

The Secret Resolution Against Bucharin

ADOPTED BY THE LAST PLENUM OF THE C. C. OF C. P. S. U.

The Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union approves the resolution of the joint session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on inner-Party affairs of February 9, 1929.

In view of the fact that the joint session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission did not have the opportunity of estimating the declaration of Bucharin, Tomsky and Rykov of February 9, 1929, which presents a factional platform; that comrades Bucharin, Rykov, Tomsky continue in their speeches at the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. to develop and defend their views in contradiction to the Party line; that Comrades Bucharin and Tomsky have refused to submit to the decisions of the joint session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission on withdrawing their resignations, the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C. P. S. U. considers it necessary to make the following decision:

1. The growth and development of the Right deviation in the C. P. S. U. are most closely bound together with the peculiarities of the present stage in the development of the proletarian world revolution. The 15th Congress of the C. P. S. U. and the 6th World Congress of the Comintern already established the symptoms of a serious change in the position of world capital as well as in the international revolutionary movement. The characteristic essential features of this change are a sharpening of the inner contradictions in the camp of capitalism which consolidate and undermine ever more its temporary and wavering stabilization, and the growth of the elements of a new revolutionary rise (the strike wave in a series of European countries, the leftward march of the working class and the successes of the Communists at the parliamentary elections, the serious victories in the factory councils elections in Germany, the spread of the revolutionary crisis in India and the uninterrupted ferment in the other colonies, the accumulation of contradictions and the war danger in the camp of the imperialists as well as between the capitalist world and the U. S. S. R.).

Under these circumstances, the most important tasks of the Communist Parties are the following: the further bolshevization of the Communist Parties, their purging from social democratic traditions, the assurance of the leading role of the Party in the growing revolutionary movement and the preparation of the broad masses for the coming decisive class struggles.

STABILIZATION AND THE RIGHT WING

In the questions of international policy, the Right deviation glides down toward the side of the social democratic estimation of the stabilization of capitalism (the theory of the "recovery" of capitalism) which finds expression in an obliteration of the ever more sharpening crisis of capitalism, in the denial of the fact of the wavering of capitalist stabilization and in the veiling of the essential revolutionary features of the "third period." In this manner the Rights, and the Conciliators they have taken in tow, arrive directly at a revision of the Leninist estimation of the present epoch as the period of the crisis of capitalism, as the epoch of wars and proletarian world revolution. They underestimate, in connection with that, the mobilization of working masses (especially the unorganized) to independent struggle against the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

The connection between the Right deviation in the C. P. S. U. with this opportunist tendency in the ranks of the Comintern is absolutely obvious. Comrade Bucharin has really solidarized himself in this question with the opportunist stand of the Conciliators, Humbert-Droz, Eweht, Gerhardt and others.

Comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are resuming the struggle of the Comintern against the Right deviation and Conciliationism in the Comintern. The declaration of these three comrades that the policy of our Party is "disintegrating" the C. I., weakening its ranks and is leading to division as well as to splits in the foreign Communist Parties signifies not only ignorant-opportunist lack of understanding of the tasks of the purging of the Communist Parties from the elements of social democracy but also a real support of the Right renegades. That is why comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are objectively more and more the center of attraction for all the opportunist and conciliatory groups in the sections of the C. I. . . .

The slanderous statement of the group of comrades Bucharin that the Party is spreading bureaucracy signifies a discrediting of that tremendous work which the Party has developed in the struggle against bureaucracy. The philistine slander of self-criticism by this group can have no other meaning than that of direct struggle against the slogan of self-criticism. In the question of the trade unions, comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky are proceeding on the highly dangerous road of playing the trade unions against the Party, of really adopting a course that leads to the weakening of the trade union movement by the Party, glossing over the shortcomings of the trade union work and cloaking the trade unionist tendencies as well as the appearance of a bureaucratic hardening of a part of the trade union which picture the struggle of the

FOREWORD

Below we reprint the secret resolution adopted by the Stalin faction against the Bucharin-Rykov-Tomsky group at the recent Plenum of the Russian Party Central Committee. The excerpts published below compose the most important parts of the resolution and were translated from *Gegen den Strom*, central organ of the Brandlerite Right wing in Germany, where it was made public for the first time. The resolution is characteristic of Stalin's method of fighting the Thermidorian Right wing in the Russian Party. It is the method of the Centrist apparatus, of the bureaucrat whose faith lies entirely in the all-powerfulness of the Party machine, who is mortally afraid of arousing the masses of the workers and the Communists against the Thermidorian Right wing. To arouse the masses for a genuine — and not a pitiful apparatus struggle against the Right would involve the setting in motion of such a force as would sweep over the restorationist Right, and over the Centrist swamp as well, and clear the ground for the reinstitution of the Bolshevik principles fought for by the Opposition. Stalinist Centrism fears action of the masses far more than it does the Right wing. It is ready to unite with the latter against the revolutionary currents in the working class. Stalin did this for more than five years in the struggle to decimate the Leninist Opposition led by Trotsky. He thereby only played the miserable role history assigns to Centrism.

Stalin can not lead a real fight against the Thermidorian Right. To conduct such a struggle would lead to the annihilation of Centrism itself, since the Right wing can be eliminated only if it is attacked from a principle viewpoint. But the basic principle of the Right wing — the theory of socialism in one country, the Menshevik betrayal of the Chinese revolution, the theory of two-class parties, the capitulation to Purcellism in the British General strike, the false internal line in the Soviet Union, etc. etc. — were worked out jointly by the Bucharin-Rykov Right and Stalinist Centrism in the five years of struggle against the Opposition! Only by such an approach to the present crisis in the Right-Center bloc can a Marxist result be attained.

Stalin's present left zig-zag is the forerunner of a new swing to the Right. It is a zig-zag for which the Center will pay dearly and the working class most heavily of all.

It is worth mentioning, in conclusion, the unconcealed contempt with which the Stalinist bureaucracy regards the foreign Communist Parties. Bucharin who was unanimously chosen chairman of the Comintern at the 6th Congress is removed by Stalin with out even the formality of an ordinary or special meeting of the Comintern or its executive. Stalin knows that the Thaelmanns, Semards, Bells and Fosters will vote with both hands for any decision of the Stalin faction. He also knows that these international puppets of the Centrist apparatus will see to it that the membership of the Internationals does not ask questions but does as it is told, whether it knows why or not. Stalin does not even bother to inform the Russian Party of his decisions against the Right; the resolution is given only to the functionaries, the apparatus men. As for the foreign Communist press, they have long ago been transformed into language bulletins for Stalin's paid scribblers. We have arrived in the Communist movement today to the shameful stage where the yellow socialist rags, like the *Forward* in New York, give its readers more detailed information on the events in the Communist movement than the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit* combined. The readers of the latter two papers don't know yet that Bucharin is out!

Stalin drags the Communist movement to the swamp of Centrism, to splits; he covers it with discredit and shame. — Ed.

THE RIGHT AND THE PARTY REGIME.

In the question of the role of the Party apparatus and of the inner-Party regime, however, the attitude of the group of comrade Bucharin completely represents a repetition of the most malicious accusations raised by the Trotskyist Opposition against our Party. . . .

4. The Right deviation is rooted in the petty bourgeois mass elements that surround the working class. Inside the Party, the bases of the Right deviation are the least steadfast elements in the non-proletarian sector of the Party who are most exposed to petty bourgeois influences and the danger of degeneration, as well as the backward sections of the workers who have not gone long enough through the school of shop and factory and are connected with the village as well as the city petty bourgeoisie. The platform of the group of comrade Bucharin of February 9 as well as the viewpoint represented by the members of this group at the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. form an appeal to these unstable elements and contribute objectively to the creation of the Right deviation in the Party. . . .

5. The joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. declares that the Bucharin group has already begun the factional struggle against the Party leadership. It has recourse to quite impermissible violation of Party discipline (resistance of comrades Bucharin and Tomsky to the repeated decisions of the Political Bureau on their method of resignation). It inspired the factional work against the Central Committee in the Moscow organization, endeavored to play the fraction at the 6th Trade Union Congress against the Central Committee, made the attempt to form an unprincipled bloc of leaders against the Central Committee (proposal of comrade Bucharin

The unheard of gossip about the Party sliding down to the Trotskyist position, the slanderous reproach against the Party on the policy of the "military-feudal exploitation" of the peasantry which is taken from the arsenal of Miliukov's Party, the accusation of the Party that it is spreading bureaucracy and disintegrating the Comintern — all this is without doubt indicative of the factional character of the Bucharin group and the departure of this group from the general line of the Party. Thereby the Bucharin group violates in the grossest manner the Leninist unity of the Party, shatters Bolshevik discipline and undermines the collective leadership in the Central Committee.

Fortified by the will of all the Party organizations, which unanimously support the line of the Central Committee and have energetically condemned the attitude as well as the viewpoints of comrade Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky, the viewpoints which, considered basically, reflect a Right deviation; in view of the fact that comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky have not admitted their mistakes; finally, proceeding from the interests of the unity of the Party which is especially necessary under present circumstances, the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. decides:

THE ORGANIZATION REMOVALS

a) to condemn the views presented in the declaration of comrade Bucharin of January 30, in the declaration of comrades Bucharin, Rykov and Tomsky of February 9 and in the speeches of these comrades at the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C., as views that are incompatible with the general line of the Party and which, basically considered, conform with the position with the Right deviation, and to obligate these comrades to carry out unconditionally the decisions of the Party and the committees;

b) to condemn the negotiations behind the scenes by comrade Bucharin with comrade Kamenev as the crassest expression of the factional character of the group of comrade Bucharin;

c) to condemn the policy of resignations of comrades Bucharin and Tomsky as a gross violation of Party discipline;

d) to remove comrades Bucharin and Tomsky from the posts occupied by them (*Pravda*, Comintern and Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union), and to warn them that in the event of the slightest attempt to violate the decisions of the Central Committee and its organs they will be immediately removed from the Political Bureau as destroyers of Party discipline;

e) that the Political Bureau shall adopt measures to prevent the occurrence of any deviations from the line of the Party and the decisions of the leading Party committees in the speeches of individual members and candidates of the Political Bureau;

f) to adopt all the necessary measures for a thorough execution of the line of the Party and the decisions of the Central Committee in the press of the Party as well as the Soviet press, and in all papers and journals;

g) to establish special measures — up to expulsion from the Central Committee and the Party — for guaranteeing the preservation of privacy of the decisions of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and to exclude the possibility of informing the Trotskyists on the affairs in the Central Committee and the Political Bureau;

h) to send the present resolution to all the local organizations of the Party and members of the 16th Party Conference and not to publish it in the press.

Remember Comrade Malkin

One of the surest tests of the vitality and integrity of any section of the workers' movement is its attitude toward the vanguard fighters who have fallen into the hands of the enemy and languish in their prison. A special regard for the class war prisoners, a constant remembrance of their heroic sacrifices and an unremitting struggle for their liberation is the mark of every revolutionary body worthy of the name. Support of class war prisoners cannot have any sectarian or partisan limits. Every worker in prison for his class is entitled to loyal support and help regardless of his political views and without any conditions. This will always be our principle.

There is a special need for the readers of the *Militant* and for members and supporters of the Communist Opposition, to remember comrade Maurice L. Malkin who is serving time at Comstock Prison, New York. This special remembrance should be given to him because he was one of the first American Communists to fight under our banner and was one of the most active and militant workers up to the moment of his imprisonment. We should remember him also because the faction mongers of the Party, of the International Labor Defense and of the Needle Trades Industrial Union (for which he went to prison) have mistreated and neglected him, suppressed his name and publicity about his case, withheld the material support that is his due and failed to send him the books he asked for out of funds generously provided by workers for this purpose.

Time drags heavily in prison and doubly so for class conscious and intelligent men such as comrade Malkin whose thoughts are concerned with the worldwide workers' struggle. Letters from "the outside" do much to make life endurable for the class war prisoners and sustain them with the knowledge that they are not forgotten by their comrades in the struggle. We therefore remind all comrades of the importance of writing to comrade Malkin. Address: Malkin, No. 10061, Box 51,