

# THE UNITED FRONT—NEXT STEPS

By HARRY POLLITT

"The extension of the united front tactics, demonstrated already in the municipal elections and to be carried further with the further development of the situation, needs thorough-going discussion."

"It is clear that the Communist Party has not changed its views of the Labor Party, of its character, of its program or of the policy which the Labor Party leaders would endeavor to carry out in a future Labor Government.

"Since this is so, what is the basis of the new extended united front tactics in the elections? The correct understanding of these questions is the key to our whole line in the coming period. What is our attitude to the Labor slogan of a Third Labor Government? What should be the tactics of the militant workers at the coming General Election?" (Political Bureau Opening Statement on the Coming Thirteenth Party Congress of the C.P.G.B.)

**I**N the recent municipal elections, the Communist Party made a very important step forward in the development of its campaign for building up the united front against the National Government and employers' attacks and against fascism and war.

It is now necessary, in view of the whole situation confronting the workers, and the results and experiences gained in the municipal elections, to consider what are the next steps to be taken by the Communist Party in the carrying out of its most important task—the building up of the fighting united front of action, to achieve the workers' immediate demands, and prevent the advance of fascism and war.

In this article I shall not review in detail the experiences of the Communist Party in the municipal elections all over the country, but indicate the main features of the elections, and some lessons for the Communist Party.

The election results undoubtedly show the hatred of the workers for the National Government and all capitalist representatives on the local councils, and their firm determination to get rid of them on any occasion presenting itself; a determination which is deeper and more class-conscious than ever before, particularly after the experiences of the fight against fascism in Germany, Austria, and more recently in Spain.

There can be no doubt at all but what the recent events in Spain, occurring as they did on the eve of the municipal elections, also exercised a big influence. The elections also gave added point to a generally accepted conclusion, namely, that the most outstanding feature of the mood of the workers in Britain at the present time is their passionate desire for united action, and it is significant that in those wards where the Labor candidates were supporting the united front, their votes were the highest ever recorded in those particular places.

It is important to note, also, that the aims of the workers as expressed in the elections, and in the various mass campaigns which have taken place in Britain this year, are entirely different from the aims of their leaders. There is nothing in common, in my opinion, between the aims and intentions of the workers still under the influence of the Labor leaders and the policy that these leaders are carrying out. There is a class movement behind the swing to the Labor Party in the elections. It is a mass movement of the workers that cannot be separated from the militant movement, that this year has particularly manifested itself in the support of the Hunger March and National Congress; the big anti-fascist actions; the strikes, and militancy displayed in these strikes, reaching its highest point in the Taff Merthyr strike.

The task of the Communist Party is to organize this class feeling, mood and determination of the workers to fight their class enemies, into a definite united front movement of daily conscious struggle, which can develop so strongly in the factories, trade unions and localities, that it not only breaks down the ban on united front activity imposed by the Labor leaders, but effectively challenges their whole policy of class collaboration.

It is this new feature of the present moods of the workers that has already forced significant concessions to be given by the employers on the wage demands of the workers, and Labor Councils to act more quickly than ever before in fulfilling certain parts of the election pledges.

It also explains the fierce resentment now being expressed in many local Labor Parties at the proposal of Herbert Morrison, to Labor Councils, not to forget to elect Tory Aldermen. For in this proposal the workers see the effort being made to continue capitalist traditions, that cover the carrying out of the whole principle of capitalist continuity.

This proposal of Morrison's also shows his terror of the one-party system of local government which the workers have established in a number of London boroughs, and he is anxious to bring in by the back door the peaceful old two-party system that is so helpful to the Labor leaders' policy of class collaboration.

Our Party adopted a political line in the recent municipal elections that correctly demonstrated revolutionary leadership and understanding of which was the next link in the chain that had to be grasped in order to strengthen the unity in action of the working class.

What was the situation? First, the growing recognition that even the limited forms of united action, achieved in struggle during this year, had clearly revealed the great possibilities and victories that could be gained by the workers if the united front was extended to the elections and not limited in its scope. Combined with this was the demand of the workers that everything possible should be done to strengthen their fighting united action in every phase of the class struggle.

Second, the growing tension in the whole international situation—the events in Spain; the government crisis in France, hiding the attempts of the fascists in France to establish an open fascist regime; in Britain, the Sedition Bill; the new drive for the lowering of the standards of the workers, and the increasing exploitation and impoverishment of the workers.

Third, the great successes of the united front in France before and during the Communal elections, and the increased prestige and influence of the Communist Party of France, leading to the consolidation and strengthening of the united front to such an

extent that the fascist line of Doumergue was undoubtedly checked.

Fourth, when the Labor leaders of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress, after Weymouth and Southport, with their "million majorities" against the united front, felt that they had at last adopted measures which were effectively preventing any further development of united front activity between the workers under their influence and the revolutionary workers, and when they had gone even further and brought forward proposals for adoption in the trade unions and trade councils that could only result in splitting the trade unions and trade councils all over the country.

Fifth, when in the localities it was absolutely clear that although we had got various united front campaigns successfully initiated, when it came to elections, the local Labor Party workers were apprehensive that the same unity in action could not find a means of expressing itself in the electoral struggle as well, and when the argument about splitting the workers' forces came up in a very sharp form.

These were the main factors which demanded an extension in the united front policy of the Communist Party.

What were the main positive gains that resulted from this policy? First, the Communist Party undoubtedly helped forward the development of the militant swing against capitalism and all that it stood for, both in national and local politics; that the Communist Party was brought into closer touch with local Labor Party workers, members and officials, and with workers under the influence of the local Labor Parties than ever before; that we were able to explain our policy and tactics to sections of reformist workers who have previously been hostile to our policy, or completely untouched by our propaganda; that the publicity and discussion created, particularly in the local press all over the country, by the united front proposals of the Communist Party in the elections, and the demands from the rank and file of the Labor Party, that the united front should be established with the Communist Party, represent a big advance.

Our proposals undoubtedly struck a heavy blow at the intentions of the Labor leaders, who had thought that they had smashed the possibility of a further extension of the united front in Britain, but who now see it breaking through in the localities in a sharper form than ever before, and under circumstances which make it increasingly difficult for them to prevent the workers under their influence taking part, and it has established a firm basis for the immediate following up and the carrying on in more practical forms of united front activity in connection with the fulfilment of the election pledges and program of the Labor Party in the municipal elections.

What were the principal weaknesses revealed in the election campaign? The main weakness was the putting forward of unity as an abstract thing and not seeing the united front of action as the only means of defending the interests of the workers.

The tendency to swing right over to the belief that we ought to withdraw all Communist Party candidates and give the Labor Party a clear field; that even where Communist Party candidates were running more attention was given in such places to explaining the united front proposals in general and not enough drive for our own policy and support for our own candidates; insufficient attention was given to carrying out joint activity in the election campaign where the Labor candidates accepted our united front proposals, and we did not press home sufficiently strongly the necessity for our taking part in Labor election meetings, canvassing and all other forms of electoral activity, in order to mobilize every working man and woman behind the united front that had been concluded in such localities.

Insufficient Communist Party meetings were carried on in places where we had established the united front with the Labor Party and Labor candidates, to explain our own election program, as well as why we were supporting the Labor candidates. We did not make clear in our meetings that our criticism of the Labor Party program and policy remains; while at the same time we gave full support to those who agreed with the united front and are prepared to support it in action.

In London, Glasgow, Manchester, and in many other important centers, it was clearly revealed by the election results that insufficient preparations were made for the elections, and, in some cases, candidates put forward where we had no mass basis to justify this, and where the united front with the local Labor Party would have brought much better results to the working-class fight in these localities, and laid a firm basis for future developments.

Finally, the outstanding weakness in the municipal elections was that there was no consistent recruitment for the Communist Party. We have not yet learned that in every campaign in which the Communist Party takes part, the test of it for our Party is not only how strongly we have developed the united front, but also how much stronger we have built the Communist Party, as a result of the continual winning of recruits, because the stronger the Communist Party becomes, the stronger become the revolutionary working-class forces, consciously working in every sphere for the development of united front activity, and for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

In working for the unity of the working class in its fight to win immediate demands, the Communist Party shows that it alone understands the strategy and tactics of the class struggle. Therefore the suc-

cessful growth of united front activity depends on the strengthening of the Communist Party's organization and influence.

Those militant workers who are not yet in the ranks of the Communist Party can greatly strengthen the fight for unity by joining the Party, bringing their experience to the service of the only Party whose policy is based entirely on the class struggle, and which for that reason, and because of its international outlook and organization, is the only Party which can lead the workers forward to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of Socialism.

What are the next steps to be taken in the united front campaign? I believe that every unit and local organization of our Party must become really active and concerned in all aspects of local politics and must emerge as the leaders for the workers' demands in connection with such questions as rents, housing, work schemes, Public Assistance Relief, as well as being able to take part in the general political issues and campaigns.

On these questions detailed directives have already been issued to the Party, and it is not necessary here to amplify these; only to emphasize that the united front proposals of our Party in the municipal elections were not put forward only for the duration of the election campaign, but were put forward for continued application after the elections, and it will be the degree that this daily application of the line is carried out that alone can build up the basis for a further successful extension of the united front and bring into active participation the broad mass of the workers who are still under the influence of the Labor leaders.

However, it is necessary, as the Opening Discussion Statement of the Political Bureau indicated, that we should consider what extension of our united front policy is demanded in the present situation. We should not be afraid to face the position boldly, overcome any difficulties and obstacles which we may meet, in our efforts to win the broadest masses of the workers to support the policy of the Communist Party.

A warning note needs to be sounded, that the whole success of the united front as a fighting front of working-class action depends upon what is done now to build it up in the daily struggle. We say this to guard against the danger of believing that an extension of our policy of achieving unity in action in the elections is only something to be practiced and fought for at election times.

Nothing could be more dangerous; the whole success of united activity depends upon what is done now in the factories, trade unions, and localities, to achieve the maximum unity in action, to secure the demands of the employed and unemployed workers, and the more this is done, the greater will be the

class character of any gains over our enemies in the elections.

Therefore, while steadfastly pursuing every present effort to build up the united front, I believe our Party Congress should clearly work out the policy to be adopted in all coming urban and Parliamentary elections, up to the General Election, and that the policy decided upon should immediately be popularized and operated in every case where it is applicable. With specific reference to the General Election, I believe that although we have previously announced our intention to enter candidates in a considerable number of constituencies, we must now consider this decision carefully, and our policy should be as follows:

1. We run Communist candidates only where we really have a mass basis and in these places make every conceivable effort to secure the election of the Communist candidates.

2. That we shall put forward a series of immediate demands which every worker believes it is absolutely essential to secure. Such demands may be as follows:

Abolition of the Means Test.

Repeal of the Trade Union Act.

Seven-hour day, without wage-cuts for the miners.

Forty-hour week without wage-cuts.

Repeal of the Unemployment Act, and the abolition of the labor and concentration camps.

Repeal of the Sedition Bill.

3. Declaration in favor of the united front against fascism and war, embracing every section of the working-class movement.

The Party should start work immediately in every area, popularizing these demands. In particular, we should put them before every Labor Party and Labor candidate, and make every effort to get them to pledge support for these demands, and for a united front campaign to win them.

I believe we can secure scores of Labor Parties and candidates to support this policy, so that immediately the situation in such localities takes on an entirely different character—a character of united mass struggle to win vital immediate demands of the working class.

In such a situation, the workers can understand that the demands do not depend only on speeches and votes in Parliament; the demands become the platform of action, organizing bigger sections of workers in united activity than ever before.

But it is absolutely imperative that the Communist Party shall also secure victory for its candidates, and secure revolutionary representation in Parliament. The whole resources of the Party must be organized behind the Communist candidates in the constituencies for which they are selected. It must be clearly understood that a group of Communists in Parliament will have the greatest importance for the whole working class, as well as leading to significant changes in

the attitude taken up in Parliament by other representatives of the working class.

The winning of the workers for the support of Communist Party candidates is in no sense a weakening of the united front; on the contrary, the more workers we win for the program of the Communist Party, which is the revolutionary solution of the crisis, the stronger becomes the work for the united front to achieve certain immediate demands, because more conscious revolutionary fighters have been won for the Communist Party, who are able to relate the daily struggle of the working class to their final revolutionary aim—the conquest of power, the establishment of the Workers' Dictatorship, and the building of the new socialist society.

If, therefore, we carry out this policy, as well as giving full support to those Labor Parties and candidates who are prepared to participate in a common fight on such issues as we have indicated, and in the united front fight against fascism and war, we are taking steps that can change entirely the political perspectives before the working class by the sharpening of the class issues that will take place, the destruction of many illusions regarding the attitude of the capitalist class and the program and policy of the Labor Party, and a powerful development in all forms of class action and struggle.

It is also essential to realize that this policy and the results it can bring depend on popularizing the program and policy of the Communist Party not only where we are running candidates, but in every place where there is a cell and local organization of the Party, we must popularize not only our united front policy, but the whole revolutionary program of the Communist Party.

This will not only lead to the consistent daily recruiting and building up of the Party, but, in the event of betrayals taking place of the workers' interests by their leaders, any disillusionment thus created will not find an outlet by turning to the National Government as in 1931, or to the open Fascist Party of Mosley, but it will come to the Communist Party, whose ranks will be strengthened by the addition of large numbers of newly awakened class-conscious workers.

The Labor leaders will bitterly oppose this policy. They will issue the instruction, "No united front agreement with the Communist Party". They will do this, not because they are afraid in the coming General Election that they will be tainted with Moscow, not because they are afraid that the Labor Party will be identified in what is called the "public mind" with Communism, not because they are afraid that this identification would lead to the loss of votes.

They will oppose this line, because they believe it will win mass support on the basis of the united

front demands, that is to say, for class struggles, for going forward against the capitalist enemy, in every phase of the daily struggle, developing such power and organization, as to sharpen the whole class issue between the working class and capitalist class.

Therefore, if our Party Congress adopts this line, and makes it the dominating note in all its subsequent work, if it is carried through in the ranks of our Party, and with the authority of the Party Congress behind it and the election of the C.C. on the basis of the Congress decisions, then we shall see our Party making a tremendous step forward in the building up of such a united front as will receive the enthusiastic support and practical backing of decisive sections of workers—a united front based on the support of the workers in the factories, trade unions and Labor Parties, which strengthens the daily fight, and at elections is expressed in votes that are the demand also of action and struggle. Such a policy and such a united front in which scores of local Labor and Communist councillors and Labor and Communist members of Parliament are pledged to fight will be the most formidable challenge yet made, both to the class collaboration policy of the Labor leaders and to the capitalist class. Such a policy will meet with the unconcealed opposition of both the Labor leaders and the capitalist class. Such a policy can lead to the building up of a fighting united front that can bring into daily mass united activity millions of British workers.

But there is another question which must be discussed, this is the Labor Party slogan of "a third Labor government". We must again remember that our Party, because of the present situation, has to give a clear answer as to where it stands in relation to this slogan. It must do so, because it is an indisputable fact that, so far as millions of workers are concerned, they as yet only see as practical politics the alternatives of either a National government or a Labor government. The nearer we approach the general election, the more this question will become the main topic of discussion in factory, street and working class home.

Therefore our Thirteenth Party Congress, meeting in 1935, will not only have to lay down its own program of action, its policy in the trade unions, its policy of the united front, it will have to relate the whole question of the united front also to the answer it gives to the issue that a general election will raise, i.e., National government or Labor government. And we must discuss this question in the light of the situation as it really does exist, because it is always the immediate situation that determines the tactical line of the Communist Party.

In this connection it is important to recall the analysis made a year ago by the Thirteenth Plenum

of the E.C. of the Communist International, which states:

"The tremendous strain of the internal class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, as well as of the international antagonisms, testify to the fact that the objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis have matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars."

Everything which has happened this year only brings out more sharply the accuracy of this analysis, and we must be mindful that in this present period, when "the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars", Britain is not a country that is isolated from this analysis of the C.I., but is decisively concerned, and in this situation the National government will fight to the death against any attempts to undermine the position of British capitalism or to overthrow its present form of government.

Because of the whole international situation, we must bear in mind the important role that the results of the next general election will play in national and international politics.

It has been demonstrated beyond all doubt in France that where the workers succeeded in overcoming the obstacles to united front action, and together with the revolutionary workers carried out united activity, the advance of fascism and war has been stemmed, and, further, that the most important gains have been registered in the economic struggles as well.

Had it not been for the existence of this united front in France, the political situation in that country today would be entirely different, and would have immediately brought about a change in the international situation: a change that would have had very far-reaching significance for the working class all over the world; a change which would have brought not only war much nearer, but would have represented a considerable strengthening of the fascist elements in every capitalist country, and especially Britain.

But because of the united front between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in France (which, be it remembered, has aroused the anger and wrath of the leaders of the British Labor Party) an open fascist government has been so far prevented in France, and in the present international situation this represents a very important gain which cannot be overlooked.

If, after the temporary triumph of fascism in Germany, Austria, and Spain, the political developments which took place in France which gave an early perspective of a completely fascist dictatorship had not been checked, this would have meant war in Europe and intervention against the Soviet

Union, and the strengthening of fascism in Britain.

I put the question in this way because it is necessary to bear in mind, in considering our policy in relation to the situation here in the present period, that any weakening of the forces of capitalism, through securing the immediate demands of the workers through the united front and through the fight against the class collaboration of the Labor leaders, and the policy of the representatives of capitalism in the local and county councils and in Parliament itself, is of tremendous importance, and anything of this description which is achieved here in Britain has now a tremendous effect abroad.

Therefore, in the present period, working class activity against capitalism (even if the reformist illusions are still strong, as they are) takes on an entirely different character than in the past, and if the Communist Party carries on its fight for the united front, and its revolutionary propaganda, it can even objectively become of a revolutionary character.

With these facts in mind, we can approach the question of what lead we are going to give the workers at the general election. It is not a question of our taking over the Labor Party slogan of a third Labor government. Such a slogan immediately implies a government which would continue the line and policy of two previous Labor governments, and would be a disaster for the working class.

The Communist Party openly declares to the working class that a Labor government based upon the program and policy of the Labor Party is a government that will carry forward the whole administration of capitalism, through all its existing State machinery of government and repression, and cannot on this basis be the instrument through which the workers can win power and end the rule of employers, bankers, and landlords. It is also the reason why the specious promises of "the next Labor government will be different from the others" is a cruel deception of the workers, because nowhere in the policy and program of the Labor Party, in its methods of leadership and organization, is there any recognition of the class struggle and the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The only way in which the working class can find a solution of all the problems with which it is confronted is by the revolutionary way out of the crisis, building up the united front, building up the mass Communist Party, carrying through the workers' revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the working class and the Soviets and commencing to build socialist construction.

This is the fundamental basic program of the Communist Party, and all we do must be directed towards winning mass support for it. In the coming general election, however, the only issue in the minds

of these millions of workers is for the continuation of the National government or for a Labor government.

Have we to give a clear lead to these workers in this situation? Have we, in what might well be a decisive general election, determining the political and economic developments for a considerable period to come in Great Britain, to close our eyes to the fact that this is the issue agitating the minds of millions of workers, and give no clear answer? Or give an answer which in the minds of the British working class is no practical answer at all?

I believe that we have to face up frankly to this position, and to consider it in the actual circumstances that exist. What is meant by this? I mean that the situation is now changed to such an extent that while our criticism of the program of the Labor Party not only remains, but must be strengthened, while our criticism of the line of the Labor leaders not only remains, but must be strengthened, we must develop a positive political line towards this question of a Labor government.

We are no longer in 1923-4 when a period of capitalist stabilization was opening out, and it was possible for the first Labor government to come to power. We are no longer in the period of 1929, when the cries of "organized capitalism", "no more capitalist crisis", were the slogans of the day and a second Labor government came to power. We are in 1934. Fascism is in power in Germany, Austria and Spain. The forces of fascism, either through the open fascists as represented by Mosley, or through the policy of governments, as the National government, are ceaselessly carrying out their policy of attacks on the workers. There is mass unemployment. Every worker feels in his bones the menace of fascism and war, and every worker feels the need for the united front, in order to smash the designs of their class enemies. This is the situation today.

There is also another aspect of the situation to which attention must be given. Have we no perspective of the development of the revolutionary struggle in Germany and Austria?

Is it not a fact that the most important developments are taking place in both countries in which in the coming period the working class might very well achieve the most decisive break through and in doing so give an entirely new turn to the international situation? Have we no perspective for Spain? Is it not a fact that, in spite of the bloody terror of the Spanish fascists, every day the most significant happenings are taking place in Spain?

Is it not a fact that any break through now in any of the countries held down by fascist dictatorships, any victory for the revolution, will have a tremendous significance for the British workers, and would face

them with the carrying out of revolutionary tasks? In such a situation, when the masses are in a mood, not for class collaboration with their enemies, but for fighting against them, it will, providing that the Communist Party really carries into practice its united front policy, accompanied by the most intensive popularization of its revolutionary program, become increasingly difficult for the Labor leaders to hold these workers back from securing their demands, and from supporting the workers of Germany, Austria, Spain, or wherever the fight for working class power is being carried on.

I believe that it is worth while repeating a point which I made at the commencement of this article, namely, that the aims and intentions of the workers as expressed in all recent events are in violent contrast to the aims and intentions of their leaders.

In the coming period important issues are at stake, that can have very decisive effects in determining the future line of working class advance against the attacks of capitalism, and in retarding the advance of fascism and war.

It is of the utmost importance to secure a united class front at the general election, which will sweep away the National government and return a Labor government, even though our exposure of the character of a Labor government still stands, because the resultant mobilization and victorious impetus of the united working class will lead to a powerful strengthening of the fighting spirit and class solidarity of the workers, the pressing forward of further demands and advancing struggle, the strengthening of the class line, not the line of class collaboration preached by the Labor Party leadership, and the greater readiness to stand by the workers of other countries and prevent intervention in the event of a revolutionary break through. This becomes the basis for further united front advance and for the advancing leadership of the Communist Party.

The National government, at the coming general election, will resort to every means in their power to continue in power—Red letters, the Communist menace, Post Office savings scares; these will be very small beer to what they will attempt to put across.

The situation may also change to such an extent that the most serious efforts will be made to get a National government established in which the Labor Party will be asked to take part. But every serious observer of what is going on in the working class movement knows that the moods of the workers, especially after the German, Austrian, and Spanish events, are of such a character that short shrift would be made of those who attempted this. We need, today, to see not so much the Hendersons, Morrisons, Citrines, but the workers behind them that can be won and organized for militant working class action.

It may be that international developments may

take place postponing the general election—war, deepening of the economic crisis—but these are not arguments against my proposals, they are arguments for them.

The stronger the united front, on the basis of the policy I have outlined, the more difficult it will be for national government stunt propaganda at the last minute to sway the electors; it will only rouse more anger against them. The stronger the united front, the more impossible it will be for the Labor Party leaders to take the Labor Party into a national coalition government.

The stronger the united front, the more powerful will grow the Communist Party in its leadership of the workers' daily struggles, and the stronger will the whole working class be not only to face their daily struggles, but the issues that any crisis may bring along.

The stronger the united front, the more certain it will be that the workers will defeat the National government and the workers will win the majority in the elections, securing the return of a Labor government with a resulting situation which will give a further impetus to the united working class struggle against capitalism, fascism, and war.

The fullest discussion should take place on the issues raised in this article, because we stand at a decisive moment in the future development of the working class fight in Britain and of the Communist Party.

The correct policy and lead now will see our Party come in closer touch than ever before with millions of workers, exercising its influence and leadership and growing into a mass Communist Party.

It is necessary to understand once and for all that the Communist Party of Great Britain is not a propagandist sect; we are a political party, we are a political force. We do not exist only for the propagation of our ultimate aims and policy. We exist to give daily leadership in the changing situation in which we find ourselves.

We are a Party which must give that leadership, which day in and day out can strengthen the workers' fight. Our Party, in pursuing such a line as above, is in no way sinking its independence. On the contrary, it is revealed to the masses as a Party which understands that changes take place which necessitate a change in the whole direction of the working class fight so as to strengthen it in a positive political direction, and when we adopt this line we shall bring an entirely new perspective into the working class movement.

We shall reach out to sections of the working class with whom it is absolutely necessary to get into contact, and establish closest relations with the least possible delay, in order that the united front

can be built up, without which it is childish to consider the question of carrying through a revolution in this country.

I am of the firm opinion that the carrying out of this line will lead to such a strengthening of the

united front of the working class, on the basis of the class struggle and of the Communist Party, as will be able to repel the offensive of capital and fascism and to accelerate to an extraordinary degree the inevitable end of capitalist exploitation.