

# *Towards Another Wave of Revolutionary Struggles.*

## I.

The Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

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**T**HIS was a concretization plenum. Every problem of our Leninist strategy—of the strategy of the World Revolution—that was considered in these sessions was examined not only in its general and fundamental sense but was specifically and concretely applied to the immediate objective situation.

To estimate the moment of this plenum historically is to reveal its great significance. Let us retrace the curves of the proletarian revolution since the Bolshevik victory. The course of our struggles has not travelled and does not now move in a straight line. We have our ups and downs; though we always have our trend—the main line, the tendency towards the disintegration of capitalism.

There was one period of an upward curve of the world revolution—the Bolshevik victory in Russia, the revolutionary struggles in Germany, the rising revolutionary tide in Italy and the Soviet sweep to the gates of Warsaw.

Then there was the period of a downward curve in the fortunes of the proletarian revolution. Here we have the collapse in Italy, the rise of Fascism, the defeat of the German revolution and the crushing of the Communist movement in the Balkans, as the outstanding events.

The Seventh Plenum marks a point of departure—a break in the downward curve. The Seventh Plenum leaves behind it this period of the recession of the revolutionary wave. The Seventh Plenum is a sign-post of the better days for the revolution being on hand.

### **Relative Stabilization of Capitalism.**

An examination of the character of capitalist stabilization reveals the accuracy of our historical estimate of the Seventh Plenum. It would be fantastic to deny the fact of the relative stabilization of capital. We need but look at the near attainment of pre-war production levels in certain countries, the extent to which credit and trade have been restored, the balancing of some state budgets and the stabilization of currency in various countries.

Of course, the extent and types of stabilization vary with the different countries such as the stabilization in France differing from that in Germany, in Poland differing from the stabilization in Great Britain.

One cannot understand the real meaning of the present relative stabilization of capitalism without keeping in mind the fact that there are

fundamental differences between the crises which confront capitalism today and the periodical crises capitalism underwent prior to the war. For instance, there are, amongst the new basic factors, such forces as one: the shift of economic supremacy from Great Britain to the United States. Two, there is the intensified competition amongst the imperialist powers for places in the world market. This intensification only produces further capitalist contradictions. The levelling of production and transportation developments amongst the great capitalist powers only tends to sharpen and intensify the competition amongst these powers for the world market.

It is this latter fundamental economic force which is bringing about a new regrouping and balance of power on the continent of Europe and in the world in general. England's fond dream of having supremacy for herself in the League of Nations and in this way dominating the continent of Europe is smashed. Notice what has happened to the Versailles peace. Witness the rising dissatisfaction with the Dawes plan. Analyze the significance of the sharpening hostilities between Italy and Jugo-Slavia for supremacy in the Balkans—a fight which is really a mask for the struggle between England and France for supremacy on the continent.

It is only against the Soviet Union that the imperialist powers tend to show some signs of unification.

Thirdly, in the consideration of the new features of post war capitalistic economy we must also keep in mind the lowering of the purchasing power of the great masses of the workers. In fact, the present relative stabilization is achieved only at the cost of lowering the purchasing power of the masses as for example, by means of periods of inflation, price increases, mass unemployment and wage cuts. These economic results in turn aggravate the sharpness of the problem of foreign markets for the bourgeois powers. Today, the crises of capitalism are irregular and the fluctuations of crises and turning points are more sharp than prior to the war.

### The Breaches in the Capitalist Front.

Besides an examination of these economic changes distinguishing the present period of capitalist economy from the pre-war period, it is also necessary to point out the severe breaches in the entire system of capitalism in order to understand the present relative stabilization. These breaches are serious enough for the proletarian revolution to break through further and hasten the collapse of capitalism.

The chief force making for the disintegration of capitalism is the Soviet Union. We need not go into details at this point as to the development of industry in the Soviet Union, the progress of agriculture, the fact that the Socialist elements in Soviet economy are outstripping the capitalist elements, the role and significance of the foreign trade monopoly and the general growth in the independence of the system of Socialist economy in the Soviet Union, as against the world capitalist environment.

The second breach in the line of capitalist stabilization defense is the decline of the British Empire. The backwardness of British production and exchange methods today, the industrialization of the British dominions and of the colonies, the rise of national revolutionary movements in the colonies

and the development of American capitalist hegemony, are among the underlying elements making for the British disintegration.

The third break in the structure of capitalism today is the growth of revolutionary China. The Chinese revolution is, next to the Russian revolution, the most important event in history since the war. Lenin has well said that such a revolution is really part of the Russian revolution—it is really part of the whole international proletarian revolution. The significance of the Chinese revolution needs no emphasis. One out of nearly every four human beings is Chinese. The importance of this market for the imperialist powers is immeasurable. The revolutionary developments in China only tend to aggravate the conflicts among the various imperialist powers. Such aggravating further cripples the force of imperialism.

At the same time the rise of the victorious revolutionary Chinese Nationalist movement serves as a source of inspiration to the colonial peoples throughout the world. Already, we find growing unrest of a most serious character in Indonesia.

#### The Present Movement Estimated.

The Seventh Plenum has correctly estimated the present period of relative stabilization of capitalism as a stage between "two waves of revolution". On the basis of this analysis we can understand that the liquidation of the controversy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is really a reflex of the liquidation of the un-Leninist pessimism generated in the reaction to the previous period of the recession of the revolutionary wave. It is also on the basis of the above analysis that we reject on the one hand, the assumption of the ultra-left that relative stabilization is over, and on the other hand, the assumption of the opportunists who can see only the positive strengthening features of capitalist stabilization but fail to see the weak sides, the breaches, in the capitalist lines leading to the inevitable breakdown of the whole bourgeois system.

Consequently, the primary task of the Seventh Plenum was not merely to analyze the world situation in a formal, general sense but to examine it in a concrete basic manner, country by country on the basis of the prevailing class relations in each country and on the basis of the concrete tasks facing our Party as a result therefrom. Comrade Bukharin's report on the world situation was a masterly contribution in this direction. It simultaneously dealt a blow first to the attempts of the ultra-left to write off the present stabilization of capitalism with one stroke of the pen and secondly to the great dangers of our underestimating the revolutionary possibilities today.

At this moment such slogans as "Into the Unions", "A United Front of the Working Masses", "Trade Union Unity", "Leadership of the Proletariat in National Revolutionary Movements", are no longer issued by us formally or abstractedly. Such slogans are now emphatically concretized by us. Our experiences in the British General Strike and in the Chinese developments enriched us tremendously and have given us an arsenal of revolutionary weapons.

### The General Strike in England.

The only working class organization in England which came out stronger from the general strike is the Communist Party of Great Britain. This shows us what even a relatively weak Communist Party can achieve in the way of leadership of the masses when it correctly applies the united front tactics and systematically engages in trade union work.

One of the outstanding lessons of the British General Strike for us is the effectiveness of the policy of mercilessly criticising reformist leaders even when they still have influence over great masses. The superficial observer would have us believe that such tactics weaken the labor movement. This is all wrong. The increased strength of the Communist Party of Great Britain after the General Strike shows us that such tactics not only do not weaken but actually strengthen the united front and really establish its efficiency as a means of solidifying the ranks of all sections of the working class for decisive struggle.

Our experiences in the British General Strike further show that the building up, the strengthening of the trade unions, is positively advanced by educating the workers regarding the political significance of their economic acts and their need for utilizing every smallest immediate situation to prepare for bigger struggles to overthrow the capitalist class and establish a proletarian dictatorship. It is only those basing their policies on temporary and superficial phenomena, who propose or infer that attempts to educate the workers as to this political significance of their struggles hinders or weaken the trade unions.

The whole science of class warfare and the correctness of our strategy and tactics in this warfare are based on a proper proportion or combination of these two elements just mentioned. The thesis on the English question adopted by the Seventh Plenum indicates precisely to what extent our English Communist Party has succeeded in establishing contact with the masses and at the same time elevating the revolutionary ideology of these masses.

It is only the insignificant minority of ultra-leftists who, in despair at the treason of the British trade union bureaucracy dared propose the liquidation of the Anglo-Russian unity committee. Yet, there were errors made in the activities of the Comintern sections during the British General Strike. Whatever errors the British Party made were corrected mostly by itself. But practically in no country did the section of the Communist International realize or execute sufficiently the Comintern instructions and policies for the General Strike so as to enable it to get real international support for the great coal strike continuing for months after the General Strike. How serious and costly such errors can prove for the international proletariat is obvious to all of us if we imagine such weak response on the part of the various sections of the Comintern in the case of an attack on the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers.