

and America and the countries of the Pacific, represented at the conference at Hankow must clearly understand that the cause of the Chinese workers is in fact the cause of the workers of all the world, and that the danger of war which the British imperialists are provoking by their attacks on China and the Soviet Union and their warfare against their own workers is a factor which by virtue of the common interests of the proletariat of East and West, must serve to unite the proletariat of the world.

## PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

### Resolution of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the Situation in Great Britain.

1. This Plenum re-affirms the July theses of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on the General Strike, in which the struggle of the British workers in May 1926 is treated as the turning point in the history of British Labour and also the resolution of the VII. Enlarged Executive on the British situation in connection with the defeat of the miners.

The prediction of the Enlarged Executive that the defeat of the miners would serve as a signal for the attack by the reactionary forces both on the internal and external front in Britain have been fully justified. Since the defeat of the miners, British imperialism has not only increased military intervention against the Chinese Revolution, but is also feverishly preparing a new war directed against the Soviet Union; while at the same time launching an attack on the trade unions, in order to weaken and destroy those basic organisations of the British working class.

2. The slight and temporary improvement in trade due to replacement of stocks following the heroic miners' struggle is now coming to an end, leaving the basic industries of the country without clear prospects of a real revival. The capitalist class seeks desperately to find a solution for this situation in launching further attacks on the working class and in engaging in warlike adventures, particularly against China, and in preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

3. The long series of provocations directed by the British Government against the Soviet Union, and, especially the raid on the Soviet Trade Delegation and the breaking off of trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the British Government's incitement of the border States to attack the Soviet Union, and the feverish activities in organising a Holy Alliance against the Soviets, on the other hand, reveal the true role of British imperialism as the chief danger to world peace.

This danger is further intensified by the fact that British imperialism's war against China and the ideological and technical preparations for world war on the part of the British Government, are openly supported by the leaders of the Labour Party like Snowden and MacDonald, and the leaders of the General Council, like Thomas. They have been assisted by the so-called Pacifists and "Lefts" who have continually lulled the working class with the legend that the gigantic campaign of the capitalist press against the Soviet Union and the military intervention in China were the work of a small group of Die-hards and were in no way a menace to peace. All activities of British imperialism confirm, however, the correctness of the position adopted by the Communist International and the Communist Party of Great Britain in warning the British workers and the workers of the world that the adventurous war policy of British imperialism is the result of its continued process of decline.

4. The Budget this year has shown a heavy deficit, leaving the Government, which does not dare to impose heavier taxation on its own supporters, with no resources to finance social reforms calculated to improve, however slightly, the condition of the working class. The Government is also unable to hold out to its petty-bourgeois supporters any hope of the tax-reductions or the trade revival which they were confidently promised by the Government's spokesmen at the last election.

In connection with the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union, loud protests are being made by industrial and

commercial circles which maintain that the Baldwin government is delivering blow after blow to industry and trade. Business circles correctly estimate the breaking of relations with the Soviet Union as the loss of a market which will render the depression more acute and will increase unemployment.

The Government not only refuses to concede to the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie any benefits, but is moving more and more to attack the social services wrung from the capitalist Government by the workers. Such measures as the Government's Poor Law Reform Bill and the Blanesburgh Report on Unemployment Insurance are indications of the policy of the dominant class to attempt to stabilise British capitalism at the expense of the working class and the petty-bourgeois elements.

5. The General Strike and the miners' lockout emancipated hundreds of thousands of workers from allegiance to the capitalist political parties. The failure of the government to satisfy the needs of the petty-bourgeoisie is alienating amongst this section of the population many of those who supported the government at the time of the 1924 elections.

These developments are reflected in the constant fall of the Government vote at the bye-elections. The sharpening of the class struggle in the country renders it impossible for the Liberal Party to regain its lost influence over the workers, or to arrest the general drift towards the Labour Party; the possibility, however, of its winning support at the coming elections from a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, who are growing disillusioned with the Conservative Party must not be excluded. Even from the point of view of parliamentary democracy, the Conservative Government does not represent more than one-third of the electorate and is being driven more and more to pursue an open Fascist policy.

6. The sharpening of the class struggle in Great Britain finds its expression in the sharpening of the differentiation in the labour movement. While new groups of workers have been coming into the labour movement, while the rank and file workers in the labour movement have been moving to the Left, the Labour Party and the Trade Union bureaucracy have moved towards a rapprochement with the capitalist class on all the burning questions of foreign and domestic politics, such as the miners' struggle, the Trade Union Bill, intervention in China, the preparation of war against the Soviet Union, industrial peace, Americanisation.

7. The adoption by the January Conference of Trade Union Executives of the General Council's report on the General Strike, with its condemnation of the heroic miners' struggle, was the first general demonstration that the trade union bureaucracy is united as to the necessity of wage reductions in the interests of the stabilisation of British industry.

8. The January Conference should be considered as a part of the general campaign of the Trade Union and Labour Party leaders against the General Strike as a weapon in the workers' struggle, and on behalf of "industrial peace". They have thereby stimulated the capitalists to bring forward the Trade Union Bill which attempts to impose upon the unions by law the policy which the reformists have been urging the trade unions to accept voluntarily. The propaganda of the Trade Union bureaucracy in favour of industrial peace revealed the fundamental identity of their policy with that of the capitalist class. The propaganda of industrial peace hindered the workers from preparation in defence of their organisations, and actually encouraged the capitalist government to launch the anti-Trade Union Bill.

9. While advocating industrial peace with capitalism, the Trade Union bureaucrats and Labour Party leaders have been pursuing a merciless attack on the Communist and Left wing workers. Local labour parties have been disaffiliated for refusing to carry out the Liverpool decisions against the Communists; trade union bureaucrats have co-operated with the reformist Labour Party officials in denying the Communist trade unionists their rights in the Labour Party, and one union has definitely refused to permit Communists and Minority Movement members to run for official trade union positions.

10. While trying to distinguish itself from the Right wing reformists by using Left phrases, the Independent Labour Party has supported the Right wing bureaucracy on all practical questions. The "Socialism in our Time" proposals of the I. L. P. having as their starting point the next Labour government have no relation to the immediate struggle of the workers. This enables the I. L. P. to use Left phrases while actively

assisting the Right wing in its struggle against the Communists and the Left wing workers. The decisions of the last I. L. P. Conference not to place Ramsay MacDonald on its delegation to the Labour Party Conference does not involve a break with MacDonaldism (as revealed in the statement of the chairman that they supported MacDonald as leader of the Labour Party); it is only an attempt of the I. L. P. leadership to conciliate the working class elements in its ranks.

As the class struggle develops and the differentiation within the Labour movement proceeds at an accelerated pace, the I. L. P. finds it more and more difficult to play the middle role which it has chosen for itself between the Communists and the reformists. Experience shows that it cannot secure even the assent of the I. L. P. trade union officials to the deceptive Left catch words which it issues from time to time, the I. L. P. members in positions of responsibility in the Labour Party and the trade unions preferring open MacDonaldism to MacDonaldism concealed behind Left phrases.

The development of the class struggle in Great Britain shows clearly that the I. L. P. while issuing Left slogans, confines itself to Right wing activity, lining up with the T. U. bureaucrats and reformist leaders of the L. P. in all essential questions of the class struggle, i. e. the question of the responsibility for the defeat of the General Strike, the miners' struggle, the "Hands off China!" campaign and the fight against the Communists.

While the sharpening of the class struggle makes it increasingly difficult for the I. L. P. to play the independent role which it formerly did in the labour movement and reduces it more and more to the role of the "Left" lackey of the reformist bureaucracy, this does not in any way minimise its danger to the working class, but on the contrary, increases it. The Left pacifist phrases which it trumpets like the "Left" phrases of the T. U. leaders — Hicks, Purcell, and others — continue to be a source of deception to those workers who are disgusted by the imperialist phraseology of Thomas and who do not yet understand that Left phrases unaccompanied by a real fight against imperialism only help to prevent a real struggle against war.

The Communist Party must expose the union of the Left phrases with the Right deeds, proving to the workers on the basis of their everyday experience that a party like the I. L. P. standing between the Communist Party and the labour bureaucracy cannot in the present stage of the class struggle in Britain play a really independent role and must therefore serve as a lackey of the reactionary bureaucracy.

11. The development of the Chinese revolution, challenging as it does the whole basis of British imperialist power not only in China but in India and the colonies, has as its result military intervention by British imperialism and exposes the reformist leaders as the allies of the British government. The reformists approved of the sending of reinforcements, refused to demand the withdrawal of troops, were opposed to the setting up of "Hands off China!" committees and did everything possible to stifle the mass movement of the workers against intervention in China.

Finally, when the pressure of the working class forced them to demand the withdrawal of troops from China, they seized the first opportunity to discard this demand indefinitely. The reformist leaders did the work of Chamberlain in pushing forward the demand for "negotiations" in preference to the demand and the fight for the complete withdrawal of all troops and warships. The "demand" for negotiations was meant to support the imperialist claim that British imperialism had certain rights in China which might properly be made the subject of negotiations. They obscured the fact that the British imperialists were in China in virtue of forcible invasion and the issue before the British workers was not the issue of forcing the British government to negotiate but of forcing it to evacuate the territory which it had seized in China.

The I. L. P. and other pacifist groups in the Labour Party and Trade Unions, while demanding formally the withdrawal of troops, prevented all forms of action which would lead to the withdrawal of troops, refused to have a united front with the Communists against intervention and spread pacifist illusions as to the possibility of resisting war by individual refusal to bear arms, to manufacture or transport munitions and war material.

12. The Communist Party of Great Britain fought energetically against the imperialist policy of the Labour Party and

the pacifist sophisms being spread by the I. L. P. The Party slogans such as "Help China to smash Baldwin", "Defeat of British imperialism means a victory for British labour" and "Withdraw all troops and warships from China!" correctly linked up the defence of the Chinese revolution with the struggle of the British workers against the Baldwin government. The Party has succeeded in getting many "Hands off China!" committees set up, it has distributed leaflets to the troops and has carried out an energetic campaign in the ports.

13. At one pole we have the continued inability of British imperialism to solve its problems, and thus to arrest its decline, except partially, by directly attacking the wages and conditions of the workers in Britain and by intensifying its exploitation of the colonial peoples. At the other pole we have the continued improvement and strengthening of the position of the Soviet Union. This has led to an intensification of the antagonism towards the Soviet Union by British imperialism — an antagonism which has received fresh fuel not only from the fear inspired in British capitalism by the revolutionising of the workers in Britain and by the rising tide of the revolt of the colonial peoples, especially in China, but also from the actual assistance rendered to the British miners by the Russian workers and the active sympathy shown by the Soviet Union to the Chinese revolution.

This antagonism has finally led to a series of attacks on the Soviet Union, which culminated in the violation of all obligations undertaken by Great Britain in respect of the Soviet Union and the breaking off of diplomatic relations. The leaders of the Labour Party actually supported the entire policy of the Baldwin government in respect of the Soviet Union confining themselves to a criticism of the methods of the Conservative government.

14. The period which lies between the miners' lockout and the Trade Union Bill bears witness to the growing movement of the masses to the Left on the one hand and the growing rapprochement of the trade union bureaucracy and the employers on the other hands. The development of the National Left wing movement within the Labour Party, based on the rank and file, the excellent response to the M. M. Conferences, the successes won by the Party and the M. M. in the Trade Union elections in the coalfields bear witness to the growing Left movement amongst the workers.

These undoubted successes achieved by the Left wing of the Labour Party and the Minority Movement should not, however, blind us to the fact that both these movements are yet comparatively weak in the face of the strength of the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracy. The National Minority Movement, while politically it has now considerable national influence and, particularly amongst the miners, contains several leaders nationally recognised, still shows that its organisational strength lags behind its general influence.

The National Left wing movement which has developed in the local Labour Parties on the basis of the workers' fight against the attempts of the bureaucracy to reduce the Labour Party to the level of a bourgeois Liberal Party has shown signs of vitality and progress. Its attempt to organise the Left wing in the Labour Party around a definite programme and not around a few vague "Left" phrases, has rallied the active Left wing workers, though the hostility of the bureaucracy towards the movement has alienated the parliamentary purveyors of Left phrases like Lansbury and Co. The attempt of the reformists to deride the movement as a Communist intrigue has had little effect on the Left workers who have worked with the Communists within this movement.

Much still requires to be done: 1. To clarify the movement politically, and 2. to help in the development of the organisation throughout the country. The Communist Party will render every assistance in this necessary work and will prove to the workers by deeds that it is the real leader in the struggle against the imperialist bureaucratic corruption of the Labour Party.

15. The anti-Trade Union Bill represents the most decisive departure on the part of the British capitalist class from their old methods of dealing with the trade union movement. It is connected with a series of other measures such as the Blanesburgh Report, which attacks the unemployed, and the Government Scheme of the Poor Law Reform which has for its object the liquidation of bourgeois democratic institution such as the Boards of Guardians and the transfer of their functions to bodies like the Country Councils less amenable

to working class pressure and control. The Labour Party and Trade Union bureaucrats have absolutely refused completely to oppose those measures, but on the contrary have decided to try and amend them by agreements with the Conservative Government. They have thus assisted the Conservative Government in entering on a ruthless struggle against the Labour movement.

16. The Trade Union Bill represents the highest point yet reached by the capitalist offensive against the workers and as such is the prelude to further reductions in wages, lengthening of hours, and worsening of factory conditions, the development of the attack on China and the preparation and launching of the military attack on the Soviet Union.

At a moment when the capitalists are building huge combines which stretch across the frontiers of several industries, when the capitalist State is revealing itself openly as the tool of the trustmongers and the financiers against the workers, which obviously dictates to the trade unions the necessity to concentrate and centralise all their strength to the utmost, the Trade Unions are forbidden to use the only effective weapon of struggle which would avail against the power of the trustified employers and the capitalist State. At the moment when international cartels with enormous resources are developing and when there is an obvious tendency on the part of British capitalists to link up with such cartels, the British unions are forbidden to fight these mammoth organisations of capital, with anything more effective than the effete methods of nineteenth century trade unionism.

The General Strike is declared illegal, the mass sympathetic strike is declared illegal, strikes on any scale whatever against war are illegal, the right of the trade unions to establish discipline and solidarity in the struggle against the employers, is attacked, Trade unionism in Municipal and State employment is undermined, an attempt is made to separate the State employees from the working class in general, the collection of the political levy by the trade unions is interfered with, thus striking a blow at the parliamentary action which the reformists have declared is the alternative to direct action; and the Attorney-General is given unlimited right of supervision over the trade union movement in order to ensure that the provisions of the Bill are adhered to.

The object of this Trade Union Bill is to paralyse the unions and give the Government a free hand to carry out its policy on three main fronts:

1. The attack on the wages, hours and working conditions of the British workers.
2. The further development of its fight against the Chinese Revolution.
3. The preparation for war on the Soviet Union.

The Baldwin Government dares to pose as the representative of the community at the moment when it attacks the majority of the population — the working class — by smashing the trade unions, upon which the workers rely in the struggle to defend their interests, as it also poses as the friend of peace and freedom while waging war against the Chinese revolution, and preparing war against the Soviet Union.

17. The Bill is the expression of the sharpening of the class struggle in Great Britain which culminated in and resulted in the application of Fascist methods on the part of the Tory Government. Up to the very last moment the capitalist class of Great Britain had hoped to control the trade unions from within by means of the capitalist minded bureaucracy, which basically defends the point of view of capitalism. The development of the Left wing which takes the lead in the Minority Movement culminating in the experience of the General Strike convinced the Government that they could not fully rely on controlling the trade unions through the bureaucracy and must resort to a complicated system of repression for shackling the unions.

The declaration of Baldwin that the Bill is necessary because of the growing influence of the Minority Movement in the trade unions reveals the mind of the Government. While Baldwin deliberately exaggerates the actual role which the Minority Movement had in the trade union movement, in order to frighten the shopkeepers and the reformist leaders, stimulating the latter to further attacks on the Communists and Left wing workers, he was correct in assuming that its influence

was growing and is bound to continue to grow as the economic conditions of Britain worsen and the bankruptcy of the reformist leaders of the Trade Union movement becomes clearly revealed.

18. The effect of the anti-Trade Union Bill has been to rouse the whole working class against the Government notwithstanding the efforts of the reformists to stifle its initiative and confine the agitation to safe channels. This was shown in the size of the May Day demonstrations which were larger than those held in 1926 on the eve of the General Strike. Amongst the workers there is a strong desire for unity in the struggle against the Bill and some of the disaffiliated Labour Parties and Trades Councils have improved their position in the localities by the energetic campaigns which they have carried out against the Bill. The workers support the Communist point of view of the necessity of strike action against the Bill and, in case of a General Strike, they would show an even greater solidarity than in May 1926.

The nature of the campaign of the reformist leaders against the Bill is revealed not only by their attitude to a General Strike, but also by their refusal to link it up with the fight against the war in China, thus leaving the imperialists a free hand in their war policy and weakening the actual fight against the Bill.

The opposition of the Trade Union bureaucrats to the Bill is loud, but insincere. The measures advocated in the Bill, with few exceptions, fit in with the policy which the trade union bureaucracy was advocating prior to the introduction of the Bill. The Conference of Executives showed that the leading trade union bureaucrats were not prepared to advocate the General Strike or any other form of industrial action against the Bill, but were content to make a show of opposition to the Bill in order to secure the workers' votes at the coming election.

The leaders of the Labour Party have refused to obstruct all parliamentary business until the Bill is withdrawn or until the Labour Party is suspended one by one from the House of Commons. They have contented themselves with ordinary parliamentary opposition to the Bill. Already they have announced to the workers that the Bill will certainly pass through parliament but that the workers can repeal it after the next General Election, without informing the workers of the fact that the Bill is one of a series of measures (which include also the reform of the House of Lords) designed to make the victory of the Labour Party impossible.

In thus fooling the workers by declaring that it will be easy to repeal the Bill after the next General Election, the Labour Party and Trade Union leaders reveal their counter-revolutionary role.

The experience of the fight against the Trade Union Bill and against intervention in China has fully confirmed the thesis of the VII. Enlarged Executive as to the consolidation of the trade union bureaucracy, a number of former Left wingers having passed openly over to the Right. A few leaders like Hicks and Purcell continue to play the role of a sham Left wing, using Left phrases but acting as the lackeys of the Right wing on all essential questions.

19. Both Trade Union and Labour leaders have refused a united front with the Communist Party in the struggle against the Trade Union Bill and have endeavoured even during the fight against the Trade Union Bill to pursue their policy of disruption within the Labour movement by the disaffiliation of Left wing Labour Parties.

They have utilised their experience of the months previous to the General Strike and have opposed the formation of Councils of Action because such Councils are liable to develop into a means of mobilising the workers to bring pressure upon the leaders. They have worked to stifle local initiative in the campaign by placing the control of the campaign in the hands of paid trade union and Labour Party officials, who refuse to take into consideration the views of the rank and file. Their local conferences to explain the Bill to the workers have been so arranged as to refuse the rank and file the right to express their opinions. The organisation which the Trade Unions and Labour Party leaders have set up to fight this Bill is an organisation stifling the initiative of the workers and holding them back from action.

20. The E. C. C. I. confirms the correctness of the policy of the C. P. G. B. as adopted at the special C. C. meeting

of April 12th. At this Plenum the C. C. laid down the following tasks in connection with the Bill:

1. To explain to the workers of Great Britain the meaning of the Bill as an attack on the workers and as part of the preparation for new war.

2. To break through the bureaucratic restrictions hampering the campaign and to mobilise all the workers in the localities in Councils of Action representing all sections of the labour movement, in order to carry on an intensive campaign against the Bill.

3. To organise the pressure of the masses on the Labour Party in Parliament to undertake the obstruction of all parliamentary business as a weapon against the Bill.

4. The organisation of real mass demonstrations, i. e., parades of workers in the streets.

5. The exposure of those who urge that the Bill must go through, and that Labour's only hope lies in the next General Election.

6. Intensified propaganda for Workers' Defence Corps.

7. The direction of all agitation against the Bill around the demand for a real General Strike of all workers to stop the passage of the Bill through Parliament and force the government to resign. The General Strike to be organised by a special conference of Trade Union Executives, with ranks and file representation, such a special conference to be secured by the organisation of mass pressure by the workers in the factories, trade union branches local Labour Parties, etc.

21. The struggle against the Bill will sharpen the process of differentiation in the Labour movement, leading to a closer unity amongst the majority of the bureaucracy against the Communists and Left wing workers both in the Labour Party and in the Trade Union movement. On the other hand the rally of the Left wing workers and even many of the lower grades of Trade Union and Labour Party officials towards the Party will become more pronounced. The Communist Party of Great Britain has a great opportunity before it provided it can solve the complex and difficult problems with which it is confronted. These problems were the subject of thorough consideration at various full sessions of the C. C. of the C. P. of Great Britain and District conferences.

22. In determining its policy in relation to the Trade Union Bill, the C. P. of Great Britain was correct in putting before the workers the slogan of a real General Strike for the struggle against the Bill and advocating the resignation of the government.

23. The E. C. C. I. recognises that the question of the disaffiliated Labour Parties and their struggle to retain their position in the localities places special obligations on the Party to co-operate energetically with the Left Wing workers in assisting those organisations in their struggle. It approves the attitude of the Party C. C. towards disaffiliated Labour Parties as embodied in the resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. G. B. passed by the C. C. meeting of February 2nd, subsequently confirmed by the resolution of the Political Secretariat of the C. I.

24. The E. C. C. I. approves of the anti-militarist work already undertaken by the Party. The E. C. C. I. warns the British Party against the danger of pacifist and semi-pacifist tendencies and traditions, which are particularly dangerous in the present situation in Britain, when the Conservative Government is openly preparing for new wars.

25. The Plenum of the Executive Committee regards the circular letter of March 25th of the General Council to the Trades Councils with the ultimatum that they sign a document demanding the breaking of all relations with the Minority Movement as an attempt on the one hand to disorganise and demoralise the Trades Councils as a reprisal for their activity during the General Strike and the miners' lockout, and on the other hand, as a part of the general campaign of the reformist bureaucracy to isolate the Communists and the adherents of the Minority Movement, thereby helping the Baldwin Government to carry through the Trade Union Bill as well as its imperialist policy of war with China and preparations of war with the Soviet Union.

The Plenum proposes that the Communist Party of Great Britain shall continue to conduct with greater energy the campaign of exposing the General Council in connection with this disgraceful and unprecedented ultimatum, and shall undertake a campaign among the Trades Councils and in the Trade

Unions with a view to this document being rescinded at the first opportunity.

26. This E. C. C. I. declares that all the tasks of the British Party in the present period should be subordinated to the fight against the aggressive policy of British imperialism, which finds its expression in the anti-Trade union Bill, in the war against China and in the preparations for a new war, and the support which this policy is receiving from the reformist leadership. In order to mobilise the workers for a successful campaign against the Baldwin Government, the C. P. G. B. must carry out an intensive struggle against the Right Wing policy of Labour Party reformists and Trade Union bureaucrats and the splitting anti-Communist decisions. The immediate tasks are as follows:

a) Intensive fight against the anti-Communist decisions particularly in the trade union movement and the development of a powerful campaign in the local Labour Parties, the Trade Unions, etc. in order to secure the reversal of the anti-Communist decisions, thereby clearing the way for a struggle against the imperialist corruption of the Labour Party by the bureaucracy. In this way the Labour Party will be made a more effective instrument of working class struggle.

b) The more active co-operation of the Communist Party members with active Left wing workers.

27. The attack of the T. U. bureaucrats on the Trades Councils and on the rights of Communists and Minority Movement members, must be countered by building up a mass Minority Movement as the primary means for the reorganisation of the Trade Union movement, and the replacement of the reformist leaders by revolutionary workers. The Plenum in view of this records that hitherto insufficient assistance has been given by the Party to the Minority Movement.

28. In connection with the war danger the C. P. G. B. must:

1. Carry out in its press and pamphlet literature a more exhaustive exposure of the aims of the British imperialists with regard to the Soviet Union, showing that the breaking off of relations is a part of the campaign of provocation leading up to war with the Soviet Union.

2. Must force the labour movement to link up its campaign against the T. U. Bill with a campaign against the war on China and the warlike attitude of the British Government towards the Soviet Union, under the slogans of: "A war on the Soviet Union is a war on the British workers", "The defeat of Baldwin is a victory for the British people", "War on the wage-cutting union-smashing Government which is preparing war", "Prepare mass action to defeat war-mongers", "Force resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union".

3. Must explain to the Party members more fully than hitherto the role of the Communist Party in the struggle against war.

4. Must expose pacifist slogans and policy, particularly those of the I. L. P. and the so-called Left leaders of the T. U's.

5. Explain to the workers the principal methods of fighting the war danger.

29. The Communist Party should continue to explain to the workers the importance of unity between the workers of Great Britain and the workers of the Soviet Union which becomes imperative in face of the militarist policy of the British government. The Party must explain to the workers that it is due to the sabotage of the whole General Council from Hicks and Purcell to Thomas, that the Anglo-Russian Committee has not so far accomplished its great task. The General Council has always played a double game on the question of unity with the Russian workers. It has defended unity in words, while hampering the establishment of a real alliance between the workers of both countries.

This policy of the General Council was clearly demonstrated during the last sessions of the Anglo-Russian Committee, especially on the question of the General Strike, the fight of the miners, and the fight against the intervention in China. The Communist Party must especially explain the real meaning of the last Berlin Conference, when the General Council, instead of enlarging the functions of the Anglo-Russian Committee, insisted on, and carried through, the restriction of the constitution of the Committee.

The Comintern fully approves the statement of the Communist Party of Great Britain which places the blame for the

results of the last Berlin Conference on the shoulders of the General Council. The history of the work of the Anglo-Russian Committee for the last year fully justifies the position taken by the Communist Party of Great Britain in explaining to the workers that the General Council is responsible for the concessions made by the Labour Unions of the Soviet Union, while those concessions prove anew that the Trade Union movement of the Soviet Union is sincerely in favour of real unity.

At the same time, the Plenum approves of the campaign which the Communist Party is conducting among the miners to establish unity between the British miners and the miners of the Soviet Union. The criticism of the miners' leaders who are in practice preventing the establishment of an Anglo-Russian Miner's Committee, is fully justified. Those leaders not only refused to set up a Joint Miners' Committee, but they even conceal from the British miners the proposal of the miners of the Soviet Union to that effect.

30. The warlike attitude of British imperialism with regard to the Soviet Union, its military intervention in China, its brutal suppression of the colonial peoples under its control, makes it necessary for the C. P. G. B. to intensify its campaign against imperialism, exposing to the workers the policy of British imperialism, combating imperialist tendencies in the Labour Movement, demonstrating to the workers that the colonial peoples are fighting the same capitalist enemy that they are fighting, and that the unity of the labour movement with the struggling colonial peoples will ensure the victory of both. The C. P. G. B. must continue its efforts to establish the closest relations between the C. P. G. B. and the workers', peasants' and nationalist governments in the colonies and to assist the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence in every possible way.

31. In view of the great role which the youth has to play in the struggle against imperialism, war, and militarism, the Party must give assistance to the Young Communist League to carry out its tasks.

32. Organisationally, the chief task of the C. P. G. B. is to correct the disproportion existing between its membership in the mining industry and the other basic industries in the country and to develop the party as a powerful mass Party of the workers. This Executive reaffirms the organisational task as formulated in the resolution of the VII. Plenum relating to work amongst women, the Y. C. L., Factory groups. A special effort must be made to increase the number of factory groups and factory papers. The political education of the new members must be undertaken in the most energetic way, with a view to consolidating the recent gains of the Party. The fight against the Trade Union Bill and the danger of war must be made the basis of the most energetic recruiting of new members.

33. The E. C. C. I. recognises that the situation created by the severing of diplomatic relations places great responsibility on the small Communist Party of Great Britain, but is confident that the British Party will be able to maintain and enlarge its contacts with the mass of the workers, and will be able, as in past crises, to carry out an energetic Communist policy, leading the masses in the fight for the resignation of the Baldwin Government.

The following practical activities must be engaged in around the slogans already enumerated:

1. A careful exposure of the British Government's campaign of forgeries and provocations directed against the Soviet Union and an explanation of the military and diplomatic measures already undertaken by Great Britain in pursuance of its policy of encirclement.

2. An explanation of the achievements of the Soviet Union in the building up of Socialism and the importance of the growing strength of the working class in the Soviet Union which follows from this, enabling the workers of the Soviet Union to assist the workers in all other countries in their struggle against oppression.

3. The demonstration of the fact that the Government after supporting the wage offensive of the employers and introducing the Bill to smash the trade unions, is now proceeding to disorganise the trade of the country by creating unemployment.

4. The Party must link up the campaign against the breaking off of diplomatic relations and the danger of war with the campaign against the Trade Union Bill and insist that the Labour Party and the T. U. C. should conduct a joint cam-

paign against the T. U. Bill as well as against the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union.

5. The Party must emphasise the necessity of the workers in the localities setting up Councils of Action to prepare the struggle against the Bill and against the war danger and must intensify its agitation for a General Strike to force the Government to resign.

The Plenum believes that the C. P. G. B., in this difficult hour which the British and the world proletariat are now experiencing will be able to mobilise the masses for a real active struggle against the reactionary Government, which is now launching an attack on the British workers, the Chinese people and preparing new and terrible wars directed firstly against the Soviet Union.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Execution of the Indian Revolutionary Narayan Singh.

Shanghai, 18th June 1927.

The death sentence passed by a British court upon the Indian revolutionary Narayan Singh who killed the head of the Anglo-Indian police, has been carried out.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### Our Proletarian Planks for the International Co-operative Day.

By Aigo (Berlin).

Once again the International of the Co-operatives summons us to its festive day, which has been fixed for July 2nd, 1927. The experience of the last few years has shown that this International Co-operative Day has been celebrated the world over by thousands of co-operative associations with mass meetings, popular festivals, pageants, women's and children's festivals, exhibitions, and the like. It is "the economic achievements and the extraordinary power of the co-operative principle" which call for celebration.

It cannot be denied that, so far as figures are concerned, the international co-operative organisation is the most powerful institution of the present day, numbering, as it does, 50,000,000 co-operative members in 85,000 local and district co-operatives in 34 different States. These gigantic figures, however, by no means represent a corresponding degree of power or influence. True, these 5 million members in Great Britain, 4½ millions in Germany, 2½ millions in France, and so forth, are essentially proletarian elements, but the class force of these tremendous organisations with their exemplary technical and economic apparatus which is possibly unrivalled within the workers' movement, is at present by no means at the disposal of proletarian class warfare.

If therefore, on the occasion of the annual International Co-operative Day, we again allow ourselves to be impressed by the big figures set forth, the class-conscious working masses must ask themselves the important question as to the manner and degree in which this great international co-operative movement serves as a factor in class warfare. This is the decisive question which must be raised throughout the world in connection with the celebrations of July 2nd.

The co-operative movement, which originated in the proletarian militant organisation of the "Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale", has developed out of the most primitive of workers' organisations. At present, however, it is in almost all countries completely separated from the labour movement. The official co-operative policy is for the most part that of the reformists and opportunists pure and simple and practically makers for bourgeois interests. The leadership of the co-operatives has slipped out of the hands of the proletariat into those of a co-operative bureaucracy which is merely out to do business, while at the head of the organisation there are Social Democrats of the ex-