts to extend the domination of the bourgeois slave system, doomed as it is to death.

THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

(Concluding Remarks of Speech made by Comrade Harry Pollitt)

OUR Congress discussion and decisions are rendered doubly important because of the character of the report of the Credentials Committee. There has been a revolution in the composition of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the overwhelming proportion of the delegates who are employed workers gives us the guarantee that these decisions of the Congress are going to be taken to the fundamental places, the factories, the mines, the mills, etc., and to millions of workers in this country.

We also are glad to note the large number of fraternal delegates who have been present, and express the hope that in listening to our discussions on the united front, we have convinced them also that there is need for every one of them to take into their organisations the message of our Congress, and by their personal work and example endeavour to give life and meaning to this part of our Congress discussion.

We are making a very big political extension of our tactics of the united front in this Congress, and the acceptance of the general line in the three resolutions which have been discussed is no mechanical acceptance. There has never been such deep discussion since the Party was formed. In the *Daily Worker* for over three months contributions have been regularly appearing from workers all over the country, and we only regret that our facilities did not enable us to print as many of these contributions as we would have liked. As a matter of fact, we still have some 50 or 60 that it has been impossible to publish.

Another healthy sign of the growth of the Party has been the big demand for the resolutions in all the units of the Party, so that adequate discussions could take place in the cells and locals. The splendid thing about the approach which the Congress has made is that we have corrected the bad beginning that was made, and for which we must accept the responsibility, of tending to look upon the united front only in terms of electoral tactics. The Congress discussion in the paper, and in the

Congress itself, has shown that the united front is our chief weapon and lever in every phase of the struggle, including the electoral field.

Now it has also been brought out very clearly that one of the most important ways of advancing the united front has been the action we can initiate on what are called the small issues. The comrades will remember in 1932 we adopted what was known as the January Resolution. For a long time we seemed to swing in a direction of looking upon small issues as the only things with which the Party concerned itself. Later there was a kind of revulsion against this, and the tendency was to drop the small issues. Experience proves that where the taking up of small questions is related to the work of the Party as a whole, these so-called small issues open up innumerable avenues and doors through which our Party can establish contact with many sections of the working-class movement.

Success Through Continuous Activity.

A very important point was made in the discussion by Comrade Cornforth, who, in speaking of the experiences in Cambridge, said that "the successes of their united front in connection with the fight against war, were because the comrades in Cambridge had carried through continuous activity." This has the greatest possible meaning for our comrades at the Congress, because if we look back at the Charter campaign, on the Hunger March and National Congress, if we look back on some of the big strikes that we have been engaged in, it is always an outstanding and regrettable thing that during these big fights the Party has played a great rôle (we said, particularly in connection with the Hunger March and Congress, that we would never repeat the mistakes of the Charter campaign), the movement has been carried to a great height and left in a state of suspension. And the key to the avoidance of this mistake is undoubtedly the development of continuous activity, and using contacts we win in the big campaigns, not merely for these campaigns as things in themselves, but as contacts whom we can

interest in a hundred and one things in which they themselves are vitally concerned in the factory, the home, and the working-class locality.

Our Party must also learn to react much more quickly to the topical events that take place, many of which provide an avenue through which we can get in touch with the workers who are not yet ready to work with us on many of the bigger so-called political questions, and get activity going.

For example, who can doubt that in all the mush and slush that was turned out in connection with the Marina wedding, there was a widespread disgust through the working-class movement. We could have effectively used this; we could have been more energetic in pointing out the contrast between riches and poverty, and what could be done in the poverty-stricken mining villages with the money. And we may be sure that just as there was all this about Marina, it is going to be increased in the coming Jubilee celebrations. We must at once seize upon this topical event, not only pointing out the vast amount of money being spent. In some cases the factories in the potteries are already working overtime producing mugs with the photographs of the King and Queen, when there are hundreds of thousands of children who cannot get milk to drink, and this issue we can relate to the specific conditions in our own locality. And therefore we can even now popularise the demand: Not a penny for the celebrations—every penny for the children. And it can become a key with which we will be able to open many doors, and in the opening of these doors, they can be doors where the milk is.

Issues To Fight On.

Then there are such questions as the safety of roads. In London it is impossible to take up a newspaper but what we read about the horrible slaughter that goes on week by week and day by day. And in nearly every case the slaughter is not the slaughter of people who would never be missed; it is the slaughter of working women and working-class children in the main. And here again we can take up this issue in the most densely populated parts of London, and when we read of these terrible accidents—for example, the woman and two children who were out shopping. In a hurry to get the dinner they did not see a bus coming. The bus crashed into the woman and two children. The three were killed. It is not only the question of what were the feelings of the masses of the workers in the street. The women knew it might easily have been them, because it was a working-class mother, harassed by the shopping, the safety of the children, her domestic duties. And if we take up the demand for the road safety precautions, for the stopping of the

traffic in order that the women and children may get across the roads, every section of the population with any humanitarian feelings can be drawn into activity of this kind.

Similarly, experience has shown in the taking up of the issue of the rents and repairs to houses that they are all issues that can give us increased united front activity. Similarly with the question of boots and shoes for the children in the derelict areas. The other morning in Derbyshire I waited half an hour outside a school for a bus, and noticed 55 children that either had their little toes sticking out of the front of their shoes, or their heels out at the back. Similarly in regard to the question of the safety of public buildings. At that school in Liverpool, again it is our people who are killed and maimed as a result of the rotten flooring. We must insist on better safety facilities, linking up this fight with the fight for safety in mine, mill and factory.

Gresford is still in our memory, but what a condemnation of how little we have been able to do in regard to Gresford. After 264 miners were killed, a further 500 volunteered to go down again, not because they wanted to go down again, but because economic conditions forced them to put in an application. We must fight for safety conditions in the mines, and we must see to it that this fight for safety rings from one end of the country to the other, that no miner shall go down any mine unless it has been passed by a Workmen's Inspector, and not only should this apply to the mines but to all factories and mills.

On this and similar questions we have to draw in everyone. I have mentioned these factors because it is significant that special applause was given by this Congress to a student and a teacher delegate who took up such types of issues as we have mentioned.

We must win over the petty-bourgeoisie to the fight for the revolution. We can interest the teacher and student. No teacher wishes to teach children that are cold and hungry, nor does the student wish to draw some picture of a Venetian gondola when he could be designing and drawing new houses for the workers. We can interest the doctor who is treating patients on the panel, who is called upon to diagnose their complaints and is unable to do anything because he knows it is poverty and malnutrition that is the trouble.

It is, therefore, not only the question of the fight for the miner, railwayman, and engineer, we must also endeavour to recruit the doctor, teacher, student, architect, and thus we will grow stronger and stronger and build a strong united front.

We make a great mistake in only looking upon such issues as Part II. of the Unemployment Act, or the fight against Mosley, as the principal

avenues of building up the united front. The stronger we build the mass activity in the locality on the small day-to-day issues, the greater the support we will be able to organise on the bigger political questions.

The Fight Against Part II.

The reports in the press and the telegrams we have received show that the fight against Part II. has grown stronger in the last days.

We cannot leave the calling of strike action on February 25th (or mass demonstrations on February 24th) to the Cambrian Lodge in the Rhondda. We must not be satisfied with this, or with the calling of the London workers to demonstrate to Parliament. We have now to give a lead that is in accordance with the growing tempo of the situation, and our call therefore must be to take up this demand of the South Wales Miners for a one-day strike on February 25th all over this country as a first manifestation of our serious fighting against this measure of starvation. At the same time we have to see in every local council and in every county council where we have councillors that they must bring the same breath of working-class revolt into those councils as was felt in Westminster when the London workers went there to demonstrate. We must ensure that every Trade Union branch is now going to pass resolutions demanding that the General Council shall line itself up with South Wales and be responsible for the issuing of this national One-Day General Strike call on the 25th February. If we do not do this, then the reformists will make every effort to call it off in South Wales on the ground that that area is fighting alone. We want to learn from the practical experience in Cambridge that the success of the united front depends on continuous activity, and it must be continuous activity that now is initiated by the Party in every factory and every Trade Union branch in this country.

The situation in South Wales assumes tremendous political importance for the whole working-class movement in this country. There is no further need to make reference to the great strides the mass fight against Part II. has taken there. We must learn one or two lessons and point out one or two of the weaknesses in regard to the dangers that beset our comrades in this important political situation; a dangerous situation for the Party unless we can immediately see some of the mistakes we have made, correct them, and then avoid making them in the coming days. The first thing that is to be stressed is that the South Wales experience has revealed that where we have a foothold in the Miners' Lodge, where we have a foothold in the Trade Union Branch, in that place

we can use this as the lever for drawing in the Ward Committees, the Labour Party, the Trades Councils, the shopkeepers and the clergy into the common front. Can any one of us remember in our lifetime any issue that has ever come forward on which shopkeepers, school teachers or clergy have found it necessary to unite their protests together with the working class against the measure that threatens starvation to the workers? We cannot. Much of the success of this has been achieved because of this lever for the winning of the workers in the Lodge and thus being able to win workers for united front activity all over the country. Our experience has also shown in South Wales the necessity, even within the united front movement, of comradely criticism being made of measures of reactionaries that have for their objective the splitting of united action. In the Rhondda our comrades have had to make such criticisms, and because they were made in the correct manner they won not only Lodges, but Area No. 4 of the South Wales Miners' Federation, embracing twenty lodges, and as a result of winning these twenty lodges, the comrades were able to defeat a move made by the Labour Party leaders which could have led to a split in the building up of united front activities in the Rhondda.

At the same time it has to be objective criticism; it has to be constructive criticism, and criticism of such a character that we shall be able to convince every worker that such criticisms are made with the sincere motive of strengthening the working-class struggle.

Tendencies To Guard Against.

South Wales has also shown that there are two tendencies against which we have to guard. Firstly, the tendency to let everything go by the board in the interests of unity. Secondly, an extreme criticism and attacking of Labour Party leaders on the united front platform. When our Party makes a united front agreement with any working-class organisation in this country, the Party has the duty to see that it is carried out.

Some of our comrades in South Wales are making the mistake of telling the workers that these united front bodies are already Soviets. We should not introduce the question of Soviets in such a way. Immediately the Labour Party leadership, who are looking for a way out, seize upon this issue, and use it to try and show that the Communists are out for some other motive, and not the driving forward of the immediate fight. It is absolutely wrong to say that we are forming Soviets in South Wales. Let us keep to the name of Councils of Action and all that this name implies at the present stage of the struggle, and we shall not go far wrong.

The next mistake we have to avoid is the danger

of driving the Labour Party—and, comrades, we want to keep the Labour Party in the united front—away by endeavouring to overload the united front organisations with Communists.

Why do I lay such stress on this point, comrades? I do so because we are bold enough to believe that we can already see, as a result of what we have been able to set going in South Wales, the breaking through of the ban on united front activity placed by the leaders of the Labour Party. We are bold enough to understand that if we can achieve this, if we can make it stronger, if we can draw more and more in, then it is not a question of a transformation of the position of the united front in Britain, it is a change in the international united front; it is a change in the relation of class forces within the 2nd International; it opens up the perspective for the possibility of the establishment of a united front on an international basis; and it means, if it can be realised, an enormous weapon in the stemming of the capitalist attacks on the workers, and of the advance of fascism and war.

Therefore, a great responsibility rests upon our Party, because the reformists also look upon questions as we look on them, in this sense, that when they see a mass situation developing, they understand its class significance, and their move, unless we have such mass backing in the factory and union, is a move that is not calculated to strengthen it, but to try to canalise it into peaceful so-called Parliamentary channels.

In the *Daily Worker* this morning we had a report that yesterday in South Wales, Ernest Bevin, the leader of the T.U.C., the most powerful Trade Union leader in this country, and who has in his control the most powerful trade union in the country, is speaking on the same platform as our Comrade Lewis Jones. We are glad. But we also know that when the National Labour Party and Trade Union Congress leaders sent Bevin down into South Wales, it was not for the purpose of developing the mass movement that has developed in Merthyr to-day, or for the calling of a strike on February 25th, but to give the workers the perspective of some other peaceful-fighting-at-election-times method to abolish Part II. Our job is to give them a welcome, but a welcome that has behind it such a class note and demand that even those leaders dare not ignore the significance of the new mood of the revolting masses.

Our speeches on the united front platforms must be models of what speeches should be. Every speaker who goes to united front meetings has the duty of carefully preparing what he is going to say. The day has gone past when comrades who have made no preparation can get up and leave it to the spur of the moment. We are a serious

revolutionary political Party; when we speak it has to give the lead, and everyone of us, whether in Lodge or Free Trade Hall, or on the street corner, must speak with heavy responsibility, and more especially still in united front meetings. And when we speak in such a meeting, what should be our line? It should be to explain the situation as clearly and simply as we possibly can, to show what the demands are to meet the situation, and then to show what has to be done in order that these demands can be won. And if our speeches were modelled on these three points they would be concrete, popular and a lead for every worker in the audience, so that they would nudge each other and say, "that is right, that is what we want and what we are waiting for and want to get," so that when the meeting is over the workers will carry our words amongst their mates. It is a very good rule to remember, comrades, in united front activity. The formulation may be a little wrong, but I would rather that the comrades worked on this formulation. **THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS ALWAYS IS, HAS BEEN, AND WILL BE, THE CAPITALIST CLASS**, and the capitalist class at the moment is represented by the National Government, and our job is to harness the workers against this main enemy, and expose those inside the working-class movement who abet this enemy by their refusal of the united front.

Alongside this there is the indispensable need for independent Party activity. I know that the comrades in South Wales are doing gigantic work, but you must spare some of your forces for the holding in South Wales of Communist Party meetings, at which the Communist Party shall give the whole programme and policy for which this Party stands. Out of such an exposition we will recruit members to the Party now, not when the fight is finished, so that in South Wales out of the mass revolt thousands of new class-conscious workers shall stream into our Party and make it impossible for the reformists to behead the movement, as they did after Schiller and after the last annual conference of the S.W.M.F. The carrying out of these points is of importance not only for South Wales but for the whole of our Party, and this not only opens up the perspective for a general strike on the 25th of February, it also opens out the perspective for big changes in the whole of the political situation in this country.

About the Discussion on Economic Struggles.

Now some remarks on the discussion on economic struggles. That discussion together with the Credentials Committee report reveals big advances which our Party has made since the time of the 12th Congress, and it was of special importance to note how many comrades in the discussion

revealed the new opportunities they had for the development of the Party influence, as a result of their holding of Trade Union positions.

May we say in introducing this question that in local organisations, in district organisations of our Party, in the cells, D.P.C.s, L.P.C.s, any comrade who is prepared to report to the C.C. that they have in their cell, unit, or local, any members eligible for trade union membership, who are not in them, who refuse to join them—comrades, the time has come when, small as this Party is, it is better to be without such false revolutionaries.

Having said that, we must say this: where in any local there are comrades whose economic position is of such a character that it is impossible for them to pay trade union dues, we all have the responsibility of helping such comrades in such positions to be in the unions.

The fight for trade union positions must be a fight that is made on policy, and when our comrades are elected, the people in that branch must know what the policy is that our comrades have been advocating. One half of the trouble is this, that we take the positions many times, but no one in that branch has a clear idea of the policy which we have been advocating. In the new posts to which we are being elected, many district committee men in the A.E.U. and committee men in other unions, would be in a much stronger position if they could say that "When I was elected here I was elected because I said I would fight for this programme, and I am here to fight for that, but I want you to fight with me." In this way a new significance would be given to the comrades who are being elected in such positions.

There also arises from this the need, as Comrade Campbell explained, for the development in every industry of a concrete programme applicable in that industry, a popularisation of that programme now, in order that at the coming Trade Union Conferences of the Shop Assistants, N.U.D.A.W., Loco-men at Whitsun, Engineers in June, Railwaymen and Miners in July, already support for our policy and resolutions will have been won. This year sees the Biennial Conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Already we ought to be popularising a programme that can receive the support of every Transport and General Workers' Union Branch in this country.

I want to reinforce Comrade Campbell's plea for special attention to the problems of winning support of the lower trade union functionaries, and alongside this comes the burning need for an alternative programme to that of the T.U.C. programme, a programme upon which we can unite in common action and struggle Trade Unionists in every industry and in every factory all over the country. It may be that the best way would be

to consider the formulation of a series of national demands applicable to every trade union in the country. It may be that we could approach this through the Trades Councils, get the endorsement of a Trades Council and let the Trades Council become the initiator of the programme, and thus make an impression upon the T.U.C. agenda and upon the congress itself. We cannot wait until July or August until we commence to prepare for the agenda of the congress. We cannot wait until two or three weeks before the congress, we have to start now. We have to popularise what it is we want, because if we have mass support outside the congress then we can have a small fraction there with the knowledge that it has the backing of hundreds of trade union branches and that it is not speaking in the name of a tiny fraction of class-conscious trade unionists, but it is speaking for the workers as a whole. This is an urgent necessity for us to see.

The Question of Trades Council Work.

Bound up with this question is the Trades Council work. It is not an accident that the General Council first of all directs its efforts at the weeding out of the revolutionary workers in the Trades Councils. They do it because they understand in the present conditions, and with the perspectives we have, that the Trades Councils are going to be more and more unifying centres of the economic struggles of the working class and therefore they want to make these institutions safe for Mondism and not for class struggle.

In Manchester an improvement has been made in Trades Council work; in other parts of the country improvement has been made, and what can be done is being proved by good examples all over the country.

This is all to the good, this is what we want; but we are still losing opportunities of getting delegates on the Trades Councils. The more delegates we get the stronger we can make them and the more difficult it will be for the bureaucracy to get their line across. We must mention the fact that our trade unionist comrades very seldom get together in an important meeting to discuss what is to be the line, what are to be the arguments put up; seldom do we have a meeting of comrades, and seldom do we consider it necessary to have an exchange of opinion so that the fraction leader, when he speaks, speaks with the judgment of the comrades in that trade union. If we do this then we can put a clear line and the same line throughout the whole of the Trade Union movement. We must have well-organised functioning fractions. Only in this way can the Party really win the whole of the workers behind the policy of the Communist Party. We want to support the strong plea that

was made by Comrade Moffatt and Comrade Allan in connection with the campaign for trade union unity. Those of us who were among the old guard members mentioned in the Credentials Report have memories of the terrific propaganda carried on in this country for the amalgamation of the unions in the past, and the splendid work that was done, but we are not using these same propaganda methods for developing unity of unions and action to-day. It is necessary that the Communist Party of Great Britain shall become the champion of trade union unity on a class basis, in order that the workers can build up mighty class trade unions and win in their economic struggles. While insisting on every eligible member being in the trade union, we have got to do something else. We are not a trade union Party, we are a revolutionary political Party. We are not a Party that looks on every question from the point of view of a miner, an engineer, a railwayman, and we are not a Party that appreciates the leadership only in terms of its policy in a particular industry and place of work. We are a political Party which advances a line that is in accordance with the interests of the whole working class, but we have dangerous tendencies that have to be checked in our Party: the tendency to separate completely our trade union work from our general political line, and nothing could be more fatal.

One of the reasons for the absence of a great mass campaign for trade union unity is because we become so largely boxed up amongst railwaymen, miners, etc., without any common unified lead that can drive forward the activity and the work of our comrades as a whole.

Not a Ginger Group, But Political Leaders.

We were delighted to hear the remarks of our Comrade Cooke in the discussion this afternoon. We repeat this because it was as important as anything spoken in this Congress:

"The workers see us as great strike leaders, they see us as a ginger group in the Trades Councils, they see us as militant trade unionists, but they don't see us as political leaders."

This wasn't said by Gallacher, Pollitt or Stewart. This was said by a comparatively new member in our Party, who in making that contribution must have been expressing what he himself had strongly felt, even before he came into our Party.

Let me again repeat what the 2nd Congress of the Communist International had to say about the rôle of the Communist Party:

"The Communist Party is the Party of the working class. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class and at all turns of the road it endeavours to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working

class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organised political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses."

When once we fully understand the rôle of the Communist Party and apply it in our daily activity, then we can help build mass militant trades unions embracing every worker; then successful big economic struggles, and the defeat of Mondism will be possible, thousands of trade unionists recruited for the Party, but this is only possible if the work in the unions is carried out on the basis that was laid down when the C.I. held its Second Congress in 1920.

We believe that if the suggestions which have been outlined are put into operation then there is ever greater advance. These suggestions, if put into operation now, can win greater support. To-morrow the Congress will debate a manifesto which will give the lead on the urgency of the united front to every working man and woman in this country. The programme it will put forward is of general interest and its demands of a general mass character. But the general importance of its demands must also be related to the local circumstances and concrete situation.

What have we to do when this Congress is over? We have at once, on the basis of the Congress, to approach every local Labour Party, every trade union branch, and every trade union functionary and endeavour to win their support. We must popularise this programme amongst the workers. We must try to get resolutions of support in every organisation where we are, and where workers who want united action are also members.

What do we drive for in this campaign? The winning of the workers to support our proposals. What do we do if they are rejected? Take it lying down? No, we explain to the workers what it was we proposed. We ask them to campaign against it, come and record against it in the consciousness that we can overcome and overrule this first rejection that may be made by the Labour leaders. We try to draw in all workers' organisations and candidates into every type of united front activity. In every demonstration, in every strike, we invite the local trade union officials, Labour candidates, to come and take part, we invite local Labour Parties to participate, and upon this basis the class forces can be built up. This is our tactical line. We are not going any further. Unconditional support of Labour does not arise; in this Party Congress our tactics are being formulated on the basis of present conditions. Further tactics will depend on the success of the united front drive and on the objective situation that may then prevail.

The development along these lines, the daily activity, will result in the building up of a movement that grows day after day on the basis of class struggle, and then at the urban elections and the general elections we could succeed in sweeping away the representatives of capitalism and secure the return into local councils and into Parliament itself, not only of Communist Councillors, Communist M.P.s, but a majority of Labour Councillors and Members of Parliament, who undertake the fight to carry into life THE DEMANDS OF THE UNITED FRONT.

About Lancashire.

One final word on this section. That alongside with this goes our Party's preparations for a careful selection of candidates, the putting forward of those candidates whose return would mean an enormous strengthening of the forces of revolution in this country. In this connection, I have a by-election in mind, in which we gave a classic example of how not to run an election. The results were very poor. The Party centre asked for an explanation, and the explanation given was: "Our candidate was perhaps not the best type. He was dogmatic, sectarian and not very easy to get on with. He was not a member of a trade union and he did not believe in the united front." This is playing with the bread and butter of working men and women. The workers were right in rejecting such a candidate. The workers should not have given this man a single vote, whatever may have been the consequences to the local Communist Party. When we put a candidate forward, he is not only a fighter, but a fighter who knows what the policy of the Communist Party is. Not only that, but he is respected for his devotion to the working-class movement—for his ability to state the case, and for his ability to fight. And if we select our constituencies and candidates with that in mind, if we put forward organisers who are not afraid to make war on the comrades who say it is a propaganda fight—"what is the use of canvassing and addressing envelopes"—if we can find organisers who are prepared to make merciless war on our rotten methods in elections, they will receive the fullest support of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

A few words about Lancashire. Why did we hold our Party Congress in Lancashire? For two chief reasons: to give our Party in Lancashire a demonstration that the Communist Party considered Lancashire a key place where we have to grow and develop, and, secondly, in order to give the comrades help. The Party has a right to demand from the Lancashire comrades a change, and a big and fundamental change. No case-hardened Bolshevik could have been in the Free

Trade Hall last night without being moved by the magnificent demonstration. There are some important things about that demonstration. I know scores of comrades in this Congress who have never seen such a Communist Party demonstration, who realised one of their little dreams last night, and many delegates said they never were as proud of being in the Party as last night. But what was the importance of the demonstration? It takes place in one of the key districts of Britain where our Party is the weakest in Britain, and speeches were made to that audience last night on the lines that have been made in this Party Congress, and the points in those speeches which dealt with the fundamental questions of the revolution and the building of a mass Communist Party, were seized even more eagerly in that meeting than in this Congress.

What does it prove? It proves that we are lagging one hundred miles behind the Lancashire workers. Where is there another town in this country where 120 workers from North-East Lancashire would have chartered a special train to come into Manchester to attend a Communist demonstration to which workers would come from all over Lancashire? Is it beyond our capacity to organise these 120 in Lancashire for work now in the present situation? We refuse now to believe that it is.

Therefore we want to say one or two things to the comrades which we hope they will take in the spirit in which they are said.

The cotton industry is often stated to be the most technical and difficult to understand in the country. But there is one thing every cotton worker understands, and there is one thing every reader of the *Daily Worker* understands, that nowhere else in this country has such a drive gone on against the conditions of the working men and women as there has gone on in Lancashire. Now, at the present time, can we be satisfied in this Congress with the campaign that our Party is waging against the new cotton agreement, because from all possible signs we are doing nothing? It may be that we are, but if we were we would have heard about it in the Congress discussions. Here is a new agreement that is known to every employer in the weaving industry in Lancashire; that is known to every trade union leader in Lancashire; there is not a weaver at the looms who knows what this agreement is. The greatest secrecy surrounds it. That means that the basis is being prepared for putting it over. Therefore, comrades, we have to carry out an immediate campaign. Our Party in the weaving centres has somehow or other, by one way or another, got to reach the workers in these mills, got to point out the secrecy, got to

point out that in two weeks, Naesmith is going to report to the Amalgamation and get the Amalgamation to agree as the employers have already agreed. The mass pressure that our Party created some time ago resulted in a coming together of militant weavers in Lancashire, and later the Weavers' Committees of Nelson, Barnoldswick, Skipton and Colne. But there is a danger of these four particular Weavers' Committees only conducting a struggle on behalf of the higher-paid section of the weavers, without regard to the interests of the lower-paid section. And, therefore, every ounce of influence that we have in these four weaving centres should now be exerted to get these four Weavers' Committees out into the other areas of Lancashire, giving the lead for united action and showing that they are not fighting to defend merely Skipton, Colne, Barnoldswick and Nelson, but to defend the conditions of the whole of the weavers.

A deputation of these four Left Committees is going to London to see Parliament, but we have also got to point out that once before a deputation went and that is as far as it got, and because they never carried the struggle a stitch further, the More Loom Agreement came into action, and a continual worsening of conditions has taken place.

Organise the Ferment Developing In Lancashire.

Let us press for deputations to the weaving offices, elect deputations from the mills, demanding the legislation of an agreement which embodies the uniform price list, the Colne coloured list and the enforcement of the payment of the fall-back wage which exists in the present More Loom Agreement. Let us organise mass deputations, not only to the weaving offices, but let us seriously see that when this meeting of the Weavers' Amalgamation takes place a great mass deputation of weavers, elected in the mills and weavers' meetings, are present to express their complete opposition to the proposed new agreement. We have got to do it. We have got to put that issue.

Comrades, we must at once organise an aggregate of every Party member in the weaving industry. Every point about the agreement appearing in the press must be explained. We must demand meetings at the mills. We must demand requisition meetings in every centre in N.E. Lancashire on this question. We must ask, Why this secrecy? What do you know about the agreement which is going to apply to the industry? In Barnoldswick, Nelson, Colne and Skipton we must wage a campaign now, so that they will take the initiative in getting out to the other lower-paid areas as a demonstration of solidarity. Can such a line be carried through? We believe it can. You cannot expect this ferment which is going to grow in

Lancashire on the question of the agreement to be separated from the ferment already in existence against Part II. of the Unemployment Act. Comrades, an entirely new situation has arisen. As a result of Part II. every worker is beginning to develop an entirely new outlook, is beginning to say: "What about our having a go?"

How did the mass movement start in Wales? It hasn't suddenly developed where thousands of women march into Merthyr. It started from the question being put in one or two small Communist meetings, in one or two miners' lodges. They responded, and so the movement grew and grew. It may be that one well-prepared and organised meeting in Nelson or Burnley may be the spark which will set Lancashire ablaze against this new agreement. We must look at it with a real full sense of responsibility.

The comrade who has spoken in the discussion on this resolution can provide us with some splendid examples of what can be done by steady, patient work in the mill. He is a comrade who has learnt very fast. A few years ago he was a comrade who was deeply bitten with sectarianism of the worst possible kind. He is a comrade who has learnt in struggle. He has done magnificent work. We ask that comrade to go from this Congress with our message and our demands, and we have the fullest confidence in him and those who are with him that what the comrades have done in Rhondda we can do in North-East Lancashire.

Isn't it a serious and disquieting statement which we have heard from this platform that the only place where Mosley is attempting to make a solid basis is Lancashire? And what an insult to every tradition this county stands for! Don't make Mosley into a bogey! Don't let Mosley become a little excuse for not effectively mobilising the masses against Mosley. It is not coincidence that he is more active here at this moment than anywhere else. He is active here in Lancashire precisely because of the character of the new agreement that the trade unions and employers are attempting to get over. His line confuses the workers at this particular time—his is propaganda against the class struggle, strikes, etc. It is our job, simply and patiently, to explain all the things that fascism stands for, and the significance of his propaganda in Lancashire now. In this way we shall be able to turn the anger of the workers against him, to rally the builders, spinners, card-room operatives, engineers into the struggle of which the weavers are the present focal point.

Against the New Slave Agreement.

When 120,000 weavers have had their wages cut, when they have been compelled to operate under

harsher and harsher schemes of rationalisation, it has not been long before the spinners, card-room operatives, builders and engineers and the rest of the working class of Lancashire have to follow suit. Therefore, let us make a big drive into the Trades Councils. Let us demand that the Manchester and Salford Trades Council become active in regard to the struggle in North-East Lancashire. Let us demand that the Lancashire and Cheshire Trades Councils become active in regard to the struggle in North-East Lancashire. Let us demand that the Lancashire and Cheshire Trades Council Federation takes it up, let us put it on the agenda: Here is a new slave agreement, we are here, delegates from working-class organisations, what are we going to do to stand by the weavers? Maybe we won't pull it off, but the fact that our Party puts forward these proposals, popularises and explains them, will make the weavers know and understand that there was one political Party, one working-class organisation, which had a line and a policy and did all in its power to help them to get victory, and that in itself will be a beginning.

Just as in South Wales there is need for independent Party meetings, so there is need for them in Lancashire. Especially just now. And so there is a need in Lancashire for a campaign for the *Daily Worker*. You cannot reach with your limited forces every mill in Nelson, every mill in Burnley, but I say there is no reason why we cannot reach every mill with one copy of the *Daily Worker* this week, and two next week, and if you will now send in material, your county is going to be the cockpit of the struggle, and we can guarantee the *Daily Worker* will feature it, and will help you with all the full force and authority of the Party.

Also, Lancashire comrades, where are we in the Part II. fight? Where is the N.U.W.M. in Lancashire? With the highest percentage of unemployed in the country; the highest percentage of the longest unemployed in the country, we have very little activity. If we cannot build now, we can never build. All this propaganda in the press, that the researches of the Preston County Council have revealed that Lancashire will not be as hard hit as any other part of the country, is the same sort of stuff that is being put forward in other parts of the country. Lancashire will be as hard hit by Part II. as any other part of the country, and we can mobilise the same mass struggle. One final word after last night's demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, to get out of the idea that you are some small sect. You had a demonstration which other comrades would have given their right hands to have staged, the comrades in London and Scotland and elsewhere would have given their right hands to have organised a demonstration that could call to the Manchester Free

Trade Hall on such a night as last night, over three and a half thousand workers; when the Party that could sell £50 worth of tickets to workers to hear the Communist Party message, and raise a collection of £86 10s., and recruit over 100 workers for the Party, is a Party that ought to be on the map.

Work Among Women.

Just one or two other questions. Is there one of us who listened to the reading out of the telegram from Merthyr to-day without a feeling of shame that our Party has done very little amongst the working women? And, comrades, it was a demonstration that the Party did not deserve. The lack of women delegates here, the difficulty of finding women comrades for leading work, is out of all proportion to the objective situation that we are facing. And we make a special plea that when we now go forward to explain the united front proposals and demands of our Party that we shall in every local and district of this country give special attention to formulating ways and means whereby we can draw working women into this activity; that when we campaign for safety in the mines, who is more affected by it than the miners' wives; or for wage increases, who are more interested than the women who are looking forward to getting the increases? When we look at Birmingham, Spondon (outside Derby), the I.C.I. at Billingham, when we note some of the new industries growing up in the South of England, and those tens of thousands of girls and women working in industries which to-day produce artificial silk stockings, and to-morrow high explosives, this is a challenge for us for organising more effective work among the working women and housewives than ever before.

This women's demonstration in Merthyr to-day should be an inspiration to everyone of us that we get similar demonstrations everywhere. The idea that women are the weaker sex, that they cannot fight well! We have got a lot of telegrams from South Wales about mass demonstrations, about 100,000, 60,000, 40,000, but the only news that has come through where a deputation has vented its wrath and hostility amongst those with whom it came into conflict was that demonstration organised by the women.

The "Daily Worker."

In the discussion, comrades, very few have referred to the *Daily Worker*. I know comrades meant to have mentioned it. I know comrades would have mentioned it if they had spoken for hours, as I am allowed to speak. At the same time, comrades, the fact remains that it has not

been mentioned, and the political reason why it has not been mentioned is that we take it too cheaply. And just as the telegram from Merthyr had a certain effect, I say that the challenge of to-day's *Daily Worker*, produced under the conditions that we have to work under, is a splendid issue which should fill everyone in this Congress with a revolutionary pride that such a paper can now give the lead of this Congress of the Party to tens of thousands of workers all over the country.

I am not going to say anything in addition to the suggestions made in the opening report about the necessity of developing the circulation. We appreciate more than words can express the services some comrades render to our paper. There has never been a story like it in the history of working-class journalism. Those comrades who to-morrow will be on Bilston station at 3.30 a.m., the comrades who will be waiting on stations in South Wales and in Scotland, picking up the paper to be distributed to the newsagents, and when it does not come because we have missed the trains, quite correctly curse us. We do not miss the trains because we want to do so, and we give you an assurance that every time we miss the train, then the comrades responsible feel like taking a day off because they know what is going to happen to them.

We have gone through the month of January, and we never thought that we could do it, and day to day we never thought we could get the paper off the machines. We had to buy a new rotary that has been a job to get into working order. The electric fuse was blown out at the critical moment, the casting moulding machinery did not work properly. We have been working under terrible conditions, but we have not been doing half enough to justify the trust which countless men and women place in our paper. It has been a difficult time for all connected with the production of the *Daily Worker*, but a paper that can raise £28,900 in five years from working men and women has got something to live up to to justify that trust.

We have a job to widen its circulation—give us 6,000 a day more and we will give you an eight-page paper every day—that is the proposition, give us 20,000 a day more and we will give you a Sunday edition, and that is what is wanted as much as we want anything.

Comrades, we must see when we give the report of the Congress to our areas that we give a big place to the *Daily Worker*. We must see that the newsagents show posters. This is only a small thing, but the comrades in London were able to increase the sale of the *Daily Worker* by means of getting newsagents to display a poster of the paper. Tell us a newsagent who will display a poster, and we will send him the finest poster

stand he has ever seen in his life, and he will not want to cover it up with the *Daily Despatch*, but he will be proud to show the poster, and it will get increases in his circulation.

Finance.

Now just one or two words about the question of finance. Let us try and get in the habit that when we plan a campaign we also plan how we are going to raise the money to carry it through. I am a funny sort of fellow, I do not like the names of our locals stinking in the nostrils of the business men of each town. I do not like to see letters coming into our Central Office from printers who have been defrauded by people who object to being defrauded themselves. This is no bourgeois morality. I know some districts where you cannot go to any printer because you have done everyone of them down, because sooner or later it puts you up against the wall, and we get into these messes because we do not plan ways and means of raising the money. If we plan the ways and means the workers will help us to find it.

How many of the locals have a hall worth calling by the name? Our little local in Nantyglo in South Wales, the most depressed and derelict village in South Wales, our little Communist local, put the point to the miners and their wives: "We cannot get a hall, everywhere is barred to us. With your help we will build one," and these men and women gave £90 in order to help build a hall, and we have got a hall, and it is one of the nicest and cleanest little halls that can be found in this country.

Comrades, if these comrades can do it, well, we can do it in other parts of the country. We make a special appeal that this question of the raising of money shall really be tackled.

And also, comrades, we must put comrades in charge who know what money is. And if a shilling goes down on one side of the sheet, it has got to be accounted for. Because if there is laxity in financial matters, there is laxity in political matters as well.

Every member a dues paying member—that is a good slogan; and every district paying for its dues to the Party Centre—this is another slogan.

Within recent years a healthier attitude has developed. We need a still more healthier one, and if we get that we will get a healthier attitude on all questions.

To Popularise the Party's Programme of Soviet Power.

Finally, the whole success of carrying out our Congress decisions now depends upon the following factors: (1) the mobilisation of every unit and member to make the drive for the united front;

(2) the popularisation of our Party's programme of Soviet power. And I wish to recall Comrade Grady's (Wigan) speech about the need for local programmes showing what Soviet power would do, and only regret that I do not have one to show you.

The little local of Ashton-under-Lyne produced last summer a little penny pamphlet, *What Soviet power can do in Ashton-under-Lyne*. It is a magnificent contribution to endeavour to win the Ashton workers for Communism. It correctly relates Soviet power to the specific conditions in Ashton. But now that the Congress discussion and amendments have strengthened our present draft, here is our answer to the capitalists and reformists alike, here is where the Communists have a plan to solve unemployment, to give new hope to the derelict areas, to show how a new workers' Britain can be built, and the popularisation of the line contained in the draft, together with the drive for the united front go together, and will lead to the building up of the Party.

Further, comrades, the Central Committee will have to give far more attention to the whole question of Party education and Party training. We are going to make a new experiment in the setting up of a National School, where, for a short time, we can take a number of comrades from various parts of the country and try to equip them in a better manner than their facilities afford, for carrying on their work. We want more professional revolutionaries in our Party.

And the fourth question is the question that has been hammered in the last discussion, the question of recruiting for our Party, not as an afterthought. The Second Congress of the C.I. stated:

"The aim of all Party work, the fundamental basis of all the organising work of the Party, must be the creation of Communist groups."

This is our task: how we recruit out of the daily activity, out of the personal contact, out of the workers we have known for years, how we spread the Party literature, how we give arguments and facts to try to bring them into the Party; and if we make this test of the Party work then we will soon see a tremendous change.

The Problem of Organisation.

And the last point is attention to the organisational problem. We need to end the tendency in our Party to despise comrades who are only thought to have organisational approach and an organisational line, because everything depends upon the correct organisation to give life and meaning to the political line. And I close in quoting an important section of Comrade Stalin's report at the last Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a quotation of Comrade Lenin on the same point. I believe we can make no better ending than this:

"Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given; after the correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organised, on the organisation of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selecting of workers, on supervising the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solution are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organisational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure."

What does this mean? It means that from now on more than nine-tenths of the responsibility for the failure and defects in our work rest not on objective conditions, but on ourselves and on ourselves alone. And Comrade Lenin said:

"The main thing in organisational work is the selection of people and the supervision of the fulfilment of decisions."

If it was necessary in 1934 for Comrade Stalin in the Soviet Union, where the revolution is accomplished, where they have already done miracles in socialist construction, to tell the C.P. of the Soviet Union that everything depends upon organisational preparations, how much more necessary for our Party, where the revolution is not yet on the order of the day? And therefore, comrades, bearing this point in mind, acting upon this, our Congress discussion and resolutions are now our guides to go into action with a clear line and a clear aim, the mass united fighting front, a mass Communist Party and mass circulation of the *Daily Worker*, and the successful carrying through of the workers' revolution.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE MURDER OF KIROV - - Id.

PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL T.U. MOVEMENT - Id.

**THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY
O. Piatnitsky 144 pages Is.**

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT (PART I)

By THOREZ.

THE fundamental point to be noted in the present situation in France is the extension of the united front of the working class against fascism, and the robber policy of the "National Unity" government which is preparing to establish a fascist dictatorship.

It must be recognised as a merit of the Communist Party of France—and the Party takes pride in this—that it has been able, under the leadership of the Comintern and by long and insistent efforts, to bring about, develop and consolidate a broad united front against fascism.

The Party threw all its forces on this sector of the struggle, and beginning with 1932, it achieved great success, primarily in the wide Amsterdam-Pleyel movement.*

Immediately after the fascist offensive on February 6th, 1934, the Party made repeated appeals to the socialist workers and the Socialist Party organisations, and by itself organised and carried out the big demonstration of February 9th. This represented the rapid and determined repulse given by the proletariat of Paris, led by the Communist Party, to the fascist gangs. This demonstration served as a prelude, a signal and preparation for the general strike of February 12th in which 4 million workers took action against fascism. During the succeeding months the Party succeeded in organising hundreds of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations which on each occasion attracted an ever-increasing number of socialist workers.

By its united front policy the Communist Party was able to bring influence to bear on the socialist workers and to attract them to its side. It succeeded in obtaining the agreement of a number of sections and federations of the Socialist Party to participate in the conduct of joint action. Such was the demonstration of July 8th in Vincennes, when the Communist Party along with the Socialist Federation of the Seine succeeded in mobilising 100,000 Paris proletarians against a demonstration of 18,000 members of the "Fiery Cross" organisation (fascists), and this at the time when the leaders of the Socialist Party had rejected our proposal to organise a joint struggle against German fascism and in defence of Comrade Thaelmann.

The Communist Party succeeded, in July, 1934, in bringing about the conclusion of a pact with the Socialist Party for joint struggle against fascism and

war by operating such a united front policy of action.

* * *

WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THIS PACT? IN OTHER WORDS, WHAT HAS THIS AGREEMENT GIVEN THE WORKING CLASS?

FIRSTLY, THE AGREEMENT HAS SLOWED DOWN THE GROWTH OF THE FASCIST ELEMENTS. THE UNITED FRONT HAS STRENGTHENED THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS. The future will show, but even now note can be taken of the effectiveness of the resistance offered to all the efforts made by fascism in France, and this has aroused an echo not only in France, but it may be stated in all the world. TO A CERTAIN DEGREE, THIS CHANGES THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND FASCISM IN FAVOUR OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Beginning with February 9th, 1934, we undertook a wide campaign against the Doumergue-Tardieu government and brought about the resignation of Doumergue.

The Doumergue government was a government which arose as a result of the fascist offensive on February 6th. It carried on a severe policy towards the toiling masses, and based itself more openly on the fascist gangs. In this sense, however, the Flandin government gives rise to no less apprehension, the more so as it stresses its desire to continue the same "national policy," merely conducting it by more flexible methods. This necessity of resorting to more "flexible methods" so as to carry out the national unity policy shows how strong was the resistance offered by the working class and the toiling masses.

Never have demonstrations taken place in France like those which we are organising at the present time in France, and in the provincial working class centres or in the villages.

As for the cantonal elections, the Communist Party has obtained definite successes here. We have trebled the number of our seats in the General Council, increasing them from 10 to 30. We have won new seats in approximately the same proportion in the regional councils. We greatly increased the number of votes given for our candidates in industrial centres and in the villages.

We must, of course, still further subject our work to critical analysis.

We have not been successful everywhere and to an equal extent. We have achieved success in those places where the Party has displayed great activity

* An anti-war and anti-fascist movement. The name arises from the Amsterdam anti-war Congress and anti-fascist Congress at Pleyel.

on the basis of a struggle for immediate demands, and where extensive actions were carried out in favour of unity of action while, on the contrary, we have marked time in those places where sectarian tendencies continue to be observed.

In any case, the success of the Communist Party in the cantonal elections shows that the path is a correct one, and that more can be achieved. This requires that we must exert our efforts still more and must do so in all spheres. We must clearly understand that while we have been successful and the forces of the working class have grown stronger owing to unity of action, the reactionary parties favourable to fascism have also achieved noticeable success.

On the whole, the Socialist Party has maintained its positions with great difficulty. The Radical Party has, in actual fact, lost far more votes than the statistics show, while the reactionary parties that are close to fascism have obtained important successes.

A struggle has begun between the fascists and us, revolutionary proletarians, to win the middle classes. The successes of our Party at the cantonal elections as well, show that the path we have taken is a correct one and that still more can be achieved. The political situation and the class struggle are bound to grow more intense in the near future. We are approaching these battles in a situation where the forces of the working class have grown stronger owing to the united front. And this is the foremost and most outstanding achievement of the policy of our Party.

The Movement for Trade Union Unity.

Secondly, the pact, which has made easier the rapprochement between the socialist and Communist workers, with a view to struggle, has GIVEN A NEW SCOPE TO THE MOVEMENT FOR TRADE UNION UNITY IN SPITE OF THE HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF THE REACTIONARY LEADERS OF THE C.G.T. (reformist trade unions.—Ed.) TO THIS MATTER. A large number of united trade unions has been formed on the basis of the joint struggle of the workers—Communists and socialists. The united front has encouraged the working class to form united trade unions. The pact has caused many socialist workers in the trade unions and even at the Congress of Unions of the C.G.T. to support the thesis that the unity of the trade union movement should be brought about by amalgamating the trade union organisations from top to bottom. When such unity takes place in practice, a large number of previously unorganised workers join a trade union. For example, 200 men are employed in the railroad shops at Vitry, of whom 50 were members of the Unitary (revolutionary.—Ed.) trade union and 12 were members of the C.G.T., the remainder being unorganised. The members of the Unitary trade

union appealed to the members of the C.G.T. to join the united trade union front, and immediately 112 unorganised workers also expressed a desire to join the united trade union, i.e., almost all the workers in the railway shops are now in the united trade union.

In spite of the recent refusal of the C.G.T. to amalgamate, the number of united trade unions is continually growing and has now reached 275.

In the same way the movement for trade union unity is growing among the members of the other trade unions. Amalgamations of railway workers have been organised on the various railways—one in the south, another on the Paris-Orleans line, while on December 16th a united trade union Amalgamation will be formed on the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean line, the busiest railway system in France. In other words we are approaching closer to a united federation of railwaymen in France.

In the same way amalgamations have been brought about in the Counties (Departments). We will give one example from Iser. Two administrative commissions of two county trade union amalgamations joined together. They set up a single bureau and carried on joint agitational and preparatory campaigns throughout the whole Department, in all the sections of Grenoble. This shows how strong are the strivings of the working masses towards trade union unity.

In spite of all the efforts of the Communists, and especially of those who are at the head of the Unitary trade unions thanks to the confidence of the workers in them, they have not succeeded in bringing about the restoration of the unity of the trade unions.

The reactionary trade union leaders of the C.G.T. have succeeded once more in bringing about the rejection of these proposals by their Central Executive Committees. The leaders of the C.G.T. trade unions do not want unity for the struggle against the employers and against fascism.

But the question of trade union unity could not be decided by negative resolutions and even by the unanimous votes of the Central Committee of the C.G.T. Discontent is growing and the movement for trade union unity is taking on a new scope.

The most important fact since the last plenum of the C.C. of the General Confederation of Labour is the acceptance of the proposal for unity of action by the C.G.T. railwaymen's trade union. This proposal was again made by the unitary railwaymen's Trade Union organisation only a few days after a fresh refusal by the C.G.T. which is up in arms against unity of action, and opposes it by advancing the thesis that the Unitary Trade Unions should be liquidated as a preliminary.

The example of the railwaymen confirms the possibility of bringing about the unity of the trade

union movement. ALL THAT IS NECESSARY IS THAT A MORE ATTENTIVE ATTITUDE SHOULD BE ADOPTED TO THE DEFENCE OF THE DIRECT DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES, TO THE ORGANISATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EMERGENCY DECREES AND TO THE PREPARATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC STRUGGLES AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE, WHICH IS THE ONLY GENUINE ROAD TO CLASS TRADE UNION UNITY. We should not harbour any illusions as to the possibility of trade union unity being achieved without a stubborn and insistent struggle against the reactionary leaders of the C.G.T. who are hostile to the united front of struggle against fascism, war and the capitalist offensive. Such illusions only facilitate the splitting manoeuvres of some of the leaders of the C.G.T. unions.

THIRDLY, THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED FRONT, AND OF THE AGREEMENT ACHIEVED *regarding joint* ACTION AGAINST FASCISM, THE WAR DANGER *and the* EMERGENCY DECREES RENDER IT DIFFICULT FOR FASCISM TO FORM A MASS BASIS.

We have achieved success in the WAR VETERANS movement which, in the past, was entirely under the leadership of reactionary and fascist elements. Whereas on February 6th some of the veterans demonstrated on the side of the "Fiery Cross" and the "Royalist Youth," side by side with the fascist organisations and under reactionary leadership, we have been able, since July 8th, the date of the national War Veterans' conference (which was a victory for the reactionary and fascist tendencies) to call forth such resistance and create such opposition among the ex-servicemen who are workers, peasants and toilers, that the reactionary leaders were forced to retreat. And on November 11th for the first time we succeeded in organising a mass demonstration of ex-servicemen to the Place de la Nation, while the reactionary sections of the ex-servicemen together with the fascist youth associations organised the traditional march to the Arc de Triomphe and took advantage of this to demand the return of the Doumergue Government which had only just resigned. Four days later, the chairman of the Council of Ministers was forced to admit from the parliamentary tribune that the Communists had succeeded in organising a mass demonstration of war veterans. In this connection, I wish to say that 28 of the so-called Left ex-servicemen's associations took part in this march, carrying posters with the following words: "We demand the maintenance of our rights and we wish to fight along with the communists for the pact against war." For the first time ex-servicemen took part in a demonstration organised on a decision of our C.C. They all wore their medals, crosses and military orders. The demonstration was cheered by the masses of people of Paris along the whole route from St. Antoine—the old revolutionary

district of Paris—across the Bastille square to the Place de la Nation.

Work Among the Petty Bourgeoisie.

The ex-servicemen's movement led by our Party is a big movement representing a considerable force in the anti-fascist struggle.

The Communist Party has also obtained some successes among the masses of peasants in France. Hitherto, the reactionary elements of the Agrarian Party have not been able to form a united reactionary peasant front. On November 28th they organised a demonstration in Paris, in which, according to their calculations, tens of thousands of peasants should have participated. However, not more than four to five thousand were present. The reactionary sections of the peasantry were thus unable to form an agrarian bloc. We however have been able to extend our influence over the peasant masses, to take the first steps in bringing about the united front in the peasant movement between the Federation of Toiling Peasants (an organisation under Communist influence) and the National Federation of Peasants (an organisation under the influence of the socialists), which concluded their first agreement regarding joint struggle two weeks ago.

The taxpayers' Federation which organises certain Sections of the urban middle class and petty bourgeoisie is collapsing. In reality, it has already fallen to pieces. The SMALL TRADERS are protesting against its fascist leaders who organised a demonstration in which they took part a year or eighteen months ago, and forced them to shout: "Down with the crooks!" "We demand fiscal reform!" They are protesting against their leaders who compelled parliament to carry through fiscal reform which reduced the taxes to be paid by the big merchants and capitalists and increased the taxes on the small shopkeepers, and the taxes on necessities of life which are used by the workers and peasants.

In the recent period a certain polarisation has taken place among the INTELLECTUALS as well, considerable numbers of whom are gravitating towards Communism. A committee of anti-fascist intellectuals has been formed, uniting 5,000 writers, professors and scientists, and including the best known writers in France. The anti-fascist front has gathered together quite a number of the most famous names in the scientific world, people who have openly stated their desire to fight on the side of the revolutionary workers, the Communist workers, against all fascist attacks.

Still more symptomatic is the intensification of the rivalry and conflicts between the fascist associations themselves. In France there are at least half a dozen fascist leagues of various kinds such as the "Royalist Youth," "Patriotic Youth," "Fiery Cross,"

“French Solidarity,” “Francists,” etc. At the present time discord and quarrels reign supreme in these organisations. And there is no central organisation to stand out against all these fascist leagues, and be above all these squabbles and disputes, although there is a tendency towards the unification of all the fascist leagues.

All these successes of ours in the struggle for the petty bourgeois strata of the population, and for the leadership of the proletariat, and the movement of the broad toiling masses have been achieved on the basis of the struggle on two fronts, both against Right opportunism and against sectarianism.

The last conference of the C.P. of France placed great emphasis on the demands of the non-proletarian social strata, on the needs of the middle classes. We shall return to these demands and shall speak in greater detail about them when we deal with the programme of the people’s anti-fascist front.

All the facts quoted above enable us to state that we have made a good beginning in carrying out the decisions of the National Party Conference regarding the demands of the middle classes. Very much space in the manifesto issued by the Party on this matter was devoted to these demands. All our materials, posters and leaflets set out with the greatest force and clarity, and in an original and attractive form, the question of the immediate demands of the toiling masses. For this reason the response was a big one. A powerful polemic was raised against us in the press. Expressing pretended surprise regarding our sudden liking for the “small traders,” “small peasants,” and “small handicraftsmen,” they accuse us of demagoguery. We have replied to this by advancing the financial programme of our Party, in a speech in defence of the “average Frenchman.” After this M. Doumergue made a speech in which he was forced to carry on a polemic against our programme for the progressive taxation of the big capitalists and the supplementary taxation of incomes above 50,000 francs. At that time we published our “reply to Doumergue” which met with unparalleled success, because it reacted in a most convincing form to all the questions raised by the toilers and the middle classes.

Other United Front Successes.

Fourthly, the operation of the united front, the conduct of the joint struggle of the workers—socialists and Communists—has not only hindered fascism in providing itself with a mass basis, has not only assisted the movement to establish a united trade union movement, but has also called forth STRIVINGS TOWARDS UNITY IN THE OTHER MASS ORGANISATIONS OF THE TOILERS. Here we must note our successes among the sportsmen. We have succeeded in organising a UNITED WORKERS’ SPORTS

FEDERATION in France. Our influence now also extends to a workers’ sports organisation with 300,000 members, the Republican Sports Organisation, in which there are bourgeois sports clubs as well. We have already raised the question, which is not without prospects of success, of establishing international unity among worker sportsmen.

In the same way we see success in our work among WOMEN, work hitherto carried on very badly. The first big successes of the Party and the Communist women in respect to work among women were demonstrated by the world Women’s Anti-Fascist Congress held on August 6th, 1934. There is now in France a National Women’s Committee against War and Fascism which covers 600 committees, of which there are 75 in Paris alone.

Fifthly, and lastly, the united front and the agreement reached between the Socialist and Communist Parties have CONSIDERABLY INCREASED THE INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND HAVE RAISED ITS AUTHORITY.

OUR PARTY HAS BECOME A FACTOR WHICH HAS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF FRANCE. The pact has considerably increased the prestige and authority of our Communist Party, in spite of the efforts made by the enemies of the united front—the Trotskyites and the liquidator Doriot, who have tried to discredit us by speaking of the “changes” and “turn” we have made, dictated allegedly by the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. But they have not succeeded in covering up the fact that our Communist Party is the body which has initiated and inspired unity of action, and fights for and organises the united front struggle of the working class, against fascism, war and the capitalist offensive. And all this in spite of the efforts of the socialists, Trotskyites and the renegade Doriot to discredit our Party by stating that the united front is merely a manoeuvre on our part, and that we are merely submitting to orders from Moscow! They said that the united front is one of the elements of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government.

All these efforts, however, have not succeeded in obscuring the clear realisation in the minds of the masses that our Party is the initiator and organiser of the unity of action of the working class.

The extent to which the influence and authority of the Party have grown is shown by the polemic with Doumergue and by the Cantonal elections. We have already spoken of the polemic with Doumergue in a different connection.

Although the results of the cantonal elections were different in various places—in some districts we gained nothing, in some we even lost ground, and this was always connected with the policy conducted by the various Party organisations—NEVERTHELESS ON THE WHOLE THEY SHOW CONSIDERABLE SUCCESSES

FOR OUR PARTY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF OUR DEPUTIES AND A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF VOTES OBTAINED.

The growth of the influence of our Party is also shown by the increase in the circulation of "L'Humanite," which has now risen to 200,000 daily.

Thus, by applying the tactics of the united front the C.P. of France has increased the fighting capacity of the working class, who have successfully repelled the first attacks of fascism. Our Party has strengthened the confidence of the working class in its own power, has strengthened its influence over the masses, increased its membership and helped to increase the membership of the Y.C.L. It has brought about a rise in the political level of its cadres, increased the urge of the working class towards trade union unity, helped the Communist workers to find the correct approach to the socialist workers, assisted the development of the struggle for the united front on the international arena, and deepened the crisis and the contradictions in the Second International.

* * *

Such are our successes in regard to the united front. However, we must not close our eyes to the fact THAT THE C.P. OF FRANCE HAS NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN DEVELOPING STRIKE STRUGGLES AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE ON THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PROLETARIAT; WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO OVERCOME THE RESISTANCE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND REFORMIST C.G.T. TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY. It will only be possible to overcome this resistance if THE PARTY CARRIES ON A STUBBORN STRUGGLE FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED FRONT BY DRAWING THE TOILERS INTO IT, BY INCREASING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY THEREIN AND BY SETTING UP RANK AND FILE UNITED FRONT BODIES IN TOWN AND COUNTRY. IN THIS CONNECTION THE MAIN TASK FACING THE C.P. OF FRANCE IN CARRYING OUT THE TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT IS TO GET THE TOILERS TO GIVE UP THE ATTITUDE OF DEFENCE AND TO UNDERTAKE A WIDE OFFENSIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS, TO UNLEASH THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES FOR THE TRANSFER OF THE BURDEN OF THE CRISIS TO THE BIG CAPITALISTS WITH THE PROSPECT OF DEVELOPING AND WIDENING THIS STRUGGLE AND CONVERTING IT INTO DECISIVE STRUGGLES FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

If this task is to be successfully fulfilled the following gross mistakes and weaknesses must be eliminated in the work of the C.P. of France in carrying out its united front tactics.

Mistakes and Weaknesses in the Operation of the United Front.

FIRSTLY. While taking as our starting point the sound consideration that the socialists must not be given any grounds for breaking the pact—nevertheless in a number of cases we have gone further in refraining from criticism than was provided for in the pact, in some cases being more accommodating to the Socialist Party than was necessary, and have not exposed the disloyalty of certain leaders of the Socialists to the Pact with a view to strengthening our Communist influence among the masses and, consequently, to strengthening the united front activity. As a result of this we did not criticise the resolution of the Socialist Party, which announced its readiness to participate in the ministry after the fall of the Doumergue government. We have also not utilised the political refusal of the Socialist Parties—the so-called "minority" of the Second International which were for the united front with the Communists—to hold a joint conference with the Communists on the question of the defence of the Spanish revolution.

An example of an attitude of accommodation towards the reformists is provided by the decision of the C.G.T.U. leaders in connection with the unity of the railway workers, where the Red trade unions, although in the majority, accepted the principle of equal representation, whereas proportional representation has so far been used in other united unions, where the supporters of the C.G.T.U. were in the minority.

Such mistakes were also made in the provinces, although they were of less significance. For example, our comrades in the North were not prepared to make use of the speakers from the centre at joint meetings with the socialists, with the result that comrades but little experienced in politics had to face up to smart politicians; finally, when a proposal was made to reduce the sale of Party literature, our comrades—although they finally rejected this proposal—at first almost agreed to it. Mistakes were also made in Alsace where, under the pressure of social-democracy, there was a tendency among our comrades to slacken the struggle for the self-determination of the population of Alsace.

SECONDLY. While setting itself the correct task of drawing up a programme of urgent demands for the "people's front" which could rally the broadest strata of the toiling masses, the C.P. of France omitted to advance such popular demands among the masses as social insurance at the expense of the employers and the state, a special tax on the profits of the big capitalists, and the progressive taxation of the capitalists, and so considerably lowered the revolutionary content of the programme.

(To be continued.)

NEW FABRICATIONS BY THE ENEMIES OF THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By A. LOSOVSKY.

THE appeal made by the Executive Bureau of the Profintern to the Congress of the Norwegian trade unions has called forth the dissatisfaction and wrath of the orthodox Amsterdamites and other enemies of the united front and the unity of the trade union movement. Since it is difficult to appear before the workers and prove to them that the unity of the trade union movement is a harmful thing, all kinds of fantastic inventions are set going, facts are distorted and documents falsified. In this connection all records have been beaten by the Swedish reformist trade union newspapers which have printed an article written by a certain "participant at an extraordinary conference of the Profintern" which allegedly took place in Moscow in September, 1934.

From the outset I must upset the Amsterdamites by stating that no conference of the Profintern, either ordinary or extraordinary, was held in Moscow in September, 1934. Hence it is not clear where this participant at this alleged conference has come from. The Swedish reformists have performed a trick usual to bourgeois newspapers, that is, they gave one of their employees the task of writing an article, baptised this person a "participant at the Moscow conference" and published a whole collection of thin and rotten inventions made by this "eye-witness" in the press. The international reformist press, including the "Berner Tagwacht," seized hold of these inventions, in which the wish is put forward as the reality.

Well, what did this "eye-witness" learn and what did he hear? He learned at the conference which never took place that "the policy of the Profintern, the Red Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition has turned out to be bankrupt in all countries," that "the Red Trade Unions and the Red Trade Union Opposition are being disbanded," and that "as far back as the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the hopeless collapse of the Red Trade Unions was placed on record," etc. The "eye-witness" concludes these inventions of his by arguments about "the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the Red International of Trade Unions in those countries where fascism has succeeded in coming to power."

This "participant at the Moscow Conference" declares that "neither in Germany nor in Austria has it been possible to re-establish a single free trade union," that "the Profintern has taken careful measures not to allow a single social-democrat to

be admitted to the leadership of the independent class trade unions," that "the Profintern is dragging at the tail of events" and that "disruptive work is being carried on in the free trade unions, on the instructions of the Profintern," etc.

It might have been possible to leave matters there, for the reformist press has repeated this sort of thing dozens of times, and there is nothing new in these arguments, were it not for the conclusions drawn from this article, conclusions in actual fact, to obtain which this extraordinary conference and the "eye-witness" himself were invented:

"The unification between the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. (the reformist trade union federation and the revolutionary trade union federation, Ed.) which has been achieved in France (this unification is far from having been achieved, A.L.), the unification of the Amsterdam and Red Trade Unions was the first step on the road to the re-establishment of a united trade union international.

"The next weeks and months will show how seriously the Communists regard the establishment of trade union unity, and WHETHER THEY ARE PREPARED TO DISBAND THE RED TRADE UNION OPPOSITION GROUPS AND THE RED TRADE UNIONS WHICH STILL EXIST IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AND THEREBY ALSO LIQUIDATE THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF TRADE UNIONS." (My emphasis, A.L.).

Herein lies the whole point of this article. The Swedish "eye-witness" repeats in his own way all that the General Council of the Amsterdam International stated at Weymouth, namely, that all the revolutionary trade unions, including the Profintern, must be disbanded if the unity of the trade union movement is to be brought about.

Trade Union Unity Experiences in France.

It only requires a little thought as regards the idea behind and the consequence of this proposal to understand the whole anti-working class essence of such "methods" of re-establishing the split trade union movement. Actually let us look at the position which has now arisen in France. The revolutionary trade unions propose unity from top to bottom. Certain trade unions, affiliated to the reformist General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) are also declaring in favour of unity. The leaders of the C.G.T. and the leaders of the biggest reformist trade union federations (railwaymen, miners, textile workers) are declaring against it. On this basis a very serious struggle is going on within the reformist Confederation of Labour. The struggle is becoming all the sharper in so far as a number of local and even regional and national unions are declaring seriously for the establishment of unity not by liquidating the Red Trade Unions, but by fusing the corresponding

parallel unions (of the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U.—Ed.) on the basis of trade union democracy. 275 united trade unions have already come into existence in France. Certain trade union federations have already fused on certain of the railroads. The National Union of Teachers and the Federation of Municipal Employees, etc., have declared in favour of fusion.

Why have a number of reformist trade unions declared in favour of fusion? Because not only the masses of members, but also a certain section of the reformist trade union officials know that the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary workers were always in the front ranks of the struggle for the interests of the working class, and have become convinced that the introduction of a revolutionary spirit and of revolutionary methods of struggle—as a result of the fusion of the reformist and the revolutionary trade unions—will strengthen the working class in its struggle against the capitalists.

What would it imply, in the conditions existing in France, if the Red Trade Unions were to be disbanded and liquidated. It would imply that the revolutionary positions won by the international proletariat would have to be given up, that the revolutionary energy concentrated in the revolutionary trade unions, the experience of struggle accumulated over many years of struggle against the capitalists and the revolutionary creative power and fighting spirit with which the revolutionary workers are imbued, would all be scattered, and every worker without interesting himself in the question as to what policy the given trade union will carry on—a policy of class struggle or one of class collaboration—would individually enter one or other reformist trade union.

What would this give the French proletariat? Would this strengthen their position? Would it not be of advantage to the bourgeoisie to disband the revolutionary organisation? On what grounds must the revolutionary workers give up their organisation? Have their tactics proved to be incorrect? Has not their analysis of the situation been confirmed wholly and completely? The Profintern and its Sections are displaying the greatest energy and sharpness in raising the question of trade union unity. They have intensified the struggle for trade union unity not because facts have allegedly proved the weakness of the policy of the Comintern and the Red Trade Unions, as the Amsterdamites lyingly assert, but because a new situation has arisen. This is also urging on the reformist workers to take the path of the class struggle, which is increasing their leaning towards a united front with the revolutionary workers, a situation which ensures the success of the militant tactics of the revolutionary trade union opposition.

To Disband or Fuse?

It is one thing to disband and liquidate the revolutionary trade unions, but it is another thing if two parallel trade unions—reformist and revolutionary—fuse, and organise a joint congress on the basis of proportional representation, elect leaders on this basis, and establish a united trade union on the basis of developed proletarian democracy and the class struggle, and fortify the united front between all workers with a view to carrying on the struggle against the capitalists. Such a unification raises the fighting power of the workers, gives them new means whereby to defend the rights they already have and to achieve new rights, whereas to simply disband a trade union organisation, to liquidate it and to scatter the masses of its members will only be of service to our class enemies. This is why the DEMAND MADE BY THE LEADERS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS BE DISBANDED, MUST BE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED.

This does not mean that in certain cases we cannot ourselves liquidate one or other small union, whose existence we would not consider advisable from the point of view of the development of the struggle of the broadest masses. But this has nothing in common with the slogan that the revolutionary unions must be liquidated, it has nothing in common with the dream of the leaders of the Amsterdam International that an end must be put to the revolutionary trade union movement at all costs.

The author of the lying article in the "Berliner Tagwacht" asserts that "the Profintern is dragging at the tail of events" as regards Germany and Austria. Let us examine the facts. Who stood at the head of the free trade unions in Germany and Austria? The friends and colleagues of the Swedish reformists, the leaders of the Amsterdam International. What did they do to struggle against fascism? Why, even a section of the social-democratic press was compelled to subject the conduct of the leaders of the German trade unions to criticism, and even Vandervelde, Mertens, and Friedrich Adler were compelled to upbraid their German friends for the fact that they capitulated.

Lessons of Germany and Austria.

Can anybody deny that the leaders of the German reformist trade unions gave up all their positions without a fight, that they offered their services to Hitler, and that they were prepared to continue their work under the political leadership of German fascism? No, nobody can deny this. These are facts which have cost the working class of Germany very dear.

Can anybody deny that while the Austrian workers were engaged in an armed struggle against the onslaught of fascism, the leaders of the trade unions

not only did not stand at the head of this struggle but disrupted the general strike and the strike of the railway workers? No, nobody can. These are facts about which no single class-conscious Austrian worker can speak without being furious. What did the policy of class collaboration and the "peaceful" tactics of the leaders of the reformist trade unions in Germany and Austria lead to? They led to the trade unions being smashed up and to the victory of fascism. But who in these countries fought against the tactics of capitulation, who called the workers to struggle, who called on them to organise strikes and to undertake an armed struggle against fascism? The Communists and the supporters of the Profintern. In these countries the social-democrats had the support of the majority of the workers (in Austria of the overwhelming majority of the workers), from year to year they carried on a policy of class collaboration and carried on a constant and uninterrupted struggle against the united front, and therefore fascism was victorious.

Well, and after the fascist dictatorship was established? The day after the fascist dictatorship was established in Germany, the Communists issued the slogan that the rank and file organisations of the free trade unions must be preserved at all costs, and that INDEPENDENT CLASS TRADE UNIONS MUST BE SET UP, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS AND FUNCTIONARIES, i.e., that a struggle must be carried on so that the re-established free trade unions should be independent of fascism and carry on the class struggle. When we saw that certain of our comrades were incorrectly counterposing the independent trade unions to the free trade unions, we drew their attention to this, and made the open declaration that WE ARE FIGHTING IN GERMANY TO RE-ESTABLISH THE FREE TRADE UNIONS. We are fighting to re-establish the mass working class organisations which have historically been built up in Germany so that they become really free from the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology. We desire not only to re-establish the free trade unions but to bring about a situation where these trade unions are class fighting unions, and that they are headed by firm proletarians and not by incorrigible capitulators, by people of the type of Leipart, Tarnov and Grassman who have brought the working class of Germany to such heavy suffering.

As soon as the armed struggle in Austria came to an end, and the government disbanded the free trade unions, the Communists and the supporters of the Profintern issued the slogan of the struggle to re-establish the free trade unions. Our Swedish "eye-witness" asserts that "it has not been possible to re-establish a single free trade union either in Germany or Austria." This is a lie! Let the Swedish reformists ask their friend Otto Bauer, and

he will tell them that the Communists have succeeded, in conjunction with social-democratic officials, in re-establishing quite a big number of free trade unions. The "central commission to re-establish the free trade unions" set up by the Communists and local officials of the free trade unions has done tremendous work, and now has about 14,000 members in the illegal free trade unions united by the central commission. What are the former leaders of the free trade unions doing in this situation? Instead of supporting the work being done, and strengthening the unity of the free trade unions set up with such difficulties, they have taken the path of splitting the unions. Shorsh and other trade union emigrants have created a "central committee of revolutionary free trade unions" in order to disrupt the work done without their aid.

Who is fighting for unity and who is splitting the trade unions? There is not the slightest doubt that Shorsh has done this not without the knowledge, but with the energetic support of the leaders of the Amsterdam International. Who is splitting the trade unions? Who is undermining the unity of the workers? What must be done by the workers who are re-establishing the free trade unions in Austria under most difficult conditions? Hand these trade unions over to Citizen Shorsh, hereditary perpetual leader and anointed by God? The workers cannot hand over the leadership of their trade unions to those who led them to defeat. And if Shorsh and Co. have taken the path leading to a split, the worse for them. Will not the Swedish "eye-witness" and the Amsterdam International which stands behind him, give instructions to liquidate the Austrian and German free trade unions set up in the name of the "unity of the trade union movement"?

* * *

If the example of France, Austria and Germany shows how harmful for the working class movement is the slogan of the liquidation of the class trade unions, advanced by the reformist leaders, then still more clearly evident is the harm and absurdity of the Amsterdam slogan that the Profintern should be liquidated. We do not doubt that the Amsterdam International would not be above liquidating the international centre of the revolutionary trade union movement. We do not doubt that such a liquidation of the international centre of the revolutionary trade union movement would cause great satisfaction to the leaders of the Amsterdam International. But what grounds are there for adopting such proposals? What would they give to the working class? Can the members of the reformist trade unions assert that the Amsterdam International is an international fighting organisation?

Is the Amsterdam International a Workers' International?

Formally, of course, the Amsterdam International is an international organisation, for it has statutes, an executive committee, it issues a bulletin, it has its press, and calls congresses, etc. But any kind of international organisation abounds in these things, whether it is a stamp collecting society, whether it is a church music lovers' society, or anything else of that kind. But we are within our rights in demanding something more, something greater, of a workers' international than from all kinds of voluntary international societies and organisations. From a workers' international we demand first and foremost that it should carry on a constant and systematic struggle for the immediate interests of the working class, that it should organise the class struggle against the whole of the capitalist system, that this international should carry on the struggle against those of its members who replace the class struggle by class collaboration, and who betray the interests of the masses of the workers. We are within our rights in demanding of a workers' international that the interests of the workers of a single country should be subordinated to the interests of the entire international proletariat, that this international should carry on a really practical struggle against fascism, and that it should carry on a constant and unswerving struggle against war.

If we look at the Amsterdam International from this angle, then can we call it a really proletarian international? No, we cannot, because it declares openly against the class struggle, and is in favour of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, because it has not only not taken any measures to sharply condemn the leaders of the free trade unions in Germany and Austria, who betrayed the working masses in the eyes of the whole world, but supported these leaders and declared its solidarity with their policy. This international has not expelled from its ranks those individuals who led the working class of Germany and Austria to defeat, thereby indicating its solidarity with them, and support and justification of their policy. What is more, the entire policy of the Amsterdam International is directed towards making the policy and tactics pursued by the Austro-German trade unions an example for all countries. We are within our rights, therefore, in asking the following question: What guarantees have the workers in England, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Poland, that the leaders of their trade unions who maintain the same political position as did their Austro-German colleagues, will not lead the working class in these various countries along the German path?

Liquidate the Profintern?

What would happen if we were to accept the proposal made by the Amsterdamites, and were to

liquidate the Profintern? Who would gain from this act? The workers? No! They would lose, because the Profintern has, over a period of 15 years, done all in its power to support the workers in all countries in their struggle. It is the bourgeoisie who would gain, the bourgeoisie which would be rid of an hostile and anti-capitalist revolutionary organisation. So then, for what purpose have we to liquidate the Profintern? The leaders of the Amsterdam International say that we must do this so as to bring about the unity of the trade union movement. But why must unity be established on the basis of the liquidation of the revolutionary international? Unity cannot arise out of the liquidation of the Profintern. The result of such a step will not be unity but simply capitulation to the policy and tactics of the reformists. The reformists demand the liquidation of the revolutionary trade unions and of the Profintern so that they may continue their policy unhindered and without penalty. But this policy has gone bankrupt! It has led the working class of Germany and Austria to defeat. So that, the whole point of the proposals regarding the liquidation of the Profintern emanating from the leaders of the Amsterdam International may be reduced to the following: DON'T PREVENT US FROM LEADING THE WORKING CLASS ALONG THE AUSTRO-GERMAN PATH. Such are the hidden motives of this international chatter about liquidating the revolutionary trade unions and the Profintern, which is being published in the entire reformist press.

The Amsterdamites have two further arguments in reserve, namely: (1) The Communists, they allege, split the trade unions, and therefore they must disband their organisations; (2) The reformist trade union organisations are very old organisations, and the social-democrats are historically the only inheritors of the best traditions of the working class movement. Let us examine these "arguments" as well. The split in the working class movement along political and trade union lines began fundamentally at the beginning of the war. Can it be said that the war policy of the German, Austrian and French trade unions corresponded to the traditions of the working class movement in these countries?

The historians and politicians of the trade union movement in these countries express their views on this theme unwillingly. Where and when did the congresses of the Socialist International declare that the slogan "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" should be replaced by the slogan "Proletarians of all lands, slaughter one another!" Where and when did the international congresses or national congresses of the free trade unions decide that the workers must unite with the bourgeoisie of their respective countries and that they must reject the class struggle and pass over to class collaboration? Such decisions were

made, but only at the congresses of the catholic and yellow trade unions. The trade unions which were affiliated to the pre-war trade union international did not make an official declaration in favour of class collaboration.

Even if the policy of class collaboration carried through by the leaders of the trade unions had been limited to the war alone, then that would have had to introduce a deep split into the working class movement, but this war policy was continued in the post-war period as well. The class struggle has been systematically driven out of the reformist trade unions. Revolutionary workers and entire organisations which have declared against class collaboration and have acted against the rejection of the best traditions of the working class movement, have been systematically expelled, in spite of the most elementary rules of trade union democracy. Thus, the revolutionary workers were obliged, in order to defend the direct and ultimate aims of the working class movement, to be up in arms against those who dragged the working class organisations into the bog of class collaboration, and to rally and unite all those who stood in defence of the principles and practice of the class struggle, for to reject the class struggle is to transform the working class into an appendage of monopolist capital. Where, then, lies the cause of the split in the working class movement? **THE BASIC REASON FOR THE SPLIT IN THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IS THE PRE-WAR OPPORTUNISM AND SOCIAL IMPERIALIST POLICY AND THE POST-WAR CLASS COLLABORATION CARRIED ON BY INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE LEADERS OF THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS.**

Anybody who does not understand or who does not wish to understand the cause of the split, may cry "unity, unity!" from morning to night, but no sense will come of it.

Age or Policy?

The legitimist argument is still less convincing than the attempt to throw the responsibility for the split on to the revolutionary workers. That the reformist trade unions are very old organisations is on the whole true. But age does not decide anything in such cases. What we need to ask ourselves is, why is it that a whole number of old trade union organisations have turned out to be outside the ranks of the Amsterdam International, and why is it that the young trade union movements of the U.S.S.R., China and of a number of other countries have created a new trade union international? The answer is because the Amsterdam International re-established in July, 1919, sanctified the military-imperialist policy of 1914 to 1918, because this international carried on an uninterrupted struggle against the October Revolution, and against the Party

and the trade unions which carried on a struggle against the whole capitalist world, because the Amsterdam International not only did not raise a finger to help the workers of the colonies in their struggle against imperialism, but on the contrary assisted imperialism to grind down the colonial peoples. Of what importance then, is the age of the organisation in such circumstances? What the workers are interested in is the POLICY which the trade unions are operating. That is why a silly impression is created by the talk of the reformist leaders of the C.G.T. of France about "come back to the old home," at a time when the workers of France are faced with the problem as to how to establish a united and strong trade union organisation, as to how to establish a powerful fortress for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. From whichever angle you approach it, from the historical, political, or organisational angle, there are no serious arguments in favour of liquidating the revolutionary trade union movement, while there are thousands and thousands of arguments in favour of uniting the trade unions on the basis of the class struggle.

In their search for arguments against the unity of the trade union movement, not only do they set into operation all kinds of "eye-witnesses," but they juggle with facts, and falsify documents. This operation has been performed by the assistant secretary of the Amsterdam International, Scholtz, who has occupied himself in making historical investigations in respect to the statutes of the Profintern. Mr. Scholtz asserts that "the trade unions and the Party are one and the same thing to the Communists." It is true that this assertion is at loggerheads with facts, but evidently all the worse for the facts!

Are the Party and the Trade Unions One and the Same Thing?

Let us take two or three countries, and we shall see that such an assertion has nothing in common with the truth. In the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party has about 3 million members, whereas the trade unions have 19 million members. Can we say that the trade unions and the Party are one and the same thing? In France there are about 50,000 members in the Party, whereas the Unitary Trade Unions (revolutionary.—Ed.) have about 300,000 members. Can it be said that the Party and the trade unions are one and the same thing? We could quote dozens more of examples, but these are sufficient to show the whole superficial nature of such kinds of arguments. Organisationally, the trade unions and the Party are not one and the same thing.

But perhaps the trade unions and the Party are one and the same thing politically? Such an assertion would also be incorrect. The Communist

Party and the revolutionary trade unions have one and the same end in view. But they are different organisations, which have their own special tasks, and forms and methods of struggle. But perhaps this is not the point, but that the revolutionary trade unions are led by Communists? I do not know what essence the author embodied in his assertion, but it is a fact that the revolutionary trade unions are in the majority led by Communists, just as the reformist unions are in the majority led by social-democrats. Why may this social-democrat stand at the head of a trade union, and a Communist not do so? Why may the Social-Democratic Party and the free trade unions act together, and the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party not do so? Or perhaps the social-democrats who stand at the head of the trade unions are not social-democrats, not members of their party? Hitherto we have known quite the opposite. The leaders of the Swedish trade unions have been and are now members of the Social-Democratic Party. The leaders of the reformist C.G.T. in France are members of the Socialist Party, while some of them are members of the Neo-Socialist Party.* The leaders of the trade unions in England are members of the Labour Party, and so on. But why may not the leaders of the revolutionary trade unions and other trade unions be members of the Communist Party? The revolutionary workers will not ask the reformists whether they should join the Communist Party or not. This is not the business of the reformists, this is our business and let the reformists put this in their pipe and smoke it, once and for all.

The second circumstance discovered by Mr. Scholtz has been very simply formulated by him. The statutes of the Profintern makes provisions for contacts with the Communist International, and the Profintern is allegedly a Section of the Communist International.

The Profintern and the Communist International.

Had Citizen Scholtz set himself the task of clearing up the truth, and not of falsifying documents, he might very easily have established the fact that the Profintern is not a Section of the Communist International. There are the decisions of the Second Congress of the Profintern and the Comintern in this connection. But what in actual fact is the situation? Joint action is undertaken by the Comintern and the Profintern on various questions. Scholtz considers that such kind of mutual relations are to be condemned. But why may the Amsterdam International act jointly with the Socialist International? Why is it that the bureau of the Amsterdam International often holds sessions together with the bureau of the

Socialist International, and whence has Mr. Scholtz taken the idea that the revolutionary workers will allow anybody to forbid them to display their political views, and to ask the Amsterdamites whether they may join the Communist Party? Let it be borne in mind that the individuals who stand at the head of the Amsterdam International take the liberty of being members at the same time of the Social-Democratic Party and the Second International. Why, then, do these social-democrats imagine that the workers will agree to a situation where a united trade union organisation should be composed of citizens who have full rights (social-democrats, and of citizens without full rights (the Communists). No gentlemen, you will not get away with this!

Whether the Amsterdamites are satisfied or not we shall continue in the future to act jointly with the Communist International, to organise all kinds of campaigns along with them, and to support all actions undertaken by the Communist International, directed towards the defence of the immediate interests of the working masses, and we shall support the struggle carried on by the Communist International for the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mr. Scholtz does not like this? We are very little disturbed by this. We revolutionary proletarians like this, and we shall continue to carry on in this way. Mr. Scholtz does not like the fact that the statutes of the Profintern advance the demand for a struggle against conciliation with the bourgeoisie, and are against the idea of business collaboration between the classes and social peace. It is not surprising that he does not like this, for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, as well as active co-operation with the latter and social peace, are the foundations of the programme of the Amsterdam International. No, we do not propose to change the fundamental principles of our International, we do not propose to hack away the foundations on which our International is built.

In his anxiety about the well-being of the Profintern, and about adapting its statutes to the new situation, Mr. Scholtz writes further as follows:—

“The Profintern is directly responsible for the things done and acts committed by the countries and groups affiliated to it. Either the Profintern must alter its statutes, and from the formal point of view must endorse the line carried through by its French section, or, if this section advances its proposals seriously, it must recognise that the principles of its International have lost their weight as far as it is concerned. There is no third possibility.”

Imagine that there is a third possibility. This is a possibility which Mr. Scholtz has least of all foreseen. The tactics pursued by our C.G.T.U., and its proposals regarding unity do not in the least degree contradict either the statutes or the principles of the Profintern. The Profintern wholly and completely supports its French section, for the unification of the

* Neo-Socialists—a fascist break-away from the French Socialist Party, led by Renaudel, etc.—Ed.

trade unions on the basis of the class struggle can only increase the fighting power of the French proletariat. Why? Because the Profintern, from the very first days of its existence has stood for the united front and for the unity of the trade union movement in each separate country, and on an international scale. Hundreds of documents exist in this connection, which Mr. Scholtz, with his love for historical investigation may very easily seek out. But the following question arises: Why is it that this assistant secretary of the Amsterdam International has all of a sudden taken to historical investigation and to the study of our statutes? The answer is a very simple one, and can be found at the end of the article where Mr. Scholtz makes the following declaration:—

“As regards the statutes of the International Federation of Trade Unions, they have completely preserved their force up to date, because they contain nothing which even in the slightest degree contradicts its policy, and also the latest line of the Profintern in the sphere of the struggle for democracy, freedom and the independence of the trade unions.”

Although this statement is a very cunning one, it is sufficiently clear. The point to it is a very simple one, namely, that the practical activity of the Profintern has allegedly come into contradiction with the principles on which its statutes were built up. The statutes, then, of the Profintern must be thrown overboard. The practical activity of the Amsterdam International, on the other hand, does not contradict its principles, and its statutes preserve their full weight. Hence, the Profintern must reject its own statutes, and adopt those of the Amsterdam International, and in this connection put an end to its existence.

The picture would not be complete if we did not refer to the statements made by other leaders of the Amsterdam International. During his presence at the Norwegian Trades Union Congress, Chevenel, the General Secretary of the Amsterdam International, gave his impressions to the correspondent of the central newspaper of the Norwegian Labour Party, the “Arbeiter-Bladet.”

Chevenel considers that “the International trade union movement has good prospects.” To prove this he let himself go on a journey beyond the seas, and declared that the Amsterdam International has contacts with the trade union movements in America, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, India, Chile, Argentina and Brazil, etc.

Chevenel not only made no statement as to the character of these contacts—evidently so as not to spoil the joyous perspectives indicated by him—but “forgot” to make any statement as to the state of things with regard to the free trade unions in Germany and Austria. It has remained a secret as to whether the Amsterdam International supports the re-

established free trade unions in Germany and Austria, or not. Chevenel preferred to speak in great detail about the Storm and Defence Detachments, about the situation in the National-Socialist Party, but he did not have enough time to make any statement as to the state of affairs in the German and Austrian trade union movements. Replying to a question as to the attitude of the Amsterdam International to the united front, Chevenel replied that: “We regard it as a manoeuvre.” As regards the unity of the trade union movement, this is not, according to him, an international problem at all, for “the trade union movement is split in only one country, namely in France.”

Is the Trade Union Movement Split in Only One Country?

And so “the new and kindly” secretary of the Amsterdam International makes the assertion that the trade union movement is united throughout the whole world. We are within our rights in demanding of the secretary of an international organisation a little more information about the state of things. But we shall not interfere in his personal business, but shall take a look as to what is taking place in reality.

Apart from France, parallel revolutionary and reformist trade unions exist in Spain, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria, Germany, Italy, Japan, U.S.A., Chile, Brazil, Argentine, Cuba, Uruguay, Canada, China, Phillipines, etc. In a number of countries (China, Italy, Cuba, Chile, etc.) the revolutionary trade unions are far stronger than the reformist unions, while in the other countries the reformist trade unions are stronger than the revolutionary unions. There are a number of countries where the revolutionary trade unions were dispersed, and all their property handed over to the reformist unions (Finland and Jugoslavia). To make the assertion, under such circumstances, that with the exception of France the trade union movement is united throughout the whole world, is, to say the least of it, to certify one’s own ignorance.

But Chevenel none the less displayed a certain knowledge of geography when he called to mind the existence of the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. And the key he has to this question is as follows:—

“On an international scale unity can only consist of the Russian trade unions affiliating to the Amsterdam International.”

In such cases the French say, “C’est simple comme bonjour!” (As simple as saying how do you do.) Mr. Chevenel “forgets” that the trade unions in the U.S.S.R. have two and a half times more members than there are in the whole of the Amsterdam International, and that the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., are unions functioning in a country where the proletarian revolution has been victorious. He forgets that to have carried into life the programme and

tactics of the Amsterdam International in the U.S.S.R. would have meant the restoration of capitalism and the advent of black counter-revolution. In addition, Mr. Chevenel proposes that the Comintern should reject its own policy, and "put an end to its sabotage of and activity against the trade union movement," and then, he alleges, real unity will be brought about.

If we add the foul lies published in the Norwegian paper, the "Medelelsblat," by Chevenel's colleagues who declare that "the Communists have already brought about unity and unification with the national-socialists and fascists," then we will understand in what direction Messrs. the Amsterdamites are dragging the international trade union movement.

How are we to explain such a line of thought in the minds of the leading officials of the Amsterdam International? We must explain it by the fact that they do not wish to recognise the causes which led to the destruction of the German and Austrian trade unions. Chevenel is kind enough to allow the Soviet trade unions to affiliate to the Amsterdam International. This, of course, is stupendous liberalism on his part. Chevenel would have done better had he done a little thinking prior to giving the interview and then he would have come to the conclusion that the problem of the unity of the trade union movement, even if there were no longer any revolutionary trade unions outside of the U.S.S.R., could not be solved simply by affiliation to the Amsterdam International.

One of my opponents has been very much upset with me at the statement I made that "Communism means victory, while reformism means defeat." My assertion was based on the experience of seventeen years of struggle waged by the C.P.S.U. and the revolutionary trade unions in the U.S.S.R., and on the basis of 16 years of struggle by German social-democracy and the German trade unions. If my opponent is dissatisfied, let him show us where and when reformism has brought victory to the working class. He can hardly base his case on the Labour governments in England and on the social-democratic governments in Sweden and Denmark. There were such governments in Germany and Austria, and everybody knows how things ended there.

Thus, both the Swedish "eye-witness" and the Amsterdam secretaries, Scholtz and Chevenel, are driving at the one point which amounts to the following: "Disband the red trade unions, liquidate the Profintern and then a united trade union movement will be re-established on the basis of the principles and tactics of the statutes of the Amsterdam International."

The fact that the Amsterdamites are beginning to repeat these proposals of theirs more and more

frequently, does not make them any more convincing and acceptable. The unity of the trade union movement is being hammered out in the ranks of the working class in spite of the leaders of the Amsterdam International. It is being hammered out in the joint struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive, and against fascism and war. It is being hammered out at joint conferences and congresses, where the delegates define their policy and tactics. We are prepared to re-establish the unity of the trade union movement on a national and international scale, in spite of the lies and inventions of the enemies of the revolutionary trade union movement. We have displayed our will for unity in France. The Amsterdamites displayed their will to split the movement, at Weymouth, in the speeches made by the leaders of the reformist trade union movement. But we are not losing heart, we are convinced that the will of the masses for unity will overcome all obstacles.

And there are still many obstacles in the way. Above all, the entire bourgeoisie is against the re-establishment of the unity of the split trade union movement in a solid front. Why? Because a united trade union movement on the basis of the class struggle implies a rallying of the forces of the working class, and this is something which is necessary now more than ever. Who must bear the burden of the crisis, the bourgeoisie or the toiling masses—this is the problem which stands out sharply in all countries. The bourgeoisie have hitherto been able, by exerting and concentrating all their forces and thanks to the split in the trade union movement, to place the whole burden of the crisis on the backs of the toiling masses. Every day brings ever new misery for the working class, fascism runs rife in a number of countries, and a new imperialist war is advancing on toiling mankind. Anyone who acts against the rallying of the workers' forces, against the unity of the trade union movement, is the worst enemy of the working class, whatever his subjective intentions may be. This is why the sharpest struggle must be directed against those leaders of the reformist trade unions who seek out thousands of arguments in order to disrupt the will of the masses for the united front, for the unity of the trade union movement.

We know that the unity of the trade union movement is of advantage to the working class and, therefore will be victorious. But we also know that the unity of the trade union movement is being built up, and can be built up and be of use to the working class only when it is built up on the basis of the class struggle. This is the kind of unity for which we have been fighting since 1920, and this is the kind of unity of the trade union movement for which we will fight to the end.

DISCUSSION ON QUESTIONS FOR THE VII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In preparation for the VII Congress of the Communist International the editors are publishing discussion articles and materials connected with the questions on the agenda of the Congress.—Editorial Board.

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THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS FACISM

By M. GALAS.

DISCUSSIONS about fascism have already passed the stage of general discussion, or at least should have done. Every Communist can endorse the assertion that fascism is "the general tendency of the domination of the bourgeoisie in a given period . . ." On the other hand we are all agreed that the fascist process shows itself in the most varied forms, corresponding to given historical and political conditions. If, on the one hand, we may discern elements of fascism even in the American "New Deal" (Roosevelt's policy), then, on the other, we can also see quite clearly certain special features in German fascism

such as distinguish it from Italian fascism. Hence we cannot, for instance, speak of a German-Italian type of state as of something that goes without saying.

But, when we stress the special features of the various forms of the fascist process, we do not abolish the need for drawing theoretical general conclusions. Unless we study the **LAW OF THE SPECIFIC PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS FACISM**, our knowledge of fascism as of a "general tendency" will turn out to be very insufficient. When we open up to the very roots the fact that the class essence of fascism is one and the same in

different countries, we do not thereby show clearly the basic points which distinguish one form in which fascism expresses itself from another. And these can be exactly defined in a very incomplete fashion by the use of such terms as "the totalitarian state," "governmental fascism," "fascism by the dry road," and other similar terms. The more exactly we define these concepts, the truer will our struggle be against fascism. For we are dealing with a problem which is not an academic one, but with one which is first and foremost a tactical-political question.

Germany, Italy and Austria, for instance, are quite different countries, but all the three of them at the present stage, undoubtedly display all the signs of the "totalitarian" fascist state. Here we leave on one side the question as to how long this form of fascist state will last and as to what direction development will take place in each of these countries. (We shall not deal with Bulgaria and the Baltic states in this connection), Poland, Hungary and even Yugo-Slavia represent another type, although we are fully correct in speaking of Polish, Hungarian and Yugo-Slav fascism when estimating the official policies of these countries.*

The question is as follows: Are Poland, Hungary and Yugo-Slavia advancing to the new state of the German-Italian type? Will the process of fascist development always be of that character?

In both the "authoritarian democracy" of Czecho-Slovakia and in the age-long democratic fatherland of "organised, controlled and protected freedom," in Laval's French third Republic, the process of fascist development is the direct and decisive problem of political life. But what direction is this fascist development taking? Is it towards the totalitarian state or towards fascism of the Polish-Hungarian-Yugo-Slavian type? Is this latter type merely a transition to a developed type of "matured fascism"? Is it inevitable that the fascist process is directed towards a definite point to which all development leads, if the masses of proletarians are unsuccessful in their resistance to fascism? Or is the "parliamentarism" which is regulated by the ruling clique, such a specific form

* As distinct from Germany, Austria and Italy, where parliament has been completely done away with, a new constitution was adopted in Poland last year, a new election law is being prepared in Hungary, while in Yugo-Slavia negotiations are going on between the various parties in respect to the constitution. All this activity is carried out on the basis of the preservation of parliamentarism. Whereas all parties, except the ruling fascist party, have been done away with in Germany, Austria and Yugo-Slavia, in Hungary, Poland and Yugo-Slavia, on the other hand, various bourgeois parties are in being. In Hungary and Poland there are even social-democratic parties in existence.

of fascism as is distinct from the fascism of the German-Italian-Austrian type, and is it a completely special and constant type of fascism by comparison with the latter?

The day-to-day political activity of our Polish and Hungarian Parties shows that it is least of all a scholastic point when we raise such questions.

The Governmental Fascism of Poland, Hungary and Yugo-Slavia.

After the assassination of the Polish Minister of Home Affairs, the Polish Government grew hostile to the "right-radical" elements. According to the Polish Social Party (P.P.S.), the fascist menace thereby ceased to exist, and therefore it is their view that there are no objective preconditions for anti-fascist unity of action. The attitude of the Hungarian social-democrats towards fascism in Hungary is a similar one. According to their political dictionary, fascism does not mean the governmental system of Gömbös, but the comparatively insignificant "union of members of the arrow cross" (Pfeilkreuzler-lager) which arose after the model of the "members of the Swastika union" (Hakenkreuzler-lager). News from Yugo-Slavia indicates that the government simply proposes to revive social-democracy and to give it a new lease of life. There can be no doubts as to the position that will be taken up in relation to fascism by the social-democracy thus brought to life again. The policy of the lesser evil as practised in Hungary and Poland will be the practical expression of this position.

The Communists, of course, will not find it difficult to show that the essence of this "system" in all the three countries mentioned is the dictatorial domination of the most reactionary group of monopoly capital. But this "open terrorist" domination is overlapped by one still more open and still more terroristic. The process of development towards fascism has not been completed in these countries, and the "systems" do not at all wish to take the shape of the "final" system, such as, for instance, exists in Germany and where, as Messrs. Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg and Co. assert, there will be no alterations during the next thousand years, or as in Austria, where the god-fearing sons of the Catholic church righteously raise their eyes in woe and are engaged precisely in establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. Nor shall we speak about Mussolini, who is constantly harping about the "age of fascism."

In the three countries which we have utilised as examples so as to obtain an exact definition of "governmental fascism," experiments are constantly being undertaken. The speeches of the "statesmen" are a mixture of fascist and liberal

Arguments Against "Totalitarian Fascism."

expressions and their policy directed equally against fascism (namely, against that which they understand by this term, i.e., against the totalitarian state) and against "democratic anarchism." Parliament is given now more, now less rights. The most varied reforms have been carried through in Hungary since 1920, in Poland since 1925, and in Yugo-Slavia since 1929, but the class nature of the political domination in these countries has, however, not altered. These reforms, these interminable waverings, are subordinated to a definite system, namely, one and the same inexorable tendency of development, as seen through the varying conditions existing in the different countries.

How are the "age-long" ideas of fascism operated? How should "modern reaction" (to use the expression of a Hungarian fascist professor) established by the "new popular forces" be operated in modern conditions? That's the question. What does this "modern reaction" consist of? With what problems does it confront the dominant "governmental fascism"? We Communists, and only we, have already repeatedly pointed to them.

Firstly, here we must take note of the fact that freedom of action is destroyed as far as concerns the revolutionary working class movement which threatens the domination of monopoly capital, or at least this freedom is reduced to a minimum.

Secondly, the dictatorial solution of all material questions and of questions of power among the bourgeoisie themselves, and the fact that the position has been overcome where the small and middle bourgeoisie carry on an uninterrupted struggle through the political representatives to increase the share of profits accruing to them. It is in this sense that we must understand the destruction of what the fascists call the "party system," the "general slackness and anarchy" which threaten the fatherland with final ruin.

From this point of view even the most faint-hearted trade union policy is called "Marxism," while Marxism, to use the expression of a certain Nazi, is nothing other than the "liberalism of the working class."

And, of course, thirdly, when the "northern order of estates" (or correspondingly, the "Roman" order or the "Christian-Austrian" order of estates) which has come to take the place of the "popular restoration" or the "democratic stew," destroys Marxism and the "whole false ideology of the French revolution," then a new apparatus of political power has to be set up, in the sense of more intense centralisation, and of a more open and direct terrorist dictatorship.

Fascism (whether in the shape of a "creative upsurge of the Northern blood" or whether in the shape of "latin revival") brings about all these aims with a hundred per cent. ferocity. If we examine the press and follow the political life of the countries where the fascist process is the central problem or where fascism has not assumed the forms of the "totalitarian state," then we come up against a series of arguments directed against the "fascist revolution." These arguments are not always of a hypocritical character. On the contrary, they are founded on completely realistic political considerations which are partially based on the fascist experience undergone hitherto, and partially arise out of the special features of the situation in the corresponding country. As against all the alluring arguments of totalitarian fascism, the following have to be decisively put forward:

1. The fact that parliamentarism is done away with and that social-democracy is destroyed implies the destruction not only of the social-democratic safety valve, but also of all safety valves whatsoever, of all measures to relieve the atmosphere of its tension. In spite of the fact that the "forces of the nation are consolidated"—along with the destruction of the "Party system" and the abolition of the parties within this system—the Communist Party is the only Party which does not allow itself to be done away with, and advances to the forefront in the minds of the masses as the only serious opponent of the fascist system.

2. When the petty-bourgeoisie are deprived of the right to participate in the management of the state, it can only take place by rallying the petty-bourgeoisie on a broad mass scale. The fascist "organisation of the entire productive energy of the nation," which takes the place of the "shapeless mess of universal democratic equality," implies that finance capital is attempting to transform into life its dream about "organised capitalism" on a national scale. But this LAST WORD of capitalist development can only clear a way for itself through awakening the ideology of the pre-capitalist "estates."

The process of capitalist reorganisation means at the same time that the craft slogans of the middle ages are made use of. The "organised nation" is put in place of the class struggle, while use is made of the philistine ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie, who are drawn into politics and are moving to the "left." The destruction of the political representation of the petty-bourgeoisie, and the organisation of the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie directly around fascist slogans can, under certain circumstances, cost a very heavy price. The masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in a state organised on the "estate" principle can cause greater unrest than the petty-bourgeoisie politicians belonging to the "democratic stew." Here we only indicate the desperate "anti-fascism" of the Jewish bourgeoisie (who, in Western Europe, constitute an important element of the ruling class).

3. The new state apparatus is an exceptionally expensive affair, and the new situation contains within itself innumerable possibilities of movements away from the path undertaken. Not only the Roman "fascio" and the age-long German "swastika," but even the provincial Heimwehr swallows innumerable millions of money. The attitude of the Party to the state, from the point of view of leadership, is also exceptionally full of contradictions.

It is true that dictatorial concentration implies that the decisive elements of the bourgeoisie have direct and uncontrolled influence at their disposal, but as far as the bourgeoisie as a whole is concerned, it is precisely this lack of control and directness which means that they, i.e., the bourgeoisie as a whole have under certain circumstances, less influence in the conduct of affairs, than under any parliamentary structure.

Why "Governmental Fascism" Does Not Desire a "Fascist Revolution."

Thus, the objections to, and the arguments against the totalitarian state may, in general, be reduced to the following, namely, that "governmental fascism" would like to critically appropriate the "new ideas of eternal importance," i.e., TO MAKE USE OF ONLY THAT WHICH IS OF ADVANTAGE TO IT, AND TO DO AWAY WITH THAT WHICH IS VALUELESS. They would like to transfer the fascist solution of the political and economic problems which arise in the last stage of imperialist development, by way of the firm economic, and political military organisation of the nation, into the real life of their own country, but without reviving the pre-capitalist ideology of the middle ages. It is not because the democratic heritage is too GREAT in Poland, Hungary and perhaps Yugo-Slavia, but because it is too small.

Neither in Hungary nor in Yugo-Slavia (not even in Poland) is there that powerful urban petty-bourgeoisie sobered from its enthusiasm for democracy which might become a basis for an anti-democratic, plebeian and counter-revolutionary mass movement. Why, then, should the decisive sections of the bourgeoisie undertake an attempt to completely reorganise the whole structure, to bring about "a fascist revolution"?

Why should they revive the slogans of the pre-capitalist state organised on the "estate" principle, if they can bring about national unity and national organisation based on "harmony between the classes," and if they can bring about and favour in every way the destruction of "anti-national elements" without going beyond the bounds of parliamentarism, and even while developing it "on modern principles?" Why not "modernise," i.e., why not adapt this parliamentarism which in any case is easily subjected to government "control," to the conditions of fascist domination?

Why should not a statesman, who has not mastered liberalism even to the extent mastered by those who were German, Italian and Austrian ministers under the party system and who have been overthrown, why, then, should he not come forward with liberal arguments? Why operate with an ideology which is a modernised version of that of the middle ages and is anti-parliamentary, anti-liberal and pseudo-democratic in a country

where live traditions are in existence of a "parliamentary" ideology which is anti-democratic and pseudo-liberal?

There can be no doubt whatsoever that this attempt to carry through the fascist process without displaying the "bad sides of fascism," to carry on, so to speak, the fascist process without "the fascist revolution," i.e., to carry through the fascist process on the basis of the existing historical preconditions, opens up wide political possibilities as far as the proletariat is concerned. While we, as against social-democracy, point to the purely fascist content of "governmental" fascism, we must, on the other hand, carry on the struggle with all our power against the extreme Left opportunism which attaches not the slightest importance to the distinctions which exist between the various stages of the fascist process. "Governmental fascism" is an opponent in principle, of the "fascist revolution"; this "organic" development and the introduction of the "good sides" of fascism, this, so to speak, "fascist reformism" implies at the same time that the mass movement of the working class is provided with possibilities for action of a partial character, and that it becomes possible to organise resistance to fascism on a wider basis.

The Fascist Process in France and Czecho-Slovakia.

We have quoted those countries where pseudo-parliamentarism has been in the saddle, and where there is no corresponding basis for a large-scale fascist mass movement, as an example of fascism which honestly admires totalitarian fascism from a distance, while at the same time displaying an honest repulsion to it in its own country. Is it not strange that it is possible to observe a completely similar development in those places where the masses preserve old and quite strong DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS. The fascist process in France and Czecho-Slovakia is moving not in the direction of Italo-German fascism, but of Polish-Hungarian fascism. Not because democratic traditions are so small that it would not be worth while to organise a big mass movement to overthrow parliamentary institutions, but because they are so strong, that no mass movement, at any rate, for the time being, could do away with them all of a sudden.

The classic method used by the bourgeoisie in managing the masses of the people has preserved such traditions that fascism cannot advance in the struggle against these traditions, but rather through "developing" them. And it stands to reason that in the country where there is a newspaper which has an exceptionally strong fascist smell, and which bears the title of Marat's newspaper, the *Ami du Peuple*, in the country where

the fascists "pull the Jacobean cap over their eyes," the fascist process is dragging out at a longer rate than in the country where the parliamentary system is defended against the "corporative" idea only because "regulated" parliamentarism represents in the country concerned a far better form of fascism, one which is more national, than totalitarian fascism is. In the country where the bourgeoisie has control of its own traditional methods of organising the people, fascism as the "conception and development of the new order" has to overcome far more difficulties than in the country where it was born in the process of a fascist "revolution" or in the country where the application of fascist methods is only a new method of holding the masses of the people, as far as possible, away from politics.

There can be no doubt that the Franco-Czechish type of the development towards fascism, is something quite different from "matured fascism," the type which we can call one hundred per cent. governmental fascism. Whereas governmental fascism has in many respects been bold enough to learn very much from totalitarian fascism, taking from it its methods of approach to the masses. and in the ideological sphere its ideas of authoritarian democracy and "organised and protected liberty," fascism of the French and Czech type in general tests the decisive influence of precisely

those experiments which strive to bring about fascism without its "shady sides." Hence if the unity of action of the proletariat does not put a stop to the further process of development towards fascism, there can be no doubt that a new type of fascism, which has not yet taken shape, will develop. And "Anglo-American democracy which is undergoing a crisis" (Lloyd George), will also strive to reach this new type as an ideal.

The numerous contradictions within fascism are so clear to be seen at the present time that a number of fascist states have already more or less consciously set themselves the task of doing away with these contradictions, i.e., of overcoming the "foolish sides of fascism." As a result of this, a new contradiction has arisen. Both in France and America the masses cannot be simply withdrawn from the process of "national revival," as in Eastern Europe, but in both cases fascism does not for the time being wish to adopt the "foolish sides" of the process of the rebirth of "age-old" ideas. But if in both cases the "modern development of democracy" is the main slogan of fascist revisionism, then the defence of democracy opens up wide possibilities for the struggle against fascism. Governmental fascism has exposed the contradiction throughout the world which Communist tactics must fundamentally bear in mind and utilise.

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND ON THE PREPARATORY CAMPAIGN FOR THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

IN accordance with the decisions of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland invites all Party organisations as well as every individual Party member to take part in the broadest discussion of the questions on the Agenda of the Seventh Congress, on the basis of their experience, work and struggle.

The Party and the Young Communist League must pay special attention to clearing up the social and political changes which have taken place in the working class movement, among the peasant masses and oppressed peoples, as well as in the tactical conclusions to be drawn therefrom. These problems should be considered in connection with the international situation, and should take into

account the experience of the brother Sections of the Communist International. Only in this way shall we succeed in finding our exact bearings in the development of the revolutionary movement and in the movement of the developing proletarian revolution in Poland.

The changes in the united front tactics, the achievements and defects in operating them, as well as the application of the methods of these tactics in the peasant movement and in the national-liberation struggle must be thoroughly discussed.

The question of the system of Party work in all spheres, agitation, propaganda and organisation, must be discussed on the widest possible scale, and all its shortcomings exposed.

Every organisation and every individual Party

member must take as foundation and guidance, the political line of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Poland, and contribute to the discussion the lessons of the work and struggle they have acquired in their sphere of activity, thus enriching the political experience of the Party as a whole.

The campaign thus organised will improve the political level of our Party organisations, will enliven their political life and will help all members to master the political line of the Party as well as to render concrete the problems facing the local organisations. This campaign will increase the power of our Party ranks to resist alien influences, and will arm the Party ideologically for its struggle on two fronts, against Right and Left sectarian deviations from the Bolshevik line. The campaign of preparations for the Congress must deepen our information about the position in the localities, including such points as the economic situation, the conditions and sentiments of the working masses, the state of our organisations and of their work, their shortcomings and defects, the relation of forces, the situation in the enemy's camp, the methods of action utilised by the fascist government and of the opposition parties.

Our object in this campaign is to popularise the great importance of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern for all toilers, for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism, to popularise the united front of struggle carried on by the toiling masses against capital, fascism and imperialist war, to popularise the slogans of the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, a government of Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies.

To render it easier for all our comrades to undertake a most fruitful exchange of opinions, the Central Committee points to the FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND GROUPS OF QUESTIONS, upon which attention should be concentrated first and foremost:

Group I. THE PROCESS OF THE MATURING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS, ITS DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES. The forms in which the process of the masses becoming revolutionary (workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie) find expression. How the shrinking of the mass basis of the fascist dictatorship shows itself. Signs of decay of the State apparatus (ferment in the Pilsudsky camp—among office employees, in the army, and among the petty-bourgeois masses following the Pilsudskyites).

The manoeuvres of the fascist government and the terror, the influence of the manoeuvres and terror upon the toiling masses. Methods of attracting the masses to the fascist organisations (fascist trade unions, organisations for military training, etc.).

The rôle of the oppositionary parties as a brake on the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, and their official and actual attitude to the Pilsudskyites.

THE RÔLE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES AND OF THE REFORMIST TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY. The internal situation in the Polish Socialist Party, the Bund*, and the Ukrainian Social-Democracy, etc. The state of mind of the rank and file, and of the active party functionaries (signs of degeneration and the means utilised to combat it). Manoeuvres in connection with the broad masses and members of the Party.

The rôle of the POLSKE STRONNIZTWE LUDOWE (Polish People's Party P.P.P.). The attitude of the rank and file of the Polish People's Party and of the active Party workers in the localities. The influence of the latest measures of the government in the village. CLASS friction in the P.P.P. (the attitude towards its kulak leadership) on the basis of immediate interests (the question of prices, land distribution, reduction of debt, taxes, etc.), and on the basis of political strivings (attitude towards capitalism, proletariat, socialism).

OTHER GROUPINGS: Ukrainian, White Russians, German parties, etc.

Group II. SHORTCOMINGS AND WEAK POINTS IN THE STRIKE MOVEMENT IN 1935. Methods applied by the government and the capitalists, by the P.P.S. (Polish Socialist Party) and the P.P.S. and Bund bureaucrats against strikes. Terror in the enterprises and methods of struggling against it. The rôle of our organisations in the growing large-scale strike struggles. How to develop the strike struggle on the basis of the united front (independent initiative, organisational preparations, fulfilment). Combination of strikes with the seizure of enterprises.

The conditions of the AGRICULTURAL WORKERS and the means of intensifying our work among them. The lessons of our activities directly on the landed estates and in the reformist trade unions, led by Kwapinski. The possibilities of organising new trade union departments, where there are none at present. Work among the semi-proletarian elements (seasonal agricultural workers and forest workers).

The causes of the poor activity of the UNEMPLOYED and the means of improving same. Stress to be laid first and foremost on the main points of unemployment: Upper Silesia—over 100,000, Lodz—over 40,000, Warsaw—about 40,000 of registered unemployed.

Group III. LESSONS OF THE TACTICS OF THE BROAD UNITED FRONT.

How are the arguments of the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party and of the Central Committee of the Bund against the united front (particularly references to our alleged manoeuvres and "attacks") accepted by the masses (members of the Socialist Party of Poland, of the Bund and non-party).

Lessons of united front action ACCOMPLISHED. Their result and influence on the masses. Their tactical and organisational difficulties.

Danger of being "lulled," the risk of drowning the question of the united front in negotiations, and of delaying the united front campaign. The united front and our INDEPENDENT mass campaign. Our direct penetration among the lower strata of the rank-and-file of the Socialist Parties, with the programme of the united front, the results achieved and experience gained.

The united front and the clarity of the political face of our Party. The propaganda of our basic slogans and aspirations, particularly of the slogan of Soviet power.

THE UNITED FRONT IN THE TRADE UNIONS. LESSONS OF

* The Jewish Social-Democratic Party, section of the Second International.

the campaign on the programme of the "four points."* Methods of intensifying our activity in the reformist trade unions.

Did the revolutionary trade union opposition groups enter the reformist trade unions, to what extent, and what are their achievements there?

Methods of work in the FASCIST TRADE UNIONS (lessons and conclusions). Special attention to be given to those branches of industry where the fascist trade unions actually have a monopoly (war industry and certain metallurgical and chemical works).

Specific questions of the Jewish trade union movement (the question of internationalisation).

Trade union, political and other peculiarities in Upper Silesia from the point of view of the united front.

Group IV. QUESTIONS OF WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. The most burning needs and requirements of the peasant masses at the present moment. Questions advanced by the peasant masses themselves (to discover which we are supporting, and partial demands advanced by our Party; the most frequent causes of conflicts, with the landlord estates, between the peasant poor, the middle peasants and the kulak upper strata of the countryside).

HOW DO OUR ORGANISATIONS APPLY THE METHODS OF THE UNITED FRONT TO THE LOWER ORGANISATIONS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S PARTY.

The possibilities of working in the mass peasant organisations (in the small peasants' union and in the union catering for small-scale farmers, and in economic and cultural-educational organisations).

Group V. METHODS OF WORKING AMONG THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS MASSES AND TOILING INTELLECTUALS (the urban poor and employees in state, municipal and private enterprises as well as the student youth). Organisation of the day to day struggle against taxes, evictions, etc. The ideological struggle against nationalism.

Group VI. QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL POLICY. The struggle against great-power chauvinism,* and the question of solidarity demonstrations of the Polish proletariat with the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Poland. Methods of popularising the slogan of self-determination to the point of separation. The struggle against national oppression, anti-Semitism and to overcome national separatism.†

Questions concerning the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and of the Communist Party of Western White Russia will be decided by the Central Committees of these parties from the point of view of the pre-Congress campaign.

Group VII. How the united front campaign has been developed around the programme of PARTIAL DEMANDS (September, 1934) in the struggle against war, in defence of the U.S.S.R. Lessons provided by individual organisations in the struggle against war. Methods of popularising the U.S.S.R.

Group VIII. Work in the Polish army. Participation of ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS AND OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE in this work ("organisation of mass pressure—influencing the army from outside," resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland

* The "Four Points," proposed as the basis on which trade union unity is to be achieved, namely: (1) organisation of joint general meetings to elect branch committees; (2) trade union democracy; (3) establishment of youth sections; and (4) acceptance to membership of individuals expelled for political convictions and proportional representation.—Ed.

* Jingoism of members of an oppressing nation in relation to members of the oppressed nation.—Ed.

† The tendency among oppressed nations to desire to be completely "separated" from other nations.—Ed.

"On work in the army," June, 1934). Lessons and possibilities in this sphere.

Group IX. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE YOUTH AS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL TASK FACING THE WHOLE PARTY. Methods of guiding the activity of the Young Communist League by the Party. Shortcomings in this guidance and the means of improving same.

The united front in the organisations of the youth. The elaboration of a united front programme for the youth. The economic and cultural demands of the toiling youth, as well as of the unemployed youth who cannot find an access to work. The struggle to establish youth sections in the trade unions. The struggle against labour camps.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE FOR THE YOUTH. The struggle against nationalism and fascism among the youth. Ideological activity (legal and illegal) inside the hostile organisations.

Possibilities for working inside the reformist and fascist organisations. Tactics to be adopted in both cases.

Group X. IDEOLOGICAL WORK INSIDE THE PARTY. STRUGGLE AGAINST DEVIATIONS AND MISTAKES. Wherein were wavering and confusion displayed most frequently in the individual links of the Party, in connection with the tactics of the united front? What are the doubts comrades experience in connection with the united front tactics?

Wherein do Right opportunist tendencies most frequently display themselves at the present moment in our Party organisations? The same in regard to Left sectarian tendencies? What are the sentiments and arguments advanced by these tendencies?

Group XI. ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS. The state of the party cells (factory, street and rural) and how they are functioning. Means of adjusting the activity of the nuclei, of livening them up and of making them more active.

Methods of guidance on the part of district and regional committees. How the district and regional committees function. Forms and limits of INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, while at the same time increasing CONSPIRACY.

Methods of linking up LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK among workers, peasant masses, etc.

How to acquaint the Party with decisions and resolutions of the Central Committee. Shortcomings in this respect, and how to eliminate such. Discussion and operation of the decisions of the Central Committee.

THE STATE OF THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL PARTY TECHNICAL STAFF and of the distribution of literature. Shortcomings, weak points and conclusions. Questions of extending local technique (district, regional, cell). Methods of improving the technique and publications of the lower organisations (appeals, factory and regional newspapers).

PARTY FINANCE. THE QUESTION OF REGULATING MEMBERSHIP DUES AND THE CHECK-UP OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

* * *

THE LEADERSHIP OVER THE CAMPAIGN AND THE FORMS IT SHOULD TAKE. The most advisable forms to be used, in addition to discussions in Party organisations are ARTICLES, LETTERS AND EVEN INDIVIDUAL REMARKS sent by individual comrades to the Party press. These materials should be considered as particularly IMPORTANT AND URGENT by the respective bodies—the February issue of the *Chervonny Sztandar* should serve first and foremost as a basis and as a guidance for the exchange of opinions. In addition, there is the editorial:

"From Shaken Stabilisation to the Second Round of Revolutions and Wars," reprinted in No. 1 (75) of the *Novy Pszegłond* (see "C.I." No. 24, Vol. XI., Eng. Ed.) and other articles from the *Communist International*, appearing under the heading of "Tribune for the Seventh Congress."

Further, there are the following:

POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.P.

Pamphlet by COMRADE LENSKI, "The Truth About the United Front."

Article by COMRADE LENSKI, "For a Wide Anti-Fascist Front," No. 6 (74) *Novi Pszegłond*.

Article by COMRADE LENSKI, "The Communist Party of Poland Before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International," No. 1 (75), *Nov. Psz.*

Article by COMRADE HENRICHOVSKY, on "The Programme of Unity in the Trade Union Movement," No. 6 (74), *Nov. Psz.*

Article by COMRADE HENRICHOVSKY on "Our Tactics in the Village," No. 1 (75), *Nov. Psz.*

Article by COMRADE BELEVSKY, "On Organisational Questions," in No. 1 (75), *Nov. Psz.*

The Central Committee instructs the Party technical staff and the Party Committees to deliver most speedily and to check the delivery of the above-mentioned materials to all the organisations of the Party.

The results of the discussion in Party organisations (cells) should be immediately conveyed to the Central Committee.

*Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Poland.*

Warsaw, Jan. 1, 1935.

BOOK REVIEW

AGAINST THE "CONCILIATIONIST" SMUGGLERS

By WILHELM PIECK.

(On Kurt Heinrich's book, "The New Programme of Social Democracy")

THE Communist Party of Germany is doing its utmost to establish the broadest united front with the social-democratic workers, functionaries and organisations. Through the medium of the united front, the C.P.G. wants to struggle together with the social-democratic workers and their organisations for better wages and better working conditions, against the fascist labour laws and against factory despotism, against driving the youth out of the enterprises, against compulsory labour and agricultural assistance! Together with them we want to fight against the terror of the brown murderers, against an anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary war, and an imperialist war. Every social-democratic worker and social-democratic party functionary, every social-democratic organisation, all who desire to struggle along with us for these aims, must be involved in the united front. At the present moment this is the immediate task facing the German proletariat.

In the process of united militant actions the broad masses of the social-democratic workers will convince themselves, thanks to our clear-cut communist agitation, and on the basis of experiences acquired in the struggle, that the Communist Party alone shows the only correct road to the overthrow of Hitler fascism, and to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat — to the creation of a Soviet Germany. Thus, the united

front is the prerequisite for rallying the majority of the German proletariat under Communist leadership in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These efforts of the Party, directed towards the establishment of the united front, oblige us more than ever before to decisively repulse all open and masked attacks on the revolutionary principles of our Party. Precisely these efforts demand of us that we sharpen our vigilance against all attempts to attack the revolutionary general line of the Party. One can see most clearly in the pamphlet of Kurt Heinrich how, recently, among the "Conciliators," who say that they have long ago given up the struggle against the Party, hopes have been born to divert the Party along the line of Brandler and the conciliators. But the conciliators have miscalculated.

An Attempt to Drag in a Conciliatory Estimate of Social-Democracy.

Heinrich, who for many years has been one of the leaders of the conciliators in the C.P.G., assures us that he sets himself the task to analyse in his book the discussion on the programme of the social-democratic party from a Communist point of view. It suffices, however, to read this book more or less attentively in order to see that Heinrich has used it to introduce conciliatory

opinions. In this book the attempt is made, often openly and often in a masked form, to drag in a "conciliatory" estimation of social-democracy past and present, the conciliators' old malicious criticism of the Party leadership and the conciliationist estimation of the situation at the time of Hitler's advent to power.

A great part of Heinrich's book is devoted to the Miles group. Even this manner of casting his material is not accidental. The Miles group does not by any means play such a great rôle in the country as to merit so much attention. The attempt to refute social-democracy ideologically and organisationally cannot be undertaken chiefly on the basis of the Miles group. Heinrich asserts that the Miles group is a group of "mature social-fascism," and, at the same time, that the Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany maintains a more radical position than this group. The political essence of such a distribution of the material in the book and of such an estimation of the Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party is not to direct the main fire at the Prague Central Committee.

This intention is demonstrated with absolute clarity by Heinrich's assertion that Wels and Stampfer do not want to establish connections between the various social-democratic groups in the country. Speaking about the programme issued by the Prague C.C. in January, 1934, Heinrich declares:

"We will show below that the new organisational scheme of the social-democratic party—as it is understood by the C.C.—consciously places before itself the task to avoid creating a broad organisation of social-democratic party members, and not to establish connections between the individual groups."

The Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party does not want to establish connections between the social-democratic groups within the country—can anyone think of anything more absurd? On the contrary! The Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party, as well as the whole of the Second International, is doing its very best to establish connections with the individual social-democratic groups in the country in order to restore a centralised Social-Democratic Party. Experience has already shown us that social-democratic groups and organisations which only yesterday expressed a readiness to enter into negotiations with us for a united front are now under the influence of these endeavours of the Prague C.C., declaring: let those higher up first come to an understanding!

It would be naïve to suppose that Heinrich seriously thinks that the Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party really does not want to establish connections between the social-democratic groups

within the country. Heinrich's statement is an attempt to dull the vigilance of the Party as regards these endeavours of the Prague C.C. This attempt follows directly from the attitude of the conciliators towards the S.P. of Germany as towards "an older brother" whom they do not want to hurt. Its source lies in the old Brandlerite and conciliationist liquidationist position towards our Party.

Slander of the Leadership of the C.P. of Germany.

Heinrich delivers his attack on the Party leadership in a manner typical of the conciliators, i.e., foully and maliciously. He repeats the Trotskyist-Brandlerite conciliationist slander to the effect that the policy of the C.P.G. leadership hindered the united front action of the working class to avert fascism in Germany. In 1930-1931 when the fascist danger had developed, as well as after Hitler's coming to power, the C.P. of Germany defended and continues to defend the view that "Germany is not Italy"! This position is determined by a number of causes, including such facts that the relative stabilisation of capitalism has come to an end; the C.P.G., being a revolutionary mass organisation, now opposes to fascism, an entirely different force than our brother Italian Party was able to do. But the conciliators and the Trotskyites come out jointly against this thesis and predict "a counter-revolutionary epoch"—an Italian perspective for Germany. In his book, Heinrich tries to attack the Party leadership in connection with this thesis, covering himself with the following "inoffensive" remarks:

"Is there anyone who does not remember the leading articles appearing again and again in the *Vorwaerts*, in which we were assured that Germany is not Italy . . . ?"

This "reminiscence" is commented by Heinrich as follows:

"It is true that at that time the social-democratic workers did not understand that those who design such special conditions for Germany, pursue a direct practical political purpose; to divert the workers from the struggle against fascism, to minimise the fascist danger and, above all, to prevent the united front action of the working class directed against fascism."

And so here, in the manner of the conciliationists, one says one thing, but has another in mind. Since Heinrich's book was published by the "Prometheus" publishing house, the author could not attack the Party leadership openly. He carries out his task in a masked form, and because of that, more viciously. A direct attack on the Party leadership is carried out in Germany by other conciliators, who illegally distribute their anti-Party circulars.

Fritz Heckert's article, *Why Hitler in Germany?** which appeared after Hitler's advent to power, and contained a statement of the position of the C.P.G.

* Modern Books, Ltd.

on the question of the situation in Germany, is certainly known to Heinrich. In this article it states that:

"German fascism cannot be compared with Italian fascism. Italian fascism came to power at the beginning of the period of capitalist stabilisation, German fascism at the end of this period. Italian fascism crept in on the ebb of a revolutionary wave, whereas German fascism has come to power at a time when the wave of revolution is on the upsurge. Italian fascism was the fascism of a country victorious in the World War, it was a participant and executor of Versailles; whereas German fascism is an object of Versailles and has come into collision with ever-growing international difficulties from the very first steps of its existence. Italian fascism came into being at a moment when the Versailles Treaty had fixed the stability of international relations for a number of years. German fascism comes into power at a moment when the Versailles system of relations is breaking up. The German proletariat is large in numbers. It has passed through the school of the proletarian revolution of 1918-19, which, although unsuccessful, was, nevertheless, a revolution. The German proletariat has formed the most powerful Communist Party after the C.P.S.U., a thing which the Italian proletariat did not possess after the split at Leghorn."

The Situation in Germany in January-February, 1933.

What was the situation in Germany the moment Hitler took power? The resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1st, 1933, points out that the economic and political situation in Germany had been exceptionally aggravated at that time, that the Communist Party had become a gigantic force in the ranks of the working class. The revolutionary crisis was ripening at a rapid pace, while, on the other hand, in the camp of the ruling classes, deep contradictions had appeared. The governments of Papen and Schleicher showed themselves to be unable to hold back the growth of Communism. In order to defend itself, the proletariat would have had to resort to an armed uprising, and the working class would have fought on the barricades not for the Weimar republic, but for a Soviet Germany. But the peculiar features of the situation at the moment of Hitler's coup showed that the prerequisites for a victorious uprising had not yet ripened. And so in Germany in January-February, 1933, there were the alternatives: either the proletarian dictatorship or the Hitler dictatorship.

The platform of the group of conciliators distributed in Germany polemises against the estimates of the situation given by the C.I. and the C.P.G. In this platform it is stated that not the question of "either a proletarian dictatorship or the Hitler dictatorship," but the struggle between bourgeois democracy and fascism was on the order of the day.

In this platform we read the following:

"The Party leadership says that it was not possible to fight because the prerequisites did not exist for an armed

uprising, i.e., for the winning of power by the proletariat; and the party leadership compares the situation in January with the famous theses of Lenin about the prerequisites for the taking of power by the proletariat in Russia in 1917. Our party leadership is right when it says that in January the armed uprising and the taking of power was not possible. But it thereby obviously replies to a question which was not called for, neither by the working class nor by history and which was prompted only by its illusions . . . The working class was not in the position to conquer power."

According to the authors of the platform, the "historical question ripening in January" was not the question of armed uprising—the problem was *only* how "to avert the most extreme form of a counter-revolutionary victory: the fascist dictatorship." The question of whether one should have organised the armed uprising in January-February, 1933, is, according to the conciliators—the authors of this platform—idle talk, because at that time the question was not one of establishing the proletarian dictatorship but of saving the Weimar republic.

In the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. of April 1st, 1933, it states that:

"The characteristic feature of the circumstances at the time of the Hitler coup was that these conditions for a victorious rising had not yet managed to mature at that moment. They only existed in an embryonic state.

"As for the vanguard of the working-class, the Communist Party, it did not wish to slip into rash adventures, and, of course, could not compensate for the missing factors by its own actions."

I will not enter into a discussion with the conciliators on their conceptions. The point of view of the conciliators coincides exactly with the conception of social-democracy. In this connection I will say only this: Heinrich's book makes the same attempt to pass on to the reader the "conciliationist" platform. Speaking about Hitler's advent to power, he says:

"At the decisive moment in the struggle between democracy and fascism, the contradictions between the bourgeois factions were put aside and they all blessed the murderer's arms aimed at the working class."

The entire introduction of Heinrich's book is permeated with the idea that in Germany, early in 1933, there existed only the "struggle between democracy and fascism." But this is not true. Much more was involved; here the question involved was the struggle between the proletarian revolution and the open fascist dictatorship.

Estimate of the S.P.G. and the C.P.G.

The old attitude of the conciliators and Brandlerites towards the C.P.G. and S.P.G.—an attitude of scorn towards the C.P.G., while, on the contrary, towards the S.P.G. one of veneration, is repeatedly displayed in Heinrich's book. In a special chapter he talks about "the rooting out of all the revolutionary traditions in the labour movement" by

means of the Miles programme. The chapter dealing with this question begins as follows:

"In order to definitely weaken the proletariat, in order to deprive it of all faith in the possibility of solving its tasks, Miles must also disavow the history of the revolutionary labour movement. In order to drag in his social-fascist ideology, Miles must show that the proletariat of Germany never had a revolutionary Party and therefore no revolutionary traditions."

Miles undoubtedly had such intentions. It is true, however, that Miles denies that social-democracy was ever a real workers' party. But to counter-balance this, Heinrich would have been obliged to bring proof, in this chapter, showing that the German proletariat has a revolutionary party, that it has had already for a period of 16 years the Communist Party of Germany. Nevertheless Heinrich completely "forgets" about the existence of the Communist Party and does not remember to say a single word about it. The revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat are first of all, and chiefly, in the 16 years of struggle of the German Communist Party. Heinrich shows typical Brandlerite-conciliationist disdain for the C.P.G. and veneration for the "old Brother," the S.P.G.

The quotations cited by me from Heinrich's book show that we have to do here with a "conciliatorist" attack on the C.P.G. As we well know, right-opportunist views often match left-sectarian, left-opportunist views. This we see also in the book of Heinrich. It ends with several paragraphs in which the author intended to indicate the tasks and aims of the Communist Party for the near future. But what do we read here? Instead of struggle for the united front there is talk about unity in the C.P.G. The whole campaign for the united front is represented as a campaign for recruiting into the C.P.G. In the pamphlet we read the following:

"The working class is moved by a deep desire for unity. The urge towards the common struggle in a united organisation against the common enemy, against fascism, is becoming stronger . . . The earnest desire of the social-democratic masses for unity in our class appears in numerous examples of masses joining the Communist Party . . . This is a beginning. The Communist Party is determinedly marching along this path. Its aim is unity of action of the working class, unity in the German labour movement."

Here unity of action is represented as a campaign for recruiting into the C.P.G. But unity of action does not place the condition before the social-democratic workers and functionaries, on

the social-democratic groups and organisations, that they must join the Communist Party. Only in the process of common militant actions will the broad masses of social-democratic workers come to the Communist Party. Thus the proposals in Heinrich's book amount to asking us to begin the other way round. This road does not lead the German proletariat to common action.

Distortion of the Line of the C.P.G. on the Trade Union Question.

At the very end of his book Heinrich speaks about the trade union question. He carefully avoids setting the task of re-establishing free trade unions as organisations based on the class struggle. He talks about "the building of trade unions and the creation of cadres of trade union representatives," but not about the re-establishment of the free trade unions.

By our slogan, "restoration of free trade unions as organisations based on the class struggle," we respond to the mass tendency in the ranks of the German proletariat. In the course of many years, the working class of Germany, its class-conscious strata, built free trade unions with great efforts and many sacrifices. The leaders of the free unions transformed these organisations into appendages of capitalist economy and of the capitalist state, thereby clearing the way for fascism. But among the broad masses of the German workers, who are organised in the free trade unions, there exists the strong will for the transformation of their organisations into organisations based on the class struggle and for using them in the struggle against capitalism. This urge has not disappeared with the coming of Hitler to power, it has been strengthened! Our task and duty is to utilise this will of the masses, to deepen it and strengthen it further.

Heinrich's book contains a violent right-opportunist attack on the general line of the Party, and at the same time defends the left-opportunist view. It is possible that we have to do here with a subtle literary attempt of the "conciliators" to establish contact with the left-sectarian elements of the Party in order to form a common front for the attack on the Communist Party of Germany. However that may be, the Party will mercilessly smash the conciliators and their schemes. Greater vigilance in the struggle for the general line of the Party — this is demanded of us at the present moment!

IN MEMORY OF THE LATE COMRADE I. I. MINKOV

The Presidium of the All-Union Society of Old Bolsheviks sorrowfully announces the death of a member of the Society—COMRADE I. I. MINKOV.

The Communist Party and the Trade Union Committee of the Communist International sorrowfully announce the death of a co-worker of the Communist International, an Old Bolshevik—COMRADE I. I. MINKOV.

THE LIFE STORY OF A BOLSHEVIK COMRADE I. I. MINKOV

On the 8th of February, 1935, after a protracted illness, Comrade I. I. Minkov passed away. In his death we lose an old Bolshevik and a firm proletarian revolutionary.

He was born in 1894 in the town of Borisov, Minsk province. He was the son of a typesetter. In early childhood he moved with the family to the town of Dnepro-Petrovsk (formerly Ekaterinoslav), where he lived until 1910. He completed the primary school, studied for two years in a trade and industrial school. At the end of 1910 he went to Canada, where he worked as a store clerk and then as a worker in different factories.

In 1911 he joined the "Russian Progressive Club" in the City of Winnipeg. In the spring of the same year he joined the group of Russian Social-Democrats. He belonged to its Bolshevik section. From 1912 to 1913 he was Secretary of the Russian section of the Canadian Socialist Party and a member of the Winnipeg Committee. In 1913 he was one of the organisers of the first May-Day demonstration ever held in the City of Winnipeg. He carried on active organisational, political and educational work among the Russian and Ukrainian immigrant workers as well as among the native Canadians. He actively participated in the collection of funds

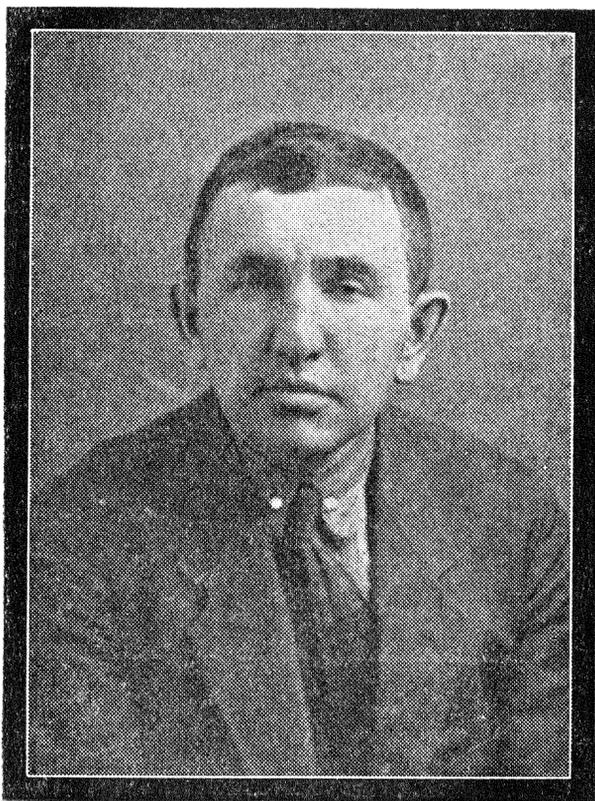
to assist the foreign and the Russian Bolshevik press, as well as to aid the political prisoners in Russia. He worked in the election campaign on

behalf of the local Socialist organisation. During the election campaign he opposed the corruption in the Provincial Parliament of Manitoba.

In the middle of 1915 he was forced to leave for the United States, for the city of Philadelphia. Soon after his arrival there he was elected Secretary of the Russian section of the American Socialist Party, as well as a member of the Socialist Party Committee in Philadelphia.

From the very outbreak of the world war he conducted very active work against those who took a patriotic stand, against the anarchists and the other petty-bourgeois trends. On instructions from the Russian section of the Party organisation in Phila-

delphia he made a report at a Party Conference on the question of the attitude of the American Socialist Party to America's entrance into the imperialist war. He presented a resolution drawn up by the Bolshevik section of the Party organisation on the question of the attitude towards the war and the tasks of the American Socialist Party. In 1916 he went to New York, where he joined the Editorial Staff of "Novi Mir,"



strengthening the Bolshevik wing and taking charge of the workers' correspondence department.

In July, 1917, he returned to Russia and from the very first days conducted propaganda against the war and against the Provisional Government, in Vladivostok and along the way to Petrograd. In August, 1917, he began to work in the Moscow Regional Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks).

During the October days he carried out various fighting assignments from the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee. The Bolshevik work which Comrade MINKOV carried on after that is briefly summed up in the following:

1917-18: Secretary, Moscow Regional Committee R.S.D.L.P.* (B.)

1918-20: Secretary, Moscow Provincial Committee R.C.P. (B.), member Moscow Provincial Executive Committee and a member of its Presidium.

1921-22: Secretary, Samara Provincial Committee R.C.P. (B.), member Samara Provincial Executive Committee and its Presidium.

1923-24: Candidate, Central Control Commission C.P.S.U.

1925-27: Member, Central Control Commission C.P.S.U.

* Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, in 1918 re-named the Russian Communist Party, and in 1925 re-named the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (of Bolsheviks).—Ed.

1928-30: Did not work on account of illness.

In recent years, notwithstanding the fact that he was an invalid, Comrade MINKOV worked very intensively in the Anglo-American Secretariat. In 1928 Comrade MINKOV became a member of the Society of Old Bolsheviks, where he also worked very intensively when his health permitted.

Beside all that has been enumerated above, Comrade MINKOV, before 1930, was a delegate to almost all the Party congresses and conferences and he was also a delegate to several congresses of the Soviets. From 1918 to 1924 he was a member of the C.E.C. of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Everywhere where Comrade MINKOV worked he worked energetically and faithfully, and was always in the front ranks in the struggle for the general line of the Party and proved himself to be a real BOLSHEVIK.

PIATNITSKY
YAROSLAVSKY
BUBNOV
SHERMAN
ZELENSKY
SORIN
PORTER
YAKOVLEVA
MINGULIN
YANSON
SIROTA

MEHRING
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