

# Bring the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the Masses

**T**HE Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. finished its work about two months ago. Since then a number of Communist Parties have held full Executive meetings, where the decisions of the Tenth Plenum have been seriously considered in all their bearings. But in spite of this, the decisions of the last Plenum of the E.C.C.I. have not yet succeeded in penetrating to the masses of the Parties; the work of the Party organisations has not yet been readjusted from top to bottom with a view to the tasks laid down by the Plenum; no systematic control of the carrying into effect of the Tenth Plenum decisions has yet been established, nor have the main decisions been worked out in concrete form by all sections of the Comintern in accordance with the conditions in their respective countries—although this is now the decisive factor in the work of popularising the Tenth Plenum decisions among the masses. The winning by

the Communist Parties of the leading rôle in the working class movement, the establishment of their influence among the Trade Unions, the winning by them of control in strikes, their penetration into the large enterprises, the problem of mass political strikes, the creation of permanent Bolshevist Communist Parties everywhere in the colonies and above all in India, and finally, the struggle against imperialist war on the basis of the experience gained in the August 1st demonstrations—all these are gigantic tasks, to fulfil which the whole practical everyday activity of the Communist Parties should be directed. And it is of the greatest importance that the immense significance of the Tenth Plenum should be realised and considered by the masses, in order that through this the ground may be prepared for a change in the practical work of the Communist Parties.

**T**HE situation when the Tenth Plenum took place was one of rising revolutionary activity in the working class movement of the world. This rising wave constitutes the essential feature of the "third period," characterised by the great loosening of the fabric of capitalist stabilisation. It leads to decisive struggles of the working class for proletarian dictatorship. And this was the determining factor in the situation which the Tenth Plenum had to consider. There was less of academic discussion at this Plenum than at any earlier Plenum. Its whole work was inspired by the rich revolutionary experience gained by the working class movement of the world in the year that had elapsed since the Sixth World Congress. The living experience of the workers' movement is the most inspiring of all books.

What were the new factors noted by the Tenth Plenum? What were the concrete forms in which the rising revolutionary wave had found expression?

First, in the five years' plan of Socialist construction of the first country in the world where a proletarian dictatorship has been set up. Second, in the fact of the continuous rise in the economic strike movement, arising from the further weakening of capitalist stabilisation and the worsening conditions of wide masses of the proletariat. Third, in the transformation which is now taking place of economic struggles into political (the May events in Berlin, and the August 1st demonstrations). And in the fourth place, parallel with the rise in working class activity throughout the world, the rise of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, with the active rôle played by the young working class of the colonies coming more and more into evidence.

**T**HE five years' plan of Socialist construction—based on the rapid tempo of industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. and on the extension of collective agriculture—which is being carried through with tremendous enthusiasm by the working class of the Soviet Union, is the greatest achievement not only of the working masses of the Soviet Union, but of the whole international proletariat. The realisation of this plan is the most effective action possible in the whole attack of the

Soviet proletariat on the capitalist elements in the towns and in the villages. From this standpoint the five years' plan is the most important part of the world proletariat's attack on capitalism: it is in essence a plan for the destruction of capitalist stabilisation, a mighty plan of world revolution. It strengthens the Socialist basis of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., and in doing this it strengthens also the trenches for the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. This plan should be the handbook of every Communist, arming him with facts in the struggle against the mean social-democratic slanders on Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.; it should be spread by the Communist Parties among the widest masses of the workers in every country; the achievements on the path to its realisation should be the object of systematic enlightenment in the Communist press, and should be most attentively studied by every factory group. It is only by this means that it will become a real mobilisation plan in the organisation of the workers of every country to support the country where the proletariat rules and Socialism is being victoriously built up. The working class can set it against social-fascism, as a war banner of the masses can be dispersed, and the capitalist essence of MacDonald's "Socialist construction" and of the German Social-Democrats' "economic democracy" can be exposed.

**T**HE rise of the strike wave puts forward the Trade Union question in a very sharp form for the Communist Parties. The rise of the strike movement must inevitably strengthen the process of "fascisation" within the reformist trade union bureaucracy, it must inevitably hasten the tempo of its merging with the apparatus of the employers' organisations and of the capitalist State. But at the same time, it will deepen the impassable gulf between the reformist leaders of the trade unions and the wide masses of the workers. The rising strike wave will draw into action new millions of unorganised workers, who but a short time before were outside of the active class struggle. The question of how the Communists can win the working masses away from the influence of the reformists is not a

problem of the distant future, not something to be viewed in the perspective of the decisive struggle of the working class; it is a definite task for the Communist Parties not only in each strike, but in the whole of their future trade union work. The opening by the working class of its counter-attack against capitalism and its organisations must necessarily be accompanied by the development of the Communist offensive against international reformism in the trade union sphere.

From this standpoint—the offensive against trade union social-fascism—in accordance with the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the Communists in every country, in every trade union, in every trade union fraction, must review the methods of their trade union work. The fight against fossilisation, allowing our influence to remain static, bureaucratic self-satisfaction, opportunist passivity, narrow sectionalism, dragging at the tail of the reformists, trade union legalism—which is one of the forms of legal relation to the bourgeois State and the bourgeois legal system—this fight must permeate every pore of the Communists in their trade union activities. In accordance with the Tenth Plenum decisions, we must go forward with the utmost Bolshevik determination to the selection of our controlling cadres in the trade unions. In the process of the class struggle we must select the best young workers who have shown their revolutionary militancy, whom the strike wave has brought to the surface; we must teach our cadres in the fire of self-criticism, so as to make of them fighting leaders of the forces of labour; in the merciless fight against opportunism we can forge such cadres of trade union workers who will be able to respond to the demands made on them by the new rise of the revolutionary workers' movement. It is on these tasks that the attention of the Communist Parties should be concentrated in putting into force the trade union resolution of the Tenth Plenum.

**T**HE transformation of economic struggles into political struggles requires a re-orientation of the Communist Parties themselves. The problem has only been stated: it has not yet been solved. The experience of the August 1st demonstrations

against war showed that the Party masses in the Comintern sections have not yet mastered the significance of the mass political strike as a weapon of working class struggle in a period of rising revolutionary spirit. But in this the Communists are expressing just that lack of confidence which is still dominant in the working class. We cannot overcome this lack of confidence unless we bring about a change on this question within our own ranks. But this work is not only ideological. It is not sufficient to adopt a few beautiful resolutions about a mass political strike, to write a number of pamphlets and articles throwing light on every aspect of this question. It is necessary in actual practice, in each economic conflict, to bring the working masses up to the problem of the mass political strike. From the lessons of the August 1st demonstrations we have learnt that almost all sections of the Comintern put forward the question of the mass political strike in a purely abstract form; they did not realise how to unite the fight against war with the actual demands of the working class, to add a number of powerful economic movements of the proletariat. From another standpoint, the experience of the first of August demonstrations showed the danger of separating the immediate economic demands from the fundamental political task of the struggle against imperialist war. In the fire of struggle during the coming months Communists must learn the science of closely weaving together the economic and the political in the class war.

**T**HE intimate relationship between the economic and the political in the actual struggle has been mastered only by the young colonial proletariat, above all in India. In India, a country where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet been completed, the proletariat is already using methods of struggle which are typical of the proletarian revolution, methods such as the mass strike. The workers in the largest capitalist countries have a good deal to learn from the Bombay weavers and the workers in the Calcutta jute factories. The first task of the Communist Parties is to popularise by every possible means the important experience of the Indian workers in the development of mass strikes. And, secondly, in connection with this rôle of

the proletariat the Communist Parties must distinguish the new features in the development of the national-revolutionary movement in the colonies. The Chinese revolution stimulated everywhere the proletariat of the colonial countries, but at the same time it was a factor hastening the differentiation of the national-revolutionary movement. Last year witnessed almost everywhere in the colonies the going over of the native bourgeoisie into the camp of the counter-revolution, and the splitting up of the petty bourgeoisie with the desertion of the national-revolutionary movement by the upper sections of the nationalist intelligentsia, of the small traders in the towns, etc. The social basis of the national-revolutionary movement is moving exclusively in the direction of the workers, peasants, and poorer townspeople. These changes must necessarily affect the policy of the Communist Parties. The formation of independent Communist Parties in the colonies is the pre-condition for the further development of the national-revolutionary movement. Unless this condition is fulfilled, the movement will deteriorate and fall to pieces. The young Communist Parties of the colonial countries must work out in concrete form their tasks and slogans, within the limits of the general line of the Sixth Congress, in conformity with the new conditions; and this is an essential duty for Communists working in the colonies.

**T**HE conjunction of the four new factors which have been enumerated above has enabled the Comintern to state, in a more decisive manner than ever before, the problem of the winning by the Communist Parties of a decisive rôle in the working class movement. However many forms the conditions may take, in which the Communist Parties have to fulfil this main task, it is necessary to emphasise that unless the Communists win the factories it is useless to talk of the Communist Parties' winning the majority of the working class. Herein lies the central point of the question. And it is here that we find heaped up the greatest mass of harmful opportunist prejudices among our comrades, and unless these are liquidated we cannot take a single step forward in putting into effect the decisions of the Tenth Plenum. Here in the first place a

complete change is necessary, unless our whole line on the winning over of the majority of the working class is to degenerate into futilities. Communists must direct their work towards the winning of the largest enterprises, where as a rule our influence is the weakest. We should mobilise for this task the most outstanding Party organisers, the most talented members of the Central Executive, transferring them to regular work in districts containing the largest factories. Communist Parties must work out a series of practical measures for winning over the decisive sections of the working class: the miners, engineers and metal workers, chemical workers, workers in the electrical and war industries. The first of August showed how little we have so far done in this connection. Almost everywhere the Communist Parties on the first of August competed with each other in their influence on the building workers. The Communist Parties must pay more attention now to the creation of what Lenin called "striking fists" in the most important strategic points of the class struggle, the possession of which will bring victory to the revolutionary party; and finally, within the largest factories the Communists must concentrate in the first place on the winning over of those basic sections which would paralyse the whole life of the factory when they struck.

**W**E shall not successfully solve the problem of winning the majority unless we pay the most careful attention to the problem of the young workers. The Young Communist organisations have rendered great services to the revolutionary workers' movement. Over a number of years they have produced the most active groups of front-line fighters, and have shown the greatest watchfulness against opportunist deviations. But disquieting symptoms have recently developed in the Young Communist organisations: a fall in their recruiting, a dropping membership, and a certain petrification of their organisations. The line indicated by the Tenth Plenum for the winning of the masses lays on the Young Communist organisations the obligation to carry out a most radical overhauling of all their methods of work. It is essential to create around the

Young Communist organisations wider non-party organisations in the form of clubs, educational societies, theatrical clubs, associations for sport, outings, etc. There have been a number of Y.C.I. decisions in this connection, but in fact these decisions have not been put into practice. To help the young Communist organisations to work out means of getting together young workers on a wider organisational basis is to carry out the decisions of the Tenth Plenum not in words but in deeds.

**B**Y what means can we bring about the fulfilment of our central task—the winning of the leadership in the working class movement? By the utilisation, on a wider scale than before, of new forms of the tactics of a united working class front from below. The forms have been indicated by the experience of the international Communist movement; the application of this experience is an essential task of the Communist Parties. But this is not all. These forms are not sufficient; within the actual workers' movement they must be widened, mistakes must be corrected, defects removed. The Communist Parties must criticise themselves in a thoroughgoing way on their work in the formation of anti-war committees before the first of August. If the Communists had carried on regular, persistent work at the right time, these anti-war committees might be the widest associations of the workers in the factories. But in fact they cover only those sections of the proletariat which have always been under Communist influence. If, on the basis of such committees, we went forward to the organisation of an anti-war congress on a national scale, we should produce in fact only a purely Communist demonstration against war, instead of drawing into the fight new tens and hundreds of thousands of workers. It would be better to summon a conference of five or six of the largest factories, but representing a substantial majority of the workers, than to have a topheavy national congress without real representation of the wide masses of non-Party workers. The preparation for such a congress should go forward step by step, with the continuation on most energetic lines of the fight against war. The August 1st demonstration was not simply an episode, it was a concen-

trated blow struck at the war-makers, and this blow must be followed by others. The Warsaw proletariat, which, following on the August 1st demonstration, organised a demonstration in front of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the attack by Chinese white bandits on Russian territory in the Far East, and in front of the Roumanian Embassy in connection with the shootings at Jilava, gave a shining example of international solidarity to the whole world proletariat. This example should inspire imitation. To act as the Warsaw workers did is really to fight against war in accordance with the spirit of the Tenth Plenum decisions.

The sections of the Comintern will only be able to carry out all these tasks, if the fight against opportunist distortions of the Comintern line is put in the first line of the Parties' activities. The whole work of the Tenth Plenum was carried out under the banner of this fight. Without such a fight the Communist Parties will not be able to raise the fighting level within their ranks, to create a real Leninist unity within their organisations; they will not be able to draw the working masses away from the influence of social-democracy, which is completing the process of transformation into social-fascism. Those who at this time weaken the struggle against social-democracy and right opportunism within our own ranks are in fact pushing the Communist Parties into becoming sects in the world working class movement.

**T**HE Plenum emphasised the new features which were noted in the development of opportunism—first, the going over both of the "conciliators" and of the cowardly opportunists, on all essential questions, to the Right; and secondly, in the deepening of opportunist errors, which are more and more taking shape in a definite systematised opportunist standpoint. The Plenum therefore laid down, with regard to the conciliators, three definite conditions, the non-fulfilment of which would lead to their expulsion from the Comintern. In this connection the Plenum passed a special resolution with regard to Bukharin's opportunist errors, and removed him and Humbert-Droz from mem-

bership of the presidium of E.C.C.I. It is the most urgent duty of every Communist to examine most carefully the errors of the right deviators on the basis of all the material presented, to draw the conclusions from the theoretical fight against the views of the representatives of Right opportunism internationally, and to examine the work of his own Party organisations from the standpoint of these lessons. The preparations for the August 1st demonstrations revealed in a num-

ber of places many unformed tendencies to opportunism, survivals of social-democracy within our own ranks. It is necessary to strike these down with hard and decisive blows, Bolshevik blows. We must give no quarter to this most loyal, most hidden opportunism!

The Tenth Plenum gave a clear, definite line to the Communist Parties. We, hundreds of thousands of Communists throughout the world, must give life to it by devoted and untiring work.