The Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee, Moscow, June 6th - 13th

Second Session June 7th.

Comrade Bohumir Jilek outlined the history of development of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and proceeded to deal with the present situation:

At the instance of the right wing of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, the Government started in the Summer of 1920 a campaign against the newly formed Communist Party; the campaign began with an attack upon the Party building in Prague. The workers replied with a protest strike which was suppressed with much bloodshed: 7 were killed, and over 3000 arrested. Over 3,000 of those arrested had to serve a total sentence of 152 years and 528 days on remand. Against 753 comrades charges were brought; 433 were acquitted, the remaining 322 were sentenced to a total of 245 years imprisonment. The statistics are not complete.

At present the Party is on the eve of a great political fight. The general elections are taking place in July and the social patriots headed by the Social Democrats fear their complete downfall, as they clearly see that the mass of the voters are on the side of the Communist Party. At the instance of these bourgeois parties the Government has introduced a bill in Parliament postponing the elections for one year.

The Party, however, has decided that all deputies shall lay down their mandates on the 15th of June and in this manner compel the Government to hold new elections.

Comrade Jilek spoke of the metal workers' fight and emphasized the militant and sacrificial spirit displayed by the working masses. Of the 54 trade unions affiliated with the General Commission, the farm-workers', builders', chemical and shoemakers' unions are in our hands, i.e., the majority of Executives are Communists.

The speaker pointed out however, that the Party's influence over the working masses did not yet correspond to its strength. Propaganda work by means of the press is the main need. The circulation of the Party press does not show a third of the strength of the party membership. This shows the lack of a firm Communist nucleus which could serve as a lever for Party work. As already laid down by the Third Congress, a mass party can fulfill its tasks only when Communist cells have been introduced into all workers' organizations. This has not yet been done to a satisfactory degree; no illegal work is being carried on, nor agitation among the troops. The decisions of the First Congress have not been carried out with sufficient energy. Under the influence of the concessions which the Communists had to make in Russia the tendency in the Party which estimates the beginning of the Social Revolution at 15 to 30 years from now, has found an echo. These comrades are of the opinion that in the near future the Party work should be

confined to organization and propaganda. These comrades state that owing to a lack of funds the agitation among the troops is impossible.

In view of this condition of the Party, the situation may become very serious, especially in case of a new war. At the end of the speech Comrade Jilek emphasized the financial difficulties of the Party. In his opinion these were the result of organizational defects. The speaker informed the Communist International that it was necessary to aid the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia financially.

Comrade Smeral's Report.

Comrade Smeral stated that there was within the party a certain oppositional tendency in whose name Comrade Jilek spoke. Comrade Smeral opposed Jilek's contention that the Party has no influence over the working masses and that there is a tendency against agitation among the troops. He denied the statement that financial difficulties were the cause of the Party's crisis. In Smeral's opinion there was not really a crisis in the Party, but merely a difficult situation. All three tendencies of the Czechoslovakian Party who were represented at the Third Congress by Smeral, Muna and Zapotocki have united. Nevertheless the leading Party circles are nervous. We had overestimated our victories and in the first half year we have not done enough energetic organization work. But we are pursuing an active policy and are taking part in all strikes. In the trade union elections, we received 40% of all the votes. Comrade Smeral is of the opinion that this nervousness is really unfounded, and recalls the fact that at the Easter Conference of the Party all resolutions on the united front, the trade unions, etc., were unanimously adopted and that no oppositional programs were presented. What was the cause of the left opposition of Comrade Jilek? Comrade Smeral could not understand it. He is of the opinion that the masses are not touched by the opposition.

Comrade Smeral pointed out the growth of the unions after the war, and that they now have a membership of 800,000 as against 200,000 before the war. In consequence of the slow development of the revolution in Europe about 500,000 of these are more or less indifferent. The tendency to leave the unions is very strong amongst them. All these elements take up our slogans against the trade union bureaucrat with great enthusiasm.

In proportion to the size of our country and the strength of our bourgeoisie our party is very strong. The country possesses very important industries. The industrial apparatus is capable of manufacturing for 70 million people. Czechoslovakia however, has only 14 million inhabitants. The German bourgeoisie controls over 50% of the total capital. The power, however, lies in the hands of the Czech bourgeoisie.
Comrade Krecich's Speech.

In 1918, when the Czechoslovakia was born, succeeding the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there was created a democratic republic on the basis of the principle of national self-determination. And the historic event of the Second World War, when the Vlkhov Republic was established and the national movements of the people of the world have been oppressed and enslaved, the critical need of peace and of the Czechoslovakia was once again experienced.

The representatives of the Czechoslovakia are not present in the Soviet Union, which has been created in 1917. We are preparing for the coming of the Czechoslovakia, as in the Soviet Union, to the Communist party, which is the only way to defend the interests of the Czechoslovakia, the only way to enforce the demands of the workers and peasants of the Czechoslovakia.

The question of principle should be distinguished from the question of method. If the principle of the Czechoslovakia is not defended, the method of the Communist party will be of no use.

Comrade Trotsky's Speech.

Both, the clever report of Frosdick and the entirely contrary report of the Comrade Frosdick, who attacks the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, are true and valid. The report of the Comrade Frosdick is very important and the report of the Comrade Frosdick is the only way to overcome the difficulties of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a large mass party which already contains the majority of the working class of Czechoslovakia. The political united front is a great force. The united front is the only way to enforce the demands of the working class.

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Federation of the Seine is completely autonomous. Comrade Sellier believes that these are only isolated mistakes and a few exaggerations. Comrade Renoulé, who took part in the session and Executive of the French Party and solemnly promised to execute its decisions, writes an article in the central organ of the Party under the heading, "Against Revolutionary Disarmament through the United International Correspondence." We must once and for all liquidate this painful question, frankly and openly liquidate it! Very good, Comrade Renoulé! We shall see however, who is going to howl with pain when the sable takes place! The absolute unimportance of Comrade Rappoport believes. The exclusion of Fabre is the only case in which the Party subordinated itself to the Communist International. But after he had been expelled from the French comrades had begun to realize the error of the operation. If that is as unimportant as Comrade Rappoport believes, why don't you make just a little sacrifice for the Communist International? "You are shooting at flies," writes Comrade Rappoport, "but there is the opportunist fly, Fabre, who will only serve the elephants of opportunism!" Dear Comrade Rappoport! Who are these elephants? Name them! I give you two minutes time! (Comrade Rappoport: "I have asked for the five minutes of the different tendencies in our Party in the course of the debate. To do this in a few minutes, is, I believe, inexpedient"). My political experience teaches me that it is more difficult to attack a definite fly than to attack an entire system, that is, to reason upon the question. The members of the Central Committee of the Party, Verfeuil, Méric etc, continue to write in Fabre's paper after his expulsion. These are no insignificant flies; you must count with them. It is not a fly which is a fly and a wool which is a wool, but a ideological political conflict! Toward the end of May, Verfeuil wrote in the Journal du Peuple: "Frossard was the first to bring up the question of the regrouping of the forces after Tours". Of course, but Frossard ... does not mean that Verfeuil stands for unity with the old Social Democracy with which we broke at the Congress of Tours. How will the workers understand that? It is vain to look in the Humanité for a refutation of this nonsense. What confusion must these impetuosities and struggles of the Central Committee cause in the heads of the Party comrades! An honest and convinced worker will not believe that, but he cannot prove the contrary because the Humanité is silent. This case is characteristic of the situation in the French Party. Comrade Renaud, Jean, who is chiefly active among the peasants, writes that the united front is unacceptable for us because the light for the eight hour day and in the reduction of wages does not interest the peasantry. Another young comrade, Auclair, because of his youth speaks frankly, agrees with him. Four-seventh of the population of France are, he says, in the hands of the Party, and another one-seventh can be won. The so-called daily demands of the proletariat are only reformism. But comrades, that is exactly the theory of the Social Revolutionaries of the first water. That is a very dangerous view. We must not believe that the Revolutionaries are agrarian, bourgeois, often declassed and impoverished, but that in general they can only be drawn into the social revolution through the proletariat; they can only follow the proletariat. The phrase: "For the integral revolution we must first win the peasantry", is only a revolutionary phrase. In fact the results of the recent cantonal elections prove that we are losing workers' votes and winning the votes of the peasantry. That is a very dangerous symptom. Although the decision of the Executive Committee on the united front was adopted after joint deliberation with the French delegation, Méric is carrying on a campaign against it, proclaiming that the information of the Congress was badly informed on French matters. According to him, Zinoviev and Trotzky are too busy with other matters and content themselves with clipping and quotations, with isolated passages taken from the articles of French comrades. And Auclair expresses himself even more decisively: "The information of the Executive Committee is based on chatter". Comrades, in this case I can only marvel at the patience of the French workers. I am also moved, I am moved to think that they are being deceived; we read the entire French press, in spite of the risk we run of finding nothing in it, as is often the case with Méric's articles. You will say that the newspapers do not express actual life. That is certainly true, but the newspapers were respected and trusted by the masses. But an opposition movement from our own experience and can reconstruct it from the newspaper articles just as Cuvier, having obtained only one bone of a certain animal, described the whole of it. And what are those present at the Congress but delegates from also characteristic. Furthermore, the reports of the Central Committee of the Party are at our disposal; we sent Comrades the Central Committees cause the heads of the Party comrades. Humbert-Droz, Bordiga and Valetzki to France and we have representatives here. It is about time that this propaganda against Moscow cease. It is time to stop the misleading of the French workers. The authority of the Communist International must be re-established once and for all. Comrade Trotzky quoted an article from the Internationale edited by Comrade Renoulé, in which he pointed out that the Russian comrades had also made mistakes in their governmental activities. Comrade Trotzky admits that the Soviet Government has made mistakes. He would gladly expose these mistakes to the proletariat of other countries as a lesson. There is, however, a difference between a Party which is Communist through and through (and in which the Party comrades stand by him only) and a Party which is Communist front and front, as a Soviet front-state, and the French Party. Besides, we recognized and admitted our mistakes, while the mistakes of Comrade Rappoport and of others is just that they do not notice the errors committed. Comrade Trotzky points out the existence of three tendencies in the French Party; one which completely rejects the tactics of the united front; one which agrees with the united front and a third, centrist group. The opponents of the united front have stated that it is not necessary to reckon with the Longuetists because they have no support. The united front however, must not be established according to the formula of the English organizers, workers, and the Social Democracy. It must be a mass united front involving the active army, the reserves, those dark masses to whom the nonsense of the Longuetists is more accessible and understandable than our clear policy, are also important. Therefore the French front must avoid the mistake which we may have the majority of the organized workers behind us anyhow. Comrade Renaud declared at the last Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee that he would submit to the decision of the Congress the question of the united front. "This is the central question of the revolution." But today he almost daily cites in the Internationale, articles from Fabre's paper against the united front and continuously calls his authors "comrades". I must deny the dissolution of discipline in the Party on the part of some. There is no inner agreement. As for the Berlin Conference, the Party was against the sending of Comrade Frossard to Berlin and only agreed to it as an exceptional case. Comrade Renaud specified again and again that the question of the united front they tried to raise loud protests against it in the meetings, by representing it as a union with Vandervelde and the like. In the French Party there is a definite "anti-Moscow" policy. It is charged that we change our policy too abruptly and too rapidly. They thus attempt to explain the retardation in the growth of the French Party. In reality the exact contrary is true. It is just this retardation of growth that is not in the French Party alone, but in the Russian Communist International to adopt the tactics of the united front. We also hear the following arguments: "Your republic is build up federatively. Why can we not retain our federative form?" But it is clear, as was the case, that the French Party does not come into question. The Federation of the Seine comprises almost one hundred districts each of which is represented by one delegate, regardless of its strength and regardless of whether it is a rural or an industrial district. The districts are independent. There is no definite policy, there is no definite line of tactics; everything is topsy-turvy. Yes, we make concessions to petty bourgeois psychology and to its prejudices. The Ukraine, Georgia, and Aserbeidzhan are entirely independent of us. But Communism is everywhere the same; it is centralized. You want to federalize the Party! The French comrades tell us that they are "against the united front but for the Soviets". But comrades! At the beginning of the year, the Soviet majority in the Party, and the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries were in control. We were a small group in the Soviet, strong because of our convictions. We were endeavouring to conquer them from within. The Socialist opposition was the most adequate form of the united front; they were bound to the masses and we agreed to it. "We are in the same situation as the Russians in 1905 and in 1917," say the French comrades. But where are you? In 1905 and 1917 were we in the same situation? Or between them both and sooner or later you will be compelled to arrive at the united front. But is it not better to be its conscious herald than to arrive at it mechanically? The idea of the Soviets cannot be altogether foreign to our comrades. The Humanité and the others revive the tradition of Jaurès who drew a line between the Party and the trade-unions. In the past the Party concluded election compromises, in the presentIGNED and Anarchistically-inclined elements of the working class fortified themselves. Such genial achievements are unacceptable to us.
Trotsky said that much had been spoken about the past and that it had been well explained in the Marxian literature. The French comrades had acted in an opportunist manner and it would be unjust to blame it all on petty bourgeois traditions. The past history of the French proletariat would not allow it. Had it not been for the days of the First Congress, the Social Democrats had been mistaken about the Communist Party. It was not the case that the French workers were peasants; but the important thing is not the numerical strength of the proletariat but its degree of cohesion and Communist consciousness. The French Communist Party has everything necessary for becoming a great and powerful force in France; the split of the C.G.T. was only caused because the workers, seeing in the unions an aim of the revolution, wished to maintain their own reformist leaders. If we had a proper organization we could have made a bloc with the Centre and Mondassou. The necessary forces exist in France. Trotsky then reviewed the question of the Seine Federation in which he vindicated its leadership and its reasons. He pointed out that one cannot dream of revolution when France was under the Seine. A precise attitude should be adopted in this question as well which would be at the same time an attitude of friendship and of counsel.

Frossard did not entirely agree with Rappaport who has only spoken in his own name. Referring to Souvarine, Frossard said that if the situation were just as serious as before Trotsky such measures would be put into effect, but it was not. The French Party has accomplished good work which the Executive had acknowledged in one of its letters. (Souvarine: "But what of the future?"

Souvarine painted too gloomy a picture, Frossard found the censure of Renault Jean unjustified. This comrades had an admirable knowledge of the agrarian question and had accomplished important and difficult work. Frossard realized, after having outlined the uselessness of the provincial elections, which had allowed them to measure their forces with the dissidents, that the party should take part in the daily struggle of the workers. In the opinion of the left bloc, Frossard showed that this bloc would inevitably lead to a Government Bloc for which the Communists would have to be thankful as it would more rapidly discredit the Socialists. As for the question of the compromise, he said that the great number of various points of view do not all accord to such radical measures as exclusion. The French Delegation will return on the eve of the St. Etienne Congress and Frossard thought that time would be lacking to put through the measures demanded by Trotsky. There is a crisis in the French Party, but it is a crisis of faith, from which the party will emerge strengthened. Frossard assumed the responsibility for the engagements which the French Delegation covenanted. The Central Committee should be formed of organized workers. Frossard also considered that the Communist press is in need of great changes. He showed that 15 militants of the party every year were detailed to furnish leading articles in the press, which could not be revised.

Zinoviev declared that the result of this discussion could not be a new delay, but a resolution. To hesitate again would be a failure of the French Party. Trotsky accused the leadership of a service. If we speak rudely now, it is because we have grown strong, years ago we could temporize; our Party was then young. But the French Communist Party has already been in existence for two years which count for two centuries in the time of the Party. It has earned the right to be criticized and must criticise others. The French Delegation have and should have mandates permitting them to adopt the resolution. Frossard has said that we reserve all our criticism for the majority of the Party; but this is precisely because it is the majority of the Party. We.

Communists. We are everywhere ourselves; we never hide our banner, neither in politics nor in the factory nor in the trade unions. In the present situation in France there exists the serious danger that instead of the Communists conquering the trade unions from within, the trade unions will conquer the Communist Party. In many cases Communist comrades throw away their membership card of the Party after entering the union. On the 20th of June the Trade Union Congress takes place in Brussels directed by a necessary to register the sharehold members of the trade unions, to call them together for a provisional discussion and to give them Communist instructions. Those who do not agree with these instructions must be unconditionally expelled. Tell me, French comrades, do you agree to that? The political development in present day France is tending towards a Left Bloc. The workers' masses are disillusioned. They have been too often deceived and there are today ashes of expectations revolutionary fire among the French workers. We must oppose the idea of the Workers' Bloc to the idea of the Bloc of the Left. The idea of the Workers' Government can enslave the Syndicalists and Anarchists. The French Party is formulating its program for the next Party Congress. It is necessary that the Executive Committee decide together with the French delegation upon the policies of the Party. It is necessary that the Party condemn the pacifism, centrism and reformism in its ranks in the most decisive way. It is necessary to draw up Party statutes which really enable the Central Committee to lead the Party. It is necessary to transform the Central Committee into a mandarins (do-practically no one writes in the press but members of the Central Committee—leaders, (Meric is indignant that the Humaniste printed an article by Rosser "who is not even a member of the Central Committee.") It is necessary that articles appear without signatures and that the editors should take responsibility for them. If the Communist International in the near future will have to choose between the Right and the Left in France, we believe, very soon disappear it will choose the Left. At the Congress of the Italian Party in Livorno, the Left split off and the Communist International went with the Left though it was numerically weaker. The Communist International calls the attention of the French Comrades to this occurrence in Italy. It is the duty of the Communist International, as it were, to distribute the results of its international experiences. The party speaker ended with the statement that if the Left Bloc had been organized immediately in the situation in France but that the optimism is continually waning and that the tactics of the French Party bear the blame thereafter.

In the evening session on June 9th, Comrade Bordiga took the Floor. The French Party, he said, did not represent entirely the left bloc in the Centre. The final stage of revolution is perhaps a little further away, as Frossard has said, but the activity of the party should not cease on this account. Otherwise, the Communists in the C. O. T. U. would receive no instructions from the Communist International. The Comrades can be gained by the formation of Communist groups in the unions directed and controlled by the Party. The Party should take the initiative in the trade union field. The statutes should also be modified so as to provide for the exclusion of undesirable members without excessive formalities. The speaker, referring to the united front, remarked that the party has shown a lack of activity in the unions. Bordiga, on the question union, was in accord with Trotsky.

Kreisch (Czecho-Slovakia) impressed the importance of party discipline directly from the floor. The Czecho-Slovakia and the Little Entente, which countries were close to the development up to French imperialism. In Czecho-Slovakia there were also intellectual sympathizers, but they were not allowed access to the party movement, but they were allowed to disorganize the bourgeoisie. Kreisch pointed out that the lack of reasoned Communist activity in the unions allowed the trade union bureaucracy to overcome our influence even in the organizations not under the control of the party. On the question of the united front the speaker thought that our own strength was attached in France to the difference between the active economic conditions of today and those before the war. The economic condition which today has an entirely different signification from that before the war. When the French comrades spoke of the aversion which the dissidents inspired in them they should remember that the German and Czecho-Slovakian Communists have been attacked by the Social Democrats, have still more reason to detest them, but have been able to overcome their legitimate sentiments.
are always opposed to the formation of sections in the Party. We dissolved the "Committee of the Third International" in spite of some opposition. The Executive censured these who resigned at the Marseille Congress and has not yet censured the majority of the Party. If grounds thereof there is no lack of. It would be wrong to believe that we are in full agreement with Souvarine although he was right politically in the course of the last two months. The representatives of the French minority have shown us that the work of the Party cannot be tolerated by Marxian instructions but sections in the Party cannot be tolerated. The Left of the French Party, with which the Executive is far from being in agreement, should be dissolved into the Party.

Frossard has indicated that the crisis in the French Party is a crisis of growth, that is, of recruiting. We think that the crisis is rather due to the social composition of the Party, which has not yet become a working class party and long ago was accustomed to consider the Syndicalists from top to bottom as the true representatives of the working class. In the trade union question, Brandler has advised a waiting attitude. We have maintained this attitude for a long time and we have had no good results. Last year the French Communists told us that they have a majority of three-quarters or nine-tenths in the unions. What do we see today? We have a powerful Party, a daily *Humanité* with a circulation of 200,000—adventurers lead the C. G. T. Why? Because we have not been strong enough to insist upon the formation of Communist groups in the unions. They say that Monmousseau is a good militant and is nearly ours. But is it sufficient to count on the good qualities of the mass of the French workers? The Part will be strong in the unions only when it will be backed by a network of its groups. They object, citing the tradition of union autonomy; but the longer the latter is the more energetically must it be fought. As long as French communism remains an underground activity, the unions will not have a real Party. Let us proclaim this loudly! The future is ours, do not fear to speak plainly to the Anarchists and reformists. Frossard tells us that certain delegations come to St. Etienne with cast-iron mandates. We cannot stop them. We should know who is with us in the working class movement; on whom we are accountable. We have already lost a year. That is enough. There are Communists and elements capable of applying the tactics of the Left in the unions. Let us remember that our weakness in the French unions allowed our adversaries to clear the field for a campaign for the liquidation of the Red Trade Union International. Beware! Kosmier's small group is more dangerous to us than Monmousseau's "nearly Communist" group. We must ourselves be a force, if we are to ally ourselves with somebody.

In the question of the press Frossard has recognized the great difficulties. We must end those survivals of the past such as the annual detailing of fifteen Party journalists whose articles are considered a privilege. Today the *Internationaliste* or *Journal du Peuple*. The *Humanité* is, from a Commu- nist point of view, colorless. All this must be changed. There must be an end of these discussions on the united front. All dis- cussions about the policy of the Comintern must be pursued in a special organ of the Communist International but not in the Party press whose object is the fight against the bourgeoisie.

Zinoviev said that the exclusion of Fabre is politically insuffi- cient and that all its logical consequences have not been carried out. To clear the Party atmosphere they should also rid themselves of Brizon. Zinoviev recalled the Levi case. Last year it was thought that Levi had only committed a fault of secondary importance. Levi is now writing that the Social Revolutions constitute a real workers' party, etc. In France where the Left Socialists oscillate between Anarchism and reformism the near danger is not great, and we must form a solid group to fight both reformism and Anarchism. Zinoviev said that the Cominternists intervened most usefully last year in the affairs of the German Party, which, as Frossard stated in Berlin, is making progress. All our Parties are young and it is true that the Comintern is also young, but it has benefited by the experience of the world movement and the experience of Russian Communism. The speaker was not satisfied with Frossard's speech because he did not find a clear program. The Party should not fear the departure of elements: it is the sympathy which are the test elements. We certainly do not encourage the formation of tendencies in France but we demand of our French comrades that they begin to initiate a new policy which will not give the slightest liberty to the reformists. For we all realize the extreme importance of the French Communist Party. This party is adult. It can execute our resolutions and become a fighting working class party.

**Session of June 9th**

The Morning Session was occupied by the report of Comrade Fris, on the question of the extension and expansion of the party was passing through a serious crisis. The country is small, but the percentage of the population who are members of the party is higher than almost anywhere else. The political experience of the party is of the highest importance; in Parliament there are 29 Communists and 47 other Radical deputies. The Left Radicals, the Right Socialists and the Communists have a total of 76, that is two more than the Government or the Opposition or any other party. There is to a certain degree upon the attitude of the Communists. We could have overthrown them, but have not done so. Comrade Scheffilo, the leader of the Parliamentary group, stated that our most important task is to weaken the Right parties. He said therefore that he would not fight all the bourgeois parties with the same bitterness. A certain indecision was thus expressed. The position of the trade unions is also difficult. 120,000 workers took part in last year's great strike, which lasted five weeks. During the strike they were supported by the trade unions, including armed force. Now that the strike is over, the unions are in a serious situation; the treasuries are empty. The Government has presented a bill for compulsory arbitration in important strikes. The Central Committee of the Party declared itself against this measure. The Party Conference however, under the pressure of the trade unions approved it, especially in view of the fact that the measure was to be in effect for only one year. One of the motives for accepting this measure was the fear that in case the Communists did not vote for it the Social Democrats would pass the measure and then parade themselves as the true representatives of the workers' interests. After the acceptance of the measure however, this step was criticized within the Party. This added to the crisis.

Neither is the Party's attitude on the question of the united front undivided. The tactics of the united front were criticized by certain elements on the ground that it is a reformist measure and contrary to the decisions of the Second Congress. The party as a whole has not made use of the united front tactics. It has not taken the initiative. Consequently there are many differences of opinion in the party on this question. The situation in the French Party has influenced our attitude towards the united front. Our indication has been taken advantage of by the Social Democrats in Sweden. In the general elections of last year we had 200,000 votes and 29 mandates, the Social Democrats receiving only 83,000 votes and 9 mandates. Now in Sweden the Social Democrats do not desire the united front because they are in the majority. The situation in Norway is such that the question of the Workers' Government and our participation therein may soon become an actuality. It is therefore necessary that we settle this question and help the Norwegian Party with its problems.

Comrade Fris, at the close of his report, dealt with the case of Lian who was sent by the Norwegian Government to the Genoa Conference as Government expert and was expelled from the Communist International. He had also taken part for a few days in the Rome Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. After his return he came out decisively against the Amsterdam International. His position and activities in the Norwegian unions very greatly influenced the decisions of the Congresses of the three Norwegian unions to adhere to the Red Trade Union International. Consequently Lian's expulsion was followed by serious difficulties as the matter is not clear to the workers.

Comrade Kuusinen took part in the debate. He was astonished at the purely academic talk of the comrades on the question of overthrowing the Government. In his opinion the Compulsory Arbitration Bill is unimportant to the public. He saw little possibility of the influence of parliamentary cretinism. This acceptance was undoubtedly a mistake. The Communists will be compelled to fight against this measure some day. The fears of the Communists that the workers would be discontented with the rejection of the bill, were unfounded. On the contrary, they will be discontented with the acceptance of the measure. Comrade Kuusinen then pointed out the lack of fighting spirit in the Communist Party. Comrade Kuusinen expressed his regret over
the lack of unity on the question of the united front. He said, it was not only a question of the slogan, but also of its application and the corresponding preparations of the conditions, whose natural consequences would be the united front. The speaker condemned the play of the Communists with the Government.

The Government pays a trivial price for this game, a still more trivial price than the one paid by the Swedish Government to its Social Democrats. In regard to Lie's expulsion it must be admitted that he was really influential in the unions. He is, however, without doubt an opportunist like several others in the Norwegian Party.

In the course of the debate Comrade Friis again spoke. He attacked Comrade Kusinen and proved that the bourgeois bloc in the Norwegian Parliament which mainly represented the small peasantry, would give more than a Right Socialist Government. In Norway there is no strong Right Socialist Party. Therefore the question is more complex than in many other countries. The Compulsory Arbitration Bill is to be in effect for one year only and contains a series of limitations and clauses. Were the Government overthrown, nothing would be altered. The main thing is the confidence of the masses.

The Enlarged Executive Committee on the Norwegian Party

The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern has examined the situation of the Norwegian Workers' Party and adopted the following resolution:

1.—In its efforts to begin Parliamentary activity according to its actual needs, the Norwegian Workers' Party has been led to give conditional support to the Liberal Government. This policy led to such occurrences as the journey of Comrade Lian, a member of the Party Executive, as Government expert to the Genoa Conference, the acceptance of a provisory Compulsory Arbitration Bill, and the support of the Government in a few other cases.

These phenomena can scarcely be distinguished from the old reformist policy. They have indeed been motivated with regard to certain working class interests; yet in the end they have led to the abandonment of other more important working class interests. The Norwegian comrades responsible for this policy, no doubt have tried to bear in mind the interests of the revolutionary class-struggle, but the mistakes made in its application, have contradicted these interests. The Enlarged Executive has, with great satisfaction, drawn the conclusion that the Norwegian Party has from its own experience and conviction recognized the necessity of a revision of its former Parliamentary policy. The Enlarged Executive expresses the hope that this will be done in the shortest possible time.

2.—The case of Lian is to be judged in connection with the above-related facts concerning the former policy of the Norwegian Party. It is clearly it must be understood that the Comrade Lian cannot be held responsible, the Enlarged Executive annuls its former decision that Lian be personally disciplined and therewith considers this personal case as liquidated.

3.—The acceptance of the Compulsory Arbitration Law in the Norwegian Parliament was a mistake. It had not the effect, as it was anticipated, of strengthening the fighting position of the Party against the capitalist class; it rather produced differences of opinion within the Party's ranks. In view of the great difficulties in the present situation of the Norwegian working class, it must be stated that the Enlarged Executive appreciates the efforts of the responsible Norwegian comrades who have protected the workers from premature, too severe fighting by legal means. An irresponsible "Left Leninism", which attempts to bring about the "end of the bourgeois State" through struggles and therefore opposes all legal measures protecting working conditions cannot count upon any support from the Norwegian Workers' Party. But defense of the workers' freedom to struggle against the legal restrictions of the bourgeois State is quite another thing; this defense is the duty of the Communists and in this connection the Com-

pulsory Arbitration Law is unenfranchising. Experience has shown that the advantages of protection through this law would be greater for the workers than the disadvantage in shackling their freedom of action. The Norwegian comrades have not always defended this concept of the law, their policy is now generally recognized on the part of the former deputies of the bill, and none of them have recommended an extension of this provisory measure. In consequence of this the Enlarged Executive sees no more reason for dealing with the bill. This must be followed by a broad propaganda and for this reason we must bring the Social Democrats of the Second and 2% Internationals as well as the Syndicalists together with us in the fight for joint slogans and for the most important interests of the working class.

There are in Norway no doubt great prospects for success for the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat through this tactic; of course, not in the sense that the conscious Right Socialist and Syndicalist organizations wish to change themselves to real revolutionary class fighters. We need not, however, be under much illusion. On the contrary, sooner or later, many of their leaders are sure to unmask themselves in the proletarian united front as deserters, traitors, cowards. But the great majority of their adherents can be won as true and articulate fighters of the proletarian revolution through our earnest demand for the common fight. On the other hand, the ruling position of the Norwegian bourgeois party in the country gives more guarantee than in any other country that its application of the tactic of the united front will neither endanger the independence of the Communist Party nor its role as the leader of the revolution.

In spite of this, there have appeared in Norway, as in a few other countries, "left radical" fears and confused opposition to the tactic of the united front. The opposition sees in the official address of the proposals of our party to the Social Democratic Party or to the Syndicalist organizations, an unchaste "organic contact". But that need not be the case. If important interests of the proletariat require the common action of all workers' organizations, the successful execution of the tactic of the united front demands of the Communist Party, the political courage to turn to workers, to employ all means for the leading of the workers, to their leading organs or representatives, at times even to form a bloc, to enter into an alliance for the carrying out of a joint action, without prejudicing in the least the independence of the workers. The Party must be ready under certain conditions to form even a Government Bloc with the representatives of the workers' parties and other workers' organizations, to participate in a Government from this railway step in the further development of the revolutionary class struggle to lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through a courageous carrying out of this tactic, thoroughly conscious of its aim, our Party has, without abandoning its steady revolutionary leadership or moderating its criticism of the non-revolutionary leaders, the best opportunity of thoroughly unmasking their insincerity and treachery and to deprive them of the leadership of the workers. A Communist opposition that through its confused Left Wing fears, disavows the real tactics of revolutionary Marxism and shakes the confidence of the workers in such party leadership, this shows how futile is the policy of the Norwegian Workers' Party will be carried out without delay.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International

G. Zinoviev. N. Bukharin, B. Sverda, O. Kozinnov, Secretary.
The Enlarged Executive Committee on the Tactics of the Italian Party

The Executive Committee of the Communist International takes the initiative of the Italian Party to organize the Enlarged Executive Committee, which is to meet in Paris in order to take the necessary decisions concerning the situation in Italy.

The principle of federalism is absolutely incompatible with the totalitarian state, in which the commissar exercises a dictatorial power over the political apparatus. The principle of federalism is absolute, and it is the only way to ensure the unity of the Communist movement.

The United Front

The United Front is a political bloc that brings together all the progressive forces, including the Communist Party, in order to resist the fascist movement. This bloc is based on the principle of non-violence, which means that the Communist Party will not engage in armed struggle against the fascist regime.

The Common Front

The Common Front is a political alliance between the Communist Party and other progressive forces, including trade unions and peasant organizations, in order to resist the fascist movement.

The Farrakhan Case

The Farrakhan case is an example of how the American Communist Party deals with internal disputes. The case shows that the party is willing to tolerate dissenting views in order to maintain unity.

The International Correspondence

The International Correspondence is a series of articles and letters written by prominent figures in the Communist movement, discussing various aspects of the struggle against fascism.

The Enlarged Executive Committee

The Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International is an important body that meets to discuss and make decisions on important issues, including the tactics of the Italian Party.
The Next Party Congress.

The preparations for the next Party Congress should be a campaign for the doctrinal and organic consolidation of the French party against all tendencies of petty bourgeois pacifism, Anarche-Syndicalism and verbal revolution; against theories which subordinate the action of the proletariat to the will or to the maturity of the peasant class and falsify thereby the class character of the party. As these various tendencies have already brought extreme trouble into the party, the Communist press should clarify all these questions by recalling to the minds of its members the corresponding resolutions of the Communist International, in particular the 21 conditions of adhesion to the International. All these decisions should be illumined by the experiences of last year and the incompatibility of the literary and political exploits of some of our responsible militants with the resolutions passed, should be clearly pointed out. The date of the congress should be fixed by agreement between the Central Committee and the Executive.

Manifesto of the Central Committee.

In view of the necessity of a radical modification of the interior policy of the French Party, a result which can be obtained only through the conscious collaboration of the majority of its members, the International deems it desirable that the Central Committee address a solemn manifesto to the whole Party, making known the nature of the decision taken by the present conference in order to open a new era in the life of the French Communist Party.

Notice

Owing to the strike in the Berlin printing trades the publication of this issue has been subjected to a delay of over two weeks.

The Editors.