

PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

Statement by the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the Work of the Ple- num of the E. C. C. I.

From the 18th to the 30th May there was held the ordinary Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The extraordinary complexity and the extreme seriousness of the political situation called for new decisions and instructions from the Comintern. The imperialist intervention in China and the development of the Chinese revolution with all its difficulties are an indisputable fact.

The breaking off of diplomatic relations and of the trade agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union render the threat of a new war on the Soviet Union immediately real. Within the bourgeois countries the insane strengthening of reaction (anti-trade union Bill in Great Britain, new military laws in France, fascist offensive, the recent terrorist measures of Mussolini) has for its object to fetter the working class hand and foot in the event of a new war. The Amsterdam International and International Social Democracy are conducting a furious campaign against the Soviet Union and are actively participating in the preparation for a war on the first Workers' State. Never was the danger of a new world war greater than at present.

Therefore the work of the ordinary Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which met at a turning point in the development of the international revolution, possessed extraordinary importance for the revolutionary workers of all countries.

As the first question the Plenum dealt with the tasks of the Comintern in the fight against war and the danger of war. The estimation of the international situation, the question of anti-war tactics, the concrete tasks of the Communist Parties were dealt with both in the Plenum (on the basis of the report of Comrades Kuusinen, Bell and Bernard) and in the special Commission and in sub-commissions.

The Plenum pointed out that the main danger at the present moment is a war of the capitalist world, with Great Britain at the head, against the Soviet Union and against revolutionary China, and that at the same time military conflicts are ripening between imperialist States. The Plenum exposed the treacherous attitude of international social democracy including its Right and "Left" wings (so-called Left and therefore more dangerous), and analysed all varieties of pacifism as well as the attitude of anarcho-syndicalism in the questions of war.

The Plenum indicated and concretised the main slogans of the Communists before, and during war, proceeding from the teachings of Lenin and from the analysis of the concrete circumstances of the future wars, at the same time drawing a distinction between imperialist wars and proletarian wars and between the latter and national-revolutionary wars (questions of defence of native country, of defeatism, general strike, converting imperialist war into civil war, fraternisation, the attitude to deserters, to bourgeois military reforms etc.). The activity of the Communist Parties in the "Chinese campaign" was subjected to criticism, and a whole number of concrete instructions for strengthening the anti-war work of the Communist Parties and preparing the Parties in ideological and organisational respects in case of war, were given. The Plenum adopted an appeal regarding the breaking off of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The questions of the Chinese revolution were subjected to equally thorough discussion (on the basis of a report of Comrade Bukharin). The Plenum recorded the profound change in the relation of the class forces in China, which was shown by the going over of the bourgeoisie into the camp of counter-revolution and of imperialism, which the resolution of the VII. Meeting of the Enlarged Executive had already foreseen. The Plenum likewise stigmatised the orientation (sometimes open, sometimes concealed) of the Second International to the Bloc of the imperialists and Chiang Kai-Shek.

The Plenum, while acknowledging as correct the line of the Comintern in the past period of the revolution in the question of the admissibility of a bloc with the national bourgeoisie, a line which found its sharpest expression in the expedition to the North (exposing at the same time the half-heartedness of the bourgeoisie and preparing the masses for the inevitable going over of the bourgeoisie to the side of imperialism), pointed out to the Chinese Communists the necessity of a thorough change of tactics in the present higher stage of the revolution, as the agrarian revolution has become the social main content of the anti-imperialist struggle and the national bourgeoisie has gone over to the camp of counter-revolution.

The Plenum, in declaring the inevitability of fresh vacillations and treacheries in the camp of Wuhan, gave the Chinese Communists the following main directives: most rapid development of the mass movement in the village ("plebian" solution of the agrarian question, power of the peasants' unions and committees etc.) and in the town; immediate and most extensive arming of the workers and peasants; transformation of the Left Kuomintang into a broad democratic mass organisation which shall include the peasants' unions, trade unions, hand workers organisations etc.; strengthening of the Communist Party and strict adherence to its class line; the Communists shall continue to remain within the Kuomintang, without which the fight for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution is impossible.

The Plenum directed the course to the transformation of the Wuhan government and of the Kuomintang into a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. At the same time the vacillations and errors of the Chinese Communists (the fear of mass actions which was revealed by them in a number of cases, insufficient criticism of the Left Kuomintang members etc.) were subjected to criticism.

In regard to the question of the tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain (report of Comrade Campbell), the Plenum of the E.C.C.I. subjected to an analysis the situation

in Great Britain in connection with the anti-trade union bill, the intervention in China and the preparation for war on the Soviet Union and likewise the treacherous role of the leaders of the Labour Party and of the General Council (the "left" as well as the Right); it laid down the tasks of the C. P. of Great Britain in the present period (propaganda of General Strike in the fight against the bill and against war, exposure of all varieties of reformism and pacifism of the activity of the General Council in the Anglo-Russian Committee, while approving the attitude of its Russian section etc.).

The Plenum decided at the same time to convene the ordinary VI. World Congress of the Comintern for the Summer of 1928, to recommend the Congress to accept the Communist Party of Cuba into the C. I., and on the proposal of some delegations made certain insignificant changes in the composition of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

In spite of the extraordinary seriousness of the political situation, the Opposition of the C. P. S. U. considered it possible at the Plenum to make an unexampledly harsh attack on the C. P. S. U. and on the Comintern. Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch (the demand of the Opposition that Comrade Zinoviev, whom the VII. Meeting of the Enlarged E.C.C.I. removed both from the Presidency of as well as from any work in the Comintern, be admitted to work in the ordinary Plenum, was rejected by all votes against the vote of Comrade Vuyovitch) submitted to the main questions on the agenda their counter-theses, distributed at the Plenum a number of fractional documents, openly came forward in the name of the Opposition Bloc etc. while at the same time all these documents contained abundant charges of "treachery" against the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and against the Comintern.

By coming forward openly as a fraction, the Opposition has broken the promises given by it in its declaration of 16th of October to cease fractional struggle and not to support Maslov and his consorts who were expelled from the Communist ranks. Already when there was a breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, Comrade Trotsky declared at the Plenum that the greatest of all dangers at present is the inner-Party regime, that means in reality the Bohlshhevik discipline of the C. P. S. U. and of the Comintern.

All this proves that the Opposition is on the verge of a breach with the Comintern. The Plenum therefore adopted a special decision regarding the opposition which sharply condemns the Opposition and warns it that in the event of a continuation of the fractional work, the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. along with the International Control Commission will be compelled to exclude Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch quite formally from the Executive Committee. The Plenum proposed to the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. that the latter adopt energetic measures in order to put an end to the fractional work of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U.

Not a single delegation at the Plenum supported the Opposition which disturbed the practical work of the Plenum. All decisions were adopted against one solitary vote (that of Comrade Vuyovitch).

The resolutions adopted will, in view of those conditions created by the terrorist rule of the bourgeoisie in a number of countries, be published with a few unessential deletions.

The Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The March of Hundreds of Thousands against the Imperialist War Danger.

The 3rd National Rally of the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

Never before has red working-class Berlin witnessed such a powerful mass parade, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and determined fighting spirit, as in the last few days when the Red Front Fighters' formations assembled from all parts of the country for the third time in Berlin. The working class of