

The Results of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of July 21, 1929.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which recently concluded its work, has adopted decisions of extreme importance for the international Communist movement. The Plenum analyzed the economic and political situation after the Sixth World Congress. This analysis confirmed to the fullest extent the line of the Sixth World Congress. The Plenum at the same time took into account all changes in the economy and politics of the capitalist countries and in their relations to the Soviet Union which have taken place after the Sixth Congress.

The Plenum recorded a further decline of capitalist stabilization, a further intensification of its contradictions (in spite of the Paris Conference and of the MacDonald government), a further deterioration of the poisoning of the working class, upon which the burdens of capitalist rationalization are being cast, and it recorded a further increase of the war danger and before all of a military attack upon the Soviet Union (in spite of the Kellogg Pact, in spite of the continual disarmament conferences and in spite of the solemn promises of MacDonald to recognize the Soviet government).

At all junction points of world economy and politics, development is proceeding in the direction foreseen by the Sixth World Congress. But some changes have taken place since the Sixth Congress. The Sixth Congress recorded the left development of the working masses in the capitalist countries. The extent of this left development already justifies us in speaking of a growing revolutionary advance, especially in such countries as Germany, France, and Poland.

The strikes in the Ruhr, in Lodz, and North France, the mass actions of the Berlin workers on the 1st of May, the May demonstrations in Germany, Poland and in other countries, the brilliant successes of the German Party during the factory council elections, the agricultural strikes in Poland are facts which go to prove a growing revolutionary ferment in the big capitalist states, a ferment which social democracy, the main support of capitalism within the working class, can neither check by the social-fascist methods of Zörgiebel nor by the lying, fraudulent "revolutionary" phraseology of the whole left wing.

In the present circumstance the main danger for our Communist

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Parties consists in the fact that they (or some of them) might limp behind the developing revolutionary advance (as, for instance, the C. P. of Germany did in 1928 under the leadership of Brandler and Thalheimer). Therefore the task of overcoming the right deviations and the conciliatory tendencies which the Sixth World Congress placed in the center of attention, is still more urgent. At present it is a question of cleansing the Communist Parties from the tail politicians, the opportunist, semi-social democratic elements who will not see the maturing revolutionary advance (or are incapable of seeing it), who are not able to lead the working class in the coming revolutionary struggles, who are laying down their arms before capitalism and the social democracy and who are beginning to play in our Parties the role of an inner agency of the enemy forces.

Hardly any period in the inner life of the Communist International has been so full of events as that since the Sixth World Congress. It is characterized, on the one hand, by the strengthening and inner consolidation of the Communist Parties and their simultaneous cleansing from the opportunist elements, and on the other hand, by the consolidation of the Party leadership on the Bolshevik line of the Sixth Congress. The Communist Parties of Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, America, France and Poland have been most strongly affected by this process. But there are also a number of our Parties in which this process is only beginning or even has not yet begun. The Plenum emphasized the necessity of a further determined struggle against the right and conciliatory elements in all sections of the Comintern.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. drew up the political and economic balance for the whole period since the Sixth Congress. On the basis of the rich experience of this period the Plenum pronounced judgment on the right elements, part of which are outside of the Comintern, while the other part are on the way to being outside of the Comintern. The position of these elements is no longer a tactical deviation. As has been the case with

Trotskyism, the differences of opinion between the rights and the Communist International are becoming programmatic differences. The line of the rights is in numerous Parties becoming incompatible with membership of the Comintern. Alongside of these elements there is developing another process of right deviation of the conciliatory and vacillating elements, who up to recently could not resolve on opposing their line to that of the Sixth Congress, who attempted to hide their differences of opinion with the Comintern, defended the rights in a concealed and cowardly form, but did not dare to solidarize with them.

These elements are now taking the place left vacant by the rights. Their insistence upon their errors and deviations, their denial of the shakiness and rottenness of capitalist stabilization, the cloaking of its inner contradictions, their policy of disturbing the revolutionary mass actions which are organized by the Communist Parties (the attitude of the German conciliators to the May events) will certainly lead them to where the rights have arrived, i. e. outside of the Communist movement.

The successes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the C. P. S. U. in spite of the desperate resistance of the capitalist elements, are playing an ever greater role in the welding together of the revolutionary forces of the working class in the capitalist countries against imperialism. If, however, the policy of the C. P. S. U. constitutes a powerful factor which is consolidating the forces of the Comintern, if the foreign Communist Parties are following the example of the C. P. S. U. and its general line in adapting their policy, tactics and organization to the conditions of the developing revolutionary advance, then all inwardly rotten, vacillating elements in all Parties of the Comintern which are slipping from Communism to social democracy, as well as the opportunists who have been expelled from the Comintern, are orientating towards the right and conciliatory elements in the C. P. S. U. This fact the Plenum has once again revealed with great clearness.

One of the most important questions at the Plenum was the trade union question. The tactics of the independent leadership of the strike struggles of the working class, which has been laid down by the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. and the Sixth World Congress; the setting up of fighting committees which are to comprise not only the organized but also the unorganized masses; the tactics of putting up independent lists of candidates for the election of the trade union executives and at the factory council elections; simultaneously with increased work within the reformist unions, was fully confirmed in the decisions of the Plenum. Their successful carrying out liberates the masses from the influence of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy; it is the only means of destroying the reformist trade union apparatus in order to weld together the broad masses of the organized and unorganized proletarians not only for the economic struggles but also for the political revolutionary fight, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Plenum adopted a special decision regarding the struggle against the threatening war and the demonstrations on First of August. The bourgeois and social-democratic governments, who are preparing a new world slaughter, will certainly exert all their efforts to prevent our demonstrations. They will not succeed in this.

The masses are aware of the threatening war danger; the war horrors still live in their memories. The social fascist governments, with whose help the bourgeoisie is preparing the war, are exposing themselves too obviously. The recent events on the Chinese Eastern Railway, by which the Chinese generals, acting on the dictates of international imperialism, are impudently provoking a war against the Soviet Union, clearly signalize the danger of a new imperialist world slaughter.

The decisions of the E. C. C. I. Plenum, which analyze the economic and political situation of the present period, which enumerate the next tasks of the Communist Parties in the situation of a maturing revolutionary advance, will play a tremendous role in the mobilization of the revolutionary forces of the working class and of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries and colonies, in the consolidation of the Communist Parties on the Bolshevik line of the Comintern.