

United Front Discussed at C. I. Congress

By Radio to Imprekorr (Berlin) and Forwarded by Mail to The Worker MOSCOW, Nov. 17.—The Mandate Examination Commission made its report today announcing that 61 parties are represented in the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International by 392 delegates, 44 of whom have advisory vote, 6 delegates being admitted as advisory guests.

The debate upon the capitalist offensive was then continued.

Ravesteyn (Holland) in opposition to Trotzky states that in the West there is imminent not a pacifist, democratic reformist tendency, but an extreme royalist reaction. In England, Holland, France and Belgium imperialist tendencies are prevailing which strive for the complete abolition of social legislation. The slogan of the workers' government is possible in special cases in Central Europe, but it is impossible in the West with Longuet, Blum, Clynes and Henderson. In view of the danger of world reaction the tactics of the united front is absolutely necessary for uniting the proletariat.

Stern (Austria) characterizes the capitalist offensive as the last desperate effort of the world bourgeoisie to save capitalism. The best example of this is the Geneva Conference at which the world bourgeoisie ostensibly hastened to the aid of the Austrian bourgeois altho it is impossible to save it. Proletarian action under the leadership of the Communist International is possible in regard to the Austrian question. The Austrian example proves that even small Communist parties can successfully employ the united front tactics towards large Social Democratic parties. The slogan of the workers' government is the counter-cry to the coalition policy of the Social Democrats. The united front tactics no longer mean the covering of the retreat but rather the covering of the advance. It implies no danger for us if the Social Democrats join in at the commencement of a struggle. On the contrary, the situation will be all the clearer when they betray the workers later.

Webb (England) points out that

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in England the capitalist offensive proceeds parallel with the betrayal of the Amsterdam trade unions and leaders of the Second International. The strike of the miners and of the engineers are the best example of this. There now follows the offensive against the railwaymen. A firm cohesion of the Communist parties of Central Europe is necessary and a close rapprochement to the East, where the Social Democrats have no grip and the revolutionary movement is on the increase.

Hoernle (Germany) declares in the name of the majority of the German delegates that they are in agreement with Radek. In controversy with Urbans he declares that the eternal doubts of the opposition on the question of the united front has a paralyzing effect. The united front is certainly bound up with dangers; but at the same time it tends to purify the party from opportunist elements. An example of this is the secession of the KAG. (Levi Group) from the Communist Party. A closer cooperation of all Communist parties is necessary,—as is the case with the French and German Parties. Fascism has two types in Germany: in Bavaria it consists of the middle peasants and middle bourgeoisie, while in the East Elbe district it also embraces a section of the agricultural workers. The self-defense of the proletariat must be organized at the right moment.

Rosmer (France) moves the following resolution: A Warsaw telegram reports the arrest of Stephan Rybacki who was returned to Parliament for Dombrova by 32,000 votes, and Comrade Krolikovski who was elected for Parliament by 27,000 votes in Warsaw, languishes in prison. This violation of the will of tens of thousands of workers is only part and parcel of the persecutions to which the Communist movement is subjected in the new democratic Polish Republic. After the shameful judicial murder of Comrade Dombal who boldly espoused Communism, the Polish Government is attempting to silence the mouths of the members of Parliament who have been chosen by the people in spite of the unheard-of white terror. The Congress stigmatizes before the world proletariat the barbarity of the Polish Government. It expresses its admiration for the Polish proletariat fighting with sublime heroism for the emancipation of the working class.

The resolution is adopted unanimously.

In his concluding words Radek emphasizes the fact that in the Communist International there are right wing dangers and left wing dangers. The right wing danger, however, is the greater. The greatest danger at present is passivity, which means a lessening of the fighting will of the broad proletarian masses in connection with a one-sided adaptation to the Social Democrats. With regard to Urbans he replies that the left waters also turn the Centrist mill. He charges him with an incorrect estimation of the position. The counter-offensive of the proletariat is not yet begun, it is much more possible that the capitalist offensive has not yet reached its highest point.

The Shop Stewards Movement and the fight for the eight hour day is only a defence against a disastrous undermining of the position of the proletariat. As long as we are the weaker section, the tactics of the united front are necessary. We must endeavor to fight against capital together with the Second and 2½ Internationals, altho the Social Democratic leaders, consciously fight every revolutionary movement.

The pressure of the proletarian masses can compel the Social Democrats to break with the coalition. Then we are ready to fight with them but not in the coalition. The Communists must not only vindicate their conviction, they must rather conduct practical every-day struggles. The struggle will also convince those masses who do not believe in the dictatorship that dictatorship is the only way. The continual doubts of the opposition can hinder the organizing of the fight and injure the party. Then exists the danger of Otsovism which passively waits for the revolution the day after to-morrow. The Communist parties have to act to-day and tomorrow. In our tactics for the next period we must not lose sight of the future perspective. Anxiety over the tactics of the united front is injurious. The Communists are practical class fighters. We negotiate with the Social Democratic leaders so long as we are not the majority. This way leads to our goal—the dictatorship.

Zinoviev reads out a telegram from which it appears that in England, Newbold is elected as candidate of the Communist Party.

Velti (Switzerland) proposes the creation of a committee for the realization of the International United Front of the Communist Parties against the reaction.