

It is Time to Go over from Adopting Resolutions to Carrying them out.

By O. Piatnitzky.

There has not yet been any Change in the Matter of Carrying out the Resolution on the Transfer of the Centre of Gravity of Party and Trade Union Work to the Factories.

The recent elections in France and Germany, the strikes in England, America and a number of other countries, in which the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union oppositions participated in one form or another show that the Communist Parties, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition have not yet succeeded in winning a large portion of the organised and unorganised masses of workers away from the influence of the social democratic parties and reformist trade union bureaucrats as well as that of the leading trade union apparatus. And this occurs at a time when the social democratic parties and reformist trade union bureaucracy have daily betrayed the interests of these masses through their tactics and their actions in all political and economic questions affecting the great masses of workers.

During the present industrial and agrarian crisis which has drawn in the entire capitalist world, the situation of the workers, those working part time as well as those working full time, and the situation of the unemployed, of the office workers, of the lower officials, of the poor peasants and even a considerable portion of the middle peasants, has undergone a marked deterioration. Under these circumstances the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition could have and should have utilised to much greater advantage the discontent of the great masses of workers in order to unmask those who are really responsible for the defeat of strikes, for wage cuts and the reduction of unemployment relief, for the increase of taxes, for impoverishment of the poor and even middle elements of the peasantry and for the shifting of the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working masses. The Communist Parties, the Red Trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition could have and should have pointed out that only the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement defend the interests of the workers in their programme, in their slogans and actions, and in their whole work. If the revolutionary organisations had succeeded in making the masses understand this, it would have never been possible for the socialist parties and the reformist trade union bureaucrats to continue to manoeuvre both in the political field and in the economic field with their theory of "lesser evil", nor could it have come about that these elements, instead of losing votes in the elections, in a number of cases actually showed an increase in votes (France) and that instead of being made harmless during strikes these elements are still for the most part able to throttle strikes and even to organise blacklegging.

What are the roots of these weaknesses in the work of the Communist Party? During election campaigns and during strikes the meetings called by the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition are attended by great masses of workers. This creates the illusion among active comrades in the Party and the trade union opposition that it has already been possible to defeat the social democrats, to bring the influence of the national socialists to a standstill, etc. As a matter of fact these meetings are attended chiefly by elements who have gone with us and are going with us, but the great masses, all the elements of the working population who do not yet read the revolutionary press and who do not yet go to meetings of the revolutionary organisations and Communist Parties are still almost untouched by revolutionary agitation and by the revolutionary press. This means that in addition to the press and the calling of meetings, in addition to the holding of demonstrations, still other forms of work are necessary, which reach

not only working elements who already follow us, but also broad elements of workers and employees, who do not come to our meetings, who do not read our press and who do not yet respond to our calls for demonstrations.

How can this be attained? Only by work in the factories, among the unemployed, wherever they may be found, in the trade unions and in the mass organisations of the workers and peasants in general. In spite of the fact that there are dozens of resolutions, beginning with Comintern Congresses all the way down to sub-district organisations of the Party, and in spite of the fact that many columns of the Party press are devoted to the necessity of strengthening and organising this work, no real change can be observed. And yet until such a change is carried out in this field, Party and trade union work are bound to be to a great extent superficial, without reaching the basic elements of the working elements who still follow the social democrats, the national fascists and the Centre (Catholic Party).

A great number of examples from the history of the Parties of the Comintern show that when Parties and revolutionary trade unions without any organisations in the factories are driven underground, they immediately loose contact not only with the masses but in many cases even with their own members. There is absolutely no guarantee that the Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries will not be driven underground. A law has been introduced into Congress in the U.S.A. which would make the Communist Party illegal. In the British House of Commons the government has been asked what it intended to do in order to render the Communist Party harmless. In Germany the question of dissolving the Communist Party has been on the agenda for some time. In Czechoslovakia the Party is already semi-legal. In France as soon as it is possible to utilise a successful act of provocation to convince the petty bourgeoisie and a portion of the workers that the Communist Party has participated in some terroristic act, the Communist Party will be suppressed.

Under such conditions every minute of legal or semi-legal existence of these Parties must be utilised to get them firmly rooted in the factories and persistent work must be carried on among the workers on the basis of defence of their daily interests and the linking up of this struggle with the ultimate aims of the Communist Party. If this is done, it will not be possible in any way for the bourgeoisie to deal sharp blows at the Communist Party, nor will the bourgeoisie succeed in isolating the Party from the masses. This means, however, that at last the resolutions on transferring the centre of gravity of Party and trade union work to the factories must be carried out not in words but in deeds, and not by reports showing that we have so and so many Party nuclei and trade union groups, with the subsequent revelation that in some cases these nuclei do not even exist, or else that they function very poorly.

The imperialist war has already begun in the Far East. This war may become a war between other imperialist states. The arming for military intervention against the Soviet Union is in full swing. There is no one among the Communists or in the revolutionary trade union movement so naive as to think that if the flames of the war in the Far East spread over to Europe or America, the bourgeoisie will allow the Communist Parties, the Red trade unions and the trade union opposition to continue their legal existence and that it will not attempt to isolate their functionaries and physically anni-

hilate their best leaders. This means that at the very moment when it is more necessary than ever to have the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union opposition extend their work, penetrate the munition factories and the army (many workers are being drawn into the army) and to explain to the masses of workers why this war is being carried on and what this war means — at this very moment the bourgeoisie, by doing away with the Central Committees and District Committees of Communist Parties and the leading bodies of the revolutionary trade unions, is in a position to isolate the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union organisations from the masses of workers for a definite period. If there are nuclei in the factories, which do not work openly even when the Party is on a legal basis, the bourgeoisie and the police will not succeed, in spite of all their attempts, in isolating the Party from the masses on the eve and at the outbreak of a war, especially in the big factories. This is so superior to the present form of organisation that this reason alone makes it necessary for the Party and trade union work to be immediately organised on a factory basis not in words but in deeds.

But this is not all. If the Red trade unions, the trade union opposition and the Communist Parties were to shift the centre of gravity of their work to the factories, it would mean a change in the whole character of the work of the Party and the trade unions. This change can come about of course only if real work is carried out in the factories and if work is actually carried on among the masses, and not, as is the case now, when Party nuclei and trade union groups exist in the factories to be sure, but carry on absolutely no work or else very poor work among the workers in the factories, occupying themselves chiefly with questions which do not affect the factories. Any serious work in the factories would change this situation. The Party nuclei and trade union groups must without fail study the feelings among the masses, find out how they live, what questions interest them most and what gives rise to discontent among them, and on what basis they can be organised for a movement of protest. Only in this way is it possible for Party nuclei and revolutionary trade union opposition to penetrate into the circle of questions which interest the masses. This would serve as an incentive for them to formulate their demands and to rally around them active non-party workers to cooperate in putting through these demands. This would serve as an incentive for them thoroughly to study the internal situation of the factories, to study collective agreements, legislation and practice relating to sickness, invalid and unemployment relief. In short, it would serve as an incentive for tireless daily work, work which has so far been carried on mainly by the reformists and social democrats and which still gives them influence over the masses, because so far they have had almost a complete monopoly of this work in the factories. The revolutionary and Party organisations must not only show that they can do this better than the social democrats but they must link up this drudging detail work with the whole policy and the whole tactics of the Communist Party, showing the way out of the intolerable situation in which the proletariat in all countries is being placed during the world economic crisis.

The factory newspapers can and must help in this work. In many cases they have achieved brilliant success, but lately they have been completely neglected. They have no concrete character, but are issued in stereotyped form for all factories, without taking into account the fact that every factory has its special characteristics. They neglect the work of drawing the workers' correspondents of the factory into active collaboration. If the factory newspapers were to receive the proper attention they could become a tremendously valuable factor in the work which must be carried on in the factories. Through this tiresome daily work and through squeezing out and isolating the reformists from this work, it would be easier for the Party nuclei, individual communists, supporters of the R.I.L.U. and trade union groups to unmask the reformists and social democrats, to expose their treacherous acts outside the factory in Parliament, in bargaining with the employers and in the negotiations with the government and to push them out of their positions in the mass organisations and wrest the masses away from their influence. They must do this by linking up daily detailed work with the slogans and whole policy of the Communist Party, **by unmasking the reformists on the basis of actual facts, without mud slinging** but by irrefutable proof, and by pointing out in advance the manoeuvres to which the

reformists will resort in this or that struggle—only by these methods will the Communist Parties succeed in placing themselves at the head of the proletariat and liberating it from the influence of the reformists and social democrats. Only in this way is it possible to win over the majority of the working class.

This of course means also that the revolutionary press must be written in popular language which is generally understood by the masses, that the press must be focussed on the masses and must supply Party members and members of the revolutionary opposition with arguments against the reformist trade union leaders, against the social democrats and the bourgeoisie. This involves a change in the character of the work of these nuclei and trade union groups in the factories. The Party leadership and the leadership of the revolutionary trade union movement must animate the work of these organisations in the factories. All questions of interest at the given moment to the Party and the Red Trade Unions must be raised in the factories, all mass campaigns must be carried on by the organisations in the factories and special care must be taken to have the organisations in the factories receive regular instructions and to have a checking up of the carrying out of all resolutions adopted. In short, everything must be done which has been neglected up to now.

If the work were organised in the manner called for at a given moment, as can and must be done in Communist, Bolshevik organisations, our Parties could be growing in the factories continually, because the best elements among the non-Party workers and other revolutionary workers belonging to traitor parties would join the Communist Party. Moreover, our Party organisations could be made more militant not by phraseology of one kind or another but by real work and by contact with the masses. If the work is really organised in this way we will not find members recruited by the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions dropping out again, and the fluctuation which now exists in all revolutionary organisations will become insignificant or will cease entirely. If the Party organisation in the factories functioned properly, if they worked effectively, it would not be difficult to establish the correct mutual relations between the nuclei in the factories and the revolutionary trade union groups on the one hand and the members of the nuclei and of the revolutionary trade union groups on the other hand. It would be possible to avoid the situation which has often existed up to now, namely, isolation of the revolutionary trade union groups in the factory and of the nuclei from each other, without any contact between them and no leadership from the nuclei. And it is not infrequently the case also, that the revolutionary trade union groups, as well as the members of these groups and members of the Communist nuclei in the factory councils make opportunist mistakes and some times even vote like the reformists for the dismissal of workers and declare themselves in agreement with the reduction of wages.

If the Party nuclei and revolutionary trade union groups in the factories are to work as revolutionary and Communist organisations should work, it is necessary first of all to have the sub-district committees of the Party and the trade unions and the local organisations of the Party and the Red Trade Unions which are in direct contact with the nuclei and trade union groups in the factories help them, guide them, strengthen their work and support them in every way, by supplying them with functionaries and with literature and handbills and by offering technical assistance for the publication of their papers. If the sub-district committees and the local Party and trade union organisations which are linked up with the nuclei and trade union groups in the factories took an interest in this work it would not be difficult to establish contacts even if the revolutionary workers who are members of the revolutionary trade union movement or the Communist Party were dismissed from these factories. These contacts could be established through unemployed workers who formerly worked in the enterprise in question, by drawing in workers in the enterprise who sympathize with the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement and by discovering members of other revolutionary organisations, such as the I.L.D. the W.I.R. Anti Fascist organisations, Red Front Fighters, revolutionary Free Thinkers, and Revolutionary Sport organisations. These workers must establish contacts in the enterprises and form Party nuclei and trade union groups from within, and when this is not possible they must work from outside to get such organisations started in the factory.

If the sub-district and local committees having direct contact with the organisations in the factories were to take up this work and consider it as one of their chief tasks, they would understand the necessity for concentrating on the most important branches of production and on the big enterprises. This is especially true because the leading branches of production and biggest enterprises in actual fact are closely connected with the other branches of production and other enterprises. The sub-district committees and local organisations, with which the organisations in the factories are in direct contact, must devote twice as much attention to the organisations which exist in the leading branches of production and in the big factories. They must concern themselves particularly with these organisations, must hold conferences with them, obtain reports from them and issue directives showing them how they are to carry on work on this or that question, and how they are to approach the social democratic workers, the christian workers and those who follow the fascists.

Special attention must be devoted to the shop newspapers. It is not enough merely to send out instructors to these organisations. Speakers must be placed at their disposal to speak at meetings at the factory gates, prepared in advance by Party members inside the factories. If pains were taken and this work were organised as it should be, success would be bound to follow. It would be possible to renounce former methods of work because the new methods would bring such results that the members of the Party and of the revolutionary trade union organisations would be convinced of the necessity for transferring the centre of gravity of their work to the factories and devote the proper attention to this work.

Of course the work in the factories is not the only work which must be carried on by the Party organisations and the revolutionary trade union movement. But it is work of the utmost importance. In addition to this work, work must be carried on among the unemployed. In all capitalist countries the unemployed make up almost 50% of the proletariat. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade union movement cannot possibly stand aside. They must go to the unemployed and organise their struggle, because the Communist Party is the Party of the proletariat, which cannot possibly renounce the task of organising these masses for daily struggle on behalf of their interests and of linking up these struggles with the ultimate aims, with the whole policy and tactics of the Party. If such masses of workers, who have been out of work for several years already, remain unorganised, if they are not welded together, they are bound to disintegrate and become pauperised. This disintegration can be stopped only by organising the unemployed and by leading their struggles against evictions, for government insurance, for a lump sum relief payment, against the reduction of relief now received, for the organisation of meals for children, etc. Success can be achieved wherever our Parties, the Red Trade Unions, and the trade union opposition have done something for the unemployed. The masses of unemployed must be organised and some improvement of their situation must be brought about, if only temporary. Then it will be possible to thwart the attempts of the reformists, social democrats and fascists to penetrate these organisations. In countries where no work is being carried on among the unemployed, the reformists and social democrats are making attempts to disrupt the organisations of the unemployed which exist, as in England, or to penetrate into the ranks of the unemployed, as in Germany. In addition to work in the factories, the work among the unemployed is one of the chief tasks of the Party.

The third task consists in strengthening the work in the reformist and other mass trade unions, especially with regard to the question of unemployment. Approximately 40% of the members of the reformist and other trade unions are unemployed (in the Red Trade Unions and trade union opposition, the percentage is still higher). Nevertheless the reformist trade unions vote for the reduction of unemployment relief and support these reductions (Germany, Austria), and oppose the introduction of government unemployment relief (France, America).

If the trade union opposition (the Communists in the trade union opposition) form themselves into a special organisation in every reformist trade union, if they carry on energetic preliminary work among the unemployed members of the reformist trade unions and work out concrete proposals for defence of the interests of the unemployed by the trade unions (which will naturally be rejected by the reformists, while the members of the reformist trade unions are genuinely interest-

ed in the improvement of the situation of the unemployed)—if all this is done, will it not be possible to gain influence over the members of the reformist trade unions, and will it not be possible to work with these members to discredit the reformist leaders and to drive these leaders out of the lower organisations? Of course it is possible.

After this work is once started in the reformist trade unions action can at once be taken in support of any strikes which may have broken out spontaneously or under revolutionary leadership and for the prevention of the betrayal of such strikes by the bureaucracy. Good work in the reformist trade unions would make it possible to mobilise the members of these unions in a struggle against the reduction of wages, against the reduction of relief, for the introduction of government insurance for the unemployed, and against the shifting of all the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the working class the poor and middle peasantry. Then our Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement would not lag behind the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working and peasant masses, but would become leaders of these masses and capture the majority of the working class.

Experience in Work in the Enterprises in England.

By Tom.

As in many other countries, the work carried out by the British Party so far in bringing about the turn in the enterprises has been unsatisfactory.

Early in 1932 the Party adopted a number of resolutions connected with and based on the coming economic struggles, which were to guarantee the carrying out of the work in the enterprises.

According to the resolution of the C.C. the entire Party was to concentrate during the next 6 months on persistent work in the most important selected enterprises in four most important districts namely: London, Scotland, Manchester (Lancashire) and South Wales.

A number of existing factory nuclei are not included in the special spheres of concentration, but this in no way means that the Party is not to carry on any work in these nuclei.

Concentration is merely for the purpose of having the best forces of the Party, from the C.C. down, attempt to build up strong Party organisations with a far-reaching mass influence in 50-60 enterprises, by preparing and conducting the daily struggles of the workers in these enterprises.

First of all, a discussion was held in the district and local committees on the selection of these enterprises. This selection and discussion confronted the committees and the lower organisations with the question of immediately carrying out the Party resolutions in the most important enterprises in an absolutely concrete manner.

Then **responsible Party workers** (beginning from the C.C.) were appointed and assigned to these enterprises. These comrades are to assist the members in the enterprises, see to it that the nearby street nuclei of the local organisation shall offer the maximum assistance to the nucleus or to the work of the comrades in the enterprise and to establish direct contact between the district committee and the factory nucleus. This work of these comrades is to be considered their most important Party work and chief duty. For enterprises in which the Party had no previous contact, small brigades were elected (also under the direction of a responsible comrade) made up of comrades who in one way or another are connected with this industry or in a position to establish connections.

The most acute questions, grievances and conflicts have been taken up and the interest of the majority of workers in the enterprise or department has been aroused. On this basis demands have been formulated, for which the nucleus or Party comrades have attempted to mobilise the majority of the workers. The material obtained in dealing with these questions has been utilised for the factory newspaper and in some cases for the „Daily Worker“.

In one case (in London) it was discovered that in one enterprise there were Party members employed who did not even know each other, because they did not carry on any Party work in the enterprise (the Party work was carried on only in