

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By HARRY POLLITT

[The following is an abbreviated report of Comrade Pollitt's opening speech to the London District Conference of the Communist Party, to hear a report on the 7th Congress of the Communist International.]

THE most important Congress of the Communist International since the Second World Congress in 1920 has just concluded. In 1920, with the direct participation of comrade Lenin, the fundamental documents and theses which laid down the basis of Communist theory and practice were adopted, upon which were based the formation of the Communist Parties and the Communist International.

The Second Congress undoubtedly represented one of the most important moments in the history of the international Labour movement. But of course, it would not be true to say that in 1920 there existed a single world revolutionary Party that was able to carry out in practice the decisions of that Congress. In no country outside the Soviet Union did there exist a single united Communist Party. In every country other than the Soviet Union the revolutionaries were not only isolated in separate parties and sects, but between them the most bitter factional struggles were proceeding.

The importance of the Second Congress was the conception running through the whole of the documents that a basis must be laid down upon which it would be possible to create in every capitalist country, in every colonial country, a Communist Party, acting and carrying out the decisions of its centre—the Communist International.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International has proven beyond all doubt that this aim has been established. And in 1935 the essential distinction between 1920 is that in two score of capitalist countries in the capitalist world, firmly united Bolshevik Communist Parties exist, working under the leadership of the Communist International on the basis of a world revolutionary proletarian party. And had this not been the case, the Seventh Congress would not have been able to unfold

the entirely new tactical line in the development of the united front which is now going to be carried forward in every country in the world.

The new basis for united action has been opened with the deliberate perspective of leading the forms of united action in all their manifold directions, towards consciously aiming at bringing about the complete unification of the international working-class movement. The new tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International has not been determined by any opportunist reasons. It has been determined by the consciousness that the formation and strengthening of the united front is now the main link in the chain towards the successful carrying through of the world revolution. And that conscious aim of the world revolution will not be lost sight of for one moment by any Communist Party in the carrying out of the decisions of the Congress. On the contrary, everything that we do will be more consciously and in a more concrete and political way related to our final aims and final principles than ever before.

What was the first conclusion that was established? The first conclusion which the Congress was able to establish was the final and complete victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. This is not a phrase. It is not something that can be passed over as being nice-sounding. It is a historical fact which has changed the entire international situation. It is a fact which has reversed a situation, where a few years ago the Soviet Union was undoubtedly having to do many things that it did not like to do in order to get contacts with capitalist governments to try and get a breathing space, to a position where the most important Governments are now running after the Soviet Union and seeking its friendship.

It is therefore no little thing. It represents the greatest conquest for the whole working class that has been known in the history of the world. It means that the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party, is now the strongest, most powerful single country in the world.

Those who cannot see that because of this victory of Socialism there is now opening before the working class of the whole world an entirely new perspective cannot see anything. We cannot merely acknowledge the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Soviet Union without being prepared to draw one important political conclusion so far as our duty is concerned, and that is this: at any price and under any circumstances we will defend the Soviet Union, and in time of necessity ensure the victory of its Red Army. Comrades, when we say at any cost, and when we say at any price, we mean precisely what the words imply. If there are comrades in this hall who think that this is going a little too far then please let them enter fully into discussion on that point and we will show at the conclusion of the discussion where they are wrong, from the point of view of politics and from the point of view of building

up any perspective of world revolution. They have not built socialism in Russia only as a result of their own efforts—they have built it as a result of the fighting character of international working-class unity behind the Soviet Union. Not only for the Russian workers and peasants have they built, and gone many ways around in the building, made many concessions and many compromises—they have done things which have made some faint hearts gasp “that the revolution has been sold out.” At the end of it all, there has emerged this great and powerful socialist country that is based on socialist industrialisation, that is based on collective agriculture, that has solved for ever the problem of who was going to conquer whom in Russia—the workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, or the counter-revolutionaries. Because of this, it means there is not a working man or woman in any capitalist country in the world that cannot feel stronger in their fight against their own capitalist governments. In other words, the final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. means the strengthening of the workers’ daily struggle against the attacks of capitalism, the menace of fascism and war, and the certainty of the world revolution.

To-day, when we embark upon our new line, we can do so with the certainty that those who have contributed to the hammering out of this line are precisely the same comrades who have taken such a leading part in the hammering out of the successful conquest of socialism in the Soviet Union. Also, the Seventh Congress has laid down the lines for developing the united front on a broader basis than has ever been contemplated before. Let this sink into the minds of the comrades. *If the united front can be built up, then the advance of fascism and war can be prevented.* Is there a comrade here who does not understand that? If we can prevent any further advance of fascism or of the war mongers’ plans, this represents a tremendous victory, not only for the proletariat, but for large sections of the population, who, whilst not with us in our ultimate aims, hate and fear fascism and war.

This new line of extension of the united front is not something which is being born out of the air. One of the things that dominated the minds of those who took part in the Congress when we were discussing and debating the extension of the united front tactics, was the experience gained in the last period in France. France played as equally an important part in the Congress as the Soviet Union.

What are the four main things that we already can learn from France? First, that if united action is developed it can stem the advance of fascism on the one hand and it can compel the leading circles of the French ruling class to come to a Peace Pact with the Soviet Union on the other, and thereby gain a tremendous extension of time in which to build up the forces fighting against fascism and for the preservation of peace.

Secondly, it has brought about the unification of the French Trade Union Movement, and on September 24 or 27 there will take place in France two conferences, one a trade union conference of the revolutionary workers. Since the French Communist Party and French Socialist Party in July, 1934, commenced to work together, this working together has brought the two trade union movements of France closer and this month, complete unification will have been brought about. We have made some concessions in order that in the trade union movement unity can be brought about. Of that there is no question, and we won't for a moment seek to hide we have made concessions, and we will make in this country the same concessions if it will remove anything standing in the way of unification of the mass organisations of the working class.

Thirdly, from our French experience, it is already demonstrated that in the immediate future there is a possibility of the unification of the French Socialist Party and the French Communist Party. This would be an event of international importance, for alongside this we have to note that the success of the united front in France has produced a grave crisis in the ranks of the Second International. The French Socialist Party is the second most powerful section to the British Labour Party, and together with the Socialist Parties of Austria, Spain, Italy and Poland, is now fighting for negotiations with the Communist International with a view to joint action.

Fourthly, and this is for us of great significance in Britain, experiences in France have destroyed the arguments of those in the Labour Party in Britain who say that if you have anything to do with the Communists you will drive away the shop-keepers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other sections of the middle class, as they think that Communism is synonymous with violence and bloodshed. The experience in France has given the lie to that. There has never been a time in the political history of France when the lower middle classes were so firmly allied with the organised working-class movement of France as they are at the present time. When 800,000 of the Paris population passed the Bastille on July 14, everyone knows that a big proportion of them represented precisely that section of the French population which never thought it would be drawn into such forms of mass political activity. It represented that section of the French population which, if they had been with us in Germany, would have prevented Hitler establishing a social basis previous to his coming to power. For the working-class movement in those countries which are yet known as democratic countries, this is a fact of great importance.

To sum up what is behind this extension of united front activity? First, to try and put a stumbling block, however tiny, however apparently insignificant, to put a stumbling block in the path of the fascists and

war mongers. Secondly, to try and take away from the Labour leaders the remaining arguments they have in this and other countries which they use to oppose the united front. The Congress, therefore, in unfolding this tactic, did it on a broad basis and it is then left to the Communist Parties to apply it in the special conditions of their own countries.

For example, in the report of Dimitrov and the resolution, you will find reference to the fact that under certain circumstances we will take full part and responsibility in a united front Government which may be established. Clearly, such a perspective for Britain would be wrong, and for America it would be wrong ; but for France it may be the key to the next steps that have to be taken in France in order to bring in the whole of the left radicals, socialists, and communists into a United Front Government, not to realise Socialism but so as to impede the advance of fascism and war, and in this way to strengthen the workers' forces in France which are consciously working for the conquest of power.

In Britain it is obvious that we should aim to defeat the National Government at the coming general election and secure a Labour Government elected on the basis of the mass movement of the workers. But we cannot say that in America, because circumstances are different. We cannot say that in Poland, where the general election is now taking place, and where the Polish Communist Party and the Socialist Party have to boycott this election as they are a complete farce and give the people no opportunity of electing whom they want to take part in the so-called Polish Parliament.

What does the Seventh Congress declare as one of its main slogans ? It declares that the main slogan in the sphere of activity against war is the struggle for peace. This destroys—at least we hope it will—the canard that the Communists want war because it brings revolution. The Communists are not interested in fomenting war but are vitally interested in preserving peace. So long as capitalism is in existence war is an ever-present danger. What we have to discuss in this meeting will be how we can prevent war from actually breaking out, and we take the view that we can do this. We take the view that as a result of actions in the past it already has been done.

At the present time there is no honest person in the working-class movement who does not understand that the peace policy of the Soviet Union allied to the general anti-war activity carried out all over the world, have represented the main factors which have already either prevented an imperialist war, or a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union from breaking out.

It has not been done as a result of straight-line politics, it has not been done as a result of thinking that the way towards revolution was a straight

way. It has had to be done by manœuvring, by concessions, by compromises, but the aim has never been lost sight of. Who can forget the line of Fenner Brockway in 1932 when the Soviet Government decided to sell the Chinese Eastern Railway? What was the situation when the Russians decided to sell the railway? The situation was that Japan was ready to go to war, and the Soviet Union was equally keen to prevent war. Japan, from the point of view of its fortifications, its aerodromes, its military railways and forces in Manchuria, was ready to strike, and she said she was ready to strike because she could not get the Chinese Eastern Railway, so the Soviet Government said: "we will sell it to you." The negotiations took a year, and at the end of that year a complete change in the relation of forces had taken place, and Japan to-day can never repeat what she hoped to have carried through in 1932.

Is the world revolution stronger as a result of the Soviet Union now being able to tell Japan where to get off as far as the Far East is concerned, or would it be weaker if Japan had struck and the other powers had gone to her assistance and the revolution put in jeopardy?

The same analogy holds good to-day. Let those remnants of Trotsky here in this country who now attack this conception of the defence of the Soviet Union at any price, ask themselves one plain question. If Lenin, when Trotsky refused to sign the Peace Treaty at Brest-Litovsk and would have allowed the Russian revolution to have gone down in a welter of blood rather than sign this treacherous Peace Treaty with German imperialism, if Lenin had not said we will not only sign that Treaty, but we would sign it if it was worse in order that a breathing space is gained for us to rouse the workers outside and to provide ourselves with opportunities for strengthening our own defences here, the Russian revolution would have been crushed.

The irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a result of these tactics of the Russian Bolsheviks, and there is not an honest man or woman in this country who professes to be Socialist who can say to us that at any price and at any cost they are not prepared to defend the Soviet Union, because it is the test of our socialist faith. It may at the moment appear that this possibility is a long way off. But you see, we also have the perspective that whilst at the moment there are certain forces within capitalism which are making for capitalism getting out of the worst phase of the economic crisis, the ordinary forces within capitalism that lead to periodical trade depressions are going to meet the forces that are making for recovery much sooner than is realised. Then there will be a renewed struggle for the world market and renewed attacks on the working class of every capitalist country plus one very important factor, that when the situation arises again, then the defence of the Soviet Union will become the chief paramount consideration for every working man and woman in the capitalist countries. Because

then, more than ever before, will the eyes of the imperialists be turned upon this socialist fatherland, this fortress of the world revolution. Therefore, we of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in line with every section of the Communist International support 100 per cent., and without any reservations everything that the Soviet Union does in its foreign policy, because we understand that this foreign policy is in accord with the interests of the international working class as a whole and is helping it forward to the path of revolution. This brings me to the question of what our line is on Abyssinia.

Those of you who read Inprecorr* this week will find the resolution on war, and will see that we definitely declared at the Seventh Congress that in a war for national liberation the Communist parties will support in that war their own ruling class in defending the attacked nation. We have Poland and Czechoslovakia in mind. Why? Because if you are prepared to surrender the independence of such countries as I have mentioned to German fascism, you are not only preparing a rod for the backs of the Russian workers, but one for the backs of the working class all over the world. In case any comrades boggle at this "at any price," let me put it even plainer. In any war on the Soviet Union by German Fascism, if it came to a conflict which meant the bloody slaughter of tens of thousands of German workers, that would be justified in the interests of humanity as a whole, because if the Russian revolution goes down, millions of humanity will be slaughtered by the fascists.

To-day, we have to apply our Seventh Congress line to a situation that demands a straight answer. It is a tricky situation, it is a complicated situation, and it is no use pretending that the key to the solution of this situation is as straight as the road to that door, because it is not.

But in this situation there is no place for those who want to take what they describe as a "negative attitude." You have to declare quite clearly where you stand. Where do we stand? The *New Leader* appeals to the opposition in the Communist Party to join up with the I.L.P. against the united front with the Labour Party, the T.U.C., the National Government and, as a member of the T.U.C. said at Sheffield, our united front with the Archbishop of York. Will they please speak here. They will be given every opportunity. We have not made a united front with the National Government. We have not made a united front with the Archbishop of York. We have not made a united front with the Labour Party and the T.U.C., but I tell you, we would be very glad if we could make a united front with the Labour Party and T.U.C. if it was on the basis of our line.

Our line was made clear at the T.U.C. this week. It is true that the comrades' speeches did not get the publicity that they deserve. What

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is our line? Are we supporting an imperialist war? We are not. We are supporting the independence of Abyssinia. Some comrades say that that is what the war in 1914 was called for. The independence of Belgium. The war of 1914 was a purely imperialist conflict. The imperialists are now doing all in their power to grab Abyssinia. There is nothing common in their aims and ours, which seek to use the contradictions that exist in the imperialist camp to put forward proposals to prevent this war. We say that the defence of the Abyssinian people is a slogan which corresponds with the interests of the working class throughout the whole world.

How do we propose that it shall be done? By unity with the National Government? We place the responsibility for the present situation upon the National Government. It was British imperialism which, when Mussolini came to power, re-armed and financed him in exactly the same way as they re-armed and financed Hitler facism when it came to power. It is the National Government which everybody knows has recently concluded the German Naval Agreement with Germany. It is allowing the Bank of England to finance Hitler in order to pay for German re-armament. It is British imperialism and its conquest of the world markets and its system of violence which must be always a provocation to those countries who are continually wanting to expand. We understand this, but let us understand the situation of the Abyssinian people.

Abyssinia is an independent country: it occupies one of the most strategical places in Africa. If Abyssinia is conquered by Italian fascism then that represents a strengthening of fascism throughout the world. If Mussolini decides to make war on Abyssinia, do the comrades here understand that Hitler is not a blind man and will immediately choose that moment for the expansion of German territory? If it is true that peace is indivisible, we must approach the question from that angle. This war would not be localised in Abyssinia for longer than a month. We stand unhesitatingly for the defence of the independence of Abyssinia which is irrevocably bound up with the defence of the Soviet Union. Perhaps Hitler would not have a go at the Soviet Union in the immediate situation, but if he has a go for Austria and Lithuania, this is the prerequisite to having a further go at the Soviet Union later on. Are we to be blind to every phase of the situation? Of course not. Sanctions which under certain conditions we are supporting, is not the high spot of our policy. We are demanding, and demanded at the Trades Union Congress that the T.U.C. should stigmatise the National Government as the prime responsible factor for the present tense eve of war situation which exists in the world at the present time.

We called upon them to denounce imperialist aims and existing mandates and concessions in Abyssinia. We are for the immediate stopping

of loading and unloading any Italian ships at present in English ports. We are for the prohibition of sending war materials to Italy, for the stopping of further financial loans to Italy, we call for the sending of materials to Abyssinia, for the raising of money to help the Abyssinian people fight for their independence. Do you think that we do not know the National Government has prevented the Abyssinian Government from raising a loan in the City of London, that they prevent the export of arms to Abyssinia? But we also demand the closing of the Suez Canal, and the carrying out of the Covenant of the League of Nations, because we believe that all these measures can prevent Mussolini going to war, and we must utilise the present contradictions in the capitalist world, and force economic and military sanctions if necessary.

The key-note of our drive is that by the adoption of these measures we will prevent this war. Let us look at the process as a whole. That is our line here, it is the line of the comrades in France. But it is not the line of the Italian Communist Party and Socialist Party. What is their line? Their line is transforming this war into a civil war. It is for strikes in the factories, stopping transport of munitions and troops, and for the Italian troops in Africa to desert to the side of the Abyssinian army, and even Sir Walter Citrine at the Trades Union Congress was compelled to declare that if Mussolini declares war, he faces the danger of civil war in Italy.

Don't comrades realise that if we are able to preserve the peace, that it is now going to do two things? First, it is going to strengthen the forces fighting against Mussolini in Italy itself; second, it is going to strengthen the forces in Abyssinia, not only against Italian fascism and imperialism, but against British imperialism and French imperialism.

Do you think the anti-fascist forces to-day are not stronger than they were, and if we can only hold Mussolini back we shall be rendering them a great service. When you can read that in Parma, Leghorn, Palermo, Milan and other places, soldiers have deserted, women are holding demonstrations as the soldiers leave, and that in Cremona for the first time since 1922, they are singing the "Bandiera Rossa," the Italian "Red Flag," it shows the way the anti-fascists movement in Italy is developing.

If we declare that all wars are imperialist wars under capitalism, and do not formulate our policy in relation to every concrete situation and state we must not take part in any circumstances in any war, then we are not only betraying the people of Abyssinia, we are betraying the Italian working class, the interests of working men and women all over the world.

(To be continued.)

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By HARRY POLLITT¹

WHAT is the next perspective that the Congress puts forward ? It puts forward the perspective of the unity of the Labour Movement. You have a right to ask me to define this more precisely, and I will.

The split in the Labour movement was caused in 1914 by the policy of Social Democracy in the imperialist war. We now put consciously to the working class the perspective that the menace of fascism and war should be the driving force that leads to the healing of that split. We fight for a single Trade Union centre in every country and for one Trade Union International. One united revolutionary working-class party in every country and one international of the working class. We make certain proposals and certain stipulations in regard to the achieving of these, but we say here that the prerequisite to any advance towards their final achievement depends on *unity in action now*, that our Party must come out absolutely openly and boldly in this country as the champions for the unification of the Labour movement.

George Lansbury spoke at the T.U.C. on Friday, and he called for a united front on the Abyssinian situation of Jews, Mohammedans, Catholics and Protestants, and he felt sure that if such a united front could be achieved, then the war in Abyssinia will be stopped.

It won't be long before we are able to get these Labour leaders who want to bring such diverse elements as these in a united front to participate in a united front with I.L.P.'ers, Communists, etc.

We must remember this speech of Mr. Lansbury's because the argument is, that so long as there are certain fundamental differences between the Communists and the Labour Party there cannot be unity in any shape or form. Are no fundamental differences between those who embrace the faith of Mahommedanism and those who embrace the faith of Judaism ?

¹This, the concluding half of a shortened report of a speech delivered by Comrade Pollitt to the London District Conference of the Communist Party held to hear a report on the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The first half of this was given in the October issue ; it can be obtained for 7d. post free from THE LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John St., London, W.C.1.

We must learn how to utilise such statements as these in order to show the inconsistencies of the line of the British Labour leaders. Why? Because the British Labour leaders are the chief opponents of united action on a national and international scale. They threaten to leave the Second International, but the pressure for united action within the Second International has recently become so strong that it has been forced to agree that Adler and the Committee with him shall study the documents of the 7th Congress and will report at a specially convened Session of the Second International within two months as to the possibility of opening negotiations with the Communist International.

Comrades, if such negotiations can be established, from our side, we are confident that agreement can be reached.

Therefore in England we must now consciously follow the aim which can end in a common movement of those who want to see the realisation of that objective. What is this aim? What do we as communists look upon as our most important task? We defined it at the 7th Congress as follows. The principle task of the C.P. becomes clear. It is to stand out before every working man and woman in Britain as the initiator and leader of the fight to secure the defeat of the National Government, by the organisation of a broad united front movement based on a programme of demands which can and must be carried through by a Labour Government, which will strengthen the workers' immediate fight against capitalism and be a brake upon the advance of Fascism and War, and help the development towards socialism.

That in our opinion, is not only our principle task, it must become the objective of every worker in the Labour movement who is opposed to Mondism, Fascism and War. And we are sure that if the fight is carried on under the slogans "Down with the National Government," "For the preservation of peace, democracy, and the improvement of the conditions of the workers," we can bring about a tremendous change in the situation.

The defeat of the National Government has to be organised. It has increased its political influence to a very great extent since the Jubilee in May. Do not let us be under any illusion. It will increase its political influence as a result of its line at Geneva unless we are able to put the true position before the working men and women in this country.

When the result of the Peace Ballot was declared, I wrote an article in which I stated that every political party in Britain, above all the National Government, will seek to put this desire for peace behind their Party aims and to utilise it as support for itself and help to secure victory at the coming elections.

That is why the Labour Party and T.U.C. line is now so dangerous in regard to the Abyssinian situation. This refusal to expose the National Government, this refusal to expose the imperialist aims of the National

Government, is putting the National Government in a position where it can pose as the champion and defender of peace in Abyssinia and in this way deceive many big sections of the working class and the middle class that it must have a continuance of power to carry out its work for peace.

Do not let us forget the other thing. There is not all the keenness of the Labour Party to-day for a Labour Government that there was a few short months ago. Anyone who has noted the *Daily Herald* and contrasted the *Herald* in the campaign for socialism that the Labour Party previously carried on, the contrast strikes very forcibly.

The Labour leaders do not want power at the next General Election in the present international situation, because they know perfectly well that the masses to-day will never be deceived again as they were in two previous situations. The masses will demand some improvement in their material conditions. They know to-day the masses will demand an end to our foreign policy of support to Hitler. The masses will demand closer and closer relations with the Soviet Union. In this situation the principle leaders of the Labour Party are not desirous of getting power at the next General Election, but the working men and women of this country dare not contemplate the National Government getting a new lease of power at the next General Election. Because a Government such as we have now which is not a fascist government, but which is a government whose legislation has fascist tendencies and takes us on the road to fascism, this Government, given a new lease of power, by its attacks on the working class on the one hand and its foreign policy on the other, will place us in the most desperate situation.

We need now to raise this slogan: "Down with the National Government," and what can we put in its place? I read an article in the *New Leader* some weeks ago headed "Baldwin, Maxton, Lloyd George," and the editor of the *New Leader* permitted himself to leave out any reference to the Labour Party because they did not count. The overwhelming majority of the masses of this country who are organised in the Co-operatives, the Labour Party and the Trade Unions are still under the influence of the Labour Party. It is not Maxton they see, it is not Baldwin they see, it is not Pollitt they see, it is the Labour Party they see, and the possibilities of a Labour Government, and the sooner we recognise that the better.

We have to learn how to organise all of the intense hate of the masses for the National Government, and harness it in a movement that will drive the National Government from power. A Labour Government elected in these circumstances faces a new political situation. Germany, Austria—has not been lost on the British workers. Spain has not been lost on the British workers. Reformist leaders are still strong, but class consciousness is still deeper in Britain than ever before. And are we now to believe that all this will disappear in a general election?

If we can force the return of a Labour Government it is bound to try to do something in the interests of the proletariat. If it fails to do these things because of the attack on the vested interests of capitalism there are hundreds of thousands of British working men and women whose eyes will be opened to the real character of the capitalist State who will take extra parliamentary action. If we have as a result of the next General Election such a Government repealing the Trades Union Disputes Act, only to mention one little thing, to mention it because the miners are preparing for battle, because the miners are preparing for a national strike. The history of the industrial movement shows that when we have a miners' strike we have a political crisis in this country, and the Trades Disputes Act's repeal will be a valuable factor to help the Labour movement as a whole to come behind the miners' struggles. If we get the identification of a Labour Government in this country to a similar pact with the Soviet Union as exists with France, do you think Hitler would not have to take note of that, and Mussolini would not take note of that ?

Such a Government can be a brake upon the advance of Fascism and War, as a result of the work the I.L.P. and the C.P. will do to increase the political class consciousness, therefore it is one of the most important things we have to understand at the present time.

How will the C.P. approach the question ? We are proposing to the Labour Party quite definitely that in order to prevent one working class vote, being split in this country we are prepared to withdraw a considerable number of our candidates, if the Labour Party will withdraw their candidates against our comrades. We would like to be able to convince the I.L.P. of such a policy of jointly approaching the Labour Party for such a demand.

We make a lot of mistakes, but when we say our Party will go into action, it works. We are also prepared to go further. As a conscious stepping stone first towards bringing about the maximum of unity of action to defeat the National Government, and secondly, towards the realisation of the perspective of one working class Party in Britain, we are prepared to become an affiliated body of the Labour Party. Does this mean that we are prepared to be an affiliated organisation from the point of view that we argued this in the years 1920 to 1923 ? The situation is entirely different. In those years we did not have the perspective of a united working class party in this country.

We are prepared to go into the Labour Party as an affiliated organisation retaining our identity as a party, and we will loyally carry out every decision that is reached, as a result of our participation, that corresponds to the interests of the working class. In the Trade Union movement when we are defeated by majority votes in the unions we will accept such decisions, but we will continue with our propaganda and education to try and win the workers on to our side. We have to have a line of Trade

Union unity in this country. The argument is all too common that the Trade Union movement is already united. Ours is the most split Trade Union movement in the world. A year ago at the Weymouth Trades Union Congress it was said that the time had come for us to unite in order to fight the wage reductions, but nothing has been done.

In Lancashire there are 36 different Weavers' unions. In the Engineering and Shipbuilding trade there are 51 different unions. The Miners have their District Unions. Therefore the struggle for unity of the Labour movement is a struggle also for unity inside the Trade Union movement. The telegram received at the Trades Union Congress from the Russian Unions, from 19,600,000 trade unionists, said they were confident that the British Trade Unions would play a rôle in unification against Fascism and War. This is a very important thing, and if we can get the Russian and British Trade Unions together by whatever steps, it can lead perhaps to the coming together of the two Trade Union movements, which can bring about on an international field the embracing of the two Trade Union movements, and for one International that embraces every trade unionist in the world.

We have to organise the unorganised in the trade union movement. In Sheffield yesterday I was asked whether we were in favour of having a strike to force men into the unions. Every time and any time. By all means do everything you can in order to win the unorganised man and make him a trade unionist. A certain type of worker wants to come in at first ; concentrate our best forces on him so that he can become the best advocate of what a trade union stands for. We say this because we are accused of being the splitters and disrupters. The majority of members who win T.U.C. recruiting medals are party members.

All this talk about disruption, all this talk about splitters—we are against disruption, we are against Mondism, we have been opposed to it since 1928. We are for the unity of every man in the trade unions—one trade union centre to embrace not $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, but 10 million unionists in this country, and it can be done. We must get out to the masses. Therefore the 7th Congress decisions on these questions of unity must be widely made known to help bring about unity in action as the stepping stone to complete unification.

Changes have been made in the composition of the E.C.C.I. The leadership of the C.I. is going to be stronger than ever before, because men are now coming into it who had a leading rôle in the building up of Socialism, but who could not be spared before as the first job in Russia was to build Socialism. Comrade Dimitrov, the general secretary—at the head of the C.I.—stands as the incomparable fighter and leader against Fascism and War.

Just as the C.I. has changed and strengthened its leadership, so every country in the world will have to do the same. We must have comrades who are not afraid to plunge into the stream, who when they take a dive do not want to be surrounded by all the lifeboats so that they should not sink.

Finally, comrades, we can speak with pride of the fact that at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International there was not one commission that had to be appointed to consider any internal quarrels or dissension in the Communist Party. There were comrades from Germany, facing gaol and death, comrades from Japan, giving us living examples of what the struggle against fascism means, comrades from all the British Dominions, all taking part, giving their experiences, and out of these experiences was born the line as laid down at the Congress that was received amidst scenes of enormous enthusiasm. Why was the line received with such enthusiasm? Because everyone knew it was the correct reply to the demands of the situation, and the demands of the masses themselves, and we therefore hope that the comrades here will support the line the Congress laid down. To those of you, comrades from the Labour Party and the I.L.P., we will undertake to supply your organisations with any of our comrades who will help you in intimate forms of discussion. This is possible and necessary in order that the masses everywhere shall know what the Seventh World Congress stands for. We were never more confident that the comrades will carry out this line and in three months from now, particularly in Germany, Poland, Japan and Italy, this line of the Seventh World Congress is going to lead to enormous changes in the class struggle.

Why have we made this change? because we want to stem the advance of Fascism and War, and because, as Comrade Dimitrov said in his concluding remarks, "We want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million strong revolutionary army led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin, be able to fulfil its historical mission with certainty, to sweep Fascism off the face of the earth, and together with it, Capitalism."

We here in Great Britain, assisted by the leadership of the Communist Party and C.I., pledge ourselves to make our great objective the achievement of our aims within the shortest possible space of time.