

THE COMMUNIST

Vol. X

OCTOBER, 1931

No. 9



FROM THE CONTENTS

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of the Comintern . . . *William W. Weinstone*

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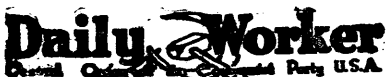
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MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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CONTENTS

THE XI PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMINTERN	771
Extracts from Report to the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A.	
<i>By WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE</i>	
TO THE MASSES—TO THE SHOPS! ORGANIZE THE MASSES!	797
Extracts from the Report of the Political Bureau to the Central Committee 13th Plenum, C. P. U. S. A.	
<i>By EARL BROWDER</i>	
TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HUNGER, REPRESSION AND WAR	818
Resolution of the 13th Plenum, Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A. on the Main Tasks in the Organization of Mass Struggles Against the Offensive of the Capitalists.	
RESOLUTION ON WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED	830
Adopted by the 13th Plenum, Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A.	
CULTURAL COMPULSIVES OR CALVERTON'S NEW CARI- CATURE OF MARXISM	851
<i>By A. LANDY</i>	

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Due to a series of difficulties this issue of THE COMMUNIST which was originally intended as the September issue appears only late in September. The present issue is therefore being made the October issue and the September issue is being omitted. Subscriptions falling due before next September will be extended one month. The November issue will be out about October 25.

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Don't delay getting these pamphlets:

XIth PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL10
Theses, Resolutions and Decisions.	
THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITAL- ISM—D. Z. Manuilsky .....	.35
Main report to the XI Plenum.	
WAR PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION— <i>Marcel Cachine</i> .....	.20
Report on War Danger to XI Plenum with addi- tional speeches.	
URGENT QUESTIONS OF THE DAY—O. Piatnitsky .....	.10
Speech at XI Plenum on Unemployment Movement, Factory Organization and Fluctuating Membership . . .	
THE WAR OF INTERVENTION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL—P. R. <i>Dietrich</i>10

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On the Class Struggle in the United States

WORK OR WAGES, <i>by Grace M. Burnham</i>10
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RACE HATRED ON TRIAL10
LYNCHING NEGRO CHILDREN IN SOUTHERN COURTS, <i>by Joseph North</i>05
GRAFT AND GANGSTERS, <i>by Harry Gannes</i> .....	.10
CHEMICAL WARFARE, <i>by Donald A. Cameron</i> .....	.10
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR vs. PACIFISM, <i>by Alex Bittelman</i> .....	.05
LIFE IN THE U. S. ARMY, <i>by Walter Trumbull</i> .....	.10

On the Soviet Union

THE DECISIVE YEAR, <i>by A. A. Heller</i> .....	.10
ANTI-SOVIET LIES AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN, <i>by Max Bedacht</i> .....	.10
"SOVIET DUMPING" FABLE, <i>by M. Litvinov</i> .....	.02
SOVIET WAR ON RELIGION, <i>by M. Sberwood</i>10
SUCCESS OF THE FIVE YEAR PLAN, <i>by V. Molotov</i>15
CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S. S. R.10

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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.

By WILLIAM W. WEINSTONE

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 sabotegers 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 Manuilsky 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 bourgeoisie 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.

To the Masses — To the Shops! Organize the Masses!

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE POLITICAL
BUREAU TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
13th PLENUM, C.P.U.S.A., AUGUST, 21

By EARL BROWDER

THE Party is working under conditions more favorable than any we have ever known, for the growth of the Party and the growth of the mass organization under the Party leadership. We must say, however, that in spite of the favorable conditions, in spite of the upward development of the working class activity and definite signs of the progress in the work of the Party, the revolutionary trade unions and other mass organizations, yet the main characteristic of the present situation is the continuous lagging behind of our Party and the revolutionary organizations, far behind the objective possibilities that exist and behind the developing movement of the masses. Not only are we lagging behind but in spite of what progress we made the opportunities for work grow faster so that the gap is continually widening.

At our 12th Plenum in characterizing the situation existing at that time, we spoke of the development of "various elements of the political crisis in the United States." This was an error, as we have explained to the Party. It is not a waste of time to speak of this again so that we can appreciate it from many angles, and understand what such an error means. It is one of the concrete examples of a tendency which the Party has to constantly guard against, of jumping over immediate unfinished tasks and trying to establish new tasks and new perspectives before we have accomplished the tasks that were set by the old perspectives. It is worth while to quote the words of comrade Manuilsky regarding this tendency in a speech made in the American Commission, September 18, last year. Comrade Manuilsky said the following:

"What are the problems outlined by the E.C.C.I.? Unemployment and strike struggle. Is there any need of revising these fundamental problems at this time? One American comrade said that it is necessary to sum up the total of the stages of the crisis and unfold new perspectives and new problems. This is called jumping before accomplishing the old tasks. The crisis in the U.S.A. is entering a new phase, the despair of the masses is growing, but we have not yet developed any strong strike movement or movements

of unemployed. And yet there are comrades who demand new tasks. This skipping, this inventing of new tasks every three months, characteristic of small parties, is extremely dangerous. It is this tendency of creating new tasks, which creates obstacles for the fulfillment of old decisions which have not been carried out. The opening up of new stages, more resolutions about new stages, but the wagon will remain in its old place."

This was spoken almost a year ago. There have been some changes since that time. I think we can say that the wagon has not remained in the same place since the 12th Plenum. We have moved our wagon. But we have not moved it so far that the words of comrade Manuilsky do not still apply to us. We still have to guard against the tendency to jump over unfinished tasks and try to formulate new ones as a substitute for actual solution of the old ones.

The wagon has moved since the 12th Plenum. Let's review the situation in the Party as it was at the 12th Plenum. Conditions of our movement were described in the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on the American question which we had before us then as follows:

"After the sympathetic response of considerable masses to the call of the Party on March 6, the number of participants in the subsequent mass demonstrations, despite the growing militancy of the workers, has been declining, the membership in several of the red trade unions has sharply declined (textile, mining, needle, shoe), more than 50% of the new and many old members have fallen away from the Party, very slow progress has been made in the formation of new unions in the most decisive industries, the T.U. U.L. remains an organization chiefly embracing the Party members and a small circle of sympathizers, while the Party has made very little progress in gaining a foothold in the factories in general and in the most decisive industries in particular, and the mass work of the local organizations and factory nuclei still remain unsatisfactory. All this clearly shows that the Party is still far removed from the every day life and needs of the masses, has weak connections with the broad masses of workers, and has not yet become the organizer and leader of the daily struggles of the working class. The principal weakness of the Party is to be found in the fact that *the Party was and remains a good propagandist organization which has not yet understood how to mobilize the masses for struggle for their immediate needs and especially for their economic demands.*"

Comrades, if we had to characterize the situation in the Party today would we apply those words? No, I think we would have to give a somewhat different description today. We would have to deal with certain positive accomplishments in the development of our work in the Party since the 12th Plenum. These positive accomplishments are very important for us because they prove the correctness of our line. They give us some hint of the tremendous

possibilities before us when we develop methods of work in such a way as to really take hold of the situation and develop the struggles of the masses.

We can speak about the positive developments in our work particularly on three fields: the trade union and strike struggles; unemployment; and the Negro work. I want to say just a few words about each, characterizing the positive aspects of our work since the 12th Plenum.

In the trade union field, we have had beginnings of mass strikes in basic industries under Communist leadership. Lawrence, woolen textile; Pittsburgh area, coal miners; New England and Paterson, textile; California, cannery and agricultural workers. Besides these mass strike struggles, we note that this year in the total of 200,000 strikers registered by government statistics, approximately one-third were directly organized and led by our Party and the red unions, including the most important ones, while in almost all the other strikes, especially the large ones organized under A. F. of L. and independent reformist auspices, the Communists played a role of independent leadership through an organized opposition, one of the outstanding examples being the Allentown silk strike.

A whole series of small strikes are rejuvenating some of the small unions (needle trades, shoe workers and recent small strikes of the marine workers). All these movements, these advances in the field of strike struggle, mobilization of the masses for struggle for their economic demands, were based upon and were the results of the work of our 12th Plenum.

In the field of unemployed work, in this period, the struggle and organization of the unemployed workers has been raised to a higher level, as shown in the state hunger marches which were organized and led by us in 11 different states, actions which involved in each case hundreds of workers, extending in time from 2 to 6 days, and drawing into the movement along the route of the hunger march, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers, penetrating new territory, and leaving behind a certain degree of new local organization. Local unemployment councils and branches have in some of the localities begun to take root among the masses on the basis of detailed day-to-day work, attention to the needs of individual families and conditions of starvation, dramatizing typical cases, organizing practical work of feeding, food collections and kitchens for their members and for the most desperate cases. Especially important results in the unemployed movement have been achieved in the *struggle against evictions*. The work of the unemployed councils in putting back furniture into the houses of evicted workers has stirred a most

profound movement among the masses and has already resulted in some significant partial victories and large scale mass actions, a special example being in Chicago, and also to some degree, in the South. In some cities, the city unemployed councils have, by their work, forced recognition as the leaders and spokesmen for the mass of the unemployed in their city.

In the field of Negro work, we must say that a profound change has taken place in the character of our work since the 12th Plenum. Whereas, before the 12th Plenum, our work was almost entirely of a propagandist and agitational sort, in 1931 we have engaged in mass political actions in the field of struggle for Negro rights. We can point out the most significant points in this development, beginning with the Yokinen trial in New York, early this year, which dramatized the struggle against white chauvinism within the ranks of the white workers. It is this trial which can be taken as marking the sharp turn which the Party began towards the struggle on specific concrete issues.

The Scottsboro case was seized upon by the entire party without hesitation largely as a result of the educational and agitational effects of the Yokinen case. I think that we can say that without the prelude of the Yokinen case, the Scottsboro case would never have been heard of. This is very significant for us to realize in order to understand the far-reaching importance of events in the internal life of our Party.

You remember the Yokinen case was one of probably 100 one could mention in the life of our Party, a simple and unfortunately not unusual example of white chauvinism penetrating the ranks of the workers. The Party took it up as an internal Party question and transformed it into a mass political agitational question, putting a member of our Party on trial for the crime of white chauvinism. From this beginning, came the Scottsboro campaign, which is stirring the entire world. The Scottsboro case would have been missed without the beginning of the Yokinen trial.

The Scottsboro case has been, in some of its most important aspects, a great political success for our Party. It has roused hundreds of thousands of Negro and white workers in protest and struggle against Negro oppression. In the Camp Hill share-croppers case we deepened and broadened the struggle, linking it up directly with the Scottsboro case and fundamental programmatic questions—agrarian relations, the agrarian revolution, semi-feudal forms in the South. Fundamental questions of our Communist program were brought forward and dramatized in a concrete form by this case. Further, the Chicago massacre of August 3 combined and unified two fundamental currents—Negro rights and the struggle against evictions,

dramatized the unity of white and black workers. We made steps in other cases in fusing the different currents developing among the masses and thereby raising them to a higher political stage. For instance, in Detroit, the demonstrations of June 19 against the Alien Registration Bill and against the Scottsboro executions in a joint mass action.

The deep-going nature of the movement that has developed in this whole series of struggles has exposed before the Negro masses the treacherous nature of their petty-bourgeois misleaders and thereby has begun a historic process of class differentiation and a consciousness of the class differentiation, among the Negro masses, which is of the most profound importance for us and one of our basic strategic objectives in the struggle for Negro rights.

The mass response of the Negroes to the Communist liberation program has been so great that it has thrown demoralization into the camp of the Negro bourgeoisie. The Negro press, even that part most bitterly against us, is forced to speak respectfully about the Communist program. It finds it necessary, even our most bitter enemies, to put on a mask of a respectful attitude towards the Communist program at the same time as it is attacking our work. And it is significant that the larger Negro bourgeois papers, which, in their first confusion, on the issue of the Scottsboro Case, before the class differentiation had clearly begun, took up a sympathetic attitude toward us, when they found it necessary to sharply turn and attack our campaign on account of their class interests and subjection to the ruling white imperialist bourgeoisie, in order to carry out this change they had to carry out in many instances a cleansing of their staffs. So deep had our slogans penetrated the petty bourgeois writers of these papers, that they could not carry out their policy of direct attack against us without this. These incidents of the Negro press are significant because, while small developments at the top, they are the straws which show the deep currents which are beginning among the Negro masses and also, to a lesser extent, among the white workers, on the question of Negro liberation.

These positive features in our work since the 12th Plenum prove that our Party in certain specific instances and to a certain degree has learned how to mobilize the masses for struggle for their immediate demands in the three most important fields of work. But the results, comrades, considered in relation to the possibilities objectively before us and which are growing, are still very, very small and entirely unsatisfactory. We must emphasize that in spite of this progress in certain fields, we have almost complete lack of progress in other fields.

We have to examine, for example, very critically the situation

of our Party with relation to the penetration of the shops. What is the development of our shop nuclei? What is the development of the grievance committees? The shop committees? The shop groups of our revolutionary unions? Here is a fundamental question and it is very difficult to find any positive aspects in this work, except in most recent big strike struggles, where we cannot say the results have been consolidated. Nowhere can we point to consolidated features in the field of penetration of the shops. In the question of shop nuclei, for instance, I have just received from the Org. Department on the basis of most recent reports from the districts (some of them received this morning), what can be taken as the last and most favorable word about the condition of the shop nuclei. We have the comparative figures of the 7th Convention, the 12th Plenum, and today. At the 7th Convention, a little over a year ago, we had 61 shop nuclei with 574 members. At the 12th Plenum, 92 shop nuclei with 673 members. Today we have 125 shop nuclei with 1,025 members, which includes 36 new mine nuclei in Pittsburgh with 568 members, as reported on August 5. I understand there has been a big increase in Pittsburgh since then. This shows that over half the members of the shop nuclei today are in the new mine nuclei in Pittsburgh. The number of shop nuclei excluding Pittsburgh remains approximately the same. The membership has actually declined in these nuclei. While we can be very glad that we have more beginnings of mine nuclei in Pittsburgh, this still has to be consolidated and we cannot yet accept it as verified and established. Aside from this in Pittsburgh, we have a positive retrogression of shop work. This is a real danger signal for our Party. If at this Plenum we do not succeed in bringing about a sharp and profound change in the direction of penetrating the shops, the whole future of our Party is in danger. It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of this question. What is true of the Party is true to approximately the same extent of the revolutionary trade unions and we must emphasize that what we say about the life-and-death necessity of this work in building the Party applies with the same force to the building of the revolutionary trade unions.

In the Unemployed Councils, while we have registered some advances, there are relatively few examples of positive achievements. The main characterization of our organizations is that they remain narrow cadre organizations which do not have intimate day-to-day contact with the masses, which have not yet established themselves as permanent centers for work among the masses and in most cases, with the removal of two or three comrades assigned by the Party,

these organizations would actually collapse. This is an intolerable situation in our unemployed work.

The struggle for Negro rights also shows the sharpest weaknesses in the extremely limited organizational results. We still have something less than 1,000 Negro members in our Party. I am sure we haven't more than two or three thousand Negroes in the revolutionary trade unions, and as for the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, to be built up on the basis of the mass circulation of the *Liberator*, this still remains largely loose local groupings with perhaps six or seven notable local and neighborhood exceptions.

This situation of organizational lagging, especially in the shops, is so extremely serious that it requires a sharp turn by the entire Party in our methods of mass work and organization. What do we mean by a sharp turn? We have used this expression—"sharp turn"—so many times in the past year that I am afraid it begins to lose a little of its meaning for the comrades. Let us make very concrete what we mean by "sharp turn." We mean that the task of this Plenum is to begin such a serious and fundamental transformation of our whole Party life, a change of our whole approach to our work, a change in our hour-to-hour and day-to-day methods of work, a change in our organizational practice, a change so complete and so deep-going that the entire Party from top to bottom and the working class around our Party will shake with the realization that this change is going on. That is what we mean by "sharp turn." We mean a drastic period of transformation of the entire life of our movement. That is what we mean and that is what we want to register here in this Plenum.

The main task of this Plenum is to mobilize the entire Party for this fundamental change. What is the nature of this change? Is it merely a repetition of slogans that we emphasized so much at the 12th Plenum? No. At the 12th Plenum we said that the immediate link that we must grasp in order to control the whole chain of developments was—immediate demands, less high-falutin' phrases more simple every-day work. This is no longer sufficient, comrades. We have developed, still inadequately, still only in its beginning, but we have certain positive experiences in the application of the main slogans of the 12th Plenum. These experiences prove the correctness of the slogans of the 12th Plenum and the line of the 12th Plenum. But these experiences also bring us face to face with the problem that these slogans are no longer sufficient to solve the questions that are before us, that must be solved before we can take the next steps forward: penetration of shops, building of the Party, building of the revolutionary unions. We have got to find now what is the link at the 13th Plenum that we must seize upon

and put in the forefront as that link which must be grasped at this moment in order to move the entire chain, to move the wagon the next mile along the road.

I think that we have to say, as the resolution before you says, that this main link now is finding the proper methods of *mass work and organization*, that the main obstacle to this is *lack of faith in the masses*. Within our movement in our methods of work this expresses itself in the form of a *tendency to bureaucracy*, to bureaucratic methods, bureaucratic relationships between the Party leading committees and the membership, bureaucratic relationships between the Party and the masses, bureaucratic practices and relationships in the mass organizations especially—all of them flowing out of a lack of faith in the masses and reliance upon spontaneity. This fear of the masses is opportunism, poisonous opportunism no matter what form it may assume. In some cases it tries to show itself as very “left,” hoping thereby to cover its opportunism. You can hear quite often in our movement the expression—“We have no forces, all of our comrades are backward, uneducated, they don’t know Lenin, they can’t quote from the decisions of the 11th Plenum—we mustn’t give them any responsible work.”

Is this an exceptional attitude in our Party? Our experiences in the national office indicate to us that this is a disease that penetrates the Party from top to bottom. In the Central Committee and in the Polburo and in our departments in the national office we constantly find ourselves hampered and hemmed in by the limitations of our own methods of work and our own approach to the problem, which distorts the leading work of the Party—a tendency to have no faith in the forces of the Party except those that have been tried and tested over long years, the fear to draw in new forces. This fear has existed in the Central Committee; it has existed in every district committee, in every section committee and in every unit. And in the units it takes the form of resistance to recruitment to the Party.

Is this exaggeration, comrades? No. We have dozens and dozens of examples that have been forced upon our attention from so many districts that we are sure it is not just a district problem, it is a national problem of the Party. Good workers, militants, leading fighters in the working class movement, following our Party, working under the leadership of our Party, loyal to our Party, supporting our Party in every way, want to join our Party. They try time after time. They put in their applications. They speak to members of the Party. But nothing happens. They come to Party offices (usually when they come to Party offices, especially in the big cities they are unable to see anybody but a stenographer) and

the office force is so busy and has other things on its mind, the result is that the only contact of this worker who is trying to break his way into our Party is a contact by mail. He has to send in his application by mail and follows it up two, three, four, and five times. And finally he writes a letter of protest to the *Daily Worker* saying he is determined to break into this Party if he has to spend years doing it. And by that time we usually come to the conclusion well, this fellow has passed a pretty good test and we can take him in. When it gets that far he usually gets into the Party. The obstacles are not entirely insuperable. The very best elements succeed, they overcome all these obstacles.

But how about the weaker ones? How about the hundreds and thousands who put in one application, follow it up by a second, then they get discouraged and stop? I think we must recognize at this Plenum that our Party is in the unheard of position of being surrounded by a broad circle of workers who are anxious to join the Party and don't know how. The Party keeps them out.

Is this an exaggeration? No. It is not an exaggeration and it is not a question of individual cases. And the proof of it lies not only in this attitude toward the workers who don't get in, although they want to, but in what happens to the workers after they get into the Party.

Here again I want to say that what applies to the Party—I am going to speak mostly about the Party—applies with only variations of detail to the life and work of our revolutionary unions, our language and cultural organizations, our workers clubs, the mutual aid societies and every other organization that we lead.

What happens to these workers when they do join the Party, those that do get in, in spite of all the obstacles that we place before them? We know from the study of the vital statistics of our Party that they don't find their home in our Party. There is a tremendous fluctuation of our membership. What does this mean? What does it mean when in order to have a net gain of 25 members for the Party we must recruit 100?

It means that the inner life of our Party does not correspond to the needs and desires of the workers who are closest to us, who follow us, who believe firmly in the line of our Party, who are convinced loyal supporters of the Communist International, who are ready to make any sacrifices for the revolution. They don't find what they want when they join our Party. Why is that? Comrades, I think that we have to say that this is because of this tendency towards bureaucracy, towards formalism, which as comrade Kusinen developed at length in the American Commission last year, is a characteristic American social disease. It penetrates into our

Party. Its specific nature is bureaucratic tendencies. Everywhere these bureaucratic tendencies arise. We must make it very clear that these are alien tendencies that find their origin in the ideology of the bourgeoisie and especially of the petty bourgeoisie. They force their way into the life of our Party through all of those channels by which bourgeois ideology and practices generally penetrate into the ranks of the working class. It is an alien class force.

We must draw a sharp line of distinction between the bureaucracy of a reactionary union and the bureaucratic tendencies which we have to fight within our movement. Both represent the influence of alien class forces. But there is a fundamental distinction between them. In the reactionary trade unions bureaucracy has an organized economic basis and upon this basis it performs a certain conscious political function hostile to the working class. In our case bureaucratic tendencies have no economic basis within our movement. Their basis is the pressure of the whole social atmosphere in which we live. It is the pressure of the dominant class upon us that penetrates our minds and our habits. This tendency coming from the enemy class finds a soil in our main political weakness which is lack of faith in the masses. Everywhere where we have lack of faith in the masses, there bureaucratic methods of work and a formal approach find fertile soil, develop and grow and threaten sometimes to choke our organizations.

In our draft resolution we give some examples of how this expresses itself in certain ideas formulated almost like slogans among our members. Yet though these bureaucratic tendencies have no organized expression, unconsciously they carry out campaigns in our Party—subterranean campaigns. I am not accusing anyone of factionalism but a slogan springs up, it is caught by another, it comes into a third unit, it passes into the trade unions, already it begins to create an ideology and an atmosphere. Such slogans as those we list in our draft resolution. "American workers are especially backward and therefore will not struggle." Everyone has heard this slogan. What is the political meaning of this slogan. The political meaning of this slogan is a social democratic program. Any comrade who talks about and emphasizes the political backwardness of the American workers and gives this as a reason why they will not struggle, is unconsciously an agent of social-democratic political theory.

"Our Party is too weak to lead broad mass struggles." This is also such a slogan and it is very effective. How many district bureaus can report that half of their time is spent not in working out plans but in overcoming the hesitations of these comrades who raise the objection to plans that are proposed that the Party is too

weak to lead such broad struggles? I think we have to say that this is true of a majority of our districts. What does it mean, this slogan? Lack of faith in the masses, and at the same time reliance upon spontaneity. If our Party is weak, how is it going to become strong? There is only one way, and that is to lead broad mass struggles. And this slogan means to wait until the Party grows stronger and then we will lead the broad mass struggles. This is reliance on spontaneity, dragging behind the masses.

Then, this slogan: "Untrained workers cannot be trusted in leading positions." How many times have we heard this? How many times have we met the cry, "Give us forces?" You remember at the 12th Plenum every district in the Party was demanding that the national office incubator shall hatch out about 20 new Marxist-Leninist organizers for them. We answered that these persons don't exist yet, they still have to be created in the process of the struggle, and our task is not to have an incubator at the national office but to develop them right out of the struggle. The simplest worker who has the proper fighting spirit and the native capacity, is material out of which we must get these Leninists. We have to take this material and transform it into what we want. The greatest obstacle in this development of new cadres, which is one of the basic problems of the Party, is the idea that untrained workers cannot be trusted in leading positions. How are we going to train them if we don't trust them? All of our school training, all of our classes, all of our district night schools, full time schools, national training schools, etc., are not going to solve the problem of cadres for us as long as beside these schools we retain this slogan, "untrained workers cannot be trusted in leading positions." The schools do not always fully qualify leading cadres, they only do part of the work. The schools are necessary, the schools that we have developed have made a tremendous contribution to our movement. But we have learned in these schools, that just going through these schools does not produce a trained leader. Sometimes we find that on the contrary, school courses seem to have a bad effect on some comrades. Why is it? The type of comrade who seems to retrogress in school rather than develop is the type who has not been trusted in leading positions when he was untrained so far as school was concerned.

Those who have been already trusted functionaries who have shown responsibility, who have answered to these responsibilities, they come into our schools and emerge on a higher level, with tremendously enhanced possibilities of work. What we have to do to create the foundation for our schools and for our whole movement is to trust the untrained members, and train them in the pro-

cess of the work. We will find that we cannot solve a single one of our problems unless we have this as the first law of our work. Have confidence in the workers, place responsibility upon them and collaborate with them and help them in the doing of the work.

I am sure that once we begin to really break down in a decisive fashion this wall that we ourselves have built up between us and the masses, that we are going to find it a very simple matter and not a big terrible task to double the membership of our Party before next January first.

In the course of our study of shop work we found comrades give a peculiar explanation why the shop nuclei don't grow. They say that our comrades in the shops are afraid to work in the shop. "Kick them out of the Party — they are a bunch of opportunists." This attitude, I think, is responsible for a large proportion of the decline in our shop nuclei membership in the last period. We find a great readiness in our Party apparatus to charge workers in the shop with opportunism, but we find a great reluctance, comrades, to spending a few evenings with workers in the shop concretely discussing what are the problems of this shop and *how* we can work in this shop. Too often, when we do have the direct contact between our leading apparatus and these workers it takes on a formal character—the transmission of instructions that have already been worked out in the "secret chambers" of the committee and no discussion about the concrete problems of that shop.

Under such circumstances as this, with no kind of leadership except a circular letter that is based primarily upon the needs of street nuclei but which is absolutely useless for shop nuclei, with this as the only leadership that is given to the shop work, is it any wonder that the comrades in the shops feel a complete absence of organized assistance from the Party to solve their problems, that they become passive, or hostile to the pressure put upon them in a bureaucratic manner from above without concrete directives? They are given no leadership and when we force them to function by administrative pressure from above the comrades, being clumsy and inexperienced, expose themselves, they are fired, and the first thing we know our good nucleus is gone. The other nuclei then decide to aid the statistics of the district by preserving themselves from discharge through being inactive.

The only solution for this problem is organized leadership by the Party to solve shop questions concretely, on the basis of the concrete circumstances in each shop. At least comrades we must make a minimum beginning on this. I think that it would not be a bad idea to give the task to each district committee to select one shop nucleus which the district committee assumes the direct responsi-

bility for leading. The district committee should assume complete responsibility for acquiring a knowledge of the problems of that shop in the next sixty days, and working out for that shop such methods of work by the comrades there that they will successfully carry on some mass work in that shop and not get discharged. I think that the first district committee that can report to the national office that it has successfully done this, should immediately receive a gold medal of the Order of Lenin, to dramatize the fact for our Party that the greatest achievement that can be made is to establish a real functioning shop nucleus, that the greatest glory that any Communist can achieve is to be able to say he helped to do that job. That's the supreme job of the Party right now and I think if we begin in Pittsburgh, in Cleveland, in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and even in New York (laughter) to solve the problems of one shop nucleus, we will suddenly begin to find this is not such a difficult problem when we go about it right. It can be done.

It can be done! And the only reason we don't do it now is because we sit back and expect it to be done automatically. Comrades, there is no step in the revolutionary movement that's done automatically. There is not a single step forward that we can make except at the price of concrete, stubborn, detailed, planned, systematic work.

I am afraid we use this word "concrete" too loosely, it is becoming one of the most abstract words we have in our vocabulary. What do we mean by "concrete"? We mean, when we give it the sharpest meaning, getting the specific details of a certain situation that exists in only one spot and nowhere else in the world and apply the general rules of Bolshevism, to that one peculiar individual case of which there is no duplicate in the world. Our comrades plan their work too much only in broad categories—between the different categories there is a sharp distinction, but within the category all is one. They have one general approach to all shop problems. But comrades, there is no such thing as a general "shop problem." Every shop is a separate problem and you cannot solve it by any general formula.

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This Plenum begins a serious struggle against bureaucratic tendencies, for the establishment of correct methods of work and correct approach to the masses, for finding the road to the building of mass organizations. These aims can only be achieved and elaborated in the course of the work of the comrades in the field. It means nothing so long as it remains on paper. It becomes a political fact and political force only as it begins to guide the

thoughts and the work of the comrades in their work among the masses, and in their mobilization of the Party for this work.

There are the most tremendous possibilities open for us if we strike out boldly along this path. Our perspective is a revolutionary perspective. We have no reason whatever, while we are combatting the tendency to see the maturing of the revolutionary crisis without regard to the work of our Party and the maturity of the working class, to belittle those revolutionary perspectives which are based upon the development of the class struggle and the leadership of our Party at the head of these class struggles. To the extent that we develop and lead the rising struggles of the working class in the United States today, that is the degree to which we can later begin to speak in the United States of the development of prerequisites of the revolutionary crisis. Comrade Stalin was absolutely correct when already before the beginning of the economic crisis he gave us this revolutionary perspective. Comrade Stalin, in the American Commission in May, 1929, two years and 3 months ago said:

"I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America, and when a revolutionary crisis develops in America that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment, fully prepared of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America."

I think that this is the spirit in which we should approach these practical problems now. We must have the consciousness and the realization that the necessity for carrying through these tasks that we set ourselves, is the necessity of preparing a Party capable of leading the working class in this struggle. This is the main significance of the work that we are doing today. We are forging the revolutionary cadres that will bear the responsibility for leading the struggle of the working class in the United States. The methods by which we are traveling along this road and beginning the solution of these problems are worked out for us by Communist International, and especially sharply and clearly expressed in these speeches of comrade Stalin.

I want to close my report with another short quotation from Stalin's speech. He said:

"The duty of the Communist Party is at once to begin the preparatory work for the coming class struggles and to prepare the working class and the exploited masses for new revolutionary struggles. The fight against reformism, against social democracy, must be intensified, the struggle for the winning of the

millions of the working masses on the side of Communism must be intensified, the fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bring the proletariat with them, of individuals who will not run before the face of the storm and will not fall into panic, but who will sail into the face of the storm."

This is the task, part of which we are tackling today, other parts of which we will tackle at our next meeting, and which before long we will begin to attack on the whole line. The opportunities for successful work have never been so great and we must reorientate the entire Party on new terms of tempo and numbers of masses. We must speak of building a mass Party and beginning to accomplish the building of a mass Party. And while "mass Party" is a relative term, when we deal with figures, I think we must say we haven't the beginning of a mass Party in the United States until we have a hundred thousand members in our Party. We must so organize, so adjust, so make use of all of the forces that we can draw into the work, that we will actually achieve this goal and the establishment of a mass Communist Party. Thus we will really be able to sail into the face of the revolutionary storms that are coming in the United States.

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EXTRACTS FROM CLOSING REMARKS OF COMRADE BROWDER

Comrades, the discussion has all been upon the line of the 11th Plenum, E.C.C.I. and the specific application of that line contained in the draft resolution presented at this Plenum. It is not necessary to conduct any polemics against any one as being in opposition to this line. We are unanimous. However, there are certain questions of formulation, certain questions of emphasis and certain deviations here and there from the line that have to be dealt with very briefly.

Now, what is the general characteristic of the discussion which has taken place? I agree with comrade Weinstone that, while there was a distinctly higher level at this discussion than at any previous Plenum, particularly expressed in concretization (not "high politics" and abstractions, but a higher political level in the sense that the Party line was expressed in terms of work and facts and life), yet there were still many weaknesses.

I want to add one or two to those that were described by comrade Weinstone. The first weakness is that we did not find any one standing up to claim this badge of the Order of Lenin that we of-

ferred to any one who would come forward and give a description of how he formed a shop nucleus. The main characteristic of the discussion was that it revealed how far we are from the practical problems of organizing one nucleus in one factory. We must emphasize this. We are suffering from an underestimation in practice of shop work and this applies to the entire Party from the Central Committee to the lowest units. We have been writing and talking about shop work for a long time, but it remains in our Plenums and resolutions and our documents, and the word is not transformed into the deed.

I think that we ought to begin to develop another real campaign in our Party, beginning with the Central Committee, a real struggle against phrase-mongering. Every time somebody tries to formulate a task for us, let us give him the job of beginning. And we must begin to insist more, comrades, that our resolutions shall not remain on paper, especially the resolutions about shop work. A resolution that remains on paper becomes an obstacle to the development of the work.

Now, about the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies and the development of correct methods of work. I think that in the discussion there was demonstrated a certain danger that we may have some confusion with regard to the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies. We must guard against this confusion. Some comrade may say that he does not understand how we can separate the line from the practice, that we maintain the line is correct but we point out so many ways that it is not correct in practice that suspicion is in his mind that something is wrong with the line. Is the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies going to be allowed to develop into an instrument for struggle against the line of the Party? This is the question that is raised by such confused formulations.

We are not taking up the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies because we have learned any lessons on this question from the Lovestoneites and Cannonites. They use the slogan of struggle against bureaucracy as the instrument for the struggle against the whole line of the Comintern. Everybody knows they have no interest whatever in strengthening our Party. Their interest is in destroying our Party. Will there be any danger that the struggle against the bureaucratic tendencies in the Party will become an aid to disgruntled elements who do not like the line of the Party? I think there is such a danger. I think we have got to guard against this very carefully. Are the defects in our work the result of some defect in our line? We must say, "No, emphatically no." The line is correct and only by standing firmly on that line will we be

able to make any effective struggle against bureaucratic tendencies. Any one who begins to depart from that line, no matter how much he shouts about bureaucratic tendencies, is helping to reduce the effectiveness of the Party.

Now we must remember the necessity, while conducting the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies to break down the wall between us and the masses, of always clearly understanding the necessity of fighting against deviations in policy, fighting on two fronts against right and "left" deviations. This remains fundamental and anybody who tries to leave this slogan in the past history of the Party and says now we have only the struggle against bureaucratic tendencies is wrong.

On the Negro question, we have had some interesting contributions in the Plenum, not only from experiences, but theoretical analysis of these experiences. Comrade Heywood made a very interesting contribution to our discussion. A great deal of what he had to say was a good contribution but I think he spoiled much of it by turning it into a polemic against comrade Minor. He argued for the greatest attention to understanding the role of class differentiation among the Negroes and accused comrade Minor of having objections to this. And he even declared our mistakes themselves constitute our line, and that we have been dragging behind the bourgeoisie due to these mistakes.

Now we have made mistakes. These mistakes have been generally of the character described by comrade Heywood. But shall we say that these mistakes constitute our line and that as a result we are dragging behind the petty bourgeoisie? I think we have to reject that estimation, we have to reject it very definitely. These mistakes do not constitute a line and we did not drag behind the petty bourgeoisie. We did not always handle our problems in a thoroughly efficient Bolshevik manner. But in spite of these mistakes, the main characteristic of our work in this field during 1931 was its brilliant political success that resulted in our first sharp offensive against the petty bourgeois and bourgeois leadership among the Negroes. These main characteristics we must not allow to be obscured. Was this done in spite of comrade Minor? No, on the contrary, under his direction. Comrade Minor has made mistakes, I have made mistakes, other comrades have made mistakes, but it does not help to try to construct a line from these mistakes when no one tries to defend them. And when comrade Heywood quoted from comrade Minor's article as proof that Minor does not know there are classes among the Negroes, or does not understand the role of these classes, he carried his polemics too far. I have re-read this article and while it is true that there is no mention of class in the

paragraph he quoted, comrade Heywood seems to have overlooked other paragraphs in the same article. Let us see if Minor has overlooked the classes entirely. Minor said:

"A growing discontent, militancy and tendency to seek organizational methods of struggle on the part of the Negro *proletariat*, is accompanied by sharply increasing discontent among the Negro *petty-bourgeoisie*, and peculiar, petty-bourgeois projects for a way out."

Thus, right in the very beginning of his article, comrade Minor raised the question of classes very sharply, the whole issue of class differentiation within the Negro masses, one of the most important phases of which he was studying in this particular article.

Comrade Minor incidentally in his article, also points out that the main factor determining the line of the Negro bourgeoisie is their submission to the imperialist policies of the white bourgeoisie. Comrade Minor showed that this is the main factor to explain the treacherous role of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois, their treachery to the national liberation of the Negro masses. Comrade Heywood seems to think this is wrong, and that we must find the explanation in the separate economic class base of the Negro bourgeoisie separate from the white bourgeoisie. It is quite true that it is the separate economic base of segregated districts and Jim-Crowism which makes the Negro bourgeoisie an instrument of the imperialist white bourgeoisie. But by making them the instrument of the imperialist white bourgeoisie it changes entirely the form of their policy and their relation to the masses of the Negro people. This facilitates very much our struggle against them, and helps us to expose them, because the Negro bourgeoisie is unable to carry on an independent policy, and must take its policy directly from their white imperialist bosses.

This is very sharply expressed in the article published recently by DuBois. This is the first real programmatic article produced by the intelligentsia of the Negro bourgeoisie in answer to the Communist offensive among the Negro masses. And what is this policy of DuBois? Very frankly and openly, this most characteristically Negro-bourgeois program that has been elaborated, attacks even the camps of the reformists, the Socialist party, etc., speaks respectfully about some aspects of the Negro program of the Communists, and then says: but all gains that the Negroes have made so far in America have been presents given to the Negroes from the financial interests of America, from the upper imperialist circles, and calls for a policy of non-solidarity with the white workers, a policy of separation of the Negroes, under the direction of the big bankers,

as the best way to gain concrete economic advantages for the Negroes out of the situation in the United States today.

I think that we have to say that this article of DuBois is a very concrete evidence proving the correctness of comrade Minor's statement that the imperialist political parties are the main factor directly determining the policies of the Negro bourgeoisie. Their direct submission to imperialism, white imperialism, is the main factor.

Now a word about the question of an insurrectionary perspective in the South. There is some confusion on this with regard to comrade Heywood, who spoke about the possibilities of uprisings, etc. I think possibly we have to deal here with a certain lack of preciseness and discrimination between the question of sharp class struggles on the one hand, and on the other hand the question of the nature of these struggles. But I think that with another formulation that has been made we have to deal not with a question of confusion, but a question of wrong perspective, which raises the question of insurrectionary perspective in the immediate struggle of the Negro South. We deal with immediate perspective, with that degree which we can see in the future and thereby regulate our tactics and slogans of the moment. And are these to be given their form and character by the acceptance of insurrectionary perspectives in the near future? I think we must say, no. An insurrectionary movement is the climax of the development of revolutionary struggle, when the oppressed class goes over onto the offensive in the struggle for power. And this is not in the immediate perspective. On the contrary, the movement is just beginning, and especially in the beginnings of this movement, our main slogan for the Southern Negro is not "prepare for insurrection," but "defend yourself, organize the defense against the offensive of the bourgeoisie."

The white bourgeoisie in the South is conducting the sharpest offensive against the Negro masses. The masses are only beginning to defend themselves. We must rouse this defense and give it sharper and broader forms as the best means for developing a revolutionary perspective.

I think we must say that comrade Amis' "Letter to the Negro Press" was a mistake. I personally called it to the attention of comrade Amis the moment I saw it and told him that it was entirely wrong and discussed it with him. I know other comrades did the same. I know comrade Minor did. But is it correct to say that this mistake, this deviation of comrade Amis, represents a line? No, that is not correct. Particularly in view of the fact that comrade Amis has not defended his mistake. I wish that other comrades would be as easily convinced of their mistakes as comrade

Amis was; these mistakes would then not be so dangerous.

I think in comrade Minor's speech there was one unclarity. At the end of his speech what he said about the inevitable connection of Negro liberation with the proletarian revolution might be open to some misinterpretation. I don't think we can say that national liberation is dependent upon the proletarian revolution. It is inextricably woven into and is dependent upon the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat but to say that there can be no national liberation except as the by-product, as the fruit, of the victorious proletarian revolution is not correct and is to make the slogan of self-determination dependent upon the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, and this is theoretically incorrect. It is quite true that in the vast majority of cases the practical realization, and certainly the full realization, of this slogan will only come as the by-product of the successful, victorious proletarian revolution, but theoretically it is not correct to make this a broad generalization.

Another word about comrade Minor's article. I think comrade Heywood makes a mistake when he objects to the tone of high indignation of comrade Minor's article, which comrade Heywood interprets as surprise on the part of comrade Minor that the bourgeoisie should betray, and he accuses comrade Minor of believing that the bourgeoisie would not betray the Negro masses. I think this is an incorrect criticism. I think it is precisely in this that the strength of comrade Minor's writings lies, that he infuses in every line of his writings the greatest indignation at the betrayals of the bourgeoisie, black and white. We should not attack this. We should encourage comrade Minor to write in this way. Write just as hot as you can, comrade Minor, against the betrayers of the workers, white and black!

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The form of the slogan contained in comrade Gebert's report and which we also noticed in the leaflet, when they put forward the slogan of struggle against the Communist Chest business: "Don't contribute a penny to this fund but join the fight for social insurance," is a wrong formulation comrades. Against the concrete action of the bourgeoisie pretending to meet the immediate needs of the masses we are bringing forward only our general slogan. I think we should say: "Not a penny to the Community Chest. Give your money to the Unemployed Council." "Against Hoover's stagger plan. Fight for social insurance." Balance our concrete slogans against their concrete slogans, our general slogans against their general slogans—something along that line. Whether they should give the money to the Unemployed Councils or special forms of self-help of the unemployed, organized under the direc-

tion of the Unemployed Councils, should be discussed, but the general contents should be along that line.

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In spite of all weaknesses, we can say the line has been hammered out sharp and clear and this Plenum has been just as important in the development of our Party to a higher stage, as the successful work of our 12th Plenum.

REMARKS IN CLOSING THE PLENUM

We have finished the work of the Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee. I think that we should take note of some very important aspects of the work of the Plenum. The Plenum has marked a new stage of the development of the work of the Party. The Plenum has demonstrated that the Party is maturing, is going through the process of bolshevization, and is more and more adequately facing its problems. It is more and more justifying itself as a Section of the Communist International. This Plenum has not only been a practical, working Plenum. It has also demonstrated the complete integration of our Party, the practical consolidation of the Party in terms of the every day life. In this Plenum we have had for the first time in several years almost all of the leading comrades here participating with us. For almost two years, comrade Weinstone had been away. Now, this is the first Plenum since October 1929, that he has been here to take his natural and normal part in the work of the Party here in the United States. We have also had with us in this Plenum comrade Bittelman, who has been away for a long time, and I am sure that I am expressing the sentiment of the entire Party when I say that we welcome him back to the United States to resume his place in the leadership and work of the American movement. (Applause).

Comrades, from this Plenum we are going out to do a hundred times better work than we have ever done before. We are going out not only in a formal way to talk about the decisions of the Plenum. We are going out to transform our movement from top to bottom and start the process that is going to bring us in a short time to the realization of a mass Communist Party in the United States, prepared to lead the millions of workers in the United States in the struggle for power.

Tasks in the Struggle Against Hunger, Repression and War

RESOLUTION OF THE 13TH PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C. P. U. S. A., ON THE MAIN TASKS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF MASS STRUGGLES AGAINST THE OFFENSIVE OF THE CAPITALISTS.

1. The Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A. fully endorses the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the correctness of which has been confirmed by the events of the last four months. The Plenum of the E.C.C.I. taking place in a situation of the still deepening and already longest and most severe world crisis in the history of capitalism, emphasized that "the antagonism between the two world systems of decaying capitalism and rising Socialism has become the cardinal factor in the world situation." The Plenum pointed to the growing offensive of the bourgeoisie expressed in the attacks on the living standards of the masses, the growing fascist terror against the masses, and sharply increased war preparations, especially against the Soviet Union, the further fascization of the social democracy, which plays an increasing role in the capitalist offensive and preparations for war. The Plenum pointed out the development of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, more independent revolutionary leadership in the struggles of the workers, the growing struggles of the colonial peoples, especially in China and Latin America, and in a number of countries the maturing of the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis. In a number of important countries (especially in Germany) the Communist Parties have made great advances, yet the central task remains the winning of the majority of the working class; the Parties still have not overcome the disproportion between the growing influence and organizational consolidation of that influence.

2. Since the 12th Plenum of the C.C. C.P.U.S.A. all the inner and outer contradictions of the capitalist structure in the U.S.A. are sharpening at an increasing tempo. All events in the U.S.A. confirm the correctness of the line of the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The economic crisis is continuing to descend to unprecedented depths. The coming winter will be a severe testing in struggle between the forces of capitalism and the rising forces of the working class. Already the economic activity as a whole has declined approximately 40 percent from its high point in 1929

(such key industries as steel, auto, building declined from 60 to 75 percent). Approximately 11,000,000 workers are totally unemployed, and more millions are on part-time work. The agrarian crisis is becoming more severe, with catastrophic declines in wheat and cotton prices. Governmental finances, especially local and state, are faced with growing difficulties, and the federal deficit has grown to 900 million dollars. The social contradictions are accumulating, emphasized in particular by mass unemployment and starvation, wage cuts and speed up, and sharpening political repression. The workers are replying to the offensive of the capitalists with increased militancy, wider mass demonstrations, and with the commencement of wider and more stubborn strike battles (coal and textile strikes, unemployment hunger marches, the unparalleled mass protest against the Chicago massacre, etc.) Especially significant is the revolutionary movement of Negroes, and the common struggles of Negro and white workers in the struggle for Negro rights, organized around the Scottsboro, Camp Hill and Chicago cases. With the deepening of the economic crisis and the sharpening offensive of the capitalists, with the increasing struggles of the masses, the perspective for the immediate period is one of still sharper class battles and particularly during the coming winter months, for which the Party must better organize and prepare its forces.

3. To the sharpening of the decline in industry as a whole, is added the decline in foreign trade which intensifies further the inner contradictions, and at the same time the sharpening imperialist rivalries reveal the extent to which American imperialism is involved in the general decay of capitalism, and all of its world-scale contradictions. Driven by the feverish struggle for markets and spheres of influence and by the victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, American imperialism is coming forward as the leader in the preparation of the coming war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The frantic efforts of Hoover, Mellon, and Stimson to postpone the impending financial collapse of Germany, and to use the financial difficulties of England in furthering its aggressive policy, has not softened the contradictions among the imperialists themselves, but on the contrary has enormously sharpened them. This, with the growing wave of mass struggles against starvation of the coming period, makes more acute the danger of war against the Soviet Union.

4. In its effort to carry through the offensive against the toiling masses and to carry through the war preparations the bourgeoisie is more and more resorting to fascist methods of rule. At the same time it is utilizing more and more its agents in the ranks of the workers,

the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the social-fascists both in its fascist attacks against the masses and its attempt to maintain the bourgeois democratic pretenses. Though increasing the elements of fascization, the main method of rule of U. S. finance capital is still, in the main, carried on under the mask of democracy, which in principle by no means differs from open (fascist) dictatorship.

5. The revolutionary upsurge which is developing generally on an ascending curve does not proceed in a straight line and develop equally in all countries. The 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. correctly combatted the tendency to construct the "political crisis" as a necessary intermediary stage between the revolutionary upsurge and revolutionary crisis and the idea that it is necessary to await the development of a political crisis before we can speak of a revolutionary crisis. The 11th Plenum established that political crisis and revolutionary crisis are identical.

Our Central Committee at its last Plenum made an error (which was corrected with the guidance of the C. I.), when it declared that conditions in the U. S. had already reached the point of the "development of various elements of a political crisis." This error was mainly due to an incorrect estimation of the situation, based upon the objective factors alone (in this instance overestimated), without regard to the actions of the revolutionary proletariat, and the weak situation of our Party in relation to the masses.

6. The main tasks of the Communist Parties under the conditions of the growing crisis and the offensive of the bourgeoisie, is to organize and lead more energetically and systematically the struggles of the masses and to develop the counter offensive of the proletariat. This main task demands in the C.P.U.S.A. concentration of attention upon the concrete questions of fight for the demands of the unemployed, strike movements, building the revolutionary trade union movement, and the mass struggle for Negro rights. Special concentration must be made on the most important districts (Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo), industries (mining, metal, steel marine, auto, textile) and factories. In every field of struggle, the fight against war and defense of Soviet Union must be given a central place.

Fully applicable to our Party are the words of the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which pointed out the weaknesses of the majority of the sections of the Comintern. These weaknesses, shown in the lagging behind the radicalization of the masses and inadequate struggle against social-democracy, express themselves in the following main forms: (a) dragging at the tail of important revolutionary movements, unemployed demonstrations, strikes and peasant movements, particularly weakness of work in rural districts and among agricultural workers; (b) insufficient mobilizing the masses

on the basis of every day needs, insufficient linking up with final aims; (c) passivity in face of fascist aggression; (d) passivity in regard to work in the army, struggle against war and for defense of the Soviet Union; (e) inadequate support of the revolutionary liberation movements in the colonies; (f) neglect of work in the reformist unions; inadequate work in factories, particularly big enterprises and decisive industries; weak political life of the factory units; (g) general weakness of organizational work; impermissible passivity in overcoming fluctuation of Party membership; (h) mechanical application of general directives, without concretizing them for the particular concrete circumstances.

Every point applies sharply to the weaknesses in our own work.

Especially must be stressed our almost complete lack of progress in factory nuclei and in factory work generally; the extremely slow growth of the Party and high fluctuation in membership; work in the army, agrarian work, and lack of support to the colonies.

7. It is the task of the 13th Plenum of the C.C. C.P.U.S.A., to draw the balance of the work of the Party since the 12th Plenum November, 1930), on the line of the 11th Plenum of E.C.C.I., to bring forward the essential tasks of this particular moment which constitutes that link which, when seized, will give us control of the entire chain and enable us to pass on to the next link.

Our Party was described by the E.C.C.I. a year ago as follows:

"The principal weakness of the Party is to be found in the fact that the Party was and remains a good propagandist organization which has not yet understood how to mobilize the masses for struggle for their immediate needs and especially for their economic demands."

Our 12th Plenum raised sharply as the central question, "how to mobilize and organize the masses for struggle for their immediate demands," and began a serious fight against the obstacles to mass work, against the disease of phrase-mongering and "high politics," under the slogan from Lenin: "Less high-falutin' phrases; more simple every-day deeds." The struggle on two fronts, against right and "left" deviations, became a practical question of every day life of the Party as a result of the work of the 12th Plenum. The first beginning of the turn toward mass work was made.

8. After the 12th Plenum there was justifiable fear that good resolutions may remain on paper, as in the past. In spite of the fact that many basic tasks still remain unsolved (especially penetration of factories, and growth of Party membership, in which there is yet no turn), first beginnings of the turn towards mass work were made since the 12th Plenum. The process is only begun, but this beginning is an integral part of the Party life. It is registered practically in such decisive forms as the following:

a) Beginning of mass strikes in important industries under Communist leadership (Lawrence woolen textiles, Pittsburgh area coal miners, New England and Paterson silk textiles, California cannery and agricultural workers). All these movements were organized on the basis of the correct use of immediate economic demands as a result of the work of the 12th Plenum.

b) Struggle and organization of the unemployed workers raised to a higher level, shown in the State Hunger Marches in 12 states, involving actions extending over 2 to 7 days, with hundreds of organized marchers in each state, while tens and hundreds of thousands were drawn in demonstrations, which penetrated into new territory hitherto untouched. Local unemployment councils and branches have begun to take root in the localities, on the basis of detailed work, attention to needs of individual families in conditions of starvation, of dramatizing typical cases, by organized practical work of feeding (kitchens, food collections etc.) for their members and most desperate cases of starvation. Especially important results have been achieved in the struggle against evictions.

c) An important change has begun to take place in the Party's work in mobilizing the masses in struggle for Negro rights. Even during 1930, while our work was mainly in the field of agitation and propaganda, our influence was growing steadily among the Negro masses. With the Yokinen trial, early in 1931, which dramatized the struggle against white chauvinism within the ranks of the workers, a turn began to struggles upon specific concrete issues. The Scottsboro case was seized upon by the entire movement, without hesitation as a rallying point for this struggle, with brilliant success in rousing hundreds of thousands of Negro and white workers to active protest and struggle. The Camp Hill sharecroppers union case, linking up directly with the Scottsboro case, broadened and deepened the movement by bringing forward the fundamental land question and agrarian revolution in the South. The Chicago massacre of August 3, combined and unified two fundamental currents of the mass movement, Negro rights and the struggle against evictions and dramatized the unity of black and white workers. The deep-going nature of the struggles have exposed before the Negro masses the treacherous nature of their petty-bourgeois misleaders (N.A.A.C.P. and churches). The conditions for the transformation of the relation of forces among the Negro masses have developed where our Party and its program has become the central question.

These facts prove that our Party, *in certain specific instances and to a certain degree*, has learned "to mobilize the masses for struggle for their immediate demands," in the three most important fields of work. But the result in relation to the tremendous objective possibilities, are still very small and unsatisfactory. In spite of growing mass influence, expressed in street actions involving hundreds of thousands of workers, our organizations, and especially the Party, grew very, very slowly in membership. Especially is this unsatisfactory condition seen in the field of penetration of the big factories, and in organizational work. There is no progress in building shop nuclei, except in the mine strike area where results

have still to be proven, while there is even retrogression in some districts. Shop and mill committees, and grievance committees, are beginning to develop only in certain coal and textile areas, and even here with unsatisfactory firmness and tempo, while in most fields they are still entirely unknown in a practical sense. The revolutionary trade unions, while no longer declining in membership are growing very slowly. The Unemployed Councils, with a few exceptions of broad mass organizations with active life, are still on the whole organizations of only the most active elements. The struggle for Negro rights, politically highly successful has given very limited organizational results.

This situation is so serious that it requires a sharp turn by the entire Party in our *methods of mass work* and organization. These very unsatisfactory conditions, which exist even in those fields where we have best learned and applied the lessons of the 12th Plenum of immediate and especially economic demands, evidently require a remedy which goes deeper than mere repetition of the 12th Plenum or a better learning of its lessons. At the 13th Plenum we must establish what is the next link in the chain, by grasping which we will be able to overcome those weaknesses which have been brought to light since our 12th Plenum.

9. The main inner enemy against which we must concentrate our fire today, in order to make the next important steps forward to winning the majority of the working class, is opportunism expressed in various forms, *of lack of faith in the masses* and reliance on spontaneity. Always opportunist, this fear of the masses is sometimes openly right-wing and at other times masked with "left" phrases. It operates among our members with a thousand variations in its slogans, of which the following are examples: "American workers are especially backward and therefore will not struggle"; "Our Party is too weak to lead broad mass struggles"; "The masses are too undeveloped to follow our Party"; "Untrained workers cannot be trusted in leading positions"; "Workers must go through a long period of experience with reformism, with the S. P., L. P., Musteites, etc., before they are ripe for the Communist Party"; "Only full-fledged Leninists should be taken into membership of the C.P."; "No one can be trusted in the leadership of struggles until he is a fully-trained Leninist"; "Be careful not to talk much about the Communist Party or you will scare away the workers from the mass organizations"; "We cannot organize the workers until we have a fully trained corps of organizers," etc.

This opportunist lack of faith in the masses and reliance on spontaneity whether openly right wing or "leftist" in form, prevents us from organizing the masses even when we are leading them in the midst of struggles. It not only prevents the building

of the mass organizations, but especially it builds up a high wall to keep the workers out of our Party. It is a scandalous condition when, in almost every district, we find examples of good militant workers who spent from 6 to 12 months of persistent efforts before they were able to force their way into the Party. This fear of the masses leads in the direction of liquidation of the leading role of the Party, hiding it from the masses so that it disappears as an effective factor. This lack of faith in the masses and dependence upon spontaneity expressed itself in the unemployment work as too great an orientation upon demonstrations and in weakly developing organizing and carrying through the day to day struggles and organizing authoritative local unemployed councils with committees that carry through the manifest tasks in the day to day fight for the interests of the unemployed. In the strike struggles it expresses itself in insufficient attention to the basic masses of the proletariat, to the fortresses of capitalism dominated by the trusts, to the huge factories with thousands of workers, in insufficient preparation of strike struggles, in the weaknesses in formation of local strike committees, and stimulating the initiative of the masses and overcoming formal and bureaucratic methods of work, in the failure to take the necessary energetic measures to build up the revolutionary unions in the struggles, in insufficient popular agitation, maneuvers and actions to expose the strikebreaking reformist bureaucracy and in countering and exposing the maneuvers of bourgeois demagogues. At the same time within the Party and the mass organizations it expresses itself in *bureaucratic methods of work*, in the stifling of democracy within the Party, in stifling the initiative from below, preventing the absorption of new members, stunting the growth of organization, in the insufficient politicalization and activization of the Party membership by means of enlightenment upon the tasks, day to day guidance and practical assistance to the Party membership in carrying out of these tasks.

Only a conscious, intolerant and systematic struggle against every evidence of bureaucratic methods of work by the entire Party, simultaneously with the struggle against right and "left" deviations, will eliminate this obstacle to the growth of our movement, and enable us to realize the tremendous opportunities that lie before us in the coming months to rouse the defensive struggles of the working class, give them a firm organizational basis and develop them into a counter-offensive against the offensive of the bosses. The most persistent struggle against formal and bureaucratic methods of work must go hand in hand with the development of mass struggles and with the widest self-criticism.

10. The above weaknesses indicate the need for a sharper struggle against opportunism within the Party, against the right

danger which remains the main danger and against left sectarianism which encourages and strengthens the right danger. The right danger expresses itself in the Party mainly in the lagging behind the struggles, in opportunist passivity in shop work, in the weak struggle against the war danger, in the insufficient bringing forward and establishing leadership of the Party in mass struggles and the weaknesses in the fight against social reformism, for the organization of the Negroes and for the defense of the foreign-born, and in such errors as the united front from the top in a number of districts in connection with the Scottsboro case, attitude in the early stages of the campaign toward Pickens, in an entirely insufficient struggle against the bourgeois and reformist leadership of the Negroes, an underestimation of the significance of the development of the strike movement and the miners' strike in particular on the part of most districts, in weaknesses in struggling against the Muste movement in southern Illinois and the conception on the part of some of the Illinois comrades that the leadership of this movement was progressive, etc., and in "left" sectarianism which expresses itself chiefly upon inner orientation, lack of work in the reformist unions on the ground that these masses cannot be won for struggle, weak application of the united front, running at the head of the masses (as the conception that the miners' struggle was ripening into a condition where the mass political strike could be raised as a practical slogan, the raising of the 7-hour day as a practical strike demand in the dressmakers' strike under the existing conditions, etc.)

11. *Building the Party.* The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee emphasizes that at the present time the entire Party must recognize the need for building up the Party (organization of nuclei in the factories, the increase of membership in the decisive industries in the factories, recruitment of large number of members, etc.) as an important next step for the organization and leadership of the mass struggles. The building of the Party must become an integral part of the preparation and leadership of mass struggles. The realization of the slogan of build the party in mass struggles, means particularly strengthening the mass organization of the Party in the heavy industries and big factories and in the districts in which these industries are located.

"The building of the Party on a mass scale necessitates that a number of misconceptions that prevail with regard to the role of the Party in general and particularly during strikes be clarified. The most important of these misconceptions are:

"1. That the Party can be built only after the strike and even then only when the workers win all the demands.

"2. That during the strike the members of the Party working in the strike and in the union as organizers and leaders of the strike,

cannot and even must not take up simultaneously the task of building the Party.

"3. That during the strike the individual leading members of the Party are entirely exempt from working within the Party (nuclei, district committees, etc.).

"4. The limitation of the functioning of the Party organizations during the strike to the point of liquidation of the regular functioning of the nuclei district committee, etc.

"5. That the Party must work only through fractions and not come forward as an independent force among the mass of the strikers, and at the same time failure to organize even the fractions.

"The above tendencies, expressed sometimes openly but more frequently by a failure to carry out the tasks on the plea of other pressing matters, are in practice a denial of the leading role of the Party, and if adhered to would make impossible not only the building of the Party but the conduct of the strike successfully as well. The role of the Party is particularly important at the present stage of the development of the crisis of the capitalist system with the increasing role of terror and social demagoguery."

(Politburo Resolution of July 5.)

12. The problem of building the Party is the problem of independent leadership of the mass struggles, and the building of Party organizations in connection with it, is the problem of winning new Party members and establishing shop nuclei, particularly in the most important districts and the big factories. We have many old decisions on both questions. The resolution of the last Plenum stated:

"Another expression of our slowness and inability to concretize our general slogans is illustrated in our weak and insufficient work in the shops and the meager number of shop nuclei. The Party must intensify and improve its activities on the basis of concrete issues confronting the workers in the shops. Our shop papers must reflect the grievances of the workers in the shops and on these issues organize shop committees of the T.U.U.L. unions at the same time winning the most advanced workers for the Party and organizing them into shop nuclei."

Mere repetition of this correct statement will not change the situation nor solve the problem. It is also incorrect to think that the building of shop nuclei can be furthered by such theories as that the shop nuclei can be built only after the strike movement, or that they must be built before the strike movement begins, or that the improvement of Party statistics is the means of solving his problem.

The building of shop nuclei demands a fundamental change of all our methods of work, the transferring of attention by the whole Party and each particular unit to this task. We will have no results as long as the most difficult task of carrying out concentration on the largest factories is assigned to the street units and left with

them. We have cases where such concentration has continued during months and years without practical results. We have cases where shop units exist during many years without an increase in membership, or what is worse, disappearing gradually. The building of shop units under present conditions demands a change in the work of the Org. Department, the Agitprop Department, the Language Department, the Women's Department, the Negro Department—a change in all the activity of the Central Committee, District Committees, and lower units of the Party.

General organization letters and general kinds of work are applied in practice very weakly and all together cannot be applied in a shop unit. The Agitprop material at present is not fitted for the needs of the shop units, and the large quantities of material distributed by the Party apparatus has not been prepared with a view to the use for new members or the shop units.

The task of the districts and sections is to develop the work in shop units individually with an individual approach to each unit; to discuss with the members of the shop units or with one or two Communists in the shop the concrete possibilities for work during a short period, working out the special tasks that can be accomplished in the given circumstances during a week or two, and developing this plan of work gradually and systematically. We cannot help the situation by declarations that the Communists in the shops are poisoned with opportunism and with unwillingness to work in the shops, nor by the conception that our weaknesses can be overcome by disciplinary measures, exclusion, etc. The most dangerous form of opportunism in practice that hinders us from building the shop nuclei does not appear among the Communist workers in the shop, but in the approach of our functionaries to them. The fear of the difficulties of shop work by the Communist worker is because of the fact that we do not know *how* to carry out this work. All the attention of the Party must be concentrated on *helping* our comrades in the shops to solve their problems.

The language organizations and other mass organizations can and must be used to develop our contacts with the factories especially the big factories on which we are concentrating. There are cases where a street unit which has concentrated for months on a given factory without any results, discusses questions in a club while in the next room a language organization is holding a meeting in which workers from this particular factory are participating. Our comrades do not see the workers who are next to them. But we can get connections in the factories through the language organizations and develop these connections when the workers feel sure that everything possible is done to prevent their exposure in the factory and consequent discharge. We have examples of impermissible

neglect of the situation of a Communist worker in the shop from this point of view. This is one of the reasons why the Communists and sympathizers in the factories are fired so quickly upon the first step of their work. Instead of insulting them we must work out a system and teach them how to develop the work without being exposed.

We must never forget that all our shop units are in reality illegal. The Party apparatus which exists legally forgets this fact in its connections with the shop units. The problem of keeping new members is the problem of the inner life of the unit and particularly the educational work. Our system of education, by neglecting the unit circles and concentrating all attention on the district evening schools, corresponds to the situation in the interest of developing functionaries but not to the needs of the rank and file new members especially of the shop units. Each street or shop unit must have a study circle. The old members of the Party who so often show the greatest passivity and stubborn bureaucratic tendency in the life of the unit must be made an active factor in these study circles. This is the best way to overcome the lack of confidence which the new members of the Party, coming directly out of the struggle, have for a certain category of old members. The material for these study circles must be worked out very carefully, not only with the aim of issuing a document that is generally satisfactory but which in the given conditions remains on paper.

The *Daily Worker*, the most powerful organizational and educational instrument possessed by the Party, must also adapt itself to this task and must give the example for all our language press. The relation between the *Daily Worker* and the rank and file Party members—not to speak about the workers generally—is permeated by the same element of bureaucracy. The conferences of readers of the *Daily Worker*, although they had a satisfactory beginning, died after this beginning because of lack of interest and attention on the part of our Party. Although the problem of circulation has very great political importance nevertheless without a systematic political work it becomes only a commercial problem. The workers' correspondence is not given adequate attention in the *Daily Worker*. The excessive length of a large proportion of the articles makes it very difficult for most workers to read them.

The system of training schools must be much further extended. Another national school must be held in 1931. Each important district must organize a full-time training school for at least one month with a minimum of 20 students.

It is necessary to have a drastic change in the methods of recruiting new members into the Party. The present practice in recruiting work amounts in practice to a repulsion of workers anxious

to join the Party and excellent material for the building of the Party. It is necessary that recruiting shall be carried on on a mass basis, that every facility shall be given for the largest possible number of workers to join the Party, that red tape and delay in acting on applications shall be reduced to a minimum, and that the entire Party shall be prepared not only to welcome the new members, but to hold them and transform them into most active, reliable Party cadres. To this end the life of the units must be made politically interesting and valuable for the members. Routine and bureaucratic methods must be liquidated. The system of administrative command must be combatted and in its place developed the active participation of all members in the planning and execution of the work without in any way weakening the practice of centralization and individual responsibility. The minimum goal of at least doubling the membership in 1931 must be set by each section and district.

13. The struggle for unemployment insurance and relief, which has had certain successes in the mobilization of masses for certain actions, demonstrations etc., remains still almost entirely unorganized, with the exception of a very few cities. The recent resolution of the R.I.L.U. on this question gives us a sound foundation for completely correcting our previous errors, the general nature of which were (a) efforts to confine the movement within too narrow and strict and organizational frame, and (b) absolutely insufficient attention to the whole problem of organization. On the lines of the R.I.L.U. resolution we must immediately begin to build mass unemployed councils and to fight for the Communist program of struggle against hunger, of which the following are the main points:

(a) Unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers, securing to every wage worker the equivalent of his full wages when unemployed for any reason, to be administered by the insured workers organized in self-governing bodies on a territorial basis.

(b) Immediate relief in lump sum from the government treasury for each unemployed worker with additional amount for each dependent.

(c) Shortening of the excessive hours of labor on the basis of: 7-hour day for all workers without reduction of weekly earnings; 6-hour day for miners and dangerous occupations; abolition of child labor under 14 and a provision of vocational training with government support; 4-hour day for youth workers up to 16 and 6-hour day up to 20 years.

(d) Prohibition of eviction of workers from their homes for non-payment of rent when unemployed for any reason. Free rents,

gas light, water, etc., for the unemployed at government expense. Free distribution of milk for all children of unemployed.

(e) The struggle against the Hoover schemes of public works which are designed as preparations for war, as wage-cutting expedients and systems of forced labor; against the Hoover public works program we demand the inauguration of the program of building workers' homes to replace the present horrible slums and barracks inhabited by millions of underpaid and unemployed workers, building of workers' hospitals, nurseries, etc. All public building to be at trade union wage rates and the 7-hour day.

(f) Absolute prohibition of all forms of forced labor or coercion of any kind in connection with relief and insurance.

(g) Development of trade relations with the Soviet Union (including the demand for recognition of the Soviet Union, not only as a fundamental requirement of international working class solidarity, but also as a vital immediate economic need of the starving masses) in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly growing demands of the successful construction of the workers' government and its Five-Year Plan.

The Communist Party demands the financing of all forms of insurance and relief by a diversion to this purpose of all military, naval and police appropriations, sharp reduction of official salaries, sharply graduated income tax on all incomes above \$5,000, graduated capital levy on all fortunes above \$100,000.

The struggle for these demands shall be organized around the unemployed councils and carried on by mass demonstrations in cities, in counties and states by hunger marches including a national hunger march to the opening of Congress; by signature campaigns delegations to governing bodies, and the use of referendum laws in the various states and by supporting the Communist Party in the coming elections. *The Central Committee particularly emphasizes to all Party organizations the necessity for applying the forms of organization outlined in the resolution of the R.I.L.U. and the methods by means of which to conduct the day to day struggles for the organization of the unemployed workers.*

14. *Building the revolutionary unions and work in the reformist unions.* The work of building the revolutionary unions and the creation of revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions remains the central task in the accomplishment of which only the first beginnings have been made. In view of the ferment within the reformist unions, the work of building oppositions must now be energetically and systematically taken in hand. Not only must oppositions be created in mass reformist unions in which no parallel revolutionary unions exist, but also in reformist unions such as in needle

trades, textile and mining, where the masses are under the leadership of the reactionary officials. The main line of criticism in the work of building the revolutionary unions have been correctly indicated in the resolution on the miners' strike adopted in the Polburo on July 29th, which the Central Committee approves. These lessons must be worked out in detailed application in each specific field of trade union work. In the next period the Party must concentrate upon building up and strengthening of the revolutionary unions and especially metal and steel, automobile and marine, in struggle against wage-cuts and speed-up along the following lines: (a) the working out of concrete programs of struggle for industries and factories, (b) participation of the masses in the formulation of their immediate demands, (c) independent leadership by the revolutionary trade unions through various forms of the united front from below, grievance committees, shop committees, action committees, strike committees, etc., (d) utilization of united front formations as the foundation for the building of the revolutionary unions and oppositions in the reformist unions, (e) systematically building new cadres by drawing in new active workers in responsible leading bodies from top to bottom, abolition of the practice of relying entirely on outside forces for organizational leadership, (f) intensified study and propaganda of the tactics of strike strategy and practice, especially with regard to the preparation and ending of strikes, (g) methods of isolating and exposing the bosses' agents among the workers and guarding against spies without impairing the practice of trade union democracy, (h) systematic struggle against bureaucratic tendencies, building of responsible trade union apparatus, widest development of trade union democracy and methods of organizational consolidation of the revolutionary trade unions.

The C.C. stresses the necessity for the most energetic and systematic revival of work in the reformist unions, the conditions for which are constantly broadening as a result of the growing struggles. The Party must more systematically counteract the policy of the bureaucrats of heading struggles in order to behead them and more carefully expose the strike-breaking policy of the reformist leaders, particularly the left reformists, socialist, "left" phrasemongers and the Musteites. All district committees must be instructed within the next month to report on methods and plans of work adopted in regard to strengthening the work in the reformist unions.

15. In the struggle against imperialist war preparations and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Plenum notices a certain qualitative improvement in the work of the Party and a broadening of its scope (better political preparation of the August First cam-

paign, concretization of the issues in the press, especially the *Daily Worker*, and the linking up with current events, the mass sale of anti-war pamphlets, improved organizational preparations, border demonstrations for the first time, a small number of farmers' demonstrations, and 50% increase in number of participants over a year ago). Nevertheless the Central Committee declares the August First demonstrations were not satisfactory in relation to the sharpening economic crisis, the nearness of the war danger and the growing radicalization of the workers. There is still to be noted a definite underestimation of the war danger within the ranks of the Party and entirely insufficient efforts in mobilizing the masses against it. This is shown in:

- (a) Influence of pacifist illusions among the revolutionary workers.
- (b) Weak united front efforts.
- (c) Failure to draw in trade unions and mass organizations in organized manner.
- (d) Insufficient concrete, popular and convincing exposure of the war preparations of American imperialism.
- (e) Insufficient attention to war industries.
- (f) Insufficient connection between every day issues and struggles, with the war danger.
- (g) Weakness in developing mass sentiment in struggle against the Young Plan, against imperialist oppression in Latin America, Philippines and China.

The Central Committee emphasizes that the Party center and districts must take the most energetic measures to overcome all weaknesses and mobilize the widest front of struggle against imperialist war.

The Central Committee calls attention to the task assigned by the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which calls upon every member of the Communist Party to regard as a task of first importance the struggle against the war danger and the fight for the defense of the Soviet Union. As an important means to develop the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union is the building of the *Friends of the Soviet Union* into a mass organization, the Communist Party organizations must assist in the building of the F.S.U. and in the organization of a workers' delegation to the November 7th celebrations, consisting chiefly of industrial workers from the basic industries.

16. The task of exposure of the social fascists, in destroying their mass influence, takes on an added importance with the latest tactics adopted by them which constitute a distinct "left" maneuver designed to head off the masses who are moving towards the leadership of the Communist Party. Examples and characteristic points

of this maneuver are: A. F. of L. taking leadership in strikes (Paterson) in order to behead and betray them; A. F. of L. use of Muste elements and even "communist" renegades to fool the workers; Socialist party manifesto on unemployment, calling for demonstrations and councils; Socialist party independent "relief" for striking miners as a basis of their struggle against the National Miners Union; the project of "taking the National Miners Union away from the Communists," etc. The treachery of the social fascists cannot be exposed effectively before the masses by abstract slogans; this task requires first of all a correct application of the tactic of united front from below in all struggles of the workers; and upon the basis of concrete experiences the exposure of the treacherous acts of the social fascists individually and collectively in the course of struggle. It is important also to connect up social fascist treachery in the U.S.A. with the similar practice of the Second International in other countries, particularly in the colonies. The exposure of the social fascists must reveal the identity of their policies with those of the capitalist class to put into effect the capitalist policies. We must shatter the illusion which is prevailing among large masses of workers that the Socialist party stands for "Socialism" in contradistinction to the Communist Party standing for "Communism"; we must expose before the workers the fact that the Socialist party no more stands for Socialism than the Democratic party stands for democracy; that Socialism as a stage in the development of Communism is demonstrated in life by the achievements of the Soviet Union and that Socialism can only be achieved through revolutionary class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

17. In the struggle for Negro rights in which our Party has registered highly significant political victories, the utmost attention must now be concentrated upon consolidating our mass influence organizationally by (a) intensified recruiting of Negro workers into the Party; (b) mass recruiting of Negro workers into the revolutionary trade unions and unemployed councils and the development of their special immediate economic demands; (c) building of the mass circulation of the *Liberator* and the crystallization of the L.S.N.R. groups around it. The last traces of white chauvinism in the ranks of the revolutionary workers must be burned out. Special attention must be given to the development of leading cadres from among the Negro workers in all phases of work. Concentration upon certain limited demands in special campaigns (Scottsboro) must be used as the starting point to develop the broadest mass propaganda for the whole Communist program on the Negro question. The serious weaknesses that have appeared at

times in dealing with the Negro petty bourgeoisie (Pickens, Negro press) must be systematically and energetically corrected.

18. It is necessary to begin real organized work in the farms. In this field we have not even begun to formulate the partial demands. In the first place by developing the struggles of the agricultural wage workers and their organization in the Agricultural Workers Union. Poor farmers who are in ever-larger numbers facing destitution and starvation must be mobilized *in action committees* for struggle against taxation of their meager properties, against all foreclosures for non-payment of taxes or mortgages, for relief, free seeds, etc., from the government, against the extortions of marketing and terminal corporations, railroads, etc., against the feudal remnants of the share-cropping system, especially in the South, etc. Basing ourselves upon the masses of poor farmers, every effort must be made to draw in the middle farmers or to neutralize them. The United Farmers League must be given all possible support in the circulation of its paper and the extension of its organization. All Party papers and especially the *Southern Worker* must give more systematic attention to the development of the struggle of the farmers.

19. The work among the youth is more and more becoming a living, practical problem of today for our Party in every field of struggle, strike struggles, unemployed movement, Negro work, etc. The Young Communist League at its recent Sixth Convention demonstrated that it has begun to emerge from its critical condition of a year ago. It must be stated, however, that the leadership and assistance of the Party to the Y.C.L. and the mass youth organizations has been absolutely inadequate. This neglect by the Party, expressed in the practical work by failure to draw the youth into the struggles as an important, recognized factor results in turn in giving ground for wrong tendencies towards separatism among the youth themselves (miners strike, etc.). The Party must in all its sub-divisions discuss the work of the Y.C.L. as developed in the resolutions of its Sixth National Convention, and elaborate business-like plans for assistance and leadership of this work, in the closest contact with the units and leading bodies of the Y.C.L. and fractions of the mass youth organizations. All Party organizations must carry out the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. which gives to the Party the task of assuming responsibility for the building up of the youth organizations, for establishing youth nuclei where Party nuclei exist, to build up the youth membership to that of the Party and in excess of it. The Party organization must combat any social democratic tendencies of underestimating the youth and must overcome the formal relations

which exists at the present time and establish real leadership in assisting in the building up of the Y.C.L.

20. The special campaign of persecution of foreign-born workers expressed in the Doak program of deportation of 20,000 workers per year, the projects for registration and finger-printing of the foreign-born, etc., indicates a sharp intensification of this system of division of the workers and requires that the utmost efforts be exerted by the Communist Party to organize the broadest mass resistance and protest on the part of the entire working class. While registering certain successes in the work of the Council for Protection of the Foreign Born, it must be declared that in the center and most districts this work has been criminally neglected. Especially inadequate have been the efforts to penetrate broad mass organizations of the foreign-born, which are under the control of the fascists and social fascists and in which the present capitalist offensive creates the most favorable conditions for our work. The Councils for the Protection of Foreign Born must be activated in every city and must broaden their work to include mobilization of the masses for the struggle against each and every concrete example of persecution of the foreign born, without by any means limiting their activity to those special cases of individual leading revolutionary workers. The Party fractions must become the real leaders and organizers of all this work.

21. The quality and circulation of the Party press, while generally improving in the past year (notably in the *Daily Worker*) is still lagging most decisively behind the rising wave of working class activity and struggle. It is necessary that we inaugurate the most intensive campaign to improve the contents of our press by the organized participation of the workers in the shops (workers' correspondents, *Daily Worker* clubs, etc.) by the improvement of collective work of the editorial staffs, by systematically developing closer connection between the press and mass struggles, by sending members of the staff into the field, by systematic periodical surveys and reviews of each paper by the respective staffs and directing bureaus; and extend the circulation on a multiplied scale by involving the masses of readers in planned work to this end. The Central Committee stresses the necessity of our press giving greater attention to the day to day political issues, more intensely and with more popular methods struggling against the bourgeois demagogues and social reformists, giving more leadership and direction to the Party organizations in regard to the task of the Party in mass struggles, as well as leadership in building up of the Party organization.

22. The task of support to the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples has not yet seriously been taken up by our Party as a whole. The plan of patronage adopted at the Seventh

Party Convention whereby each district assumes the obligation of establishing direct connections with one of the oppressed countries and to give political and practical support to the movement in that country has been left to remain on paper. Immediate measures must be taken to overcome this shameful shortcoming. At the same time each Party district must take up in a practical business-like fashion the development of activities among the immigrant groups from the oppressed nations, particularly Latin-Americans, Filipinos and Chinese. Especially important in this respect is the special work of drawing into the revolutionary unions the Latin-American and Filipino agricultural workers, the Mexicans in the steel and coal industry, etc. The general work of the Party in support of the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples must be developed in a more sustained and systematic fashion.

23. The work of building mass fraternal organizations (mutual aid clubs, etc.) is taking on constantly growing importance. Especially significant in this respect is the growth of the International Workers Order, which has already proved by its successful work the hundred-fold possibilities that lie before us in this field. While using every effort to successfully carry through the movement for amalgamation of the existing language fraternal orders on the basis of the fullest language and cultural autonomy, the main attention must be concentrated upon the extension of the English-speaking membership and especially the drawing in of the native workers.

24. All talk about winning the majority of the working class, without making a revolutionary change in the attitude of the entire Party towards work among women is nothing but idle chatter. While certain advances in this work are to be noted (International Women Day campaign, organizational achievements in the miners' strike, building of auxiliaries, recruitment of women into the Party, improvement of the *Working Woman*, growth of circulation, etc.), the main characteristic of this important phase of Party work is that of almost complete neglect. The tasks of the districts are to find forces and to build functioning departments for work among women and to give them political and organizational guidance.

Women wage workers constitute one fourth of the working class, the vast majority of them being among the most exploited and oppressed constituting an enormous reserve of proletarian fighting spirit which must at all costs be brought into the revolutionary class struggle. Every district is charged with the responsibility of working out concrete slogans and demands on the immediate issues of wage cuts, unemployment insurance, high cost of living, special labor legislation, etc., to develop mass contacts among women, mobilize them in struggle, establish special organizational forms (women's delegate meetings), recruit women into the Party and

revolutionary unions, and pay special attention to draw in Negro and Latin-American women.

A concrete program of work is to be formulated on a district and section scale; (1) concentrate on a few important factories employing large numbers of women, especially in war and textile industries; (2) conduct a struggle against imperialist war preparations by exposing fascist and pacifist women's organizations and winning the masses of proletarian women for struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union; (3) popularize the platform of the Communist Party in the election campaigns by mobilizing masses of working women in support of the Party, and make special efforts to bring women into the Vote Communist Clubs.

Special attention must be given to the systematic development of the most capable women into the leading bodies of the Party and mass organizations.

25. The coming election campaign assumes more importance than ever in the development of the mass struggles against hunger, capitalist terror and imperialist war. The development of these campaigns is seriously hampered by the remnants of anti-parliamentary tendencies and underestimation of revolutionary possibilities of election campaigns. The elections this fall, important in themselves are of even greater significance as being a test of our preparedness to exploit the tremendous possibilities before us in the general national elections of 1932. The election campaigns must be made the instrument to bring together the issues of all the partial struggles and the issues of particular fields of work into one consolidated program of revolutionary working-class struggle against capitalism, concretizing the general slogan, "Class against class," and showing to the exploited masses the impossibility of any way out of the crisis except the way of mass revolutionary struggle and proletarian revolution.

26. The rapidly increasing strike struggles under revolutionary leadership raises more sharply than ever the necessity for building a permanent mass organization for relief. It is not only a necessary instrument for the successful conduct of the strikes themselves, but it is also most effective for mobilizing broad solidarity actions of the workers generally and thereby broadcasting the political influence of these strike struggles and raising thereby the consciousness of the working class to a higher level. It is imperative that the entire Party take up in a serious, business-like, responsible fashion the building of the Workers International Relief as a mass organization for this purpose.

27. The sharpening political repression against the working class,
(Continued on page 850)

Resolution on Work Among the Unemployed

The following resolution was adopted by the 13th Plenum of the Communist Party, U. S. A. on the report of comrade Stachel.

1. Unemployment, already greater than at any time during the present economic crisis, continues to grow as a consequence of the still growing depth of the crisis and increasing rationalization, making work among the unemployed more than ever a "central and urgent task." The increase of part time employment and the growth of strikes against the sharpening wage cutting offensive of the capitalists, continually broadens the basis for, and makes more urgent the development of joint action of the employed and unemployed.

2. While we have made certain advances in our work among the unemployed, these have been mainly in the mobilization of the unemployed in demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., as a result of our overcoming our weaknesses in the putting forward of correct slogans and demands, resulting in the forcing of relief to large sections of unemployed, through city and town governments, and private and semi-private charitable institutions. We have not yet succeeded in developing the every day struggles of the unemployed for their immediate demands and in building up organization among the mass of the unemployed. This next task which we must now concentrate upon has been summed up in the R.I.L.U. resolution:

"To win the majority of the unemployed does not only depend upon the ability to correctly formulate slogans of agitation and action, but first and foremost on the organization of the everyday struggle of the unemployed in defense of their immediate demands."

3. The main reasons for our failure to develop the every-day struggles of the unemployed are: (a) too much reliance upon demonstrations and similar actions alone; (b) underestimation of the daily struggles for the immediate needs; (c) the failure to adopt organizational forms which would make possible the development of the day to day struggles and the drawing in of the unemployed into activity; (d) bureaucracy in the leading of the unemployed activity from top to bottom, leadership through command, all decisions handed down from top, failure to develop the initiative on the part of the unemployed.

4. The failure to build fractions and organize the work of the fractions has weakened the leadership of the Party in the unemployed organizations. Only a small number of unemployed Party members are active among the unemployed. There also exists the tendency of the Party nuclei to carry on work among the unemployed directly instead of through the unemployed organizations, and exercise leadership of the movement through the Communists organized into fractions. In the center of all this there exists an underestimation of work among the unemployed (in practice) by the majority of the Party organizations. The carrying through of the next tasks is only possible through the correction of this underestimation and the activization of the unemployed Party members into the unemployed organizations and the setting up of fractions to lead the movement of the unemployed.

5. Wherever the struggle for the everyday demands was undertaken, despite the confusion on this question, we succeeded in securing relief for the unemployed and in building the correct organizational forms. Particularly important are the experiences gained in the struggle against evictions. In a number of cities and towns we were successful in completely stopping evictions, and developing mass struggles around this issue. The development of the struggle in Chicago against evictions in which tens of thousands of Negroes and white workers were mobilized, shows the way to organize the struggle of the unemployed in defense of their immediate demands. Through experience we learned the necessity to organize committees from among the unemployed to lead the daily struggles, around which are mobilized the masses of the unemployed.

In a number of cities the unemployed organizations were successful, through the dramatization of hunger and starvation, through bringing forward concrete cases of starvation and formulating concrete demands, to secure relief for groups of unemployed, thus demonstrating the correctness of this policy. But in more than a few instances, this form of activity which should have resulted in mass actions against the government, and mass demands for relief, was allowed to degenerate into "neediest cases" activity of a "social welfare" and charity character, in which the unemployed organizations became the agency between the individual unemployed worker and the relief agency, instead of the mobilizer and leader of mass struggles.

In the organization of relief by the unemployed organization, through their own collections, we have not yet sufficient experience. In only a few cases (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, etc.) were kitchens organized and relief activity carried on directly by the unem-

ployed organizations. In the main this activity thus far has achieved a certain stabilization of the leading cadres and unemployed committees, but this work has not yet assumed the character of actually assisting unemployed families who are starving and who are receiving no relief from the government and community institutions. Also this work catered mainly to the single and migratory unemployed, and was not even begun among unemployed families on a neighborhood scale. It is necessary to carry through the directives of the C.C. on this phase of the work. The W.I.R. can be drawn into the development of this activity.

6. The campaign for unemployment insurance which was developed, and in which more than half a million individual signatures and more than an equal number of collective endorsements were secured, and presented to Congress, has been allowed to drift. The signatures collected and placed in the hands of the districts were not utilized to further the work of the unemployed organizations. The state hunger marches in more than a dozen states were successful from an agitational point of view, but the organizational results were only partially achieved. One of the main shortcomings was the lack of follow up work after the hunger marches.

7. In the development of joint action of the employed and unemployed, little progress has been made. While the unemployed workers have in almost all cases fought side by side with the employed workers in strikes, the mobilization of the employed to fight for the demands of the unemployed has made little progress. Only in the miners' strike did we put forward joint demands for the strikers and unemployed in the hunger marches organized. The fight for the 7-hour day, the struggle against rationalization and the stagger plan, has not been pressed forward. In the fight for the unemployed in only a few instances did we develop demands for part time workers. The fight against forced labor (which is increasing on government work) and the maintenance of union rates on all jobs, has received little attention.

8. The work among the unemployed has resulted in the mobilization of large masses of Negro workers, who play an important role in the unemployed organizations. The struggle for relief and particularly against evictions, was centered to a large extent in the Negro neighborhoods. The Chicago developments are a result of this attention to work among the Negro unemployed, and shows the militancy of the Negro masses. The main weakness here has been the failure to put forward concrete demands against discrimination with regard to relief and employment. Also an insufficient struggle was carried on against the inequality of rents in Negro neighborhoods, the unsanitary conditions, etc.

9. With regard to work among women, practically no results have been achieved in drawing the women workers, and wives of the unemployed, into the councils. Also no special demands were formulated for women, a large number of whom are homeless, and for whom no provisions are being made even to the extent that there exist municipal lodging houses for men. This situation must be remedied, and the basis laid for work among women.

10. Young workers make up an increasing number in the army of the unemployed. No provisions are made for their relief by the government. Instead there is every effort made to utilize their lot for the purpose of forcing the young workers into the military organizations, and they are also told to remain at school and starve. In our work we have completely failed to put forward demands for the young unemployed and draw them into the struggle. We must put forward the demand for vocational training with full maintenance by the government for unemployed young workers.

11. A task that was almost completely overlooked is the struggle against discrimination, against the foreign born workers who are left to starve without any consideration, and this policy is being strengthened more and more. Also the mass unemployment causes disfranchisement of whole sections of workers because of migration, inability to pay poll tax, etc. We must develop the demands for the rights of all workers, against discrimination against the foreign born, Negro workers, migratory workers, etc. This campaign should be hooked up with the election campaign of the Party. A struggle must be developed against the growing terror, against the unemployed. The organization of Workers Defense Corps must be undertaken.

12. The fight against unemployment has been insufficiently connected with the struggle against war and in defense of the Soviet Union. Particularly is it possible to mobilize large masses for struggle on the basis of the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union, and the system of social insurance in the land of the workers' rule. The Hoover government which is carrying through a policy of war preparations against the Soviet Union through its attacks on the Soviet Union, embargoes, etc., has been responsible for increasing unemployment.

13. The growing depth of the crisis on the one hand, and the growing struggles of the unemployed, side by side with the beginnings of strikes in a number of industries, has created a feeling of uneasiness in the camp of the bourgeoisie, and its agents in the labor movement—the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party. The aim of the capitalists remains the same: to give as little relief as possible, and to crush the struggles of the unemployed and their organizations

through terror. But in the light of the starvation that is facing the tens of millions of unemployed and their families, this, the third winter of the crisis, and the growth of the militancy of the unemployed, is compelling them to adopt new methods. While the Hoover government continues its opposition to any form of federal relief, and unemployment insurance in particular, the leaders of the Democratic party (Wagner, Roosevelt, etc.) and the "progressives" (Pinchot, La Follette, etc.) are demanding federal aid and even a fake unemployment insurance.

This by no means signifies two different programs. It is part of the one program of finance capital which controls the government and both the Democratic and Republican parties. It is merely a division of roles given to these parties and politicians of the bourgeoisie. Which of the two "policies" that the government and finance capital will adopt depends upon the further development of the crisis, but primarily upon the mass struggles for unemployment relief and insurance, which we can develop. But the bosses unemployment insurance bill is a starvation bill, with the aim to defeat our genuine unemployment insurance bill.

The reactionary leadership of the A.F. of L. fully supports the Hoover program and the program of the Republican party. It stands opposed to unemployment insurance. It is in favor of the Hoover stagger plan, and the permanent lowering of the living standards of the workers. The A.F. of L. supports the Hoover program of war preparations and battleships under the guise of a public works program. The Socialist party program is the same as that of the Democratic party and Republican progressives. It supports the Hoover program of the stagger plan under the guise of the shorter work-day. It fights against a genuine unemployment insurance by supporting an unemployment insurance bill which limits the payments to a few weeks in the year, keeps the workers down to the starvation level, discriminates against large numbers of the unemployed, and contributions to be made by the workers as well as the entire administration to be in the hands of the bosses government. The Musteites stand on the same platform as the Socialist party.

It is necessary to unmask all these proposals of the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties, and the A. F. of L., and all kinds of progressives. This can only be achieved by unmasking the politicians, and bosses' agents, on the basis of concrete facts, and through the organization of the masses for struggle for our demands for immediate relief and unemployment insurance. It is necessary to show the difference between our proposals for unemployment insurance for all workers, amounting to full wages, and to be administered by the workers, as against all the fake proposals.

We must prove to the workers, through their experience in struggle, that only through mass struggles can they force the enactment of a genuine unemployment insurance bill, and other concessions.

14. Both our own experience and the directives of the Comintern based upon world wide experiences, shows that the correct organizational forms for work among the unemployed are:

(a) The setting up of committees from among the unemployed in the neighborhoods, as employment agencies, soup kitchens, lodging houses, elected by general meetings of unemployed at these respective places, regardless of race, nationality or sex, and no matter to what party or trade union these workers belong. The center of the work must be in the neighborhood.

(b) All such committees in a given town, section of the city, or city, meet and elect an Unemployed Committee for the given territory, for leading the struggle of the unemployed in that territory. Such local committees must include representatives from the unemployed (shop unions, etc.) Every effort must be made to establish headquarters in all sections, and neighborhoods, as centers for the unemployed, and activity among the unemployed.

(c) At the same time, to facilitate the work of the committee and to create a firm base for their work, the unemployed should be registered, a membership card may be given, but there should be no obligatory dues payments. There may be, however, voluntary dues and collections from unemployed, employed and petty bourgeoisie, for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the work. But there should be no special privileges for the registered as against the mass of the unemployed.

(d) While not formally affiliated to the T.U.U.L., but organized on the broadest possible basis of the united front from below, the T.U.U.L. unions and revolutionary opposition in the old unions, must take the initiative in organizing the work among the unemployed, and be the backbone of the unemployed organization, giving them leadership. Every effort must be made to recruit from the unemployed into the T.U.U.L. unions. There shall not be set up a center on a national scale, but the leadership is to be exercised through the Party and T.U.U.L. centers. In organizing national actions, such as a national hunger march, etc., the T.U.U.L. shall take the initiative.

(e) *In carrying through the above organizational forms, care must be taken not to do this mechanically. Where individual membership branches exist, the more active elements must be formed into committees, for the neighborhood, block, any municipal lodging house, soup kitchens, in the neighborhood, etc. Regular meetings to which all workers, unemployed and employed, should be invited,*

are to be held to receive reports of the work of the committees, etc. Such meetings are everywhere to form part of the regular work of the committee.

15. The work of the unemployed committees shall be as follows:

(a) The unemployed committees organized in the neighborhood at the employment agencies, soup kitchens, etc., are to organize and lead the entire work in their territory. Similarly the city, town or section Unemployed Committee is to be in charge of all work in its territory. For the purpose of facilitating the work and carrying through the various phases of it, there should be set up auxiliary or sub-committees charged with the respective phases of the work, such as the struggle against evictions, the securing of food for children, for women and young workers, legal aid defense assistance during strikes, recruiting, press and agitation, regular publications of "unemployed papers," etc. The Unemployed Committees are to supervise all the work, and meetings of all workers are to be convened at which reports on these activities are made. Such meetings should be organized frequently and regularly. At such meetings, at which all workers who are unemployed, should attend, the workers may approve or disapprove of the work of the committees, decide to remove any member of the Unemployed Committee or decide to have new elections. In all these organizations, we must establish a genuine democracy and bring forward the initiative of the unemployed, and develop cadres from the ranks of the unemployed. Special attention must be given to the development of hundreds of leading workers in all cities from the ranks of the unemployment. Without this no permanent and systematic work on a mass scale can be organized..

(b) Only by organizing the struggle for the minutest interests of the unemployed, and showing to the unemployed, through their own experience, how through struggle they can secure relief, can we enlist the mass of the unemployed around our organizations. Concrete demands are to be formulated for all the Unemployed Committees in their sphere. In the employment agencies, the Unemployed Committees are to put forward the demands for fare and lunches when coming for employment. At the soup kitchens the unemployed should put forward demands for sufficient and good food and fight against any form of discrimination. At the lodging houses, demands are to be put forward for clean beds, no limit on the time unemployed can stay, and similar demands. At all the institutions, the demand for the control and administration by the unemployed themselves, must be put forward. In the neighborhoods, we must demand free rent for the unemployed, free

gas, electricity, water, etc. The committee must put forward demands for food, fuel, milk for the children, etc. Demands must be put forward for relief to the young workers, and the setting up of lodging houses for the homeless young workers. Such demands must be linked up with the struggle against the terror against the unemployed, discrimination, etc. All these demands must be elaborated, developed, and modified by the unemployed themselves on the basis of their experience.

(c) In the center of our activity among the unemployed, and on the basis of the struggle for immediate relief must go the demand for unemployment insurance, amounting to full wages and to be paid to all unemployed throughout the period of unemployment. In the meantime, this demand must be made to the city, town and state governments. The fight for unemployment insurance must also be organized where possible on state lines, though the center of the campaign is the fight for federal unemployment insurance.

(d) The fight for the 7-hour day, without reduction in the weekly earnings, and the fight against rationalization, must form an important part of the struggle of the unemployed, jointly with the employed. The fight against high prices and high rents, which must be developed, forms the further basis for joint struggle of the employed and unemployed. The fight against "forced labor" and for union scales on all jobs given to the unemployed, the fight against the Hoover-Green stagger plan is an important weapon to unite the employed and unemployed in joint struggle. Similarly, we must enlist the employed workers to fight against overtime, by demanding the shorter work day without reduction in pay and for wage increases.

(e) At the same time, while intensifying the fight for relief and unemployment insurance, the Unemployed Committees must organize their own collection of relief on a neighborhood scale, and distribute it to the starving, unemployed through soup kitchens and commissaries. This work can serve to strengthen the work among the unemployed and if it is properly connected up, forms the basis for the extension of the fight for relief from the government and its institutions.

(f) The struggle for relief and unemployment insurance can only be successfully carried through on the basis of the organization of the unemployed. The Councils are to carry through this work by mass demonstrations at city halls, employment agencies, charity institutions, through local county and state hunger marches, through work in the unions of the T.U.U.L., through serious work in the A. F. of L. unions and peneration of all workers' organizations,

etc. At all meetings of the government bodies, councils, legislatures, etc., unemployed delegations and demonstrations must appear with their demands. While we must fight against the tendency to underestimate organization and rely solely upon mass demonstrations, we must at the same time fight against the tendency to minimize the importance of the organization of militant mass demonstrations which should be the result of and lead to the organization of the unemployed.

The following is a summary of the basic demands upon which the struggle must be organized:

(a) Unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and employers, securing to every wage worker his full wages when unemployed for any reason, to be administered by the insured workers organized in self-governing bodies on a territorial basis.

(b) Immediate relief in lump sum from the government treasury for each unemployed worker with additional amount for each dependent.

(c) Shortening of the excessive hours of labor on the basis of: 7-hour day for all workers without reduction of weekly earnings; 6-hour day for miners and dangerous occupations; abolition of child labor under 14 and a provision of vocational training with government support; 4-hour day for youth workers up to 16 and 6-hour day up to 20 years.

(d) Prohibition of eviction of workers from their homes for non-payment of rent when unemployed for any reason. Free rents, gas, light, water, etc. for the unemployed at government expense. Free distribution of milk for all children of unemployed.

(e) The struggle against the Hoover schemes of public works which are designed as preparations for war, as wage-cutting expedients and systems of forced labor. Against the Hoover public works program we demand the inauguration of the program of building workers homes to replace the present horrible barracks inhabited by millions of underpaid and unemployed workers, building of workers' hospitals, nurseries, etc. All public building to be at trade union wage rates and the 7-hour day.

(f) Absolute prohibition of all forms of forced labor or coercion of any kind in connection with relief and insurance.

(g) Development of trade relations with the Soviet Union (including the demand for recognition of the Soviet Union, not only as a fundamental requirement of international working class solidarity, but also as a vital economic need of the starving masses) in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly grow-

ing demands of the successful construction of the workers' government and its Five-Year Plan.

The Communist Party demands the financing of all forms of insurance and relief by a diversion to this purpose of all military, naval and police appropriations, sharp reduction of official salaries, sharply graduated income tax on all incomes above \$5,000, graduated capital levy on all fortunes above \$100,000.

17. The immediate program of action shall cover the period of 4 months, September to December. In the center of this campaign shall be the fight for immediate relief to the unemployed and the part time workers. Demands for immediate relief shall be made upon the town, city, state and national governments. One of the main features in the fight for immediate relief shall be the demand for a fixed sum of winter relief (\$150 for every unemployed worker and \$50 for every additional dependent.) At the same time the fight for unemployment insurance must be made a central feature of the campaign. This demand, together with the demand for winter relief, shall be made upon the national government at the time of the opening of Congress December 2nd.

The following plan of action is to serve as the basis for the campaign. The dates set must not be observed literally, but are merely a guide to action to be adapted to the local situation and the present activities.

(a) In connection with the reports of the C.C. Plenum, the District Committees and the leading Party and trade union functionaries are to be mobilized for the campaign.

(b) Special meetings of every Party nucleus should take place. At this meeting the entire program of action is to be taken up and discussed, and the tasks for the unit (street and shop) and for every member of the nucleus, decided upon. The nucleus shall select an unemployment work director who shall be charged with responsibility to the nucleus bureau for the unemployment activity of the nucleus, through the unemployed council. All material (leaflets, outlines, etc.) are to be prepared during this period.

(c) Mass meetings should be called in the neighborhoods at which discussion is to take place on the program of action, and committees elected. The existing branches are to be activized through the election of committees and the mapping out of a concrete program for the neighborhood. Similarly committees should be elected at the employment agencies, breadlines, factories, etc. These committees shall form in the larger sections, Unemployed Councils on a section scale and, in the smaller cities and towns, on a city or town scale. At all the mass meetings and agencies, etc., where the committees are elected, the unemployed workers should be reg-

istered, and some form of card designating their affiliation to the unemployed organization given to the unemployed. Those now holding regular membership cards shall exchange them for such cards. The unemployed councils and committees in the various sections of the city shall start meetings where all the unemployed and employed can attend and listen to reports of the activities, give their approval or disapproval of the recommendations, plans of work, etc.

During this period steps must be taken to activize all the unions of the T.U.U.L. and the oppositions in the A. F. of L. unions, for the program among the unemployed. Special efforts must be made to form committees inside the A. F. of L. unions and utilize the fight against unemployment to develop the struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy on the basis of the most pressing economic issues.

(d) Unemployed demonstrations should be organized in the cities and towns and county hunger marches. The county marches provide a means of deepening the struggle, much more than was accomplished through the state hunger marches. Attention must be given to the preparation of the marches. During the month of October the program for immediate relief, *winter relief*, and the fight for unemployment insurance, must reach millions of unemployed and employed workers. For this reason, we must penetrate deeper into the neighborhoods, into the workers' homes, at the factories, wherever the unemployed gather, in the A. F. of L. unions, the workers' fraternal organizations, etc. Resolutions favoring our program should be adopted wherever possible. In this work, we must utilize the more than half a million individual signatures demanding unemployment insurance, collected last winter and now in the hands of the district organizers.

(e) The first two weeks in November must be used for the election of the delegates to the National Hunger March to Washington, timed with the opening of Congress. We must strive by this time to have so popularized our program and strengthened our contact with the masses of the unemployed, that hundreds of thousands of unemployed will participate in the meetings where the delegates are to be elected.

The delegation, which shall be a mass delegation of from one to two thousand, must include Negro, unemployed, women and children of the unemployed, young workers and representatives of as many unions as possible.

The Workers International Relief shall be drawn in to help in the organization of the march, the collection of food, clothing, means of transportation, shelter at Washington, etc.

(f) On December 2, the day of the opening of Congress, and

the demonstration of the hunger marchers at Washington, there shall be organized nation-wide demonstrations in every city and town in front of the government bodies, to be preceded or followed by parades through the workers' neighborhoods and the largest factories. A conference of all delegates and hunger marchers shall take place in Washington in connection with the hunger march.

(g) Both in their march to and from Washington, we must organize to reach the masses of the unemployed. For this purpose, organizers are to be sent out in advance of the line of march by the various Districts, to prepare for the coming of the delegates, the organizations of mass meetings, etc. Also in the organization of the march itself, we must take care to provide sufficient literature and experienced agitators. We must aim as a result of the hunger march not only to build organizations of the unemployed, but also to recruit members into the T.U.U.L. unions and Party.

(h) Upon the return of the hunger marchers from Washington (from the first to the second weeks in December) there shall be organized first meetings by the Councils to hear the reports and the next tasks; and mass demonstrations (exact date to be fixed later but just before Christmas) at which the reports are to be given and the masses mobilized for the continuation of the struggle. Between December 2 and these demonstrations there should be prepared and ready the plan of work for the first three months in 1932.

(i) In the entire period of activity when this program is being carried into effect, it is necessary to connect up the struggle of the unemployed with the election campaign and to draw the masses around the platform of struggle of the Communist Party. It is necessary to connect up the struggle of the employed with the election campaign and to draw the masses around the platform of struggle of the Communist Party. It is necessary to draw the unemployed around the strikes now in progress and the developing strike struggles. In the struggle against the war danger, we must particularly aim to draw the masses of the unemployed into the November 7 demonstrations. This will only be possible if this work is developed on the basis of the concrete demands of the unemployed and the slogans properly fused. One of the major questions that must be brought to the attention of the unemployed is the fight against deportations, lynchings, and the general terror of the government and the fascists and social-fascists.

(j) In addition special programs of tasks for each of the most important districts are to be worked out in consultation with the district leaderships.

18. In order to carry through the above program effectively and to crystallize the organization of the unemployed, as a result of these struggles, the present weaknesses and shortcomings in the organizations and the methods of work must be overcome. The Party must through its membership in these organizations, see that this is effected in the shortest possible time. It is necessary that the District Committees look upon unemployment work as a central task and assume full responsibility for the work; that the Party nuclei be mobilized; that the fractions be built in the unemployed organizations; that experienced Party mass workers be assigned to work in the unemployed organizations and that every effort be made to draw leading cadres from the unemployed; that the present methods of leadership be replaced by real internal democracy and the development of the initiative of the unemployed masses; that the *united front* be utilized to broaden the work; that every effort be made to draw in the unemployed still under the influence of the fascist and social fascist organizations and leaders; that the activity of the unemployment committees be developed, that we overcome the present sporadic actions and replace them by daily systematic work; that demonstrations shall be the result of organizations and not a substitute for it; that a broad agitation and propaganda campaign be developed among the unemployed and the unemployed organizations.

PLENUM RESOLUTION

(Continued from page 837)

the drive against foreign-born workers, the new wave of persecution of the Negro masses raises sharply the question of our defense policy and the status and the role of the International Labor Defense. The correct policies worked out by the I.L.D. to meet the new conditions of the class struggle are still not being applied in most districts and are applied insufficiently in all districts. It is necessary that not only the leading, responsible comrades shall thoroughly master the I.L.D. policies, but also that these policies shall be made known to the broadest masses of revolutionary workers. The organizational weaknesses of the I.L.D. in the center and especially in the districts and localities must be remedied by the assignment of adequate and leading forces. The mass base of the I.L.D. must at all costs be broadened and consolidated organizationally.

Cultural Compulsives or Calverton's New Caricature of Marxism

By A. LANDY

I.

THE latest attack on the theory of revolutionary Marxism comes from the so-called "Cultural Communists" in the person of V. F. Calverton. In the last issue of his *Modern Quarterly*, Calverton avows himself a Communist to the entire world. He is convinced that Communism, which in his opinion is primarily a philosophy of culture, is the only sane solution to the problems raised by capitalism. In fact, he calls upon every victim of this "hideous system" not only to side with Communism but to take active part in effecting a revolutionary change.

However, behind Calverton's public avowal of adherence to Communism there looms a fundamental criticism of its philosophy which reveals him as a person utterly alien to the theory of revolutionary Marxism. Aside from the fact that he does not call upon the "victims of capitalism" to join or support the *party* of Communism he insists that any "critical person can point out some very significant inadequacies in the philosophy of Communism."

Calverton, of course, tries to dismiss these "significant inadequacies" as unimportant and of concern only to a person more interested in details than in the larger aspects of Communism. In fact, he believes that an acknowledgement of these "inadequacies" need not prevent a person from remaining a Communist.

But it is significant that Calverton's latest literary efforts are an elaboration of just these "inadequacies" of Communism rather than of its larger and more acceptable aspects.

His theory of "Cultural Compulsives," which we shall examine in this article, is not an exposition of Communism but a fundamental and irreconcilable revision of its philosophical basis. It undertakes to supply an independent explanation of the social mechanism "at work in the rise and fall of ideas and their authors" in direct opposition to the Communist theory of historical materialism. And it does this by reiterating the time-worn and reactionary dogmas that the social validity of ideas is more important than their truth or untruth and that objectivity is impossible in the social sciences.

Both of these conceptions are subjective notions totally incompatible with the acceptance and particularly the conduct of an active

revolutionary policy. A person simply cannot propagate these ideas and remain true to the fundamental principles of Communism.

In fact, even from Calverton's own point of view, it is logically inconsistent for him to stand by his position and at the same time accept a set of principles which are entirely opposed to it. If, as he maintains, Communism is primarily a philosophy of culture, its rejection of his own theory of culture should represent a basic defect in the philosophy of Communism and not merely a negligible, even if significant, inadequacy. To disagree with what you consider the most basic theory of Communism and yet at the same time claim to adhere to the larger and consequently basic aspects of Communism is an untenable contradiction in terms.

We need only examine the material setting of Calverton's ideas to perceive the irreconcilable conflict between his dogmas and the principles of Communism. The general crisis of capitalism, aggravated by the economic crisis, generates precisely such subjective notions as advanced by Calverton. Whole sections of the population are being precipitated out of their accustomed economic status. Economic insecurity and uncertainty are haunting them like an inescapable spectre. Old relations, customs and beliefs are in a state of accelerated disintegration. All of society is pervaded with an acute and ominous sense of instability. All this further increases the discrepancy between original intention and final result, so characteristic of human activity in capitalist society. And as a result, the feeling of social impotence produced by this is intensified and extended.

Capitalism is unable to maintain its system intact; and this has its counterpart in various expressions of intellectual impotence. The social decay and disintegration characteristic of capitalism today serve to increase the mental doubt as to the possibility of objective knowledge, hasten the growth of fideism and subjectivism and generally increase the force and scope of illusion, all of which are already inherent in capitalist society.

Every Communist, of course, understands that his first duty is to combat and not to reflect this impotence. Revolution is the most critical and decisive time in the life of the masses, and it requires a firm will, a clear understanding of the goal and an unshakable conviction of its objective realizability. The task of a Communist is to arouse in the masses the revolutionary determination and energy necessary for the conflict, to build their revolutionary consciousness and to develop their sense of power.

But how can all this be accomplished without the full consciousness and knowledge that the material and social conditions are ripe for revolutionary change? A successful revolution depends upon a correct revolutionary strategy and tactics, upon a scientific analysis

of the correlation of class forces—and this is inconceivable without *objective* knowledge.

If the conviction that a Communist revolution is both necessary and possible is not based upon objective knowledge, then there is no objective guarantee that our cause is not doomed beforehand and will not remain a mere impotent, utopian aspiration for the realization of which there are no material prerequisites. If our convictions are not scientifically valid, then Kautsky's social-fascist theory of a period of ultra-imperialism is just as possible and just as true as the Communist theory of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism. Certainly it is impossible to accept Kautsky's theory and at the same time admit that capitalism is in an impasse which can only be broken down by a Communist revolution. Calverton, however, is in the unenviable position of insisting that all the conditions for such a revolution are present but that no one can really *know* that they are. The spirit is willing, but the mind is weak.

All this leads to only one conclusion: Calverton's effort to correct the "significant inadequacies" in the philosophy of Communism represents a substitution of decadent bourgeois subjectivism for the revolutionary objectivity of Marxism. Its sole effect is to undermine the prestige of Marxism among the proletariat while simultaneously introducing the impotent and paralyzing ideology of the disintegrating bourgeoisie—and this at a time when all the revolutionary *power* of the masses is needed for the final struggle.

When one who claims to be a Communist introduces among the masses the uncertainty, the impotence, the doubts and contradictions which characterize the bourgeoisie in its last stages—he is in every respect an enemy within the ranks of the proletariat. It becomes the immediate duty of Marxism to expose and combat his counter-revolutionary poison.

We said there is only one conclusion. We were mistaken; there is still another: when a man is destined by nature to be a petty-bourgeois shop-keeper, weighing out sugar and coffee, but is made by fate a man of letters, weighing out ideas—it is hardly to be expected that his literary work will reflect anything but his shop-keeper's soul.

II.

Let us examine Calverton's theory of the "rise and fall of ideas and their authors." According to this theory, which was recently published as an introduction to an anthology of anthropology, every class society develops cultural compulsives or vested interests in cultural complexes. Each class has its own special interests which act as a determining factor or compulsive in the formation of doctrines and interpretations.

This dependence of ideas upon class interests renders the truth or untruth of any theory unimportant beside the influence it exerts in any field and in the field of the social sciences in particular. In fact, it is not the scientific truth of a doctrine that is significant, but its social meaning or validity. Or, as Calverton puts it:

“It is not what has usually been called the truth of their doctrine which makes them so powerful, but their adaptability to other interests, class interests in the main, which they subserve. It is these other, these more basic, interests that turn these ideas into cultural compulsives, invest them with social meanings which are more important than their intrinsic content.”

One might suppose that the vested interest factor, having rendered the truth of ideas unimportant in social life, would be satisfied to stop with this accomplishment. According to Calverton, however, it does not halt until it has rendered objective truth totally impossible in the social sciences. Indeed, in his opinion, “the actual claim to objectivity in the social sciences has been largely a defense mechanism, an attempt unconsciously to cover up the presence of compulsive factors and convictions. No mind can be objective in its interpretation and evaluation of social phenomena. One can be objective only in the observation of detail or the collection of facts—but one cannot be objective in their interpretation. Interpretation necessitates a mind-set, a purpose, an end.”

With the class factor exerting such a fundamental influence on one's ideas, it is not surprising that Calverton's theory involves him in a series of contradictions which culminate in the self-annihilation of every proposition he advances. He carefully explains that objectivity is impossible in the social sciences, and yet this explanation is supposed to be the objective law controlling the rise and fall of ideas. He sets out to refute the bourgeois claim that science is above classes, but ends up by claiming with the bourgeoisie that where there are classes, there is no science. In a word, whatever he sets out to achieve, he concludes by achieving the opposite; and what he really succeeds in proving is that the subjective contradictions of a petty-bourgeois intellectual are only an objective reflection of the anarchy of capitalist production in which the original intention hardly ever coincides with the final result.

Calverton's latest venture in social theory reminds one very strongly of two tiny grains of rice exploded to many times their normal size. The only difference between the usual breakfast food and Calverton's pabulum is that the former is called puffed rice while Calverton calls his “cultural compulsives.”

Calverton, of course, offers his commodity as something new in the field of social theory but as we shall see, it is only a new proof of how impudent and incurable eclecticism sometimes may be.

Certainly the dogmas comprising this "theory" are neither very original nor very profound—unless originality consists in inflating a couple of borrowed ideas and profundity is measured by the inextricable confusion in which they are involved.

Whatever difference there is between the original ideas and Calverton's version of them is surely not in Calverton's favor. The original ideas, at least, represent unadulterated, clean-cut subjectivism. As transmitted by Calverton, however, they have become two disfigured hybrids, representing an abortive attempt to reconcile subjectivism with objectivism, materialism with idealism, or, in plain class terms, the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. The final product is an anemic, halting, undigested and utterly helpless self-contradiction.

Take Calverton's first proposition, for example. This consists of two contradictory parts borrowed from utterly irreconcilable viewpoints. The first asserts that science and ideas are not above classes; the second—that the truth or untruth of ideas are immaterial to their social role. The first is taken bodily from Marx; the second is a variation of the social "myth" theory which was developed *in direct opposition* to Marxism and aimed primarily at its claim to objective scientific validity.

The "social myth" theory as advanced by N. K. Mikhailovsky, Sorel, Max Beer, Sidney Hook and others does not deny the possibility of objective truth in the social sciences; it merely denies that Marxism is an objective science. The "myth" theory as advanced by Calverton not only denies that Marxism is an objective science, but denies that any science is possible at all in the study of society.

In other words, Calverton not only arrives at the same conclusion as do the opponents of Marxism, but he does this by being more reactionary than even these bourgeois ideologists. Where they deny objectivity to anyone but themselves he impartially denies it to bourgeoisie and proletariat alike. Instead of supplying a new explanation of the rise and fall of ideas, his theory, therefore, merely represents a new attack on the basic foundation of scientific socialism.

The Russian populist, Mikhailovsky, used "Calverton's" argument as far back as 1894, undoubtedly never dreaming that an American edition of himself would continue his fight against Marxism as late as 1931. Materialism, Mikhailovsky said, has been discredited in the field of science, but it is spreading among the masses because of its strong appeal to their hopes for a better future.

Max Beer, in his "Life and Teachings of Karl Marx," likewise presented a "social myth" theory which we might strongly suspect of being a reformulation of Calverton's "cultural compulsives"

had not Beer's book been written many years before Calverton announced his theory.

According to Beer, Marx supplied the proletariat with a series of political and economic slogans which are not true in themselves, but which served as a battle cry in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

"Such militant philosophies (as Marxism)," Beer writes with every appearance of having copied literally from Calverton, "need not in themselves be true, only they must accord with the sentiments of the struggling masses. It is with such philosophical fictions that humanity works."

But perhaps the clearest mirror of the reactionary, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary character of Calverton's theory is the "myth" theory, developed without the "hindrance" of a "labor" point of view, by Edward S. Mason, assistant professor of economics at Harvard University. This bourgeois professor who formulated his ideas after Beer but before Calverton, tries to prove that Marx's interpretation of the Paris Commune does not correspond to the facts. In spite of this, Mason contends, Marx created a legend which acquires tremendous social importance in the development of the socialist movement.

"This legend," Mason writes with a strong suggestion of having plagiarized Calverton's ideas even before they were written, "has been and is of more importance in the moulding of history than the historical reality itself. The Commune in the hands of Marx and his disciples has become a living and active force. The legend is more vital than the fact. Socialism has taken the Commune from the history of France and has made of it a battle cry for the proletariat of the world."

Mason, of course, is unshakably convinced that Marxism is unscientific, both in its general theory of history as well as in its interpretation of the Paris Commune; and his reason for this conviction is precisely the reason that Calverton advances, namely that Marxism is unscientific because it views history from the viewpoint of the interests of a class. But the agreement between Mason's and Calverton's conceptions extend even farther than this. Calverton, the ardent "Communist," insists that where there is interpretation there must be purpose, and where there is purpose there can be no objective science. Mason, the unadulterated, pure bourgeois, advances the same argument and insists that no interpretation or philosophy of history can be scientific; in fact, historical interpretation can only result in the production of historical legends, such as the Marxian legend of the Paris Commune.

In other words, this bourgeois "scientist" who contends that capitalism is here not to be theorized about but to be accepted, is even

afraid of his shadow, let alone the spectre of Communism. He is therefore not only against the *Marxian* philosophy of history, but against *all* philosophy of history. He is convinced that it is safer not to bother with any theory lest even the shadow develop into a real revolutionary spectre.

“Marxian socialism, taking its stand on the economic interpretation of history,” Mason argues, “leads naturally to the creation of an historical mythology. Marx’s great contribution to the socialist movement was the ‘scientific’ demonstration that a socialist order of society is historically inevitable. Since the forces which are so inexorably engaged in producing this desired end and make themselves manifest in history, there exists for Marxian socialists a practically uncontrollable tendency to discover in every historical event the evidence of the operation of these beneficent forces. This is not to say, of course, that other definitely formulated philosophies of history do not have the same effect upon their votaries. But in the Marxian interpretation, the evolution of history leads to results so eminently desirable to socialists that an extraordinary incentive to misrepresentation is unavoidable.”

This last sentence in particular might just as well have been written by the “Communist” Calverton.

Calverton also maintains that Marxists are not interested in scientific results, but merely in justifying their desired ends. In “proof” of this contention, he cites Engels’ reaction to the anthropological theories of Morgan. Engels, Calverton says, immediately seized upon Morgan’s doctrines, not because “they represented the final word in anthropological science,” but because they “fitted in so well” with his own doctrine of social revolution, “with the triadic theory of thesis, antithesis and synthesis . . .” and “gave new historic meaning to the cause of the proletariat.” Is this language fundamentally different from the language of the bourgeois professor of Harvard University?

But the innovator Calverton, the inventor of a “new” theory of cultural “compulsives,” is not satisfied with repeating the “arguments” of only one bourgeois professor, and a pure, unadulterated bourgeois at that; he finds it necessary to reiterate the choice “arguments” of every bourgeois critic of Marx since the days of Eugen Duehring fifty years ago.

How old, for example, is Calverton’s contention that Engels seized upon Morgan’s doctrines not because they were the last word in anthropological science but because they fitted in with his triadic doctrine? How many hands and how many countries has this “big gun” of anti-Marxist criticism traversed during the last half century? Every learned ignoramus engaged in annihilating Marxism has depended upon this devastating argument to supply the coup de grace to the vanquished enemy. And Calverton, with the audacity

of ignorance, emboldened by half a century of ignorant predecessors, cites Engels' "enslavement" to the Hegelian triad as "proof" that it is impossible to be objective in the social sciences. Certainly such "proof" demonstrates that it is really impossible for an incurable bourgeois even to approximate objectivity in the mere presentation of the facts. On the other hand, if this is the kind of "proof" on which Calverton's theory of "cultural compulsives" depends, what shall we think of the validity of the entire theory?

Had Calverton even the slightest acquaintance with the literature of Marxism, he would have known that Engels, Plekhanov and Lenin exploded the triadic bubble many decades ago. But he apparently imagines that no one else has ever heard of the triad "argument" before.

Way back in 1894, for example, the above-mentioned Russian Calverton, Mikhailovsky, "proved" that Marx offered no factual evidence that capitalism leads to socialism; that Marx merely deduced this from the Hegelian triad, and that the Marxist conception of history was therefore an unscientific doctrine.

And how did he prove it? By doing what Calverton and all the other bourgeois critics of Marx have done. He merely *asserted* it, perhaps even on the fiat of some predecessor like Eugen Duehring.

When Duehring made the same sweeping claim, what did Engels reply to this piece of oracular wisdom? He replied what anyone with the slightest knowledge of Marxism would have to reply, namely, that Marx never tried to *prove* anything with the help of Hegelian triads and that his sole test of the correctness of any theory was its agreement with the facts of reality.

The appeal to the Hegelian triad as evidence of the unscientific character of Marxism merely reveals an utter ignorance of both Marxism as well as of Hegel's dialectic. Even in Hegel's thought, as Plekhanov has shown and as any one familiar with Hegelian dialectic should know, the triad never plays the role of an *argument* or *proof*; in fact, it is not even a characteristic feature of Hegel's philosophy. Hegel himself always insisted that philosophy was only the consciousness of empirical science. "The abstract or unreal," he wrote in the "Phenomenology of the Mind," "is not philosophy's element and content, but the real, what is self-establishing, has life within itself, existence in its very notion."

The triadic concept is merely a derivation from one of Hegel's more fundamental concepts; it is not itself a basic conception. The change of quantity into quality and vice versa, which is recognized in every science, is certainly a much more fundamental principle both of Hegelian as well as of Marxian dialectics. However, in order to establish this change, it is necessary to study the *real* process in which this change takes place. Anyone occupying himself

with abstract formulas about triads would therefore be violating the fundamental requirements of the dialectic method.

And as a matter of fact, as Lenin has already indicated, Mikhailovsky-Duehring, Bernstein-Calverton are unable to point to a single historical question which Marx tried to solve by means of the triadic formula, instead of by an analysis of the relevant objective facts.

Whoever has taken the trouble to read Marx' and Engels' definition of the dialectic method has necessarily found that its chief requirement is not a search for abstract triads, but a concrete study of the inherent laws of society as it is and as it develops, at a given historical time. It requires an objective analysis of the material relations between people and between man and nature and the form that these relations assume. If social development takes place in the form of triads this is not the fault of the analysis of this development. Certainly, it is not a requirement or condition of this analysis, but its objective product.

Calverton's reiteration of the triad "argument" calls to mind one of Hegel's brilliant observations. "In all spheres of science, art, skill and handicraft," Hegel says, "it is never doubted that in order to master them, a considerable amount of trouble must be spent in learning and in being trained. As regards philosophy, on the contrary, there seems still an assumption prevalent that, though every one with eyes and fingers is not on that account in a position to make shoes if he only gets leather and a last, yet everybody understands how to philosophize straight away, and pass judgment on philosophy simply because he possesses the criterion for doing so in his natural reason—as if he did not in the same way possess the standard for shoemaking too in his own foot." As if, we might add, anyone who knows how to put words together is thereby automatically enabled to "prove" that Marxism is unscientific.

But let us return to the intrinsic content of the "social myth" theory. To say that Marxism exerts great influence among the masses because it serves their interests and not because it is scientific, is to assert a fact in the first instance and an opinion in the second, without, however, offering any explanation as to why it is able to serve these interests. Calverton glibly assumes that these interests are "given"; but the fact is that this is not merely a theoretical question where interests may be assumed at will, but a very complicated question of real historical experience. It took decades of the historical development of the proletariat as well as a long developing socialist movement to determine what precisely are these interests of the workers. For the workers themselves this has been and still is an historical process in which ever new and wider sections awaken to the consciousness of their real interests.

In order to serve the workers interests it is necessary first to de-

termine the nature of these interests. Certainly the illusions of the masses at a given moment of their historical development can hardly be considered as identical with their "real interests." It is precisely to determine what these "real interests" are, to separate their illusions from the real facts of their existence, to ascertain the conditions under which they live and the possibility of controlling and overcoming the conditions which are harmful to them that objective science is needed.

Of all proletarian, socialist theories, Marxism alone has been able to do this; and it has been able to do this only because of its *scientific* character; because Marxism, like every science, has been able to submit its ideas to the test of facts. Marxism is scientific because it initiates and measures action on the basis of the material objective possibilities of realizing its aims; because it accepts ideas only to the extent that they correspond to the facts, regardless of whether these facts coincide with our wishes or not.

However, if Marxism is unscientific, then its influence is growing, not because it correctly explains reality, but because it departs from this reality, because it holds out to the masses unfounded hopes of a better future. In that case, the masses are blindly following an unrealizable illusion which they will surely discard, together with the entire socialist movement, as soon as they are disillusioned; in fact, if Marxism is really an illusion, then they should discard it as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, if Marxism owes its strength to the fact that it serves the interests of the workers, it means that their interests consist in being deluded. If that is so, then one illusion is as good as another, and the workers could adopt any illusion they pleased and their interests would still be served just the same. Of course, the only sense to this nonsense is that it is a brazen even if unsuccessful attempt to discredit the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat. Certainly this "theory" is not calculated to lead anybody out of, but rather deeper and deeper into the capitalist morass.

Every school boy knows that Marxism differs from all previous forms of socialism in the fact that it does not occupy itself with planning utopias, but analyses society as it is, studying the real conditions of the existence and emancipation of the working class. It transforms socialism into a *science* which attempts to study the real forces of social development in the material conditions of men's lives and not merely in their reflection in men's thought and aspirations. Like every science it looks for material and not spiritual causes. To the extent that Marxism deals with the future at all it does this within the limits that any science deals with the "outcome" of its subject matter; it does this on the basis of analysing the forces of development inherent in the present.

There are of course Marx "critics," like Henri de Man, for example, who ignorantly repeat the old bourgeois dogma that Marxian socialism is unscientific because it not only deals with *what is*, but aims at achieving what it thinks *ought to be*.

Of course, if Marxism should fail to distinguish between the material prerequisites of the future and our subjective judgment of what is going to occur or ought to occur, then it would certainly be unscientific. But in view of its consciously materialist character, the distinction between material fact and its subjective reflection in human thought is one of the cardinal principles of Marxism and precisely its strongest feature.

What do we mean when we say something "ought to be"? My fountain pen runs dry. *Now* it is without ink. It will be filled up with ink in the *future*, that is only after I *go* to the inkwell and *fill* the pen with ink. The "future" now becomes the present. In this sense there is no past or future as isolated, unconnected, unbridgeable entities, but a series of actions and events in time. On the other hand, I might want something done for the accomplishment of which no conditions exist. Even though I think it "ought to be," it cannot be accomplished.

In other words, the mere phrase, "it ought to be" does not in itself indicate whether a thing is objectively possible or impossible, scientific or unscientific. "Ought to be" is not the distinguishing point between science and faith. Every action accomplishes an "ought to be," that is, realizes something that does not yet exist. That which determines its realizability, whether my "ought to be" is "scientific," is whether the *conditions* for its realization exist; whether it grows, not out of my *subjective wishes, my ideas*; but out of *objective reality*.

To insist that science cannot give us certainty of what ought to be, ignores the fact first of all that not all that is is "real"; in other words, that that "which is" is a process in time, in which that "which is not" becomes that "which is" and vice versa; but secondly, that the criterion of science is not its *subject matter*—science can study everything—but the method, the objective character and results of our study.

Thus, every Marxist understands that Marxism is increasing its influence among the masses not merely because of the existence of the class struggle and class interests, but because Marxism best understands the objective conditions of this struggle and these interests, and only in this way is it able to serve the interests of the proletariat. It is a significant historic fact, not to be lightly brushed aside, that even after a tremendous revolution involving 160 million people, after 14 years of the most prodigious labor in building up a new social system, in short after every opportunity of looking

behind the back of the social process and of testing the scientific validity of Marxism in practice,—one of the leading Russian Marxists, V. Molotov, unhesitatingly affirmed that the policy of the Soviet government has marched from success to success only because it is based on the scientific character of Marxism. “The policy of the Soviet power itself,” Molotov said in speaking on science and socialist construction at the first All-Union Scientific Research Planning Conference, “proceeds from definite scientific premises. Therein lies its fundamental importance and its *victorious power in social development.*”

To the question whether Marxism could serve the interests of the workers if it were unscientific and untrue, the “myth” theorists can only reply by generalizing the empirical fact that certain ideas have called forth important, objective social actions, although these ideas themselves were not intrinsically true. This transformation of a fact which in any specific instance may be true into a general “law” not only explains nothing, but actually confuses the real relation between truth and illusion towards utility and social effectiveness.

If Marxism does not correspond to social reality, if its truth is absolutely immaterial to the growth of its influence how shall we account for its powerful hold upon millions of people all over the world? Religion once also answered the needs of whole masses. But if we deny the necessity of truth as the condition for the permanent and increasing power and effect of ideas, we must conclude that religion has not only continued to gain in influence, but that it will always remain an ever-growing power in social life. Such a conclusion, however, is not only absurd, but it does not even correspond with the facts as they are today. The power of religion, from a large historical point of view, is not gaining, and the reason for this is the continual advance of objective knowledge; and with the disappearance of the social conditions that give rise to illusions and to control over us by the products of our brain and of our labor, religion will disappear together with its material basis.

Calverton’s theory approaches the entire question from an entirely theoretical, purely verbal point of view. However, the moment we pass out of the sphere of ideas as such and inquire into the relation of truth to *action*, the matter takes on an entirely different aspect. If the truth or untruth of ideas are immaterial, which ideas shall we adopt as the basis of our actions? Is there even any need to distinguish between true and illusory ideas? From the point of view of practical action, the denial of the necessity of such a distinction is simply suicidal. The utter emptiness of this conception is obvious the moment the matter is considered from the point of view of these very purposes and ends which come so glibly from Calver-

ton's tongue. In order to achieve our purposes, we must conform to objective conditions, and in order to determine these conditions science is necessary. Wishes may remain pious intentions unless the material prerequisites for their realization really exist and are fulfilled. I may wish to build a house, but unless I conform to the scientific laws of building construction, the whole structure may come down like a house of cards.

The relation of truth to practical achievements is further illustrated in the "scientific fiction" theories of such bourgeois idealist philosophers as Bradley, Mach and Bergson. These theories, which maintain that science operates with pure fictions, such as ether, corpuscles of light, etc., all of which are useful but not literally true, is the counterpart in the physical sciences of the fiction-myth theory in the social sciences. In fact, the whole theory of useful fictions, which is advanced as the highest achievement of philosophical understanding, represents the worst illusions of bourgeois philosophy. In spite of the fact that it is being peddled about by some of the greatest contemporary bourgeois mathematicians, it is a purely idealist conception which has been rejected by the main stream of scientific thought and practice. It draws its sustenance from the decay of the material capitalist world.

It is sufficient indication of the reactionary character of the "social myth" theory that it ransacks precisely the theoretical arsenal of the bourgeois idealists and takes over conceptions that even bourgeois scientists are forced to reject.

Calverton's conception that the truth is immaterial is essentially the same as Vaihinger's theory of "genuine fictions." But even such a perfectly bourgeois thinker as Morris R. Cohen, who cannot tolerate the sight of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, has exposed the absurdity of the scientific fiction theory.

"Contrary to the contention of Vaihinger," Cohen says, "none of the so-called fictions of science involve any contradiction. If they do so, they could not be useful, since no consistent inferences could be drawn from them. Even when not completely true, they are analogies which offer useful suggestions just to extent that they are true. To the extent that they fail, they are subject to the process of correction." (*Reason and Nature*, p. 162.)

The scientific fiction theory tries to show that everything is a mental construction with no counterpart in reality. Vaihinger, for example, divides all fictions into genuine fictions which involve self-contradiction, and semi-fictions which are constructions not in agreement with reality. However, as Cohen points out, if Vaihinger's genuine fictions really involved self-contradiction, they would not have the explanatory power which makes them so useful in science.

Thus the typical fiction which Vaihinger cites is the so-called imaginary number $\sqrt{-1}$, which is supposed to be one of the clearest examples of a useful device based on a logical impossibility.

"The reason which leads so many to regard entities like the $\sqrt{-1}$ as fictional is that they can see no substantial counterpart to them in the objective world. But if we forego the Aristotelian prepossession and adopt the relational logic there is no difficulty in pointing to the exact place in the objective world where the $\sqrt{-1}$ is to be found. We only have to keep in mind that it is not a thing nor the property of a thing, but a relation or transformation of things."

In plain English, therefore, the "Communist" and self-styled Marxist, Calverton, adopts the metaphysical mechanical logic of things rather than processes and relations, and shows himself reactionary and fideistic even in comparison with the avowed opponent of Communism, Cohen, who is able to give Calverton and his ilk a lesson in the necessity of viewing nature dialectically. And, without realizing it, no doubt, Cohen illustrates how the failure to view things dialectically can lead, as it does in Calverton's case, to an idealistic, fictional and essentially religious conception of reality and truth.

Marxism also admits the existence of social "fictions." "Capital" and "value" are economic categories which have no physical existence as such. It would be impossible for any one to discover capital or value as physical entities in any machine or other physical object of capitalist production. Nevertheless these categories are real categories of bourgeois society, expressing the production relations between people in the form of commodity relations between things. But it is precisely the task of social science to get beneath just such social appearances and social "fictions" and to determine the material conditions and class relations that give rise to them, establishing the specific modes and laws of their existence.

In short, Marxism recognizes the role, but also the material basis of fictions and illusions, and does not transform them into independent, absolute and all-determining entities. It has consequently insisted from its very inception that the struggle against illusions is necessarily a struggle against the conditions that require illusions. Calverton, on the other hand, not only lives by his petty-bourgeois illusions, but attempts to enforce them upon the working class at a time when illusions are most dangerous and revolutionary clarity is most vital in their lives.

(To be concluded)

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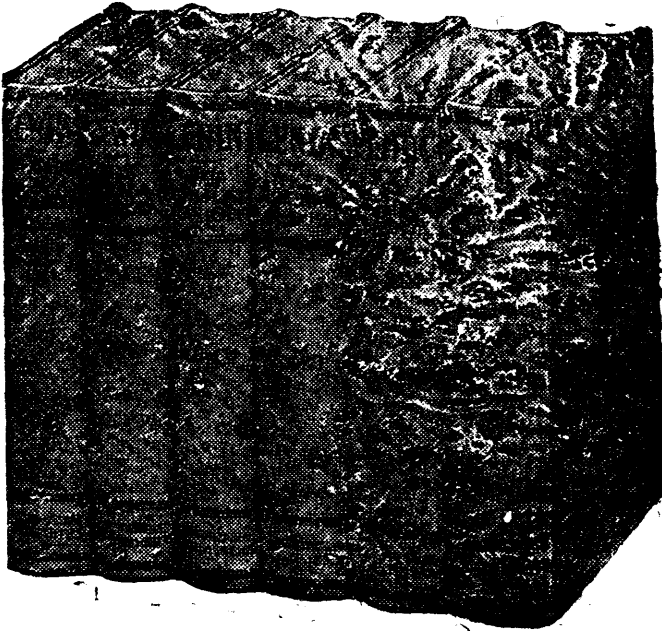
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