

The XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT TO 13th PLENUM OF THE
C. C. C. P. U. S. A.

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COMRADES: The XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International occurred approximately two years after the X Plenum which in its decisions and discussions foresaw the development of an economic crisis in capitalism and indicated the development of a revolutionary revival. At that time the bourgeoisie, the social democracy and particularly the renegades, scoffed at the decisions of the Executive Committee and declared that the wish in this case was father to the thought.

The XI Plenum recorded the period since the Xth Plenum and particularly the last year as a period of great change. In what respect? In respect to the sharp change in the world situation. The past year brought out in bold relief the contrast between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism, the system of capitalist rule and the system of proletarian rule, *the change in relation of forces between these systems to the advantage of socialism and world revolution.*

This change is made clearer when we bear in mind how the situation stood in the past years. In 1925, soon after the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., comrade Stalin defined the situation in the following words:

"The characteristic trait at the present moment is, therefore, not only the stabilization of capitalism, and of the Soviet regime, but also that these respective forces have attained a temporary equilibrium, an equilibrium which is slightly in favor of capitalism and slightly disadvantageous to the revolutionary movement . . . the stabilization of capitalism is not likely to endure, and . . . this stabilization itself calls into being certain conditions which will lead to the disintegration of capitalism. On the other hand we see that the stabilization of the socialist regime leads to a continuous accumulation of factors tending to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to spur forward the revolutionary movement in other lands, and bring about the victory of Socialism."

The past year has sharply brought forward the shift in the relationship of forces between the two world systems *in favor* of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary movement. This is the decisive

change. *Capitalist stabilization is coming to an end and the laying of the foundations of socialist economy is being completed in the U.S.S.R.*

This contrast between two world systems—is the fundamental axis of the entire world situation, raising in the minds of the workers all over the world, in capitalist countries, the question whether it is necessary to continue the existence of capitalism.

The change in the world situation has sharply exposed the bankruptcy of the theories of the bourgeoisie, of the social reformists, the Socialist party, the liberals, and the Lovestoneites and Cannonites—the renegades of Communism. What did the bourgeoisie and social democrats and renegades that echo their theories declare. They declared that capitalism is disproving the theories of Marxism as to the inevitability of the breakdown of capitalism, is disproving the theory of the growing impoverishment of the masses under capitalism. The notoriously shallow theorists of the American Socialist party, whose statement and position we have in the past not sufficiently taken note of and exposed, loudly voiced these anti-Marxist theories.

In 1928, pretending to defend Marxism against revisionist attacks, Algernon Lee declared at a conference of the League for Industrial Democracy:

“ . . . when Marx wrote that as capitalism develops and expands along with it occurs mass misery and oppression, slavery, degradation and exploitation, this was true at the time when he wrote it.

“I do not think that either Marx or Engels clearly foresaw that a highly organized capitalism could tame the devil of over-production.”

The position of the Communist Party, of the Communist International standing upon the theory of Marxism and Leninism, upon the position of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, has been proved by the course of events to have been correct, and has proved our opponents, the bourgeoisie and their henchmen, wrong.

What conclusions must we draw, briefly, from this shift in relationship of forces between world capitalism, Socialism and the revolutionary movement? Some conclusions are very obvious. The necessity for more energetic struggle, for wider and more determined struggle of the masses in defense of the Soviet Union, against the danger of a counter-revolutionary interventionist war. The sharp contrast—the bankruptcy of capitalism and the stability and growing firmness of Socialism drives the bourgeoisie to resort to arms to destroy the Soviet republic. All events show this danger to be an immediate and impending danger and hence the need for the most determined anti-war campaign. It is necessary, furthermore, for

the United States, to bear in mind the particular importance of this shift in relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world, and particularly between American capitalism which stands in sharpest contrast to the Soviet Union. America and the U.S.S.R. are the two opposing poles of the world systems. Events in the Soviet Union are having a revolutionizing effect upon the minds of the American proletariat. Considerable sections of the working class in the past, believed in American capitalism as the best of all possible systems. The American workers, well known for their contempt for theory, are seeing with their own eyes the breakdown of American capitalism, the breakdown of this ideal of the world bourgeoisie, are experiencing a breakdown in their material standards, are seeing the development of mass misery and oppression under American capitalism, and on the other hand, are witnessing the elevation, material and cultural, of the proletariat of the Soviet Union. They are feeling the full weight of wage slavery and are accordingly becoming more class conscious, more revolutionary and are commencing on a mass scale to understand the significance of the emancipation of the proletariat from wage slavery by the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. *But this revolutionizing of the American workers as a result of the whole world situation does not proceed automatically, does not proceed spontaneously.* Hence we must ask how shall we develop and crystallize this growing class consciousness, how shall we direct the discontent of the workers, their disillusionment against the capitalist system?

First, it is necessary for our Party in all its propaganda to show to the American working class the way revolutionary out of the crisis of capitalism, to show them how the working class of the Soviet Union was able to emancipate themselves from the misery and oppression of capitalism. Secondly, it is necessary to arouse the indignation of the masses against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, *to direct this indignation against the system as a whole* by connecting up every act of oppression, of exploitation of the proletarian masses with the whole capitalist system. This necessitates the development in the United States of the widest exposure of capitalism; the development of a Marxist criticism, a Marxist literature in regard to the position of capitalism and the position of the working class. And thirdly, and above all, it is necessary to show to the masses that our Party is the only *anti-capitalist* Party and through struggle enable them on the basis of their own experiences to test the correctness of our line of policy, to realize the possibility of struggling against capitalism, and overthrowing it.

What is the perspective of the crisis? The world crisis has not

yet reached its depths. The crisis deepens from week to week and month to month. In Germany, and of extreme significance, in England, a financial crisis has developed. The perspective is one of sharpening offensive of capitalism against the working class, increasing war danger, the sharpening of the class struggle, all of which places before the Communist Parties the task of developing the counter offensive of the proletariat against capitalism, of struggling for the majority of the working class on the line of independently taking up and leading the struggles of the working class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

The XI Plenum pointed out the development of a revolutionary upsurge. How does this revolutionary upsurge in its main features express itself? (a) In the strengthening of the Soviet Union, its entrance into the period of Socialism; (b) in the growth and strengthening of Soviet territory and the Red Army in China; (c) in the development of the national revolutionary struggle against British imperialism the increasing struggle against Ghandism in India; (d) in Spain in the overthrow of the Bourbon feudal monarchy, the crushing of the dictatorship, the strengthening of the independent action of the proletariat and the position of the Communist Party; (e) in Indo-China under the leadership of the Communist Party the winning of decisive victories against French imperialism; (f) in the strengthening of the position of the revolutionary movement in Germany and the growing disintegration of the social democracy, and generally, in the intensification of the class struggle and growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat and peasants against capitalism.

But the revolutionary upsurge does not develop evenly in all countries, does not go forward with the same tempo.

The tendency on the part of some comrades in a number of countries to disregard the unevenness of the revolutionary upsurge has led to a jumping ahead of the masses, has led to breaking contact with the masses. The estimation of the revolutionary upsurge as an offensive of the proletariat leads to the same result. The revolutionary upsurge does not mean that the proletariat has already gone over to the offensive against capitalism. Only in the Soviet Union and partly in China within the territory of the Soviets is there an offensive against the capitalists.

The present situation is characterized by the offensive of the bourgeoisie, and the growing resistance of the proletariat, and in some instances the development of a counter-offensive against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. But here some comrades believe that

defensive battles have only minor significance, are of no revolutionary significance. This is not true. Defensive battles, as the resolution of the V Congress of the R.I.L.U. pointed out, have revolutionary significance. The development of strike struggles under the present conditions, under the conditions of a crisis, deepen the crisis, revolutionize the masses, become increasingly political, and the smallest defensive battles bring the proletariat into sharpest conflict with the bourgeoisie, with the bourgeois state, with the bourgeois institutions. In the United States the main feature of our struggles are defensive with tendencies in individual battles to develop elements of a counter-offensive as in the case of the mining struggle.

Our major task remains to develop the resistance of the proletariat against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, in other words, to develop the counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

Combatting the ideology of an intermediary stage between the revolutionary upsurge and the revolutionary crisis, the XI Plenum declared that the political crisis and the revolutionary crisis as used by Marx and Lenin are identical and in the thesis of the Plenum, it substituted the term "revolutionary crisis" for the term "political crisis." Why? Because the term "political crisis" in many Communist Parties was employed to cover a variety of situations as for example, in France, where a change in ministers was declared to be a political crisis. The Czecho-Slovakian Party declared that the political crisis was developing upon a world scale. And as you know in our last Plenum, our Central Committee, made a mistake on the estimation of the situation by writing that in the United States elements of a political crisis were developing. The XI Plenum stated that there is no intermediary stage which must be awaited between the revolutionary upsurge and revolutionary crisis. It stated that this conception of a necessary inevitable stage before the revolutionary crisis is reached means an estimation of the situation based upon the action of objective forces alone, *means a minimizing of the actions of the proletariat, of the role of the Party, a dependence purely upon spontaneity and it was in this direction that our Central Committee made its mistake.*

It is necessary to bring some conclusions for the United States with respect to the offensive of the bourgeoisie. I mentioned previously that the change in the world situation challenges our Party to bring forward its anti-capitalist character. What does that mean? It means in the United States not only to employ agitation and propaganda in the development of the class consciousness and revolutionary struggles of the masses, but it means to employ

more fully the tactics of the united front from below in rallying the masses against the main enemy, the capitalist class, and within the working class, against social reformism, social fascism. It means that we must do this not merely by denunciations but by utilizing the mass struggles in order to bring the Party forward before the masses as the only Party actually conducting the struggle against capitalism, and against its offensive. We must show up the bourgeois demagogues who are increasingly employing anti-capitalist phrases, and show them up not only in denunciations but through mass action, through manoeuvres, by following them step by step in order to demonstrate to the masses that they are pro-capitalist agents carrying out the offensive of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois demagogues employ many maneuvers to deceive the proletariat and it is not enough merely to agitate, it is not enough merely to denounce. It is necessary that the masses experience, through their struggles, that we are really the leaders in the fight against the capitalists and as a result that they come over to our leadership. Too often our comrades forget that the workers are fighting against the capitalists and direct the fire only against the henchmen of the capitalists. *Our task in the United States is particularly to lead the economic struggles of the masses, to organize the unorganized into the revolutionary trade unions and unemployed councils.*

The Plenum dealt with the question of fascism and pointed out that the bourgeoisie is passing over to ever more drastic, to ever more open forms of oppression, in short to fascist methods. But at the same time the Plenum found it necessary to combat the idea that there is a fundamental class difference between fascist methods of rule and bourgeois democratic methods of rule. It declared that fascism, the form of open dictatorship of finance capital proceeds organically and develops from bourgeois democracy, that the main enemy of the working class is finance capital, trust capital, which rules through bourgeois democratic methods as well as fascist methods, through unmasked terror as well as masked. It pointed out that the social democracy is becoming increasingly fascised and assists in the fascisation of the bourgeois state, aiming to weaken the resistance of the masses in the fight against fascism.

At the same time it would be a mistake to believe that fascism is developing at an equal tempo in all countries. In the United States the *elements* of fascism, of fascist rule are growing. The bourgeoisie is using upon an ever increasing scale open terror against the proletariat. In the United States bourgeois democracy is becoming more and more streaked with fascism. Yet we cannot declare that there is already a full fledged fascist system in America.

The American bourgeoisie has on the one hand always operated

by means of terror against the revolutionary movement, and against the Negro masses and on the other hand, has used sweet democratic phrases to fool the workers and maintain its rule. It is now putting forward the Murphys, the La Follettes, the Roosevelts to retain the fiction of democracy. Large sections of the American workers have held the illusion that real democracy exists in the United States. Now with the breakdown in their position, this illusion is being shattered. It is for this reason that the bourgeoisie makes frantic efforts to keep the masses tied to its illusions. Hence, the necessity while fighting against the terror, against the growth of fascism, of exposing the illusions of democracy, of revealing to the masses that by means of bourgeois democracy trust capital keeps sway over the toilers.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The XI Plenum, in dealing with social democracy upon a world scale, declared that it was the main pillar, the main protecting wall of decaying capitalism, pointed out the necessity of breaking the hold of social democracy over the masses as the main obstacle to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, on the basis of the experiences in various parties, the Plenum combatted the idea that social democracy, social reformism, social fascism, is one reactionary mass and that it is becoming fascised top and bottom. Such tendencies exist in many countries. Most prominently the tendency found expression in Germany in the slogan that the rank and file of the German social democrats were little *Zorgiebels*. These conceptions that social democracy is equally reactionary on top as well as on the bottom have led to a turn away from work in the reformist unions. In Germany, for example, they have led to an abandonment of the struggle for the powerful social democratic working class. In England, similar sectarian ideas developed, that it is hopeless to work in the reformist unions, that the workers following the Labor party and the social fascist leadership of the trade unions are hopeless as far as joining the revolutionary struggle is concerned, and as a result, the abandonment of the work of building revolutionary oppositions within these unions and a complete lack of faith in the possibility of organizing these masses. In the South Wales miners' strike this abandonment of work inside the reformist unions partly as a consequence of these sectarian tendencies was very harmful. These ideas are particularly harmful to the building up of the mass influence of the revolutionary trade union movement and of the Party, since a ferment is growing within the social democratic masses, and new rank and file leaders are

springing up whom it is necessary to win in order to develop the revolutionary struggle.

The Plenum pointed out that as a result of the narrowing of the base of social democracy it is resorting to more left maneuvers such as the five-day week slogan, shorter work day slogan, and so forth. Under cover of these maneuvers they are striving to help the capitalists to cut wages and carry through the offensive. The social democrats also maneuver with the use of such slogans as the "lesser evils." In Germany the social democrats support Bruening on the theory he is a "lesser evil" compared to the Hitler fascists. As comrade Thaelman, as well as the report of comrade Manuilsky pointed out, such ideas of the "lesser evil" have an influence in retaining the masses for social democracy. The Plenum called upon the parties to conduct the most stubborn offensive against social democracy, to break down this main bulwark in order to capture the majority of the working class, to win the masses now under the influence of the social democrats.

Where social democracy is a mass movement, workers' oppositions must be organized inside the organizations in order to lead the workers to the Communist Party. I say, to lead them to the Communist Party and not to form oppositions inside in order to overthrow Hillquit and replace the more openly reactionary, leadership by such a leadership as Thomas, as was recently inferred in an article of Donald Henderson in the *Daily Worker*, unfortunately not corrected in the editorial columns.

In the United States the social democrats, the Socialist party is not a mass party. It has not millions organized into its ranks or under its influence in the trade unions. It is nevertheless, particularly in the present period attempting to utilize the crisis and the disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the workers in order to establish a mass base under its direct leadership. Though it is a small organization itself, its influence nevertheless exceeds its numbers and we must not minimize this influence. It is necessary to sharpen the attacks and the exposures of the social democrats, particularly its use of left phrases and against the so-called "lefts" and its perversion of slogans borrowed from the victorious Soviet proletariat.

The A. F. of L., which has a membership of over two millions and with the independent reactionary unions, numbers over three millions, is one of the main pillars of support for American capitalism. Its influence goes beyond its numbers. The bourgeoisie knows well the value of the A. F. of L. for the maintenance of capitalism and it is employing it on an ever-increasing scale to sabotage and break strikes, to stand in the way of the progress of the revolutionary unions, to lull the masses into passivity, to reduce

wages and prevent social insurance in order to overcome the crisis at the expense of the working class. It is necessary to constantly skillfully take up the work inside the reformist unions in the United States, to organize the ferment developing against the reactionary leadership, to conduct this struggle against these leaders not in a defensive but in an offensive way, by boldly taking up the struggle to lead these masses into the fight against the bourgeoisie, to expose the leaders as betrayers and saboteurs of this struggle.

It is necessary to drastically overcome the present policy of spontaneity, of leaving the workers to fight against the reactionary officialdom without leadership. It would be a mistake to underestimate the illusions which still exist in the ranks of large masses with regard to the A. F. of L. We must show up the true capitalist policy of these leaders. While the main line of our policy is the organization of the large masses of the proletariat into the revolutionary unions, this work must be combined with work inside the reformist unions.

STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS DEMAGOGY

In the United States we have not only to deal with the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party but with the system of bourgeois demagoguery, with the clever system of deceiving the masses by putting forward bourgeois politicians who pose as progressives, who employ anti-capitalist phrases, who readily take up radical slogans in order to disperse and demoralize the growing movement of the workers. Bourgeois demagoguery constitutes one of the strongest supports for the retention of the two-party system in the United States. The fight against bourgeois demagoguery, combined with the most energetic struggle against the Socialist and A. F. of L. leaders who support directly and indirectly these bourgeois progressives and "reformists" must be one of the central tasks with which to smash the two-party domination in the United States and to free the workers for independent working class political action.

In this connection, I wish to touch upon the question of the "lesser evil." Does this apply to the United States? Indeed it does. It expresses itself in the idea of "good" and "bad" politicians, in the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L., in fact it is one of the key weapons of the bourgeoisie to keep the masses tied to the two-party system by the idea of alternating the parties when one is discredited in office, with the slogan that while the Democratic party may have weaknesses as against the Republican party, it is possible to get better results for the workers by putting it in office, than to wait upon some millenium to put parties in office which have no chance to win. We must remember what Engels stated—that the

two-party system is an integral part of the whole political system of the United States and that many workers in order to exercise pressure against the government, vote for one or the other parties, in order "not to throw away their votes" on minor parties which have no possibility of directly exercising an influence on the practical events. The non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" and which is being undermined by the crisis is one of the main channels by which the bourgeoisie carries through this two-party domination. Is it not a fact that the miners who have conducted pitched battles against the thugs, police, etc., and who are one of the most revolutionary sections of the United States, nevertheless supported Pinchot in the last elections and still retain the idea that Pinchot is a good politician, a progressive and that in elections one can get more immediate results in the direction of the alleviation of their conditions by supporting such a one as Pinchot?

Is it not a fact that the workers in other industries who follow the leadership of the Communist Party in their strike struggles, during an election campaign weigh the relative merits of the respective bourgeois candidates and are taken in to support alleged progressives on the grounds of getting immediate results? There is at the present time a whole group of bourgeois politicians parading as progressives, masquerading as politicians opposed to the trusts and bankers and working for the interests of the masses—Pinchot, Murphy, Roosevelt, Senator Wagner, LaGuardia, Norris, Borah, LaFollette, etc., etc.

It is necessary to expose this illusion of the "lesser evil," to conduct a pitiless struggle against these progressives and bourgeois demagogues, to overcome the illusions deeply entrenched in the minds of the American workers with regard to good and bad politicians, to line up the rank and file "against the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. to "reward your friends and punish your enemies." It is necessary to do this not only in our agitation, but above all, on the basis of mass struggles, stripping the veil of progressive phrases which conceal reactionary capitalist policies. It is necessary at the present time, while concentrating our attack upon the Hoover government as the government in power, *to increase the fight against the Democratic party, whom the bourgeoisie will use in order to keep the masses tied to capitalism in order to bar their way toward taking up independent working-class political action, under the leadership of the Communist Party.* It is necessary to make a bitter struggle against the "non-partisan policy" inside the A. F. of L. and to shatter and destroy this pernicious policy of the capitalist A. F. of L. leaders.

THE IMPENDING DANGER OF WAR

I wish now to pass over to the question of the war danger. As a result of the economic crisis and the revolutionary upsurge, all imperialist tendencies of the bourgeois are becoming sharper, war preparations are increasing, the conflict among the imperialist powers is taking on more acute forms, in the center of which stands the antagonism between the United States and Great Britain. The main danger of war is the danger of a counter-revolutionary war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. Particularly aggressive is becoming the position of American capitalism against the U.S.S.R. American capitalism has always been the most hostile to the system in the Soviet Union. Of all major capitalist countries, it has been the only one that has refused recognition. As the crisis deepens, the aggressiveness against the Soviet Union increases and this imposes upon the Party the task of exposing the role of American imperialism, showing the true meaning of its pacifist phrases and maneuvers, of exposing the attacks against the Soviet Union under the cover of a host of viciously deceptive slogans such as "forced labor" in the U.S.S.R. and "dumping," which are accompanied with propaganda that American imperialism is trying to bring about peace in the world.

In this connection the Plenum combatted certain illusions in the ranks of the proletariat and revolutionary movement that it is useless to struggle against war, that wars being inevitable under capitalism, we can do nothing about them. This idea is a variation of the old Guesdist theme that "militarism is an effect of capitalism. Why fight against effects? Overthrow capitalism!" There is also an idea that the sooner the war, the better, because war will bring revolution, and along with this idea, the opportunists' conceptions that revolutions are possible only as a result of war. The position of the C.I. is that as long as the struggle against war does not lead to the overthrow of the capitalist society, wars are inevitable, but the struggle against war can prolong the period for the peaceful upbuilding of socialism in the U.S.S.R. while preparing the masses for the utilization and transformation of imperialist war into civil war; thus the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party must play an active role in the postponement of war. Can anyone doubt that had the bourgeoisie not feared the action of the proletariat they would have already commenced war for the destruction of the Soviet Union? That was clearly brought out in the trial of the Industrial party and Mensheviks in the Soviet Union.

Need we point to the facts of history? During the Civil War of the North against the South, the English working class prevented

the intervention of Britain on the side of the slave South. The British working class in 1921, by the establishment of councils of action, stopped the open participation of Britain in the intervention war undertaken by the Poles. The proletariat can postpone the outbreak of war. It cannot, unless capitalist society is overthrown, prevent war by the capitalists, as a solution of the growing contradictions of capitalism.

The Plenum emphasized, and we must underscore it here, that there is underestimation of the war danger in the ranks of the Parties, that the slogans of the 6th World Congress have been taken up very slowly, that anti-militarist work has not only not increased, but in some cases, as for example in the French Party, anti-militarist work has retrogressed. The Parties must sharply awaken the membership to the necessity of intensifying the struggle against war, as one of the central tasks. The base of the Party organization must be shifted to the heavy industry, real anti-militarist work must be undertaken, exposing the capitalist war maneuvers, war preparations, and above all exposing social democracy, which, as was shown in the Menshevik trial in the Soviet Union, has passed over to direct organized preparations for intervention, the international outlook of our members must be developed and finally a real anti-imperialist struggle must be undertaken—China, Latin America and against the Young Plan.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE C. I. SECTIONS

I wish now to conclude with a discussion of the position, main achievements and weaknesses of the Communist International during the period since the Xth Plenum. The decisions of the Xth Plenum have been confirmed by the course of events. The Communist International, as a result of the struggle against the right and left deviations, with the main fight against the right deviation which remains the main danger, has become strengthened. The influence of the Communist Parties have grown in all countries, and particularly the influence of the Communist International has become strengthened, as shown in China, and in the development of a mass Party in Germany that is on the road to winning over of the majority of the proletariat. It is furthermore shown by the increase of strength of the Party in Poland, the recent vote for the illegal Bulgarian Party, and generally in the organization of the unemployed masses, unemployment demonstrations and strike movements.

At the same time, the Comintern pointed out that the Commun-

ist Parties are lagging behind events and gave major attention to the problems of overcoming this lagging.

What has been the main weakness which has caused the lagging of the Parties? The main weakness consists in insufficient preparation and organization of the mass struggles, particularly the economic struggles along the lines of independent action by the Communist Parties and revolutionary trade union movements. This major weakness is related to a number of other weaknesses, such as the mechanical carrying through of directives of the C.I., failure to apply them to the specific conditions of each country and locality, to a mechanical application of decisions of Central Committees by District Committees and lower organs. This lack of concreteness, lack of specific application of directives to the situation in the various industries and individual factories has been one of the major weaknesses which has prevented the Parties from utilizing to the maximum the economic crisis for its growth and influence.

A further major weakness has been opportunism in the organizational question, failure in most instances to really make a turn toward the shops, and in some instances, even retrogression in the shop work. On the question of mechanical application of decisions, some examples may be cited. The Plenum pointed out that there was a certain "either-or-ness" in the attitude of the Communist Parties. For instance, if you decide upon the necessity of shifting the work to the shops, why work in the reformist unions? If you decide upon working in the reformist unions, then you don't have to work in the revolutionary unions. Such ideas existed, for example, recently among some of our needle trades comrades. This mechanical application of decisions has been shown furthermore in the application of the policy "class against class." The line of "class against class," a tactical line given by the Comintern at the Xth Plenum, has proven to be correct. But in the application of this policy there has been a number of weaknesses. It has very often been issued as a slogan in place of a tactical line, which called for the examination of the position of the capitalists, the position of the working class, strength of the Communist Parties, revolutionary trade union movements, position of the reformists in the trade union movement, relative strength of the reformists and revolutionaries inside the factories, strength of the capitalists inside the factory and strength and weaknesses of the Communist and revolutionary trade union movement, etc. An examination of these factors would indicate how the line of "class against class" should be carried out, what particular slogans should be raised, what methods of approach should be adopted, etc. Comrade Manuilsky asked

the question in his report, do all the masses understand that class collaboration is against their interests, that they must fight class against class, that they must not associate and have dealings with bourgeois politicians, that you must not enter into arbitration with the bourgeoisie, etc.? Is it clear to the masses that it is harmful to their interests?

Comrade Manuilsky pointed out that it is not yet clear to many workers, and it is necessary for the Parties to study how to make it clear to these workers, how to carry on the agitation to clarify these reformist and reactionary tactics of the social democrats in connection with the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Piatnitsky dealt especially with the position of the Communist Parties in the shops. He quoted figures: in the United States 10% of the membership are in the shops, Czechoslovakia 14%, Britain as small or a smaller number than the United States. Comrade Browder will point out in his report the situation of the shop nuclei in the United States, showing regression in many districts since our last Plenum. The Plenum declared that the utmost struggle must be conducted against the opportunism in the organizational question and the failure to undertake the struggle energetically to root ourselves in the factories, which is one of the main obstacles to the development of the Communist Party, one of its main reasons for its lagging behind events. It is no longer sufficient to say we must turn our face to the shops. *We must really make this turn.* We must understand what obstacles are in the way and how to overcome them. We must teach our comrades how to do the work. We must overcome opportunist passivity in order to penetrate these mighty fortresses of capitalism.

The Plenum likewise emphasized weakness in our unemployment work, which was a special theme also of comrade Piatnitsky. And what were the main weaknesses in the unemployment work? I shall not go in length here, as this will be a special subject of discussion, but briefly, the major weakness was the weakness in taking up the day to day struggle for the unemployed and building a form of organization adaptable to this day to day struggle.

The Plenum adopted a special resolution in connection with the youth and heard a special report by comrade Chimadonov, secretary of the Y.C.I. which showed that the turn of the youth organizations to mass work has not yet been carried through: that an insufficient struggle of the Y.C.I. and the sections of the Y.C.I. has been conducted against the right and "left" danger, that there has been practically an abandonment by the Communist Parties of their task of leading the Young Communist Leagues, that the

Leagues should be many times larger than the Communist Parties and are many times smaller than the Parties, and stressed that it is necessary for the Parties to take up their task of real leadership of the Young Communist Leagues and help to build them up to a membership in excess to that of the Parties.

The weaknesses above enumerated, the struggle against unemployment, necessity for taking up of independent leadership of economic struggles and the building of the revolutionary trade union movement, etc., must be dealt with in connection with the weaknesses in the inner life of the Party organizations. Not only their weakness in the shops, the lack of politicalization of the Party units in most Parties, even in the stronger Parties, formalism and bureaucratic methods of work of the Party organizations generally, and its very harmful effects particularly in the lower units of the Party. I shall not go in at great length upon these weaknesses, since comrade Browder will touch on them at greater length in his report. But I wish to speak about the question of formalism and bureaucracy.

FORMALISM AND BUREAUCRACY

In the United States, in our Party and within the revolutionary trade union movement there is considerable formalism and bureaucracy. How is this to be explained? How does it occur that within such a young Party and young revolutionary trade union movement, with young and energetic revolutionary functionaries, bureaucracy should have such a strong hold. This very grave weakness shows the lack of intimate contact of our Party with the shops, expresses the insufficient contact with the heavy industrial workers. *In addition, it is a reflection of the formalism and bureaucracy of American social life, which exercises a strong influence upon the Party. The formal life in the United States, the fact that the workers are looked upon as "hands" "cogs in the machine" mere machine tenders—the system which gives great power to the executives and stifles the masses, reflects itself in the Party.* Because it has these social roots, it is necessary to combat it, not only by stigmatizing it, not only by pointing out bad examples, but to employ methods to develop the initiative of the masses, to insist upon methods which enlivens the activity of the members, to enlighten the membership with regard to the tasks, so as to enable them to carry them out. It is not sufficient to call for self-criticism. It is necessary to provide the material for self-criticism. Self-criticism is impossible without an understanding of the tasks, without a discussion of the carrying out of the tasks, and without drawing con-

clusions from the work which has been done, without connecting up the experiences of the comrades from day to day with the general political problems we cannot help the comrades to understand and fulfill their tasks. To educate, to teach, to guide—that is one of the slogans of the XIth Plenum. Our functionaries must become political organizers. We must understand better how to lead our comrades in their work, to organize their work so as to achieve the maximum results. Our organizers are often in the fortunate positions of sign posts, which as Dickens said: "Point out the path but don't go there themselves." Our organizers are very often sign posts who not only don't lead the way themselves, but often don't throw enough light on the path to enable the workers to travel toward the goal. These remarks suffice briefly with regard to the main weaknesses.

The Communist International set the main task before all Parties as the task of the struggle for the leadership of the majority of the working class. This task was already issued by the Xth Plenum, but was emphasized by the XIth Plenum and formulated as a struggle for the leadership of the majority of the working class on the basis of the independent leadership of the mass struggles. For the achievement of this task, it is necessary to put into the foreground the work of building up the revolutionary trade union movement as a mass base for the Communist Parties, which includes the formation of revolutionary oppositions within the reformist unions. To achieve this task, it is necessary to give the utmost attention to the development of strike movements and strike strategy, to intensifying the struggle against unemployment and connecting up the unemployed workers with the workers in the shops.

To achieve these tasks, it is necessary to give greater attention to the struggle of the nationally oppressed peoples. In this respect, comrade Kuusinen rendered a special report on the position of the nationally oppressed peoples in Europe that are being driven wholesale from the land. The whole question of nationally oppressed peoples receives new emphasis in the present period of the deepening crisis and is a powerful force for the destruction of capitalism. The struggle for national liberation in the United States, the struggle of the Negro masses, the fight of the foreign born groups, must be placed much more into the foreground of the tasks of the Communist Party. The fight for the majority of the working class requires greater emphasis upon the necessity of taking up the struggle of the farming masses and in the first place, of the agricultural workers, a task badly neglected by most sections of the Comintern, in which only a small number of Parties—the German and Polish

—can record successes for the revolutionary movement. The fight for the majority of the working class requires greater attention to the most oppressed sections—women, youth, etc.

Comrades, the Communist International has been growing. The present situation affords the greatest possibilities for strengthening the position of the Communist International, of the various Sections, and for making more decisive steps forward in the struggle to develop the revolutionary upsurge into a revolutionary crisis and the struggle for power. The objective situation is ripening with great rapidity for the revolutionary advance. The subjective factors—the Communist Parties must become stronger to utilize the situation.

On the basis of the line of policy given by the Communist International the emphasis on the day to day struggles, applied by our Central Committee, with certain weaknesses, the influence of the Party has been growing since the 12th Plenum. We can record important gains in many fields. Nevertheless, modest gains, particularly in comparison with the objective situation. And it is our task, on the basis of the line of the XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to rapidly overcome these weaknesses, to learn and apply the lessons and decisions of the XIth Plenum in order to make great strides forward. The situation of mass oppression, mass exploitation, mass misery, the torturous life of the masses under capitalism on the one hand, and the elevation of the condition of the working class in the Soviet Union, the mighty strides of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., affords us the greatest opportunities for strengthening our mass revolutionary base in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

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FROM THE CLOSING REMARKS OF COMRADE WEINSTONE

Comrades: We can record that the discussion on the report of the XIth Plenum and upon the report of comrade Browder on the work and tasks of the Party was indeed interesting and lively. The discussion reflected the fact that our comrades are fresh from the struggle, indicated that new problems are arising and that our Plenum has come together to solve these new problems, in order to drive the movement forward. I must state I have not participated in the discussions of the Central Committee for a period of 19 months since I have been away. The discussion here demonstrates the difference in the situation of the Party from the time I left and shows the effects of the consolidation of the Party as a result of the elimination of factionalism, as a result of more earnestly

taking up the task of leadership of the mass struggles of the workers in the United States. The discussion also indicates the effects of the work of the 12th Plenum in carrying through the slogan: "Less high-falutin' phrases and more practical work, more deeds."

UNDERESTIMATION OF THE WAR DANGER

I must nevertheless state that the discussion had a number of weaknesses. The discussion on the practical problems was, of course, a discussion on the various phases of the work of the 11th Plenum. However, *there was insufficient discussion of the political problems raised by the XIth Plenum, political questions which in our everyday work, are practical questions.* There was insufficient discussion of the youth work.

But wherein was the main weakness of the discussion? *I think the main weakness in the discussion was a complete underestimation of the war danger,* in fact in many instances barely a mention of the war danger. Here and there some comrades touched upon it in passing, but most of the speakers entirely overlooked it. The struggle against the war danger is one of the main tasks of this Plenum, but the discussion did not bring this out. How shall we explain this fact? Our comrades indeed in their agitation speak of the war danger. Only a few weeks ago there was a campaign in connection with August 1st. The *Daily Worker* and our comrades repeatedly point out to the workers that war is coming, call upon the workers to fight against the war danger, to defend the Soviet Union, refer to actual preparations for war against the Soviet Union. And yet here in the discussion, the war danger was hardly mentioned. Is this not an underestimation of the war danger? Recently there were the August 1st demonstrations. Were the results of August 1st brought out in the discussion? Was a comparison made with previous August 1st? Were the lessons drawn? Did our comrades tell in what consisted our successes and where were our failures? This played no part in the discussion.

There are comrades that come from the New York district with its important marine industry. Will not marine play an important part in the next war? Was there a discussion of how to concentrate in the marine industry and tie up this work with the struggle against the war danger. This was not done. There are comrades that come from the oil districts. Did they discuss, on the basis of the emphasis laid here on going to the factories, the connection between the oil industry and the war danger? This was not done. There are comrades who come from the automobile and tractor centers. Is it necessary to discuss the importance of these industries in connection with the coming war? Can we fulfill any

of our tasks in connection with the war danger if we do not enter the automobile, chemical, metal and steel, marine, oil and other heavy industries? The fight against the war danger is a mere phrase if these tasks are not taken up in real earnest.

Were there advances in the August 1st demonstrations over previous ones? In the number of participants in the demonstration, yes, and in other ways. But can we discuss the results of August 1st merely from the standpoint of increased participants, increased agitation, penetration of a number of new territories? Not at all. We must discuss it from the standpoint of the deepening of the crisis, from the viewpoint that the United States is making every effort to take over the hegemony of the anti-Soviet front, from the angle that the war danger is imminent. When American imperialism is throwing its full weight against the Soviet Union, it has a practical significance for us.

We must therefore conclude that the struggle against the war danger is not yet one of the central tasks in the minds of our comrades; there is not sufficient consciousness of this task, there is not sufficient consciousness of how to make the struggle against the war danger part of the day to day work, of the work in the shops, trade union work, of the work of organizing the unorganized, of the work of shifting our Party to the heavy industries which are so closely linked up with the war danger.

What must we do? In my opinion we must drastically alter this situation. We must, on the basis of August 1st, draw all the lessons.

I wish now to devote some attention to a discussion of the report of comrade Browder and the resolution of the Central Committee, since I did not participate in the discussion of the report. I wish to agree with the report made by comrade Browder, the emphasis laid by him upon the central tasks and bringing out sharply and emphatically the necessity for the turn to the factories, the necessity for only taking up mass struggles, and for overcoming the practical difficulties in the way of assuming leadership of these struggles, the question of forms of struggle and methods of work in order to "move the wagon" farther, of utilizing our successes and overcoming our weaknesses in order that our Party may take up the fight more intensely against the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

THE COMING WINTER MONTHS

The coming winter in the United States, will be a winter of bitter mass struggle, particularly of the unemployed. We must already realize where we are going to concentrate our forces in order to organize and mobilize the masses. We must realize the

growing discontent, the growing despair and hunger of the masses which will mount up still higher in the coming winter months. Comrade Browder emphasized that we have learned as a result of the 12th Plenum the correctness of the application of immediate demands as a means of driving forward the movement. Does that mean that the slogan of the leadership of the economic struggles, on the basis of immediate demands, no longer applies to the Party, that this stage is already passed? Not at all. This is not the meaning of the resolution of the Central Committee. Have we yet applied this slogan—the organization of the masses on the basis of immediate demands in the factories upon which so much emphasis has been laid, upon the organization of mass struggles in the basic industries on the line of immediate demands? That we have not yet done. Therefore, the emphasis laid in the report of comrade Browder and in the discussion upon bringing these struggles into the basic industries, into the shops, upon taking up the practical measures in order to carry this into effect, that is a correct and necessary emphasis.

THE CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE IN THE U. S.

I wish to take up the question of the revolutionary upsurge in the United States. In my report on the 11th Plenum, I pointed out that the revolutionary upsurge has not developed evenly and with equal tempo in all countries. Nor is it developing evenly in the United States. In the last months we have seen some new phases of the development of the revolutionary upsurge, also some zigzags, to which we must turn our attention in working out our tactics and policy of concentration. We must note some unevenness, for example, with regard to unemployment, some regression in our movement, especially in struggling for unemployment insurance. Undoubtedly, in the report of comrade Stachel, which will be a supplementary report to comrade Foster's, this will be dealt with at length. We have not been able to drive the unemployment movement forward, to develop it to higher levels. Why is this so? Not because unemployment has decreased. Undoubtedly, there are some objective factors *but the chief reason is that we have not been able to organize our forces, to develop mass unemployment councils.*

IMPORTANCE OF THE FIGHT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

When we speak about the increasing offensive of the bourgeoisie, we must recognize that the question of unemployment will be of the utmost importance in this offensive. We must realize the growing importance of the unemployment insurance issue in the coming period. This is already realized by the bourgeoisie. The fight for

unemployed insurance is the central slogan and must be linked up with the immediate demands for relief, for the struggle against evictions, for the smallest needs of the masses. We must recognize the key importance of the struggle for unemployment insurance, for social insurance, as one of the basic historic needs of the American proletariat. The breakdown of the living conditions of the workers in the United States, confronts them with the necessity of overcoming the serious lack of social insurance and for that reason, comrade Manuisky in his report places in the foreground of all tasks for the United States the fight for unemployment insurance.

ON THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

Secondly, there has been in the last months a forward movement in strikes, as our resolution shows, an increase in the strike movement as against last year—twice the number of strikes, increase in the stubbornness and political character of the strike struggles. But strikes have not taken place in all industries. The strikes have been mainly in mining and textile and we must ask ourselves the question—why have not the metal workers struck, why isn't there open struggle in automobile, is it possible to extend the present strike movement into these fields? We must ask what lessons must be learned from the leadership of the present strike struggles, where must we center our forces with the development of this mood for struggle on the part of the masses in the shops? An increased strike movement also presents us with the problem of strike strategy. We have the question of strike strategy in all of our struggles but the question of strike strategy assumes a new importance in the present period when we are beginning to lead independent strike struggles on a large scale. What are the lessons of the miners' strike, the lessons of the Paterson strike? If we don't learn strike strategy—the necessity of organization, the necessity of building local strike committees, if we don't learn the significance of these local strike committees in order to organize and lead the movement, then we will not make such headway, we will not be able to utilize the successes which we have achieved in the important strike struggles of the recent period. Last year the strikes were chiefly in the hands of the A.F. of L. This year we have led the most important strike battles, the Pennsylvania and Ohio miners' strike, with its tremendous influence on other coal fields and other basic industries, and also the textile battle. We must ask the question, has Paterson learned the lessons of Pennsylvania and Ohio? Has Paterson learned the lesson with regard to workers local strike committees, with regard to fraction work, with regard to the leadership of the

Party, with regard to building the Party? Is Paterson building up the union? Is it building the Party? These are questions that we must answer.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES

The revolutionary upsurge also manifests itself in the growing activities on the part of the Negro masses. What can we say about the developments upon the Negro field? The report made by comrade Browder in recording the successes was indeed correct. We must take pride in our achievements in the Scottsboro case, in developing a mass movement, in conducting struggles against the N.A.A.C.P., we must take pride in the courageous battle of our comrades in Chicago, in connection with the murder of three Negro workers, which set an example for the entire Party. Undoubtedly Chicago presents numerous problems, many dangers, but in my opinion along the lines which they have been following we shall be able to utilize the movement to the maximum. But comrades the fact that we have in the Negro struggle the conditions for development of mass revolutionary movements under the leadership of the Party expressed in the veering of large masses of workers in our direction, the fact that we have a process of differentiation which has not yet been capitalized, presents us with new phases in our whole Negro work and for that reason the discussion that was carried on here on the criticism of the weaknesses, the overcoming of the weaknesses, assumes now practical significance. With all due allowance for the progress that we have made, the main danger which exists in Negro work is still the underestimation of this work.

Nevertheless the errors were made take on great importance. What were some of these errors. They have been referred to with regards to Pickens, but they were not only in regards to Pickens. What about the error of the *Daily Worker*, in speaking of the influential Chicago Defender with a circulation of 100,000? Why have these errors been made? Here I wish to agree with comrade Heywood in emphasizing the necessity of analyzing these mistakes. For example in the report of the Chicago comrades we learn that representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. of the Chicago Defender were in the conference previous to the shooting of the Negro workers. The Negro bourgeoisie is attacking the Negro masses, the Negro bourgeoisie is playing an active role in the suppression of the Negro masses, under the leadership of the white bourgeoisie, the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are being employed by the imperialists and are carrying out the policy of American imperialism. The struggle against the Negro bourgeois and petty bourgeois leaders has

been weak. The present upsurge of the Negroes confronts us with the task of developing the national liberation movement of the Negroes. That is the biggest task set forth in the resolution of the E.C.C.I. Have we utilized the Scottsboro case in order to develop the national revolutionary movement to the maximum? Was Scottsboro used as a symbol of the struggle of the liberation of the Negro masses. This was very weakly done or not at all.

What was the error in regards to Pickens? The Negro masses have been under the influence of N.A.A.C.P. under the leadership of reformists. Therefore, it is our task to win the Negro masses away from the reformist leaders. It was necessary to point out that Pickens and such elements endorsed the I.L.D. at the outset of the campaign under pressure from the masses and in order to deceive the masses. We should have warned the working class against these leaders. Have we brought forward the leading role of the Party in the struggle of the Negroes? This was insufficiently done. How can we secure the leadership and hegemony of the proletariat in the Negro revolutionary movement if we do not bring forward the leading role of the Party? Very few members have been brought into the Party as a result of the Scottsboro campaign, very few Negroes have been organized into the revolutionary trade unions and unemployed councils. We have recruited a large number of Negroes into the L.S.N.R. and I.L.D., but can we lead these organizations if we do not strengthen our Party organizations and build strong fractions in them?

Recently we have corrected a number of these shortcomings but the task of intensifying the fight against the reformist leaders, of bringing the Negroes into the revolutionary movement and into the unemployed councils, of building up the *Liberator* and the L.S.N.R. groups around the *Liberator*, of developing the Negro struggle for national liberation, still remains before us. I am not in agreement with any idea that we stand at the present moment before an insurrectionary movement, but undoubtedly as the pressure increases, as the heel of American imperialism treads more ruthlessly upon the Negro masses, there will be outbreaks and therefore we must penetrate those regions, particularly the South, the most inflammable regions, and build up strong organizations of the Party and revolutionary unions and organizations of the Negroes in the Black Belt.

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE FOREIGN BORN

I wish to take up one question in regard to the Foreign Born. In the offensive of the bourgeoisie, the question of the foreign born also receives a new aspect. What is the meaning of the drive against the foreign born? It is not only a drive against one of the

most oppressed sections of the working class. We must remember that our Party is a foreign born Party, that it is largely of foreign composition. That our revolutionary unions are likewise of foreign born composition. The bourgeois has a clear policy in making this attack on the foreign born workers. They are attempting through this attack, to strike at the entire movement.

We must draw from this two very weighty conclusions. One, the necessity for mobilizing the native workers in a common fight with the foreign born workers on common issues in defense of the foreign born, for more vigorously than up to the present time. And secondly, a very important and decisive phase of our work must be to draw the American workers into the movement (not to replace the foreign born workers with American workers), but to form a strong kernel of American workers in the Party and the movement generally.

A few more points. The suggestion has been made that not sufficient mention has been made of the work among women and drawing upon the experiences of the German Party. It has already been stated that there is neglect of women's work, but this is not all. In the discussion at the 11th Plenum of the Comintern, it was pointed out as one of the most important phases of the work of the German Party at the present time was its work among women. Comrade Thaelman, for example, spoke of the importance of the working women because in the last election 75% of the women voted for the bourgeois parties and therefore if you speak about winning the majority of the working class you must win these women to the revolutionary movement. We still have with us social democratic influences in regard to women—non-recognition of the importance of drawing of women into the class struggle, of their growing importance in the industrial struggles. The role which women play in the miners' strike, powerful struggles of the Negroes — their militancy — show the possibility of securing strong support and revolutionary work from the women. But on the part of the women's department and the Central Committee it is necessary to have increased emphasis and systematic working out of practical problems.

BUILD THE PARTY

Finally on the last point. I think that this Plenum can be called the Plenum which placed the question of building the Party into the foreground. Have we always taken up the question of building up the Party? Yes, in a general way. We have of course in our resolutions taken up and emphasized it, we have spoken about building a mass Party. But too little attention has been given to the

practical measures for building the Party, the Party is still not aroused over the task of building the Party. In my opinion, in the emphasis of the 12th Plenum on immediate demands, we have moved the Party forward in that direction and in the report of comrade Browder in playing up the building of the Party in the factories we are moving another step forward.

We must make the task of building the Party a practical task, linked with the preparations for mass struggles, with the carrying through of the struggles, with harvesting the results of the struggles. We must learn the big lessons of the Passaic strikes, New Bedford strikes, Gastonia, of the big miners' strike of 1927, which gave us hardly any new members to the Party and very few nuclei in the shops. When we speak of building the Party, we must also consider the building up of the youth organization, to which I have referred, about which very little has been spoken in the Plenum. We must ask is there being built a strong youth organization in the textile fields, in the mining fields? Undoubtedly some criticism can be made of the Y.C.L. in the carrying out of this task, but the major criticism falls upon the Party. The building of the Party is related to the task of the building of shop nuclei. This will be our major organizational task. It means the building of shop nuclei particularly in the most important industries, in the most important districts. The building of the Party means a change in the inner life of the Party organization.

FIGHT AGAINST LEADERSHIP BY COMMAND

Comrade Browder made a most acute attack against bureaucracy in the Party. Unfortunately there was not an equal attack, criticism, indication of ways to overcome it, in the discussion of the comrades. I wish to give one or two examples of this bureaucratic method of leadership by command. For example, a bulletin sent out by the District in respect to the important question of comrades leaving for the Soviet Union. Do we want these comrades to go there? In some instances, we do, but generally we wish them to remain in the United States and fight here. Is it easy to overcome this desire of comrades, many unemployed comrades, to go to the Soviet Union by means of decrees and orders? Can we stop it by issuing a command? No, we cannot, because membership in the Party is voluntary. How must we overcome it. We must overcome it by politically convincing the membership and revolutionary workers why it is necessary to stay here. But how does for example a certain district try to overcome it? For instance, in the

bulletin I refer to, there is the following declaration on this question:

"In view of the fact that many Party members wishing to go to the Soviet Union and, not obtaining permission, leave the Party, we state that he who leaves the Party is a renegade, and renegades will be regarded by the working class as traitors and not permitted to enter the Soviet Union."

Thus, with such a decree, the comrades that wrote the bulletin think they have solved the problem. Nothing is farther from the truth. Such methods and such decrees solve nothing.

Another illustration, which was discussed in the Political Bureau. As you know, it is the Party rule that comrades must give one night for unit meetings and another night for activities of the unit. A new Party member is asked to give a Thursday for the distribution of the *Daily Worker*. He states he is willing to give Saturday, he cannot give another night because he is busy four nights with trade union work, one night he attends the unit meeting, but on Thursday he wishes to be with his family. He is asked what kind of petty bourgeoisism is this? What kind of trait does this new member reveal? And with such bureaucratic and formal approaches we are surprised if new Party members leave the Party. Formalism and bureaucracy create too heavy an atmosphere. There is too much the policy of decree and too little the policy of assistance to our comrades. Why would there be a need for Leninist politicians, of political organizers, if all were equal and if there were no need of flexible methods adopted to the degree of development and training of our comrades, of giving consideration to new members, their problems of orientation, adjustment to the Party life, assistance in carrying out their tasks.

It is necessary to lift this atmosphere, to overcome this formalism and bureaucracy, to abandon this policy of leadership by command and establish real leadership by direction and guidance.

In conclusion, comrades, it is my opinion that the progress the Party has shown since the 12th Plenum in carrying out the line of the C.I. indicates what can be done to "move the wagon" forward at a rapid pace. I am of the opinion that by the energetic application of the line and decisions of this Plenum that we can go forward at a much faster pace and with much greater results.