

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Enlarged Executive Committee.

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The break up of the Commission of Nine marked the conclusion of a phase in the fight of the Communist International for the united front of all workers. The first attempt to advance the desire of the masses for unity through negotiations with the leaders of the Second and 2½ Internationals had to fail because the Social Democracy, and particularly that part of it belonging to the 2½ International, returned after some vacillation to the slogan with which it replied to the first movement in the proletariat for unity during Autumn 1921, "the united front of all social traitors, reformists and centrists against the Communists!"

The employers' offensive, the defensive struggles of the proletariat, the fermentation and the increasing readiness to fight in the ranks of the workers expressed in all industrial countries in the desire to fight with united forces against attacking capital, already thwarted this plan once and compelled the Macdonalds, Fritz Adlers and Vanderveldes, who had hitherto fought so heroically in the common front with the bourgeoisie against the Communists, to negotiate with the Communist International.

After the first attempt to advance the united front not only from below through the masses, but also from above through negotiations with the leaders failed, it was the task of the Communist International to examine the conditions for the continuation of the campaign for the union of the forces of the proletariat. The Session of the Enlarged Executive Committee which commenced on June 7th served this purpose.

Comrades Radek and Zinoviev reported on our experiences and the outlook for the united front. They pointed out that the economic forces, above all the employers' offensive against wages the eight-hour day and the pauperization of the proletariat, which combined together gave rise to the feeling of the necessity of a joint defensive struggle in the working masses, still exist and exist in even greater degree than before. The further attacks of the exploiters will compel the masses to enter upon new struggles and will strengthen the idea of the union of all forces. In accordance with that, the activity of the Communist Parties in the near future must continue to be concentrated upon the united front.

In order to be able to apply the best tactics in this struggle our experiences and methods employed hitherto must be examined. In the struggle the weaknesses of our enemy were revealed and attacked; there also appeared the failings and errors of our own Parties. It was found that the organization and above all the international discipline of several of the most important sections of the Communist International left very much to be desired. Comrade Zinoviev, subjected the attitude of the French, Italian and in part the Norwegian. Communist Parties to sharp criticism. He pointed out how the hesitating execution of the slogan of the united front weakened the position of the entire International. The chief lesson which he drew from this first phase was that our parties do not yet possess the unconditionally necessary discipline for the successful execution of international action. One of our principal tasks in the future must be the creation of this discipline.

The most important result of the united front campaign up to the present is that we no longer stand before the masses as "splitters". In spite of the cries of our enemies, the simple

worker realizes that after we had built up the necessary fighting organizations through the creation of Communist Parties we immediately advocated the union of the forces of the divided proletariat. The Berlin negotiations showed the workers of the world who splits the proletariat and who desires to unite it. The results of this success of the Comintern are not as visible as an election victory but they are profound and of great importance.

The Enlarged Executive Committee occupied itself in the main with the situation in the French Party. The delegates of the Communist Party of France to the Session of the Enlarged Executive in February promised discipline but in reality commenced an intensive agitation against the slogan of the united front adopted by the Enlarged Executive Committee. A systematic campaign against the united front was carried on which turned into a campaign against the general policy of the Comintern and in which the Right Wing was strengthened owing to the passivity of the Party Centre. The development of a Left group was the natural consequence of this situation.

The situation was sketched out by Comrades Frossard, Secretary-General of the Party, Souvarine and Trotsky. In the discussion the representatives of the most important Parties took part. All the questions relating to the French Party were handled from every point of view in the sessions of the Executive Committee itself and in the Sub-Commission. The principal cause for the development of this situation was the passivity of the Centre which permitted the Right Wing to exercise an influence upon the leadership of the Party for which it had neither a moral right nor the necessary numerical strength. Not only in the united front but in the questions of the trade unions, of the press and organization, the activities of these elements showed that they are consciously carrying on a reformist policy under the mask of verbal radicalism, which led the Party to a grave crisis. The Executive took the field against this wing with the exclusion of Fabre; the Enlarged Executive demanded the political liquidation of the Fabre case as well. In various resolutions it took a stand upon all the questions affecting the Party and demanded a radical change in every field. The criticism of the Party was often very sharp but was objective. Most of the resolutions were unanimously adopted, securing the votes of even the French delegation. In so far as they voted against the resolution on the united front or the resolution criticising the policy of the present Party Executive they promised the sincere execution of these decisions. The resolutions consider the collaboration of the Centre and the Left in the sense of the decisions of the Communist International and the fight against the reformist tendencies within the Party as the way which will lead out of the present crisis.

Comrades Jilek, Smeral and Kreibich reported on the situation in the Czechoslovakian Party. There is no crisis within the Party; it is merely a question of personal controversies and scarcely perceptible differences in the trade union question. The Sub-Commission on the Czechoslovakian Party was not able to find any fundamental differences within the Party but complained of passivity in propaganda and in work within the trade unions. The resolution which demands a more active policy of the Party was unanimously adopted.

Comrades Friis and Kuusinen pictured the situation in the Norwegian Communist Party. The Communist Party is there pursuing a policy of parliamentarism which is justifiably rejected by the Norwegian comrades. The Lian case is no isolated phenomenon but the consequence of the lack of clarity and the indecision noticeable in the leadership of the Party. Under such circumstances there arose an opposition which through the rejection of the united front and its inadmissible methods of criticism injured the Party. The Executive Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on the situation which demands a radical change in the tactics of the parliament fraction of the Party's work in the trade unions and of the press and points out the mistakes of the opposition.

The differences with the Communist Party of Italy arose from the fact that the Party wanted to put the united front into practice only in the trade union field. There were also differences of opinion on tactical questions. However, objective conditions compelled the Party to apply the slogan of the united front upon the political field as well. In the tactical questions the Party also accepted the standpoint of the Comintern so that after two sessions of the Italian Sub-Commission complete agreement was reached. The question of the Communist Party of Italy was therefore not at all discussed in the plenary session and the Enlarged Executive Committee merely laid down the next tasks of the Party in a short resolution.

The discussion of the Syndicalist question was postponed and the report of the situation in the German Party was omitted because of lack of time.

The Fourth World Congress was set for November 7th, 1922, the anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. In addition to the treatment of the tactical and trade union questions the chief task of the Congress will be the elaboration of the program of the Communist International and of its most important sections. If we succeed in giving these Parties a clear Marxist program adapted to conditions upon the basis of mutual experience we will have afforded the Parties and the International important and effective assistance.

In spite of the "crises" in the various Parties the session of the Enlarged Executive Committee proved that the Communist movement is being consolidated and is on the increase. The crisis and differences discussed are diseases of growth which one Party already passed through yesterday and another will experience tomorrow. The more the experiences of the various Parties are exchanged and made public the easier will the overcoming of these crises be. Conferences such as the sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee are in this respect of great service. They cause the dearly paid for experiences of the individual Parties to become the common property of the entire International. They bind more closely the ties of unity through this mutual aid and hasten the growth of the Sections into a firm consolidated international fighting organization. In addition to this, the Enlarged Executive Committee illuminated the as yet unelaborated or unclear parts of our tactics and removed by this detail work a large part of the theoretical obstacles hemming the development of the Communist Parties. The session of the Enlarged Executive Committee concretely and clearly outlined the next phase and therewith solved the problems relating to the united front which came before it.

The E.C. of the Comintern to the Workers of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Irish proletariat is again being faced with a fateful decision. After prolonged peace negotiations English Imperialism is again preparing to coerce the Irish people by force of arms.

After all the efforts of the English bourgeoisie to maintain its domination by force of arms had been frustrated by the heroic self-sacrificing defense of the Irish people, it was obliged to come to an understanding with the Irish bourgeoisie. For the semblance of an independent Irish Free State the representatives of the Irish capitalists, Collins, Griffith and Co., sacrificed the fruits of the long and successful struggle, and received in return, as a Judas reward, the right to exploit the Irish workers together with the English bourgeoisie.

The party of the small peasants and of those workers who are not as yet class-conscious, represented by De Valera, saw through this game. However, the election compromise which this party has arrived at with the Irish exploiters, shows their lack of determination to fight against the latter. The working elements of this party, and above all the Irish Republican Army, which consists mostly of proletarian elements, are justified in being indignant at this pact, and in seeing in it the beginnings of a future betrayal.

The Irish Labour Party is fully aware that every attempt at emancipation on the part of the Irish workers will be hopeless until the party will direct its struggle against the twofold oppression of the English imperialists and the Irish capitalists. Nevertheless, the Irish Labour Party is much too opportunist to continue the revolutionary traditions of Connolly or Jim Larkin. In all questions concerning real independence and the Irish Republican Army, the Irish Labour Party does not go beyond fine phrases. Instead of demanding complete independence, it clings to an ultra-constitutionalism, just like its twin-sister, the British Labour Party. Instead of supporting the Republican Army under arms, it advocated an army "under the control of the people". Confusion and indecision exists in its own ranks, and prevents it from being the leader of the Irish Proletariat.

It is only the young Communist Party of Ireland which has the courage and the determination to point to the right path, and to say:

"It is only after the yoke of the English imperialists has been shaken off, that the struggle against the Irish exploiters will have any chance of success! It is only after the establishment of real independence that the class struggle will be able to develop, untrammelled by any nationalist question."

The attitude of the proletarian majority of the Irish Republican Army is a proof that the Irish Communist Party, notwithstanding its short existence, is on the right path and represents the will of the Irish working class. The clearer and the more determined it pursues this path, the sooner will the English and