

PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

Resolution on the Statements of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.

At the proposal of the Delegations of the Communist Parties of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and the United States of America the following resolution was adopted at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:

The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. declares before the Communist workers of the whole world that in the present very serious situation, in the midst of the enemy's attack, some former leading members of the Comintern have thought it opportune to make gross and inconsiderate attacks on the Bolshevik world Party. The actions of these leaders of the Opposition impede and render more difficult the decisive revolutionary tasks of the present moment: mobilisation of all revolutionary forces and rousing the entire international working class against the imperialist war.

The V. World Congress of the C. I. condemned Trotskyism as a "petty bourgeois deviation". The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. (December 1926) in its resolution on the question of the Soviet Union, condemned the Opposition bloc as the embodiment of a "Social Democratic deviation" aimed at "continuing to foster defeatist moods and a capitulation ideology within the Party". The Plenum pointed out "the incompatibility of these views with the fundamentals of Leninism" and declared that the platform of the Opposition "is contrary to the principles of real internationalism and to the fundamental policy of the Communist International". The VII. Enlarged Plenum declared that "the Opposition bloc has become a rallying ground of all and sundry bankrupt tendencies inside and outside the C. P. S. U., condemned by the Party and the Comintern". The Plenum branded particularly the "disorganising activity" of the Opposition bloc.

Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev, in spite of their own solemn obligations contained in the declaration of October 16, 1926, in spite of the clear decisions of the entire Party membership and of the 15th All-Union Conference of the C. P. S. U., in spite of the decisions of the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., far from ceasing their reactionary activity, directed against the policy of the Comintern, have continued it more energetically than before.

As Comrade Zinoviev, who, through the decision of the VII. Enlarged Plenum, has been relieved of all activity in the Communist International, could not participate in the present session, Comrade Trotsky appeared as the spokesman of the Opposition bloc. Comrade Trotsky repeated with unprecedented

violence the attacks of the Opposition bloc on the Leninist policy in all fundamental questions of the revolution.

Between the policy represented by Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the present Plenary session of the E.C.C.I. and fully endorsed by Comrades Zinoviev and Radek and the policy of the Communist International established by Lenin is a deep and unbridgeable gulf. The main features of this Oppositional anti-Communist policy are:

1) Interference with and discrediting the struggle of the Communist International against the menace of war. The Trotskyites do not direct their energy against the imperialist instigators of war, on the contrary, Comrade Trotsky declared that "the greatest danger of all was the Party regime". Under this slogan Comrade Trotsky propagates in reality reactionary defeatism against the cause of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, in spite of repeated invitation, he has not swerved an inch from his well-known anti-Leninist standpoint in regard to the fundamental questions of revolutionary tactics in the first imperialist world war.

It was just the differences then existing between Trotsky and Lenin (rejection of revolutionary defeatism, rejection of transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, rejection of the slogan of fraternisation), which constituted in the world war the dividing line between Bolshevism and all the shades of Social Democratic opportunism. Contrary to Lenin's injunction to concentrate particularly on real practical work against the menace of war, Comrade Trotsky did not submit to the Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. a single practical proposal for the struggle against the imperialist war. He limited himself to the demand, repeatedly rejected by the Communist International, to break up the Anglo-Russian Committee, which at this moment would have only promoted the intentions of the reformist betrayers of the British working class.

2) An utterly wrong estimate of the character of the Chinese revolution contrary to Lenin's doctrines, on the tasks of Communists during a bourgeois-democratic revolution in backward semi-colonial countries. Defeatist exploitation of isolated and partial defeats of the Chinese revolution, particularly of Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'Etat in order to spread petty-bourgeois liquidatory panic-moods. Gross misrepresentation of the policy of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. prior and after the Shanghai revolution, for the purpose of charging them with the betrayal of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Trotsky who in 1923 on the threshold of proletarian revolution, opposed the formation of Soviets in Germany, demanded at the Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. immediate establishment of dual power in the form of Soviets, the immediate aim to be: overthrow of the Left Kuomintang Government. This seemingly ultra-Left but in reality opportunist demand is nothing but a repetition of the old Trotskyite standpoint of skipping the petty-bourgeois peasant stage of revolution, a standpoint advocated by Comrade Trotsky already in 1905 jointly with the Mensheviks against Lenin.

3) Complete political and organisational alliance with the renegades expelled from the C.P.G. of the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group, whose immediate reinstatement in the Comintern was proposed by Comrade Trotsky and whose "bulletin" is continually supplied with material by the Opposition leaders. Through the medium of the Opposition leaders not only the expelled ultra-Left groups, but also all other class enemies receive in this manner regularly a false version of the internal affairs of the Party which is at the head of the proletarian dictatorship. The alliance between the Trotskyites and renegades of the Maslow type, assumes a particularly disorganising significance in view of the fact that the Maslow group intends to publish an anti-Communist daily organ, is preparing the establishment of its own anti-Communist Party and is working for the establishment of a counter-revolutionary "Fourth International".

4) The demand that in the struggle against the menace of war the orientation of the Comintern should be towards the anarcho-sindicalist elements. Thereby the revolutionary united front tactic, the Bolshevik of capturing the proletarian masses, which is more necessary than ever just now when the menace of war is greater than ever before, is substituted by the sectarian policy of rapprochement to international anarchism and syndicalism who are fighting with the foulest means against the Comintern and the Soviet Union side by side with the worst White Guard elements.

5) Deliberate defamation and discrediting of the Communist International which is charged by Comrade Trotsky with a hangmen's policy against the Chinese proletariat, the Executive of which he abused as an institution of bourgeois-liberal "cheap-jacks of the national bloc", whose policy he opposes as a "dastardly policy". Deliberate defamation and discrediting of the Soviet Union, to whose policy Comrade Trotsky attaches the epithet "national-conservative narrowness". This lie is the direct complement to the bourgeois Social democratic incitement campaign against the alleged "Red imperialism" of the Soviet Union.

The common connecting link between all these attacks by Comrade Trotsky on Leninism is the continuation of the struggle against the inner-Party regime of the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. under the false banner of "freedom of opinion" borrowed from Menshevism, a struggle already condemned by the Fifth World Congress and the VII. Enlarged Executive. These attacks of Comrade Trotsky are solely intended to shatter the discipline of the Bolshevik organisation of the revolutionary proletariat, to undermine its unity, to lower its prestige in the eyes of the working class and to weaken it in the face of the imperialist and social-traitor enemies.

Comrade Trotsky tried in vain to disguise his Menshevik attacks by "revolutionary" pseudo-radical Left phraseology, by hypocritical reservations of his willingness to submit to the decisions which have been made and by dishonest offers "to settle the conflict" in order to conceal his desertion from the Communist workers. The futility of such manoeuvres is particularly evident in Comrade Trotsky's final declaration: "We will fight to the uttermost against this course". Comrade Trotsky tried in vain to disguise his disrupting policy by suggesting with the help of ludicrous deceptive phraseology that the Social Democratic standpoint was not his, but rather that the Comintern was adopting an opportunist policy.

Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch endeavoured to interfere with the work of the Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. by continuous circulation of anti-Party fraction material, by systematic interruptions and other disorganising actions.

The Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. is held at the moment when the international situation is extremely serious and critical. The distinctive feature of the present world situation is not only growing acuteness of all class struggles, but above all, the immediate danger of a predatory attack of the British imperialists and their vassals on the Soviet Union, the intervention of the imperialists against the national liberation struggle in China which is already in full swing, the joint fierce offensive of all reactionary forces against the Comintern, the attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress and crush the labour movement and the Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries.

Just at a moment like this Comrade Trotsky and his followers launch a fierce attack on the Comintern, the only leading organ of the world revolution, and against the Soviet Union, the only State organised form of the world revolution. At a moment like this the Trotskyites accuse the Communist world Party of treachery and make the charge of degeneration against the State of proletarian dictatorship. This attack of the Trotskyite Opposition follows the same lines as the onslaught of the bourgeoisie and its agents intended to destroy the important strongholds of the proletarian world revolution.

The present situation makes it incumbent on the entire Communist International to frustrate this attack of the Opposition bloc, to preserve strict unity in its ranks and to concentrate all available forces on the preparation of the struggle against the imperialist war, on stubborn defence of the only proletarian state of the world, and on whole-hearted support for the great Chinese revolution.

The reply of the Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. to the attacks of Comrade Trotsky, which are nothing but a desperate struggle of individual political deserters against the front of the Communists of the world is: solid determination to put an end to these disruptive manoeuvres. The policy as well as the actions of the Opposition leaders are a direct sabotage of the Communist struggle against the imperialist war. The attitude of Comrade Trotsky and of those who share his views, is imbued with the spirit of coalition with the renegades, the spirit of Menshevik wobbling between the camp of revolution and the camp of imperialist counter-revolution. This wobbling which is characteristic of Trotskyism constitutes a crime in the present acuteness of the class struggle. The Comintern feels in duty bound to liquidate once and for all this ultra-Left social-democratic tendency as well as the continuous hostile attacks of this group of

bankrupt leaders who are becoming dissociated from the proletariat.

Therefore the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. resolves:

1) The E. C. C. I. declares that the principal policy as well as the action of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch to be incompatible with their position of member and candidate of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2) The E. C. C. I. forbids categorically any perpetuation of fractional struggle on the part of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch.

3) The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. empowers the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and the I. C. C. to effect the formal expulsion of Comrade Trotsky and Vuyovitch from the E. C. C. I. in the event of this struggle continuing.
