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Ninth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. Full Report. The English Question.

The New Tactic of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

By Bennett.

The Resolution on the British Question unanimously adopted by the Plenum of the Comintern on February 18th, will find its place among the most important documents of the Communist International. That Resolution contains a brief but concise resume of the main changes which have occurred in the correlation of class forces and parties in post-war Britain, changes which have become particularly crystallised during the fourteen months which separate us from the moment of the cessation of the heroic miners' struggle. On the basis of these changes, the Resolution points out new tactical tasks of the British Party in the struggle not only against the Baldwin Government but also against its lackeys as represented by the reformist Labour Party and Trade Union leaders.

The bankers and reformists do their utmost to picture these last fourteen months as a period of unclouded peace in British industry and as the beginning of a new economic revival or, as some of them delight in saying, a "new industrial revolution" in Great Britain. In reality, these fourteen months have witnessed a most severe capitalist offensive in alliance with the reformists on the working conditions of the British proletariat. These fourteen months are marked by the ruthless vengeance in regard to the working class both on the part of the bourgeoisie, which quite correctly saw in the General Strike a challenge to its class domination, and the reformists, for whom the entire struggle connected with the Miners' conflict was a terrible warning.

All activities of the bourgeoisie and the reformists in the course of the last "peaceful" fourteen months were marked by a pernicious struggle against the active elements of the working class and in efforts to prevent the possibility of any forms of revolutionary struggle on the part of the British proletariat.

Baldwin and his lackeys may claim serious achievements. The British Labour Movement was thrown back several decades by a series of legislative acts. Besides, the year 1927 was

an exceptional year when the employers could run their factories and works without any hindrance or serious resistance by the proletariat. There is no doubt, however, that 1927 marks the beginning of a new struggle of the British workers conducted against Baldwin and against the reformists under the direct leadership of the Communist Party.

It was the task of the Plenum to give a most exact definition and disclose the essence and significance of all events which took place in Great Britain during the recent years, and on the basis of a strict scientific analysis, point out the tactical tasks of the organised vanguard of the British proletariat.

The work of the Commission was preceded by a discussion within the ranks of the British Party itself. The discussions both in the Party and in the Commission showed how the cadres of the Comintern in general and the cadres of the British Party in particular, have developed. The representatives of the various tendencies were imbued with one desire only, and that is, to carry out as exactly and correctly as possible Lenin's idea of applying the basic and fundamental principles of Communism to the given concrete situation, to the given concrete correlation of class forces.

The struggle within the Commission of the Plenum was marked by passion and tenseness. What was most important, however, was the fact that this struggle has shown the extent to which the main cadres of the Comintern have assimilated Lenin's method of class analysis and determination of a tactical line. Armed with this method, the Commission of the Comintern was able to arrive at a unanimous recognition that the past year was marked not only by depression and the triumphant Baldwin-MacDonald coalition, but that, in the course of that period, new ways and new methods of struggle have come to the fore. The Commission established, with absolute firmness, that in all cases in which the Communist Party vigorously mobilised the proletarian ranks against the leader-

ship of the Labour Party and the General Council, the broad masses willingly rallied to the call: the **May Day Demonstration** was carried out against the will of the Labour Party leaders and 100,000 people took part in it against the 15,000 gathered by the reformist leaders; participation in the celebration of the **Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution** assumed a mass character despite the General Council and despite the Labour Party Executive; the **Miners' March** was marked by extraordinary success despite the resistance of the whole of the machinery of the reformist Labour Movement, etc. etc. Based on these "real achievements", the Commission mapped out the further tactical line of the **British Communist Movement**.

The work of the Commission has revealed a high political niveau of its participants and particularly a profound seriousness of thought on the part of the British delegation to the tactical tasks now confronting the **British Labour Movement**.

The Plenum having unanimously confirmed the Resolution submitted by the Commission, took place under the watchword of **revolutionary buoyancy** and of a **high creative spirit**. Everybody knew and recognised that the vanguard of the **British**

proletariat is now under the severe fire of the enemy. At the same time, the representatives of the **British Party, Campbell, Arnot and Gallacher**, declared with the firm conviction that the **Communist Party of Great Britain** will be able to overcome all obstacles and will prove sufficiently strong to fight with various means against both enemy camps; against the **Baldwin Government** and against the reformist Opposition to His Majesty headed by **MacDonalds, Thomases, Lansburys and Purcells**. The same spirit prevailed in the speeches of the representatives of the other sections — **Ercoli, Braun, and Larkin**. We can be fully convinced that the new tactic formulated in the Resolution of the Plenum will be adopted just enthusiastically and courageously both in the **Communist Party of Great Britain** and all other sections of the **Communist International**.

The Reformists derive their strength from the fact that they come ever closer to, and merge with capitalist State machinery, helping the latter in the struggle against the working class. The Communist Party derives its strength from the fact that it is merging, to an ever larger degree, with the broad proletarian masses on the basis of a programme of decisive and ruthless struggle against capitalism and all its hangers-on.

Report of the English Commission.

Comrade **CAMPBELL** (Great Britain):

The English question was dealt with in the 6th Session on February 18th. Ed.

Comrades: Well, comrades, I want on behalf of the **English Commission** to present the unanimous report embodying their conclusions arriving out of the discussion on the English situation.

The draft resolution which I am going to present outlines the economic conditions in Great Britain which exist today and the tendencies of those positions.

That the position of the capitalist class is such in Great Britain that at any rate it will be increasingly compelled to increase the **rationalisation of industry** in one form or another.

In addition to that we see the development of a **repressive policy** on the part of British imperialism directed at the colonial revolutionary movement more particularly at the labour and peasants movement in the colonies. While in **foreign politics** generally, we see that the main concern of British foreign policy will continue to be the maintenance of a **hostile attitude against the U. S. S. R.** and the attempt to build up a wide anti-Russian capitalist front against the workers' State.

The leaders of the **Labour Party** have been confronted with the fact that they have either got to pursue a revolutionary struggle against capitalism or capitulate to capitalism. All along the line they are now pursuing the policy of capitulation exemplified not only by the betrayal of the general strike and the miners' lockout, but also in relation with the pursuit of the policy of industrial peace.

We point out that against these developments within the trade union leadership there comes an alteration of the entire ideological orientation of these leaders. They are drawing closer to the capitalists and they are coming out more sharply in opposition to the revolutionary working class.

We do not, of course desire in this part of the resolution to say that it is only recently that the trade union leaders have been in favour of industrial peace with the capitalist class.

Alongside this **general policy of industrial peace** there goes on a dropping off of socialist and semi-socialist slogans by the leaders and the naked propaganda of capitalist rationalisation, and complete abandonment of strikes as a means in the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers.

The reformist bureaucracy is forced to come out more and more in the struggle against the **Left wing** of the trade union movement and of the Labour Party, beginning with the policy of expelling the Left wing from the unions, the policy of splitting the **British trade union movement**. And this policy

is reflected in the general change in the Labour Party from being a loose federal party based on the trade unions into a party approximating more and more to a social democratic party on the continental model.

The effect of this growing class struggle, however, the effect of **this struggle between the Left and Right of the labour movement** is on the whole giving rise to discontent amongst the working class and is stimulating the Leftward move of the **British working class**. We must not over-estimate either the extent or tempo of this move, nor must we overlook the fact that the move does not proceed upward in an unbroken line, but proceeds in a series of **zig-zag movements**. Nevertheless, when all those qualifications have been made, it is true that the basic development within the **British Labour movement** today is towards a differentiation between the Right wing and the Left wing, and towards the sharpening of the class struggle over the whole field of British politics. Under these conditions, the resolution declares that it is necessary that the Party should come out sharper than ever against the trade union and labour bureaucracy, and against the **Labour Party**.

In harmony with the general sharpening of the line, we must be prepared to break through the discipline of the **Labour Party**, either by getting the local Labour Parties to break that discipline, and put forward Communist candidates; or in cases where those Labour Parties are dominated by the official machine, to build up independent of them, unofficial selection conferences which will choose their candidates in opposition to the local Labour Party and intimidated by the reformist bureaucracy.

This, however, does mean that, for the present moment, there can be no question of the **Communist Party abandoning its tactic of fighting for affiliation to the Labour Party**. We believe that there is still a possibility of utilising the fight for affiliation in the trade union movement and in the local labour parties, and as a means of explaining our Communist position. But we emphasise in the corrected form of the resolution that the fight for affiliation should no longer be carried on the old lines.

With the demand for affiliation under the new conditions must be made a demand which enables the Communist Party in the trade unions and in the constituent bodies of the Labour Party to carry on an offensive fight against the present leadership of the Labour Party.

Then we deal here with the question of **political levy**. We believe that what is necessary in the meantime is that the local trade union branches should fight for an **increasing control over the political levy**, claiming the right to have the

handling of a portion of the political levy in their own hands so that they will be in a position to divert the political levy to any workers' candidate that the majority of the members of the local trade union branch cares to support and that therefore the disposal of the political levy or at least a portion of the political levy rests with the trade union branches and not with the reformist bureaucracy operating nationally.

With regard to our general political orientation, we agree that the Communist Party must conduct this fight with the view that it has two enemies and not one, with the view that it is not only fighting the capitalist class but that it is also fighting the labour leadership which is betraying the workers at the present time.

Closely allied with the question of how the Party will orientate itself in the fight against the two enemies, arises the question of the Party's attitude towards the Labour Government. The resolution states that the situation to-day is not the same as it was in 1920 when the question of supporting the Labour Government by the Communist Party was first mooted, nor was it the same during the three general elections, 1922., 1923. and 1924., when the Communist Party actually, in fact, did support the Labour Government. In 1920 there was a direct revolutionary situation in Europe. In England, the working class was being effected by the general revolutionary wave sweeping throughout the world. Under such circumstances a Labour Government pushed into power by the workers' might even be forced to fight vigorously against the capitalist class — and so speedily disillusion the workers that it would enable the Communists to mobilise these workers and replace that government by a revolutionary government. In 1923 the Labour Party under the pressure of the working class was still making certain demands on the capitalist class which were evoking fierce capitalist resistance. It still had in its programme a number of leading items, capital levy, relations with Russia, support of the unemployed and so on, which it has since progressively dropped from its programme.

The leading members of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress were for the moment responding to the Left mood of the masses and were prepared in given circumstances to go against the Labour Government and bring pressure on the Labour Government as they did in a fairly open fashion in connection with the Anglo-Russian treaty in August 1924. But now there is no longer any difference of opinion between

MacDonald and the General Council. Both of them are openly in the same treacherous Right wing policy directly against the working class, and therefore, the situation to-day is not only different from 1920 but is also radically different from what it was in 1924 and those conditions involve to a great extent a change in the policy of the Party with regard to the elections. As hitherto, the Party will run the elections with its own independent programme, its own platform and slogans, distinct from and against all of the other sections of the electoral struggle. But it is also necessary on this occasion for the Party to put forward its candidates on a wider scale than it has done in previous elections. In the resolution, the methods of struggle for independent candidates, the relations with the local Labour organisations, and the conditions under which the Communist Party will agree to support the Labour Party candidates, are clearly pointed out. The resolution also determines the tactic of the Communist Party on the voting question. On the question of labour leaders. Here it is agreed that it is absolutely necessary to put up candidates against the leaders of the Labour Party and the General Council, and the Central Committee of the British Party should immediately proceed to prepare the ground in the various constituencies and "considering the importance of the changes which have been taking place in Great Britain and the importance of carrying through the new tactics in a well organised manner, the Executive Committee of the C.P.G.B. must initiate a widespread discussion upon all problems and questions connected with those tactics".

The only way in which these tactics can be completely successful is if they are thoroughly understood and accepted by the entire membership of the Party.

There is not one member of the British Commission who has any illusions about the fact that quite a number of difficulties will confront the Party in the operations of the new tactics. We believe, however, in the resolution before us a solid basis for effective work has been discovered and that we will be able on this basis to build the British Party as an instrument of working class emancipation and the policy which has been hammered out at this Plenum with such vigour and might, is calculated to place the British Party and the British working class solidly on a path to victory, a victory over all their enemies.

Discussion on the English Question.

Comrade PAGE ARNOT (Great Britain):

Comrades. It is now only 14 months since the end of the heroic struggle of the British miners, which together with the General Strike was the most magnificent struggle for generations in the history of the British working class. In the whole of that 14 months the reformists, in league with the Government, have all the time been fighting against the miners and against the Communist Party, that led the miners in that struggle. And now, on the very eve of this Plenum, in two places in England you have two events which are very significant.

On the one hand, in the country of Nottinghamshire, where the Spencer Union — the non-political bosses union — was begun simply in order to destroy the miners' organisations — in that very county a further step has been taken. The employers have definitely locked out, refused to employ any member of the Miners Federation in that county, and declare that only members of the yellow employers union will be taken down the pits.

At the same time the Labour Party in Tottenham — one of the Greater London boroughs — is doing its utmost to expel, not only the Communists, but Left Wingers, and all others who do not bow down to Eccleston Square.

The significant thing is that this double attack both on the miners, and the Communist Party that led them, is being repelled and fought against by the workers both in Nottinghamshire and in the London Borough of Tottenham. The trade union branches, the workers in their local branches, are refusing to accept the dictates of the headquarters of the Labour Party. Similarly, the miners in Notts, are putting up a fight, are

getting at any rate the beginning of support from the Miners Federation of Great Britain.

The magnificent march of the unemployed miners from South Wales to London, the startling Communist victories over the reformist leaders in the mining unions of Lanarkshire and Fifeshire in Scotland — show that the upward turn that one predicts for the miners in their struggle is not a question of our hopes, but is based on facts of a solid working class revival.

It is therefore an auspicious moment that this decision at this Plenum should be taken, and that the Communist Party should at this moment decide to come out definitely and challenge the leadership of the Labour Party, and take up the leadership of the working class, whose esteem it had already won by its fight on behalf of the miners in the year 1926. Not only will the Communist Party challenge the whole leadership of the Labour Party; but we will challenge the leaders of the Labour Party in their own constituencies by putting up Communist candidates against them.

In this fight the Communist Party is not, by taking up an independent political role, putting aside the tactic of the united front. But all the time it will be possible to combine its tactic of the united front with the most clear and independent leadership before the working class.

That was the question of a campaign for the creation of a daily paper and for the collection of funds for setting it up. I think the Plenum should realise the importance of that particular clause. Sooner or later, the sooner the better, we must have in Britain a Communist daily paper; without that it is impossible to function well and fully as a Communist Party.

But to begin a Communist daily in England, we have first of all to begin the fight against the paper of the reformists, the "Daily Herald". And our fight is the more difficult because the "Daily Herald", which was begun 16 years ago, was begun itself as a Left Wing organ in opposition to an official daily, and had at one time a really revolutionary content. We know, that just as a renegade is the worst kind of enemy, so a renegade newspaper, a newspaper which started as a revolutionary organ, is the hardest and the most difficult enemy in the press we have to fight. This resolution means that we are now taking up that fight in earnest and going forward for the creation of a real Communist daily — a paper which will be a real organ of the revolution.

The final paragraph insists that there shall be a full discussion of all problems and questions concerning this new tactic in our Party. A discussion on our tactics will have the best possible effect inside our Party. I am certain that the members of our Party will accept this tactic. I am certain they will accept it because they will fully understand it after the discussion of it. And not only that. But I am certain that such a discussion, widely carried out in every district and every group of the Party, will result in a fresh start ideologically for the members of the Party.

Comrade ERCOLI (Italy):

I think we all agree that the work of the British Commission of this Plenum is of considerable importance to the life of the Communist International. The results achieved after the discussion which took place in this commission will occupy a prominent place in the history of the Communist movement of the present period.

Great Britain is today the centre of the European capitalist world. From the political viewpoint, the political struggles which are developing now in Great Britain are also the centre of the political struggles which are developing in the whole capitalist world. One has only to consider Great Britain's function in the preparation of the attack on the Soviet Union to realise this fact. The problems of the British labour movement are the centre of the problems of the international labour movement. Whereas in all countries Social Democratic parties and reformist trade unions are machinery set up and functioning for the prevention of a revolutionary development of the labour movement, we must at the same time admit that it is in Great Britain that this machinery is functioning best.

Because of this the problems discussed in the British Commission are of the utmost importance, and the tasks which are confronting now the British Communist Party originate also in these facts.

In connection with the analysis which we made of the international situation from the viewpoint of the tasks of the labour movement in the present historical epoch, we have realised that new tasks are confronting us. The main one of these tasks consists in accentuating the struggle against Social Democracy at all time and on all the fronts.

This accentuation of the struggle against Social Democracy must take place on all the fronts of the struggle we are carrying on in the various capitalist countries. That is why the turn in the state of affairs which we are witnessing and in which we are ourselves participating in order to enable our parties to struggle more energetically to get away from the influence of Social Democratic parties and reformist trade unions the workers who are still following them and to draw them into our revolutionary struggle against the Socialist Party, has brought the British Communist Party to the forefront of the International Communist movement.

The British Party must now be thoroughly prepared to capture all these masses from the Labour Party in order to become itself the leading cadre of the masses who are veering towards Revolution, in order to make these masses follow it so that it could be not only a centre of class-conscious elements who know which path must be followed to arrive at revolution, but a mass Party pursuing the revolutionary path.

The results which we achieved in the discussion of the British Commission are of great importance also because this change in the orientation of the British Communist Party has

been the result of close collaboration between the Central Committee of the British Party and the Executive of the C.I. Thus, one can say that after the discussion and after bringing forward various solutions, the C.C. of the British Party, the leading nucleus of that Party is today heart and soul with the policy of the C.I.

We are aware of the difficulties which our British comrades will encounter in their struggle, but they may be sure that in all their struggles they have the support of all the sections of the C.I. The British Party is fighting in the forefront of the Revolution. It put up a splendid fight in the last years, during the general strike and the coal lockout. We are convinced that the British Party will show the same fighting spirit in the foremost ranks of the Communist International also on the new lines which we have laid down for it.

Comrade LARKIN (Ireland):

Comrade Larkin holds that the line advanced by the Commission is correct. The new tactic will lead to the consolidation of the bureaucrats both in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. But it is undoubtedly going to mean the withdrawal of great masses from the reformist party to a real fighting party, a militant Communist Party. We do not diverge from the Leninist line, — it is true Leninism to change your tactics according to the difficulties, the obstacles and to changed conditions that confront you. I believe that if we had Comrade Lenin with us tonight, he would approve of this line and of our decision.

I keenly realise, perhaps more than some of the comrades from the continental countries, the tremendous difficulties the British comrades face. The Party has not many members but if every member takes the full sense of the responsibility for the cause he belongs to, undoubtedly the 7,000 we now have will be 70,000 before the end of the year.

On the question of the immediate task, Comrade Larkin holds that a daily newspaper is of utmost importance. We must have some paper to counteract the reformist organ. There is hardly one out of ten workers who would read the "Daily Herald" if they could get a daily Communist paper. We buy the "Daily Herald" because we have no other source of information. With such a paper I believe that in a very short period, you will win not only the confidence, but the support of the great masses. My friend Gallacher here is not a very presentable person but he fought Dundee, he got 4,000 votes in a local of 40—50 members. Then he went into the fight again and he had the most model man in Europe against him — Morell — he had tremendous finances against him, a united front of Liberal, Labour and prohibition and yet Gallacher got close to 10,000 votes. So you see around this nucleus of 50 Communist members you gather about 10,000. This example when about 10,000 people rally around such a nucleus shows what the C.P. can accomplish in England. Our comrades of Great Britain with the help of the Comintern, I say, will strengthen their attacks with every section of the Comintern behind the British Party and they are going to carry their Party and the British working class to a social revolution. (Applause.)

Comrade BRAUN (Germany):

The way in which they settled the question unanimously proves that we have to deal with the Party which has attained a very high standard in Communist policy. In many other Sections of the Communist International there may be political differences which are less than those of the British Party but they would have been a basis for a factional fight. But here we have found a settlement which we think gives the whole Communist International the guarantee that the British comrades will apply this agreement, this policy, when they return to England. The reformist labour leaders will do everything to slander our Party, so to speak, as the splitters of the labour movement and our Party will have, in those sections of the working class which are not yet convinced of our policy, quite a hard time for a certain period. For this reason it is necessary that the Party carries through this new policy with the least amount of wavering, with an absolutely united front against the enemy. Only if we succeed in this will we be able to draw the support of ever wider sections of the British working class which has gained so much in experience during the last years.

In Great Britain, after the war, we have not succeeded in the organising of a mass Party on as large a scale as in most of the continental countries. I will not say that the experiences of the British working class were much less sharp than those of the other countries, they were almost as big. During the war we had the big shop stewards' committees. Comrade Gallacher knows very well that the Glasgow workers in 1916 drove Lloyd George out of the city. But we have in Britain such a contradiction, that the whole tradition of the building of a revolutionary party was rather slow. Our party, has gained a certain amount of support, it has attracted about 500,000 to 800,000 workers. The next step is how can we enlist the sympathy of these masses of workers for the task of building the Communist Party. To this end the change of policy which has been adopted by the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The policy of the last eight years was a policy to enlist the support and sympathy, but now this policy must go one step further, in order to build a mass Party.

Comrade GALLACHER (Great Britain):

Before I put this resolution to the vote I want to say that the members of the British Delegation are thoroughly convinced, as a result of the many discussion we have had, that this is the line that the Party must follow if it is going to take advantage of the present situation and build itself up as a real revolutionary mass Party. We are certain that the Party Executive will discuss this resolution, will unanimously accept

it. We are certain that the Party will discuss it thoroughly; that the whole movement of Britain will gladly take up this discussion and as a result will get a closer conception of the tasks of the Party. I believe it will stimulate the Party and will mean a step forward on the part of the comrades in every part of the country. That will not only be good for the Party itself but will stimulate all the active workers dissatisfied at the present time with the labour leaders and the trade union bureaucracy and will mean a strong march, a strong step forward towards the breaking away of the old traditions, towards the breaking up of the bad discipline within the Labour Party and towards the building up of a real mass revolutionary Communist Party.

Above all, comrades, I am certain that our Executive and our Party will show its appreciation of the valued assistance that has been given to it during this Plenum by the International. It will show that appreciation by the most loyal and most energetic application to the tasks that are contained in this resolution and I am positive that by the end of the year the Party will stand up stronger than ever before with a greater membership, with a greater mass following, with a more increased influence. Because of the feeling that exists in the Delegation and in the Commission regarding this resolution I want to ask the Plenum to unanimously accept it as containing the important tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Resolution on the English Question.

1. The British bourgeoisie, confronted with acute international competition and chronic depression in the basic industries, will inevitably continue its policy of capitalist rationalisation, greater pressure on the working class, systematic suppression of its most class-conscious section at home and its policy of colonial oppression, and the throttling of national liberation revolutionary movements, particularly the labour and peasant movements. In foreign politics preparation for war against the U.S.S.R. will continue to be the main concern of the British bourgeoisie. The resistance of the working class to the policy of the dominant classes, will cause the class struggle in Great Britain to become considerably more acute.

2. The policy of the dominant classes of Great Britain is to strive to bring within the orbit of its influence the principle labour organisations — the Labour Party and the trade unions, in spite of the determined resistance of the working class. The leaders of these organisations, who betrayed the General Strike and the Miners' Fight and helped to carry through the Trade Union Bill against the resistance of the workers, are endeavouring gradually to convert their organisations into auxiliary apparatuses of the bourgeois State and the employers' organisations.

3. This in its turn brings about a change in the intellectual outlook of these organisations and in their relationship to the political and economic machinery of the bourgeois State. Ideologically the Reformist leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions are coming out more avowedly and cynically in favour of industrial peace and active collaboration with the capitalists against the revolutionary proletariat. Organisationally, they are endeavouring to convert the formally independent labour organisations into auxiliary apparatuses of the bourgeoisie by merging their upper strata with the capitalist organisations. From this general orientation follows the whole series of slogans directed along the lines of support of capitalist rationalisation, subordination to the anti-Trade Union Law, the tactic of liquidation and betrayal of strikes, substitution of the class struggle of the workers by government Commissions of Enquiry and bourgeois "arbitration" courts and other forms of working-class subjugation to the bourgeoisie.

4. This consolidation of the capitalist bourgeoisie and of Reformism is accompanied by the development of the struggle between the Right wing and the revolutionary workers which is taking the form of a heavy attack by the Labour Party and trade union leaders upon the Left wing of the Labour movement, particularly upon the Communist Party, the only revolutionary party of the proletariat. From a federal organisation built up

on the basis of the trade unions, the Labour Party is becoming to an increasing degree an ordinary social-democratic party, beginning more and more ruthlessly to expel from its midst even Communists and Left wing workers who represent the trade unions. The leaders of the trade unions in their turn are steadily developing a systematic attack on the Minority Movement and Communist Party workers and are pursuing a policy of victimising Communists and trying to break all connections between the Communists and the proletarian masses.

5. On the other hand, these very circumstances intensify and deepen the discontent among the broad masses of the working class, not only with the general situation in the country, but also with the Reformist policy of the official leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions. While it would be a mistake to over-estimate the rate at which the masses are swinging to the Left it would be a still greater mistake, however, to ignore the main line of development in the British labour movement; the working class continues on the whole to move Leftwards, although this movement is not proceeding on a straight line, but in a zigzag fashion. The perspective of the labour movement in Britain is that of class struggles of increasing acuteness accompanied by an increasingly close alliance between the reformist leaders and the bourgeoisie against revolution.

6. Under such conditions the Communist Party is faced with the imperative necessity to take advantage of the increasing swing to the Left of the masses and to adopt clearer and sharper tactics of opposition to the Labour Party and the trade union leaders in order to rouse the Left wing workers for the struggle against the bureaucracy as a means towards winning the leadership of the working class in the class struggle against capitalism. Only by bringing out more clearly and sharply its own political line which radically differs from the Reformist line on all general political questions (war, relations with the U.S.S.R., China, India, Egypt, etc.) and on the everyday struggle of the working class (against arbitration, against wage reductions, against the lengthening of the working day, against helping the capitalists in the matter of rationalisation, against industrial peace, etc.). Will the Communist Party be able to strengthen its influence among the masses, and to organise the latter for the fight against capitalism and its lackeys.

7. Owing to the peculiar form of connection that exists between the trade unions and the Labour Party, the Communist Party, while not affiliated to the Labour Party and enjoying no rights in that organisation, is at the present time compelled fre-

quently to conform to Labour Party discipline (for example: it is compelled to accept the decisions of selection conferences which select parliamentary candidates in the name of "organised labour as a whole"). It is now necessary to begin a strenuous fight against this discipline which is imposed on the Labour Movement by the Liberal-Labour bureaucracy, which suppresses the will of the workers and hampers the freedom of action of the Communist Party, by inducing local Labour Parties to call new Selection Conferences on the basis of full rights of all workers in the Labour Party, including Communists, and by calling unofficial Selection Conferences when the existing local Labour Parties, dominated by the bureaucratic machine, either refuses to do so, or organises the conferences in a purely bureaucratic manner.

8. It is inexpedient as yet to abandon the slogan of affiliation to the Labour Party, as the latter has not yet definitely and completely become transformed into a Social-Democratic Party in organisational structure. The fight for affiliation, however, must be converted into an offensive fight against the treacherous leadership of the Labour Party.

9. An energetic campaign must be organised in the local trade union branches for local control of the expenditure of the political levy, in order that it may be possible to finance any candidates the rank and file of the branch may approve.

10. The general political line must be based on the premise that the Communist Party has to contend not with one camp of enemies, but with two camps: on the one hand, the Tory party, now at the head of the Government and socially supported by the most important sections of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, and on the other, by an alliance of the Liberals, the upper strata of the Labour Party and of the trade unions, supported by a section of the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy. It would be wrong to build our tactics on the basis of struggle against only one (the Tory) camp, though the tactics of the struggle against these enemies will be different in each case.

11. Under no circumstances can the present situation be compared with the situation as it existed in 1918—1920, when Lenin insisted on supporting the Labour Party and pushing it into power. In 1918—20, a Labour Party Government could have played the part of the Kerensky Government with all its vacillations. Nor can the present situation be compared with that of 1922—23, when the Labour Party had in its programme demands which were sharply resisted by the capitalist class (the capital levy, unemployment, Russia). No comparison can be made with the situation in 1924 when the Government was forced to resign on two objectively revolutionary issues. A Labour Government at the present juncture will be from the very outset an obvious instrument for attacking the workers. The experience of the MacDonald Government, the betrayal of the General Strike and the Miners' Fight, the changed attitude of the Labour Party and trade union leaders towards the question of war and relations with the U.S.S.R., China, India and Egypt, their changed attitude on the principal domestic questions (rationalisation, the anti-Trade Union Bill, industrial peace), all this renders it necessary for the British Communist Party to come out more

boldly and more clearly as an independent political party, to change its attitude towards the Labour Party and the Labour Government and consequently to replace the slogan of the Labour Government by the slogan of the Revolutionary Workers' Government.

12. This general change in tactic of the Communist Party determines also the election tactic of the Party. During the elections the Party will act as an independent organisation, with its own platform, slogans, etc., distinct from and opposed to all other contending forces. The Communist Party will put forward independently the largest possible number of its own candidates. It will give the fullest support to the candidates of disaffiliated Labour Parties and put up against the scab candidates of the official Labour Party. Simultaneously, the campaign for the calling of new Selection Conferences by the local Labour Parties, on the basis of equal rights for Communists and Left-wingers, must be intensified. If, in spite of the workers' desire for such conferences, the Labour Party machine refuses to convene them, or does not allow Communists and Leftwing workers to participate in them, the Party must cooperate with the Leftwing workers in organising unofficial selection conferences. In those cases when the bureaucracy will impose its candidates upon the Selection Conferences, it will be the duty of the Communist Party to organise the Left wing elements of those conferences in order to put forward candidates with their help against the official candidates imposed by the bureaucracy. In some districts active support to Labourites, who pledge themselves to vote for the elementary demands of the working class and for accepting the Communist Party into the Labour Party, is admissible.

13. It is absolutely necessary to put up candidates against the leaders of the Labour Party and the General Council. The Central Committee shall immediately proceed to prepare the ground in those constituencies. In view of the fact that considerable sections of the masses still follow the reformist leaders, it is absolutely necessary to propose a united front, both nationally and locally, in order once against to expose the Labour Party and trade union leaders who prefer unity with the capitalists to unity with the revolutionary workers.

14. Voting for Labour Party candidates in the remaining districts (see paragraph 12) must be definitely decided upon only after all possible preliminary work has been done in the matter of putting up our own and Left worker candidates.

15. It is necessary to start immediately a broad mass campaign for the creation of a daily paper and the collection of funds necessary for same.

16. Considering the importance of the changes which have taken place in Great Britain and the importance of carrying through the new tactics in a well-organised manner, the Executive Committee of the C. P. G. B. must initiate a widespread discussion upon all problems and questions connected with those tactics.

(On the vote being taken the resolution was adopted unanimously).

Resolution on the Trotskyist Opposition.

(Unanimously adopted at the session held on 15th February on the Report of Comrade Bukharin.)

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. marks with satisfaction that the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U. resolutely put an end to the Trotskyist Opposition by expelling it from the ranks of the Party. The Plenum is in full and complete solidarity with the decisions of the C. P. S. U. and the measures taken by the C. P. S. U. through the Soviet organs for cutting short the anti-Soviet activities of the Opposition.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. holds that the decisions of the XV. Congress are of tremendous significance for the further consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and for the construction of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.

The XV. Party Congress undoubtedly correctly mapped out the further path of Socialist industrialisation of Soviet economy on the basis of greater planned influence of the proletarian State on the economic development of the country, further ousting of the elements of private capitalism, extensive collectivisation of peasant undertakings and improvement of the material conditions of the working class and the broad toiling masses in general.

Whereas in all capitalist countries we witness a capitalist offensive on the working class, finding expression in the lengthening of the working day, in the U. S. S. R., according to the decisions of the XV. Party Congress the 7-hour working day is being introduced and the struggle for a higher cultural level of the toiling masses is assuming ever wider dimensions.

The Plenum welcomes the decisions of the Congress of the C. P. S. U. directed towards the improvement and simplification of the machinery of proletarian dictatorship and towards drawing still broader sections of the masses of workers and peasants into the administration of the country. The influx of a hundred thousand workers from the bench to the Party at the moment of most acute struggle of the Opposition against the C. P. S. U. shows that the C. P. S. U., its leadership and policy enjoy the undivided confidence and support of broad masses of the working class who see in Leninist unity, in the Leninist policy of their Party the guarantee of a firm and victorious proletarian dictatorship.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. considers correct the analysis of the international economic and political situation given by the XV. Congress of the C. P. S. U., pointing out the following characteristic tendencies in the contemporary historical period:

1. The sharpening contradictions between capitalist groups in the struggle for spheres of domination and the re-division of the world, the sharpening of the struggle between imperialism and the oppressed colonial peoples, the sharpening struggle of imperialism against the U. S. S. R., the growing prerequisites for new imperialist wars.

2. The growing power of capitalist trusts, their ever greater merging with the bourgeois State, ever greater merging of the Social Democratic and reformist leaders with the economic and political system of the imperialist organisations, the ever growing pressure of capital on the working class.

3. The radicalisation of the working masses in connection with the bourgeois offensive on the proletariat, finding expression in the growing strike conflicts, higher political activity of the working class, growing sympathy of the international proletariat for the U. S. S. R., growing elements of a new revolutionary sweep in France.

4. The joint attack of the Communists on the part of the employers' organisations, the bourgeois State and Social Democracy; the efforts of the social reformists to expel the Communists from the mass organisations of the working class, the intensification of the campaign of slander and calumny against the Communists in general and against the first proletarian dictatorship in the world in particular, on the part of the reformists.

The coming phase of development will be marked by new collisions between the working class and the bourgeoisie and a fierce struggle between the Social Democrats and the Communists for influence on the working class. International Social Democracy which has long since taken the course of coalition with the bourgeoisie and full support of its impe-

rialist policy in favour of class peace and support of capitalist rationalisation is trying to overcome the process of radicalisation of the working class and to side-track the working class onto the path of its treacherous policy. This object is served on the one hand by the fierce struggle against the Communists by means of expulsion from the trade unions, by means of helping the machinery of bourgeois dictatorship in persecuting the Communists, by means of abominable slander and falsehood, and on the other hand, the international Social Democrats are viciously slandering the U. S. S. R. and the C. P. S. U. realising that one of the most important forms of radicalisation of the working class is its growing sympathy for the U. S. S. R.

This whole machine of falsehood and slander is set going by the Social Democrats in order to undermine the growing sympathies of the international proletariat of the U. S. S. R. and Communism, in order to discredit the real successes of socialist construction in the first proletarian dictatorship of the world, in order to side-track the workers from the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, and to persuade them to support the bourgeois policy of capitalist rationalisation, effected at the expense of the working class, and to adopt their treacherous policy of "industrial peace".

An especially false and pharisaical role in the struggle against the U. S. S. R. and the C. P. S. U. is played by the leaders of the so-called "Left" wing of Social reformism, the Max Adlers and Bauers, the Levis, Longuets, Lansburys, and Maxtons, who realising the sympathies of the radicalising workers for the U. S. S. R., come out against proletarian dictatorship more cunningly and conceal their struggle against the U. S. S. R. with hypocritical phrases of sympathy for it and by its "conditional" support. The meaning of this tactic consists in the desire to retard the going over of the working masses to the side of Communism and to preserve support for Social Democracy. From the point of view of struggle for the radicalising masses of workers, these so-called "Left" leaders of opportunism are the most dangerous enemies of Communism, the Comintern and the U. S. S. R. The menace of Trotskyism in the international labour movement consists, in the present period, in the fact that the Trotskyists directly support the ideas and policy of the "Left" servants of reformism, that they strengthen the "Left" leaders of opportunism in their struggle against Communism and the U. S. S. R., that they increase the means of deception and slander which is made use of by the reformists in the struggle against Communism, that Trotskyism has become a species of Bauerism and similar agents of reformism. The Trotskyist Opposition has entirely gone over to the position of the "Left" servants of opportunism on all basic questions assuming an avowedly counter-revolutionary character. Slandering under cover of phrases about loyalty to the revolution and the U. S. S. R. the Communist International, the C. P. S. U. and the proletarian dictatorship, the foreign and domestic policy of which they falsify and distort just as much as the Social Democrats, the Trotskyists, together with international Social Democracy, base their hope on the fall of the Soviet Government.

From factional struggle within the C. P. S. U., the Trotskyist Opposition proceeded with the organisation of a second party, waging a struggle in the streets and undertaking open anti-Soviet demonstrations which, if they had not received a crushing set-back from the broad masses of the proletariat might have developed into a certain menace for the proletarian dictatorship, rallying around the banner of the Trotskyist Opposition the class elements inimical to the proletarian dictatorship.

Of a more open counter-revolutionary character was the group, headed by Sapronov, which directly attacks the principles of Leninism and openly calls for a struggle against the Soviet Government, differing in no respect by its programme or its tactics from the counter-revolutionary elements, from counter-revolutionary types such as Korsch, Katz, Eastman, Souvarine, and others. The proletarian dictatorship cannot and

must not allow any counter-revolutionary action, no matter what banner it is flying.

The Trotskyist Opposition endeavouring to break up the C. P. S. U. from within, was ideologically and organisationally smashed, thanks to the firmness of principle and iron solidarity of the C. P. S. U. and the working class of the U. S. S. R. and fell to pieces in the form of several groups, some of which (**Kamenev** and **Zinoviev**) are beginning, not without vacillation, to return to the Party positions, gradually abandoning Trotskyism — which once more proves the correctness of the political line of the C. P. S. U. and the C. I. — and some of which, vacillate between the Party and the Trotskyists. An insignificant group of followers of Trotskyism which remained intact, having suffered defeat in the C. P. S. U. and in the U. S. S. R., is trying to transfer the centre of gravity of its struggle to the other sections of the Comintern. The true opportunist face of the Trotskyist Opposition is most clearly expressed in the programme advanced by the Trotskyists for the consolidation of kindred groups of the other countries. The Trotskyist Opposition, first of all, appeals to the obviously opportunist and counter-revolutionary elements, such as **Souvarine** and **Paz** in France. It entered into an alliance with the anti-proletarian petty bourgeois **Maslov** group in Germany, the **Treint** and **Suzanne Girault** group in France, with the groups which are now speaking about a turn towards "Fascism" and "Tsarism" in the U. S. S. R. The **German** group is the strongest base of the Trotskyist Opposition outside the U. S. S. R. It established connections on the one hand with the counter-revolutionary **Kersch** group (joint action during the Hamburg elections) and on the other, establishes contact with the **Left Social Democrats**. Now it is already beginning to organise openly into an independent party known as the "**Lenin League**". It is aiming at becoming an international centre uniting all opposition groups for a struggle against the C. I. and the U. S. S. R.

The Trotskyist Opposition is trying to win over to its side the renegades, **Rosmer** and **Monatte**. Such anti-proletarian

opportunist elements are now rallying to the Trotskyist Opposition as the **Hula** group in **Czecho-Slovakia**, **Roland Holst** in **Holland** and the "Left" Social Democrats of **Belgium**, a group of Italian emigrants in France, standing on the same counter-revolutionary platform as **Korsch**, and finally the Right elements expelled from the Workers Party of America (**Lore** and others) supported by the German Social Democrats of America.

All the worst elements in the labour movement, the openly opportunist elements in the Communist movement, all renegade groups kicked out from the ranks of the Comintern are now uniting on the Trotskyist platform of struggle against the U. S. S. R., the C. P. S. U. and the Comintern, playing the role of one of the most abominable tools of international Social Democracy, against the Communists in the struggle of the latter for influence on the broad masses of the working class.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. considers that the evolution towards Social Democracy performed by the Trotskyist Opposition, its avowedly anti-Soviet position, thoroughly hostile to the proletarian dictatorship, its disruptive methods within the Communist Parties, resulted in a situation in which adherence to the Trotskyist Opposition and solidarity with its views is incompatible with further membership of the Communist International.

The Communist Parties must carry on a ruthless struggle for the liquidation of the Trotskyist groups, concentrating it primarily against their leaders. At the same time it is necessary to continue an ideological struggle for winning those workers who are still vacillating but have not broken with the Opposition.

The Communist Parties must also increase their work in exposing the Trotskyist Opposition among the broad masses of the working class as the sharp struggle of the Communists against international Social Democracy inevitably means a sharpening of the struggle against the anti-Communist, Trotskyist groups both in the U. S. S. R. and in the other countries.