

**COMMUNIST PARTY**

**26<sup>TH</sup>**

**CONGRESS**

**REPORT**

**POLITICAL REPORT**

*by John Gollan*

**REPORT ON NEW RULES**

*by William Lauchlan*

**POLITICAL RESOLUTION  
RESOLUTIONS ON  
GENERAL ELECTION BROADCASTING  
AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

**AIMS AND CONSTITUTION  
NATIONAL CONGRESS STANDING ORDERS**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
FRATERNAL DELEGATES  
CREDENTIALS REPORT**

*St. Pancras Town Hall, London, March 27-30, 1959*

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# Twenty-Sixth CONGRESS REPORT

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*The Reports printed here were delivered to the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party which met for four days, 27-30 March 1959, at St. Pancras Town Hall, London. During the proceedings, the Resolutions printed here were adopted, and the new Executive Committee, Appeals Committee and the Auditors were elected.*

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# **POLITICAL REPORT**

**By John Gollan**

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

Congress meets in what almost certainly will be the General Election year.

Its immediate task is to step up the struggle against the Tories and the employers, and create the political conditions for a resounding Tory defeat and the return of a Labour Government with the election of Communist M.P.s.

The background to this is the serious economic position and the menace of nuclear war.

In sharp contrast to capitalist insecurity is the sweeping advance of the socialist countries and their boundless confidence.

Despite the problems before us, the working class and progressive movement in Britain has all the means to win, if its united strength is brought into action.

To this end the labours of this Congress will be devoted.

## **II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION**

Capitalist world production reached its height in 1957. By the end of 1958 it had fallen by 4 per cent.

Even in 1957 there were some 8 million unemployed in the countries covered by the United Nations statistics. As a result of falling production and because of automation, unemployment rose rapidly. By January 1959 the registered unemployed in the United States, United Kingdom, West Germany and Canada alone amounted to  $7\frac{1}{4}$  million, 3 million more than in 1957.

Reduced production meant less demand for raw materials. The prices of some commodities fell sharply, reducing the purchasing power of raw material producing countries.

With shrinking markets and unused industrial capacity, economic competition has grown. The European Common Market, dominated by the West German monopolies, erected a tariff wall against foreign, and particularly British competition. British monopoly's attempt to get behind

this by setting up the Free Trade Area was defeated. On the other hand, British big business, led by the City financiers, made the £ convertible in the hope of strengthening Britain's imperialist position.

All capitalist countries, and the colonial and former colonial countries, have been affected to some degree.

Production started to fall seriously in Britain in 1958. While it is true that the crisis in Britain and Western Europe was partly conditioned by that in the United States, and the lower commodity prices, it would be wrong not to see the independent growth of crisis conditions in each country as the result of the workings of capitalism.

In Britain, for example, continuously rising profits were used to expand industrial capacity in 1955 and 1956, creating the basis for the present excess capacity. At the same time, the purchasing power of the people has been kept down by resistance to wage increases, refusal to raise pensions and benefits, and heavy taxation for the huge arms bill.

Inevitably, therefore, the capacity of the market could not keep pace with the capacity to produce, all the more because automation and other techniques were constantly reducing the number of workers required.

This over-capacity in relation to purchasing power shows itself first in stagnation in the capital goods industries, and a sharp fall in industrial building plans. New orders for machine tools for the home market are only half those of a year ago. The steel industry has been working at only three-quarters of capacity. Coal stocks have risen to over 35 million tons; pits are being closed down. Textile and clothing output has fallen.

There were 621,000 registered unemployed in January and this figure fell to 550,000 in March. These figures are incomplete, and the number of those who actually lost their jobs is believed to be nearer a million, apart from considerable short-time working in some industries. The Tories claim a big victory for the drop but the figure is 122,000 more than in March 1958, and 290,000 more than in March 1956. Youth unemployment is particularly serious and will get worse because of the increased number of school-leavers. Skilled openings for our young people are few and far between, and this is a menace to Britain's industrial future.

Although there are some optimistic references to the improving situation in the United States, most British commentators are extremely cautious about the economic outlook here. All agree that there is over-capacity; and that production can rise without the need to provide new plants or more workers. *The London and Cambridge Economic Bulletin* for March pointed out, "that there are no factors now at work which would raise demand to anything like the level of potential output".

The fall in exports to the raw-material producing countries and the effect of the Common Market and of the growing competition for markets are only now beginning to show.

Three things stand out in the present economic situation in Britain: first, the falling trend in exports due to the causes mentioned above; second, the fall in fixed capital investment owing to the fact that the capacity built up in 1955-57 is surplus to requirements at the present level of the people's purchasing power; third, the resistance to increased wages, pensions and benefits, although prices (and especially rents) have

continued to rise, and the purchasing power of the people is being kept down.

This difficult economic situation is coming to a head at a time of the new technological revolution inherent in automation, electronics, atomic energy and the like. The new technical developments are restricted and distorted under capitalism, and are increasingly being carried out at the expense of the working class, to increase profit.

The danger signal has been seen in the U.S. where production has virtually reached the 1957 level, but unemployment has actually increased to nearly 5 million.

In Britain, four men now produce more cars than twenty did thirty years ago. Output per man in the steel industry has gone up by at least a third. Chemical output has doubled in the past ten years, and output per man gone up by 65 per cent. Yet automation is only beginning!

The tendency of automation is almost unlimited output. The contradiction, therefore, between production possibilities and the consumption of the people will be greatly accentuated in the years ahead.

From January 1957 to December 1958, the official index of wage rates rose nine points, retail prices rising six points. On this basis it is argued that real wages have risen by some 3 per cent in the two years. This in any case would be justified by increased productivity.

But if we turn from nominal weekly wage rates to actual earnings the picture is different. Average weekly earnings for all workers between April 1957 and October 1958 rose by 12s. 9d., which is only 6 per cent. For adult male workers, the rise was 15s. 2d., also 6 per cent. As prices went up by the same amount the workers have not had any increase in real wages at all.

Total wage increases for 1958 are officially estimated at £3,440,000 a week, or £179 million a year. This is only three-fifths of those won in 1957.

In the same period the *Financial Times* analysis of industrial profits, shows an increase of £130 million in 1958 compared with 1957, for only 2,758 companies. For all companies and employers, the 1958 rise in profits must have greatly exceeded the rise in wages.

Three-quarters of total British production is sold in Britain itself. Wages and salaries, therefore—the purchasing power of the people—provide the main market for British products. This is the central issue for any struggle against the slump. The fight for increased wages is decisive. If wages do not go up the economic difficulties will get worse.

### **Resist Attacks**

In face of all this, how has anyone the nerve to say that capitalism has changed?

Not only do we see the old familiar symptoms of capitalist stagnation and decline; the Tories and the employers are making their usual frenzied efforts to make the working class pay for the crisis.

Over the past two years they have been on the warpath resisting every wage increase, raising rents, cutting social services.

The working class has hit back. Here it is enough to mention the great strikes of the engineers and the busmen, the wages movement in all its forms, the powerful tenants' actions. These struggles would have been

greater still had it not been for the paralysing efforts of the right-wing leaders. If we had leadership equal to the fighting capacity of the working class, the battles would have been won long ago.

Now the employers see unemployment as the opportunity to attack the trade unions and especially the militant shop stewards. The right-wing may chatter about new relations in industry; the real brutal class position was shown by the statement of the Engineering Employers Federation on how they were thirsting for a showdown in 1957. It is shown in the statement of Garland of the National Union of Manufacturers who said that the shop stewards were an excrescence. The engineering employers may praise some trade union leaders for their statesmanship, but the shop stewards have done more for trade unionism than these leaders will ever do.

This is a position which calls for renewed efforts for 100 per cent trade unionism. We should pay particular attention also to winning to the unions the 7 million young workers, only a small number of whom are organised.

If standards are to be preserved an advanced struggle is necessary in the period ahead.

This is not just the struggle for the usual annual wage increase. It is also a fight for jobs—a fight for life.

And what must be the central slogan of that fight? That the British working class refuse to go back to the hungry thirties.

Here let this Congress pay a tribute to the struggle of the miners against pit closures, led by Bill Paynter and Abe Moffatt. The whole movement is in their debt. As it is to every section of workers resisting redundancy.

The struggle against the consequences of the slump is a class fight, and for it we need a class programme.

The statements in the Labour Party's *Plan for Progress* suggesting that a Labour Government would be able to cure economic crisis by investment in the nationalised industries and by encouraging private capitalism to expand, are ridiculous. So long as there is a private sector of industry, the nationalised industries are themselves to a large measure dependent on the demand from it, as the coal crisis shows. Nor can attempts to encourage the expansion of privately-owned industry meet with any great success in a situation where there is already over-production, especially as the Labour statements make only too clear that such expansion is to be carried out at the expense of working class consumption. This is wage restraint—and we will not tolerate it under Gaitskell, just as we won't under Macmillan, for it is the road to the Labour Exchange.

### **Our Anti-Slump Programme**

Because wages and salaries are the most important single factor for the home market, the whole Labour movement should organise a united fight against sackings and for higher wages and salaries, pensions, children's allowances and unemployment benefit to increase the purchasing power of the people.

The demand for a shorter working week without loss of pay should be pressed home. A 40-hour week throughout industry, with 35 hours for the miners, is now overdue.

There should be a big social building programme of 400,000 houses a year, roads, hospitals and schools, with interest rates on housing loans cut to 2 per cent and the housing subsidies restored.

We should end the political restrictions on our trade with the socialist countries, and by low interest loans to previous colonial countries, help them to develop their own resources.

Really effective action against the slump requires control of Britain's basic industries. We demand nationalisation of the key industries, but nationalisation on a new basis without crippling burdens of compensation.

Military expenditure should be cut by half and the money thus saved used on pensions and social building.

It is useless to speculate on the future course of the slump in Britain or in the capitalist world as a whole. The need is to fight *NOW* in order to keep jobs and secure better conditions.

This is not a struggle to help capitalism to work, but to prevent capitalism putting the burdens of the slump on to the shoulders of the workers. Economic crises are inherent in capitalism. The job for the working class is not to make "sacrifices" to help capitalism, but the fight to defend and improve conditions now in spite of slumps. This means the mass struggle of a united working class against the employing classes for our anti-slump programme. It means an end to class collaboration and to all talk about running capitalism better than the capitalists. The Labour movement was not founded to run capitalism but to end it.

### III. PEACE AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

For years our Party has campaigned for an end to the cold war. If all who want peace increase their efforts it can now be ended.

We can say this because of the astonishing changes since Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946 marked the open declaration of the cold war.

Then China was still not completely liberated from imperialism. India was still under British rule. Britain was still in Egypt. America had the atomic monopoly.

The cold war was launched by imperialism to try to maintain this position, to hold back national liberation and to prepare for war against socialism.

It has completely and utterly failed in these aims. The gigantic sweep of the national liberation movement has freed 1,200 million from imperialist domination.

In the Middle East, in Africa, in Asia and Latin America imperialism has been greatly weakened.

The socialist world has gone from strength to strength. From its position of inferiority in the nuclear sphere, the Soviet Union has leapt forward in a dozen years to a leading position.

On earth as well as in outer space, the superiority of socialism is becoming clearer to millions, as the figures of the Seven-Year Plan show. This has as profound an effect on the fight for peace as the Soviet Union's possession of intercontinental ballistic missiles. It becomes more and more difficult to make the people believe that the Soviet Union wants war. The cold war is being undermined by the triumphs of communism.

Alongside these developments there has been the fight for peace of the peoples of the world, including those in the capitalist countries.

Against this background, no wonder that the inter-imperialist antagonisms are sharpening, so that there is disarray in the N.A.T.O. camp and big economic, political and military differences.

Because of the increasing bankruptcy of the cold war policy, even some of the capitalists are already drawing lessons.

Mikoyan's reception in the United States, the speeches of Democratic Party leaders such as Adlai Stevenson and Senator Mansfield, and the Kennan pleas for disengagement reflect this.

Macmillan's visit to the Soviet Union, while made largely for electoral considerations, also arose partly as a reflection of the Anglo-American antagonism, and partly because the old attitude of unbending hostility to the Soviet Union was ceasing to pay any dividends at all.

Yet there is no change in the Western policy actually pursued up to now. The dominant sections of the imperialists still stick to the old policy. Even those who want some change see it mainly as a matter of tactics and of placating public opinion.

When it comes to deeds, American and British imperialism base their whole policy on nuclear weapons.

The new balance of forces in the world and the enormous new socialist advances presaged by the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U., give us every confidence that world war can be excluded from society even before the universal triumph of socialism. This is the great contribution which socialism makes to this, the gravest problem of our time. Yet the possibility of war at present is still acute, the threat of war cannot be underestimated. The element of desperation and adventurism in Western policy increases as the imperialists are driven further against the wall by the people.

The danger of war by *calculation* still remains. It is the fashion in some quarters to say that the deliberate, conscious launching of world war is now almost impossible. This can only disarm the people in face of the danger.

Why pile up the atom and hydrogen bombs if the intention is not to use them? Why refuse the disarmament agreement which is possible tomorrow unless the eventual aim is war? Imperialism is a system based on war, conquest and forcible exploitation of whole nations. It can only be restrained and peace preserved by the resolute mass action of the peace forces.

There is also the danger of war through *miscalculation*. With great forces directly facing each other across the east-west frontier; with flights of H-bombers day and night; with irresponsible talk about the possibility of "limited wars"; with continued adventurist acts such as the Anglo-American invasion of the Middle East last summer and the provocations in the Far East, there is always the possibility of something being done which would precipitate a world war even if this was not the deliberate immediate intention of the Western government concerned.

In view of this, we ask, how much longer are we going to allow American troops and bases, and now rocket weapons, to remain in Britain? They put our country in the front line, and give the power of

decision on peace and war to the U.S. It is time this intolerable and dangerous situation was ended and all U.S. bases and troops cleared off British soil.

### **The German Question**

No single aspect of Western policy is more dangerous than the Anglo-American attitude to the German question. It is here at the heart of Europe that there is the greatest tension and the greatest source of danger.

The West says this arises from the division of Germany. It is Western policy which causes tension and perpetuates the division of Germany.

Western policy is the origin of the trouble in Europe—all else follows from it. Only if this policy is changed can tension be relaxed and conditions for the unification of Germany by agreement between the Germans themselves be created.

It is with this aim of relaxing tension in Europe that the Soviet Union has made its proposals on Berlin and on a German Peace Treaty.

Yet the response in the West has been to manufacture a crisis atmosphere and attempt to raise tension.

The Western Powers seem to think that the existing position in Germany and Berlin can continue for ever. The only change in it that they have been prepared to consider to date is the swallowing up of the German Democratic Republic by Adenauer. Let's get one thing clear. Neither Adenauer nor anyone will ever be allowed to take over socialist East Germany.

So the West is in fact digging in on the existing position. Yet even bitter anti-Communists have to admit that this is an untenable position.

There are now two German states. One is socialist, a force for peace. The other is ruled by Krupp, Adenauer and Hitler's ex-Generals.

Yet it is proposed that over 100 miles within the territory of the socialist state the Western Powers should continue indefinitely to have a military base and a centre for espionage.

The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have repeatedly stated that there is no intention to blockade West Berlin. What is proposed is the handing over of Soviet occupation functions to the German Democratic Republic, and the conversion of West Berlin into a free city, with United Nations supervision and guaranteed access to both East and West.

Already 99 per cent of traffic to West Berlin is supervised by officials of the G.D.R.

Yet the West has responded to the Soviet proposals by a hullabaloo about "forcing a way through to Berlin" by tanks or by air.

It is time it was made clear to all concerned that the British people will never go to war for the right of Macmillan and Dulles to occupy Berlin and still less for the sake of a German Democratic Republic stamp on a pass instead of a Soviet stamp.

Consistently the Soviet Union has proposed a summit conference to consider and resolve outstanding differences. Equally the Western powers have stuck to the idea of a Foreign Ministers' conference with the Soviet Union in a minority of three to one. They want to talk interminably while

continuing their policy of rearming the ex-Nazis with nuclear weapons.

The latest Soviet Note agrees to a Foreign Secretaries' conference, but with parity, a limit to talk and the quickest possible summit negotiations.

What is needed, if there is a genuine desire to reach agreement, is:

1. A conference at the highest level.
2. No nuclear weapons for West Germany.
3. Recognition of the Government of the German Democratic Republic and of the fact that only the Germans can decide on the measures to bring about reunification.
4. Readiness to discuss seriously the Soviet proposals on Berlin and on a German Peace Treaty.

On disarmament, the crucial first step remains the banning of nuclear tests. Public opinion forced the Western powers to the conference at Geneva. It has not yet forced them to agree.

They seem to be determined to drag out the discussions until they have prepared the next series of tests. Then the aim is to break off the talks on the ground that the Soviet Union has "refused inspection" or "insists on the veto" or some such pretext.

This must not be allowed to happen. If it did, the day when further measures of disarmament could be agreed would be postponed still further, and a new threat to the health of the people would begin.

On these two key questions of Germany and the stopping of tests, there needs to be the utmost activity by all who want peace.

It is on these two questions that the power of the Labour movement could be decisive. Unfortunately, the right-wing leaders refuse to use that strength, and while the foreign policy they advocate has had to take into account the peoples' desire for peace, it still does not break away completely from Tory policy and from the defence of imperialism.

Thus the official policy on Germany and disengagement, while more of a basis for negotiations than Tory policy, is still full of negative and ambiguous features.

At the root of these deficiencies is the refusal to break with N.A.T.O. and the American war alliance, and to cease once and for all the oppression of the colonial peoples.

Within the Labour movement, therefore, there needs to be a still bigger effort, first to get the power of the movement used in support of existing positive policies such as the stopping of tests, a Summit Conference and disengagement; and second, to bring about a further change in Labour's policy.

### **United Action for Peace**

A variety of peace and religious organisations and a new movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, have brought many from the professional and middle sections of the population into peace activity.

The weakness has been that some leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have held themselves aloof from the organised Labour movement, often taking up an "anti-political-party" attitude. There have been attempts to impose bans and proscriptions, and emphasis on the issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament in a way which has tended to

divide and slow up the activities of the forces of peace, at a time when utmost unity is the need.

In view of misconceptions about our attitude to unilateralism which still exist, let me re-state briefly our position.

Those who try to distort our stand and claim that we are "for the bomb" are engaged in the most unscrupulous misrepresentation.

We have always been against the bomb. We were fighting for its banning when some of those now active in the campaign were advocating that atomic bombs should be dropped on Moscow.

All credit to them for changing their minds, but let us remember that one thing that helped them to do so was the consistent work of Communists and many others in the peace movement, throughout the worst days of the cold war. I would recall that we were the only political party in the last General Election which opposed the manufacture of the H-bomb by Britain, and we continue to oppose its manufacture.

The real issue is what policy will unite the greatest number of people to get rid of the bomb.

We think that every experience has shown that to make agreement on unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons a condition in the fight for peace only divides the movement. It tends to divert attention from the real issue—international agreement. For the cessation of manufacture of the H-bomb by Britain would not banish the menace of nuclear war. The only means to secure this is an international ban on nuclear weapons. Up to the present the British Government has always voted alongside the U.S. against the consistent Soviet proposals to ban the bomb. If the pressure of the people of this country can compel the Government to reverse this stand and vote for a ban, then such a united British-Soviet stand for the international ban on nuclear weapons would rally the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world.

So international agreement is the most important question, and it is also the issue on which the greatest number of people agree.

The problem is to get that agreement translated into action. That is the responsibility of the peace movement and the Labour movement, and it is to that we have to direct our major efforts.

Our Party and the *Daily Worker* have always given the fullest support and publicity to all activities of the campaign, and will continue to do so.

But while supporting the C.N.D. and all other organisations fighting for peace, we also are aware that the interests of peace require an organisation like the British Peace Committee, which because of its policy and constitution, fulfils a role which none of the other organisations can.

It is an organisation trying to conduct continuous activity for peace on all the major international issues, and not engaging only in spasmodic campaigning on particular aspects of the peace struggle, important though these may be.

It imposes no bans and proscriptions, and invites all who want peace to join in its activities.

It recognises the key importance of winning the organised Labour movement into action for peace.

It is the only peace organisation linked with the peace movements in

all other countries, through its association with the World Council of Peace.

For these reasons we believe that the British Peace Committee deserves special consideration and help from all who want peace.

### **National Liberation**

Outstanding in the effort for world peace is the great and swiftly-moving world struggle for national liberation. This has now become a mighty additional obstacle to all the war plans.

When the nations representing more than half the world's population gathered in Bandung in April 1955, a new stage of resistance to imperialism was reached.

This made a big impact on the Arab countries of the Middle East. We saw the strength and courage of the Arab liberation movement in the heroic resistance to the Suez invasion of 1956. The victorious national revolution in Iraq last July, marked a still higher phase in the Arab struggle for liberation.

Now the tidal wave of the liberation struggle is swelling over Africa. In all African colonies—whether under British, French or Belgian rule—the movement is advancing with giant strides, and is shaking the foundations of imperialist rule. Let us respond by solidarity with the Africans and especially the people of Nyasaland to end this rule for ever.

Where is the real plot and massacre in Nyasaland? It is the massacre of Africans and the jailing of their leaders without trial by a fascist-minded armed white majority who are a disgrace to humanity. Let the British people use their strength to end this whole foul set-up and ensure freedom and democracy for the African people.

The All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra was another milestone in uniting the African liberation movements. It gave a new impetus to the liberation struggles all over Africa.

While being forced to concede political independence to Ghana and Nigeria, the British Tories are determined to resist any independence for those African colonies which are under the minority domination of white settlers (Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) and to keep their grip on all those which serve their strategic war plans. British imperialism is determined to maintain and even extend its domination, increased exploitation and profits, and its strategic war plans. The retention of military bases in Cyprus fits in with its aggressive aims in the Middle East and against the Soviet Union.

British imperialism has been badly shaken, but is fighting back to retain and extend its colonial domination against its U.S. rivals and at the expense of millions of colonial peoples and the wages and conditions of the British workers.

Never was it so important to emphasise that declaration in *The British Road to Socialism*:

“It is therefore in the common interests equally of the British people, the subject colonial peoples and all the peoples of the present Empire to build a firm alliance in the struggles against all imperialist

aggression and robbery, and for the national independence of all subject peoples of the Empire."

Here advances have been made. This was shown in the overwhelming popular opposition to the war in Suez and the occupation of Jordan, as well as in notable examples of trade union solidarity.

At the same time we recognise how much remains to be done if our working class movement is to fulfil its duty in this common anti-imperialist struggle. This is of special concern to us as we are at the centre of the world's largest colonial empire. The events in Nottingham and Notting Hill have awakened opinion to the menace of racial and colour bar incitement aimed at spreading division in the ranks of the working class, and the need to combat this menace. The infamous wars conducted by the government in our name against the peoples of Oman and Yemen, and the ceaseless repression, arrests and violence exercised in African colonies have aroused still too little protest and active opposition.

For these reasons our Party needs to improve its agitation and educational work in order to develop the united anti-imperialist alliance. This alliance is not something we applaud for the future. It is around existing struggles, breaking out in all parts of the colonial empire, that we need to organise united action. It is in the common fight now with all coloured workers, forced by poverty and starvation to come to Britain, that we need to build this solidarity.

It is our fight as well as theirs, a common struggle against a common enemy. Without it there can be no end to Tory rule and no guarantee of socialism in Britain.

#### **IV. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN**

Dominating the situation in Britain is the coming General Election. The Tories must be defeated and a Labour majority with Communist M.P.s returned. This is the next stage of political advance in Britain.

The Tories have no programme to solve Britain's problems. Their aim is to maintain capitalism, whatever the cost. Official Labour policy is no solution either, as it is based on "managing" capitalism, instead of tackling the crisis at its roots.

The job, therefore, is not only to win the election, but to change Labour policy.

Growing unemployment by itself won't defeat the Tories as the experiences of the thirties, and indeed the present political position, show.

The Tory vote is falling, but the Labour vote is not rising in the by-elections. Labour is not attracting the dissatisfied voters. Why is this?

Official Labour strategy has been—"Don't scare off the floating voter with a policy of nationalisation". This was the opportunist argument used by Gaitskell at Scarborough to justify the alleged "New Thinking". At a time when strong working class leadership could build up the widest political front of opposition to the Tories, Labour's new policies and lack of fight have visibly failed to do so.

The 1945 Labour Government was the high-point of reformism in the

political conditions created by the anti-fascist war and full employment. Even before 1950 it had shot its bolt, and with the cold war and defence of capitalism as the central features of Labour policy, the conditions were created for the disruption of the wide political support rallied in 1945, and for the Tory come-back.

The Wilson enquiry into the Labour defeat in 1955 tried to evade the real issue. It put forward only organisational solutions, although forced to admit that the lack of fundamental differences between the two parties was at the root of the lack of enthusiasm in the constituency parties. For between 1951 and 1955 the Labour leadership continued to support the wage freeze, social service stagnation, and cold war.

The new Labour policies, especially the documents *Industry and Society* and *Plan for Progress*—all summed up in *The Future Labour Offers You*, expressed the furthest official swing to the right since the war.

What is the essence of this political position? First, a policy of so-called "managed capitalism"—that is, *defence of the great monopolies*. This involves the wage freeze and Keynesian expansionist theories, meaning expansion of the monopolies. Second, continued acceptance of the N.A.T.O. alliance and all that flows from it—whatever differences there may be between Labour and the Tories: that is—*defence of capitalism in international affairs*.

This whole outlook is based on the fallacy that capitalism and the boom can continue for ever. Yet the exact opposite is the case.

From this follows the sabotage of the mass struggle on wages, social services, rents, peace, redundancy and pit closures, and the lack of a real fight against the Government.

But the political, economic and social factors making for a change are developing. What is needed is leadership. We should seek to form united anti-Tory committees in all localities, factories and pits, rousing the movement for the struggle and for the election campaigning. We should see that every movement for work or for wages, against rent increases and for peace, is helped to understand the need, too, for political action to clear out the Tories.

Working in this way the Labour movement can not only rally existing support, but can make a deep impression on those sections of workers who still vote Tory, and rouse them to class consciousness and to a break with Toryism. This is what is needed for a new radical advance of the Labour movement. Around this it can attract the middle class and the majority of the people, isolating the Tories and the monopolists.

In this election half a million youth will vote for the first time. All acknowledge, too, that the women's vote could well decide the election. Along with the Y.C.L. we should aim to make the youth a shock brigade in the anti-Tory struggle. And our Party must find ways and means of bringing our women leaders to the fore in the electoral struggle.

What is involved is not only an electoral victory, but a basic class fight before, during and after the election to bring about a change in the balance of class forces in Britain. This is needed not only for the immediate political aims: it is decisive for any advance to socialism.

This cannot be done by the Communist Party alone. That is why we work for the unity of all Labour forces. At the same time it cannot be

done without the leadership and policy of the Communist Party, and a Communist Party very much bigger than it is at present.

Despite the degree of agreement of official Tory and Labour policies, the big issues of unemployment, wages, social advance, and peace and war will dominate the election.

Here is the importance of the election campaign and policy of the Communist Party. Our Party, both in the constituencies where we are fighting and where we have no candidates, will present a real alternative policy for Britain.

It is not just an election programme, but one for class action now against Tories and employers, a programme which can rally and unite all the forces of the Labour movement wanting a change.

In every constituency we want our branches to become the spearhead of the anti-Tory struggle, the organisers and inspirers of a working class victory.

Our fight in the seventeen constituencies with Communist Party candidates will be the national focus of the struggle and of the alternative programme.

It must be the biggest effort our Party has ever made, to achieve a big expansion of the Communist vote and to return Communist M.P.s.

The whole situation cries out aloud for Communist representation. A group of Communist M.P.s alongside a Labour victory would transform the whole position. It would strengthen the Left and progressive fight in Parliament and be the guarantee that the struggle for the alternative policy would be carried into the House.

And part of that effort will be our participation in the municipal elections, to achieve a breakthrough in many more local authorities. The Local Government elections and the struggle on the vital social services associated with them can be a great means of mobilising the people, and especially working class women, for political action.

The fight for a Labour majority and for Communist M.P.s are two sides of the same problem—the need for a new and radical political advance in Britain.

## **V. THE POSITION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**

We cannot accept the view that the struggle for a new Labour policy is over. The “unity” established at the Scarborough Labour Party Conference is a surface unity, which does not correspond with the real relationship of forces. For the Labour movement to accept present policies as final would condemn it to impotence and demoralisation.

As the struggle rises new forces will emerge, determined on a change.

But to get this change the movement must work on new lines. The repetition of another “Left” movement like those in the past, rejecting unity with the Communist Party and with no basis in mass struggle, is not going to get it.

To get the political change we need united action, and the rallying of all Left and militant forces in the Labour movement, and the building of the Communist Party.

The present situation demands united working class action. Consider the economic struggle and the fight for jobs. No section of the movement,

however well organised and militant, can tackle this in isolation. All the unions should act in a concerted way for a common programme each supporting the efforts of the others. The local authorities, the M.P.s, and the trades councils and the housewives should be involved. We need the widest movement of the whole public.

The same breadth and scope is needed in the struggle for peace, and in the General Election campaign.

The weakness at present is that this is not being done. Sectionalism is prevalent. There is no common programme. At the same time there have been splendid united efforts in various towns and districts.

Where are the T.U.C. and the Labour Party Executive? There is no joint call or programme for national action to fight the slump, no new initiative to end the cold war. If the T.U.C. spent less time in harrying those trade unions trying to operate real trade unionism, and more in fighting the slump, things would be different. If the Labour Party spent less time with the Fleet Street publicity boys on glossy presentation of the present policy, and more in real action to help the employed and unemployed, we would be a lot further forward.

What do we propose? Joint action by the trade union executives, backed by the T.U.C. and the Labour Party, for a nation-wide campaign to end the slump. They should give their backing to the miners to prevent pit closures and to all those who are threatened with redundancy; they should organise common action for a shorter working week now, and increased wages. The Parliamentary Labour Party should apply the utmost pressure in Parliament on these lines, backed by massive parliamentary lobbies.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to help every section of the movement in action on these lines. While doing this, we will conduct a national crusade for action around our programme, and find ways and means to generate and lead action to help the working class, seeking in every district and locality to get the widest united action.

At the same time this Congress should instruct the E.C. to launch a renewed struggle for an end to all bans and proscriptions in the Labour movement. Anti-communism is a cancer crippling the effectiveness of the working class. Anti-communism paved the way for de Gaulle in France. It is a menace to the whole working class movement. Anti-communism in the trade union movement helps the employers who are out to destroy the shop stewards and get state control over the trade unions.

Yet anti-communism in spite of its frenzy, is on a losing wicket in view of the tremendous advances of socialism contrasted with the increasing difficulties of capitalism.

No one can question the service given by men like Paynter, Moffat, Haxell, and others in the trade union movement. If these men could represent their unions in the Labour Party Conference as they so ably do in the Trades Union Congress, there would be a changed situation indeed. Bans on Communists holding official positions in some trade unions weaken these unions more than they do the Communist Party.

It is true that these bans apply only in a minority of unions affiliated to the T.U.C., but unfortunately it is in some of the most important,

such as the Transport and General Workers Union. Such bans deprive the unions of the services of some of the finest fighters in the trade union movement.

There needs to be, too, the rallying of all progressive militant and Left forces in the Labour movement and the strengthening of the Communist Party—both go together.

We repeat—it is false to say that progressive and Left developments in the Labour movement are finished. These developments will never finish, despite their ups and downs, because the Labour Party is a political coalition of Right and Left forces, those who support capitalism and those who are against it.

Whatever the temporary situation at this or that moment this struggle is bound to go on until militant policies prevail in the Labour movement.

What is the continual Left basis in the Labour Party? The workers in the trade unions, the Constituency Labour Parties and the Co-operatives struggling for a socialist policy. The very fact that the present Labour Party policies do not solve their problems will cause the struggle for a new policy to rise afresh. So the militant and Left progressive forces will find organised expression, whatever the attitude of those leaders claiming to be Left who have now made their peace with the Right. At the centre of this movement is the battle within the trade unions for a change—for the unions are the decisive force in deciding Labour Party policy.

It is these Left and progressive forces, which, in the last analysis, are responsible for the destiny of the British Labour movement. The Communist Party will support their struggle for peace, the advance of wages and social services and for the extension of nationalisation. On these great issues we all stand together.

Yet some lessons from the present position must be drawn by all socialist workers. The Bevanite movement broke up in confusion over policy on nationalisation and on nuclear weapons. In effect it rallied behind the right wing under the slogan of unity for the General Election.

This episode is not unique. This has happened time and again in the Left struggle over the years, and especially since 1945. At least we can say that before the war there was a wide measure of unity of the Left progressive forces, including the Communist Party. This unity led to the great anti-fascist mass actions, and the wide united actions against unemployment, with powerful influence and support in the trade unions and a great campaign against bans and proscriptions. There was a growth of propaganda and educational work for socialism. This is what made the movement in the thirties the power it was, despite all the attacks of the Right.

But since the war the attempt has been made to build the Left without the Communist Party, or a clear alternative programme. That is why it was foredoomed to failure, and could not achieve any decisive change in the balance of forces in the Labour movement. Whatever the differences on foreign policy, many of those professing to be on the Left still clung to N.A.T.O. and the alliance with the United States against the socialist world. In the testing time on the "new" Labour policy, the Left collapsed in confusion over nationalisation.

But above all the ruin of the Left is the attempt to combine partially militant policies with anti-Communism. It is not just that this becomes the weapon which the Right uses against all progressive and Left forces; lack of unity leads to the absence of mass movement, which is the only way in the long run to defeat the entrenched right-wing machine. A Left movement based on anti-communism is a fatal contradiction.

So what is the conclusion? The Labour movement needs the strongest possible development of the Left and progressive forces on a consistent militant socialist programme. At the same time there cannot be any real advance of the whole Left struggle without a mass Communist Party.

What are the facts?

In all major struggles our Party has been at its post. In the General Strike, in the whole period of mass unemployment between the wars, in the struggle against fascism at home and abroad, in the fight for the second front during the war, our Party proved its worth.

But in more recent times too. Who led the fight against the wage freeze? Who led the fight against the atom bomb and against German rearmament? Who led the fight for socialist consciousness? Who provided the forces for militant leadership in the workshops and the trade unions? Who at all times strove to rally the united forces of the movement and to end sectionalism?

When every other Left force was dissipated and eventually disappeared as an organised body we remained and developed. Why? Because the working class movement found us indispensable—if it hadn't, we would have disappeared from the scene years ago.

What is this, however, but another way of saying that the British working class needs a Party capable of giving leadership both in day-to-day struggles and in the fight for socialism—making unity and united action possible?

This is the function of the Communist Party, which no other working class organisation can fulfil.

Why is it that only the Communist Party can do this?

(a) Because the Communist Party is a socialist party with a Marxist outlook.

(b) Because it is composed of fearless fighters, principled in what they do.

(c) Because it links the immediate struggle with the ultimate aims of the working class—working-class power and socialism.

(d) Because the Communist Party is the Party of class struggle, without which the working class cannot bring about fundamental social change.

We are organised in the factories; we are constantly campaigning, with the *Daily Worker* and other literature, giving a working-class lead on every issue; we are a Party built for struggle against capitalism—a Party kept united in its purpose through democratic centralism and a Marxist outlook.

If you can, show me how the British working man is going to defeat the Employers Federation, break the control of the Tories and their press, and establish working-class power in Britain without such a Party.

The Communists are the only force in the world to carry through a social revolution. The Labour leaders talk of democratic socialism. What is it? Where is it? The only places where there is real socialism and socialist democracy is where the Communist Parties are leading the people. To imagine that we are going to get socialism in Britain without the Communist Party is to imagine the impossible. That is why a bigger Communist Party is now the real issue for the Labour movement, a bigger Communist Party and a strong Left movement united in the common struggle.

## VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE Y.C.L. AND THE "DAILY WORKER"

The atmosphere around this Congress is different from that of the last. The press was then writing that we were down and out—they will have to whistle a different tune this time.

At our last Congress we had 27,000 members—subsequently the membership dropped to 24,900.

At this year's re-registration carried out in record time we had 25,313 members. Today we have 26,560 with 189 applicants still to get their cards, a total of 26,749.

The Twenty-Fifth Congress was a milestone in the history of our Party. If the revisionist ideas current then had won (although in passing we may say they never had any chance of winning), they would have crippled our Party as a political force.

That is what our enemies wanted: we refused to oblige them. We routed the revisionists, and the result is that we are stronger than ever politically, and we will soon be stronger than ever numerically.

Under tremendous pressure and attack, you stood firm and hit back. Never did the subsequent events so justify a stand.

What did the Twenty-Fifth Congress achieve?

First, it adopted a mass political line for the defence of the British people which was the basis of all successes achieved since.

Second, it rejected all the dissolutionists and compromisers who would have turned the Communist Party into a spineless talking shop, or abolished it altogether. While developing inner-Party democracy along the lines of the majority report, it preserved our basic organisation, and principles of democratic centralism.

We strengthened our fighting organisations and deepened our political understanding and maturity, so that in the mass struggles of these last two years we have been to the fore.

Of those comrades who left but still desire to serve communism, some have come back. To the others we say: Hasn't the time come to rejoin your fellow comrades in ours, the greatest of all causes?

Third, Congress rejected the revisionist illusions of a reformed capitalism. We refused to walk into the bog of Gaitskell's "managed" capitalism.

Fourth, Congress rejected the idea that the Labour Party alone was enough for the British working class to advance to socialism. How correct we were is shown by the collapse of the left at the Scarborough Labour Party Conference.

Fifth, the revisionists wanted to undermine our proletarian internationalism. They wanted the Party to take a stand that would have separated us from the world Communist movement. They could not or would not see that the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. was an epoch-making event in the history of the Communist movement. At our Twenty-Fifth Congress we declared: "Whatever the temporary problems arising from putting right the mistakes disclosed by the Twentieth Congress, in the long run the Communist movement can only be strengthened."

Look at what has happened since—the gigantic developments in the Soviet Union, not only the sweeping material advances, but the flowering of socialist democracy, and now the finest adventure of man, the advance to communism. We see, too, the tempestuous developments in People's China—650 million people caught up in a great and moving co-operative enterprise to turn feudal China into a modern, advanced socialist nation. And there are corresponding developments in all socialist countries.

If we had separated ourselves from this we would have been blind political fools, as well as political opportunists. But we didn't, and so today we are proud to be part of the invincible 33-million-strong movement in eighty-three countries of the world.

At the height of the clamour we declared our solidarity with the Communists and working class of Hungary. The Hungarian people have more than repaid the confidence expressed in them by all militant workers, with their tremendous achievements since 1956.

A great step in cementing the international solidarity of the Communist movement was the world meeting of Communist Parties held in Moscow in November, 1957, and the historic Declaration it adopted.

The Communist Parties have developed their relations in the light of that Declaration, with each Party an independent body, the best custodian of the true national interests of its people, but all united and fortified by common social aims and fraternal international solidarity.

Here we would pay special tribute to the great French Communist Party in its struggle against de Gaulle. Along with the Italian Communist Party, they are the true defenders of democratic liberties, national independence and social progress in Western Europe. We declare our confidence that whatever the struggles they face they will triumph.

We British Communists likewise stand out as the spokesmen of the true interests of the British people. It is the working class which is now the real defender of national independence and political and social freedom, and socialism is the way to preserve and develop these.

We therefore welcome Comrade Khrushchov's statement at the Twenty-First Congress, in which, after thanking the fraternal parties for appreciating the historic role of the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. in blazing the trail, as the first to carry out the socialist revolution, he said:

"It must be emphasised, however, that there has always been complete equality and independence for all the Communist and Workers' Parties and the socialist countries in the Communist movement and in the socialist camp. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not control any of the other parties. The Soviet Union does not control any other country.

“There are no ‘superior’ and ‘subordinate’ parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist and Workers’ Parties are equal and independent. All of them bear responsibility for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its failures, and its successes. And each Communist and Workers’ Party bears responsibility to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international workers’ and Communist movement.”

The independence of each Communist Party, with the benefits of fraternal international solidarity, is the guarantee that socialism will eventually triumph in every country of the world.

The revisionist offensive reflected in our Party the illusions and reformist opportunism fostered in the British working class movement by the right-wing leaders, particularly during the period of full employment. The developing economic and political situation provides a great new opportunity to defeat right-wing ideas among the masses. That is why we say that the campaign against right-wing ideology in the Labour movement and its expression—revisionism—in our own ranks, remains our main ideological task.

That is the reason, too, why we hit back at the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We are not concerned with their internal situation. But they made an analysis of the international situation and of *our* internal situation under capitalism, and this we criticised and rejected. With respect, we know more about capitalism than they do. They failed to find an echo in our Party.

At the same time Congress rejected sectarian ideas, such as that of the Party going it alone without other sections of the Labour movement or a small Party limited to the revolutionary elite.

Our Congress policy was non-sectarian, broad and popular, providing a basis for united action. Getting united action, however, is difficult in view of the political atmosphere. Big efforts were made in many places, but still not nearly enough. That is why we have made this issue the main feature of this Congress.

Congress also rejected a dogmatist approach to problems. Here valuable steps have been taken in Marxist examination and discussion of economic, political, social and cultural problems in *Marxism Today*, and these will be further developed in the “Socialism Today” series.

At the same time the disruption caused in 1957 by revisionism in the Party weakened some aspects of the Party’s mass work, and to that degree our effectiveness in the Labour movement.

Towards the end of 1957 and throughout 1958, our mass work grew. We widely distributed the Peace Manifesto of the World Parties, and conducted a campaign in support of it. In January and February 1958, came our campaign and march against the United States bases. Then came the municipal elections in which we scored modest successes.

This was followed by great May Day demonstrations, and then the All-National March on June 29th. We can tell this was a success for the ITV and B.B.C. were there, and they have never shown an inch of the film they took.

Then there has been our propaganda campaign and recruiting drive—

some 215 meetings with bigger attendances than for some years. Our branches took for sale 33,000 of *Which Way for Socialists?* and 91,000 copies of the Election Pictorial have already been taken. Our anti-slump programme leaflet was distributed in 260,000 copies; 3,614 recruits have been won for the Party. There has been the activity of so many of our branches on local issues.

So, valuable advances have been made, although there are still many weaknesses in bringing about united action, in developing the branches, a failure—despite big efforts—to break through on the *Daily Worker* circulation, and completely insufficient practical help to the Y.C.L.

All this is only the first step. We have to make a further consistent effort in the next two years to create a mass base for our Party if we really believe that its expansion is now the major issue for the working-class movement.

The next steps are outlined in the resolution.

### **United Action and a Big Extension of Our Public Activity**

The resolution charges every Party organisation, from the Executive to the branches to work for united action. This was the big lesson of last year's struggles when victory over and over again depended on whether the united strength of the movement would be used. Twice since the last Congress we have sent letters to the National Council of Labour calling for this united action, but all our suggestions have so far fallen on deaf ears.

The Executive will take the further steps we have indicated to convince the whole Labour movement of this need.

We particularly appeal to the District and branch organisations. The united campaigns of the tenants and the big developments in the struggle for work show what can be done. The anti-Tory Committees based on factories and the General Election campaign can be a great step forward.

Here is where we must make a big attack on sectarianism. Bans and proscriptions are bad enough, but self-imposed bans are totally unnecessary and absurd. Every individual member and Party organisation can get better relations with Labour people and help to develop united campaigning.

The greatest extension of the Party's public work should go hand in hand with our efforts for united action. The biggest danger is that we shall not plunge into events, shall let opportunities go by, and shall fail to give the people the leadership and help they need.

### **Building the Party**

What has been the experience of the recruiting campaign?

Some said the situation wasn't ripe for such an effort and that the anti-Communist drive was too strong. But we have got 3,500 answers to those arguments. We have shown what support there is around our Party. The recruits came to us because of fighting political leadership.

Some said we couldn't recruit because their branches were not working properly. But we can now show from actual experience how people have come into our Party and transformed the branches.

The recruiting campaign became effective only after the Party was convinced, after it went to the masses and saw the response to our policy, after the experience of the Scarborough Labour Conference, and when leadership was given and the public case for the Party was put.

The essence of the campaign was that it drew supporters into the Party. Only to a limited extent was new ground broken. Now our task is to extend the appeal, to reach out on the widest possible scale to build the Party.

The next step is to reach the 34,000 at which we stood before.

This period will coincide with the fortieth anniversary in 1960 of the founding of the Party. We will make special plans to mark this significant anniversary. The best way to celebrate, however, will be with a big increase in membership.

But already we can say this in advance; we were created by the working class out of the British Labour movement, the British Socialist Party and other sections, and today there are in our ranks the most capable and devoted working class fighters of this country.

In the last forty years, all the great moments of British working class history are part of the history of our Party. We have been and always will be loyal to the British working class, we always have given and will always give unstinted service to our class.

In planning our work for this new big recruiting effort, we attach special importance to the factories, to work among the unemployed, and to a renewed drive amongst the intellectuals and students.

In the coming two years, too, we should charge the Executive to make a really big effort to recruit women to the Party. The time is ripe for this. The success of all our efforts depends on getting the whole Party and not only our women comrades to recruit women to the Party.

### **The Fight for the "British Road to Socialism"**

The fight for *The British Road to Socialism* is an essential part of our day to day struggle, whose success is linked with our ability to increase class consciousness and defeat the right-wing ideas.

In all our speeches, lectures and articles, we should show the class relations in society and how they affect the struggle. The growing difficulties of capitalism and the successes of the socialist system offer particularly great and new opportunities for deepening the understanding of the working class.

More and more we need to stress that we are not in politics only for the day to day struggle, but also to win political power and transform society.

More and more, as the problems of capitalism increase and the crisis develops, the ideas of *The British Road to Socialism* become the order of the day.

We need to deepen Marxist education in all ways. All the recruits should be helped with new members' classes. The study of Marxism must become a regular feature of Party life. We need also to encourage the production of new, original Marxist writings. *Marxism Today* has done good work here, now we need to do better.

Our literature has a decisive part to play in the development of class consciousness, the spreading of socialist ideas. There has been a certain improvement here but still too little. We need to campaign for literature in such a way that it becomes an ordinary thing for all Party members always to carry half a dozen of our pamphlets around with them wherever they go.

### **An All-Out National Campaign for the "Daily Worker" in 1959**

This is now a central issue. We pay tribute to the magnificent way the *Daily Worker* has helped us, the Labour movement and the working class generally over the last two years since the Congress. A big job is being done by a limited number of branches and members and we thank them for what they have achieved. But, comrades, are we not taking the production of the *Daily Worker* for granted? All papers are feeling the draught, but the *Daily Worker*, without the huge subsidies that the advertisers give to the other papers, is bound to feel the draught even more. Haven't we arrived at a position where comrades think that we don't need to bother about the paper? Isn't it a fact that the Party, except for the factory organisations and branches with week-end rounds, is too divorced from the paper?

This is a political question. We cannot achieve the advance described in this report and in the resolution without a big increase in the *Daily Worker* circulation.

The aim of this circulation drive is really to make the *Daily Worker* the common organiser and inspirer of the struggle, a unifying force. If the *Daily Worker* got into the hands of all Labour Party and trade union activists every day the situation in Britain could be transformed. This is what is at stake.

It is needed to act as a forum and expression of all militant and progressive views of Labour M.P.s, trade union and Co-op leaders, factory and pit leaders, all militants, while continuing to do its main job—the publication of the Party's policy.

It is in this spirit that we will launch a great sales drive throughout 1959. The sales drive also has important financial aspects; 5,000 new daily readers means £12,500 a year, badly needed money.

### **The Young Communist League**

We must say at this Congress that we have not done nearly enough for the Y.C.L. In particular we have not supplied the 500 Party members we decided on.

We should pay tribute to the Y.C.L. comrades who have kept going despite their difficulties. The excellent Youth Festivals organised jointly by the Party and the Y.C.L. show what can be done.

We cannot build the Party without building the Y.C.L. To refuse to give the necessary help is to cut our own throats. But while the Party re-registered 100 per cent, the Y.C.L. did not.

The Labour Party fears the youth politically. That is why it has dissolved its youth organisation again and again. But do we not fear youth in other ways?

We don't need to argue here about that well-known fact of the exploitation of youth. What we need to assert is that we cannot have socialism without the youth. The capitalist class knows this very well. That is why so much of its propaganda is aimed at the youth.

Yet we can have Party branches perfectly happy to go on without a Y.C.L. Not only are Party branches at fault in this. We can have our Executive also seemingly content to go on without giving enough help.

We propose, therefore, that the Party should organise a series of big youth events. It should publish special material for youth. Above all, we should provide extra forces from the Party for the Y.C.L.

### **Branches as Self-Reliant Political Campaigning Bodies**

There has been an advance here, but there is still a great deal to do.

First of all, we could do with many more branches. There are big possibilities in factories where we have one or two members. As we recruit, new branches can be built in areas and towns where we have none at the moment.

The branches have been making advances with literature, especially our election pictorial—with meetings, electoral work, in movements on the Rent Act, work and wages, and, of course, with recruiting.

Big opportunities open up for factory branches. The best way to consolidate their political influence is by bigger sales of the *Daily Worker* and of our literature.

But the biggest thing for local or residential branches is the development of mass work on Party policy and local issues, contesting elections, *Daily Worker* and literature sales, the training of members. The contesting of elections is a crucial part of the work of the local branches. Just think what would happen if our factory comrades did not contest shop steward or trade union elections!

Even in the present municipal elections, where we have around 300 candidates, the majority of Party branches are not contesting. How can we become effective political organisations in the areas unless we contest?

Maybe some of our branches are still too weak. But there are a great many branches which have existed for years without contesting.

We don't want to give the comrades a lecture on the need for a change. What the comrades want is help, practical help from the Area, District and Executive Committees. And this help must be forthcoming if the situation is to be changed.

To be an effective branch doesn't mean that you have to be big. The smallest branch can do effective mass work. Even if the branch fights one rent case, or helps one unemployed worker in a struggle that is a step towards gaining the support of the people in the locality, it is the foundation of large-scale mass work.

## **VII. CONCLUSION**

The outstanding feature of our time, is the contrast between the two social systems—rapidly advancing socialism and stagnating capitalism.

When Macmillan was in Moscow he was forced to admit that the rate

and quality of Soviet progress were unparalleled in history. It must have cost him something to admit that. But the most significant thing was that he dared not go on to say, "We, with our capitalist system, will challenge you and beat you." It is a far cry indeed from the day when Churchill boasted that he would strangle Bolshevism at birth.

Forty-one years ago the Russian workers had only their revolutionary organisation and courage supported by the advanced workers of the world. Today we have the socialist camp with 1,000 million inhabitants.

What was the world importance of the Twenty-First Congress of the C.P.S.U.? First, it adopted aims of breath-taking social advance in the U.S.S.R. which means that the Soviet Union will have the shortest hours and ultimately the highest standards in the world.

Second, when the Seven-Year Plan is achieved, along with the advance of the other socialist countries, especially China, the socialist world will be producing more than the capitalist world. This will be a further historic and decisive change in the balance of world forces.

Third, this very strength and advance of socialism is the greatest contribution to the preservation of world peace, making wars less likely.

Finally, the plan is the threshold of the most noble prospect known to man—the advance to Communist society—when human society can run on the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs." With truth Khrushchov could say:

"Centuries will pass but the glory of our heroic epoch, the epoch of Socialist and Communist construction will never fade."

What a contrast with the capitalist world. Everywhere we have crisis and stagnation, unemployment and unused capacity. The imperialists vainly try to keep their hold on their rapidly disappearing empires, but the colonial masses are on the move and will never go back. Capitalism is losing, but is still capable of immense damage and even the disaster of nuclear war. But who can doubt that the socialist and progressive forces of the world possess the strength to stop nuclear war?

It is almost incomprehensible that at this moment the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party should pin their faith to managed capitalism. This is all the more reason why the British people can be won for the real way forward in our programme, *The British Road to Socialism*.

For Britain is a great nation with resources and with talented and skilled people, and it could play a leading part in the world once the restrictions, crimes and stupidities of capitalism are removed.

That—no less—is our aim.

So what in brief is the message of this Congress?

It is a call to unity and action to sweep away the Tories, elect a Labour Government with Communist M.P.s, avert a slump and preserve peace.

It is a call to the British people and the Labour movement to take the socialist road at this great moment in history.

This is our message. Let us go forward and win!

# REPORT ON NEW RULES

By William Lauchlan

The decision to prepare new Rules and to organise all-Party discussion based on a Draft arose from the consideration by our Twenty-Fifth Congress of the question of inner-Party democracy.

In preparing the Draft we had also to take into account the decisions of the Congress on the Political Report and the new ideas contained in *The British Road to Socialism*.

There was a very good discussion in the Party when the Draft Rules were issued, and 304 amendments were submitted by branches and District Committees.

Every amendment was carefully considered and many of them are being recommended by the E.C. for acceptance. Many of the remaining amendments are not being recommended simply because we do not think they make for an improvement in wording, and not because of any serious political objection to the points raised.

In preparing the Draft we decided that it was necessary to produce a document which would offer a simple and logical presentation of our aims and the way in which the Party works, thus meeting the need for material we can give to those considering joining our Party. For this reason there have been not only changes in rule but a considerable re-arrangement of their order.

## What do we Expect of Our Rules?

The organisation of a political party depends on, and corresponds to, its political aims and conceptions of how these aims are to be realised.

Therefore our Rules should, first of all, define the general aim of the Party, its vanguard role, organisational principles and structure, the conditions of membership, and the rights and duties of members.

Secondly, they should correspond with the political and organisational tasks of the Party at a given stage. That means for us they should correspond with the present stage of the struggle in which our aim is to help build a movement of the whole working class powerful enough to challenge the capitalist class, force them to submit to the democratic verdict of the people as indicated in our programme *The British Road to Socialism* and so open the way to socialism in Britain.

Thirdly, it is not enough to be a Party with a scientific theory of socialism and a Party leading the immediate struggles. To accomplish

these tasks the Communist Party has to be organised in a way different from that of earlier political parties of the working class.

Therefore our Rules should give our members and potential members an understanding of the principles on which the Party works, and the procedure governing inner-Party life.

We believe that the recommendations now before Congress satisfy these demands.

### **The Aims of the Party**

Our Party was formed in 1920, just after the First World War, to meet the historic needs of the British working class. It emerged as an integral part of the British Labour movement, bringing together its most militant and far-sighted representatives.

In setting out our aims in Rule 2 we are responding in this stage to these needs by making clear, right at the outset, that we are a British Party whose aim is to establish socialism here in Britain, and to abolish the right of one man to rob another of the fruits of his labour.

Indeed we are the only Party in Britain today proclaiming socialism as its aim, for the Labour Party has now publicly abandoned even the pretence of socialism and is committed to a policy of "managed capitalism".

Our programme, *The British Road to Socialism*, based on the application of Marxism to British conditions in the present stage of the struggle, gives purpose and direction, inspiration and perspective to all our struggles and is reflected in our declaration of aims.

At the same time the struggle of the working people the world over is a common one, and so we have emphasised that we are part of the world-wide movement for Communism. We base our international outlook on the common interests and aspirations of the working class in all countries, on international working class solidarity, and have fraternal relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries for the victory of the common aims of the working class.

In addition, in setting out our aims we have clearly stated that an essential part of the struggle of the British working people is assisting the movements of the people in the colonies for their national liberation, with special responsibility towards the liberation struggle of all peoples within the sphere of British imperialism.

### **Vanguard Role, Organisational Principles and Structure**

The achievement of our aims requires political power in the hands of the working class and its allies.

To realise this objective it is necessary for our aims to become those of the people. How is this to be done? This can only be assured to the extent the Party gives leadership to the working class and its allies in daily class struggle.

The Communist Party must be seen and its role demonstrated and proved in practice, in action.

This means that the Party must be able to combine leadership and action on immediate issues of the struggle against capitalism with constant efforts to raise the level of political understanding of the workers for the attainment of political power and the building of socialism.

The nature of the struggle imposes certain requirements on the organisation of the Party. It must be unified and able to give leadership in all conditions. This is only possible if all the membership works together and accepts a common discipline. It needs a single leading centre with an Executive Committee able to lead the whole Party and influence the workers and the Labour movement. It must have many strong leading comrades, growing in the struggle and in their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, able to stand firm and resolute even in the most difficult conditions. It calls for a bigger membership so as to reach out more widely to influence and move the working class, to whom we must explain clearly and patiently the aims and policy of our Party.

Never has the need been more urgent for the working class to have a powerful, unified leadership to give guidance in its battles. Every experience since our last Congress has heavily underlined this need.

The engineering bosses have now made public what we said two years ago, that they were spoiling for a showdown with the engineers. That would have affected the whole of the working class. But there was no *class* leadership from the Labour Party or the T.U.C., or from the National Council of Labour.

Last year, when the major class battle was being fought out behind the line-up of the London bus-workers and the London Transport Executive and Tory Government, and more recently in the growing struggle against pit closures, unemployment and short-time working—in all of these struggles only the Communist Party put forward a policy to overcome sectional interests, and campaigned with initiative and spirit to try to arouse the working class for common struggle to defend common class interests.

The interests of the working class as a whole can only be represented by a political class party created and organised for that purpose. Such a party doesn't set itself up in opposition to the other organisations of the Labour movement, but strives ceaselessly to develop working class unity and united action.

Such a party is our Party, the Communist Party. No one can doubt that when the miners, dockers, engineers, textile workers, understand fully the need for a change in Labour policy, they will bring it about. Nor can we doubt that the more the Communist Party grows among these sections of the workers, the more our campaigning among them increases, the sooner will this change in policy be brought about. The stronger the Communist Party, the more powerful and more united will be the Labour movement and class leadership will be given accordingly.

That is why the ruling class works feverishly to try to sap the faith of our members and supporters. And they are becoming desperate because, as Macmillan put it last November in his Guildhall speech to the bankers, "The battle is on", and *they* know that *we* are going to win. The essential for speedy victory of the working class and its allies in this battle is a great and rapid development and all-round strengthening of our Party.

The source of our strength is our ideological unity, the acceptance of a common theoretical basis and outlook, and a common discipline.

In contrast to the Labour Party or a trade union, the Communist Party is a body of people with a common political outlook—that of Marxism-

Leninism. Since the formation of the Labour Party there has always been a right wing and a left wing, a majority and a minority, and a permanent political conflict between them reflecting the division between those who want to fight capitalism and those who want the Labour movement to accommodate itself to capitalism.

This is not the position in the Communist Party. Coming together on the basis of a common ideology and aim we differ decisively from the Labour Party.

Basing ourselves on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism we have established the firm foundation of our unity and strength. And we express this organisationally by basing ourselves on democratic centralism.

This combines the greatest democratic participation of the membership in Party life with an elected, centralised leadership capable of directing the entire Party, of leading all its forces into action in a unified and disciplined manner.

Democratic Centralism means:

(a) All leading committees shall be elected regularly and shall report regularly to the Party organisations which elected them.

(b) Elected higher committees shall have the right to take decisions binding on lower committees and shall explain these decisions to them. Such decisions shall not be in conflict with decisions of the National Congress or Executive Committee.

(c) Elected higher committees shall encourage lower committees and organisations to express their views on questions of Party policy and the carrying out of such policy.

(d) Lower committees and organisations shall carry out decisions of the higher committees, and shall express their views, raise problems and make suggestions to higher committees.

(e) Decisions shall be made by majority vote, and minorities shall accept the decisions of the majority.

The view expressed in the Golborne amendments that higher committees should not have the right to take decisions binding on lower organisations, except in what might be termed an emergency, was overwhelmingly rejected by the Twenty-Fifth Congress, and will, I am confident, be similarly rejected by this Congress. In the course of the struggle against capitalism the working class cannot wait at each stage until such time as a poll of our members has taken place before the E.C. is able to make a decision.

Our Executive Committee is able to give leadership because it is close to the Party and the Labour movement. We have on the Executive Committee outstanding leaders of miners, engineers, electricians, builders and other sections of the working class. There are shop stewards and other mass leaders of workers in factories, pits and depots in daily contact with masses of workers. Then there are comrades who are local public figures acquainted with hundreds and thousands in the localities, and a group of Party organisers who know what is going on not only in the Party, but amongst the workers whom they meet at the many factory gate meetings they address. The comrades at the Centre and *Daily Worker* are at the heart of all this, and are aware through their own public work

and the flow of correspondence containing ideas, experiences, suggestions and criticisms, of the mood of the Party and the workers. That is why, by and large, the E.C. comes to take decisions that correspond to the tasks and interests of the working class and Labour movement.

The Executive Committee must have the responsibility for taking decisions between Congresses. But it must also make every effort to improve its connections with the Party organisations, and, in fact, the pledge to initiate discussions and to consult "whenever possible" in deciding new policy between Congresses is clearly set out in the Draft now before Congress.

No other political party provides such facilities for democratic expression. No other political party does as much as our Party to encourage discussion in the branches and at all levels of our organisation. Since our last Congress two years ago the E.C. has acted fully in accordance with the spirit of the decisions on inner-Party democracy adopted then.

Despite the exhaustive discussion around our programme *The British Road to Socialism*, prior to the Twenty-Fifth Congress, another round of discussion took place after the document had been redrafted in the light of the Congress decisions, and more time and attention was devoted to the many suggestions sent in before the new edition was finally published. A document on old-age pensions was circulated throughout the Party asking for comments in view of the important issues raised by the new developments in pensions policy. These Draft Rules now before Congress were issued earlier than required by Rule to ensure maximum time for discussion. The theoretical discussion journal, *Marxism Today*, was launched and published monthly in order to provide additional scope for discussion. The period of pre-Congress discussion has been extended from two to three months.

Because of all this, making clear that we are striving to ensure the combination of democracy and ability to act, we are convinced Congress will endorse the proposals on democratic centralism with the amendments recommended for acceptance.

### **Conditions of Membership**

We have clearly stated in our recommendation that membership shall be open to persons of eighteen years and upwards who accept the aims and policy and rules of the Party, pay their dues regularly, and work in a Party organisation.

The views put forward by the Walthamstow branch advocating Associate Membership of the Party would weaken the Party and prevent it from functioning as it must.

Associate or probationary membership is completely unnecessary in our conditions. It is not only unnecessary; it would have the effect of promoting artificial divisions in our ranks.

South Brighton branch propose the abolition of all responsibility other than the payment of dues. This would have the effect of turning the Communist Party into the very opposite of what it must be. The Communist Party as a Party of struggle cannot be a loose assembly or association of individuals. The Party is the sum, not of its individual

members, but of its branches. It is organisation which ensures that Communist ideas will become all-powerful.

For the Communist Party, therefore, it is a matter of principle that every member must work in a Party organisation.

On the other hand when you look at Rule 14 dealing with the duties of members, you will notice that some of the amendments seek to add to the list of such duties.

We are recommending the rejection of these amendments along with those of Walthamstow and South Brighton.

These differing proposals or approaches are really two sides of the same medal. For long enough we've had arguments in the Party about active versus inactive members, whereas really the issue is the character of our branch activity and branch life, that it should be of a varied nature, with a wide range of activity which can offer scope for every member to find something to do for the Party.

Although there are welcome signs of improvement in the work of our branches and they are involving more comrades in activity, we have a great deal to learn about helping members to find their place in the Party.

Many of our new members have already shown that they are not only ready and willing, but also very able to tackle almost any job needing to be done. There are others, however, who don't find it so easy to fit into the life of their Party branches. Yet they, as much as any others, want to be in our Party and to become fighters for our policy.

Patient discussion with such comrades individually on how they can help, seeking out the things they can tackle with confidence, would repay all the time involved.

On the other hand there are some comrades who are not new members and who present the same kind of problem. Some of them are active in a variety of ways, but don't come to branch meetings and just work away on their own. Some others not only don't come to branch meetings; they don't seem to engage in any activity either.

For us it is a point of principle that every member must work in a Party organisation. But this must be interpreted in the conditions of Britain today according to the personal circumstances of the comrade concerned, taking account of his political understanding, type of work he finds himself most capable of doing, and the opportunities provided for him, and the help given him, by his branch.

Part of the solution to this problem is to fit the branch a bit more to the members and try to find a way of getting them active under the direction of the branch leadership, showing them how to take the policy of the Party among the people with whom they naturally have the closest ties.

We have to make a much bigger and more sustained effort to win greater numbers of comrades to take more part in the organised work of the Party, but the effectiveness of the Party and its work will not come from instruction or command. It is a matter of political leadership, not the question of tightening up this Rule.

We shall succeed in this if our policy is correct, and if the most experienced and devoted comrades can inspire others with enthusiasm for it; and are able to get the newest and most inexperienced members

to feel that they, personally, one way or another, can make a contribution to our work.

### **The Branches**

We have simplified and made more specific the rule on branches and branch committees. Although we don't think it is a matter for rule to propose the election of officials at the A.G.M. we are in favour of maintaining for the branch the same initial procedure as for all other elected committees—that is, the committee is elected first and then proceeds to decide upon its officers. The branch should receive a report to enable it to endorse or reject the proposals.

The effectiveness or otherwise of our Party depends on our branches. They are the key organisations of the Party. We can have the best material and district leadership and lead, we can produce the best *Daily Worker* possible, the best leaflets, but whether these get to the people depends on the branches.

The strength and influence of the Communist Party depends above all on the strength of its branches. It is through the branches that we get the closest unity between the Party and the people.

We appreciate that there are many difficulties in many branches, difficulties in filling various positions. If the branches are the key to our whole development, they have got to be treated as such. This is a standing challenge to the Congress and the Executive Committee and every district committee, for the branches need and deserve attention. They have to be helped to get a grasp of what is possible and necessary in relation to what the Party as a whole is trying to do.

There should be regular reporting and explanation of the policy adopted by the Executive Committee to the branches, consistent attention to the training of branch leaders, so that strong collective teams are established.

Leadership must be fought for and the Executive Committee and district committees need to help the branches to express our leading role in three main ways:

1. Our policy-making role in the movement nationally and locally.
2. Our contribution to initiating action nationally and locally on the widest united scale.
3. Our propaganda role nationally and locally.

That is why we place so much importance on the branches becoming increasingly lively, active and influential factory and local organisations. Naturally each branch cannot take up every issue. There must be selection and application according to circumstances and forces. The important thing to ensure is that the branches do appear publicly to the greatest possible extent, reacting to events and striving to give public political leadership.

And it is a serious criticism of all of us that we do not yet have the decisive turn to the factories. All over the country there are more branches displaying initiative and improving their work. But the well organised, politically developed factory branches of the Party are still the exception and not the rule. Yet it is vital for progress that we should extend our organisation and membership where class understanding is strongest,

where the power and influence of the workers can be most rapidly organised and brought into action.

The conclusion to draw from all that has been said in this Congress is that we must elevate the role of our branches, both factory and area.

### **Membership Dues**

When the Draft was issued, the amount of membership dues was left open for Party branches and districts to express their views. There have been many amendments proposing an increase.

Before deciding the issue of the membership dues, and remembering that it has always been our policy to keep dues as low as possible so that finance, or lack of it, should not be a hindrance to anyone joining the Party, we must consider how much it does cost to finance a political party, and where the money comes from. These are pertinent questions in days when, in order to make an impression on the electorate, as well as the young people without a vote, a political party has to have considerable resources.

The Tories maintain a veil of secrecy over their financial affairs, although there is no secret about the source of their finances. In 1926 Stanley Baldwin, appealing for funds, urged "the City of London to give a lead in providing that support, which as businessmen, they should be prepared to give in view of our efforts to make their business safe."

When in 1947 Lord Woolton launched the Tory appeal for £1 million fighting fund, he admitted "in the past the Party has been shy of asking for money and it has collected for its central fund from a few hundred people". Yet in the three subsequent General Elections the total expenditure of the Tory candidates was approximately £1,400,000. This very large figure is over and above the cost of maintaining the vast Tory apparatus at headquarters and throughout the country.

As for the Labour Party, the financial statement submitted to the 1958 Conference showed a total income of £241,514 in 1957.

Of this, £209,408 was derived from T.U. affiliation fees, and £31,166 from the Constituency Labour Parties. Morgan Phillips has only recently announced that the Labour Party will spend in the coming General Election £750,000—that is, ten times more than in the last General Election.

What about our own Party? The main source of our income is membership dues. It is a fact that a large proportion of our members do pay something over and above dues in the form of guarantees or donations. Nevertheless the main basis of Party finance is the membership dues and it is so because it is the obligatory payment that has to be made by all.

Last year the income for the whole Party from membership dues was £21,500. This is a very considerable sum and it is true that the individual contribution, as well as the proportion of members paying their dues are both very much higher than in the Labour Party. The Wilson Report in 1954 estimated that only about half the individual members of the Labour Party paid dues. But it is none the less a very small amount compared with the income of the Labour and Tory Parties, and by no

means enough to carry out all the multitude of activities and responsibilities our Party has to undertake.

In addition we believe that the rising costs over the years since the last increase was agreed to, make it essential for us to raise the dues payments from 6d. to 8d. a week for employed comrades, in order to carry through more effectively the work of the Party at all levels, and to meet the demands for a great expansion of the work as envisaged in Comrade Gollan's report.

Some comrades may feel that it would be better if we raised more from guarantors to avoid an increase in dues. We are of the opinion, however, in the situation of rising costs facing the Party, that the *entire* employed membership should share the responsibility of helping to provide some of the additional cash required, and not merely those who can be convinced to contribute a donation.

I want to make it quite clear that the extra 2d. will not solve our problem—it will help. But while an increase is necessary we feel, in the present circumstances, that 8d. per week for employed comrades is as high as we can raise the membership dues and a bigger, more sustained fight will need to be organised to increase revenue from all other sources.

A big question for all of us as we considered this issue was: will an increase in dues hinder recruitment?

We do not accept the suggestion that an increase in our dues from 6d. to 8d. will be a barrier to recruitment to our Party. The decision to join the Party is a political act and the extra 2d. per week will not be the decisive factor in such a decision.

There are, however, practices and failings in our Party which can be a barrier to recruitment. One of the worst is the neglect in many branches to ensure the full, prompt and regular collection of dues. The less frequent the collection, the greater the arrears and, while 8d. a week can and will be paid without complaint, especially if it is collected regularly, when this doesn't happen and it mounts up to many shillings, some members may feel resentment. The other side of the medal is that failure to collect dues not only piles up arrears, but also means that there is insufficient contact, and not enough is being done to draw comrades into the political life of the Party. To the extent that comrades are contacted and involved in activity, then, out of their growing understanding, they will not only pay their dues, but many of them will gladly contribute what extra is called for and they can afford.

At the same time, in order to deal adequately with our financial need, we must go wider afield than our own membership for financial assistance, confident that there are many workers who will contribute to our funds.

We are therefore recommending this increase in dues, confident that it is a measure which can strengthen the Party, and further equip it to carry out its tasks, and that our membership will recognise its necessity.

### **The Structure of the Party**

In the group of rules giving a description of the general structure of our Party, we have dealt with the meaning of the term "leading Committees", i.e. the main committees elected by the vote of the membership: branch, district, Executive Committee, and then moved on to a more

detailed treatment of each of the Party organisations and committees mentioned.

We are proposing to alter the title of Rule 6 to "The Structure of the Party" and to accept the term "place of work" as a more familiar term than "enterprise" when referring to factory branches.

The position of the area committees is dealt with in this Rule, and the Draft makes it clear that where they are required such committees may be set up. We have decided that we cannot accept the representations made for extension of the powers and authority of area committees.

These committees vary greatly in size of membership covered, in the character of their organisation and in the authority they are able to exercise, not only between different districts, but also within districts.

They range from the bigger, well-established and authoritative committees in London, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and a number of other cities, to small, virtually *ad hoc* bodies in some districts, and even within the districts embracing the ones mentioned above.

Our rules, rights and duties have got to apply to all or none. We believe that at the present stage of our development it wouldn't help the democratic life of the Party to give area committees the various powers asked for in the amendments to the Draft. This also applies to disciplinary powers.

The principle on which we are operating is to simplify wherever possible and to make clear that the structure of the Party rests on the district and the branch. What comes between is related to the particular needs and conditions of the area concerned, and on this question the Executive Committee gives general guidance to the districts.

### **Duties and Rights**

Some of the bourgeois ideologists and our class enemies attack us on the structure of the Party. They say this is an inhuman Party subject to an iron discipline. We know only too well what is behind the crocodile tears. They are enraged by the fact that we have a united disciplined party.

There are others in the Labour movement who feel that there is little concern for individual rights in our Party. They underestimate both the need for a disciplined Party in waging the class struggle and the actual democracy that exists in the Communist Party.

Our Party is not governed by orders "from above" but by majority decisions arrived at on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and we have no doubt how the working class generally and the Party in particular is strengthened by democratic centralism.

To give leadership, the Party has to put forward a clear socialist policy both in relation to immediate and long-term aims. But the formation of policy is not the job of the leadership alone. It demands the most active participation of the whole Party membership. This is why we have written into the Rules the right of members to take part in their Party branch in the discussion and formation of Party policy.

At the same time it is necessary to fight for decisions even if we personally disagree with them. We cannot have a position where members claim all rights up to the taking of a decision, and then demand the right

to contract out if the decision is one with which they are in disagreement.

Then again we have introduced a new clause in Rule 15 on the right to reserve opinion in the event of disagreement with a decision, while at the same time carrying out that decision.

Our Party is an organisation based on ideological unity on all questions concerning basic principles, and unity of action on all practical issues.

On matters of day to day work it is possible there may be differences of view to some extent, but in order to get the work done it is necessary to act according to the principle that individuals, without being forced to give up opinions, must accept and carry out majority decisions.

As for the duties of members, a few branches suggested increasing them, but we believe they have been stated clearly, precisely and fully, and we are opposed to any extension of the list.

### **Conclusion**

Finally, we have a group of Rules dealing with organisational matters such as the procedure for admission, transfer, and so on, with only minor changes from existing rules.

The problem here is not changing the Rules, but the systematic operation of them by Party organisations.

We have made specific the responsibilities of a branch or other leading committee in considering an application for membership. It is necessary to ensure an improvement in the treatment given to new members.

Branch leaderships must ensure they are quickly interviewed, speedily introduced to branch life and treated in a friendly and comradely way, and helped to find their place in the life of the Party.

It is necessary to put an end to delay in visiting and bringing into the Party those who apply for membership. We are constantly receiving complaints at Centre from people who have applied for membership, but never been visited. We must develop an attitude in the Party which will not tolerate such neglect. The fight to operate the provisions of the Rules can help us in developing such an attitude.

How far we develop it will play an important part in the future advance of the Party, which, in the present situation has the opportunity to bring thousands into its ranks.

Indeed in the situation outlined in Comrade Gollan's Political Report, and with the help of our programme, we believe that these Party Rules which we are asking you to adopt, amended as recommended by the Executive Committee in the light of the many suggestions from the branches and districts, will be a powerful and unfailing aid in our great task.

These rules must not be seen in a formal way as a few pages of paper simply to be inserted in our Party cards, put away in our pockets and forgotten. They must be grasped as the instrument which our Party in Britain, the Marxist Party, will use to organise and strengthen itself as the vanguard of the British working class movement.

We should popularise our Rules, and bring home to the whole of the Party and the whole working class movement what kind of a Party this is, and what a tremendous weapon these new Rules will be in the fight for peace and socialism here in our own country.

# POLITICAL RESOLUTION

## I. INTRODUCTION

Congress meets at a time when the British capitalist class is making an all-out attack on the working-class, seeking to make them bear the full burden of the crisis which, by its policy, it has itself created. At the same time the Tory Government's basic foreign policies are sharply increasing the danger of nuclear war and viciously attacking the colonial peoples. A General Election is approaching.

The immediate task before Congress is to increase the struggle against the Tories and the employers, preserve peace and create the political conditions for a resounding Tory defeat, and the return of a Labour Government with the election of Communist M.Ps. The working-class and progressive movement has all the means to win, provided its united strength is brought into action.

Gigantic changes are taking place in the world today. These main new developments are:—

The tremendous new advances in the Soviet Union, China and the Socialist world. By 1965 the socialist countries will be producing over half the world's total industrial output, and the absolute superiority of the world system of socialism over capitalism will be demonstrated to all. Its scientific and technical superiority is already clearly demonstrated by the space rockets.

The ever-growing movement for national liberation which is undermining imperialism and preparing the way for the complete ending of colonialism in the next decade.

The stagnation and crisis of overproduction in all the main capitalist countries with the onset of mass unemployment and intensification of trade wars.

The increasing bankruptcy of the capitalist and social-democratic theories of planned "crisis-free" capitalism, in contrast to the extending triumph throughout the world of the theories of Marxism, vindicated against all attacks.

The cold war is being undermined by the triumphs of Communism. War can be excluded from society even before the universal victory of socialism. At the same time Western "brinkmanship" is creating a situation which becomes ever more tense, and the war danger is acute.

While the world balance of forces is changing so rapidly, the policies of Britain's imperialist rulers are a menace to the lives and welfare of the people. They are drastically weakening Britain's economic and political position in the world. There is now the most compelling need for very big political changes in our country through the overwhelming defeat of Toryism, and the most rapid progress to the Socialist transformation of Britain.

This is strongly demonstrated by the new technological advances such as automation, atomic energy and electronics. Britain stands at the parting

of the ways. The capitalist road, with automation swelling monopoly profits, leads to mass unemployment for millions and nuclear energy misused for H-bombs and war. Only the socialist road, with all human achievements harnessed to the welfare of the people, can lead to plenty.

Neither Tory policies nor those of the Labour leadership face up to the real problems before Britain, because both are concerned with the defence of capitalism.

The British labour movement has the strength and numbers to bring about these vital changes given the correct policy and leadership. This demands above all a great expansion in the numbers, influence and leadership of the Communist Party.

## II. THE ECONOMIC POSITION IN BRITAIN

The last two years have seen a decisive change in capitalist world economy with an end to economic expansion and boom conditions. This started in the United States with a heavy fall in production and increased unemployment. The partial recovery which has taken place there is regarded even by many capitalist economists as only a temporary halt and the prelude to a further decline.

In Britain the whole economic future is uncertain. The fall in production and employment has come on the top of three years of virtual economic stagnation. All the basic industries—coal, power, steel, building, engineering and textiles—are affected in varying degrees. Unemployment has doubled in a year.

In face of stronger imperialist rivals the British imperialists are striving to increase colonial exploitation, especially in Africa, at a time when the national liberation movement has reached an entirely new stage. To pay for its repressive measures and military operations to hold down the colonial peoples, the Tory Government is placing new burdens on the British people. For years the economy has been under the great strain of maintaining the world position of sterling and the City, a huge export drive and enormous military and nuclear armaments burdens.

The export difficulties, common to each capitalist country, are sharpening the trade war and increasing the inter-imperialist antagonisms already seen in the O.E.E.C., the Anglo-French-German dispute over the Common Market, and the growing strain between Britain and the Dominions.

The decision to make the pound sterling fully convertible for all its overseas holders is intensifying these contradictions. It will tend to put an even greater strain on sterling in the situation of relative weakness that British imperialism stands in, in comparison with America and West Germany.

The Tory cuts in the social services also accentuate the economic difficulties.

These economic difficulties are coming to a head at a time of new technological advance. Thus the contradiction between the productive possibilities of society and the aim of the Tories and the employers to solve the economic crisis at the expense of the wages, living standards and consumption of the people is greatly accentuated.

The worsening economic position is exposing the post-war illusions fostered by the Tories and the right-wing Labour leaders, who claimed

that the nature of capitalism had been changed and a solution found to the problem of the slump.

Recent developments have reinforced the case which the Communist Party has always made, namely that there is no final solution to the problems of the British people other than the establishment of the socialist society. The development of nuclear power, automation, electronics and the new techniques underline this.

The Communist Party, therefore, has a two-fold task—to call upon the working-class to strengthen the immediate fight against the effects of Tory policy now, and at the same time to show to the British people that a fundamental solution to the problem of Britain's future can only be found in socialism.

In this situation the Tories and the employers aim to force a show-down with the working-class. In 1958 the wage increases won were only three-fifths those of 1957—the first results of the employers' offensive. Unemployment and short-time now threaten every major industry, and pit closures menace the miners. Depressed areas, with all their terrible memories, are being created again. Yet every reduction in popular consumption, whether by refusal of wage increases, short-time or unemployment, makes the economic position still more difficult.

In the face of the employers' attacks every effort by the right-wing trade union and Labour leaders to hinder the wage struggle now or impose a wage restraint under a future Labour Government must be resisted. Congress therefore calls upon the working-class to take emergency action against a slump. In this situation the Communist Party advances an immediate anti-slump programme for the whole Labour movement.

**Stop the Sackings:** no one to be sacked until suitable alternative work is found.

Higher wages and salaries—higher pensions—abolition of purchase tax except on luxuries—higher unemployment pay and social benefits. A 40-hour week throughout industry and a 35-hour week for miners.

A big increase in house building with the objective of providing a separate living accommodation for every family in Britain within the next ten years; cut interest rates on housing loans to 2 per cent; restore housing subsidies.

More Government money to improve nationalised industries. Restore the bus and train cuts; no pit closures; low interest Government loans; drastic reductions in the burden of compensation.

More overseas trade; end all bans on trade with socialist countries and open the way to more orders; low interest loans without strings for constructive development and industrialisation of the new independent States in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

More nationalisation on a new basis without crippling burdens of compensation. Effective control of Britain's basic industries is essential to fight slump and plan production. Renationalise steel and road transport, and nationalise the decisive sections of engineering and shipbuilding, the building and building material industries, chemicals, and textiles.

Less for war—more for peace. Drastic reductions in Government spending on war production and on overseas military services, to free money and materials for home and export production, social

services, extension of education, health services and increased pensions.

In the fight against the slump, the Co-operative movement has an essential role to play, as a means of weakening the grip of the monopolies, lowering prices and assisting the advance of the working-class movement. There is an urgent need for a progressive trade policy which will win trade from the monopolies and multiples, and thus enable the Co-operatives to play their part in the fight against monopoly capitalism.

Congress calls upon the Communist Party in every area to unite with all other sections of the Labour, trade union and co-operative movement for emergency conferences, action and campaigning for these demands, leading to national action on the same lines.

### **III. PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM**

The last two years have seen yet greater advances of the forces of Socialism and the national liberation struggle and the weakening of imperialism. The tremendous progress in the U.S.S.R. and China is acknowledged by friend and foe alike. The big and important developments in the Middle East since the defeat of the Suez intervention and above all, the Iraq revolution, the African awakening and the growing strength of the popular movements in Latin America have further weakened imperialism.

The absolute world superiority of Socialist industrial and agricultural output in the next seven to ten years will mark a new and irreversible change in the balance of world forces.

In the same period further great victories will be won by the colonial liberation movement, and the economic co-operation between the socialist world and the freed colonial countries will grow.

But the international situation gets more and more tense, the war danger grows. Twice in 1958 Western policy brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war. Their nuclear rearmament of West Germany and their aggressive threats over Berlin bring a new sharp danger of war. What is needed is:

1. A conference at the highest level.
2. No nuclear weapons for West Germany.
3. Recognition of the Government of the German Democratic Republic and of the fact that only the Germans can decide on the measures to bring about reunification.
4. Readiness to discuss seriously the Soviet proposals on Berlin and on a German Peace Treaty.

The French electoral swindle and the victory of the Right increases the fascist danger and heightens international tension. The continued occupation of Chinese territory in Formosa by the U.S. agent Chiang Kai Shek, the presence of the U.S. Navy in Chinese waters and their refusal to recognise the Chinese People's Republic, show that the American imperialists are determined to maintain tension in the Far East.

All these developments underline the character of the war danger today. The world peace forces are stronger than the forces making for war and will get stronger still in the next few years. But imperialism is desperate at its reverses and recognises the growing strength of the peace forces.

It is from this desperation that the increasingly adventurist nature of Western policy arises. Refusing to face the bankruptcy of the N.A.T.O. and cold war policy, brinkmanship replaces realistic thinking. And because of nuclear weapons, each war crisis becomes more acute and dangerous.

The resistance of the Western Powers so far to the campaign for stopping nuclear tests shows what a powerful further effort, with greater participation of the organised industrial workers, is needed to reverse the Western nuclear strategy. They still regard the retention of nuclear weapons as the corner-stone of their military and political strategy. In the same way, their refusal to negotiate over Berlin and their rejection of the Rapacki Plan for a nuclear-free zone in Europe, show their intention is to maintain the division of Europe and a rearmed West Germany.

Yet these developments in the international situation also give rise to new possibilities for a settlement of outstanding issues, provided the mass pressure of the population in the Western countries, and above all in Britain, is made effective.

Despite the splendid efforts of the peace movement during the past two years, the Tories and the imperialists have not budged from the cold war, N.A.T.O. and nuclear strategy. While in the Labour movement certain important first advances in foreign policy have been won, the official leadership have failed to use the strength of the movement to enforce even these policy changes on the Government. Instead of placing Labour at the head of a great movement to secure the international banning of nuclear weapons, they have concentrated their fire against those advocating unilateralism and have utilised this issue to divide the peace forces.

All this brings the greatest danger to Britain which would be a main target in a nuclear war, and gives added urgency to the struggle for a lasting peace.

Here the key issues are the struggle to end nuclear weapons and to achieve measures which could lead to a settlement in Europe, based on co-existence of the two social systems. A renewed campaign for a Summit Conference is necessary. At the same time Congress points out that co-existence cannot be achieved just as a result of top negotiations, but requires mass pressure to change Western policy.

The nuclear danger and the international tension both arise from Western policy, which is based on nuclear strategy and the aggressive designs of N.A.T.O. and accompanying military pacts. The immediate aims of the peace struggle should be to end tests for all time, prevent West German nuclear rearmament and reach a peaceful settlement on Germany, with recognition of the German Democratic Republic and preparation of a German Peace Treaty. At the same time there should be a renewed national effort to stop the construction of American rocket bases in Britain and to clear American troops from British soil, and re-establish genuine military, economic and political independence for Britain.

Unity for these aims is far more important than any tactical differences within the peace movement, such as have arisen over the question of unilateralism. The Communist Party has always opposed the manufacture or use of the H-bomb by Britain and continues to do so, regarding it not

as a weapon of defence, but as a part of N.A.T.O.'s suicidal nuclear strategy, destructive to Britain. But the Communist Party has also insisted that the only way to save Britain and the world from nuclear war is through an international agreement to ban nuclear weapons. Britain's role could be decisive in winning such a ban. With popular pressure compelling the British Government to vote for a ban, such a joint British-Soviet stand would rally the majority of the peoples of the world, and create the conditions for establishing an international ban on nuclear weapons. Thus international agreement is the most important question, and it is also the issue on which the greatest number of people agree.

Congress appeals for the unity of all sections of the peace movement and the Labour movement for these aims. It welcomes the participation of new sections of the people, in particular of the youth, in action for peace. It calls upon the Communist Party to support all peace activity and to increase its own activity on these lines.

### **National Liberation**

A tremendous contribution to the fight for world peace and for the defeat of imperialism is being made by the national liberation movements now sweeping through the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America. These profound historic developments, of which the Bandung and Accra Conferences were highpoints, have transformed the world situation, greatly weakening imperialism and its power to carry forward its plans for world war and colonial domination.

Congress calls on all sections of the British people to join in active solidarity with these peoples, both those who have achieved political independence and those still struggling to win it. This solidarity, especially in action now to end the colonial wars and repressions as in Aden, Oman, Kenya, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and Malaya, is in the deepest interests of the British people themselves. British imperialism and Toryism is the common enemy of both the colonial and the British peoples. Every victory and advance of the colonial peoples helps to strengthen the British people's own fight. The huge arms expenditure and waste of Britain's resources in waging war for overseas domination and exploitation, as shown in the net cost of £250 millions for the Suez war, is a major cause of Britain's economic difficulties, and of the accompanying Tory attack on the people's jobs and living standards.

A special responsibility rests on the British trade unions to assist the colonial trade unions in their battle against repression, and for the establishment of rights of organisation and action.

Only on the basis of such co-operation in the winning of political and economic independence for the colonial peoples can new relations be established of mutual benefit in the tasks of economic reconstruction.

Congress greets the Communists in colonial countries and in the newly independent countries who are in the forefront of the liberation struggles of their peoples, and seek to unite all the anti-imperialist forces in order to secure the rapid and complete destruction of imperialism. Any attempts to follow the dangerous path of anti-Communism in these countries can only split and weaken the liberation movement and delay the final defeat of imperialism.

An issue of special importance for the Labour Movement is to end

the British Government's support of the police rule in Northern Ireland and secure withdrawal of British troops, so as to end enforced partition of Ireland and leave the Irish people free to establish their united Republic.

Congress equally calls for the unity of all workers in Britain, irrespective of colour, creed or nationality, to oppose every form of colour bar, anti-Semitism, and other racial discrimination. It must be made a criminal offence to promote any kind of discrimination or propaganda of racial hatred, whether in education, Press, radio, sport, television, films, theatre or any other aspects of social, cultural and economic life. We call on the whole Movement to build up solidarity between white and coloured workers and workers of different races and religions in all organisations and activities of the labour, trade union and democratic movements.

Unity of the white and coloured workers in the defence of jobs and standards is especially important, in view of the disruptive attempts of reactionary elements to blame colonial and coloured workers for the dangers of unemployment or difficulties of housing. The Labour Movement should be vigilant against all efforts of fascist organisations to split and divide the workers on these questions.

#### **IV. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BRITAIN**

At the centre of the political situation in Britain is the need to defeat the Tory Government and win an alternative policy for the country.

In the two years since the Twenty-Fifth Congress the attack of the Macmillan Government has systematically developed. Wage increases were resisted. The Rent Act was introduced, the social services were cut. The Tory aim was to maintain the highest profits, and to preserve the City of London as an international investment centre and thus maintain Britain's shrinking imperialist position.

Continued support of N.A.T.O. has brought still greater dependence on the U.S., blind support of indefensible U.S. policies and agreement to West German nuclear rearmament. The rocket base agreement with the United States along with U.S. H-bomb patrols in Britain, further undermined our national independence and security. At the same time imperialist differences grew with the U.S. and with West Germany and France and in N.A.T.O. generally. Faced with mass public opposition to nuclear weapons, the Tories paid lip-service to Summit Talks, while in fact reorganising their whole military policy on the basis of nuclear strategy and weapons.

The resistance to the Tory attacks developed in a variety of ways: the tenants' and rents movements; the rejection of the wage freeze by big trade unions; the movements against unemployment and redundancy; the industrial struggles which reached a high pitch with the bus strike; the growing dissatisfaction among professional workers; the great and varied movements for Summit Talks and an end to the H-bomb.

But these movements and actions, while powerful and important, were unconnected. They were confined to the separate issues and not related to the central aim of the defeat of the Government. The Labour right-wing leadership hindered all struggle and refused to bring the great strength of the movement into action. On the industrial front, trade union section-

alism prevailed with the General Council refusing to act in the spirit of the T.U.C.'s own anti wage freeze resolution. The movement against the H-bomb, despite its strength, was disunited, while the Joint Labour Party-T.U.C. "campaign" was a formality.

The Government by-election vote which slumped in 1957 and 1958, and the temporary Liberal "revival" showed the extent of popular dissatisfaction. But Labour did not advance, and as a result the Tories were allowed to rally their forces and, despite the hostility to their policies, to manoeuvre to win back lost support. The main political responsibility for this lies at the door of the official Labour leadership with its fear of mass action. Far from advancing a challenging alternative policy to that of the Tories, it sought to tie the movement to support of capitalism.

The mass work of the Communist Party, while growing during the year, was insufficient to change this situation, just as the lack of unity of the left forces in the movement as a whole hindered the most effective opposition to the Tories.

Now the Tory strategy is to undermine the strength of the trade unions as unemployment grows, win support by election concessions to sections of the lower middle class and higher paid workers, exploit the political position created by Labour policy and leadership to win the election, and administer a decisive setback to the Labour movement. The furious anti-Communist campaigns of the employers, the Press and Government-appointed courts of enquiry are their weapons to attack and undermine the whole trade union movement.

Despite this, there is no firm basis for a Tory victory. The Tories have not changed their fundamental policy, which is to attack the workers and other sections in the interests of the big monopolists. A broad front of opposition can be built up against Tory policy. Everything depends on struggle and leadership by the Labour movement. The anti-Tory forces comprise the majority of the people, the workers in industry and agriculture, the great bulk of the professional and clerical workers, the teachers, technicians and scientists, the working farmers, shopkeepers and small business men, whose future prospects are closely bound up with the industrial working-class. The task is to unite and mobilise them for the defeat of the Tories and their policies. It is here that the major responsibility falls on the Communist Party.

We can rally the working-class more effectively to the extent that alongside the struggle on the day-to-day issues we win the working-class to an understanding of socialism as the only basic solution to their problems.

An important part of our work for this must be to bring socialist ideas and principles to the working-class youth, many of whom are experiencing the real attacks and character of capitalism for the first time.

A greater class consciousness and socialist understanding among the working-class is needed both to defeat the Tories, and, on the basis of that defeat, to further the movement to socialism.

## V. THE POSITION IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The main immediate task facing the working-class is to defeat the Tories and secure a Labour Government with a policy of peace and social advance.

Such a policy must aim to tackle the most urgent immediate economic, social and political problems of the British people. If this is done the way to further political advance will be opened.

Since 1955 the Labour Party has been recasting its policy—a process which was officially completed by the Scarborough Labour Party Conference and summed up in "The Future Labour Offers You".

This is a programme which would commit the Labour movement to the support of the system of so-called "managed capitalism"—the theory that Labour can administer capitalism more efficiently and more humanely than the Tories. It will be the basis of Labour's contest in the General Election, and become the policy of the new Labour Government in the event of a Labour victory, unless there is a real fight for a change.

It is urgently necessary for the working-class to be rallied in a supreme effort to bring about the crushing defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labour Government in the next election. A victory for the Tories in the next General Election would encourage them to launch even more severe and savage attacks on the working-class and its organisations, on the democratic rights won by that movement, and threaten a serious setback for the whole British Labour Movement. But in order that the political defeat of the Tories shall also lead to the solution of the problems of the British people, the struggle to change Labour's policy is essential.

The present Labour policies cannot solve the problems before the British people. Events will increasingly show their bankruptcy. They will be exploited by the Tories in their effort to win the coming election. For the movement to accept them as final would condemn the whole struggle to impotence and demoralisation. Neither the Tory nor the official Labour policy offers a way out for the British people.

As against this the Communist Party advances a real alternative policy, both immediate and long-term, for the struggle of the Labour movement, which corresponds to the pressing needs of the working-class and the desires of all in the Labour movement who want a socialist solution.

Our policy calls for the stepping up of the struggle now on all the issues against the Tories and the employers. It is a programme which would carry the class fight into the election. It could mobilise the working-class, inspire all Labour organisations, and provide the basis, not only for winning the General Election, but also creating the political conditions for changes in the policy of a Labour Government. By solving the immediate pressing problems of the British people it could open the way to the radical social transformation that Britain's future demands, along the lines of "The British Road to Socialism".

Despite the present official policy, the struggle of the working-class and Labour movement to defeat the Tories in the General Election is essentially a class fight. The adoption of "The Future Labour Offers You" does not end the struggle for a militant alternative policy in the trade unions and the Labour Party. On the contrary, as the Tory attacks grow and the struggle sharpens, the opposition to official policy will also grow, and new forces will emerge in the Labour movement determined to bring about a change.

In putting forward an alternative policy and seeking to develop the greatest working class action around it, the Communist Party fulfils an indispensable function for the whole Labour movement.

To bring about the political changes so urgently required, Congress calls for united action and, simultaneously, the rallying of all progressive and left forces and the building of the Communist Party.

The struggle to establish united working-class action is a vital issue. United action will be established all the more quickly and on a more extensive scale the stronger the Communist Party becomes among the decisive sections of the working-class and in the main areas of the country.

To create working-class united action is not easy in view of hostile right-wing policy and the virulent anti-Communist campaign. The purpose of anti-Communism is to weaken and disrupt the whole trade union and Labour movement in the interests of the Tories and the employers. But Toryism can be routed, peace preserved and the employers defeated only if the effective strength of the organised Labour movement is fully brought into the battle. There is no substitute for this.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to achieve this. We will work for action by the National Council of Labour and the Trade Union Executives on the big issues; united action on the Trades Councils, District Committees, Co-operative movement and Constituency Labour Parties; and the most extensive unity on a local scale. Nationally, and on a district and local scale the Communist Party will strive to work with every section of the Labour movement.

Because of the importance of securing united action, Congress instructs the Executive Committee to launch a new and sustained campaign for the removal of all bans and proscriptions in the Labour movement. It is necessary to show that everything which restricts and divides the Labour movement undermines its potential strength and plays into the hands of Toryism and all the class enemies of Labour.

The whole situation demands the rallying of all militant progressive and left forces in the Labour movement, and the strengthening of the Communist Party—both go together.

The continual basis of all militant, progressive and left development in the Labour Party and the trade unions is the workers in the unions, the factories and the Constituency Labour Parties who want a change in policy. For a socialist policy to succeed the support of the decisive sections of the workers in the unions, the factories, the Co-operative movement and the Constituency Parties is required.

Why have the various left groups which have developed so far, failed decisively to change the balance of forces within the Labour Party despite the good work done?

None of the various left groups and movements advanced a comprehensive alternative socialist programme to that of the right. They were not a party with a basic organisation and day-to-day leadership. Every attempt at effective organisation of such groups was met with threats of discipline and expulsion—thus the powerful right-wing machine was maintained. Above all, their fatal weakness was that they always tried to combine a militant policy with anti-Communism and the maintenance of bans and proscriptions, thus disrupting the unity of the working-class.

There can be no effective left in the Labour movement that excludes the Communists. No struggle to change Labour policy on class lines can

succeed without winning the majority of the trade unions for a class policy.

The Communist Party has supported and will continue to support all left and progressive developments in the Labour Party. But experience shows there can be no real and lasting advance in the movement without a much larger and more influential Communist Party.

In all the major struggles of the British people the Communist Party has been a leading force seeking to rally the whole Labour movement for action on wages and peace against the Tories, the landlords, and the employers; seeking to overcome the sectionalism of the movement and the opposition of the right-wing leadership to working-class action. Above all the Communist Party has fought for socialist consciousness in the Labour movement, and shown the strategy of advance for the working-class in *The British Road to Socialism*.

At this decisive turning-point in the position and policy of the British Labour movement a much larger Communist Party is the pressing need if the movement is to advance. This is the lesson of all experience since 1945. The British working-class needs a Party capable of giving leadership both in the day-to-day struggles and in the fight for socialism—a Party not in opposition to other organisations of the working-class movement, but carrying out its work as part of them, and thereby making unity and united action possible.

This is the indispensable function of the Communist Party which no other working-class organisation can fulfil. It is the only working-class Party firmly based on socialist principles, on Marxism. While doing everything to wage the day-to-day struggle for the interests of the working-class, it shows that the final solution is political power and socialism. Its organisation, Press, activities and leadership provide the working-class with the means for fighting against Toryism and for the establishment of socialism.

Congress declares, therefore, that the new stage of development in the Labour movement requires:

(a) Pressing forward the united struggle against the Tories in every way.

(b) Doing all possible to help all militant, progressive and left forces in the Labour movement and to strengthen the Communist Party.

(c) Raising the class consciousness and socialist understanding of the working-class by systematic and principled criticism of present-day reformist Labour policy, and popularisation of *The British Road to Socialism*.

Victory over the Tories and the real progress of the working-class demands Communist representation in Parliament. Communist M.Ps. would strengthen the whole Parliamentary struggle of the left forces, and would fight for a correct policy in Parliament.

Congress endorses the aim to contest selected Constituencies with Communist candidates in the General Election. In all other constituencies, the Communist Party will do all in its power to return Labour M.Ps. The fight for a big Labour majority and Communist M.Ps. are two sides of the same medal—the struggle for a Labour Government which will in fact carry out a progressive policy.

The needs of our people are matters of deep concern for our Party; therefore Congress calls for a big extension of our local government fight. Communist councillors would strengthen the fight against the Tory Government and pave the way for Communist M.Ps. At the same time every Party organisation should make the utmost possible effort to bring about common action and agreement with Labour on electoral contests.

## VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The significance of our Special (Twenty-Fifth) Congress of the Party and the working-class was that it overwhelmingly defeated the revisionist ideas which arose after the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., and preserved the essential basis and organisation of the Communist Party.

The revisionists advanced liberal reformist ideas and illusions regarding the nature of capitalism and the advance to Socialism; they argued that the Labour Party could lead the working-class to socialism without the Communist Party. They sought to undermine the basic organisation of the Party, and even to liquidate it. They wanted to disrupt the world unity of the Communist movement.

They reflected within our Party the illusions and opportunism fostered in the working-class by the reformist leaders during the period of full employment. The decisive rejection of these ideas in the Party was essential as part of the wider need to combat right-wing opportunist ideology in the Labour movement, an ideology which hinders both the day-to-day struggle and the fight for Socialism. Congress at the same time recognised the distinction between those comrades who were confused and those who deliberately sought to disrupt.

Congress also called for a renewed struggle against sectarian ideas such as that of the Party going it alone without other sections of the Labour movement, or a small Party limited to the revolutionary elite.

Congress adopted important decisions for the development of Inner Party Democracy on the basis of Democratic Centralism and the bringing out of a new edition of *The British Road to Socialism*.

All the events of the past two years show the correctness of the stand taken by the Congress. The economic and political situation provides great new opportunities to defeat right wing opportunist ideas among the masses of the workers, and revisionism, which is the reflection of these ideas in the Party.

The struggle against revision deepened the political understanding of the Party and strengthened its unity. But the disruptive efforts of the revisionists weakened some aspects of the Party's mass work, and to that degree our effectiveness in the Labour movement.

By the end of 1957 and through 1958, the Party's mass work began to grow. We pioneered the campaign against the rocket bases, won a modest increase in votes, and representation in the local elections, conducted considerable propaganda, including our all-national demonstration, increased the output of our literature, etc.

But our main weaknesses were an inadequate public fight for the Party's policy and insufficient efforts to develop united action in spite of all the obstacles; little or no recruitment to offset losses; failure significantly to develop our Branches as political campaigning bodies, and, as a result,

not bringing enough of the members into the work; and despite big efforts, failure to stop the decline in *Daily Worker* circulation.

In September 1958 the Executive Committee issued a call for 5,000 new members by the time of the Party Congress. The valuable progress made since has brought new spirit into the Party and shows the basis which exists for building the Party.

Congress declares, however, that these advances can only be considered as the first steps in a great, consistent effort covering the next two years to create a mass base for our Party. The degree to which the Party can fulfil its leading role, depends not only on its current policy, but also on its successful mass work, and this in turn depends upon its size. The expansion of the Communist Party now becomes the major issue for the successful development of the working-class movement in the coming period. For this, Congress calls on the Party to work for these aims:

**United action**, along the lines laid down in this resolution, together with a big extension of the Party's public work.

Every Party organisation, the Executive Committee, every District Committee, and every Branch to be charged with the responsibility for bringing about united action on the immediate issues by every possible means. The Party must struggle against sectarianism which holds us back from developing the closest relations with the Labour movement and other organisations.

The struggle for united action and the extension of the Party's public work in all spheres go hand in hand. As the Party successfully develops action on the issues facing the people and the public presentation of its policy, new sections of the Labour and trade union movement can be reached and a fresh basis for united activity be created.

**A new and sustained effort to build the Party during 1959 and 1960**, especially in the factories and other places of work, where the movement to transform Labour policy and decisively defeat the Tories has its most powerful basis.

The Executive Committee is instructed to examine the position with each District in the light of the present recruiting results and to decide on the immediate next steps for development of the Party in the decisive industries in each District and in factories, towns, villages and rural areas, where the Party is not-organised at present.

**A greatly increased effort is needed by the Party to develop work amongst women** in order to increase their political understanding and mass activity.

**An extended and systematic fight for our programme, "The British Road to Socialism."** The successful expansion of the immediate struggle is closely linked with the defeat of right-wing opportunist ideas in the Labour movement and increased class consciousness among the working-class. The new Labour Programme and the worsening economic situation together emphasise the need to show the socialist solution which our programme alone provides.

**An all-out national campaign in 1959 to expand the sales of the "Daily Worker."** This is the main way to co-ordinate, consolidate and develop all the progressive and left forces in the movement and bring the Party into organised association with wider sections of the movement.

**A vigorous approach to win young people for Communism.** The Party,

in association with the Young Communist League, should extend its policies and leadership on the issues of special importance to youth, publish special material for the youth, and plan a series of events for the young people.

Additional forces must now be given to help the Young Communist League, and all Party organisations called upon to assist our youth organisation in building up and extending its branches and activities.

**Help the Branches to develop as self-reliant political campaigning bodies.** In the first place this must be the responsibility of the District Committees, assisted by the Executive Committee. The main way to achieve this is to give the most practical help to the Branches to develop their local mass work and to contest local elections and build up their electoral support. The Central Organisation Department, in association with each Party District, by schools, classes, and practical assistance should help to improve Party Branch organisation.

In order to strengthen the Party's power for mass leadership in the great struggles of the coming period, **it is essential to deepen Marxist understanding throughout the Party.** Consistent efforts are needed to expand Marxist education, with classes, schools and self-study at all levels of the Party, so that continuous Marxist education becomes an integral part of Party life. Special attention should be given to the education of new members, the training of more tutors and the greater explanation of Marxist principles in terms of everyday life and issues.

**We should take the offensive against the anti-Communist campaign amongst the workers and the intellectuals** in order to win increasing numbers of them for the Party and Marxism. Important steps to help develop this will be the organising of extended programmes of lectures, meetings and other events, in order to popularise Marxist theories and principles on the main economic, political and cultural issues; the further improvement of the quality of our propaganda and especially our agitational material, and a great extension of the sale of our literature and periodicals.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Our Congress takes place at a time when the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system becomes increasingly evident. Even the enemies of socialism are referring to the enormous advance of socialism as a challenge. To that challenge capitalism has no answer. Socialism is the only lasting solution to the problems of the British people.

Britain has reached a stage in its historic development when the continuation of capitalism can only mean stagnation and decline. Yet it is precisely at this moment that the Labour Party in its official policy abandons even the pretence of socialism, and seeks to tie the movement to declining capitalism.

Our Party puts forward its socialist policy around which a united movement for peace and economic security can be built. It will do all in its power to protect and advance the interests of the working-class and professional people against the Tories and the employers. But more and more the immediate struggle points to the need for the British working-

class to fulfil its historic mission—end capitalism, transform the social system and build socialism.

It is the Communist Party which shows how this can be done in its programme *The British Road to Socialism*. Towards that goal all our efforts are dedicated.

The working-class and people are demanding leadership, demanding what only our Party can give. This Congress is confident that our Party and its policy can answer this demand; confident that our Party will lead the British people to success in the struggle to prevent economic slump and nuclear war; confident that our leadership will take Britain to a future of peace and socialism.

# **EMERGENCY RESOLUTIONS**

## **General Election Broadcasting**

This Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party protests against the disgraceful attack on democratic rights by the decisions of the B.B.C. and the leaders of the three Parties in Parliament to deprive the Communist Party of General Election broadcasting facilities. The decision applies equally to ITV.

The Communist Party, which is running seventeen candidates, was denied any opportunity of negotiating proposals of its own, or of making comments on the plans the other Parties and the B.B.C. were considering. The whole thing was carried through at secret discussions between representatives of the Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties in Parliament with the B.B.C. and ITV.

Thus, if you are in Parliament you get broadcasting time to help you to stay in. If you are not in Parliament, you get no broadcasting time to help you to get support to get in. The "ins", already possessing huge publicity and press resources, have taken power to keep the "outs" out.

The B.B.C. is supposed to be a public service. But it is to be virtually monopolised by interests represented by the three parties. The public, which pays for the B.B.C., is denied its right to hear or see the case presented by the Communist Party. Neither Parliament nor the public has been consulted.

We demand that the public should be given the right to hear the Communist Party on B.B.C. and ITV, and that the Communist Party is given adequate facilities to present its case.

We call on all Labour and progressive people to join us in our protest against this arbitrary and dangerous attack on freedom of speech.

## **Emergency Resolution on African Struggle for Freedom**

Congress pledges its complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Africans in Nyasaland against European minority domination, and for the right to secede from the Federation imposed upon them under Tory rule. It extends its wholehearted support to the African liberation movements in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, equally engaged in the mighty and growing resistance to white settler rule.

Congress strongly condemns the armed repression and violence exercised jointly by the Tory Government and European settlers in these three territories to prevent the Africans from achieving the right to vote, higher living standards, and the right to manage their own affairs.

Congress views with contempt the age-old technique of fake plots to cover up imperialist armed aggression against the colonial peoples. Not

a single European has been killed in Nyasaland, but forty-nine Africans have been murdered, over 100 wounded, over 600 arrested and put in prison without trial. More than 500 have been arrested without trial in Southern Rhodesia and 100 in Northern Rhodesia.

There is no African plot against the Europeans. It is a plot between the European settlers and the Tory Government to massacre the African freedom fighters and to destroy their movements.

The united fight for African freedom was given organised expression at the recent Accra Conference. This brought together under one banner the struggle for a democratic constitution in Kenya, for self-government in Uganda and Tanganyika, and for a united Somalia. It marked the advance towards Nigerian independence in 1960 and the progress towards a united Cameroons. Above all, it broke down the artificial frontiers between African colonies imposed by imperialist rule, and brought all African peoples together under one banner.

Congress declares that the growing united movement for African liberation is inseparable from the struggles of the British working class against British capitalism and Toryism. The same monopoly firms exploit the British workers and the African people. The same imperial rulers who threaten British lives and standards with their aggressive war plans, also threaten and attack the African people.

The struggle in Africa is also our fight. In the present serious situation in Central Africa there is no time to lose. Congress therefore calls upon the organised Labour movement in Britain to rouse the whole country for solidarity action to support these demands:

**END THE EMERGENCY—WITHDRAW THE TROOPS.**

**RELEASE ALL AFRICAN PRISONERS.**

**WITHDRAW THE FASCIST LAWS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA.**

**UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE FOR ALL AFRICANS.**

**THE RIGHT OF NYASALAND TO SECEDE FROM FEDERATION.**

**RECOGNISE THE RIGHT OF ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES TO INDEPENDENCE.**

# AIMS AND CONSTITUTION

## **Rule 1: Name.**

The name of the party shall be the Communist Party of Great Britain.

## **Rule 2: Aims.**

The aim of the Communist Party is to achieve a Socialist Britain in which the means of production, distribution and exchange will be socially owned and utilised in a planned way for the benefit of all.

This will end the existing capitalist system with its exploitation of man by man, and will create the conditions for advance to a fully communist system of society, in which each will contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Only a Socialist Britain, co-operating with all other peoples of the world in close, friendly, free, and equal association will be able so to develop and plan the use of all Britain's material, productive and scientific resources, that every citizen will be guaranteed security, the right to work and leisure, a steadily rising standard of living, full democratic rights, and equal opportunity to enjoy a full and happy life.

The Communist Party, guided by the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, unites within its ranks those who are prepared to work for the achievement of Socialism. Believing that Socialism can be attained only by the will and action of the majority of the people, led by the working class, the Party shall:

(a) work to strengthen the organisation, political understanding and united action of the workers by hand and brain for the advancement of their standards and conditions in the struggle against capitalism, for the realisation of world peace and for the achievement of Socialism;

(b) work to maintain, defend, and extend all democratic rights of organisation, demonstration, strike, public speech, press, assembly, secret ballot, and representation in Parliament and local authorities, with the aim of developing a united movement of the people to elect a Parliament which shall, with the active support of the people, end the economic and political power of the capitalist class, establish the rule of the working class and begin to establish Socialism.

(c) work for the removal of all discrimination based on race, colour, sex or religion;

(d) support the national liberation struggles of all Colonial peoples and recognise our special responsibility towards the liberation struggle of all peoples within the sphere of British imperialism.

(e) co-operate with the peoples of all countries for the defence of peace, for the advance of democratic rights and the improvement of social and economic conditions.

The Communist Party bases its international outlook on the common interests and aspirations of the working class in all countries, on inter-

national working class solidarity, and has fraternal relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries for the victory of the common aims of the working class.

To realise these aims it is necessary that they should become those of the people. This can only be achieved by the continuous organised activity of Communist Party members, in close contact with working people, knowing their views and needs, and able to explain Communist policy.

### **Rule 3: Democratic Centralism.**

To conduct organised activity, and to give leadership in all circumstances of the class struggle, the Communist Party bases itself on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and must be able to act as a single unified force. Therefore the Communist Party bases its organisation upon democratic centralism, which combines the democratic participation of the membership in Party life with an elected centralised leadership capable of directing the entire Party.

Democratic centralism means that:

(a) All leading committees shall be elected regularly and shall report regularly to the Party organisations which have elected them.

(b) Elected higher committees shall have the right to take decisions binding on lower committees and organisations, and shall explain these decisions to them. Such decisions shall not be in conflict with decisions of the National Congress or Executive Committee.

(c) Elected higher committees shall encourage lower committees and organisations to express their views on questions of Party policy and on the carrying out of such policy.

(d) Lower committees and organisations shall carry out the decisions of higher elected committees, and shall have the right to express their views, raise problems, and make suggestions to these committees.

(e) Decisions shall be made by majority vote, and minorities shall accept the decision of the majority.

### **Rule 4: Conditions of Membership.**

Membership shall be open to persons of eighteen years and upwards, who accept the aims, constitution and policy of the Party, pay their dues regularly and work in a Party organisation.

### **Rule 5: Membership Dues.**

Membership dues shall be 8d. per week. In each quarter of thirteen weeks the total shall be allocated as follows: 3s. to the Executive Committee; 3s. to the District Committee; 2s. to the Branch, and 8d. to the Central Election Fund.

Membership dues for unemployed members, housewives and old-age pensioners shall be 2d. per week, which shall be allocated in the same proportion as above.

### **Rule 6: The Structure of the Party.**

(a) The supreme authority of the Party shall be the National Congress.

(b) The Executive Committee shall constitute Districts of the Party

and shall ensure that in each District a District Congress is convened at regular intervals.

This District Congress shall elect a District Committee.

(c) The District Committee shall constitute Party Branches based on place of work or a locality, and shall ensure that each Party Branch shall hold an Annual General Meeting which shall elect a Branch Committee.

(d) District Committees may, with the agreement of the Executive Committee, constitute Area Committees, and shall define their functions and powers in accordance with the Rules of the Party.

#### **Rule 7: The National Congress.**

(a) The National Congress shall be the supreme authority of the Party and shall be responsible for the adoption of the policy of the Party.

(b) The National Congress shall be convened by the Executive Committee every two years, and shall be composed of:

Delegates from Party Branches, elected in accordance with their numerical strength, on a basis to be determined by the Executive Committee.

Delegates from District Committees.

Members of the retiring Executive Committee and Appeals Committees, who shall have full right to participate in the work of Congress, including the right to participate in the work of Congress Committees when elected by Congress as Executive Committee representatives to such Committees, but shall not have the right to vote in full Congress unless elected as full members from a branch or District Committee.

(c) The agenda and preliminary materials for the Congress shall be issued to Party organisations three months before the date fixed for the Congress. Amendments to draft resolutions issued by the Executive Committee and resolutions for Congress agenda may be sent in by Party Branches and District Committees up to six weeks before the date of Congress.

(d) Procedure for the conduct of pre-Congress discussion shall be according to the provisions of Rule 16(a) and 16(d).

(e) The National Congress shall elect, from nominations made by Branches and District Committees, an Executive Committee, an Appeals Committee, and two Auditors. Members of the Appeals Committee and the Auditors shall not be members of the Executive Committee.

(f) The Executive Committee shall have the power to convene a special National Congress, composed in the same way and with the same powers, as the National Congress. The Executive Committee must convene such a special National Congress on the request of not less than one-fifth of the branches or one-third of the District Committees.

#### **Rule 8: The Executive Committee.**

(a) The Executive Committee shall have full responsibility for the direction and control of the work of the Party and for the formulation of current policy, in accordance with the decisions of National Congress.

It shall guide and direct the work of all Party organisations, assist the work of Party members elected to Parliament, direct and control the Party press, publications and other Party enterprises, and manage the central funds of the Party.

(b) The Executive Committee shall also have power to decide on new policy, where events make this necessary.

(c) Whenever possible, the Executive Committee shall, when taking decisions on new policy between Congresses, consult Party organisations and initiate discussion throughout the Party.

(d) At its first meeting after its election the Executive Committee shall decide upon its regular meeting date, and shall elect the officers of the Party and a Political Committee.

(e) The Political Committee shall have the responsibility for giving prompt and effective leadership in between meetings of the Executive Committee. The work of the Political Committee shall be subject to control by the Executive Committee.

#### **Rule 9: The Party District.**

Districts shall be constituted by the Executive Committee to include all Party organisations and members living or working within a defined area.

#### **Rule 10: The District Congress.**

(a) In each District a District Congress shall be convened every two years and shall be composed of delegates from all branches in the District, in accordance with their numerical strength, on a basis determined by the District Committee in consultation with the Executive Committee. Members of retiring District Committees shall have similar rights at Congress to those of the E.C. at National Congress. (See Rule 7(b).)

(b) The District Congress shall discuss and take decisions on the implementation of national policy in the District.

(c) The District Congress shall elect, from nominations made by branches, a District Committee and District Auditors, and the auditors shall not be members of the District Committee.

#### **Rule 11: The District Committee.**

(a) The District Committee shall, on the basis of national policy and the decisions of the District Congress, guide the work of the Party organisations in the District, assist Party members elected to local government and other public bodies, direct and control District Party enterprises, and manage the District funds of the Party.

(b) The District Committee, at its first meeting after election, shall elect District officers and a District Secretariat, and shall decide upon its regular meeting date.

(c) The District Secretariat shall have the responsibility for giving prompt and effective leadership in between meetings of the District Committee. The work of the District Secretariat shall be subject to control by the District Committee.

#### **Rule 12: The Branch.**

(a) The basic unit of the Party is the Branch. Such basic units shall be

organised, on the authority of the District Committee, based upon a place of work, that is a factory Branch; or based on a locality, that is a local Branch.

(b) A factory Branch shall comprise all Party members employed in a particular factory, pit or other place of work.

(c) A local Branch shall comprise members living, or in some cases employed, in a defined area, with the exception of those members organised in a factory Branch.

(d) Every Branch shall hold an Annual General Meeting which shall discuss a report of branch work in the previous year, receive a financial statement, discuss the lines of branch activity for the coming year, and elect a Branch Committee.

### **Rule 13: The Branch Committee.**

(a) Each Branch Committee shall meet regularly and shall elect a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and such other officers as required.

(b) Each Branch Committee shall be responsible for calling regular branch meetings of which every member is informed; shall report committee decisions and proposals; and shall guide and develop all branch activities in accordance with Party policy and branch decisions, including the sale of the *Daily Worker* and Communist literature, public and electoral work, and the winning of new members.

(c) Decisions of the Branch Committee may be overruled by a majority vote of the Branch meeting provided that decisions of bodies higher than the Branch Committee are not thereby violated.

(d) Each Branch Committee shall be responsible for appointing membership stewards to ensure efficient collection of dues and political contact with every member; shall manage branch funds, and shall assist all members to carry out their Party activity and to study Marxism-Leninism.

(e) A factory Branch Committee shall maintain contact and co-operate with the local Branch in the area in which the factory is situated, and shall encourage members of the factory Branch to help the Party in the areas where they live.

(f) A local Branch Committee shall encourage and help its members to build the Party where they work, and shall assist all efforts to build new factory Branches and strengthen existing ones in the area.

### **Rule 14: The Duties of Members.**

Party members shall have the duty, with the assistance of the Party:

(a) To take part in the life and activities of their Party Branch and to attend its meetings whenever possible.

(b) To read the *Daily Worker* and to help in every way the circulation of the paper.

(c) To improve their political knowledge and their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, to take part in the discussion and formation of Party policy, to win support for the aims and policy of the Party, and to win new members to its ranks.

(d) To equip themselves to take an active part in the working class movement, to belong to and assist the work of their appropriate trade union or professional organisation, and their co-operative society.

(e) To fight for the decisions of the Party, to observe Party discipline, and to fight against everything detrimental to the interest of the working class and the Party.

(f) To produce their Party cards for inspection whenever required to do so by a Party organisation or membership steward.

**Rule 15: The Rights of Members.**

Party members shall have the right:

(a) To take part in their Party Branch in the discussion and formation of Party policy and the carrying out of such policy, in accordance with the procedure defined in Rule 16.

(b) To elect and be elected to all those leading Party Committees defined in Rule 6.

(c) To address any question or statement to such leading Party Committees up to and including the Executive Committee.

(d) To reserve their opinion in the event of disagreement with a decision, while at the same time carrying out that decision.

**Rule 16: Procedure for Discussion.**

Exercise of the right and duty to take part in the discussion and formation of Party policy shall be in accordance with the following procedure:

(a) During the period of pre-Congress discussion members shall have the right to express their views on any aspect of Party policy in their Branch meeting, or at any other meeting convened for that purpose on the authority of the District and Executive Committees; and the Executive Committee shall provide the maximum possible space in the Party press for the printing of contributions from Party organisations and individuals.

(b) In between Congresses decisions of the last National Congress and the Executive Committee are binding on all members and Party organisations. If a member considers that circumstances have developed which make it necessary to change such decisions or to take new ones, he may raise the matter in his Branch unless he is a member of a higher committee.

(c) If the member obtains the support of his Branch then the latter may submit a resolution for the attention of the District Committee or Executive Committee. Whatever the decision of the Branch, the member may still exercise his right under Rule 15 (c) to communicate with the District Committee or Executive Committee on the matter. During the time the matter is under discussion it is the duty of all members of the Branch to carry out to the full the policy of the Party until a final decision is taken.

(d) A member of an elected leading committee who is in disagreement with any decisions taken by the committee in question, or with any other aspect of Party policy, shall have the right to express his views first in his own committee and then to a higher committee. During the period of pre-Congress discussion he may express his views first in his own committee and then in his Party Branch, or in communications to pre-Congress discussion in the Party press.

**Rule 17: The Admission of Members.**

The following procedure shall be adopted in the admission of new members:

(a) Applicants shall immediately be interviewed by a representative of the branch or other leading committee concerned, who shall report back so that the committee may discuss and decide upon the application. Immediately on acceptance the committee shall take steps to ensure that a Party card is issued, information provided of Branch activity, and a welcome given to the new member at the next Branch meeting. Upon the issue of a Party card the registration form shall be filled in by the member and returned to the Committee concerned.

(b) If the applicant is refused admission by a Branch Committee, it shall be the responsibility of the latter committee to inform the District Committee of the reasons for its action. A decision of the Executive Committee on an application for admission shall be final.

**Rule 18: Applications from Former Members.**

The following procedure shall be adopted in the case of applications from former members to rejoin the Party:

(a) Where the applicant was expelled from the Party then no decision shall be taken without the consent of the Executive Committee.

(b) Where the applicant seeks to rejoin his former Branch and is known to the present members of the Branch Committee, then the application shall be considered by the Branch Committee and their decision shall require the endorsement of the District Committee.

(c) Where the applicant is not known to members of the Branch Committee concerned then the latter shall consult the District Committee before considering the application. The District Committee shall provide the Executive Committee with a record of decisions taken on such applications.

**Rule 19: The Transfer of Members.**

(a) Members transferring from one Party Branch to another shall be responsible for informing their Branch Secretary of their intention, and shall obtain the latter's signature to the transfer form in their Party card.

(b) A Branch Secretary shall immediately inform his District Secretary, on the transfer form provided to Branches, of full details of the transfer out of any member.

(c) A Branch Secretary shall obtain from his District Secretary confirmation of the membership position of any transferred member before accepting him into the Branch.

**Rule 20: Lapsing of Members.**

The decision to lapse a member of the Party for non-payment of Party dues is a serious step which shall be taken only after the most careful consideration by the Party Branch Committee, and the following procedure shall be operated:

(a) Members who are more than thirteen weeks in arrears shall be

considered for lapsing by the Branch Committee if it is established that regular visits over a period have failed to produce any result, and that no special circumstances or difficulties prevent such members from carrying out their financial responsibilities to the Party.

(b) Any such decision to lapse shall be reported by the Branch Committee to the higher Party committee for endorsement before it is operated, and the latter shall satisfy itself that the procedure in (a) above has been observed, following which the decision shall be communicated to the member in writing.

**Rule 21: Breaches of Party Discipline by Party Organisations.**

The Executive Committee shall have the right to apply disciplinary measures to any Party organisation which fails to carry out Party decisions. Such disciplinary measures may include partial reorganisation of its Party Committee, or dismissal of this Committee and the appointment of a Provisional Committee, or dissolution of the entire Party organisation and re-registration of its membership.

**Rule 22: Breaches of Party Discipline by Individual Members.**

Action against any member guilty of breaches of Party Rules or any other conduct detrimental to the Party shall be carried out according to the following procedure:

(a) The Party Branch shall have the power to remove from office, to suspend from membership for a period not exceeding three months, or to recommend to the District Committee expulsion, on the decision of a majority of the members attending a Branch meeting, of which all members have had written notice at least seven days in advance of the issue to be discussed, and where the member concerned has been given the opportunity of attending and stating his case.

(b) The Executive Committee or District Committee shall have the power to remove or suspend from office, suspend from membership for an initial period not exceeding three months, or expel, and shall explain the reason for this action at a meeting of the Party organisation concerned.

(c) In the case of suspension from membership the member shall immediately hand in his card to the suspending organisation, and it shall be the responsibility of the Party organisation to have discussions with the comrade concerned before the period of suspension is at an end.

(d) All disciplinary actions shall be notified in writing through the District Committee to the Executive Committee.

**Rule 23: Procedure for Appeal.**

(a) Party members shall have the right to appeal against any disciplinary action taken against them by their Party Branch to their District Committee. Members shall have the right of appeal against a decision of the District Committee to the Appeals Committee.

(b) The Appeals Committee shall consider all such appeals and shall make recommendations to the Executive Committee. A decision of the

Executive Committee shall be final save that a member may appeal to the subsequent National Congress.

(c) All appeals shall be made in writing to the committee concerned, within fourteen days of the member being notified in writing of the decision appealed against.

**Rule 24: Interpretation of Rules.**

The Executive Committee shall have authority to interpret these Rules and to lay down procedure in all matters not specifically covered by them.

**Rule 25: Alteration of Rules.**

The Rules may be amended by the vote of a majority of delegates at a National Congress, provided that the following procedure be carried out:

(a) Proposed alterations to rule shall be submitted by Party Branches and District Committees to the Executive Committee.

(b) All such proposed alterations to rule for consideration by Congress must be received by the Executive Committee six months before the date of that Congress.

(c) All such proposed alterations shall be considered by the Executive Committee and circulated to Branches with its comments.

(d) Alterations to rule may also be proposed by the Executive Committee. Such proposed alterations shall be circulated to Branches as part of the material for the National Congress.

# STANDING ORDERS

## STANDING ORDER 1

### THE CONVENING OF THE NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

The National Congress shall be convened by the Executive Committee in accordance with Rule 7 of the Party Constitution, as quoted:

#### **Rule 7: The National Congress**

(a) The National Congress shall be the supreme authority of the Party and shall be responsible for the adoption of the policy of the Party.

(b) The National Congress shall be convened by the Executive Committee every two years, and shall be composed of:

Delegates from Party Branches, elected in accordance with their numerical strength, on a basis to be determined by the Executive Committee.

Delegates from District Committees.

Members of the retiring Executive Committee and Appeals Committees, who shall have full right to participate in the work of Congress including the right to participate in the work of Congress Committees when elected by Congress as Executive Committee representatives to such Committees; but shall not have the right to vote in full Congress unless elected as full delegates from a Branch or District Committee.

(c) The agenda and preliminary materials for the Congress shall be issued to Party organisations three months before the date fixed for the Congress. Amendments to draft resolutions issued by the Executive Committee and resolutions for Congress agenda may be sent in by Party Branches and District Committees up to six weeks before the date of Congress.

(d) Procedure for the conduct of pre-Congress discussion shall be according to the provisions of Rule 16(a) and 16(d).

(e) The National Congress shall elect, from nominations made by Branches and District Committees, an Executive Committee, an Appeals Committee, and two Auditors. Members of the Appeals Committee and the Auditors shall not be members of the Executive Committee.

(f) The Executive Committee shall have the power to convene a special National Congress, composed in the same way and with the same powers as the National Congress. The Executive Committee has the obligation to convene such a special National Congress on the request of not less than one-fifth of the Branches or one-third of the District Committees.

**STANDING ORDER 2**  
**THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES**

(a) The Executive Committee shall determine for each Congress the total number of delegates to be elected by each Party District in proportion to its numerical strength.

(b) The District Committee shall, in consultation with the Branches concerned, make appropriate arrangements for the grouping of Branches, so that every Branch may participate in the election of a delegate to the Congress.

(c) Each District Committee shall have the right to elect two delegates to the Congress.

(d) In each case, after a delegate has been elected, a separate vote shall be taken to decide upon a reserve delegate, in the event of the first delegate being unable to attend.

(e) Delegates shall attend for the whole period of the Congress and in no circumstances shall the credential be shared.

(f) Delegates shall not be mandated.

(g) The Executive Committee shall determine the fee for each delegate, such fee to include a contribution to the total fares of delegates travelling to the Congress.

**STANDING ORDER 3**  
**THE APPOINTMENT OF CONSULTATIVE DELEGATES**

The Executive Committee shall have the right to appoint Consultative Delegates who shall have the right to attend all sessions, but shall not have the right to vote.

**STANDING ORDER 4**  
**THE ISSUE OF CONGRESS MATERIAL**

(a) Congress material shall be issued by the Executive Committee in accordance with Rule 7 of the Party Constitution.

(b) Such material in addition to any political statement or resolutions from the Executive Committee shall include:

Report of the work of the retiring Executive Committee.

Names and attendances of retiring Executive Committee, with brief factual information on each member.

Names of retiring Appeals Committee and Auditors.

Amendments to Rules and Standing Orders submitted in accordance with Rule 25 of the Party Constitution.

**STANDING ORDER 5**  
**BRANCH AMENDMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS**

Each Party Branch and District Committee shall have the right to submit amendments to Congress documents, and not more than two resolutions.

**STANDING ORDER 6**  
**CONGRESS COMMITTEES**

(a) The Executive Committee shall decide, according to the circumstances of each Congress, the number of Congress Committees required.

(b) Such Committees shall include an Election Preparations Committee, a Congress Arrangements Committee, and a Credentials Committee.

(c) The Election Preparations Committee shall be composed of four members of the Executive Committee and one comrade nominated by each District Committee.

(d) All other Committees shall be composed of comrades nominated from the Executive Committee and from a proportion of the District Committees.

(e) The Executive Committee shall have power to decide, in consultation with the District concerned, which Districts shall be represented on which Congress Committee.

(f) In no Congress Committee shall the number of Executive Committee members exceed one quarter of the total strength of the Committee. Comrades nominated by District Committees shall be full delegates to Congress and shall not be members of the Executive Committee.

(g) Each District Committee shall decide upon its nominations to Congress Committees at a full meeting of the District Committee whose members, together with all Party Branches in the District, shall have been informed of this item on the agenda. All Branches in the District shall be requested to send in proposals for consideration of the District Committee before the final decision on this question is taken.

(h) The names of comrades nominated for all such Committees shall be published in the Party press prior to the Congress, and placed before Congress at its first session for endorsement.

#### **STANDING ORDER 7**

##### **METHOD OF ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

(a) Three months before Congress all Branches and District Committees shall be provided with a nomination form and a list of all members of the Executive Committee with their attendances.

(b) Party Branches and District Committees shall convene meetings for the purpose of making nominations, which shall be sent to the Executive Committee up to six weeks before the Party Congress.

(c) Nominations shall come from any member of the Branch present and shall be considered carried if a simple majority of those present vote for the nomination.

(d) There shall be no limit to the number of nominations from any one Party organisation.

(e) The retiring Executive Committee shall have the duty to consider all nominations and to make these available, together with any recommendations, to the Election Preparations Committee.

(f) The Election Preparations Committee at its meeting prior to the Congress shall prepare its first report to Congress, including the first draft of its recommended list together with a list giving brief biographical information of all those accepting nomination.

(g) The final report of the Election Preparations Committee shall be given in closed session of Congress. Delegates who have raised questions with the Election Preparations Committee or who, owing to changes in the first draft, have not had the opportunity to raise their question, shall have the right to speak following this report. The reporter for the Committee shall have the right to reply. This report shall be considered

as advice to delegates, and shall not be open to endorsement or amendment.

(h) Congress delegates shall then vote by secret ballot. The ballot paper shall include the names of all those who have accepted nominations, the recommended list appearing first.

(i) Counting of the ballot shall be carried out by tellers elected by Congress.

### **STANDING ORDER 8 THE CONDUCT OF CONGRESS BUSINESS**

(a) The first item following the opening address shall be the election of Tellers and Congress Committees.

(b) The second item shall be the factual record of the work of the Executive Committee on which delegates shall have the right to ask questions.

(c) Delegates shall be asked to approve proposals for the conduct of all other Congress business, including Emergency Resolutions, from the Congress Arrangements Committee.

(d) All decisions of Congress shall require a simple majority vote.

### **STANDING ORDER 9 THE PROCEDURE FOR APPEAL**

(a) In the event of an appeal against disciplinary action by the Executive Committee coming before Congress, a Congress Appeals Committee shall be elected in the same way as all other Congress Committees (see Standing Order 6) except that no member of the retiring Executive Committee or Appeals Committee shall serve on this Committee.

(b) The retiring National Appeals Committee and Executive Committee shall each nominate a spokesman to answer questions from the Congress Appeals Committee, and all papers relating to the case shall be made available to the Committee.

(c) The Congress Appeals Committee shall report its findings to Congress for endorsement or otherwise.

### **STANDING ORDER 10 ANALYSIS OF DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS**

The Executive Committee shall make provision for an analysis of the credentials of delegates, which shall be supervised by a Congress Credentials Committee elected by Congress.

### **STANDING ORDER 11 ALTERATIONS TO STANDING ORDERS**

These Standing Orders shall be subject to amendment by the same procedure as for alterations to the Constitution of the Party (Rule 25).

# **RESOLUTIONS FROM BRANCHES**

## **REPRESSION IN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC**

This Congress condemns the repressive actions operating against the Egyptian and Syrian Communist Parties, trade unionists and progressives by the Government of the United Arab Republic. We pledge full moral support for these progressive sections of the people of the U.A.R. fighting for elementary democratic rights.

## **OLD AGE PENSIONS**

This Congress fully supports the demands for the Old Age Pensioners for immediate increase of the pension to £3 10s. per person.

It regards adequate provision in old age as a special responsibility and repudiates the Tory pension proposals. It also calls for the drastic revision of the Labour Party's pension plan along the lines proposed by our Party.

Congress considers that the improvement of conditions for old age pensioners is a matter of extreme urgency, and considers that continuous efforts to achieve such improvement should be among the Party's major activities, both at Branch and National level.

## **UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS**

This Congress declares the benefits paid to the unemployed are totally inadequate and urges an immediate and substantial increase:

£3 10s. for a single person and £2 10s. for a dependent wife.

16s. for all children inclusive of family allowance and not only for the first child.

Waiting period to be abolished.

Rent allowances to be granted with no means test when signing on.

Congress urges the Labour movement to organise and assist the unemployed workers so that they may play their full part in the struggle against the slump and the Tory Government.

## **SCHOOL LEAVERS AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT**

This Congress expresses its deep anger at the Tory Government's policies which are condemning so many young people to unemployment and forcing many to leave their homes. While this is already a serious problem, it could become much worse by 1962 because of the so-called "bulge". We declare that the social system which cannot guarantee a future for its young people must be swept away and replaced by socialism.

We demand immediate measures to end youth unemployment including raising the school leaving age, greater opportunities for higher education, improved technical and apprenticeship training, shorter hours, and longer holidays for young workers.

## **CIVIL LIBERTIES—NORTHERN IRELAND**

This Congress views with concern the many recent reports of ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees by prison staffs and police, and is especially alarmed by the well-authenticated reports of torture and mass "beatings-up" of prisoners and detainees in north-eastern Ireland. It calls on the British working class through its trade unions and political organisations and by direct canvass of Members of Parliament at Westminster, to demand an immediate and thorough Parliamentary investigation into the powers and activities of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and other special police forces in north-eastern Ireland.

By virtue of Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act final authority over Northern Ireland is reserved to the U.K. Parliament, which is therefore the most competent body to hold such an investigation.

## **RELIGION AND POLITICS**

This Congress reaffirms that in accordance with its established rules and principles it is the policy of the Party to respect the right of every individual to pursue his religious faith and forms of worship in accordance with his conscience.

The Communist Party is fundamentally opposed to all forms of discrimination, whether based on religion or on race, colour or sex.

While retaining the right to agree or disagree with any Church leader who enters into the political sphere, the Communist Party is fully prepared to co-operate with people of any religious beliefs or of none, in all genuine efforts to bring about in Britain higher material and cultural standards for the people.

The Communist Party, therefore, calls upon people of all religious denominations to work to end the unethical policy responsible for large scale unemployment, colonial repression, and preparations for nuclear war, and to help to bring about a socialist system of society in our country fully in accord with the principle of the Brotherhood of Man professed by all religious bodies.

## The Executive Committee

S. ABBOT  
T. AHERN  
W. ALEXANDER  
R. BIRCH  
H. BOURNE  
D. BOWMAN  
G. CABORN  
J. R. CAMPBELL  
J. DAVID  
W. DUNN (Scotland)  
R. P. DUTT  
W. GALLACHER  
J. GOLLAN  
F. HART

F. HAXELL  
NORA JEFFERY  
A. JORDAN  
MOLLY KEITH  
P. KERRIGAN  
A. KETTLE  
J. KLUGMANN  
W. LAUCLAN  
L. MCGREE  
G. MCLENNAN  
J. MAHON  
G. MATTHEWS  
A. MOFFAT  
M. MORRIS

ELIZABETH O'BYRNE  
J. PASCOE  
H. POLLITT  
ANNIE POWELL  
B. RAMELSON  
J. REID  
B. SIMON  
F. STANLEY  
N. TEMPLE  
W. WAINWRIGHT  
W. WARMAN  
M. WEAVER  
BESSIE WILD  
J. WILLIAMSON

## Appeals Committee

GLADYS BROOKS  
W. COWE  
G. C. T. GILES

J. HOSTETTLER  
W. PARKHOUSE  
MARIAN RAMELSON

G. SHORT

## Auditors

W. HOLMES

L. S. DUNSTAN

## Fraternal Delegates and Messages

The following delegates participated in the Congress and brought greetings from their Parties:

AUSTRALIA: Ted Hill, Member of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

AUSTRIA: Franz West, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

BELGIUM: Marc Drumaux, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

BULGARIA: Elena Gavrilova, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

CANADA: Nigel Morgan, Member of the Central Committee of the Labor-Progressive Party.

CHINA: Wang Chia-Ksiang, Member of the Secretariat and Central Committee; and Wu Hsiu-Chuan, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: B. Lastovicka, Candidate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and L. Roeman, Party worker.

FRANCE: Etienne Fajon, Member of the Secretariat and of Central Committee of the Communist Party, and Editor of "Humanite".

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Kurt Seibt, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, and First Secretary of the Potsdam District.

HUNGARY: Koroly Kiss, Member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee, and Elemer Kerekgyarto, Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party.

INDIA: Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, Member of the Secretariat and National Council of the Communist Party.

ITALY: Georgio Amendola, Member of the Secretariat and Central Committee, and Franco Calamandrei, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

NORTHERN IRELAND: Hugh Moore, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND: Sean Nolan and Sam Nolan, Members of the Executive Committee of the Irish Workers' League.

NETHERLANDS: P. Bakker, Member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Communist Party.

POLAND: E. Gierak, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party. J. Kowalczyk, Member of the Auditing Committee of the Workers' Party.

SOVIET UNION: Alexei Rummyantsov, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

SWEDEN: Urban Karlsson, Member of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Communist Party.

SWITZERLAND: Armand Forel, Member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party.

## Fraternal Greetings

Messages were received from brother parties in:

Morocco, Mexico, Sudan, Rumania, Indonesia, Denmark, Cyprus, Israel, Iraq, Korea, Spain, Argentine, U.S.A., Ceylon.

## Credentials Report

### NUMBER OF FULL DELEGATES

Men, 417. Women, 75 (15 per cent of total). Total, 492

### NUMBER OF CONSULTATIVE DELEGATES

District, 48. National, 66

(The following analyses are of full delegates only)

#### AGE GROUPS

21 or under	..	..	8	31-40	..	..	..	204
22-25	..	..	23	41-50	..	..	..	139
26-30	..	..	63	over 50	..	..	..	55

*Average age: 39*

#### LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP

Up to 1 year	..	..	21	11-15 years	..	..	94
1 year	..	..	14	16-20 years	..	..	90
2-3 years	..	..	43	21-25 years	..	..	75
4-6 years	..	..	59	More than 25 years	..	..	30
7-10 years	..	..	66				

*Average length of membership: 13*





