

RED CONGRESS ARGUES UNITED FRONT ISSUES

England and America Under Discussion

In this dispatch from our Moscow correspondent, delegates to the Communist International Congress are discussing the United Front. There is general agreement for the United Front in industry but sharp discussion regarding the United Front politically.

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(Special to the DAILY WORKER)

MOSCOW, June 24 (By Mail)

—Delegates from the entire length of the far flung Communist line that runs from the East Indies to the western continent took part in the June 23rd and 24th discussions on the United Front.

Frank exchange of views on international policy took place in the sifting out of strategy for the world-wide struggle. This was illustrated when Brown, the British representative, replied to Ruth Fischer's demand that the British Communists oppose the Labor Party.

Semau (Java) says that the Communist Party of Holland did not sufficiently support the revolutionary movement in Java. In Java, the delegate said, the movement is growing stronger as the result of the Russian revolution, but not with the co-operation of the Dutch Party.

Kreibich (Czechoslovakia) says the chief facts about the German retreat have not been sufficiently explained. Varga's economic theses are filled with the ideas of now one side and now the other, and are vaguely pessimistic. On the question of United Front policy there should be less talk of unmasking. Workers' government is possible within the framework of bourgeois democracy on account of the disintegration of this democracy. At the Fourth Congress Zinoviev spoke of the possibility of a coalition of workers' parties; at present Zinoviev opposes such a coalition. Here is a contradiction that must be explained.

Wolfe (Mexico) goes on to say that America is not only the center of world capital, but it is now becoming the center of world reaction. In South American countries uprisings are going on, financed by the big capitalists of the United States. The labor movement is finding itself in the hands of petty bourgeois leaders and of Gompers. In the labor unions in South America there is a tremendous sentiment in favor of the Communists. The Amsterdam International is without any influence at all.

Against Political Coalition

Bordiga (Italy) proceeded to say that the capitalist offense continues during the era of democratic pacifism.

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(Continued from page 1.)

Social-democracy and Fascism are the Heutenants of the bourgeoisie in this offensive. The coalition of all non-Fascist parties against the Fascisti would be the most banal use of the United Front policy. The unity of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist party is necessary, but nevertheless without any coalition with other parties. Social-democracy is not a workers party, so that a United Front with it is impossible.

The speaker is opposed to a bloc of political workers parties, but believes that a United Front policy in the trade unions and in the shop councils is applicable. For the incorrect application of the United Front policy the majority of the Fourth Congress and the Executive Committee as well are responsible, for they give incorrect formulations. The same is true of the workers government, the formulation of which by the Fourth Congresses must be repudiated, as the events in Saxony have proved.

"Workers government" is an ill-chosen synonym for "proletarian dictatorship." How are the workers to understand these phrases, if the Congress quarrels so much about their meaning?

Calls Executive Instable

The policy of the executive committee is very eclectic, it has tended now to a right-wing deviation, now to a leftist deviation. In the face of such instability, it is explicable that many cannot follow and that breaches of discipline occur. The speaker does not wish to create any leftist faction. He opposes fusion with the Italian socialists, is against the formation of nuclei, against the creation of sympathetic parties. The role of leadership which the Communist Party of Russia plays is the best guarantee that the Comintern will remain revolutionary, but nevertheless the greatest dangers of a deviation toward the right are threatening the Communist Party of Russia. The world proletariat is more revolutionary than generally believed, and, in spite of temporary stagnation, it will triumph in the spirit of Marx, Lenin and the Russian revolution. (End of the session.)

JUNE 24TH SESSION

About British Labor Party

In the morning session of June 24 Brown (England) warns against exaggerated conceptions of the unpopularity of the British Labor government. It is just beginning to become popular. Ruth Fischer's demand, that the English Communist Party must actively oppose the Labor party, is based on a loss of her bearings in the English situation and on a partial confusion of the Labor party with a working-class government. The Labor party presents a proletarian mass organization, and for this reason it is the uncompromising duty of the Communist Party to work within the Labor party. On the further problem of the role of leadership in the Comintern the speaker declares that the leadership must unquestionably remain in the hands of the Communist Party of Russia, for neither the German nor the French party has had enough revolutionary experience.

Mistakes By Polish Communists

Krajewski (Poland) goes on to say that the Polish party has advanced in the agrarian and the nationalist questions. Krulikowski made a crude mistake in the question of military service, and for this reason the Central committee repudiated him. The Party did nothing in Krakau, for it had concentrated its strength in Warsaw, in Lodz, in Upper Schleswig, and in Dombrowa. The organization at Warsaw called off the fight for the sake of having a United Front with the Polish Socialist Party, which was a mistake. Many organizations were inactive during the events of November, but the Central committee is fighting right-wing tendencies.

There were vague points in the theses of the Central committee concerning the question of workers government, which must be cleared up. At present there are two tendencies in the party. One group is of the opinion that the stand of the Central committee on the Russian Communist

First Installment of

Editor's Note. — The DAILY WORKER begins today the publication of the complete report by Gregory Zinoviev, chairman of the Communist International, to the Fifth World Congress just held in Moscow. Readers of the DAILY WORKER must go thru this report carefully in order to better understand the problems raised in the discussions of the World Congress that are being reported daily in these columns. Another installment of Zinoviev's report tomorrow. Today's installment follows:

Our Forces

COMRADES, at this Congress we have to outline our future path, but first of all I would like to examine the path which we have hitherto pursued. We must do this, first of all, because, for the first time we have to pursue our work in the International Congress without the leadership and influence of Comrade Lenin; secondly, because in many respects the international situation has now almost completely changed; thirdly, because we are, in a way, holding a jubilee Congress.

Recently we have celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Communist International. Four world-congresses lie behind us, and they mark four

stages in the history of the international revolutionary working-class movement. Permit me, therefore, to make a short historical review of the Communist International. I shall examine this history from two points of view.

Firstly, our strength at the beginning of the Communist International and the extent we have grown during these years.

Secondly, the conflict of tendencies inside the Communist International and the review of these conflicts of tendencies at the four world-congresses hitherto held.

From Propagandist Society to Party

First of all, we must compare our present numerical strength with what it has been hitherto. I think it is quite clear by now that the Communist International, in its earliest years, in a number of countries, was only a society for the propaganda of communism without being aware of it itself. At the beginning, we thought we were very strong, but as a matter of fact, in a number of countries at that time we did not have Communist parties, but only great propaganda societies. Whence came this optical illusion? It arose from the fact that the discontent of the masses, at the end of the imperialist war, was very great, and we took this seething discontent for an organized communist force. But it was not really so. The example of our German brother-party will suffice to illustrate this.



The poor fish says: "If all bankers were conscripted and sent to trenches, then who would lend us money to carry on war, and if all rich 'old guys' were put on the firing line among the rest, then who-in-hell will stir us up for Sept. 12?"

Party question has been mistaken; the other group upholds it as correct. The Polish left wing rejects the point of view of the Comintern on the agrarian and on the nationalist problems. The theses of the opposition contained a great deal that was correct. The discipline of the opposition followed not because of the presentation of these theses, but rather because of the creation of factionalism, because of the publication of the theses before they had been laid before the Central committee.

Bulgarian Agrarian Difficulties

Kolarow (Bulgaria) is of the opinion that Radek tried to justify the defeat of the Bulgarian party because of its non-political difficulties. The justification is unnecessary, for the Bulgarian Party itself recognizes its mistakes. On the basis of detailed writings concerning the events of June and of September, the speaker proves that the chief mistake was neglect of the peasant problem. In agricultural countries the Party must apply the United Front policy from below and from above; it must itself approach the political parties of the peasantry, so that a coalition government can be prevented.

French Elections

Lensky (France) claims that the French elections have been incorrectly interpreted by Radek for Radek is reckoning with only the number of Communist votes cast, but is not considering the source of these votes. The correct tactics of the Communist Party of France captured the votes of the best workmen of Paris. Passing to the Polish Party, the speaker states that nowhere during the events of October did the Polish Party stand firmly on its own feet with the exception of Upper Silesia, where the left wing directed the action. It is inadmissible to Krajewski to exonerate himself from blame as far as the city organizations are concerned. The Central committee is fully responsible for opportunistic errors and right-wing deviations. The point of view of the Polish Central Committee in the question of workers government is absolutely wrong for parliamentary com-

binations mean a repetition of the events in Saxony. The Central committee makes electoral agreements with the social-democrats. Krulikowski's mistakes are not mistakes peculiar to himself, but simply results of the political inactivity to the Central committee.

In the German and the Russian questions the Central committee played a game of hide-and-seek, shifted from one position to another, concealed the documents from the masses of the Party. It is not true that in the agrarian and in the nationalist questions the opposition rejected the decisions of the Comintern. The theses of the opposition were put before the Central committee before their publication. The policy of the Polish Party must be completely changed.

Social-Democratic Capitalism

Neurath (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) states, contrary to the opinion of Trotzky and Radek, that the period of consolidation of capitalism and social-democracy is not of long duration.

The parties must be ready every day to throw themselves into battle, for big fights are at hand. Smeral's formulation in the German question is beneath him.

The speaker characterizes the point of view of the executive committee in the German question as completely correct, and not, as Smeral said, only 80 per cent correct. In the question of United Front policy and workers' government he agrees with Zinoviev.

Pepper on Labor Party

Pepper (America) proceeds to say that the biggest task of the Comintern consists of the creation of a mass party in England, for the October defeat in Germany and the MacDonald government have shifted the dead weight to England. The analysis of the Labor party is at the present time an international duty. In England, America, South Africa, Australia and Canada the foundations of political mass parties were laid through the trade unions, and not trade unions through political mass parties, as in Europe. Small political parties, like the independent Labor Party in England and the Workers party in America, have succeeded in capturing the Labor parties. In America the working masses must be separated from the bourgeois parties. The Farmer-Labor party binds workers and farmers together, the situation is extremely chaotic, so that a solution of the American problem is difficult. The speaker hopes that events will prove that the decision of the Executive committee is right. The speaker believes that Communists must enter into the Labor Party, and that they can keep their right to criticize freely and will criticize freely. It is quite another question, if the Communist parties as such should remain always in the Labor Party. Because the popularity of the Labor Party is growing, the English Communist Party must stay in the Labor Party, there, finally, to go over to the opposition. The Fifth Congress must lay down the law concerning Labor Party tactics, for the Labor Party presents the specific application of the United Front policy for a large part of the world and opens the way for the correct method of Bolshevizing whole continents.

FOSTER-RUTHENBERG
MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS