

Historia provinciae – журнал региональной истории. 2024. Т. 8, № 4. С. 1276–1298.

Historia Provinciae – the Journal of Regional History, vol. 8, no. 4 (2024): 1276–98.

Обзорная статья

УДК 93/94

<https://doi.org/10.23859/2587-8344-2024-8-4-6>

EDN: RWRUUS

Современные англоязычные историки о тактике Коминтерна в 1928–1934 гг.

Илья Алексеевич Суздальцев

Школа № 1381,

Москва, Россия,

ialoko90@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5204-0117>

Ilya A. Suzdal'tsev

School No. 1381,

Moscow, Russia,

ialoko90@mail.ru, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5204-0117>



Аннотация. Статья посвящена анализу оценок современными англоязычными историками тактики Коммунистического интернационала, получившей название «класс против класса». В работе представлены оценки исследователей, придерживающихся традиционалистской и ревизионистской парадигм в осмыслении темы. Отношение историков к Коминтерну обуславливает их взгляды и на тактику «класс против класса». «Традиционалисты» находят аргументы, подтверждающие ее вредность и губительность, как для отдельных коммунистических партий, так и для стран и регионов в целом, утверждая, что партийные чистки 1928–1934 гг., в ходе которых были исключены многие талантливые руководители, привели к значительному ослаблению роли и значения компартий; просчеты коминтерновского руководства, игнорировавшего местную специфику, чаще всего становились причиной изоляции этих партий, снижали их политический авторитет в рабочем движении. «Ревизионисты» в большинстве случаев приходят к выводу, что в указанный период данная тактика была вполне уместной и как правило оправдывают ее спецификой политической ситуации в Европе и мире. Историки, придерживающиеся данного направления, изначально строили свои суждения в основном на догадках, однако в условиях открытия архивов им удалось сформировать внушительный комплекс аргументов, который сделал их позиции достаточно крепкими. Изучая национальный и местный уровни, ученые выяснили, что во время «третьего периода» Коминтерна на уровне отдельных стран и регионов вопросы безработицы, расовых проблем, защиты прав рабочих и т.д. достаточно часто и успешно решались именно коммунистами, иногда в союзах с социалистами и социал-

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демократами; был создан ряд международных организаций; коммунистическое движение было популярным не только среди рабочих, но и в кругах интеллигенции. Новизна работы заключается в том, что впервые оценки тактики «класс против класса» современных англоязычных историков объединены в одном исследовании. Информационной базой послужили монографии и статьи, посвященные деятельности Коминтерна и его зарубежных секций, изданные в последние десятилетия в англоязычных странах: Великобритании, США, Канаде, Австралии, Новой Зеландии.

Ключевые слова: историография, «класс против класса», «традиционалисты», «ревизионисты», Народный фронт, Коммунистическая партия Великобритании (КПВ), Коммунистическая партия Германии (КПГ), Коммунистическая партия США (КП США)

Для цитирования: Суздальцев И.А. Современные англоязычные историки о тактике Коминтерна в 1928–1934 гг. // *Historia provinciae* – журнал региональной истории. 2024. Т. 8, № 4. С. 1276–1298, <https://doi.org/10.23859/2587-8344-2024-8-4-6>; EDN: RWRUUS

Present-day English-speaking historians on the tactics of the Comintern in 1928–1934

Abstract. The article is devoted to the analysis of the assessments given by present-day English-speaking historians to the tactics of the Communist International referred to as the tactics of class against class. The article presents the assessments of the researchers adhering to the traditionalist and revisionist paradigms in the comprehension of the topic. Their attitude towards the Comintern determines their views on the tactics of class against class. The traditionalists find arguments confirming its harmfulness and destructiveness both for individual communist parties and for countries and regions as a whole, arguing that in 1928–34 many talented leaders were expelled from communist parties, which greatly weakened the role and decreased the significance of the latter; miscalculations of the Comintern leadership, who ignored the specificity of local conditions, most often led to the isolation of those parties and decreased their political authority in the labor movement. Revisionists most often come to the conclusion that during the period under consideration this tactics was quite appropriate and most often justify it, among other things, by the specific political situation in Europe and in the world. Historians who adhere to this trend initially based their judgment mainly on guesswork, but in the context of the opening of archives, they managed to produce an impressive set of arguments that made their positions quite strong. By studying the national and the local levels, scholars found out that during the Third Period of the Comintern, it was the communists (sometimes allied with socialists and social democrats) who resolved the issues of unemployment, race, protection of workers' rights, etc. at the level of individual countries and regions quite often and successfully; a number of international organizations were established; the communist movement gained popularity not only among workers but also among the intelligentsia. The novelty of the work lies in the fact that the assessments of the class-against-class tactics by modern English-speaking historians are combined in one study for the first time. The information base of the research includes the monographs and articles devoted to the activities of the Comintern and its foreign sections that have been published in recent decades in the English-speaking countries: Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Keywords: historiography, class against class, traditionalists, revisionists, Popular Front, Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), Communist Party of Germany (KPD), Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA)

For citation: Suzdal'tsev, I.A. "Present-day English-speaking historians on the tactics of the Comintern in 1928–1934." *Historia Provinciae – the Journal of Regional History*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2024): 1276–98, <https://doi.org/10.23859/2587-8344-2024-8-4-6>; EDN: RWRUUS

Введение

Тактика «класс против класса» была провозглашена на Девятом пленуме ИККИ (9–25 февраля 1928 г.). Считается, что ее реализация продолжалась до 1934 г. (иногда этот временной отрезок называют Третьим периодом Коминтерна), пока лидеры Коминтерна с учетом необходимости антифашистской борьбы не начали разрабатывать новую политическую линию, названную тактикой Народных фронтов. Актуальность темы вызвана открытием новых архивных фондов, главным образом в Российском государственном архиве социально-политической истории (РГАСПИ), которые могут поспособствовать решению спорных, малоизученных, либо требующих переосмысления вопросов, связанных с данной тактикой Коминтерна. В пользу злободневности проведенного автором анализа говорит также продолжающийся историографический спор, в котором исследователи пытаются оценить влияние методов и идеологии III Интернационала на политическую ситуацию в определенных странах и мире¹. В англоязычной историографии Коммунистического интернационала сложилось два концептуальных подхода к изучению его деятельности – традиционалистский и ревизионистский. Основные исследования, написанные в соответствии с традиционалистским подходом, были опубликованы в годы холодной войны. Коминтерн в этих публикациях назывался проводником интересов Москвы, а период реализации тактики «класс против класса» – самым мрачным часом в его истории, моментом, когда в III Интернационале восторжествовал сталинизм, что нанесло максимальный ущерб рабочему движению². Представители ревизионистской концепции, оформившейся в 1980-е гг. в США и Великобритании, отмечали прирост членства в коммунистических партиях (преимущественно в Коммунистической партии Великобритании (КПВ) и Коммунистической партии США) во время «третьего периода», что позволило проводить независимую политику и, соответственно, пользоваться популярностью в народных массах. Эти историки рассматривали Коминтерн как собрание национальных коммунистических партий, обладавших (в

¹ Суздальцев И.А. Дискуссия в англоязычной историографии Коммунистического интернационала // Известия Юго-Западного государственного университета. Серия: История и право. 2023. Т. 13, № 6. С. 283–296.

² Суздальцев И.А. Политика Коминтерна в отношении Коммунистической партии Испании в интерпретации современных историков // *Historia provinciae – журнал региональной истории*. 2023. Т. 7, № 2. С. 652.

различные периоды в разной форме и степени) самостоятельностью в принятии внутренних ключевых политических решений³.

Дискуссия в исторической науке продолжилась в 1990-е гг., когда тактика «класс против класса» называлась, с одной стороны, катастрофической для национальных компартий⁴, с другой – благоприятной для их политики при условии сохранения значительной автономии от Коммунистического интернационала⁵. В настоящее время продолжает увеличиваться количество публикаций, посвященных этому вопросу, одному из самых дискуссионных в коминтерноведении. При этом в большинстве своем исследователи придерживаются традиционалистской позиции и высказываются о дестабилизирующих последствиях «третьего периода» Коминтерна.

Основная часть

Целый ряд историков приходит к выводу о том, что тактика «класс против класса» способствовала изоляции Коммунистической партии Германии (КПГ), которая в итоге была лишена возможности бороться с фашизмом совместно с социал-демократами. В приходе к власти фашистов в Германии они усматривают значительную вину Коминтерна⁶. Британский исследователь Дж. Эли (G. Eley) считает, что тактика «класс против класса» привела к демократическому обнищанию III Интернационала⁷. Его соотечественник Э. Дрю (A. Drew), изучая влияние указанной тактики на коммунистическую

³ Суздальцев И.А. Современная англоязычная историография Коммунистического интернационала // Новая и новейшая история. 2021. Вып. 4. С. 19–20.

⁴ Hargreaves J.D. The Comintern and Anti-Colonialism: New Research Opportunities // African Affairs. 1993. Vol. 92, iss. 367. P. 255–261.

⁵ Solomon M. The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917–1936. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1998. P. xxiv.

⁶ McIlroy J., Campbell A. “For a Revolutionary Workers’ Government”: Moscow, British Communism and Revisionist Interpretations of the Third Period, 1927–34 // European History Quarterly. 2002. Vol. 32, iss. 4. P. 535; Manley J. Moscow Rules? ‘Red’ Unionism and ‘Class Against Class’ in Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1928–1935 // Labour/Le Travail. 2005. Vol. 56. P. 32; Twiss T. Trotsky and the Problem of Soviet Bureaucracy: A dissertation of Doctor of Philosophy. University of Pittsburgh, 2009. P. 400–402; Pedersen V. It’s Hard to be Popular: The Marine Workers Industrial Union and the Coming of the Popular Front // American Communist History. 2012. Vol. 11, iss. 3. P. 286; LaPorte N., Hoffrogge R. Weimar Communism as Mass Movement. 1918–1933. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2017. P. 17; Smith S.A., Pons S. Introduction to Volume I // The Cambridge History of Communism. Vol. I. World Revolution and Socialism in One Country 1917–1941 / edited by S. Pons, S.A. Smith. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. P. 44.

⁷ Eley G. Forging Democracy. The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. P. 281.

партию Южной Африки, пишет, что этот период характеризовался чистками, распадами союзов с другими политическими группами, что вызвало в партии серьезную дезорганизацию, продолжавшуюся до середины 1930-х гг.⁸, когда после перехода к тактике Народных фронтов в 1935 г. ситуация стабилизировалась.

Свой вывод о том, что борьба с «социал-фашистами» привела к изоляции филиалов Коминтерна, британские историки Дж. Макилрой и А. Кэмпбелл (J. McIlroy, A. Campbell) подтверждают рядом примеров, касающихся европейских компартий: Французская коммунистическая партия (ФКП) потеряла 11 мест в парламенте, ее численность сократилась за два года с 45 тыс. членов до 38 тыс.; Коммунистическая партия Испании (КПИ) не смогла воспользоваться падением диктатуры в 1929 г., так как ее лидеры были арестованы в Москве; Итальянская коммунистическая партия (ИКП) пострадала от Коминтерна больше, чем от фашистов, из нее были исключены ряд лидеров, например, А. Таска⁹.

В монографии, посвященной КПВ, британские историки Дж. Иден и Д. Рентон (J. Eaden, D. Renton) также сосредотачивают свое внимание на отрицательных последствиях тактики «класс против класса»: партия лишилась профсоюзных активистов, членство в ней значительно сократилось, она оказалась частично изолирована от политической борьбы в стране¹⁰. Подобные тезисы в отношении КПВ присутствуют в работах их соотечественников Дж. Ньюсингера, М. Каваны и Дж. Лафф (J. Newsinger, M. Kavanagh, J. Luff)¹¹. Американский исследователь Дж. Фаулер (J. Fowler) пишет, что в начале 1930-х гг. Коммунистическая партия Китая была расколота фракционностью и почти уничтожена из-за требований Коминтерна призывать к вооруженным восстаниям среди рабочих и крестьян¹². К схожим выводам, только уже в отношении Коммунистической партии Новой Зеландии в этот период,

⁸ Drew A. *Discordant Comrades. Identities and Loyalties on the South African Left*. London & New York: Routledge, 2000. P. 108, 132.

⁹ McIlroy J., Campbell A. "For a Revolutionary Workers' Government". P. 539–540.

¹⁰ Eaden J., Renton D. *The Communist Party of Great Britain since 1920*. New York: Palgrave, 2002. P. 1, 31, 40.

¹¹ Newsinger J. *Recent Controversies in the History of British Communism* // *Journal of Contemporary History*. 2006. Vol. 41, iss. 3. P. 560–562; Kavanagh M. *British Communism and the Politics of Education, 1926–1968*. Doctoral thesis. University of Manchester, 2018. P. 37; Luff J. *Labor Anticommunism in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, 1920–49* // *Journal of Contemporary History*. 2018. Vol. 53 (1). P. 123, 126.

¹² Fowler J. *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists. Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919–1933*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007. P. 80.

приходит А. Трапезник (A. Trapeznik), который пишет, что количество ее членов в эти годы сократилось, а любое отклонение от требуемой Москвой политики преследовалось немедленным исключением из партийных рядов¹³.

Американский историк С. Эпп (S. Epp), рассматривая в своей статье деятельность Уильяма Колисника – коммуниста, избранного в городской совет Виннипега (США) в 1920-е гг., доказывает, что «ультралевая» тактика Коминтерна реализовывалась и на низовом уровне. Эпп приводит следующий факт биографии Колисника: ранее сотрудничавший с профсоюзами, в конце 1920-х гг. он, по требованию партии, обвинил их в предательстве интересов безработных, стал инициатором конфликта в горсовете и вскоре потерпел поражение на муниципальных выборах в ноябре 1930 г. Это, по мнению автора статьи, говорит о наступлении «третьего периода» в Виннипеге¹⁴. Соотечественник С. Эппа М. Роман (M. Roman) в монографии, посвященной расизму в США в 1920–1930-е гг., отмечает, что Коминтерн издал в октябре 1930 г. резолюцию, которая предписывала лидерам Коммунистической партии США (КП США) вовлекать чернокожих рабочих в жизнь профсоюзов, обучать их и продвигать на руководящие должности. Однако игнорирование лидерами Коминтерна местных условий привело к еще большему размежеванию рабочего класса Америки¹⁵.

К. Морган (K. Morgan) из Великобритании считает, что одновременно с реализацией тактики «класс против класса» началась «сталинизация» Коминтерна, которая заключалась в том, что для подчинения Москве в большинстве европейских компартий к власти были приведены кадры, верные сталинской политике, обладавшие абсолютной властью и готовые беспрекословно выполнять указания вождя: Э. Тельман (КПГ), К. Готвальд (КПЧ), Г. Поллитт (КПВ), Ю. Ленский (КПП), Х. Диас (КПИ) и др.¹⁶

Британец А. Али Джан (A. Ali Jan) констатирует, что из-за чисток в коммунистических партиях, начатых в 1928–1929 гг., было исключено много именитых коммунистов, выражавших несогласие с новой тактикой Коминтерна, таких, например, как М. Рой¹⁷. В КП США, по мнению канадского

¹³ Trapeznik A. “Agents of Moscow” at the Dawn of the Cold War. The Comintern and the Communist Party of New Zealand // *Journal of Cold War Studies*. 2009. Vol. 11, iss. 1. P. 138.

¹⁴ Epp S. A Communist in the Council Chambers: Communist Municipal Politics, Ethnicity, and the Career of William Kolisnyk // *Labour/Le Travail*. 2009. Vol. 63. P. 93–94, 98.

¹⁵ Roman M. *Opposing Jim Crow. African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928–1937*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. P. 15.

¹⁶ Morgan K. *International Communism and the Cult of the Individual. Leaders, Tribunes and Martyrs under Lenin and Stalin*. London: Springer, 2017. P. 42–43.

¹⁷ Ali Jan A. *A Study in the Formation of Communist Thought in India, 1919–1951: A dissertation of Doctor of Philosophy*. University of Cambridge, 2018. P. 59, 74.

историка Дж. Мэнли (J. Manley), таким коммунистом был генеральный секретарь партии Дж. Лавстон¹⁸. Тактику «класс против класса» для японского коммунистического движения считает губительной американский исследователь М. Крук (M. Crooke). Он пишет, что сначала Коммунистическая партия Японии была запрещена как организация, призывавшая к свержению монархии, а к 1935 г. большая часть ее руководителей были арестованы¹⁹. Американец М. Свэглер (M. Swagler) отмечает, что вмешательство Коминтерна во внутренние дела Коммунистической партии Южной Африки (КПЮА) в конце 1920-х гг. погрузило партию во фракционность, а проект создать собственные негритянские профсоюзы потерпел неудачу, изолировав КПЮА от значительной части рабочего класса страны²⁰. Схожая со Свэглером риторика свойственна австралийскому историку Э. Смит (E. Smith), который пишет, что «третий период» был для африканских коммунистических партий катастрофическим: почти вся повседневная деятельность прекратилась, численность сократилась до нескольких десятков членов. При этом Смит вполне справедливо отмечает, что в конце 1920-х гг. Коминтерн участвовал в создании двух организаций – Лиги против империализма и Международного комитета профсоюзов негритянских рабочих, что способствовало усилению антиколониальной борьбы²¹.

Однако растет и число исследований, авторы которых отмечают положительные итоги «третьего периода» Коминтерна. Например, ряд историков считают, что численность КПВ в это время увеличилась. Исследователь из Великобритании Э. Торп (A. Thorpe) объясняет это тем, что к партии, ввиду популярности ее программы, присоединялись безработные, а также тем, что КПВ эффективно работала в профсоюзах, отстаивая интересы рабочего класса²². Его соотечественница Н. Фишман (N. Fishman) считает, что КПВ практически не затронула «сталинизация» – партийный аппарат лишь

¹⁸ *Manley J.* Moscow Rules? P. 20.

¹⁹ *Crooke M.* Betraying Revolution: The Foundations of the Japanese Communist Party // Master's Projects and Capstones. University of San Francisco, 2018. P. 20–21.

²⁰ *Swagler M.* The Russian Revolution and Pan-African Marxism // Review of African Political Economy. 2018. Vol. 45, iss. 158. P. 626.

²¹ *Smith E.* National Liberation for Whom? The Postcolonial Question, the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the Party's African and Caribbean Membership // International Review of Social History. 2016. Vol. 61. P. 287; *Smith E.* Against Fascism, for Racial Equality: Communists, Anti-Racism and the Road to the Second World War in Australia, South Africa and the United States // Labor History. 2017. Vol. 58, iss. 5. P. 679–682.

²² *Thorpe A.* The Membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1920–1945 // The Historical Journal. 2000. Vol. 43, iss. 3. P. 782, 799; *Thorpe A.* The Communist Party and the New Party // Contemporary British History. 2009. Vol. 23. P. 487.

изредка инструктировал местные отделения, в которых сохранялись демократические механизмы²³.

На современном этапе целый ряд своих работ опубликовали канадские исследователи, придерживающиеся ревизионистских позиций в отношении Коммунистической партии Канады (КПК). С. Форсайт и К. Патриас (S. Forsyth, C. Patrias) считают, что КПК в конце 1920-х – начале 1930-х гг. играла важную роль в сообществах иммигрантов, возглавляла движения безработных и была востребована среди творческой интеллигенции²⁴. И. Маккей (I. McKay) также отрицает наличие в Канаде «московских правил» «третьего периода», отмечая, что канадские реалии – участие КПК в тред-юнионизме, движении безработных, борьбе с депортацией – слабо контролировались Коминтерном²⁵. Дж. Бреннан (J. Brennan), изучая ситуацию в городе Реджайна, пишет, что прообраз будущего Народного фронта здесь был создан за несколько лет до официального провозглашения; городское отделение КПК было очень влиятельным – возглавив филиал Национальной ассоциации безработных, оно смогло в 1930 г. вывести на первомайский митинг 8 тыс. человек²⁶.

Исследователь из США Р. Сторч (R. Storch) в ряде публикаций отмечает, что чикагские коммунисты в конце 1920-х – начале 1930-х гг. направили свое влияние на новые для себя социальные группы – афроамериканцев, студентов, художников, писателей – и постепенно приобрели авторитет в этих кругах²⁷; членство в городском отделении КП США в Чикаго в этот период росло в районах, где программные установки коммунистов касались проблем трудящихся²⁸.

В 2008 и 2011 гг. были опубликованы монографии, в которых американские историки Г. Гилмор, У. Говард и М. Макалани (G. Gilmore, W. Howard, M. Makalani) пишут, что в начале 1930-х гг. в Нью-Йорке, Бирмингеме

²³ Цит. по: *McIlroy J., Campbell A. The Last Word on Communism // Labour History Review. 2005. Vol. 70, iss. 1. P. 97.*

²⁴ *Forsyth S. Communists, Class, and Culture in Canada // Working on Screen. Representations of the Working Class in Canadian Cinema / edited by M. Khouri, D. Varga. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2006. P. 47; Patrias C. Immigrants, Communists, and Solidarity Unionism in Niagara, 1930–1960 // Labour/Le Travail. 2018. Vol. 82. P. 126, 129.*

²⁵ *McKay I. Joe Salsberg, Depression-Era Communism, and the Limits of Moscow's Rule // Canadian Jewish Studies. 2013. Vol. 21. P. 132, 134, 136.*

²⁶ *Brennan J.W. 'The Common People Have Spoken with a Mighty Voice': Regina's Labour City Councils, 1936–1939 // Labour/Le Travail. 2013. Vol. 71. P. 57, 63.*

²⁷ *Storch R. American Communism and Soviet Russia: A View from Chicago's Streets American Historical Association, New York City, 2009 // American Communist History. 2009. Vol. 8, iss. 1. P. 27–28.*

²⁸ *Storch R. "Run Quick and Find the Reds": Historians' Search for American Communists // American Communist History. 2019. Vol. 18. P. 85.*

коммунисты организовали кампании против безработицы, полицейского произвола, сегрегации, способствовали освобождению «парней из Скоттсборо» (судебный процесс 1931 г. по обвинению в изнасиловании девяти афроамериканских юношей, которые были оправданы судом присяжных), продвигали идею межрасовой солидарности²⁹. Позже эти тезисы были поддержаны американским исследователем Дж. Барреттом (J. Barrett)³⁰. Их соотечественник Дж. Зумофф (J. Zumoff) пришел к выводу, что КП США сыграла ведущую роль в решении расового вопроса³¹ и в подъеме борьбы рабочих за свои права³². Подобные выводы Зумофф также делает в отношении рабочих движений Кубы и Коста-Рики³³. Вклад британской и нидерландской коммунистических партий в решение вопроса безработицы отмечает британский исследователь Э. Висджес (E. Weesjes)³⁴, Французской коммунистической партии – его соотечественник С. Смит (S. Smith)³⁵.

В ряде работ представлены положительные оценки тактики «класс против класса» на африканском континенте. Историк из Соединенных Штатов С. Ани Мукерджи (S. Ani Mukherji) подчеркивает, что Москва в первой половине 1930-х гг. стала центром черной диаспоры в Европе, СССР оказывал материальную поддержку организациям, занимавшимся антирасистской и антиколониальной пропагандой³⁶. Эту идею развивает британец Х. Ади (H. Adi), который пишет, что начало 1930-х гг. – это период, породивший таких

²⁹ *Gilmore G.E.* Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008. P. 118–128; *Howard W.T.* Black Communists Speak on Scottsboro: A Documentary History. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008. P. 1–27; *Makalani M.* In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011. P. 133–134.

³⁰ *Barrett J.R.* What Went Wrong? The Communist Party, the US, and the Comintern // *American Communist History*. 2018. Vol. 17, № 2. P. 181.

³¹ *Zumoff J.A.* The Communist International and US Communism, 1919–1929. Leiden: Brill, 2014. P. 23.

³² *Zumoff J.A.* The Left in the United States and the Decline of the Socialist Party of America, 1934–1935 // *Labour/Le Travail*. 2020. Vol. 85. P. 165.

³³ *Zumoff J.A.* Ojos Que No Ven. The Communist Party, Caribbean Migrants and the Communist International in Costa Rica in the 1920s and 1930s // *The Journal of Caribbean History*. 2011. Vol. 45, iss. 2. P. 230, 235.

³⁴ *Weesjes E.* Children of the Red Flag. Growing Up in a Communist Family During the Cold War: A Comparative Analysis of the British and Dutch Communist Movement: Doctoral thesis. University of Sussex. 2010. P. 46.

³⁵ *Smith S.A.* Issues in Comintern Historiography // *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* / edited by S.A. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. P. 196–197.

³⁶ *Ani Mukherji S.* “Like Another Planet to the Darker Americas”: Black Cultural Work in 1930s Moscow // *Africa in Europe: Studies in Transnational Practice in the Long Twentieth Century* / edited by E. Rosenhaft, R. Aitken. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013. P. 122.

известных политических деятелей, как Поль Робсон и Жак Румен, которые были тесно связаны с коммунистическим движением³⁷. Канадский историк О. Драчевич (O. Drachewych) отмечает, что в этот период по инициативе Коминтерна был создан Международный комитет профсоюзов негритянских рабочих³⁸.

Заключение

Таким образом, научный спор, начало которому было положено несколько десятилетий назад, в XXI веке получил новое развитие. На вопрос о влиянии коминтерновской тактики «класс против класса» на рабочее движение и ситуацию в конкретных странах невозможно дать однозначный ответ, поэтому, не исключено, что количество публикаций, посвященных как Коминтерну, так и данной тактике, будет расти, в том числе и потому, что англоязычные историки все больше обращают внимание на изучение коммунистического движения и особенностей деятельности национальных компартий, где полнота исследования невозможна без анализа деятельности Коммунистического интернационала. Стоит отметить, что открытие фондов РГАСПИ (в том числе описей Негритянского бюро Восточного секретариата ИККИ, Информационных материалов по истории Коминтерна и международных революционных организаций и др.) позволило «ревизионистам» опереться на конкретные факты, говорящие об участии Коминтерна в антиколониальной борьбе (создание и финансирование организаций, занимавшихся этой политикой, таких как, например, Антиимпериалистическая лига), в решении вопросов безработицы и расовой сегрегации в целом ряде стран (через национальные компартии). В то же время, фонды, посвященные деятельности коммунистических партий (США, Великобритании, Германии, Италии и др.), подкрепляют аргументы «традиционалистов» в вопросах чрезмерного контроля и следующего за этим негативного влияния Коминтерна на их политику.



³⁷ *Adi H. Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the diaspora, 1919–1939. Trenton, NJ: Africa world press, 2013. P. 121.*

³⁸ *Drachewych O. Great Disappointment, Shifting Opportunities: A Glimpse into the Comintern, Western European Parties and Their Colonial Work in the Third Period // Twentieth Century Communism. 2020. Iss. 18. P. 150.*

Introduction

The tactics of class against class was proclaimed at the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) (February 9–25, 1928). It is believed that its implementation continued until 1934 (that period is sometimes referred to as the Third Period of the Comintern) when, taking into account the need for anti-fascist struggle, the leaders of the Comintern began to develop a new political line known as the tactics of Popular Fronts. The relevance of the topic is accounted for by the opening of the new archival collections (primarily in the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI)) that can contribute to the resolution of controversial, poorly studied, or requiring rethinking issues related to this Comintern tactics. The ongoing historiographical dispute in which researchers are trying to assess the influence of the methods and ideology of the Third International on the political situation in certain countries and in the world also speaks in favor of the topicality of the author's analysis.¹ In the English-language historiography of the Communist International, there are two conceptual approaches to its research – traditionalist and revisionist approaches. The main studies written in accordance with the traditionalist approach were published during the Cold War. In those publications, the Comintern was referred to as a conduit for Moscow's interests, and the period of implementing the tactics of class against class was called the darkest hour in its history, the moment when Stalinism triumphed in the Third International, which caused maximum damage to the labor movement.² Representatives of the revisionist concept, which took shape in the 1980s in the United States and Great Britain, noted the increase in the number of communist parties' members (primarily in the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA)) during the Third Period, which made it possible to pursue an independent policy and, accordingly, enjoy popularity among the masses. These historians viewed the Comintern as a group of national communist parties that had independence (of different degrees and forms in different periods) in making key internal political decisions.³

¹ I.A. Suzdal'tsev, "Discussion in the English-language Historiography of the Communist International" [in Russian], *Izvestiya Yugo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istoriya i pravo*, vol. 13, no. 6 (2023): 283–96, <https://doi.org/10.21869/2223-1501-2023-13-6-283-296>

² I.A. Suzdal'tsev, "The Policy of the Comintern towards the Communist Party of Spain as Interpreted by Modern Historians," *Historia Provinciae – the Journal of Regional History*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2023): 652, <https://doi.org/10.23859/2587-8344-2023-7-2-7>

³ I.A. Suzdal'tsev, "Modern English Historiography of the Communist International" [in Russian], *Novaya i noveishaya istoriya*. no. 4 (2021): 19–20.

The debate in historical science continued in the 1990s, when the tactics of class against class was called catastrophic for national communist parties⁴ on the one hand and on the other hand favorable for their policies, provided that they retained significant autonomy from the Communist International.⁵ At present, the number of publications devoted to this issue, one of the most controversial ones in Comintern studies, continues to increase. At the same time, most researchers adhere to the traditionalist position and speak out about the destabilizing consequences of the Third Period of the Comintern.

Main body

A number of historians come to the conclusion that the tactics of class against class contributed to the isolation of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), which eventually was deprived of the opportunity to fight fascism together with the Social Democrats. They see the Comintern those who are to blame for the rise of fascists to power in Germany.⁶ The British researcher G. Eley believes that the tactics of class against class led to the democratic impoverishment of the Third International.⁷ Studying the influence of this tactics on the Communist Party of South Africa, his compatriot A. Drew writes that that period was characterized by purges and disintegration of alliances with other political groups, which caused serious disorganization in the party. It lasted until the mid-1930s⁸ when the situation stabilized after the transition to the tactics of the Popular Fronts in 1935.

British historians J. McIlroy and A. Campbell confirm their conclusion that the struggle against the social fascists led to the isolation of the Comintern branches with

⁴ J.D. Hargreaves, "The Comintern and Anti-Colonialism: New Research Opportunities," *African Affairs*, vol. 92, iss. 367 (1993): 255–61.

⁵ M. Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917–1936* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), xxiv.

⁶ J. McIlroy, and A. Campbell, "'For a Revolutionary Workers' Government': Moscow, British Communism and Revisionist Interpretations of the Third Period, 1927–34," *European History Quarterly*, vol. 32, iss. 4 (2002): 535; J. Manley, "Moscow Rules? 'Red' Unionism and 'Class against Class' in Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1928–1935," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 56 (2005): 32; T. Twiss, "Trotsky and the Problem of Soviet Bureaucracy" (Doctoral diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2009), 400–02; V. Pedersen, "It's Hard to Be Popular: The Marine Workers Industrial Union and the Coming of the Popular Front," *American Communist History*, vol. 11, iss. 3 (2012): 286; N. LaPorte, and R. Hoffrogge, *Weimar Communism as Mass Movement. 1918–1933* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2017), 17; S.A. Smith, and S. Pons, Introduction to vol. 1, *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country 1917–1941*, ed. S. Pons, and S.A. Smith, *The Cambridge History of Communism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 44.

⁷ G. Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 281.

⁸ A. Drew, *Discordant Comrades. Identities and Loyalties on the South African Left* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 108, 132.

a number of examples concerning European Communist parties: the French Communist Party (PCF) lost 11 seats in parliament and its membership decreased from 45 thousand members to 38 thousand in two years; the Communist Party of Spain (PCPE) could not take advantage of the fall of the dictatorship in 1929, since its leaders were arrested in Moscow; the Italian Communist Party (PCI) suffered more from the Comintern than from the fascists, and a number of leaders were expelled from it, among whom was A. Tasca.⁹

In the monograph devoted to the CPGB, British historians J. Eaden and D. Renton also focus on the negative consequences of the tactics of class against class: the party lost trade unionists, its membership decreased significantly, and it was partially isolated from the political struggle in the country.¹⁰ Similar theses regarding the CPGB are present in the works of their compatriots J. Newsinger, M. Kavanagh, and J. Luff.¹¹ American researcher J. Fowler writes that in the early 1930s, the Chinese Communist Party was split by factionalism and almost destroyed due to the demands of the Comintern to call for armed uprisings among workers and peasants.¹² A. Trapeznik comes to similar conclusions, only in relation to the Communist Party of New Zealand during that period. He writes that the number of its members decreased during those years, and any deviation from the policy demanded by Moscow was pursued by immediate expulsion from the party.¹³

Studying the activities of William Kolisnik, a communist elected to the Winnipeg City Council (USA) in the 1920s, American historian S. Epp proves that the ultra-left tactics of the Comintern was also implemented at the grassroots level. Epp cites the following fact of Kolisnik's biography: he collaborated with trade unions earlier, but he accused them of betraying the interests of the unemployed at the request of the party in the late 1920s, initiated a conflict in the City Council and lost the municipal elections in November 1930. According to the author of the article, that indicated the

⁹ McIlroy, and Campbell, "For a Revolutionary Workers' Government," 539–40.

¹⁰ J. Eaden, and D. Renton, *The Communist Party of Great Britain since 1920* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1, 31, 49.

¹¹ J. Newsinger, "Recent Controversies in the History of British Communism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 41, iss. 3 (2006): 560–62; M. Kavanagh, "British Communism and the Politics of Education, 1926–1968" (Doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2018), 37; J. Luff, "Labor Anticommunism in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, 1920–49," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 53(1) (2018): 123, 126.

¹² J. Fowler, *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists. Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919–1933* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 80.

¹³ A. Trapeznik, "'Agents of Moscow' at the Dawn of the Cold War. The Comintern and the Communist Party of New Zealand," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2009): 138.

onset of the Third Period in Winnipeg.¹⁴ In a monograph on racism in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, S. Epp's compatriot M. Roman notes that in October 1930 the Comintern issued a resolution. It instructed the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States (CP USA) to involve black workers in trade union life, train them, and promote them to leadership positions. However, disregard for local conditions by the leaders of the Comintern led to an even greater division of the American working class.¹⁵

K. Morgan from Great Britain believes that simultaneously with the implementation of the tactics of class against class, Stalinization of the Comintern began. It consisted in fact that in order to subordinate most European communist parties to Moscow, persons loyal to Stalin's policy were brought to power. They possessed absolute power and were ready to unquestioningly carry out the leader's instructions: E. Thalmann (KPD), K. Gottwald (KSČ), G. Pollitt (CPGB), J. Leński (KPP), J. Diaz (PCPE), etc.¹⁶

A. Ali Jan from Britain states that due to the purges in the Communist parties, which began in 1928–29, many prominent communists who disagreed with the new tactics of the Comintern, e.g. M. Roy, were expelled from the party.¹⁷ According to Canadian historian J. Manley, General Secretary of the party J. Lovestone represented such communists in the CPUSA.¹⁸ American researcher M. Crooke considers the tactics of class against class to be disastrous for the Japanese communist movement. He writes that initially the Communist Party of Japan was banned as a party calling for the overthrow of the monarchy, and by 1935 most of its leaders had been arrested.¹⁹ An American M. Swagler notes that the intervention of the Comintern in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of South Africa (SACP) in the late 1920s plunged the party into factionalism, and the project to create its own Black trade unions failed and thus isolated the SACP from a significant part of the country's working class.²⁰ The rhetoric of Australian historian E. Smith is similar to that of Swagler. Smith writes that the Third Period was disastrous for the African

¹⁴ S. Epp, "A Communist in the Council Chambers: Communist Municipal Politics, Ethnicity, and the Career of William Kolisnyk," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 63 (2009): 93–94, 98.

¹⁵ M. Roman, *Opposing Jim Crow. African Americans and the Soviet Indictment of U.S. Racism, 1928–1937* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 15.

¹⁶ K. Morgan, *International Communism and the Cult of the Individual. Leaders, Tribunes and Martyrs under Lenin and Stalin* (London: Springer, 2017), 42–43.

¹⁷ A. Ali Jan, "A Study in the Formation of Communist Thought in India, 1919–1951" (Doctoral diss., University of Cambridge, 2018), 59, 74.

¹⁸ Manley, "Moscow Rules?," 20.

¹⁹ M. Crooke, "Betraying Revolution: The Foundations of the Japanese Communist Party," in *Master's Projects and Capstones* (University of San Francisco, 2018), 20–21.

²⁰ M. Swagler, "The Russian Revolution and Pan-African Marxism," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 45, iss. 158 (2018): 626.

Communist parties: almost all daily activities ceased and the membership was reduced to several dozen. At the same time, Smith quite rightly notes that the Comintern participated in the creation of two organizations in the late 1920s. They were the League against Imperialism and the International Committee of Trade Unions of Negro Workers, which contributed to the strengthening of the anti-colonial struggle.²¹

However, the number of studies whose authors note the positive results of the Third Period of the Comintern is also growing. For example, a number of historians believe that the membership of the CPGB increased at that time. A. Thorpe, a researcher from Great Britain, explains it by the fact that the unemployed joined the party due to the popularity of its program, and also by the fact that the CPGB worked effectively in trade unions, defending the interests of the working class.²² His compatriot N. Fishman believes that the CPGB was practically not affected by Stalinization: the party apparatus only occasionally instructed local branches and they retained democratic mechanisms.²³

At the present stage, a number of works have been published by Canadian researchers who adhere to the revisionist position regarding the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). S. Forsyth and C. Patrias believe that in the late 1920s – early 1930s the CPC played an important role in immigrant communities, led the unemployed movement, and was popular with the intelligentsia.²⁴ I. McKay denies the existence of the “Moscow rules” of the Third Period in Canada, noting that the Canadian realities (the participation of the CPC in trade unionism, the movement of the unemployed, the fight against deportation) were weakly controlled by the Comintern.²⁵ Studying the situation in the city of Regina, J. Brennan writes that the prototype of the future Popular Front was created there several years before the

²¹ E. Smith, “National Liberation for Whom? The Postcolonial Question, the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the Party’s African and Caribbean Membership,” *International Review of Social History*, vol. 61 (2016): 287; E. Smith, “Against Fascism, for Racial Equality: Communists, Anti-Racism and the Road to the Second World War in Australia, South Africa and the United States,” *Labor History*, vol. 58, iss. 5 (2017): 679–82.

²² A. Thorpe, “The Membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1920–1945,” *The Historical Journal*, vol. 43, no. 3 (2000): 782, 799; A. Thorpe, “The Communist Party and the New Party,” *Contemporary British History*, vol. 23 (2009): 487.

²³ Cited in J. McIlroy, and A. Campbell, “The Last Word on Communism,” *Labour History Review*, vol. 70, iss. 1 (2005): 97.

²⁴ S. Forsyth, “Communists, Class, and Culture in Canada,” in *Working on Screen. Representations of the Working Class in Canadian Cinema*, ed. M. Khouri, and D. Varga (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 47; C. Patrias, “Immigrants, Communists, and Solidarity Unionism in Niagara, 1930–1960,” *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 82 (2018): 126, 129.

²⁵ I. McKay, “Joe Salsberg, Depression-Era Communism, and the Limits of Moscow’s Rule,” *Canadian Jewish Studies*, vol. 21 (2013): 133, 134, 136.

official proclamation; the city branch of the CPC was very influential: having headed the branch of the National Association of the Unemployed, it was able to bring 8 thousand people to the May Day rally in 1930.²⁶

In a number of publications, American researcher R. Storch notes that in the late 1920s and early 1930s the Chicago communists directed their influence towards social groups that were new to them (African Americans, students, artists, writers) and gradually gained authority in those circles;²⁷ during that period, membership in the Chicago city branch of the CPUSA grew in the areas where the programmatic attitudes of the communists concerned the problems of workers.²⁸

Several monographs were published in 2008 and 2011. In them, American historians G. Gilmore, W. Howard, and M. Makalani write that communists organized campaigns against unemployment, police brutality, and segregation in New York, Birmingham in the early 1930s; they also contributed to the release of the Scottsboro Boys (the 1931 trial of nine African-American young men who were accused of rape and then acquitted by the jury) and promoted the idea of interracial solidarity.²⁹ Later, these theses were supported by American researcher J. Barrett.³⁰ Their compatriot J. Zumoff came to the conclusion that the CPUSA played a leading role in resolving the racial issue³¹ and in raising the workers' struggle for their rights.³² Zumoff also makes similar conclusions regarding the labor movements of Cuba and Costa Rica.³³ The contribution of the British and Dutch Communist Parties

²⁶ J.W. Brennan, "'The Common People Have Spoken with a Mighty Voice': Regina's Labour City Councils, 1936–1939," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 71 (2013): 57, 63.

²⁷ R. Storch, "American Communism and Soviet Russia: A View from Chicago's Streets American Historical Association, New York City, 2009," *American Communist History*, vol. 8, iss. 1 (2009): 27–28.

²⁸ R. Storch, "'Run Quick and Find the Reds': Historians' Search for American Communists," *American Communist History*, vol. 18 (2019): 85.

²⁹ G.E. Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2008), 118–28; W.T. Howard, *Black Communists Speak on Scottsboro: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008), 1–27; M. Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 133–34.

³⁰ J.R. Barrett, "What Went Wrong? The Communist Party, the US, and the Comintern," *American Communist History*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2018): 181.

³¹ J.A. Zumoff, *The Communist International and US Communism, 1919–1929* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 23.

³² J.A. Zumoff, "The Left in the United States and the Decline of the Socialist Party of America, 1934–1935," *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 85 (2020): 165.

³³ J.A. Zumoff, "Ojos Que No Ven. The Communist Party, Caribbean Migrants and the Communist International in Costa Rica in the 1920s and 1930s," *The Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2011): 230, 235.

to solving the unemployment issue is noted by British researcher E. Weesjes³⁴ and the contribution of the French Communist Party is pointed out by his compatriot S. Smith.³⁵

A number of works present positive assessments of the tactics of class against class on the African continent. Historian from the United States S. Ani Mukherji emphasizes that Moscow became the center of the black diaspora in Europe in the first half of the 1930s; the USSR provided material support to organizations engaged in anti-racist and anti-colonial propaganda.³⁶ This idea is being developed by British scholar H. Adi, who writes that the early 1930s were the period that gave rise to such famous political figures as Paul Robson and Jacques Roumen, who were closely associated with the communist movement.³⁷ Canadian historian O. Drachewych notes that the International Committee of Trade Unions of Black Workers was established at the initiative of the Comintern during that period.³⁸

Conclusion

Thus, the scientific dispute, which began several decades ago, has received a new development in the 21st century. It is impossible to give an unambiguous answer to the question of the influence of the Comintern tactics of class against class on the labor movement and the situation in specific countries. Therefore, it is possible that the number of publications devoted to both the Comintern and this tactics will grow, among other things, because English-speaking historians are paying more and more attention to the study of the communist movement and features of the national communist parties, where the completeness of the study is impossible without an analysis of the activities of the Communist International. It is worth noting that the opening of the RGASPI collections (including the collections of the Negro Bureau of the Eastern Secretariat of the ECCI, information materials on the history of the Comintern and international revolutionary organizations, etc.) allowed the revisionists to rely on specific facts that indicate the participation of the Comintern in

³⁴ E. Weesjes, “Children of the Red Flag. Growing Up in a Communist Family during the Cold War: A Comparative Analysis of the British and Dutch Communist Movement” (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2010), 46.

³⁵ S.A. Smith, “Issues in Comintern Historiography,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism*, ed. S.A. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 196–97.

³⁶ S. Ani Mukherji, “‘Like Another Planet to the Darker Americas’: Black Cultural Work in 1930s Moscow,” in *Africa in Europe: Studies in Transnational Practice in the Long Twentieth Century*, ed. E. Rosenhaft, and R. Aitken (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 122.

³⁷ H. Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International, Africa and the Diaspora, 1919–1939* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2013), 121.

³⁸ O. Drachewych, “Great Disappointment, Shifting Opportunities: A Glimpse into the Comintern, Western European Parties and Their Colonial Work in the Third Period,” *Twentieth Century Communism*, iss. 18 (2020): 150.

the anti-colonial struggle (establishing and funding organizations involved in that policy, such as the Anti-Imperialist League) and in solving the issues of unemployment and racial segregation in a number of countries (through national Communist parties). At the same time, the archival collections dedicated to the activities of communist parties (of the USA, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, etc.) reinforce the arguments of the traditionalists in the matters of excessive control and subsequent negative influence of the Comintern on their policies.

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Информация об авторе

Илья Алексеевич Суздальцев – кандидат исторических наук, преподаватель истории, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5204-0117>, ialoko90@mail.ru, Школа № 1381 (д. 52, ул. Коминтерна, 129346 Москва, Россия).

Information about the author

I'ya A. Suzdal'tsev – Candidate of Historical Sciences, History Teacher, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5204-0117>, ialoko90@mail.ru, School no. 1381 (52, ul. Komintern, 129346 Moscow, Russia).

Статья поступила в редакцию 08.08.2023; одобрена после рецензирования 16.11.2023; принята к публикации 26.06.2024.

The article was submitted 08.08.2023; approved after reviewing 16.11.2023; accepted for publication 26.06.2024.