

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 12 OF 16

FOLDER 11

CONTINUATION COMMITTEE
PARTY PROGRAM

THE PARTY PROGRAM

The committee assigned the responsibility of studying the proposed party program submits ~~thex~~ this report with three objectives: to inform the CC of its work and position, to provide cadre with the essential theory to understand and study the proposed program; to support the proposed program and begin the struggle for clarity which will strengthen the working class struggle through the creation of a multi-national, anti-revisionist party of a new type.

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL ANTI-REVISIONIST COMMUNIST PARTY
WIN THE VANGUARD OF THE CLASS TO COMMUNISM
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE GENERAL NATURE AND ORGANIZATION OF PARTY PROGRAM

1. What is the importance of Party Program in the struggle to establish a ~~vxxx~~ vanguard party?

At the present time the urgent question of our movement is no longer that of developing the former scattered "amateur" activities, but of uniting—of organisation. This is a step for which a programme is a necessity. The programme must formulate our basic views; precisely establish our immediate political tasks; point out the immediate demands that must show the area of agitational activity; give unity to the agitational work, expand and deepen it, thus raising it from fragmentary partial agitation for petty, isolated demands to the status of agitation for the sum total of Social-Democratic demands. Today, when Social-Democratic activity has aroused a fairly wide circle of socialist intellectuals and class-conscious workers, it is urgently necessary to strengthen connections between them by a programme and in this way give all of them a sound basis for further, more extensive, activity. Lastly, a programme is urgently necessary because Russian public opinion is very often most profoundly mistaken in respect of the real tasks and methods of action of the Russian Social-Democrats: these mistaken views in some cases grow naturally in the morass of political putrefaction that is our real life, in others they are artificially nurtured by the opponents of Social-Democracy. In any case, this is a fact that has to be taken into account. The working-class movement, merging with socialism and with the political struggle, must establish a party that will have to dispel all these misunderstandings, if it is to stand at the head of all the democratic elements in Russian society. The objection may be raised, further, that the present moment is inopportune for the elaboration of a programme because there are differences of opinion that give rise to polemics among the Social-Democrats themselves. I believe the contrary to be true—this is another argument in favour of the necessity for a programme. On the one hand, since the polemic has begun, it is to be hoped that in the discussion of the draft programme all views and all shades of views will be afforded expression, that the discussion will be comprehensive. The polemic indicates that the Russian Social-Democrats are showing a revived interest in extensive questions pertaining to the aims of our movement and to its immediate tasks and tactics; precisely such a revival is essential to a discussion of the draft pro-

gramme. On the other hand, if the polemic is not to be fruitless, if it is not to degenerate into personal rivalry, if it is not to lead to a confusion of views, to a confounding of enemies and friends, it is absolutely essential that the question of the programme be introduced into the polemic. The polemic will be of benefit only if it makes clear in what the differences actually consist, *how profound they are*, whether they are differences of substance or differences on partial questions, whether or not these differences interfere with common work in the ranks of one and the same party. Only the introduction of the programme question into the polemic, only a definite statement by the two polemising parties on their *programmatic* views, can provide an answer to all these questions, questions that insistently demand an answer. The elaboration of a common programme for the Party should not, of course, put an end to all polemics; it will firmly establish those basic views on the character, the aims, and the tasks of our movement which must serve as the banner of a fighting party, a party that remains consolidated and united despite partial differences of opinion among its members on partial questions.

A DRAFT PROGRAMME OF OUR PARTY
Lenin 1899 p. 230-31

2. What are the essential elements of a Party Program?

The draft designates precisely that class which alone, in Russia as in other countries, is capable of being an independent fighter for socialism—the working class, the “industrial proletariat”; it states the aim which this class must set itself—“the conversion of all means and objects of production into social property,” “the abolition of commodity production” and “its replacement by a new system of social production”—“the communist revolution”; it indicates the “inevitable preliminary condition” for “the reconstruction of social relations”—“the seizure of political power by the working class”; it affirms the international solidarity of the proletariat and the necessity for an “element of variety in the programmes of the Social-Democrats of different states in accordance with the social conditions in each of them taken separately”; it points to the specific feature of Russia “where the masses of working people suffer under the double yoke of developing capitalism and moribund patriarchal economy”; it shows the connection between the Russian revolutionary movement and the process of the creation (by the forces of developing capitalism) of “a new class, the industrial proletariat—the most responsive, mobile, and developed”; it indicates the necessity for the formation of “a revolutionary working-class party” and specifies “its first political task”—“the overthrow of absolutism”; it shows the “means of political struggle” and formulates its basic demands.

Ibid p 232

These then, in our opinion, should be the component parts of a programme of the Russian Social-Democratic working-class party: 1) a statement on the basic character of the economic development of Russia; 2) a statement on the inevitable result of capitalism: the growth of poverty and the increasing indignation of the workers; 3) a statement on the class struggle of the proletariat as the basis of our movement; 4) a statement on the final aims of the Social-Democratic working-class movement—on its striving to win political power for the accomplishment of these aims—and on the international character of the movement; 5) a statement on the essentially political nature of the class struggle; 6) a statement to the effect that the Russian absolutism, which conditions the lack of rights and the oppression of the people and patronises the exploiters, is the chief hindrance to the working-class movement, and that the winning of political liberty, essential in the interests of the entire social development, is, therefore, the most urgent political task of the Party; 7) a statement to the effect that the Party will support all parties and sections of the population that struggle against the autocracy and will combat the demagogic intrigues of our government; 8) the enumeration of the basic democratic demands; then, 9) demands for the benefit of the working class; and 10) demands for the benefit of the peasantry, with an explanation of the general character of these demands.

Ibid p. 253

3. What is the importance and relationship of the national situation to the international struggle in the context of party program?

The programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Party should begin with a definition (and indictment) of Russian capitalism—and only then stress the international character of the movement, which in form—to use the words of the *Communist Manifesto*—is of necessity at first a national struggle.⁵

NOTES ON PLEKHANOV'S SECOND
DRAFT PROGRAMME
V. Lenin March 1902 p37

4. What is the class stance of the Party Program?

“...International Social-Democracy stands at the head of the emancipation movement of *the working and exploited masses...*” Not at all. It stands at the head of the *working class alone*, of the *working-class movement alone*, and if other elements join this class these are only elements and not classes. And they come over completely and absolutely only when they “desert their own standpoint.”

“...It organises *their* fighting forces...” Wrong again. Nowhere does Social-Democracy organise the “fighting forces” of the small producers. It organises the fighting forces of the *working class alone*.

We can (and must) point in positive form to the *conservatism* of the petty bourgeoisie. And *only in conditional form* should we point to its *revolutionary spirit*. Only such a formulation will coincide in full with the entire spirit of Marx's teachings. For example, the *Communist Manifesto* declares outright that “of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie... the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.... The small manufac-

turer ... the artisan, the peasant ... are not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary.... If by chance they are revolutionary, [“if”]* they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat... they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.”¹⁰

Let it not be said that matters have changed substantially in the half century since the *Communist Manifesto*. It is precisely in this respect that nothing has changed: and theoreticians have always and constantly recognised this proposition (for instance, Engels in 1894 refuted the French agrarian programme from this very standpoint.¹¹ He stated outright that *until* the small peasant *deserts* his standpoint, he is not with us; his place is with the anti-Semites; let them put him through the mill, and the more the bourgeois parties dupe him, the more surely he will come over to us)—moreover, history furnishes a wealth of factual confirmation of this theory, right down to the most recent times, right down to *nos chers amis*, Messrs. the “Critics.”

Besides, reference to the *dictatorship of the proletariat* contained in the original draft is missing here. Even if this were done accidentally, through an oversight, it is still indubitable that the concept of “dictatorship” is incompatible with *positive* recognition of outside support for the proletariat. If we really knew *positively* that the petty bourgeoisie will support the proletariat in the accomplishment of its, the proletariat's, revolution it would be pointless to speak of a “dictatorship,” for we would then be fully guaranteed so overwhelming a majority that we could get on very well without a dictatorship (as the “critics” would have us believe). The recognition of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat is most closely and inseparably bound up with the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* that the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.

The small producer's conditional revolutionariness is expressed in the counter-draft in the only way it can be expressed, i.e., in the wording of the indictment against capitalism. The conditional revolutionariness of the small producer is expressed:

(1) in the words about his *ousting and ruin* by capitalism. We, the proletariat, accuse capitalism of bringing about

large-scale production through the *ruin* of the peasant. Hence, the direct conclusion that *if* the peasant grasps the inevitability of this process, he will "desert his own standpoint and place himself at ours."

(2)—in the words: "Insecurity of existence and unemployment, the yoke of exploitation, and humiliation of every kind are becoming the lot" (not only of the proletariat, but) "of ever wider sections of the working population." This very formulation expresses the fact that the proletariat provides *representation* of the entire working population, and moreover a representation under which we urge (and *compel*) all to desert *their* own standpoint and place themselves at ours, and not *vice versa*—we do not desert our own standpoint, and we do not merge our class struggle with the struggle of all sorts of weathercocks.

And the idea of representation is expressed in exactly the same way

(3)—in the words about the poverty and destitution of the *masses* (the masses in general, and not the workers alone).

It is *only in such form* that the party of the revolutionary class can express the conditional revolutionariness of the other classes, in order to lay before them *its* understanding of their destitution and the way to remedy that destitution, and, in *its* declaration of war on capitalism, to speak not only in its own name, but in the name of all the "poverty-stricken and destitute" masses. Hence it follows that whoever accepts this doctrine must join us. It would be simply ridiculous for us to make a special point of this in the programme and declare that *if* certain unreliable elements adopt our standpoint they too will be revolutionary! That would be the best way to destroy faith in us precisely among those half-hearted and flabby allies who, as it is, lack faith in us.*

Ibid p 52-53

5. What is the correct style of a Party Program? What is the relationship of principles to tactics?

the fighting proletariat learns what capitalism is, not from academic definitions (as one learns from textbooks), but from practical acquaintance with the contradictions of capitalism, with the development of society and its consequences. And in our programme we must define this development, and state—as briefly and graphically as possible—that matters are proceeding in a certain way. We should leave to commentaries all explanations of why things are proceeding in just this way and no other, and all details of the forms in which the basic tendencies find expression. As to what capitalism is—that will of itself follow from our definition of exactly how matters stand (resp.* are proceeding).

Ibid p 39

We cannot and should not choose the most abstract formulations, for what we are writing is not an article directed against the critics, but the programme of a militant party, which makes its appeal to the masses of handicraftsmen and peasants.

Ibid p 44

The programme should leave the question of means open, allowing the choice of means to the militant organisations and to Party congresses that determine the tactics of the Party. Questions of tactics, however, can hardly be introduced into the programme (with the exception of the most important questions, questions of principle, such as our attitude to other fighters against the autocracy). Questions of tactics will be discussed by the Party newspaper as they arise and will be eventually decided at Party congresses.

A DRAFT PROGRAM OF OUR PARTY
V. Lenin 1899, p 238

6. What is the relationship of the " practical " section of the Program i.e. agitational demands, to specific agitational situations?

This section of the programme must (in conjunction with the preceding section) provide the basic, guiding principles for agitation, without in any way, of course, hindering agitators in this or that locality, branch of production, factory, etc., from putting forward demands in a somewhat modified form, demands that are more concrete or more specific. In drawing up this section of the programme, we should strive, therefore, to avoid two extremes—on the one hand, we must not omit any one of the main, basic demands that hold great significance for the *entire* working class; on the other, we must not go into minute particulars with which it would hardly be rational to load the programme.

Ibid. 240-41

A KEY SECTION OF THE PARTY PROGRAM:
THE ~~STRATEGIC~~ UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM AS THE
STRATEGIC VEHICLE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

1. What is fascism, and how does it develop?

" With the outbreak of the present most profound economic crisis, the sharp accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and the revolutionization of the toiling masses, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie is more and more seeking ~~fast~~ salvation in fascism, with the object of instituting exceptional predatory measures against the toilers, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

Imperialist circles are endeavoring to place the whole burden of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM.

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM.

They are trying to forstall the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union - the bulwark of the world proletariat. THAT IS WHY THEY NEED FASCISM.

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, before the masses have decisively turned towards revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But what is characteristic of the victory of fascism is the fact that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat, disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism. "

THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM
G. Dimitroff 1935
p 5-6

" ...fascism in power is THE OPEN TERRORIST DICTATORSHIP OF THE MOST REACTIONARY, MOST CHAUVINISTIC AND MOST IMPERIALIST ELEMENTS OF FINANCE CAPITAL. "

Ibid p.7

"Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes - the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" as Otto Bauer for instance, has asserted. It is not " the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the State" as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not the super class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpenproletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of ~~the~~ terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvinism in its crudest form, fomenting the beset hatred of other nations. "

Ibid p7

" The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country."

Ibid p8

In certain countries, principally those in which fascism does not enjoy a broad mass ~~and~~ basis and in which the struggle of the various ~~and~~ groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows ~~other~~ the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all competing parties and groups. This does not ~~prevent~~ prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from endeavoring to extend its basis and without altering its class nature, combining open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism."

Ibid p 8

" The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeois - bourgeois democracy - of another form - open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the broadest strata of the toilers...for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exists in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself."

Ibid p. 8

But it is a mistake no less serious and dangerous to underrate the importance, in establishing the fascist dictatorship, of the REACTIONARY MEASURES OF THE BOURGOUISE WHICH ARE AT PRESENT BEING INCREASINGLY INITIATED IN BOURGOUIS DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES - measures which destroy the democratic liberties of the toilers, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or another of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself...before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight ~~against~~ the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages IS NOT IN A POSITION TO PREVENT THE VICTORY OF FASCISM, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, FACILITATES THAT VICTORY."

Ibid p 9

2. How and why does fascism find support among the masses?

"Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions."

Ibid p 9-10

"Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it appeals to them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagogy, taking advantage of the profound hatred entertained by the toilers for the ~~the~~ piratical bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and financial magnates, and advancing slogans which at the given moment are the most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany "The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual"; in Italy - "Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state"; in Japan "For Japan - without exploitation"; in the United States - "Share the Wealth", and so forth.

Fascism delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt, most venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for "an honest and incorruptible government." Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption...

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses as they leave the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses the masses by the severity of its attacks on bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude toward the old bourgeois parties."

Ibid p 10-11

"Fascism comes to power as the party of attack on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the masses of people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a "revolutionary" movement against the bourgeoisie ~~in~~ on behalf of "the whole nation" and for the "salvation" of the nation. "

Ibid p 11

"Fascism was able to come to power primarily because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social Democratic leaders, PROVED TO BE SPLIT, POLITICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY DISARMED, in the face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand were NOT STRONG ENOUGH to be able, apart from and in the teeth of the Social-Democrats, to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism. "

Ibid p 16

~~Mistakes~~ 3#. What are the mistakes of Communist Parties in the face of fascism?

" In our ranks there were people who intolerably under

3. Is the victory of a fascist offensive inevitable?

" Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends in the first place on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combating the offensive of capitalism and fascism.

Ibid p 22

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Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the ~~basic~~ struggle of the toilers against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions will inevitably lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on whether a correct policy is pursued by the working class toward the peasantry and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and vacillations. It is only provided we adopt a patient attitude toward their inevitable vacillations, it is only with the political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to ~~rise~~ rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on whether the revolutionary proletariat exercises vigilance and takes action at the proper time. It must not allow fascism to catch it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, it must inflict decisive blows on the latter before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position.....

Ibid 22-23

4. What is the relationship between a United Front Against Fascism and a world anti-imperialist united front?

Since fascism is the offensive and rule of the most terrorist of the imperialists, brought about by crisis in world markets, and the attempt to put the crisis on the backs of the working class of its own country and the oppressed countries and nations, a united front against fascism in the ~~imperialist~~ imperialist countries is objectively in support of the oppressed countries and nations, and objectively a part of the world united front against imperialism.

The united front against fascism, correctly organized, is the specific national form of the world united front against imperialism.

REVISION
" ...a powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on all other strata of the toiling people on the peasantry, on the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia. ... But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the toilers of its own countries but also in the OPPRESSED NATIONS OF THE COLONIES AND SEMI-COLONIES. ~~INASMUCH~~ Inasmuch as the proletariat is split (this refers to Social-Democrats of the time or class collaborationists reformers, trade unionists etc of this era) vps) both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its part supports the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression ~~in~~ in the colonies and semi-colonies, this alienates from the working class the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies and weakens the world anti-imperialist front. Every step on the road to unity of action, directed toward the support of the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the proletariat of the imperialist countries, denotes the transformation of the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

Ibid 28-29

5. What is the content of the United Front?

" The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the STARTING POINT and MAIN CONTENT of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, but must also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development...

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of ~~joint~~ joint action by workers organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital needs of the masses. This means:

FIRST, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis on to the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists....

SECOND, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

THIRD, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war...

As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition FROM THE DEFENSIVE TO THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST CAPITAL, steering towards the ORGANIZATION OF A MASS POLITICAL STRIKE.

Ibid 33-34

6. How will the united front prepare the dictatorship of the proletariat?

As the united front is organized it will provide the vehicle for ~~joint~~ unity of action within the proletariat. "Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elective non-partisan bodies of the united front at factories, among the unemployed, in the working class districts, among the small townsmen and in the villages. Only such bodies will be able to embrace the united front movement the vast masses of unorganized toilers as well, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital...on this basis to create the necessary broad active rank and file of the united front, the training of hundreds and thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries. " Ibid 35-36

Joint action of the organized and unorganized, will be the basis of the united front from below. Such revolutionary proletarian forces will be in a position to win the vast majority away from the political influence of the class-colaboranist trade union opportunists and modern revisionists. The united front from below will not be a single neat organization or coalition. It will take the form of a variety of groups like RUMs in the plants, progressive co-operatives like 3/3, organizations of students, women, unemployed, unorganized workers, etc. ~~jointly with~~

"These forms may include... co-ordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon from case to case on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; co-ordinated actions (between different trends) in individual enterprises or by whole industries; co-ordinated actions on a local, regional, national or international scale...for the organization of the economic struggle... mass political actions...self-defense

against fascist attacks..defense of the interests of the youth and women...in the field of the co-operative movement, cultural activity, sports, etc. "

Ibid p 35

Hence the united front will provide the vehicle for the development of the unity of the class, the training of non-party and Party Bolsheivks, it will be transistional form from the defensive to offensive proletarian struggle.

"Why did Lenin attribute such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he bore in mind "the fundamental law of all great revolutions," the law that for the masses agitation and propaganda alone cannot take the place of their own political experience, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the toilers to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a Leftist character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to throw out the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are far from always being ready to do so...To help the MILLIONS to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, what party is worthy of their confidence -- ~~these~~ these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" are necessary."

Ibid 75