

# SPECIAL NUMBER

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL -

Vol. 7. No. 11

# PRESS

3<sup>rd</sup> February 1927

# CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

## Theses and Resolutions.

Adopted at the

VII Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

From 22nd November to 16th December 1927

### CONTENTS

1. *Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International.*
2. *Resolution on the Report of the Executive of the Comintern.*
3. *Resolution on the Situation in Great Britain.*
4. *Thesis on the Chinese Situation.*
5. *Trustification, Rationalisation, and our Tasks in the Trade Unions.*
6. *Resolution on the "Russian Question".*
7. *The Communist International to the Workers of Holland.*
8. *Resolution on the Expulsion of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Scholem and Schwan from the C.P.G.*
9. *Resolution of the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Boris Souvarine Case.*
10. *Decision of the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Brandler and Thalheimer Case.*

## *Theses on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International.*

### I. THE ECONOMICS OF WORLD CAPITALISM.

1. The development of international relations in recent times wholly and completely confirms the estimation given by previous Enlarged Plenums of the E. C. C. I. The fact of capitalist stabilisation (the increase of world production, increase of international trade, regulation of the currency, etc.) in spite of assertions of the leaders of the Opposition, Zinoviev, Trotsky, etc., to the contrary is undoubted. On the other hand, the partial and unending character of this stabilisation is undoubted also, and this is expressed in the feverish changes in economic conditions, in the extreme unevenness of development, in the enormous contradictions between the producing capacity of the productive apparatus and the actual dimensions of production, and the absolutely exceptional dimensions of chronic unemployment. A particularly important factor causing a breach in the process of capitalist stabilisation is the growth of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., the decline of British capitalism, the exceptionally acute class struggle in England and the great national revolution in China.

2. To determine the tactics of the Communist Parties at the present time, the question of capitalist stabilisation can no longer be presented in its general form. A distinction must be made between approximately six groups of countries, each having sharply expressed special features of development: 1) United States, a country of still powerful and developing capitalism (here may be included Japan, and partly the British Dominions, etc., where capitalist development is proceeding, while at a retarded rate, but for all that, in a rising curve). 2) The U. S. S. R., a country of growing Socialist construction. 3) England, a country of continuous and sharply expressed decline of capitalism. 4) Germany and France, European countries where stabilisation of capitalism, although in various forms, at the present time, is most successful. 5) Chronically decaying and partly becoming agrarianised countries (Austria, partly Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.) in some of which, however, the objective tasks of the agrarian revolution have not yet been solved (the practical sabotage of the so-called "agrarian reforms") and 6) the colonial and semi-colonial countries in

some of which direct civil war is proceeding (China, and Indochina) and where there can be no talk of stabilisation.

3. In spite of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, capitalism is experiencing a peculiar crisis which is not in any way a "normal" crisis of capitalist over-production. While pre-war crises were crises of capitalist over-production, while the crisis immediately following the war was a shortage crisis for Europe (under-production and under-consumption simultaneously) the present crisis of over-production at the basis of which — as has been observed in several countries — has even a considerable increase in the productive capacity of the productive apparatus as well as the decline in the purchasing capacity of the masses, is to a considerable degree the continuation of the shortage crisis, for at the present time under-consumption is due to the impoverishment of the masses and to the exhaustion of the home markets as a result of the world war.

4. Such a situation brings to the forefront the **problem of markets**. While in the U.S.S.R. developing Socialist industry relies on the increasing demand on the part of the masses of the people whose standard of living is rising, in bourgeois countries this is substituted by a quest for foreign markets. The development and growing acuteness of imperialist conflicts is the inevitable result of the whole system of relations now being established. Consequently, the present period may be defined as an inter-revolutionary period, as a stage between the crest of one revolutionary wave and another, to which the process of historical development is inevitably leading and the probably early outbreak of which the Communist Parties must be prepared.

## II. THE RE-GROUPING OF THE POWERS AND THE PRINCIPAL LINES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

5. The most characteristic fact of modern conditions is the transference of economic centres and consequently the centres of political and military power to the non-European countries, primarily to the United States of America, which has become the creditor of the European states and which has now obtained the hegemony of the world market. While it is not possible to speak of the conversion of the economy of Europe, into a part of the economy of the United States of America, while it would be an exaggeration to say that Europe has been placed on American rations, there is no doubt whatever about the exceptional role now being played by the United States. Anglo-American rivalry to a considerable degree determines the regrouping of the Imperialist Powers. Great Britain's attempt to win back her position on the Continent by the aid of the Locarno Pact were defeated by the United States. This in its turn cleared the road to Franco-German rapprochement, although the United States is placing obstacles to the realisation of closer rapprochement. Of considerable importance for the further growth of the advantage of the United States are the South American countries which represent extensive markets for the manufactures of industries as well as spheres for the investment of capital and rich sources for the supply of the raw materials of industry.

The national revolutionary movement in Mexico however, must be regarded as a factor counteracting the advantage of the United States. Other important facts are: the conversion of France into an industrial country and the economic revival of Germany, simultaneously with the economic decline of England and the advancement of Italy. This has brought about the collapse of the Versailles Peace and a radical re-grouping of the Powers, the collapse of the Big Entente and the disintegration of the League of Nations as the instrument of "Allied" politics.

6. The stages of this liquidation were as follows: a) **Versailles** and later the **occupation of the Ruhr**. America keeps aside. France has hegemony in Europe. Germany politically goes to the bottom. b) France cannot digest the occupation, and suffers defeat. America and England intervene. The **Dawes Plan**. Germany begins to rise. c) **Locarno**. The hegemony of England, utilising the failure of France. Political playing up and corresponding concessions to Germany in exchange for the latter's coldness towards the U.S.S.R. The promise to accept Germany into the League of Nations and the beginning of Germany's "Western orientation". American capital begins to flow into German economy.

d) **Geneva**. America lightly squeezes England. Germany enters the League of Nations and obtains a seat on the League Council. The beginning of the change in Franco-German relations. e) **The Conference at Thoiry**. A re-grouping takes place in the League of Nations. By its "peaceful" policy towards Germany, France attracts to herself a number of small countries and thus obtains the majority in the League and in the Council of the League. A radical re-grouping of forces. In Thoiry agreement is reached and France makes a number of concessions in exchange for the redemption of the Saar Basin and the mobilisation of German railway bonds. America upsets the agreement, but the bloc remains. The collapse of Versailles is accelerated. Partly as a counter-balance to the Franco-German bloc, the **Anglo-Italian Bloc** is formed. Italy strives to straighten out the anti-Soviet front by joining it. Antagonisms with France become more acute (Mediterranean Sea, North Africa, Balkan countries, Asia Minor). Simultaneously with the re-grouping of the Powers, the Small Entente began to break up. Poland which had passed from French orientation to a British orientation, again inclines towards France; French influence in the Balkans is being squeezed out by British and Italian imperialism; conflicts are accumulating among the Balkan States giving rise to the menace of fresh wars from this side also.

7. The general tendency is an anti-Soviet tendency which, led by England, is laying a road through all the antagonisms among the imperialists. The Western orientation of Germany, the new direction of Italian policy, Poland, the system of treaties of the Russian border States and Roumania, the Italian-Roumanian and the Franco-Roumanian treaties, Britain's activity in the Baltic, the Balkans, Persia and Afghanistan, etc., all this is the expression of the above-mentioned principal tendency. There is not the slightest doubt about the tendency towards the encirclement of China in order to switch its development on to national-capitalist lines under the hegemony of foreign capital, if it is found impossible directly to suppress the national revolution.

8. While this tendency is proceeding, the antagonisms among the imperialist powers have not diminished in the least, the antagonisms between Great Britain and the United States are the most important. Screened by the pacifist phrases and gestures of the League of Nations, preparations are being made for monstrous wars. The surging development of militarism, the enormous growth of the technique of war (aviation and chemistry principally) completely exposes the real sense of pacifist utopias generally, the so-called "Pan-European" ideology in particular and especially the Social Democratic chatter about "peace" which is serving as a screen to conceal the plans of bellicose imperialism and calculated to deceive the workers and weaken their vigilance in the face of the growing menace of fresh imperialist wars.

General conclusion: The unendurable character of the present agreements and groupings is a characteristic feature of the present time. This expresses, not only the extreme instability of present economic conditions, but also the instability of capitalism as a whole and the relative character of capitalist stabilisation.

## III. RE-GROUPING OF CLASS FORCES AND THE PRINCIPAL LINES OF HOME POLITICS.

9. While the foreign stabilisation policy of the bourgeoisie proceeds along the line of fighting for foreign markets, its home policy, — from the class point of view — results in increased pressure upon the working class and the broad masses of the toilers generally, the diminution of the share of the latter in the national income and a sharp increase in the degree of their exploitation. This process proceeds in various forms and has its limits mainly in the varying degree of resistance put up by the working class. Here economics directly combine with politics and the very process of stabilisation becomes a question of the class struggle.

10. In Germany the starting point of the stabilisation of capitalism, the strengthening of her economy and her State apparatus was the defeat of the proletariat in the autumn of 1923; a defeat which was preceded by a number of severe battles. The enormous reduction in the purchasing power of the masses side by side with an exceptionally difficult foreign

political situation in which the German bourgeoisie found itself, particularly the lack of its "own colonies", resulted in specially intensive efforts being made to introduce rationalisation in industry and increase the pressure upon the proletariat. On the other hand, the preceding defeats of the masses of the workers prepared the ground for the success of German capital. Here the resistance of the working class is expressed in the wide swing to the Left of large masses which, however, have not yet taken up active forms of defensive fighting although the beginning of the intensification of the class struggle in Germany is already having effect. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie provides itself with a supplementary guarantee by periodically calling the Social Democracy to the helm of the State.

11. In England, the attempt to attack and increase the pressure on the working class roused the tremendous resistance on the part of the latter, which found its expression in the General Strike and the heroic strike of the British miners. From this point of view, the miners' strike has enormous importance in principle. The position of Great Britain in the world market and the extreme probability of its further decline, causes the struggle as a whole to become more and more acute and England to become the European country approximating most to a revolutionary situation. The further polarisation of class forces is rapidly taking place. (The break up of the Liberals and their going over to the Conservatives, the growing revolutionary mood of the working class, the discrediting of the trade union bureaucracy and the leaders of the Labour Party, etc.) The probability of stabilisation here becomes more and more questionable.

12. In France as a result of the policy of stabilising the currency and also as a result of the establishment of international cartels, the question of stabilisation has come to the forefront in comparatively recent times.

Under the government of the Left bloc, the most powerful financial, industrial and commercial groups brought about an artificial depreciation of the franc in order to bring their place-man Poincare to the helm of the State. These groups are prepared to allow the elements of the Left bloc to take part in the Poincare Government for the purpose of neutralising the petty-bourgeoisie.

The political premise for stabilisation found its expression in the victory of Poincare, the representative of the interests of the big bourgeoisie. Meanwhile the working class failed to mobilise its own forces or that of the petty-bourgeoisie for the purpose of organising general resistance. On the basis of the Experts' Plan, and the temporary measures for the stabilisation of the currency Poincare is carrying through a policy of stabilising the currency by raising the rate of exchange, balancing the Budget, amortising the floating debt of the Government and the regulation of the money market. The pressure upon the working class is only just commencing simultaneously with the policy of deflation. The question of acute class struggles here is a question of the relatively and not distant future.

13. In Italy, Poland, etc., the stabilisation policy of the bourgeoisie found expression in Fascist revolutions relying upon the deceived sections of the toiling masses, principally the petty-bourgeoisie, and in the destruction of the vanguard of the proletarian movement.

However, as a consequence of the impoverishment of the masses, — the constant result of capitalist stabilisation — and the inevitable transfer of fascism to the camp of the big bourgeoisie, a new re-grouping is taking place among the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the small peasantry and the deceived section of the proletariat which will necessarily result in acute social conflicts. All this creates a serious menace to the position of Fascism.

14. Scandinavia. Here class antagonisms, with the exception of Finland have not become greatly developed, but these class antagonisms will become acute with the process of stabilisation. As a result of the treachery of the Social Democrats, the acuteness of the class struggles finds its expression in the striving in the ranks of the proletariat towards trade union unity, to increased demands, in increased activity and partial battles. In Finland this process is accelerated by the reign of white terror.

15. On the basis of this offensive and on the basis of the relative strengthening of the bourgeois State apparatus, the Social Democrats, who have played the part of saviours of the bourgeois regime at most critical moments, are being squeezed out of the Governments.

16. Thus in various forms is revealed a single regular tendency emerging from the post-war economics of capitalism. The social-class limits of capitalist stabilisation are fixed by the resistance put up by the working class, its ability to mobilise its forces to resist the capitalist offensive for which the capitalist class is organising special detachments, groups and parties.

#### IV. METHODS OF CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION.

17. Thus, the starting point of the stabilisation policy of the bourgeoisie is the direct pressure upon the working class, increasing the working day (attacks on the working day and legislation to increase the working day in a number of countries), reductions of wages, increased taxation of the proletariat and the broad masses of the toilers generally.

18. The next step is the reorganisation of labour and the "Fordisation" of the whole process of production (conveyers, moving platforms, standardisation, new methods of subdivision of labour, timing operations, etc.); the organisation of production and trade into cartels and trusts (the establishment of enormous vertical and horizontal combines, concerns, etc.); the introduction of new technique (new machinery, electrification, new methods of working up metals, utilisation of chemistry, the employment of Diesel engines in water transport, etc.), which — under present conditions, leads to further increase in unemployment and the reduction of the standard of living.

19. The principal bases of this process are America and Germany, partly France and even Italy. Special attention should be paid to the absolutely exceptional growth of trusts in Germany where the largest types of combines in the world have been established and which herself is coming forward as a powerful economic force in the establishment of international cartels and trusts. (For example, the European steel combine, and others.)

20. The greatest difficulty that has to be met in introducing capitalist rationalisation in European countries is the contradiction between the necessity for mass production, which is connected with technical progress and the "Fordisation" of production, and the weakness of the home markets which is rendered still more acute by the pressure upon the working class. Under these conditions rationalisation itself inevitably acquires a contradictory character: to the extent that it aims to adapt industry to the home market it results in the restriction of production, in the closing down of a number of enterprises, in "strict concentration" and at times to the sharp increase in customs duties. At the same time the "standardisation" of production pre-supposes mass production, mass increase of production and consequently mass increase in sales. The position of Germany is particularly difficult, for in the near future she will have to increase her reparation payments. The fact that she has been squeezed out of the world markets and the colossal reduction of the purchasing capacity of the masses have led to particularly intensive efforts being made to rationalise production and to increase the pressure upon the proletariat. Such a state of affairs must lead to the contradictions inherent in the development of German capitalism becoming extremely acute, in spite of its current successes.

Even in the United States, the classic land of "Americanisation" the harmful effects upon the working class and the contradictory character of the whole system of "Americanisation" is being felt. Recently the real wages of the working class have ceased to rise, working hours have practically ceased to decline and at the same time it is observed that the workers are becoming more and more "worn out" in the process of production.

21. Rationalisation in the U. S. S. R. sharply differs from rationalisation in capitalist countries both in principles as well as in its direct economic effect. It differs in principle because it is not capitalist rationalisation, and serves the development of Socialism and not capitalism. It differs directly because it takes place on the basis of a rapid increase in production, increase in the number of workers employed in industry, increase in wages and a rising standard of living of the masses, with the guarantee that the working day will not be increased.

## V. SEVERAL QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE OF THE MOMENT.

22. One of the questions of principle at the present time is the question of ultra-imperialism in connection with the question of capitalist stabilisation. The economic impossibility of ultra-imperialism is proved by the unevenness of development and the acute antagonism of interest between the various imperialist States (c. f. Comrade Trotsky's under-estimation of this point). This finds its political expression in the extreme instability of political agreements and blocs between States and also in the disruption of the League of Nations, which disruption reflects Anglo-French antagonism. The universal growth of militarism also refutes the ultra-imperialist theory, the role of which is: 1. to weaken the vigilance of the proletariat; 2. to serve in the hands of the German imperialists as a means to preach the necessity for "common" colonial possession, i. e. the restoration of the colonies to Germany; 3) as an instrument of propaganda against the U. S. S. R. which refuses to join the League of Nations; 4. as an instrument of propaganda against the colonial revolutions which are disturbing "ultra-imperialist" peace.

23. In connection with the economic growth of Germany and the consolidation of German capitalism, the question of German imperialism arises. In so far as Germany was a vanquished and plundered country, put on her knees by the victorious imperialism of the Entente, and consequently became a country able, under certain conditions to conduct a just war of defence for national liberation against the imperialists of the Entente, and to the extent that the defence of her independence was sabotaged by the bourgeoisie, the task of the Communists was to stir up the hesitant and cowardly resistance of the German bourgeoisie to the imperialism of the Entente by securing the active intervention of the masses of the toilers. In this case it was necessary to expose the capitalists as the betrayers of the whole German nation and to lead the proletariat against the foreign imperialists as the only genuine fighters for the liberation of the whole country. At the same time the German working class was obliged to exert all efforts to bring about the speedy downfall of the German bourgeoisie and hasten the establishment of the German Soviet Republic. For this reason the working class could not put the question of national defence for Germany in the same manner as it would have had to do in the case of an imperialist Germany, but it had to proceed from the special conditions of that stage of development in which Germany was at that time.

This was the situation during the occupation of the Ruhr. But the economic rise of Germany, the internal consolidation of its monopolistic capitalism, the leading role it plays in imperialist international combines, its "Western" orientation and its effort to secure the return of its colonies, all testify to the revival of German imperialism. In this connection, the reply to the question of the national defence of Germany must be in the negative, as it is in the case of other imperialist countries.

24. The Communist International has regarded and still regards the U. S. S. R. as the most important stronghold of international revolution. The efforts of Social Democracy and its followers, the Communist renegades (as well as the insignificant groups of Right and "Left" oppositions in the Comintern encouraged by the conduct of the opposition in the C. P. S. U.) to present the surging economic growth of the U. S. S. R. as a process of "kulak" degeneration are resolutely repudiated by the Communist International. Objectively those efforts merely serve the interests of the class enemies of the proletariat. The Enlarged Plenum is of the opinion that there can be no place in the ranks of the Communist International for those who regard the U. S. S. R. as a capitalist country and who deny the dictatorship of the proletariat.

25. The struggle for national liberation in China brings up before the Communist International the question of the principal perspectives by which the Chinese Section, supported by all the Sections of the Communist International should be guided. This principal perspective is the path of the independent development of China in alliance with the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. and of the whole world (see Comrade Lenin's thesis on this question at the Second Congress of the Communist International), the development of China as distinct from its capitalist development with its inevitable accompaniment of the guardianship of

foreign capital. While the principal task of the moment is the united front of all the national revolutionary forces, including the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, it is necessary immediately to raise the question of satisfying the fundamental needs of the peasantry and to bring the latter into alliance with the artisans and the rural and industrial proletariat of China, and to prepare the Chinese proletariat for the role of leader of the Chinese Revolution.

26. A question of principle of the present moment in capitalist countries is that of our attitude towards capitalist rationalisation. As opposed to Social Democracy, which conceives its task to be to support the strengthening of the capitalist regime and therefore wholly supports capitalist rationalisation, the Communists cannot and must not undertake the task of assisting capital to improve its economy. Communists cannot be opposed to improved technique or improved systems of organising labour, but under the conditions of capitalism it cannot undertake the task of concerning itself with such matters. The task of the Communists lies on an altogether different plane, and may be summarised as follows: 1. To combat capitalist stabilisation. 2. To combat every attempt to depress the conditions of the working class as a result of capitalist pseudo-rationalisation. 3. To fight to raise the standard of living of the working class. 4. To fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Socialist organisation of production. 5. To oppose capitalist rationalisation by Socialist rationalisation.

At the same time the Communists must combat "economic democracy" based on class co-operation and strive to secure, by irreconcilable class struggle against the employers, an extension of the powers of the factory committees right up to workers' control of production and distribution. This militant task of the class struggle must be the reply of the Communist Parties to capitalist rationalisation.

## VI. THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

27. In connection with the capitalist offensive against the working class, which offensive is the expression of the bourgeois policy of stabilisation; on the other hand, in connection with the growth and strengthening of the U. S. S. R., a process is observed in the majority of countries of the masses of the workers swinging to the left. This process is going on in various forms in accordance with the special circumstances prevailing in the respective countries.

28. In England, the country of the decline of capitalism, the efforts at stabilisation made by the bourgeoisie gave rise to a grandiose strike. On the basis of this strike, which is being sabotaged and betrayed by the higher officials of the trade union bureaucracy, a process of the ideological growth of the workers is developing, their abandonment of the influence of the official leaders, disappointment with the "democratic" constitution of the State, etc. This in turn gives rise to the growth of the Minority Movement, the growth of the influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain and of the influence of the Soviet Union, the workers of which came to the assistance of the miners, etc. The swing to the Left of the British working class, which is faced with great obstacles and meets with the exceptionally strong resistance of the trained and experienced "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class", has a profound historical basis and is of enormous significance for the destiny of the whole of the labour movement.

29. The swing to the Left in European countries which are becoming stabilised (principally Germany) is not taking the form of active battles at the present time, but extremely peculiar and complex forms: the trade union opposition, the Left opposition among working class Social Democrats (as distinct from their leaders) labour delegations to the U. S. S. R., various voluntary societies, like the Red Ex-Service Men's League, Committees of Action (Italy); the collapse of the Catholic "National" Parties (the Catholic labour "centre" of Germany; the Italian organisations); the vote against the "Ruling Houses" in Germany, the general labour conferences in Italy, unemployed organisations, "Congress" of toilers in Germany, various kinds of "Unity Committees" connected with the fight for the united trade union front (France), etc.

30. In backward countries and countries slipping back into agrarianism, (in which the contradiction between the productive

capacity and its utilisation makes necessary the restriction of the productive apparatus), these processes are extremely hampered by the terror exercised by the bourgeoisie and the landlords. (The brutal terror in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Poland). Even in these countries, however, these tendencies are to be observed. (The Peasantry becoming radical, class trade union movements, disintegration of social democracy, workers' and peasants' bloc, growth of national liberation movements, etc.). In colonial and semi-colonial countries in which there are revolutionary movements (China, India, Indonesia, Syria and Coast of North Africa), this "swing to the Left" bears an altogether different character, i. e. the character of drawing into active struggle the hitherto indifferent, oppressed and ignorant masses.

31. The counter-tendencies are: 1. so-called "Americanisation" of the labour movement most zealously supported by the trade union and Social Democratic bureaucracy (profit-sharing, labour banks, workers' and employers' unions, etc.), the deliberate policy of splitting the working class and of creating a thin stratum of privileged, new labour aristocracy, which can serve as a reliable bulwark for the capitalist bourgeoisie; 2. the tendency towards the temporary strengthening of Social Democracy due to the Social Democratic parties taking up the opposition (chiefly due to the pressure of the Left-swinging masses, but chiefly due to the fact that as the bourgeoisie becomes stronger in many countries, they no longer require the service of the Social Democrats). 3. The Fascist movement, which in peculiar forms takes advantage of the discontent of the petty-bourgeois masses and sometimes even of part of the more backward workers and diverts this discontent to other channels, smashes up the vanguard of the workers and creates a bulwark for bourgeois domination.

## VII. THE PRINCIPAL TASKS OF THE COMINTERN AT THE PRESENT TIME.

32. At the present time, one of the most important international tasks of the Comintern is to support the most important centres of the international revolutionary movement: the U. S. S. R., the British workers and the Chinese Revolution. At the same time the Comintern must not lose sight of the fact that in Germany, the country in which the bourgeoisie has achieved more successes in its efforts at stabilisation than the bourgeoisie in other countries, in spite of this relative stabilisation and precisely on the basis of the class struggles which will unfold and grow to a much greater extent in the future, a direct revolutionary situation will arise. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that almost all the Parties of the Communist International have failed to exert sufficient energy in supporting the British strike and the Chinese Revolution. A most determined fight must be put up against the interventionist plans of imperialism, against the attempt at British armed intervention in China, against the continuation of the unequal treaties with China, against anti-Soviet war treaties and secret conventions, etc. Such action will serve as a test of the abilities of the Parties in the event of a much more difficult task arising, namely, the task of combatting war.

33. The fight against the menace of war must also be emphasised. It is necessary ruthlessly to expose the "pacifist" "Pan-European" and other utopias of the Social Democrats and the bourgeoisie. An essential task is to bring to the front in every day agitation a campaign against the menace of fresh imperialist wars. At the same time it must be explained to the proletariat how imminent is the danger of war and the necessity to be prepared to convert imperialist war into civil war. Systematic explanation of the role of the League of Nations as an organ of imperialism, the exposure of the false and nonsensical idea of "democratising" it, the spreading of information concerning the actual growth of militarism and its monstrous plans of chemical, bacteriological and air warfare, the exposure of war treaties and agreements, the explanation of the purpose of bourgeois policy directed towards crushing the centres of international revolution — all this must serve as part of the most important obligations of Communists.

34. To combat the capitalist offensive in all its forms and to combat the worsening of the conditions of the proletariat as a result of capitalist rationalisation is the basis of the work of all Sections of the Comintern fighting in capitalist countries.

The length of the working day, wages and unemployment are the principal questions in this struggle. It is the duty of the Communists to stand in the front ranks of this struggle and advance and formulate the demands of the workers in this sphere. The 8-hour day must be defended against all attacks made upon it.

35. Simultaneously with the trustification of production the social power of the bourgeoisie increases and this increases the necessity for more determined resistance and defensive action on the part of the proletariat. Consequently, the United Front of the working class is more necessary than ever it was. The task also arises of resisting the plan of the bourgeoisie to split the labour movement and to rely upon the stratum of privileged workers in order to bring pressure upon the rest and to make the distinction between the employed and the unemployed more profound, to use unemployment as a menace to keep those workers who are employed in a state of fear and depression. The establishment of a united general labour front in the face of combined trust capitalism, must therefore be the imperative task of the day. The propaganda of this unity in the struggle and for the struggle, the carrying out of the tactics of this unity in deed and the ruthless exposure of all reformist treachery, defeatism, wavering and going over to the enemy, must lie at the basis of the whole tactical line of the Communist Parties. In this, every form in which the process of the so-called "swinging to the Left" of the working class finds expression, should be utilised. The latter process is the base for the correct and successful carrying out of the tactics of the united front by the Communist Parties.

36. The growing acuteness of class antagonisms will lead to conflicts, particularly to the extent that the process of capitalist rationalisation will come up against almost insuperable obstacles. The mobilisation of the masses for this struggle, the guidance of this mass struggle, the exercise of increasing influence upon this struggle and the carrying out of an active policy of maintaining contact with and guiding the masses, must be the immediate task of the Communist Parties. In this must be borne in mind the exceptional importance of work in the Trade Unions as the most extensive organisations of the working class, which in the conditions of the sharp "economic" capitalist offensive, acquires exceptional significance. The Communist Parties cannot, at the present time, achieve any permanent successes without developing energetic work in this direction. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that serious gaps exist in the work of the Communist Parties on this front of the battle.

37. The present period brings forward in special relief the question of assiduous, persistent and systematic work of combining the masses on the basis of everyday demands and requirements. The problem of partial demands, concrete slogans, concrete "programmes of action" acquires first class importance. The Communist Parties have not yet learned sufficiently to penetrate right into the mass of the proletariat and to combine the everyday questions, the everyday demands and slogans with the principal slogan of the struggle, the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To acquire this art, means to solve the fundamental tactical problems.

38. It is necessary to learn how organisationally to rivet successes achieved. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that one of the principal defects from which nearly all the Communist Parties suffer is that they are not sufficiently able to utilise the favourable results of campaigns organisationally. This results in an insufficient growth and sometimes stagnation of the membership of the Communist Parties, totally out of proportion with the undoubted growth of the political influence of the Parties. To increase political and organisational activity, to increase the recruiting capacity of the Parties, more intense efforts to give the Parties the character of mass Communist Parties, the basis for which, particularly in industrially developed countries is the factory — all this also comes in to the principal tasks of the Communist International.

39. In a number of countries attention should be devoted to the problem of winning over the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry. Increased taxation in connection with stabilisation, high customs tariffs, differences in the prices between manufactured goods and agricultural produce (farmers' crisis in U. S. A.), acceleration of the ruin of the petty-bourgeoisie in connection with the rapid concentration of capital, the sabotage of agrarian reforms (Roumania, Poland, etc.) — all

this provides a basis for successful work for the Communist Parties among these strata of toilers.

In those States comprising various nationalities the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation adopts methods of extreme tyranny, exploitation and downright plunder of the national minorities (persecution of Germans in Alsace Lorraine, attempts to assimilate the German and Slav populations in Italy, the oppression of the national minorities in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the expulsion of the Turkish and Bulgarian populations from Macedonia and Thrace, the expulsion of the Greek population from Turkey, the confiscation of the lands of the non-Roumanian population in the Dobrudja, the deprivation of the Macedonians of their nationality, etc.). All this intensifies the national revolutionary movement. The Communist Parties must determinedly oppose all forms of national oppression, they must advance the slogan of the right of nations to self determination, including the rights to separate and to form independent states, and point to the complete solution of the national problem in the U. S. S. R.

40. One of the principal tasks of the present stage is to combat Fascism and White Terror, to fight for the legal existence of Communist Parties in those countries where they are illegal while utilising all legal possibilities and maintaining the illegal apparatus of the Party.

Equally, the task of the day is to combat Social Democracy. Social Democracy universally, in spite of it being in the "opposition" is definitely going over to the side of the bourgeois governments. Its position on the question of the League of Nations, on "ultra-imperialism", on the menace of war; on rationalisation, on coalition with the bourgeoisie, on the colonies, etc., etc., is thoroughly saturated with treachery to the working class. The exposure of Social Democratic views and tactics is one of the most important conditions for the carrying out of the revolutionary tactics of the united front.

In fighting to emancipate the masses from the corrupting influence of the Second International and of Amsterdam, the Communist Parties must demand; as against the policy of coalition — most determined class struggle and the overthrow of capitalist governments; as against dictatorship of the capitalists, — the dictatorship of the proletariat; as against the lying talk about the new peaceful phase of capitalism — the exposure of the menace of war and the preparation of the masses for the task of converting such war into civil war; as against Pan-Europe, — the Socialist United States of Europe; as against the League of Nations — The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

### VIII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

41. Economic strikes and the economic struggle generally, in the conditions of the trustification of industry, have a tendency rapidly to assume the form of political struggle and consequently give special importance to the work of the Communists in the trade unions.

42. In view of the rapid growth of trusts and gigantic industrial, commercial and banking combinations, which considerably strengthens the position of capitalism, the Communists must most energetically fight for the reorganisation of the trade unions on an industrial basis, for the formation of militant trade union cartels and for the organisation of factory committees on the same lines. Combat the remnants of craft unionism and abolish them, — must be the slogan of the revolutionary workers. The Communists must in every way help to form and assist in the work and organisation of Left wings in the trade union movement, at the same time conducting their own Communist policy in the everyday trade union work.

43. The Communists must not only support the entry of all workers who are in work into the unions, but must also carry on an energetic struggle for the acceptance into the trade unions of unemployed proletarians and to induce the trade unions to render every support to the movement and demands of the unemployed. The Communists must resolutely expose the efforts of the reformists and trade union bureaucracy to convert the trade unions into auxiliary organs of the imperialist States.

44. The E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the concrete application of the tactics of the united front as applied by the Soviet Communist trade unionists on the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee was correct. The utilisation of great contact with the masses through the Anglo-Russian Committee while

simultaneously ruthlessly criticising the treachery and defeatism of the Right Wing and so-called Left wing leaders, the erection of reserve positions and the exceptional real aid rendered to the miners in their struggle; all this may serve as an example of correct revolutionary application of the tactics of the united front.

The attempts made by the General Council to liquidate the Anglo-Russian Committee, while in the meantime helping the bourgeoisie also to break the miners' strike, and its obvious hostility towards the Russian trade unions (its refusal to send a delegation to the All-Russian Trade Union Congress, etc.) — places the responsibility for all that has taken place upon the General Council and will serve still more to expose it in the eyes of the masses of the British proletariat.

The struggle for the international unity of the trade unions, at the head of which stood and still stand the trade unions of the U. S. S. R., must gradually become international and the Communists must develop to the utmost the work of the international organisation of the trade unions and strive to raise the influence and authority of the R. I. L. U. The C. P. S. U. must take all measures to increase the role of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions in the Profintern, while facilitating the growth of the organisations affiliated to the latter and the growth of their influence in the reformist trade unions. Resolutely condemning the policy of leaving reformist trade unions and failure to carry on work in them with sufficient energy the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. wholly associates itself with the position of the C. P. S. U. that it is harmful for the Soviet trade unions to affiliate to the Amsterdam International and with its suggestion that a joint conference of the Amsterdam International and the Profintern be called.

### IX. PRINCIPAL SUMMARY OF THE WORK, THE ERRORS AND THE TASKS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

45. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that during the past year, the most important Section of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., has achieved important successes in the sphere of Socialist construction, has strengthened the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., has increased the international importance of the Soviet Union, has rendered fraternal aid to the British miners and to the Chinese people. It rallied its ranks and defeated the attempt of the Opposition to cause a severe internal crisis.

46. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that with regard to the British strike and the Chinese revolution the majority of the Sections of the Communist International have not done all that should have been done. While certain difficult objective conditions may have existed, the fact that the Communist Parties have not displayed sufficient activity is undoubted.

47. The Communist Party of Great Britain achieved a number of brilliant successes and conducted a courageous policy of front rank fighters of the British proletariat prior to, during and after the general strike. It has achieved considerable increase in membership and a still more considerable increase of influence among the masses. It readily conducted and is conducting energetic work in the trade unions and is proceeding along the path towards becoming a mass revolutionary party of the proletariat. The E. C. C. I. at the same time places on record a number of errors committed by the C. P. G. R. (insufficient criticism of the "Lefts", incorrect presentation of the question of criticising the General Council by certain prominent members of the Party, which was afterwards put right by the Central Committee on the Executive Committee of the Minority Movement, incorrect estimation of the tactics of the Soviet trade unions). The E. C. C. I. expresses complete conviction that these errors partly already admitted and rectified by the Party will be wholly and entirely eliminated. Practical experience has shown that the Party must to a larger extent than hitherto link up its action in the trade unions, at trade union congresses, etc., with campaigns among the masses (meetings, demonstrations, petitions and resolutions against the conservative trade union bureaucracy). The principal task of the Party is further to win over the masses and organisationally rivet its growing influence and also organisationally to strengthen the Minority Movement; systematically to expose the reformists, whole-

hearted support and guidance of the fighting workers, to give a political aspect to the movement as a whole and to make popular the slogan of a real workers' government.

48. The Chinese Communist Party in a very short period of time has grown up into a first class political factor in China. Placing on record these successes and considering the position of the Communist Party as a whole to be correct, the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. points to a number of errors primarily along the line of under-estimating the necessity for introducing agrarian reforms which would satisfy the general demands of the peasantry in the territories now under the authority of the Kuomintang. Only by laying down a mass base for its work, only by carrying out in deed the alliance between the peasants, workers, artisans, etc., only by making preparations for the hegemony of the proletariat, can the Communist Party of China proceed forward to the achievement of its ultimate aims. The principal aim of the Communist Party of China at the present time should be to rally all forces against the foreign imperialists and against their "own militarists". It will be impossible to solve future problems if this stage of the revolutionary struggle is avoided.

49. The Communist Party of France is more and more becoming in the eyes of the masses of the workers and peasants the only Party capable of defending their interests and is playing a vital role in the life of the country. During the last few months the Party has exerted efforts to become a mass Party. It must continue in the future to strive to an increasing extent to be in the vanguard of the struggle of the working class. Not having, like the other Communist Parties of Germany, Italy, Poland, etc., passed through the school of severe battles, it must prepare to mobilise the masses for a serious struggle, which will inevitably break out as a result of the economic situation becoming acute.

The Party successfully conducted a campaign against the Moroccan war. For the first time in France it applied the principles and tactics of the struggle against imperialist war, but failed to take full advantage of this campaign to extend and consolidate its ranks.

During the ministerial crises which preceded the accession of Poincaré to power the complexity of the political situation rendered it difficult to estimate it properly and the Party failed to display adequate activity.

With the establishment of the Poincaré Government the Party rightly estimated its significance and role, but failed to display sufficient activity in mobilising the broad masses. This is due to the weakness of the organisation of the Party. The energetic campaign among the masses which the Party commenced only recently, after some delay, has only partly rectified these defects.

The principal tasks of the Party are: to strengthen the Party, increase activity, mobilise the broad masses of the workers and peasants; in other words, — the united front, the fight for trade union unity and drawing the masses into the trade unions.

50. The Communist Party of Germany is more and more becoming a mass Party. The greatest achievements of the Party that have to be mentioned is the successful mobilisation of the masses against the compensation of the ex-Royal family, successful leadership of the fight against the treachery of the Social Democrats at the time compensation was made to the ex-Royal family in Prussia, the energetic support it gave to the strike of the Hamburg dock labourers, its successes during the Landtag elections in Saxony and the successful organisation of the General Labour Congress. These successes indicate the growth of the influence of the Party among the masses of the workers, among the masses of the toilers generally and among the mass organisations (Red Front Fighters' League, and Red League of Women and Girls) and the correct application by the Party of the tactics of the United Front. By conducting a proper political line the Party has discovered the path of approach to the non-Party and Social Democratic masses of the workers. The Party itself rectified certain mistakes of policy with regard to the unemployed and has developed extensive organisational work among the masses of the unemployed. It is necessary to note also the consolidation of the Party, its determined fight against petty-bourgeois deviations and its victory over ultra-Left anti-Bolshevism.

The weak side of the Party is lack of organisational riveting of political achievements. In the sphere of trade union work the Party has achieved some success, but on the whole its

work here is still weak. This must be particularly noted in connection with the work among the youth and women, which at the present time has acquired enormous significance. Other weak points are the defects in the organisational apparatus of the Party, which must be removed by widely recruiting new cadres of functionaries from among the proletarians. The forthcoming Congress of the Party will have enormous significance in its history.

51. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has achieved noted successes, thanks to the proper application of the tactics of the united front (the campaign against high cost of living, the weakening of fascism, the prevention of the formation of a new coalition government of Czech and German reformists). At the same time the Central Committee of the Party rapidly liquidated the attempt made at factional work (Neurath and Michaelis). The clumsy mistake of publishing in "Rude Pravo" an erroneous article (concerning the views of the Austrian Social Democrats on the dictatorship) the Central Committee of the Party immediately corrected on its own initiative. The task of the Party at the present time is to increase the activity of the whole of its membership on the basis of the successes already achieved and to proceed further in the political direction it has taken.

52. The Communist Party of Italy, in spite of the increasing reign of terror has strengthened its ranks, has penetrated deeply among the masses of the workers and peasants, holds a strong position in the labour organisations which have remained intact and in the factories has successfully carried out the tactics of the united front (committees for the defence of trade unions, general labour conferences, etc.) and under most unfavourable conditions conducted a campaign in aid of the British miners. The principal task of the Party at the present time is to mobilise all forces to take advantage of the economic and political crisis in the country.

53. The most important errors on principle and opportunistic in character were committed by our Polish comrades at the time of the Pilsudski coup. As a result of these errors, the Party for a time found itself dragging at the tail of the petty-bourgeoisie. These mistakes were strongly condemned by the E. C. C. I. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. wholly and entirely associates itself with these decisions and calls upon the Polish comrades unanimously to carry out the line agreed upon.

54. The greatest weakness of the Scandinavian Parties is their extremely slow development into mass Parties and the exceeding weakness of their influence (with the exception of the Finnish Party) among the industrial proletariat and the poorer peasantry.

All efforts must be exerted to remove these defects and in this connection the revolutionising of the trade union movement, persistent struggle for the unity of the trade unions and the organisation of the poorer strata of the peasantry have considerable importance.

55. In spite of enormous difficulties the Workers' (Communist) Party of America has achieved considerable successes in the sphere of mass work (it has led a number of strikes, has made first attempts to organise the unorganised, it has penetrated into the Miners' Union). The weak sides of the Party still remain its inadequate influence among the real American workers and its organisational defects. The work of the Party in various spheres, — for example, work among the Negroes, among women, etc., is still not well organised, and the carrying out of the decisions of previous Enlarged Plenums with regard to the establishment of a broad Left wing in the trade unions has also been inadequate. It must also be placed on record that the Party has undergone internal consolidation as a result of the considerable diminution of factional struggle. These create the premises for the further growth of the influence of the Party among the masses.

The immediate tasks of the Party are:

Not merely continue, but to redouble its trade union activities (drawing the membership of the Party into the trade unions and organise a Left wing). In the sphere of reorganising the Party it must first of all strive to rouse newly created factory nuclei to political activity and to win over the valuable proletarian elements which have fallen out in the process of reorganisation. The Party as a whole must appreciate the importance of the Party organ, "The Daily Worker". Not only must its publication be assured materially, but it must be raised to a higher ideological level.

56. The Communist Party of Mexico, which is working amidst particularly difficult conditions, has not fully coped with the situation that has arisen, has revealed sectarian tendencies and has failed to win the confidence of the broad masses of the workers and to rally around itself the fighting semi-proletarian peasantry. The fundamental task of the Party is to strengthen its position among the masses of the proletariat. It must destroy the hegemony of the reformist upper stratum in the trade unions. The fight for the independence of Mexico from American imperialism should be the central point in the tactics of the Party. The Communists must support the petty-bourgeois revolutionary movement, while at the same time organise the masses of the toilers, prevent the disarming of the poor strata of the peasantry, and actively prevent the threatening capitulation of the petty-bourgeois government to American imperialism.

#### X. THE FIGHT FOR THE LENINIST LINE AND THE PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP.

57. Summarising the "criticism" of the line of the Communist International during the period from the beginning of the ebb of the revolutionary tide in Europe to the present time a criticism directed against the C.P.S.U. (principally on the peasant question), against the "intolerable regime", within the Sections of the Comintern and against the tactics of the united front, etc., the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that the critics have either gone over entirely to the Social Democrats (Höglund, Ström, Frossard, Paul Levi, etc.), or are organisationally, or for the time being ideologically, on the road towards Social Democracy (Tranmael, Souvarine, Maslow, Ruth Fischer).

58. This departure from Communism had its basis in the change in the world situation, in the change from the period of the surging development and triumphant progress of Communism to the beginning of capitalist stabilisation. At the present time when this stabilisation is revealed with exceptional clearness — for the time being — in Germany when it is precisely in this country that the greatest change has taken place in the orientation of the bourgeoisie (from the East to the West) the unstable petty-bourgeois elements in the Communist Party re-

flect this change with special power. A combination of a failure to understand the new conditions (and consequently the necessity for changing the methods of the struggle) with the reflected bourgeois influence resulting from these changed conditions has called into being the so-called ultra-Left deviation in Germany which, in the persons of Korsch, Schwartz and others has become transformed into the most repulsive counter-revolutionary apostasy.

59. To combat these deviations and also the Right deviations (the allies of Souvarine in France, certain groups in Norway, comrades like the author of the article on dictatorship in "Rude Pravo" in Czecho-Slovakia, the Right wing errors in Poland, certain evidences of Right wing tendencies, etc.) is an absolute pre-requisite for the successes of the Communist movement.

60. The Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. places on record that the attempt of the Opposition in the C.P.S.U. to create an international opposition faction has met with complete failure. The Plenum wholly supports the policy of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. It places on record that in spite of its declaration of October 16, the Opposition intends to continue the factional struggle. For that reason the E.C.C.I. considers necessary the continuation of the ideological struggle against the essentially anti-Leninist views of the Opposition and to combat all further efforts to continue factional struggle. The Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. endorses the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to expel Maslow, Fischer, Urbahn and others. The Enlarged Plenum is of the opinion that the Leninist doctrine of the inadmissibility of factions, must be applied to the full.

61. With the view to securing the further Bolshevisation of the Parties and to increase their activity and fighting capacity it is necessary to introduce internal-Party democracy, re-animate and develop the work of the factory nuclei, make better selection of and more energetically to advance new cadres of Party forces, particularly workers from the bench, raise to a higher theoretical level and improve the standard of the Party press, carefully control the execution of Party decisions. The Enlarged Plenum resolves to take all measures necessary to establish closer contact between the E.C.C.I. and the Sections and to secure uniform, firm, collective international leadership.

### *Resolution on the Report of the Executive of the Comintern.*

The VII Enlarged Plenum of the Executive accepts and approves the report on the activities of the E.C.C.I. and expresses confidence in it.

The Enlarged Executive affirms that the line of the E.C.C.I. in placing the great questions of the international and national unity of the trade union movement in the forefront of its work was correct. The Executive fulfilled the revolutionary duty of the Communist International in conducting international solidarity action for the General Strike and miners' strike in Great Britain. The correctness of the tactics of the Executive in connection with the Anglo-Russian Committee has been confirmed by events. It would have been a crude error to shift the responsibility for sabotaging the international solidarity action for the British miners' struggle from the shoulders of the Reformist traitors to the shoulders of the Communists by breaking up the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Executive correctly recognised the world historic importance of the great Chinese Revolution and called the proletariat to fight against the intervention of the imperialist powers.

The Enlarged Executive approves the measures taken by the Executive to prevent the Opposition in the C.P.S.U. from carrying over the factional struggle into other Sections of the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive declares that the Executive correctly estimated the situation in Poland in connection with the Pilsudski uprising and properly corrected the Opportunist mistakes of the Polish Party. The energetic support given to the German Party in its struggle against the ultra-Left fraction is approved by the Enlarged Executive; at the same time the Enlarged Executive declares that the Executive of the German Party has succeeded in exposing the counter-revolutionary character of the ultra-Left leadership and to win back many honest working class elements for the Communist International.

The Enlarged Executive declares with satisfaction that the Executive has made great progress in carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Enlarged Executive regarding the collective leadership of the Communist International (the permanent residence of representatives of the leading Parties in Moscow; the more active participation of the Parties in the work of the Executive; the change of the periodical "Communist International" into a weekly central organ of the E.C.C.I.).

The VII Enlarged Plenum of the Executive urges the Executive in its future work to pay the greatest attention to wiping out the factions that may exist in the Communist International. The next practical step along the path of Bolshevising the Sections of the Communist International must be to overcome the existence of factions, the creation of internal unity, and monolithic Communist Parties moulded out of one piece.

## Resolution on the Situation in Great Britain.

### I. INTRODUCTION.

1. The seven months' struggle of the British miners, following upon the General Strike, has inflicted heavy blows upon British capitalism. Itself the expression of the progressive decline of British capitalism since the war, it has considerably hastened the rate of that decline for the future.

2. Great Britain's position in the world economy has been undermined, and its world political position weakened. Britain's foreign policy has received several setbacks: e. g. her Locarno plans for a bloc against U.S.A. have met with a reserve at Geneva to which must be added the check inflicted in China by the defeat of the British agents Wu-Pei-fu and Sun Chuang-fang by the Canton army. Her desperate attempts to consolidate an anti Soviet bloc which have not been arrested by such Soviet successes as the Lithuanian-Soviet Pact, etc. are a further symptom of the increasingly difficult position of British imperialism.

3. The miners' fight and the consequent embarrassment of British imperialism has rendered practical assistance to the revolutionary struggle for national freedom of the Chinese people, by delaying open military intervention of British forces against Canton. The defeat of the miners has encouraged British imperialism to pass from indirect or hidden forms of intervention to the open use of force, even though accompanied by hypocritical "conversations" with Canton.

On the other hand, the collections and the resolutions of sympathy with the British miners, both in China and in India, show that the British mining struggle has quickened the political consciousness of the workers and peasants in the colonial countries laying the foundation for an alliance with British Labour against British imperialism.

4. The connection between the component parts of the British Empire have been loosened. The resolution on inter-imperial relations of the British Empire Conference, the Canadian elections, the flag conflict in South Africa, the question of the governors in Australia, are evidence of the tendency towards independence of the Dominions, which has received a new stimulus thanks to the weakening of British imperialism.

5. Internally, the mining struggle has sharpened class antagonism to a degree unprecedented in Great Britain prior to the General Strike, and has given the workers a practical revelation of the reality and ruthlessness of capitalist dictatorship which many years of propaganda could not achieve. At the same time, it has greatly advanced the political consciousness and activity of the working class, and in consequence has accelerated the process of re-grouping of forces within the Labour Movement.

6. The consolidation of all forces of the bourgeoisie around the Conservative Party and the new rally of the workers to the Labour Party (as a stage in their revolutionisation), a growth of the influence of the most reactionary section of the Tory Party — the Diehards — and of the most revolutionary and determined section of the labour movement — the Communists — these processes constitute the most striking political expression of the re-grouping of class forces begun by the General Strike and continued and deepened by the seven months' struggle of the miners.

7. The mining struggle has been no less potent than the General Strike in advancing the working class of Great Britain towards the realisation of its historic destiny, namely, the overthrow of the capitalist class and the establishment of a workers' dictatorship as the essential preliminary for building Socialism.

Therefore, the mining struggle has created a still more favourable condition for the development of a mass Communist Party. It is the duty of every Communist to study its lessons.

8. The Theses on the General Strike adopted by the E.C.C.I. in June, which the Seventh Enlarged Plenum confirms in their entirety, have not only been proved to be a correct analysis by the course of events, but have been shown to indicate correctly the general lines of development of the class struggle in Great Britain for the immediate future.

### II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

9. The coal shortage has caused a heavy fall in production in the principal industries (iron, steel, shipbuilding, textiles, etc.), causing a further loss of markets and increasing the volume of unemployment and short time. While an attempt is being made to utilise the industrial crisis in order to push ahead the formation of trusts (chemicals, mining, steel), the bulk of the disorganisation of economic life, and loss of markets due to the mining struggle must remain a permanent loss to capitalist industry in Britain.

10. The disastrous fall in industrial production, the temporary wiping out of a previously stable element of British export in coal, the rise in world coal prices and in freights owing to Britain becoming an importer instead of an exporter of coal — these factors have contributed to a big dislocation of foreign trade, in a heavy fall of railway receipts, and in a considerable decline in the volume and proceeds of shipping.

11. The dislocation of industry and trade have had an adverse effect upon State revenue, rendering probable a substantial deficit at the end of the year.

At the same time, the necessity of meeting the adverse trade balance and of maintaining the value of sterling has caused a further heavy drain upon British investments abroad, already seriously reduced prior to the General Strike, and also large exports of gold (from British holdings in Australia to the U.S.A., from the Bank of England to Germany, etc.).

This has inflicted new blows upon British financial power, although new investments in the Empire and elsewhere still continue to maintain British credit against serious decline.

12. The economic difficulties in Great Britain have had a serious repercussion upon economic conditions elsewhere. Thus, heavy British imports of coal have stimulated the German and Polish coal industries, but this has been at the expense of the general purchasing capacity of Britain, particularly as regards the products of Germany industry.

Moreover, both in these countries and elsewhere (Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France), the stoppage of British coal exports has seriously affected industry; and this dislocation in its turn has had a further serious effect upon British trade.

13. The export of capital to the Dominions and Colonies, in the search for higher and more certain profits, has been stimulated by the mining struggle (the Mond Combine), and the industrialisation of the Dominions which is consequently advancing must stimulate the tendency towards separation (expressed in the setting up of tariff walls, financial rapprochements with the U.S.A., etc. and reflected in the Dominions' growing freedom of action, registered by the Imperial Conference). The British capitalist class has still a common interest with the rising industrial capitalists of the Dominions in defending their monopoly of the exploitation of the internal markets of the Empire (India, Africa, the mandated territories), as revealed by the Imperial Conference resolutions on mandates, Empire defence, air communications, etc. but even on these markets Dominion competition with Great Britain has received new encouragement for the coming struggle.

### III. THE POLITICAL SITUATION SINCE THE GENERAL STRIKE.

14. The increasing political and economic difficulties created by the continuation of the miners' struggle has forced the capitalist class to come out more and more openly and more and more unitedly against the miners and the whole working class, while all its institutions — Government, Monarchy, Parliament, Church, Army, Police, local administration, Press — have been revealed as instruments of capitalist dictatorship, abandoning the pretence of democracy.

The political expression of the process has been the growth of the influence of the militant reactionary wing within the Conservative Party (Birkenhead, Churchill), the adoption of a

clear-cut anti-working class programme by the Conservative Party at Scarborough, and the further decay and disruption of the Liberal Party (desertion of Liberal politicians to the Conservative and Labour Parties, anti-Labour coalitions in municipal elections).

15. On the other hand, the class consciousness of the workers has been, since the General Strike, even further raised and developed by a number of powerful factors — the spectacle of capitalist unity against the miners, and particularly of the open subservience of the Government to the mineowners' interests: the encroachments upon working class liberties under E. P. A. and the proposal to make them permanent by a series of anti-Labour laws: the increasing economic depression, bearing witness to the bankruptcy of capitalism; the continuation of the miners' heroic struggle after their betrayal by the General Council; the magnificent example of international solidarity given by the Russian workers.

This developing class consciousness has found expression in the trade union movement through the great increase of influence of the National Minority Movement, the demand for the embargo and the levy made by the majority of the Conference of Trades Councils held in September, and the forcing of the Conference of Union Executives in November 3 to agree to at least the semblance of a levy in aid of the miners. Simultaneously the Labour Party has gained the support of new and large sections of the working class as is witnessed by the growth of the labour vote at parliamentary bye-elections since the General Strike and by the 200 Labour gains at the municipal elections in November.

16. At the same time, the growing class consciousness of the workers has had the effect of consolidating the ranks of the trade union bureaucracy, from the General Council downwards, and of stimulating it to new betrayals of the working class in the determination to secure the defeat of the miners. The bulk of the bureaucracy both Right and former "Left", have moved towards open alliance with the capitalists, only a section of the lower rank of officials moving to the Left with the workers.

The expression of the movement to the Right of the trade union bureaucrats has been the postponement of the Conference of Executives on June 25, the postponement of a report on the General Strike at Bournemouth T. U. C., the persistent refusal for months to consider either the levy or the embargo, the open attacks upon those miners' leaders who were loyal to their members, the initiative taken by the General Council in forcing the Government's terms upon the miners in November, the increased violence of the campaign against the Communist Party and the Minority Movement.

Since the defeat of the miners the reformist trade union leaders having conducted a campaign for "industrial peace", openly advocating the "Americanisation" of British industry (by company unions, co-partnership and bonus schemes, etc.) — which, in a period when the economic foundations of reformism have been completely shattered in Britain, objectively means a campaign for the capitulation of British Labour to the capitalists and its complete break-up and defeat.

17. The utter and shameful capitulation of the former "Lefts", amongst the General Council (Hicks, Purcell, Tillett, Bromley, etc.) during the General Strike, their acquiescence and participation in the General Council's seven months' campaign to defeat the miners, and their open championing of the Right Wing at Bournemouth, have been evidence of the consolidation of the reformist ranks in face of the growing class consciousness of the workers.

18. The reformist leaders of the Labour Party (MacDonald, Snowden, Thomas, etc.) have also been forced by the growing intensity of the class struggle to come out more and more into the open in their true capacity as the agents of capitalism within labour's ranks. The most striking illustrations of this process of self-exposure are: their grovelling before Baldwin; their thinly-veiled attacks upon the miners' leaders, even upon a far from revolutionary leader like A. J. Cook; their open defeatist propaganda for a settlement on the lines of the Commission's Report, i. e., by lower wages, longer hours, and district agreements; the renewed fury of the attacks upon the Communist Party; and the utter bankruptcy of the Parliamentary Labour Party both of the Right and of the self-styled "Left" Wing (Wheatley, Lansbury, etc.) when it was necessary to

put up a class fight for the miners and against E. P. A., both in Parliament and in the country.

19. The defeatist propaganda of a settlement by appeals to Baldwin, and the refusal of a joint campaign for the embargo with the Communist Party, has revealed that the I. L. P. leaders, in spite of frothy phrases about "Socialism in our Time", are being forced to show their hand more and more as an integral part of the reformist machinery which capitalism uses within the Labour movement to sabotage the struggle and paralyse the will of the working class.

The sabotage of an embargo campaign by the Lansbury group, its propaganda of loyalty to MacDonald and its refusal to join the Communists in conducting a Left Wing struggle within the Labour Party against MacDonaldism, shows that it too has been tested by the practical needs of the Miners' struggle, and forced to unmask itself as a part of the same apparatus of reformism, despite its "Left" phraseology.

20. The leadership of the Miners' Federation also showed itself unequal to its tasks, and finally capitulated completely. Its path throughout was not the path of struggle, but of vacillation and compromise; a pact of silence with the General Council, acceptance of the Bishops' proposals, surrender to the Government's conditions, failure to appeal to the masses of the transport workers and railwaymen's unions over the heads of the leaders, and an essential mistake in conducting the struggle, in agreement with the General Council, from beginning to end as a purely trade union and not a political struggle. While A. J. Cook showed himself to the end of the miners' struggle an honourable exception to the united front of cowardice and treachery, he has also been subject to numerous vacillations, due to his attempt to carry on an isolated struggle not in connection with the Minority Movement. These vacillations have at critical moments played a decisive part, such as his acquiescence in the postponement of the June 25 Conference of Executives, his agreement with the General Council to avoid discussion of the General Strike at the Trades Union Congress, etc.

21. The Minority Movement throughout the struggle has given clear and correct leads to the miners, and carried on an energetic campaign for the mobilisation of mass support for them by the embargo and the levy. Its Third National Conference in August was correctly utilised as a platform from which to call the workers to fight again on behalf of the miners, and at the same time to begin a serious fight to replace traitors by revolutionaries in the trade union movement and to reorganise the trade unions on an industrial basis. The leadership of the Minority movement showed certain waverings on the question of criticising the "Lefts" in the General Council, and made one or two mistakes which were subsequently corrected. Nevertheless, the correct policy in general, and particularly the correct tactics of the Minority fraction at the Bournemouth Congress have greatly increased the political influence of the Minority Movement.

22. The mining struggle has evoked the beginning of a tremendous wave of sympathy for the Communist Party amongst the miners, and of support for its policy amongst the workers generally, by proving correct not only its analysis of events and its practical lead during the last eighteen months, but also its outlook upon the capitalist State, the class struggle, the nature of reformism, etc., and by giving the workers practical proof that the Communists are their most consistent and fearless champions (the 1,200 Communists arrested, etc.).

The outward signs of this are the doubling of the Party membership in six months and the increase in the circulation of the Party press, on the one hand, and the response to its leadership within the Miners' Federation on the other (the defeat of the Bishops' Memorandum in August, the carrying of the South Wales proposals in October, the rejection of the Government's terms in November).

The success of the Party's efforts in building a mass Opposition to reformism within the Trade Unions and the Labour Party (attested by the success of the Minority Movement and Left Wing Conferences, and the formation of an organised Opposition at the Margate Conference), together with the support given to the Party in helping to build up the I. C. W. P. A. in the campaign against capitalist repressions, are further il-

illustrations of the increased rate at which the workers' sympathies are being won for the Communist Party and Communist policy.

#### IV. THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

23. The Communist Party acted correctly in placing the issue of practical help for the miners by the other workers, through the embargo and a levy on wages, in the forefront of its activity during the miners' struggle after the end of the General Strike.

Not only at meetings and in trade union branches, but also in Trades Councils, local Labour Parties, offers of a united front with the I.L.P. (locally and nationally) and the Labour Party, in the Minority Movement and Left Wing, at the T.U.C. and Labour Party Conference, and in its press and propaganda generally the Party placed this issue in the forefront.

24. Within the Miners' Federation the Communist Party has consistently fought for the intensification of the struggle by the withdrawal of safety men, mass picketing, the centralisation of control under the M.F.G.B. Executive, the conducting of a national propaganda campaign by all the forces at the disposal of the Federation, etc.

At the same time, the Party has been foremost in fighting and exposing every defeatist tendency (Varley, Spencer, Hodges, and the Bishops' Memorandum, the breakaways).

In the course of its campaign the Communist Party has never hesitated to criticise mistakes on the part of A. J. Cook. By criticising Cook at his moments of vacillation, while continuing to support him in every open conflict with the workers' enemies within and without the Miners' Federation, the Party has kept its own identity clear and distinct before the workers. The Communist Party has, however, acted correctly in not hiding from the workers the fact that the primary responsibility for the miners' difficult position falls entirely upon the General Council and the Labour Party Executive, in whose treachery on May 12th Cook and a majority of the other miners' leaders refused to join.

25. The Communist Party throughout the miners' struggle correctly explained to the workers that it was not merely a fight of the miners against the mineowners, but of the whole working class against the whole capitalist class, including its executive committee, the Tory Government.

Since August, the Party has conducted an active campaign for the dissolution of Parliament, the Eight Hours Act, the E.P.A. etc. The object of this campaign was to widen the struggle against capitalism, and thus mobilise the workers in a mass political struggle — an essential preliminary step in the mass fight for the establishment of a real labour government, pledged to nationalise the mines without compensation and to undertake a serious fight against capitalism.

It must be recognised as an error, however, that the Party did not begin this campaign side by side with its campaign for the embargo and the levy.

The correctness of combining the two campaigns was shown when the I.L.P. after advocating for several weeks a campaign for dissolution merely to distract the workers' attention from the need for an embargo, dropped the demand. Directly our Party took it up and connected it with the other slogans of the struggle.

26. From the moment the General Strike ended the Communist Party continued its unsparing campaign of exposure against the General Council and reformist trade union leadership both Right and sham "Left" generally, and stressing the need for replacing them by revolutionary leaders loyal to the working class.

The Party used every platform and organisational opportunity for this work, first and foremost the "Workers' Weekly", the Minority Movement Conferences, the Labour Party Conference, and the Trade Union Conference.

At the same time it should be recognised that the Party Press has not always brought out the importance of facing responsibility for the betrayal of the miners as clearly as it might have done. A similar mistake, corrected immediately by the Central Committee, was made by the Party fraction in the Minority Movement Executive.

The correct tactics of the Party fraction at Bournemouth and the tactics of the Russian unions have shown that to raise the question of responsibility did not diminish, but increased the chances of practical help for the miners.

27. Beginning from the very day of the General Council's surrender, the Communist Party systematically utilised every turn of the miners' struggle, and of the campaign for international solidarity, carried on by the Russian Trade Unions, to expose the treachery and desertion of the former "Lefts" in the General Council.

At the same time it must be recognised that during the seven month's fight which imposed exceptionally heavy demands upon the Party and faced it with many great difficulties, there were several mistakes in this connection, in statements published in the Party press on several occasions. These mistakes were speedily corrected.

28. The Communist Party lost no opportunity of exposing and fighting the opportunist leadership of the political labour movement, expressed in the open sabotage of the Labour Party leadership, or the empty phrasemongering of the Lansbury group and the leaders of the I.L.P.

While testing the sincerity of all three groups by their attitude towards the requirements of the miners' struggle, the Party has correctly explained to the workers that sabotage of the miners' struggle is not accidental, but an inherent feature of reformism and social-pacifism.

In its fight for an organised and militant Left Wing Opposition within the Labour Party, the Party has stressed that the circumstances of the miners' struggle prove, more than ever, that no real Left Wing can be built up except in a relentless struggle against MacDonaldism.

Such a struggle must inevitably bring genuine Left Wingers into close association with the Communist Party, and the Party correctly pointed out that those who attempt to exclude, or fear to co-operate with the Communists are doing MacDonald's work.

29. The Communist Party has acted correctly in paying particular attention to recruiting and strengthening of its organisation during the miners' struggle, explaining to the workers that the sole final guarantee of correct and class conscious leadership is a powerful Communist Party.

It has correctly concentrated upon the elementary political education of the 5,000 new members drawn chiefly from the minefields, as the essential condition for retaining their comprehending adherence to the Party.

30. During the period of the General Strike and throughout the duration of the lockout of the miners, the C. P. G. B. pursued in the main a correct political line. Nevertheless, as already stated, a number of mistakes were committed, most of which were subsequently corrected. In the correction of these mistakes the Party was helped by the fraternal criticisms and suggestions of the E. C. C. I. contained in its correspondence with the Party and its publicity on the British situation. With such aid from the E. C. C. I., the C. P. G. B. has been enabled to pursue a sound policy, despite all the difficulties created by the present acute struggle of the workers against the attempts of the British bourgeoisie to stabilise itself at their expense.

#### V. SOME PRINCIPAL LESSONS OF THE STRUGGLE.

31. The miners' struggle can teach the working class of the world, and of Britain in particular, a number of important lessons, the study of which will equip the workers for the still bigger struggles which lie ahead.

a) The heroic endurance of the miners, with all the resources of capitalism and the machinery of reformism turned against them, is a foreshadowing of the heroism and capacity for struggle of the working class in the struggle for power, and still more when it is organised as the ruling class and crushing the resistance of the exploiters.

The miners fight finally gives the lie to the miserable reformist slander that a few week's short rations would bring the workers' revolution to its knees. On the contrary, the last seven months have shown that the British workers have the strength of will and capacity necessary to go on building up socialism once they have seized political power.

b) The malevolence, ruthlessness and unscrupulousness of the capitalist class in the struggle against the miners should finally expose to the British workers the dangerous fallacy that the British capitalists are in many ways more "gentlemanly", more honourable, or more democratic than their colleagues abroad.

The workers can now see for themselves that the capitalists will use each and any weapon to crush them, and consequently that each and any weapon will have to be used to crush the capitalists.

c) The biggest lesson of the miners' struggle for the British workers has been that the division of working class struggles into industrial and "political" is a delusive and dangerous fraud, when applied to any large scale strike in Great Britain in the present period of declining capitalism and growing difficulties of the British capitalist class.

The Government which claimed to be defending the community against the General Strike in May, and against the miners from May to December, will take up the same attitude when any other section of the workers in a vital industry is attacked (particularly railway, transport, electricity, etc.). As each industrial struggle will more and more affect the fortunes of the whole capitalist class, each section of the workers will find that its fight for decent conditions is not an industrial but a political struggle.

d) The undisguised surrender of the reformist leadership (both Right and Left) of the Labour movement, and its refusal, so far from fighting for the emancipation of the workers, even to defend their claim of existing standards of living, is a practical proof to the British workers that reformism is completely bankrupt.

On the other hand, the workers have practical proof that it is only the Communist Party which has the necessary courage and self-confidence for giving a correct leadership in immediate struggles for day-to-day demands, because of its revolutionary perspective and programme, and its determination to lead the workers in greater and greater battles until the final overthrow of capitalism.

e) The contrast between the action of the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the reformist leadership in other countries, and between the activity, on behalf of the miners, of the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. as contrasted with the Second International and the I. F. T. U., afford practical illustrations of the tremendous power and value to labour of a united trade union international.

Further, it is an illustration of the fact that real international leadership of the workers in the fight against capitalism does not consist merely in polite speech-making or compliments to leaders, but in participation in and direction of the workers' daily struggles. The mining struggle has shown that outside the Communist International and the Communist Party there is not and can be no such leadership, the sole possible pledge of the workers' ultimate victory over the capitalists.

f) The maintenance by the Soviet Trade Unions, under the guidance of the C. P. S. U., of their membership of the Anglo-Russian Committee, while criticising and exposing the treachery and sabotage of the General Council and its delegates on the Committee, the successful campaigns in several parts for an embargo on coal for England, and for 24 hours strike of solidarity, carried through by the C. G. T. U. and the local successes of the British Party's effort for a joint campaign with the I. L. P. for an embargo — have given Communists in Great Britain and the whole world practical illustrations of the importance of the united front tactics as a means of rallying the workers for a fight against the capitalists and of forcing the reformist leaders to show their true faces in public.

## VI. THE OUTLOOK.

32. The decline of British industry and the tendency to transfer industrial activity from the centre of the Empire to the circumference are hastening the development of parasitism as the characteristic feature of British capitalism, and the increase of the rentier class as the predominating section of the British capitalists. This fundamental tendency must inevitably involve the intensification of the class struggle in Great Britain, first and foremost by a continued attack on the workers' standards of living, and simultaneously by a large scale political

offensive, as the basis of an attempt to nationalise production at the workers' expense. While this offensive, if successful, may produce temporary improvements in trade (as occurred in 1922) the latter in their turn can only bring a new revival of the Labour movement and their purely transient character, in the present world situation of Great Britain, deprives British capitalism of any opportunity of building up anew the social basis of reformism.

33. The defeat of the miners opens the way for a new series of attacks on the wages, hours and working conditions of other sections of the working class. The railway and transport industries, being directly dependent upon Britain's role as an exporter and an entrepot for world goods, must prepare for attacks upon their wages on the plea of "meeting foreign competition by lowering overhead charges". The exporting industries, particularly metal and textile workers, must also anticipate attacks.

34. Developing out of and facilitating the wage offensive, the workers must expect a tremendous sharpening of the class struggle politically, and the large scale utilisation of weapons against them which the capitalist class, prior to 1926 had not utilised since the days of Chartism.

Attacks on the right of combination and the right to strike, attacks on the political levy and the workers' press, increased concentration of power from locally elected authorities, reconstruction of the House of Lords as a government citadel of reaction against the elected House of Commons, organisation of anti-working class forces of strike-breakers, "volunteer corps", Fascisti, on which to rely in the event of the armed forces drawn from the workers proving unreliable — all these developments are no longer a vision of the distant future, but are already existing in skeleton or outline form.

35. Side by side with the increase of reaction at home, the necessities of consolidating the world position of British imperialism must involve a new wave of reaction in foreign policy, particularly in the direction of supporting new coalitions against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and of fighting the national revolution in China.

Similarly within the British Empire, faced by the growing strength of the movement for the liberation of the colonial peoples, which is bound to find new inspiration from the struggles of British labour, British imperialism will be forced to intensify its measure of repression.

Each or all of these causes, together with the permanent contradictions in the imperialist world (primarily the antagonism between British and American imperialism, in nearly every part of the world, Franco-British rivalry, etc.) may literally at any moment place the British working class and that of the whole world face to face with the menace of a new war.

36. The inability of capitalism to arrest its own decay, and the increasing difficulties of the economic situation (particularly the rise in the cost of living); the growing divergences between the interests of finance capital and those of the petty bourgeoisie (particularly the attempt to shift the burden of maintaining the State machinery on to the backs of the petty bourgeoisie through the income tax); the growth of influence of the most reactionary section of the Tory Party, and consequently of the likelihood of the introduction of Protection on a large scale (again bringing the menace of a "dear breakfast table") — these factors can only accelerate the differentiation among the petty bourgeoisie and the alienation of a large section from the side of the great bourgeoisie. The beginnings of this process can be seen already in the influx of lower middle class elements from the Liberal Party into the Labour Party.

37. The "swing to the left" of the British workers, i. e. the widening of their class consciousness and the growth of the political activity must inevitably continue. The process of the liberation of the workers from the ideological yoke of the bourgeoisie expressed in the final loss of influence over the workers by the Liberal Party and the failure of the attempts of the Conservative Party to build up a Tory trade union movement, will be accelerated. As an integral part of this process must continue the differentiation now going on within the labour movement, the proletariat moving to the Left, i. e. towards the Communist Party and revolution, while the reformist leaders and petty bourgeois Socialists move to the Right, i. e. towards open allegiance to capitalism and counter-revolu-

tion. More than ever the conditions will be favourable for a mass revolutionary Left Wing movement, organised through the Minority Movement, the Labour Party Left Wing, the League for Defence of Oppressed Peoples, etc., under the leadership of the Communist Party.

38. The decline of British Industry, the menace to Britain's world position, the growing disintegration of the Empire, the revolutionisation of the workers and a section of the petty bourgeoisie — all these are different aspects of the same process of the continuing decay of British imperialism. This decay must inevitably lead to a deeper and deeper political crisis, which will bring the workers face to face with the problem of seizing power. The first stage of this crisis lies immediately ahead, in the shape of the capitalist offensive against the trade unions on the industrial and political fields. The British working class, in alliance with the colonial peoples, undoubtedly has the power to meet and break the capitalist offensive successfully, and to go onto the overthrow of capitalism, if it learns the lessons of the great events of 1926 and organises to meet the attack. It is the duty of the Communist Party of Great Britain to draw the lessons and to intensify its fight within the working class for the necessary organisation.

### VII. THE TASKS OF THE BRITISH PARTY.

39. Arising out of the situation created by the mining struggle, and from its analysis of the outlook for the immediate future, the Plenum confirms the immediate tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain as laid down by the Eighth Congress of the British Party.

#### POLITICAL.

I) The campaign to explain to the workers the political significance of the present period of capitalist decline, and of present class struggles as the forerunners of bigger struggles, culminating in the seizure of power by the working class and consequently, not only the need for improvement and strengthening of the trade unions, but also the limitations of the purely economic struggle: not only the need for the maximum revolutionary utilisation of the parliamentary and municipal platforms, but also their total unsuitability as a means of achieving the workers' emancipation.

II) The campaign to raise the whole working class in a struggle for the dissolution of Parliament, the overthrow of the Baldwin Government and the formation of a real Labour Government as the reply to the Tory attacks on working class living standards, rights and liberties, actual or projected.

III) The campaign for the mobilisation of the trade union movement (including the unemployed), against the further attacks on wages, hours, and working conditions, and for the solidarity of the whole working class with any section attacked.

IV) The campaign for the building of a united trade union international as a guarantee against international economic and political reaction and the menace of a new world war. In particular the campaign for the summoning of a world unity congress, by the R.I.L.U. and I.F.T.U. jointly and the exposure of the sabotage of the Anglo-Russian Committee by the reformists, and, side by side with the direct campaign for its revival, the mobilisation of the workers in the various industries for unity with the workers in the corresponding Soviet Trade Unions, as a step towards this end (the Anglo-Russian Miners' Committee, the despatch of workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R., etc.).

V) The campaign for solidarity with the colonial workers and peasants in particular, and the peoples oppressed by British imperialism generally, both in their fight for complete independence and separation from the British Empire, and in the immediate struggle against capitalist exploitation, as the surest allies of the British workers.

VI) The campaign against opportunism within the Labour Party and the bringing up to date and popularisation of the Left Wing programme elaborated in 1925, as a centre around which to crystallise the developing Left sentiments of the masses, and to give a concrete illustration of what a real Labour Government should do.

VII) More attention to a mass fight against militarism and particularly for securing solidarity between the workers in uniform and those in civil life.

VIII) Mass propaganda of the Communist attitude on the fundamental questions raised concretely before the workers by the General Strike and the mining struggle: the State, the Monarchy, the Empire, the question of violence, the General Strike, the need for a Communist Party, the importance of the Soviet Union, the question of proletarian dictatorship.

#### ORGANISATIONAL.

I) The utmost organisational strengthening of the Communist Party, especially recruiting, reorganisation on a factory group basis, fraction work, improvement of district and local organisation, development of political education and of the Party press, strengthening work amongst women, pushing ahead with work against agricultural and textile workers, support of the Y. C. L.

II) The organisational consolidation and extension of the National Minority Movement, as the primary means for the reorganisation of the trade union movement on an industrial basis and to replace the reformist leaders of the trade unions by revolutionary workers.

III) In particular, the campaign for the rebuilding as a single Miners' Union of the present M. F. G. B. and the replacement of men like Hodges, Varley, Spencer, etc., by real working class fighters.

IV) The organisational consolidation and extension of the National Left Wing movement in the Labour Party, as the primary means for securing a real working class leadership of the Labour Party; and the fight for the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

V) Preparation of the workers to repel a new development of Fascism, by creation of a Workers' Defence Corps, controlled by the workers' mass organisations.

VI) Organised fraction work in the co-operative societies and guilds, in order to lead the proletarian membership in the struggle against middle class control, to ensure a militant working class policy of these organisations and their national and international federations and to bring about efficient mutual support of the co-operative and trade union movements in the class struggle.

VII) The utmost support of the International Class War Prisoners' Aid, as the Workers' Red Cross in the present period of intensified class struggle; and of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, as a particularly important mass organisation in the present economic crisis and in view of the attack on the trade unions.

#### LESSONS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS.

1. The miners' struggle shows that the efforts of the bourgeoisie to stabilise capitalism necessarily lead to mighty mass struggles and that these mass struggles in their turn jeopardise the stabilisation of capitalism.

2. In the present situation every important event in the labour movement of a country becomes an event of international importance and must, therefore, become the basis of international solidarity actions by the proletariat.

3. On the basis of the decline of capitalism, every important economic struggle must be transformed into a political struggle.

4. The miners' fight just as the General Strike has shown the important role which must be played by the mass strike as a weapon in the arsenal of the proletariat.

5. The miners' fight proved that the workers cannot be victorious in a big struggle under the leadership of the old reformist leaders. Not only the reformists of Right and Left persuasions in Great Britain, but also the entire international reformism, the I. International, Amsterdam and the Miners' international have proved themselves disgraceful failures in this struggle. The workers cannot arrive at this truth except through their own experiences and the British coal strike was the most important recent experience of the international proletariat. The necessity of revolutionary, of Communist leadership not only in the ultimate struggle of the proletariat, but also in its struggle for the maintenance of its standard of life, is the most fundamental and important lesson and achievement of the miners' struggle.

## Theses on the Chinese Situation.

### I. IMPERIALISM AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

1. The Chinese revolution is one of the most important and powerful factors that disturb capitalist stabilisation. During the last two years, imperialism has suffered heavy defeat in China, the effects of which will be to cause the crisis of world capitalism to become more acute. As a result of the victorious advance of the Nationalist Army towards the North, imperialist domination has practically been swept off half the country.

The further victories of the revolutionary armies of Canton, supported by the broad masses of the Chinese people, will lead to the victory over imperialism, to the achievement of the independence of China and to its revolutionary unification, which will consequently increase its power of resistance to imperialist influence.

The failure of Sun Chuan-fang to stop the advance of the Canton Army has convinced the imperialist powers that the traditional method of using the native war-lords as instruments to crush the national revolutionary movement has become antiquated. At the same time mutual rivalry does not permit the imperialist powers to unite for open military intervention. Imperialism seeks new methods to meet the new situation. The new policy tends towards recognition of the Canton Government. American imperialism takes the initiative in this direction. Even England and Japan are considering recognition of the Canton Government as within the realm of practical politics. These are but diplomatic manoeuvres which cover sinister imperialist designs against the revolution.

2. The basic power of imperialism in China is in the monopoly of the entire financial and industrial life of the country. (Monopoly on the salt tax, mortgage of customs revenue, railways, waterways, mines, heavy industries are mostly owned by foreign capital). If this solid base can be maintained, imperialism will find in China a great help for the stabilisation of the capitalist system. With her vast population China is a market of unlimited potentialities. She may provide a very fruitful field for the investment of capital if the necessary political protection for this investment is guaranteed. Her enormous sources of raw materials have hardly been touched. Consequently, imperialism will make desperate efforts to crush the Chinese revolution which threatens to overthrow it. Failing to crush it by the traditional method of provoking civil wars or by eventual armed intervention, imperialism will endeavour to hinder the movement for national liberation which develops along revolutionary lines.

In spite of the mutual antagonism among the imperialist powers the possibility of armed intervention still remains. Foreign intervention takes a peculiar form in China. Under present conditions imperialism prefers to intervene by means of organising civil wars and by financing counter-revolutionary forces against the revolution. Even at this moment attempts are made to unite the forces of Chang Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu and Sun Chuan-fang against the advancing nationalist army. It is obvious that this united counter-revolutionary front will be formed under the direction and with the help of imperialism. The victory of the revolution in China will mean such a severe blow to world capitalism that the imperialist powers will try by every means to crush it.

3. From the point of view of external conditions the Chinese Revolution — by the mere fact of its anti-imperialist character — is an inseparable part of the international revolution. This circumstance is combined with the following important factors in China favourable for the further development and intensification of the Chinese Revolution.

- a) Mutual rivalries of the imperialist powers in China, which weaken the positions of world imperialism.
- b) The crisis of world capitalism.
- c) The growth of the proletarian movements in Western Europe. An open armed intervention in China is sure to be resisted by the working class in the imperialist countries.
- d) The development of national revolutionary movements in the colonies which, in their turn, must grow as a result of

the influence of the further development of the Chinese revolution.

e) The existence of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., the geographical propinquity of the latter to China and the remoteness of China from the principal centres of the economic, military and political power of the imperialist States.

### II. SOCIAL FORCES OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THEIR REGROUPING.

4. Side by side with the rapid development of the national revolutionary movement the social forces involved in it are thrown into an equally rapid process of regrouping. The national revolution in China develops amidst peculiar conditions which radically distinguish it from the classical bourgeois revolutions of Europe in the last century as well as from the 1905 revolution in Russia.

The principal distinguishing feature is the semi-colonial state of China and its dependence upon foreign imperialism. Another factor that distinguishes the Chinese revolution from the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the past is that it is taking place in a period of world revolution as an integral part of the world-wide movement for the overthrow of capitalist society. This factor will determine the history of the Chinese revolution and the grouping of the social forces involved.

The class forces of the Chinese revolution develop on the background of extreme economic backwardness, which is the result of the low state of development of industrial capitalism, the primitive technique employed in agriculture, the incredibly low standard of life of the overwhelming masses of the Chinese population and the numerous survivals of a semi-feudal character which are being destroyed by the pressure of the revolutionary armies, which are drawn into the struggle of the toilers of the town and country.

The principal feature of the present economic state of China is the variety of economic forms prevailing in the country, ranging from finance capital to the economic survivals of patriarchal tribal society, the predominant form, however, being merchant capital, and petty manufacture and home industry in town and country.

This to some extent hinders the process of class differentiation, and explains the inadequate state of organisation of the principal social-political forces of the national revolution.

Of equal importance is the process of collapse of the central apparatus of the State, which has been going on since the interrupted revolution of 1911 and with greater acceleration in the last few years, and the establishment in a considerable portion of the country of the domination of the military-political organisations of Chinese militarism.

Chinese militarism represents a socio-political force which, at the present time dominates over a large portion of the territory of China. The peculiar feature of Chinese militarism is that, while it represents a military organisation it is also one of the principal channels of primitive capitalist accumulation in China, resting upon a whole system of State organs of a semi-feudal character. The existence of the State organisation of Chinese militarism is determined by the semi-colonial state of the country, the dismemberment of the territory of China, the backwardness of Chinese economy and the extreme state of agrarian over-population in the rural districts of the country.

The development of the national revolutionary movement in China at the present time rests upon the agrarian revolution. The economy of the Chinese village presents a picture of numerous survivals of a semi-feudal character closely interwoven with elements of developing capitalism.

The extreme backwardness of Chinese economy generally, the manner in which landed property is divided up into minute allotments, the fact that an enormous proportion of the agrarian population are tenant-farmers or semi-tenant-farmers, the primitive state of technique both in small and large agricultural enterprises, the extreme agrarian over-population, and simul-

taneously with this, the development of commercial agriculture, and the process of class differentiation going on in the villages renders the general situation in the rural districts of China extremely complicated.

As a consequence of objective circumstances, the class struggle in the rural districts of China reveals a tendency to develop in the following directions, — against foreign imperialism, against Chinese militarism, against the survivals of large land ownership, against the petty-squire landowners, — the so-called gentry — against the merchant-usurer capitalists and against the upper wealthy strata of the village.

5. The successive stages of development of the revolutionary movement in China are marked by important regroupings of social forces. In the first stage the driving force of the movement was the national bourgeoisie, bourgeois intellectuals and students which sought support in the ranks of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie.

In the second stage the character of the movement changed — its social basis was shifted to a different class combination. New and more revolutionary forms of struggle developed. The working class (particularly the industrial proletariat) appeared on the arena as political factor of first class importance.

Economic strikes are merging into political struggles against imperialism and are acquiring an exceptionally important world historical significance. The proletariat is forming a bloc with the peasantry (which is actively taking up the struggle for its interests) with the petty, urban bourgeoisie and a section of the capitalist bourgeoisie. This combination of forces found its political expression in corresponding groups in the Kuomintang and in the Canton Government. Now the movement is at the beginning of the third stage on the eve of a new class combination. In this stage the driving forces of the movement will be a bloc of still more revolutionary nature — of the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, to the exclusion of a large section of the big capitalist bourgeoisie. This does not mean that the whole bourgeoisie as a class, will be excluded from the arena of the struggle for national emancipation, for besides the petty and middle bourgeoisie, even certain strata of the big bourgeoisie may, for a certain period, continue to march with the revolution.

At this stage, the hegemony of the movement passes more and more into the hands of the proletariat.

In this transition of the national liberation movement to an acute revolutionary stage the bourgeoisie see that under the leadership of the proletariat the anti-imperialist struggle is getting beyond their control and objectively menaces their class interests. They endeavour to regain their leadership objectively to destroy the revolution. They try to influence the movement with the ideology of bourgeois nationalism as against the ideology of the class struggle.

6. Parallel to this regrouping of the class forces of revolution proceeds the crystallisation of the forces of counter-revolution. This process in its turn is closely related to and influenced by imperialist politics just as the development of the revolutionary forces is related to and influenced by the forces of world revolution. (U. S. S. R. and Western Proletariat.)

Chan Tso-lin, Wu Pei-fu and San Chuan-fan tend to unite their forces to oppose the victorious revolutionary movement. This counter-revolutionary bloc is formed under the influence and with the help of imperialism. The big industrial bourgeoisie show increasing signs of vacillation and incline towards an agreement with foreign capital under the latter's domination. Finding that the war lords are not fully effective instruments for crushing the revolutionary movement, imperialism seeks other allies inside the nationalist movement by the policy of reconciliation. Imperialism seeks to induce the nationalist bourgeoisie to part company with the revolutionary bloc. To strengthen the agents of imperialism inside the nationalist movement, sections of the big bourgeoisie and even militarists, who up till now stood out of, or were hostile to the nationalist revolutionary struggle, express solidarity with the Canton Government. The object of this move is to wrest the leadership of the movement for national revolution from the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, and thereby to stem the tide of revolution. Imperialism stands behind all these manoeuvres of the forces of counter-revolution.

In this transitional period, when the gradual abandonment of the revolution by the big bourgeoisie is historically inevitable, the proletariat must, of course, widely utilise all those

strata of the bourgeoisie which are at the present time actively engaged in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and militarism.

On the other hand, the proletariat and its Party must take tactical advantage of the antagonisms prevailing in those strata of the bourgeoisie which are abandoning the revolution and also of the antagonisms between the imperialist groups, without losing sight, however, of the principal aims, to which they must subordinate all their strategical manoeuvres and tactical moves.

### III. THE GENERAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

7. Looked at from the point of view of class groupings the general perspectives of the Chinese Revolution become very clear. Although historically the Chinese Revolution in its present stage of development is a bourgeois democratic revolution, it is bound to assume a wider social character. The outcome of the Chinese revolution will not necessarily be the creation of political and social conditions conducive to the capitalist development of the country. Taking place in the period of capitalist decline it forms part of the general struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. The structure of the revolutionary state will be determined by its class-basis. It will not be a purely bourgeois democratic state. The State will represent democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry and other exploited classes. It will be a revolutionary anti-imperialist government of transition to non-capitalist (Socialist) development.

The Communist Party of China must exert all its efforts to realise this revolutionary perspective of transition to lines of non-capitalist development. Otherwise, i. e. in the event of a victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the restoration of the leading role of the bourgeoisie, the actual domination over the country will pass into the hands of the foreign imperialists, although this domination may take new forms.

8. The future development and the perspective of the Chinese revolution are primarily dependent on the role of the proletariat. The events of the last two years have proved that a revolutionary fighting national front can be organised only under the leadership of the proletariat. The struggle against the hegemony of foreign capital can be successfully carried on only under the hegemony of the proletariat. This is the basic principle determining the tactics of the Chinese revolution.

The feudal military cliques that exercise political power over a considerable part of the country represent forces of reaction and are agents of imperialism. The native bourgeoisie is comparatively undeveloped and weak as a class. The economically strongest section of the bourgeoisie (financial and compradors) is so closely connected with foreign capitalism through commercial and financial bonds that they have never participated in the anti-imperialist struggle. The industrial bourgeoisie marched with the national revolutionary movement so long as it preserved purely a bourgeois democratic character; but on the first signs of revolution they either desert the revolutionary cause or manoeuvre to sabotage it. The petty bourgeoisie (middle class intellectuals, students, artisans, small traders, etc.), constitute a revolutionary force in a country like China. They have played an important role in the past and will do so in the future. But they are not able to act independently, they must either march with the bourgeoisie or with the proletariat. When the bourgeoisie deserts the revolution or conspires against it the exploited middle classes come under their revolutionary influence of the proletariat. Under these conditions the moving force of the Chinese revolution in its present stage is the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat is the dominating factor of this bloc.

### IV. NATIONAL REVOLUTION AND THE PEASANTRY.

9. In the present transition stage of the development of revolution the agrarian question assumes the acutest forms. It is the central point of the present situation. The class which will boldly tackle this basic question and be able to give a radical answer to it will be the leader of the revolution. Under given conditions in China the proletariat is the only class that is in a position to carry on the radical agrarian policy which is a condition for the successful outcome of the anti-imperialist struggle and further development of the revolution.

The power of Chinese militarism lies in the support on the one hand, of foreign imperialism and, on the other hand, of the native landowning classes. The domination of the militarists is based on the semi-feudal system of bondage, oppression and exploitation of hundreds of millions of peasants upon the military bureaucratic apparatus of power, the landlords, the gentry and the merchant usurer capitalists. It is a system which is based on the total lack and shortage of land among the peasants who are thus compelled to place themselves in bondage to the landlords and the usurers or fill the ranks of the millions of coolies in the towns and in the armies. The tasks of overthrowing the tyranny of the imperialists and the abolition of all survivals of old feudal relations, the task of national liberation, the struggle for the revolutionary reform of internal social relations are organically connected with each other and represent the single task of the Chinese revolution.

To overthrow the Warlords completely, the economic and political struggle of the peasantry, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, must be developed as a part of the anti-imperialist struggle. The apprehension that a sharpening of the class struggle in the village will weaken the united anti-imperialist front is unfounded. The rout of the Second People's Army, not by forces of counter-revolution, but by the revolt of the discontented peasantry indicates the danger of this situation. Not to approach the agrarian question boldly by supporting all the objective political and economic demands of the peasant masses is positively dangerous for the revolution. Not to place the question of agrarian revolution in a prominent place on the programme of the national-liberation movement for the fear of alienating the dubious and treacherous co-operation of a section of the capitalist class is wrong. It is not the revolutionary politics of the proletariat. The Communist Party must be free from such mistakes.

10. A peculiar feature of the present situation is its transitional character, in which the proletariat must choose between the perspective of a bloc with a considerable section of the bourgeoisie and the perspective of further strengthening its own alliance with the peasantry. If the proletariat will not put forward a radical agrarian programme, it will fail to attract the peasantry into the revolutionary struggle and lose the hegemony in the national liberation movement. The bourgeoisie under the direct or indirect imperialist influence will regain the leadership of the movement. This eventuality, in the present conditions, will mean strengthening the position of foreign capital in China — stabilisation of imperialism.

The National Government of Canton will not be able to retain power, the revolution will not advance towards the complete victory over foreign imperialism and native reaction, unless national liberation is identified with agrarian revolution. The growing process of class differentiation in the rural districts sharpens the struggle between the mass of the peasantry and the exploiting classes. This class differentiation and the severe struggle resulting therefrom must receive the closest attention of the Communist Party which must take command of the peasant movement and develop it by means of economic and political slogans suitable to the situation.

11. While recognising that the Communist Party of China should advance the demand for the nationalisation of the land as its fundamental plank in the agrarian programme, the proletariat, it is necessary at the present time, however, to differentiate in agrarian tactics in accordance with the peculiar economic and political conditions prevailing in the various districts in Chinese territory.

On the question of power which has already been raised by the peasant movement, the Communist Party of China must support the striving to overthrow the tyranny of the gentry and the rural officials in the villages, to substitute the old semi-feudal bureaucracy by minor organisations of revolutionary power which shall carry out the decrees of the revolutionary government and protect the interests of the principal masses of the peasantry. The peasants must participate in the establishment of the country administrations.

The programme of the agrarian revolution must bear a concrete form in the territories under the authority of the Kuomintang national government. The Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang must immediately carry out the following measures in order to bring over the peasantry to the side of the revolution;

- a) To reduce rents to the minimum.
- b) Abolition of the numerous forms of taxes imposed upon the peasantry and the introduction of a single, progressive agricultural tax.
- c) To regulate to the maximum and to reduce to the utmost the burden of taxation now being borne by the principal masses of the peasantry.
- d) Confiscation of monasterial and church lands and lands belonging to the reactionary militarists, compradores, landlords and gentry, who are carrying on civil war against the Kuomintang national government.
- e) To guarantee perpetual leases to the tenant farmer of the land which he cultivates, the fixing of maximum rents jointly by the peasant unions and the representatives of the revolutionary authorities.
- f) The Canton Government must render the utmost support to the interests of the peasantry, and particularly protect the peasants from the oppression and encroachments of the landlords, gentry and usurers.
- g) Disarming the Ming Tuan and other armed forces of the squire.
- h) Arming the poor and middle peasants and the subordination of all armed forces in the rural districts to the revolutionary authorities.
- i) The government to give the maximum support to the peasant organisations, including the peasant unions.
- j) To grant loans to the peasantry, at low interest. Determined measures to be taken to suppress usury and support to be given to the various peasant mutual aid organisations.
- k) State aid to the co-operatives and similar mutual aid organisations.

12. It is the task of the Communist Party to see that the Canton Government enforces these measures as a transition to a more developed stage of agrarian revolution. This very important task will be carried on through the organisation of peasant committees under Communist leadership. In process of the development of the revolution the peasant committees will assume the authority and power needed for the enforcement of the above demands and intensify the struggle by putting forward more radical demands. The peasants' committees will be the basis of the People's Government and the People's Army in the rural areas.

In the parts of the country still controlled and dominated by reactionary militarists the task of the Communist Party is to lead the peasantry against feudalism, militarism and imperialism. In those areas revolutionary work among the peasantry is of particularly great importance because this will be the surest way of disintegrating the reactionary armies. The Communists must utilise all the spontaneously arising peasant organisations like the "Red Spears" and strengthen their influence among them.

13. The attitude of the peasantry towards the revolution is largely determined by the behaviour and action of the nationalist armies. It is by the good or bad behaviour of the revolutionary armies that the peasantry judge the nature of the new government. Upon the conduct of the revolutionary army, upon its attitude towards the peasantry and landlords, upon its readiness to assist the peasantry depends the attitude of the peasantry towards the new government. It is a fact that the revolutionary army in China is enthusiastically welcomed by the peasant masses whenever it comes. But it is also a fact that this enthusiasm subsides in course of time. Exigencies of a prolonged and difficult military campaign impose additional burdens on the peasantry. The enthusiastic support given by the peasantry to the revolutionary armies will be durable if the Communists and other revolutionary elements leading the movement will know how to compensate the temporary burdens imposed on the peasantry by a correct and bold agrarian policy. The revolutionary armies will strike root in the peasant masses as the standard bearer of agrarian revolution.

## V. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE KUOMINTANG.

14. The supreme necessity of influencing the peasantry also determines the relation of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang and the relation of the Canton Government. The apparatus of the National Revolutionary Government provides a very effective way to reach the peasantry. The Communist Party must use this way.

In the newly liberated provinces state apparatuses of the type of the Canton Government will be set up. The task of the Communists and their revolutionary allies is to penetrate into the apparatus of the new government to give practical expression to the agrarian programme of national revolution. This will be done by using the State apparatus for the confiscation of land, reduction of taxes, investment of real power in the peasant committees, thus carrying on progressive measures of reform on the basis of a revolutionary programme.

15. In view of this and many other equally important reasons the point of view that the Communist Party must leave the Kuomintang is incorrect. The whole process of development of the Chinese revolution, its character and its perspectives demand that the Communists must stay in the Kuomintang and intensify their work in it. In order to intensify their activities inside the Kuomintang with the object of pushing the revolutionary movement to higher stages of development the Communists should enter the Canton Government. Since its foundation the real power of the Canton Government was in the hands of the Right Wing Kuomintang (five out of the six commissars belong to the Right Wing). In spite of the fact that the Canton Government could not exist without the support of the working class, the workers' and peasants' movement even in the Kwantung province laboured under various obstacles. Latest events have shown that the Communists must enter the Canton Government in order to support the revolutionary Left Wing in its struggle against the weak and vacillating policy of the Right. The extension of the authority of the Canton Government to a considerably larger territory of the country makes the question of the participation of the Communists in the national government still more imperative.

16. The Communist Party of China must strive to develop the Kuomintang into a real Party of the people — a solid revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the other oppressed and exploited classes which must carry on a decisive struggle against imperialism and its agents. For this the Communist Party must work on the following lines:

a) Systematic and determined struggle against the Right Wing and Tai Chi-tao ideology and their strivings to convert the Kuomintang into a bourgeois Party.

b) Definite formation of a Left Wing and establishment of close co-operation with it. The leadership of this Left Wing should not be mechanically captured by the Communists.

c) Consistent criticism of the centre which is vacillating between the Right and Left Wings — between the further development of the revolution and compromise with imperialism.

## VI. THE TASKS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

17. Lenin wrote: "while formerly, prior to the epoch of world revolution, movements for national liberation were a part of the general democratic movements, now however, after the victory of the Soviet Revolution in Russia and the opening of the period of world revolution, the movement for national liberation is part of the world proletarian revolution".

The programme of the Chinese Revolution and the structure of the revolutionary State created by it should be determined from the point of view of this conception. The process of class differentiation that follows the development of the revolutionary movement bears out this conception. The Canton Government, in spite of its bourgeois democratic character, essentially and objectively contains the germs of a revolutionary petty bourgeois state — a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois democratic movement becomes revolutionary in China because it is an anti-imperialist movement. The Canton government is a revolutionary State primarily owing to its anti-imperialist character. Being primarily anti-imperialist the Chinese revolution and the government evolving out of it must strike at the root of imperialist power in China. Repudiation of unequal treaties and abolition of the territorial concessions will not be sufficient to weaken the position of imperialism. The blow must be dealt at the economic basis of imperialist power. This means the revolutionary government must eventually confiscate the railways, con-

cessions, factories, mines, banks, business houses owned by foreign capital. By this act it will immediately outstrip the narrow boundary of bourgeois democracy and enter into the stage of transition to a revolutionary dictatorship.

Thus, it is a mistake to limit the immediate tasks of the Chinese revolution to 1. overthrow of imperialism, and 2. liquidation of the remnants of feudalism, on the ground that in the first stage this revolution bears a bourgeois democratic nature. The Chinese revolution cannot overthrow imperialism without exceeding beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy. In the present conditions in China the proletariat will lead the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle. A movement for the liquidation of feudalism led under proletarian hegemony is bound to become an agrarian revolution. In view of these peculiarities of the situation the tasks of the Chinese revolution become:

a) Nationalisation of railways and waterways;

b) Confiscation of large enterprises, mines and banks having the character of foreign concessions;

c) Nationalisation of land to be realised by successive radical reform measures enforced by the revolutionary state.

## VII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PROLETARIAT.

18. To play the dominant role in the revolution the Chinese proletariat must solidify its class organisation — political and economic. To organise and train the proletariat for this historic role is the primary task of the Communist Party. The numerical weakness and youthfulness of the Chinese proletariat must be counter-balanced by the strength of organisation and clarity of ideas.

The General Federation of Trade Unions embracing 1,200,000 industrial workers as well as the national railwaymen's and seamen's unions are the basis of the Communist Party. To strengthen these organisations by drawing in broader masses of workers is the immediate task of the Communist Party. In the national revolutionary struggle of the last two years the working class has displayed tremendous power. In actual struggle it has won the hegemony in the revolutionary movement. On the basis of these traditions and achievements the working class organisations must be further strengthened and developed on the following lines:

a) Creation of mass industrial unions, the unification of all unions on an industrial basis, the strengthening of the Chinese Federation of Trade Unions; b) intensification of work among the masses, strengthening of contact of the leading trade union organs with the wide masses of Chinese workers; attraction into the trade unions of handicraft workers as well as industrial workers, artisans, those working in small enterprises and cultural-educational workers; c) greater attention to the economic struggle of the workers which should be combined with the political struggle; elaboration of tactics for the strike movement; organisation of mutual aid and strike funds; support in the formation of co-operatives, etc.; d) intensification of educational work in denouncing the methods of the reformists before the masses of the workers; e) strengthening of contact between the Chinese trade union movement and the world trade union movement, especially the trade union movement of the Far Eastern countries.

19. In order to attract the bulk of the working class into the movement and strengthen its position in the national revolution, the Chinese Communist Party should agitate for the realisation of the following demands:

a) Complete freedom of activity of the revolutionary peasants' and workers' organisations. Legalisation of the trade unions. Enactment of advanced trade union laws. Right to strike.

b) Labour legislation; eight-hour day; weekly day of rest; minimum wage.

c) Social legislation. Sanitary inspection of working conditions; housing; insurance against illness, injury, disablement, unemployment. Protection of labour of women and children. Prohibition of night work for women. Prohibition of child labour under 14 years of age in factories.

d) Institution of factory inspection.

e) Abolition of the system of fines and corporal punishment.

f) Withdrawal of all kinds of military units and police detachments from the factory premises.

g) Measures to deal with unemployment; extension of trade union influence over the unemployed; organisation of labour exchanges by trade unions.

20. At the present stage a great reservoir of revolutionary energy which has not been fully utilised, is that of the artisans and handicraft workers who comprise the majority of the population of the Chinese towns. These are ruined by imperialism and are hostile towards the oppression by foreign capitalism. The Communist Party must extend its influence to these workers with the object of drawing them into the common stream of the national-revolutionary movement. Particularly, for this purpose the Communist Party in relation to these strata must strive to secure the following; 1) the alleviation of tax burdens; 2) organisation of handicraft and artisan workers' unions; 3. organisation of labour cartels.

### VIII. THE ORGANISATIONAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.

21. The Communist Party of China is an organised force. It has its leaders, it is establishing its cadres and is leading the masses. The work of the Communist Party of China has acquired a fairly considerable sweep, and a stable form of organisation. During the last half year, the Party has considerably increased numerically, the greater proportion of the new members being workers.

The peasants are not drawn into the Party in sufficient numbers. Nevertheless, the Party at the present time is increasing its activities among the peasantry.

One of the most important tasks which confronts the Chinese Party at the present time is the task of widening, intensifying and improving the work of Party training.

The Party has done considerable work in organising the Young Communist League. The Young Communist League of China recently has grown numerically and is active in a number of branches of work. The youth is a tremendous revolutionary force in China. The revolutionary students, the young workers and the peasant youth, all these represent a force which

could make the revolution advance rapidly if they were subordinated to the intellectual and political influence of the Communist Party. No one realises the imperialist oppression so profoundly and sensitively, no one realises the necessity to fight this oppression so acutely as does the youth. This circumstance must be taken fully into account by the Communist Party of China and by Chinese revolutionaries and should induce them to intensify their work among the youth.

One of the fundamental tasks of the Party is, to fight for the right to exist openly.

22. Systematic work must be conducted for recruiting new members, principally in the industrial districts. The new members must be trained by means of short-term courses, special lectures on the question of programme and tactics and also by drawing them into the everyday work in their respective nuclei, and through the latter in the general Party work.

It is necessary to develop collective leadership in the Party in all stages of the Party organisation from the Central Committee to the factory and street nuclei. Party leadership must be strengthened by energetically drawing in the best Party workers.

Persistent efforts must be made to strengthen and increase the Party cadres. Special attention must be paid to training nucleus secretaries, leaders of fractions and mass organisations and the leading personnel of district and regional Party committees. The Central Committee and regional committees must have their permanent travelling instructors, who shall be selected from among the best of the local Party workers.

Cadres of travelling organisers must be established for work in the rural districts.

Increased activity and initiative must be encouraged among the lower Party organisations, nuclei and general meetings of Party members, etc.

The fractions, particularly in the trade unions, in the leading organs of the peasant leagues and local organisations of the Kuomintang must be strengthened. Systematic, firm Party guidance of the work of the fractions must be maintained.

## *Trustification, Rationalisation and our Tasks in the Trade Unions.*

1. Numerous events have taken place in world economy and particularly in European economy, which must be taken into account in order to determine our future tactics. These events are as follows: 1) The feverish trustification and concentration of production within national boundaries; 2) the establishment of international trusts and cartels; 3) the rationalisation of the process of production. These events taking place in different combinations, in the different European countries introduce something new in the disposition of the conflicting forces and compel us to study with special care the new relations which are developing under new conditions between classes and within the working class itself. All these phenomena, which are acquiring a mass character, demand from the Comintern and the Communist Parties an orientation and tactic that are adapted to the new conditions. European capitalism is seeking a way out of the cul-de-sac in which it now finds itself by means of rationalising production and Americanising the labour movement. Thus, the masses of the workers have not only to meet a frontal attack upon their standard of living, but also an out-flanking movement, the object of which is to weaken and break the resistance of the working class and its organisations and to clear the road for the conquest of new markets by cheapening production, by the reduction of the number of workers employed and more intense exploitation of labour power. These new facts must serve as our starting point in determining our tactics.

2. The trustification of industry within single states is proceeding parallel with the establishment of international trusts and cartels (metallurgical trust, copper trust, etc.) for the purpose of abolishing competition on the basis of increased prices for the time being within the limits of the continent of Europe. These gigantic combines, embracing the largest branches of industry of a number of countries, and which divide spheres of influence and exploitation among themselves, aim at securing for themselves the monopoly of the market and consequently their aim is to raise prices and to combat every possible demand

put up by the working class. These combines are weapons internationally organised in the fight for depressing the conditions of the working class and lowering their standard of living. These trusts and combines are assuming a character profoundly dangerous for the working class, owing to their gigantic financial resources and the influence which they have upon the entire apparatus of the bourgeois state.

3. Simultaneously with the trustification of production and the combination of the largest branches of industry in a number of countries, there is going on a process of the rationalisation of production, which aims at applying American technique and American methods to the organisation of labour on the European continent. At the present time rationalisation of production is the most important instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie of European countries, directed on the one hand against their European and American competitors and against their own working class on the other. In order at all costs to resist the growing competition of America and retain the old markets in their hands, the European bourgeoisie, and particularly its vanguard the German bourgeoisie, is devoting its attention to the Americanisation of the whole of its productive apparatus. This process of Americanisation is making rapid strides. The aim of this Americanisation is to reduce the cost of production, to facilitate the struggle on the foreign market and to create conditions under which it will be possible to meet the competition of the United States. Thus, the Americanisation of production aims at emancipation from the growing hegemony of America, and to increase the capacity to compete in the struggle against European rivals.

4. Rationalisation has special features in each individual country; rationalisation in Europe, originating in a period of the restriction of production, differs in character from rationalisation in the United States, where it is carried out on the basis of expanding production.

The process of rationalisation, especially in Europe, is hampered by the existence of obsolete enterprises, obsolete

equipment and the consequent necessity for making large fresh investments and basic re-equipment of enterprises (for example the coal industry in England). This explains the increased pressure brought to bear on the working class by the bourgeoisie for the purpose of transferring the burden of rationalisation upon the masses of the workers.

The first direct result of the introduction of rationalisation is that millions of workers have been thrown out of industry. Present-day unemployment, particularly in Germany, is of a specific nature. The increase in the amount of commodities produced has assumed a permanent character. This means that large sections of the workers are simply superfluous in national economy. This gives the bourgeoisie greater freedom to manoeuvre in their fight against the working class, and on the other hand creates fresh difficulties for us in carrying out our policy. Rationalisation reduces the number of workers employed in production and creates a permanent reserve army of labour which, in future, will weigh down with all its forces upon labour conditions and the standard of living of the masses of workers, and will most frequently be a harmful factor in all the battles between labour and capital.

5. Rationalisation leads to an increase in the number of women employed in industry. Technical and organisational improvement and the mechanisation of labour processes make it possible to employ unskilled labour, and especially women's labour to an increasing extent.

The influx of female labour into production and the relative substitution of male labour by female labour threatens to cause the competition within the working class to become more acute and cause a further deterioration in the conditions of labour of the entire proletariat. This danger is causing the revival of petty bourgeois tendencies in the ranks of the working class, reflected in the demand to expel women from industry and keep them confined to the narrow bounds of the household. The Communist Parties must sternly resist these tendencies. They must convince the workers that the struggle among the various strata of the working class weakens their own forces, and at the same time helps the employers to transfer the burden of unemployment to the workers' own shoulders. The Communist Parties must show that the only correct tactic to be adopted in the struggle against the capitalist offensive is to paralyse the bourgeois manoeuvre to split the working class, and to include the women workers in the united front of the proletariat.

6. The Americanisation of technique creates new conditions, not only in the factories and workshops, but also in the reformist labour organisations. In a number of countries, simultaneously with the Americanisation of the process of production, attempts are being made also to Americanise the labour movement (the starting of company unions in England, and *Werksgemeinschaften* in Germany, formation of sports organisations, etc., by State organs and institutions). Serious efforts are being made, which meet with the complete sympathy of the Amsterdamers, to introduce "business co-operation" from below and to interest the workers directly in every measure undertaken for the purpose of increasing the productivity of labour. Recently, the European bourgeoisie has been paying particular attention to the special role now played by the American Federation of Labour and the American forms of class co-operation (the Baltimore-Ohio Plan), in the victories of the American bourgeoisie in the world market. The American Federation of Labour and its policy serve as the model upon which the bourgeoisie thinks the European labour movement should shape itself and to which the European Social Democracy and Amsterdam unions are adapting themselves. These attempts to Americanise the trade unions are being made through the Amsterdam International and its national organisations, which is extremely characteristic of the present period of the labour movement in Europe.

7. On the general background of the centralisation of capital, the rationalisation of production, the combination of capital on an international scale and the planned and organised attack upon the standard of living of the working class, there is now being revealed with particular clarity a process of the masses of the workers parting company with the official apparatus of the reformist trade union movement. While the official apparatus of the reformist trade unions is approaching more and more to the State and the employers, while class co-operation is assuming the form of the grafting of the trade union apparatus to the employers organisations, tremendous discontent is growing among the masses. This discontent often bursts forth

in the form of seething strikes, and on each occasion such movements commence (as happened in England, Germany, etc.) the masses not only go further than the leaders, but are obliged to fight the leaders more fiercely than the employers and the police apparatus of the State. This separation of the masses from the leaders, which leads to the collapse of one strike after another, this fight on the part of the official apparatus of the trade unions to subordinate the masses to itself, the seething protest of the workers, which breaks through all rules, etc., make it necessary for the Communist Parties to devote special attention to questions of the economic struggle and to the leadership of the fight in conflicts between the masses and their trade union organs.

8. Capitalist rationalisation is causing disintegration and splits among the masses of the workers right in the factories and workshops. All the efforts of the employers are directed towards inducing a section of the workers and their organisations (factory committees, unions, etc.) to participate in rationalisation. Consequently, rationalisation brings forward with particular force the question of the **united front in the factory itself**, of uniting the workers of all tendencies for the purpose of fighting jointly against capitalist rationalisation and its consequences.

The attitude in principle of the Comintern towards rationalisation is indicated in the theses "The International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International" (paragraphs 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21).

The fighting slogans of the Communist Parties for the purpose of mobilising the broad masses of the proletariat should be: 1) the reduction of the working day in rationalised enterprises without curtailment of weekly earnings; 2) a compulsory midday break, 3) increased wages; 4) the establishment of factory committees in those countries where they do not yet exist, and to make revolutionary and extend the rights of the factory committees in those countries where they are established by law; 5) the reorganisation of the trade unions on industrial lines and on a factory committee basis; 6) increase and development of protection of labour and social legislation; 7) unemployed insurance at the expense of the State and the employers. Our programme must aim at protecting the workers against the continuous speeding up and intensification of labour, against the exhaustion of the workers and against those forms and methods of exploitation which are continuously introduced at the expense of the workers. Needless to say our practical programme of the everyday struggle is organically connected with our ultimate aim. In connection with rationalisation, our tactics must aim at drawing fresh strata of workers into the struggle on the basis of a concrete programme. Only by putting forward practical demands for each separate enterprise and groups of enterprises, will we be able to bring over onto our side, not only the workers who are employed, but also the millions of workers who are ejected from the productive process owing to rationalisation. Only in this way will we link up the interests of the employed workers with the interests of those workers condemned to continuous unemployment.

9. The question, which at the present time naturally acquires great significance, is that of **combining the workers according to industry**, — vertically. The centralisation of capital within separate countries and the rise of gigantic, international, capitalist trusts, raise the question of forming and reinforcing one organisation in each industry, organisations which should combine all the workers, vertically; organisations which shall be adapted to the changing forms of employers combines, in order to range the forces of the organised workers against the concentrated forces of capital. All the Communist Parties must intensify the struggle for **Industrial Unions**, for the reconstruction of the world trade union movement. It must be borne in mind that this is not only an organisation question, but a political question of enormous importance, the solution of which should assume definite organisational forms. Unless powerful industrial unions are formed in each country, unless real internationals according to industry are formed, the fight in the immediate future will be extremely hampered as a consequence of the disproportion of forces between the scattered organisations of the workers and the concentrated organisations of the employers.

The fight for the reorganisation of the trade unions should be waged simultaneously with an intense struggle against the monopolist prices established by the Trusts. As against the slogan of the Social Democrats for the State control of the

Trusts, the Communist Parties should advance, popularise and champion the slogan of workers' control of the Trusts and syndicates as the first step towards the socialisation of the important branches of industry and the transference of power to the hands of the working class.

10. The new conditions bring up with particular force the problem of the international united front and international unity. The General Strike and the Miners' Strike in Britain have brought about a number of changes in the correlation of forces; the disruption of the General Strike and the united front by the Amsterdam International and the General Council in sabotaging the miners resulted in the consolidation of the upper stratum of the Amsterdam International. All the differences which formerly existed between the General Council and the Amsterdam International have now practically disappeared. The General Council is now conducting the same policy that is being conducted by the Amsterdam International, and in this connection it may be said, that the defeat of the General Strike was to the advantage of the Amsterdam International to the same extent as the drift to the Right of the trade union apparatus in any country is to the advantage of those who voice the interests of the reactionary European bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. But the consolidation of the upper stratum of the Amsterdam International is proceeding parallel with the widening of the gulf between the upper stratum and the lower. There is not the slightest doubt that the British strike has roused new strata of the workers to political life in England and in other countries, it has confronted the workers with a number of questions which formerly did not exist for them; it has increased the discontent of the rank and file with the old policy; it has made the question of the duties of the international a practical question. The discontent of the masses in the present specific moment differs in character from the discontent which usually followed an unsuccessful fight hitherto. The discontent of the masses at the present time has already assumed organisational and political forms; it has led to the growth of the Minority Movement in England, it has accelerated the revolutionary tendencies in other countries and to confronting the international blacklegging of Amsterdam with the real internationalism of Moscow.

11. The antagonism between active internationalism and narrow bureaucratic nationalism led to the crisis of the Anglo-Russian Committee. The crisis of the Anglo-Russian Committee was caused by the acute differences between the Soviet and the British trade unions on the question of the General Strike and the miners' strike. The conflict arose from the fact that the Anglo-Russian Committee, which was formed for the purpose of conducting a joint struggle against the capitalist offensive for unity and against intervention, completely forgot all its obligations of which the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions reminded it by its frank and direct criticism as well as by its action. The conflict of the Anglo-Russian Committee raised the hopes of the Amsterdamers and all the Conservative elements in the international labour movement. The opponents of the Anglo-Russian Committee generally, and of the tactics of the Profintern in particular, assert that the crisis of the Anglo-Russian Committee arose as the result of the exacting attitude of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and of its "illegal interference" in the affairs of the British trade unions. The Social Democratic theory that the workers of one country should not interfere with the workers of another country runs counter to the very ideas of international and class solidarity. Hence the revolutionary workers have interfered, do interfere and will interfere in the future in the affairs of the workers of any country in order to render them aid in the fight against the theory of non-interference, which is a reflection of the relations existing between bourgeois States, and the example of the struggle within the Anglo-Russian Committee should be used to illustrate to the broad masses of the workers the difference between revolutionary tactics and reformist tactics.

12. The crisis of the Anglo-Russian Committee has provided our opponents with a pretext to speak of the failure of the whole tactics of united front and of unity. This reveals a failure to understand that we never regarded the tactic of the united front as a bloc of leaders and that it was never meant as the establishment of friendly relations between the leaders in the various countries. The aim of the tactics of the united front was to combine the workers of various tendencies and in various countries on the basis of their concrete struggle against capitalism, and to form a bridge between the revolutionary workers and the workers in the reformist organisations. This was and

is the principal aim of the tactics of the united front. No one will dare to declare that the contact between the Soviet proletariat and the British proletariat has weakened since the General Council refused to accept the programme of aid proposed by the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and refused to do anything practical to aid the victory of the miners. During this period the contact between the workers of the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain has become stronger. The strengthening of the contacts between the workers of the two countries is the result of properly conducted revolutionary tactics of the united front, expressed in determined action against the disruption of the Anglo-Russian Committee, and severe criticism of those who, while being members of the Anglo-Russian Committee, sabotaged the miners' strike and the General Strike.

13. Basing themselves on the consistent application of the tactics of the united front, the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. and the Presidium of the Comintern expressed their opposition to the break up of the Anglo-Russian Committee. The tactic of breaking up the Anglo-Russian Committee was based on the view that Communists in united front organs must either abstain from criticism or break up those organs, such dilemmas do not exist for Communists. While supporting their allies in the united front in all their measures and activities directed against capital, the revolutionary workers are bound at the same time to denounce their errors, hesitations, vacillations, defeatism, etc. In carrying out the united front we know what we want and with whom we are going. Insofar as freedom of criticism exists the break up of the united front organs would only cause harm. This is what happened in the concrete case of the Anglo-Russian Committee. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions strongly attacked the blacklegging and defeatism, of the General Council, but at the same time expressed its desire to expand and reinforce the Anglo-Russian Committee. If the Anglo-Russian Committee had been broken up on our initiative, under the present conditions, it would have meant a breach in our united front tactics. The tactics of breaking up the Anglo-Russian Committee were therefore properly condemned by the Comintern.

It is a matter of course that the formation and maintenance of united front organs should never be bound up with the relinquishment of freedom of criticism, because thereby the reformist leaders could injure the class struggle of the workers under the banner of unity. Under such circumstances, the organisational maintenance of such united front organs would be a definite infringement to the entire Communist policy.

14. The General Strike, the miners' strike and the sharp conflict which arose between the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and the General Council caused an important differentiation to take place in the whole of the reformist trade union movement affiliated to the Amsterdam International. Within the Left wing of the Amsterdam International, many re-groupings have taken place as follows: 1. a large section of the former Left wing leaders moved to the Right and approached nearer to the reactionary wing of the Amsterdam International; 2. considerable sections of the workers have approached nearer to the revolutionary minorities; 3. a section of the Left wing leaders strives to occupy a middle position and strives to preserve "neutrality" in the conflict between the All-Russian Central Council and the General Council; 4. a process of political differentiation has commenced in the unity groups where choice has to be made between two sets of tactics; reformist (General Council) and the revolutionary (All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions); 5. a certain section of the "Left" leaders has already commenced activity to oppose the revolutionary wing of the labour movement.

All these factors must be taken into consideration in determining the future line of conduct of the Communist Parties. The hesitation, vacillation and "neutrality" of Left and semi-Left leaders must be severely criticised. The Communist Parties at the present time must devote special attention to the left wing workers in the reformist unions. Mere criticism of the Amsterdam leaders is now not enough. It is necessary persistently and systematically to explain to the left wing workers the mistakes made by the left wing leaders. The example of the British strike must be used to compare left wing phrases to reactionary deeds. This systematic criticism of mistakes and vacillations of the lefts does not of course imply that they must not be supported when they proceed along the line of fighting capital.

15. Recent events have strikingly shown what an International should be and what it should not be. The conduct of the Amsterdam International and the Miners' International during the British strikes will for many years serve as an example of how an International should not act during gigantic social conflicts, for what the Amsterdam International did not only does not serve the interests of the British proletariat, but is a mockery of the elementary conception of internationalism and class solidarity in the literal sense of the word. On the other hand, the activity of the Profintern and the Soviet unions during the strikes showed by deeds what real international solidarity is. This lesson must be learned at all costs. It must be carefully studied and explained to the masses of the workers. The workers must learn not only that the Amsterdam International did nothing, but they must also understand why the Amsterdam International could not do anything; they must learn the causes which reduced the Amsterdam International and the Miners' International to the position of blacklegs. The Communist Party in every country must devote special attention to the tactics of the official trade union organs during the miners' strike and the role which the Amsterdamers in the given country played in breaking the strike.

16. The practical experience of the united front and the fight for unity have fully confirmed all the decisions made by the Comintern on this question. The united front has become a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class in all defensive and offensive fights. The struggle for trade union unity has roused the broad masses of the workers, who now know by experience who are the friends of unity and who are the enemies. It is important that the supporters of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. shall bring the idea of the united front and unity in the ranks of the masses and draw millions of workers into the struggle for unity. It is important that the adherents of the Comintern and Profintern shall link up the struggle for unity with the concrete programme of action, with the concrete needs of the working class.

The problem of the struggle for unity and the carrying out of the tactics of the united front under the present conditions (capitalist offensive under the flag of rationalisation, the process of differentiation in the reformist organisations, the widening gulf between the leaders and the rank and file, increased desires among the masses for unity, etc.) confronts us in a somewhat different form at the present time from what it did hitherto.

In view of the tremendous pressure of capital, the rapid deterioration of the standard of living of the working class, and the systematic withdrawal of former gains, the struggle for unity should naturally be based on a concrete programme of action. In every country this struggle must be adapted to the peculiar conditions of the period (unemployment, fascist terror, inflation, new organs of class co-operation, etc.) Only by doing this can we draw the masses practically into the struggle for unity.

In order to push forward the practical struggle for unity, the following is required: 1) the further strengthening and expansion of the revolutionary minorities on a national scale and according to industry, the establishment and support of new unity groups and broad opposition groups within the reformist unions; 2) the establishment of proletarian unity committees, agitation committees in factories and workshops as a transitional form of factory committees. These committees should be united in districts and on a national scale. Factory committees must be established where they do not yet exist, and existing factory committees be converted (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia) into organs for the fight for unity from below; 3) the formation of permanent or temporary joint unity committees of action of representatives of reformist and revolutionary unions for the joint struggle against capital; 4) the establishment of close contact between independent and revolutionary unions and revolutionary minorities within the reformist unions; 5) the organisation of the workers employed in enterprises belonging to international trusts in special international committees of action for joint struggle and the protection of their interests; 6) the despatch of workers' delegations to the U. S. S. R. and an exchange of workers' delegations between the most important countries for the purpose of mutually acquainting each other with the situation of the working class and its organisations in the respective countries; 7) struggle for international

unity committees according to industry; 8) struggle for single class internationals for every industry and for the united class international embracing the trade unions of all countries, all races and all continents.

Defence of the interests of the unemployed and linking them up with the employed should occupy an important place in our struggle for unity and the united front, otherwise, the whole problem of unity will be detached from the burning questions now confronting the masses of the workers and of special interest to them.

It is most important of all to link up the problem of unity with the direct struggle of the workers for their everyday demands, and only in so far as we succeed in linking up the problem of unity with these demands shall we succeed in carrying out the tasks that confront us.

17. In those countries where revolutionary and reformist trade union federations exist side by side (France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) our task is to secure the combination of these organisations and the establishment of a single trade union federation in each country. In those countries where only a small proportion of the workers are organised, special attention must be devoted to organising the unorganised workers in revolutionary unions. Success in this work will determine the correlation of forces and the degree of influence any revolutionary union can exercise upon the workers who still belong to the reformist unions. The more the revolutionary organisations become organisationally strong and fighting mass organisations, the more successful will be the struggle for unity. In this connection the situation in France and particularly the situation in the French railwaymen's union is extremely instructive. A division of labour exists between the Unitary and the Reformist Federation of Labour: the Unitary Federation leads the economic struggle, while the reformists, in conjunction with the employers, sabotage this struggle. The strengthening of a Unitary Railwaymen's Union will make this union a most important factor on the French railways. But even in such countries the Communist Parties must devote considerable attention to the establishment and concrete formation of their fractions in the Reformist trade unions and render every possible aid to the Opposition groups that are being formed in them (the Friends of Unity Group, etc.).

18. At the same time, the problem of organising the workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries confronts the Communist Parties more and more persistently. The Labour movement in these countries is growing with remarkable rapidity and before our very eyes is assuming finished forms in spite of the obstacles with which this movement meets on its way to definite formation. However, the differences in the wages and the standard of life created in the colonial and semi-colonial countries by the introduction of whole branches of industry, frequently representing the combination of modern technique and cheap labour, makes the problem of colonial labour a question of life and death for the workers in the old capitalist countries. Here, the experience of the older countries, the experience of the International and the experience of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary unions must play an exceptionally big role. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary unions in the home countries have a definite duty to perform towards the labour organisations in the colonies. The Communist Parties have not yet devoted sufficient attention to this question and this is perhaps the weakest link in their work. Only the first steps in this direction have as yet been taken, whereas it is precisely along this line that the tangle of questions that now confront us can now be solved.

In proportion as the labour movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will grow, the struggle for the independence of these countries will also grow. This struggle will weaken the imperialist States and the weakening of the imperialist States will be to the advantage of the labour movement in the home countries. All this is so closely interwoven and connected that only the power of tradition and the failure to devote sufficient attention to questions affecting the territories outside the boundaries of Europe, can explain the inadequate activity displayed in this sphere by the organisations affiliated to the Comintern and the Profintern.

19. In a number of countries the questions of labour emigration and immigration play an extremely important role. Hitherto,

this regulator of the labour market has been entirely in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The trade unions have exercised little influence upon the migrations of hundreds of thousands of workers, and for that reason, these masses have slipped from control, particularly of the revolutionary organisations. In those countries where the bourgeoisie is unable to influence the immigrant workers politically, Social Democrats come to their aid and see to it that they do not come under the influence of the revolutionary organisations in the places where they obtain employment (the work of the Socialist Party of Poland, in France). The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions must devote serious attention to these masses of workers, supply them with special literature in their own language, draw them into the local struggle, and make them equal participants in the everyday struggle and in winning over the general masses of the proletariat. The Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions, in those countries where migrations of workers take place, must draw up measures jointly to draw this category of workers into the international revolutionary movement.

20. The principal defects of the trade union work of the Communist Party as revealed by the experience of the past year may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a disproportion between the political influence of the Communist Parties and the organisational riveting of this influence in the trade unions.

2. The struggle against the expulsion of the Communists in the trade unions has not been conducted with sufficient system and energy.

3. The execution of decisions made by the Comintern in the field of trade union tactics is slow and long drawn-out.

4. The approach to the united front and unity struggle is, on the one hand, purely formal and agitational and, on the other hand, reveals impatience for unity and a desire for achieving unity at all costs.

5. Too little attention is paid to trade union questions in trade union work (questions of general politics, and Party life predominate over purely trade union and similar questions).

6. The conduct of campaigns is carried out with insufficient system and skill and insufficient preparation is made for conferences, congresses and trade union delegate meetings.

7. There is a lack of a sufficient number of qualified trade union workers while the best forces are systematically detached from trade union work.

8. The trade union press and literature is inadequate and the existing trade union press is overcrowded with questions of a general political nature.

9. The decisions of the Comintern concerning the formation, the strengthening and the extension of fractions in all trade union organisations from top to bottom are carried out extremely slowly and often in a formal manner.

All these defects are met with in varying degrees in almost all Communist Parties and it is for this reason that the influence of the Communist Parties in the reformist trade unions is increasing relatively slowly.

21. The problem of leading the trade union movement has now acquired special importance. The old trade union leadership in country after country is becoming bankrupt before our very eyes. What took place in England during the General Strike, what took place recently in Germany, what is taking place at the present time in Poland and in a number of other countries, shows that the whole of the old trade union leadership, that the whole of the reformist upper stratum has become so grafted with the apparatus of the bourgeois State, that not only is no aid to be expected from it in the struggle, but on the contrary only direct sabotage and even the disruption of the economic struggle may be expected. Certain sincere and honest workers react to this treachery by leaving the trade unions. This is desertion from the Trade Unions and should be resisted most determinedly. It is necessary to intensify the struggle inside the unions against reformist and in favour of revolutionary leadership. In this connection the Communist Parties must bring up the question of putting forward new cadres and training them and the question of recruiting new men for practical work, etc. Apart from political training, this question is connected with the carrying on of extensive educational work, the establishment of special trade union schools, etc. The training of new cadres is an extremely complicated question, because leaders do not spring up by waving a magic wand. The problem of leadership at the present time is the most important problem in the whole labour movement. Until we have established new cadres, until we have put forward new leaders and until these new leaders have won places for themselves in the trade union movement and have ousted the old bureaucracy, we shall not be able to capture the masses and lead them. That is why the Parties must concentrate profound attention on this urgent and pressing question.

\* \* \*

The above-mentioned tasks can be carried out only if every Communist will regard every action he takes and every slogan put forward from the point of view of winning the masses; it must not be forgotten that the Social Democrats and the Amsterdam Unions are still strong, that they are the most important element in the stabilisation of capitalism, that they stand across the path of development of revolutionary events, and that the primary task is to carry on a stubborn and undeviating struggle for the emancipation of the masses of the workers from reformist ideology. How can this be done? This can be done only by opposition to Amsterdam, not only by a good policy, but by good everyday practice. It must be admitted that in this sphere many of our organisations are still weak. Until our practice is brought up to the level of our policy we shall fail to win over the majority of the working class.

At the present time, when capitalism is making desperate efforts to extricate itself from the post war crisis, and when, with the aid of international Social Democracy it has succeeded in attaining partial stabilisation, it is especially necessary to carry on systematic work to win over the masses and to conduct a struggle for the vital everyday interests of the workers and to capture the unions by practical businesslike work in them, which is an important pre-requisite for success in the fight for our ultimate aims. The Comintern and all its Sections must concentrate their attention upon winning over the broad masses of the workers by all possible ways and means.

## Resolution on the "Russian Question".

The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. having discussed the question of the Opposition bloc in the C. P. S. U. declares:

1. The Opposition of the C. P. S. U., in its ideology, represents in practice a Right Wing danger within the C. P. S. U., sometimes concealed by Left Wing phrases.

2. The characteristic feature of the Opposition is its under-estimation of the internal forces of development of the U. S. S. R. This under-estimation is expressed in its denial of the possibility of the construction of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. believes that Soviet Russia is the principal organising centre of the international revolution. The Enlarged Plenum places on record that the C. P. S. U. in its past as well as in its present work has proved its inter-

nationalism not in words, but by deeds, and has represented a magnificent example of internationalism. The Enlarged Plenum considers the charges of narrow nationalism brought against the C. P. S. U. as slander. In taking its orientation in its work on the international revolution, and in considering that the final victory of Socialism is possible only as the victory of the world revolution, that only this revolution can guarantee the U. S. S. R. against wars and interventions and facilitate a still more rapid rate of economic development in the U. S. S. R., the C. P. S. U. is conducting an absolutely correct policy of Socialist construction in the firm conviction that the U. S. S. R. possesses in the country "all that is necessary and sufficient" for the complete construction of Socialist society. The denial of this possibility on

the part of the Opposition is nothing more nor less than a denial of the premises for Social Revolution in Russia, i. e. it is a Social Democratic deviation.

3. From this denial, i. e. from this opportunistic tendency logically follows the incorrect estimation of N. E. P. as a systematic retreat and nothing more (whereas as a matter of fact on the ruins of N. E. P. the U. S. S. R. is moving steadily in the direction of Socialism). From this follows also the incorrect estimation of the character of the State enterprises and the whole of the economy of the U. S. S. R., the exaggeration of the kulak danger, the failure to understand the paths of Socialist development in the villages, the incorrect estimation of the character of the State ("far from being a proletarian state" — Comrade Trotsky, and the declaration of Comrade Kamenev, etc.), and finally from it follows the assertion concerning the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship and the C. P. S. U., as well as the outrageous and bordering on counter-revolutionary statements about Thermidor. By all these absolutely incorrect and slanderous assertions the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. is rendering objective support to the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship and to the Communist renegades (Korsch, Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Souvarine, the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the International Social Democracy) in their endeavours to arouse in the ranks of the proletariat disbelief in the proletarian revolution and the possibility of constructing Socialism.

4. The Enlarged Plenum places on record that the position actually occupied by a number of the most important opposition leaders in connection with the most important questions of Socialist construction might have led to the disruption of the dictatorship and to the rendering of real aid to the bourgeois elements in the country. This position includes: the policy of high prices on manufactured goods, which would mean in fact a reduction of wages, the collapse of the chervonetz, a blow at the rural poor, aid to the kulak, and to the State economic apparatus becoming bureaucratic. The proposal to withdraw State Capital from trade on the pretext of accelerating industrial construction which would mean the domination of private capital in the sphere of circulation and its being directly linked up with the peasantry. The policy of excessive taxation of the peasantry which would lead to breaking down the sources of supply of raw materials for Socialist industry and to the destruction of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, etc.

5. The Enlarged Plenum observes the crying opportunist deviation of the Shliapnikov-Medvediev group (which is a part of the Opposition bloc) which came to talk about rehabilitating the Social Democratic leaders, about liquidating the Comintern and the Profintern and liquidating Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. The declaration of Comrades Shliapnikov and Med-

vediev in which they renounce the more frankly opportunist sections of their platform, once again emphasises that the policy of the C. P. S. U. in its fight against Right wing deviations, was absolutely correct and that the hearth of Right wing dangers within the C. P. S. U. is the Opposition bloc and its allies.

6. The Enlarged Plenum therefore places on record that the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. in fact, represents a Right wing danger in the Party, it conducted a fight against the Party thereby violating elementary Party rules, it rejects — in theory and in practice — the teachings of Lenin on the organisation question and after its complete defeat in the C. P. S. U., and even after its capitulation (see declaration of the 16th of October), it tried to carry the struggle into other Communist Parties, created a platform for all the Opposition elements in the Communist International and even outside of it, and in this way rendered a service to all the opponents of Communism.

7. In view of the above, the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. imposes the obligation upon all Sections of the Communist International to conduct a determined fight against all and every attempt on the part of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. and its followers in other Communist Parties to disturb the ideological and organisational unity of the ranks of the Communist International. And further, to carry on the struggle against the extremely dangerous consequences and influences which the propaganda of the Opposition, which is taken advantage of by our opponents, can have on the work of our Parties in winning over the broad masses of the international proletariat for the revolution and Socialism. It is particularly necessary to carry on this fight against the opposition at the present moment, when the imperialist States are striving to encircle the U. S. S. R., when the Social Democrats are supporting these tendencies, screening themselves behind pacifist phrases and when the Communist renegades (Korsch, Schwartz and others) are openly preaching that it is harmful to defend the U. S. S. R. against the imperialist States.

The Enlarged Plenum also imposes upon all Sections, and particularly upon the C. P. S. U. itself, the obligation by all measures to protect the unity of the Leninist Party, the leader of the first proletarian State in the world.

8. The Enlarged Plenum endorses the resolution of the XV. Conference of the C. P. S. U. on the Opposition bloc, which condemns the platform and work of the Opposition bloc as an expression of a Social Democratic deviation and as a menace to the unity of the C. P. S. U. and resolves to attach the resolution of the XV. Conference of the C. P. S. U. to the present resolution as the resolution of the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

## *Resolution on the Expulsion of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Scholem and Schwan from the C. P. G.*

In connection with the written protest of November 16, 1926, of the expelled members of the C. P. G. — Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Scholem, and Schwan, the VII. Enlarged Executive appointed a Commission for investigating the case of these five expelled people. In addition to the delegation of the C. P. G. this commission consisted of Comrades Kuusinen (Chairman), Comrade Humbert-Droz (Secretary), Comrade Bell (Great Britain), Comrade Semard (France), Comrade Haken (Czechoslovakia), Comrade Birch (United States), Comrade Furuboth (Norway), Comrade Platnitsky (Soviet Union), Comrade Pruchniak (Poland), Comrade Ercoli (Italy), Comrade Katayama (Japan), and Comrade Stutchka (Chairman of the I. C. C.). The Commission heard verbal testimony submitted by the appellants, all of whom appeared in person except Maslow, and examined the material relative to their exclusion. After thorough examination of the circumstances the Commission of the VII. Enlarged Executive unanimously came to the following finding.

1. The political group of appellants has already had several conflicts with the Communist International. Apart from former conflicts this conflict was specially dealt with by the Commission appointed by the E. C. C. I. in the autumn of 1925, on

the suggestion of which Commission, the E. C. C. I. addressed an open letter to all members and organisations of the C. P. G. Already at that time the representatives of the most important Parties pointed out that the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group had entered on a struggle against the Comintern. Comrade Zinoviev, at that time, said among other things, that the leaders of this group "consist of elements gone mad, who on the morrow might be found on the other side of the barricade." The VI. Enlarged Executive of March 1926 said in its resolution on the German question concerning the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group, that it "voices the defeatist frame of mind of the ruined, petty bourgeoisie", and that "it was bankrupt, politically, organisationally and morally".

2. The development of the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group since the last Enlarged Executive and finally its attitude before the Commission of the VII. Enlarged Executive has completely confirmed these statements. The appellants have not changed their anti-Communist point of view and their anti-Party actions on a single point. The Commission places on record that the appellants have sought by systematic faction work to disorganise the Party, to hinder it in its revolutionary work, to sabotage its mass campaigns (for the referendum, for the "Workers' Congress"). In political and organisational connection with the

Korsch group, the appellants worked for a split in the C. P. G. After their exclusion from the C. P. G. the appellants, despite their own promises, refused to give up their Reichstag seats but utilised them against the Communist Party to unite formally with Korsch, Schwarz and Katz in the parliamentary fraction known as the "Left Communists". The attitude of the appellants before the Commission showed clearly that they are neither Communists nor fighters of the Labour movement, but renegades of the proletarian revolution, who systematically direct the vilest attacks against the policy of the Comintern, the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Germany. The appellants made the shameless declaration before the Commission that Maslow could not come into the Soviet Union because neither he nor they had any confidence in the Soviet Union. Finally the renegades uttered the impudent threat before the Commission of the Enlarged Executive that they would "compromise", the Communist Party of Germany by certain public "exposures".

3. The anti-Communist development of the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group is by no means accidental, but is closely connected with the foreign policy of growing German imperialism, with the fact that the foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie, following the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, following the acceptance of the paragraphs permitting the passage of troops through German territory in any future intervention, is developing more and more in the direction of definite enmity towards Soviet Russia. The Right and "Left" leaders of German Social Democracy have adapted themselves to this as to every other change in bourgeois policy, and have increased their attacks against the Soviet Republic and against Bolshevism to the highest degree. Under the influence of this new bourgeois orientation there arose also in certain vacillating sections of the working class a basis for small groups hostile to the Soviet Union and the Comintern for the specific purpose of misleading the revolutionary workers. These groups are forced to veil their counter-revolutionary struggle against the Communist movement with "Left" pseudo-Communist phrases.

The most suitable cadres of this activity in the objective interest of the bourgeoisie are those petty-bourgeois camp followers of Communism, who entered the C. P. G. during the rise of the revolutionary wave, who after the October defeat of 1923, were for a time at the head of the Communist Party, and after the bankruptcy of their sectarian policy, when they were disappointed by the difficulties of the proletarian revolution and demoralised by the temporary stabilisation of capitalism, turned their back on the revolutionary front. These elements, heterogeneous in composition, involved in the most violent struggles amongst themselves, broke loose from the C. P. G. one after the other in the course of the past year. Whereas the Katz group, which broke off first, is now completely sunk in the slough of bourgeois corruption, whereas the Schwarz group can hardly be distinguished from the semi-Anarchistic Communist Labour Party, the Korsch group most openly and consistently represents the "Left" platform of the imperialist lackies: the denial of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the fight with all means against the Soviet power, the prevention of the proletarian struggle against the threatening intervention on the ground that this "would lead to a new August 4th", the splitting of the Comintern, the organisation of a new International, the disruption of the C. P. G.

4. Among these split off groups the Maslow-Ruth Fischer-Urbahns-Scholem group is distinguished for its lack of principle, which lends a certain pliancy to the fight against Communism. It has the following aim in common with Korsch and all other tendencies of "Left" anti-Bolshevism:

a) Slandering and fighting the Soviet Union, whose policy is considered to be the expression of bourgeois capitalist interests, and an obstacle to the International proletarian revolution.

b) Slandering and fighting the Comintern which is charged with being "Opportunistic" and "liquidatory", as "the continued approach toward Social Democracy", of "decay and disintegration". (Memorandum of Maslow group).

c) Slandering and fighting the Communist Party of Germany; the attempt to destroy the Party, i. e. to liquidate it; Korsch attempted to achieve this by attacks from without, Ruth Fischer and Maslow by attacks from within. It is only for these reasons that the appellants in their written appeal to the Executive say that "the members of the C. P. G. have no notion of the fundamentals of 'Communism'", that the Party exhibits "extreme weakness and degeneration", and "that the entire Party life is extinguished". It is only for this liquidatory purpose that the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group indulges constantly in a personal slandering and discrediting of all responsible Party workers.

While all their opinions differ from Korsch's point of view only in details, this group officially draws the line between itself and Korsch and all the more extreme groups, in order all the better to hide the anti-Communist content of its policy, and to avoid condemnation to that complete loss of influence which would be an inevitable consequence of open expression of anti-Communist aims. The Maslow-Ruth Fischer group uses the point of view and expressions of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U., in order to find a legal refuge for its anti-Party activity. Thus, there arises that double play so characteristic of this group, which avoids the expression of every clear point of view, which propounds vague and contradictory opinions, which change every day, and finally develops into a system of conscious and continued betrayals of the Comintern, of the members of the C. P. G. and of the very followers of this group.

5. The investigations of the Commission of the VII. Enlarged Executive once more show that the appellants are altogether lost to the revolutionary movement and to the labour movement. The Commission, which was composed of representatives of the most important Communist Parties of the whole world, unanimously declares that the opinions and actions of the appellants violate the programme and the basic principles of the Communist International (the inimical attitude towards the C. P. G., the Comintern and the Soviet Union). The Commission furthermore declares that the appellants have violated the statutes of the Communist International. Just as Urbahns, Scholem and Schwan rejected the minimum demands put to them by their own C. C. in respect of cessation of fraction work, the appellants who appeared before the Commission made no secret of the fact that they have no intention whatsoever of giving up their fractional activities. They insist that a Party member is not in duty bound always to appear at the request of the International Control Commission of the C. I. in order to answer the most serious charges touching his honour (such as injuring the interests of the revolutionary movement by unworthy conduct before a bourgeois court, as in the case of Maslow). The appellants showed by their own attitude that the reasons which led to their exclusion by the C. C. of the C. P. G. and to the endorsement of this expulsion by the Presidium of the E. C. C. I., were completely justified.

6. On the basis of these facts the Commission decided to propose to the VII. Enlarged Executive:

a) To confirm the expulsion of Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Scholem and Schwan from the C. P. G. and from the C. I.

b) To urge all conscious Party workers, who are devoted to the Communist cause, to break off all political and organisational connection with these agents of the class enemy and to fight against them ruthlessly as against all other social traitors.  
Moscow, December 16th, 1926.

## The Communist International to the Workers of Holland.

Wynkoop, expelled by the last Party Congress of the Communist Party of Holland, has misused the revolutionary name of the Communist International by describing the new party, which he recently organised, as a section of the Communist International. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive of the Communist International considers it its revolutionary duty to warn the Dutch proletariat against this attempt on the part of Wynkoop, Ravensteyn and Co., to deceive them. Wynkoop's organ claims that he and Ravensteyn were removed from the Communist International only by "force and coercion". The truth is, however, that Wynkoop, Ravensteyn and Co., have had serious differences of opinion on important questions with the world Party of Communism for years. The entire political development of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn in the past few years was a steady development away from the revolutionary principles and practice of the Comintern. At the end of 1922, Wynkoop declared in the Dutch Parliament that the treacherous party of the Dutch Social Democrats was a brother party of the Communist Party and put to the former the question:

"Whether there was not a basis on which our Parties, both Socialist parties, both having roots in the labour movement, and in Marxist teachings, — could take over the Government. There is no political reason, not a single serious motive, why we should not strive together as parties at the present time to carry on the defence struggle against capitalism, to attempt to find a common basis for forming a Government."

In this speech, Wynkoop predicted his own political development during the subsequent few years. To-day there is really no serious political reason, not a single serious motive which separates Wynkoop and Ravensteyn from Social Democracy. Wynkoop experienced all the pacifist illusions of the MacDonald Government; in 1923 he declared in a typical Social Democratic way that the German revolution was as little in the interest of Soviet Russia as in the interest of the German workers.

Neither Wynkoop nor Ravensteyn could free themselves from the imperialist attitude of Social Democracy towards oppressed peoples of the colonies. In one of his parliamentary speeches Ravensteyn declared (January 30th, 1925) in an effort to give the imperialistic Dutch Government good advice:

"I say to the Government: Give up the path you are following now. We too would prefer that the Government should attempt to lay quiet the impending storm in Indonesia by peaceful means."

Instead of favouring the independence of the people of Indonesia, Ravensteyn attempted to protect Dutch capitalism from the revolution of the Indonesian people. Ravensteyn voted in parliament for the shameful coolie ordinance, which by the severest penalties maintain the exploitation of the Indonesian people; together with the Social Democracy he declared in Parliament:

"It is quite clear that this law cannot be abolished at once, but that two to five years will be required."

By his false trade union policy, which oscillated between extreme opportunism and extreme sectarianism; by his deplorable passivity, which characterised his Party leadership in all fields, Wynkoop cut off the Communist Party of Holland from the great masses of the proletariat, as well as from the ideological growth of the Communist International. Apart from the objective difficulties, which actually do exist, it was the passive and sectarian party leadership of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn that was responsible for the stagnation of the Communist movement in Holland. It is true indeed, that Wynkoop broke with the Social Democracy decades ago, but actually he never freed himself from the fundamental point of view of the Social Democracy. He never developed into a revolutionist, into a Com-

munist, into a loyal follower of the revolutionary world Party of the proletariat — the Communist International. His attitude always revealed a certain provincialism. Within the Communist Party of Holland he exercised a real dictatorial power, but he was never willing to submit to international discipline, to the democratic centralism of the C.I.

When, at last he broke off from the C.I., he completely revealed his anti-Communist character. In Wynkoop's organ — for which Wynkoop is responsible — Ravensteyn attacks the Communist International, charges the Executive with "heresy hunting", speaks of Moscow's "ukazes"; he shamelessly slanders the Communist International and characterises it as "a new church with dogmas, that is with strict rules and articles of faith, with priests and with a mass of more or less stupid believers." Ravensteyn has gone so far as to attack the Communist Party of Holland in the vilest manner in a reactionary publication ("Fragen des Tijda") for which Fascists also write. He excused his attack on the ground that he wanted to appeal to a larger "public"; in reality he appealed to the bourgeoisie, for whose benefit he slandered the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Wynkoop's and Ravensteyn's paper compared the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union with the Fascist dictatorship of Mussolini in Italy, and at the same time complained that in the "political church" of the Comintern "there is no longer any room for independent opinions".

The Communist International, however, declares that there can be no room in the revolutionary world Party for "independent" opinions which are independent of the proletariat and of the revolution.

When Wynkoop and Ravensteyn had to choose between their false point of view, their dangerous opportunistic opinions and sectarian attitude on the one hand, and their adherence to the Communist International on the other, they chose the way of renegades. At first they did it with a sense of shame; following the split they formed a Committee for "appeal to the Communist International". Despite a number of invitations, however, they failed to come to Moscow. Neither did they take advantage of the opportunity offered by the Enlarged Executive to make an appeal. From a shamefaced split, they quickly went over to a shameless split. They organised their own "party", founded their own organ and put up their own candidates against the candidates of our Party.

The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive of the C.I. declares that the Communist International has no connection with the Party of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn. They have merely usurped the title of Section of the Communist International. The Communist International has only one Section in Holland, and that is our Dutch brother Party, the Communist Party of Holland. We appeal to all workers who have been misled by Wynkoop, Ravensteyn, and Co., who still believe that they can follow Wynkoop and still be loyal to the Communist International. These workers are labouring under misapprehension. Wynkoop's camp is a camp of renegades; these workers can fulfil their revolutionary duty only when they will abandon Wynkoop and return to the Communist Party of Holland.

Our Dutch brother Party is a small Party struggling in the face of a thousand difficulties; facing not only the power of the State, but also the powerful and dangerous Dutch Social Democracy. We urge all honest Dutch workers to follow and support the Communist Party of Holland, particularly now in its struggle for the emancipation and independence of the oppressed, Indonesian people, now bleeding in its heroic rebellion.

Long live the C.P. of Holland, the only Section of the Communist International of Holland! Long live the revolutionary unity of the Dutch proletariat!

Join the struggle against Dutch imperialism, for the liberation of Indonesia!

## *Resolution on the Boris Souvarine Case.*

The VII. Enlarged Executive resolves:

1. That Boris Souvarine be definitely expelled from the Communist International for counter-revolutionary propaganda.

2. That the organ directed by the Monatte-Rosmer group, the "Revolution Proletarienne", in which Souvarine writes, must be considered as a counter-revolutionary publication.

3. To request the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. formally to prohibit any member of the C.P.S.U. from employing Boris Souvarine in any capacity whatsoever.

4. That all Communists be forbidden to give any assistance literary or otherwise to the Monatte Rosmer group or to the "Revolution Proletarienne".

We believe that this resolution is necessary in order to make clear the position of the Communist Party towards Souvarine.

## *Resolution on the Brandler and Thalheimer Case.*

Having considered the appeal of Brandler and Thalheimer (November 20, 1926) for the repeal of the V. Enlarged Executive's decisions condemning the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer, and excluding them from activity in the C.P.G. and Comintern because of their factional activity, the I.C.C. proposed the following decision to the VII. Enlarged Executive of the E.C.C.I. which was carried.

While adhering to the condemnation of the political errors of Comrades Brandler and Thalheimer by the V. Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the VII. Enlarged Executive takes cognisance of the fact that in the course of the period which has elapsed since the V. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrades Brandler

and Thalheimer have refrained from conducting factional activity, thereby loyally carrying out the undertaking they gave to the I.C.C. to refrain from such work.

The Enlarged Executive resolves that section 2 and 4 of the decision of the V. Enlarged Plenum on the Brandler and Thalheimer case be repealed and that the comrades mentioned be given the opportunity to resume work in the Comintern. The question of utilising the comrades mentioned for German work is left to the C.C. of the C.P.G.

The decision is not to apply to Comrade Radek, for the reason that Comrade Radek has not refrained from factional activity in the period since the V. Enlarged Executive.