

Keynote of the 13th Plenum of Communist International Is Turning Crisis of Capitalist System Into the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution

Comrade Browder Reports to 18th Meeting of Central Committee on Carrying Out of the Party's Tasks

The following is the text of the Report of Comrade Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., delivered at the 18th meeting of the Central Committee in New York, Jan. 18, 1934:

Comrades: The 13th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which finished its sessions in the middle of December, had to sum up the new features in the world situation for the period of fifteen months since the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. To give the answer to the new questions that have been raised before the international movement in this period, and to give an estimate of the present moment in the world situation. The Thesis of the 13th Plenum, embodying the answers to these questions, was published in the Daily Worker on Jan. 13, and you have all had the opportunity to study its document.

You will remember that the central point of the decisions of the 12th Plenum in 1932 was the judgment of the world situation, that capitalist stabilization had ended and that we were in a period of transition to a new round of wars and revolutions. This judgment of the 12th Plenum was completely confirmed by all the vents in the fifteen months until the 13th Plenum met. It was not necessary to revise in any way the judgment arrived at by the 12th Plenum. The 13th Plenum, basing itself upon those correct decisions and upon the examination of the events since then, has everything that has happened in the intervening period emphasizes the

AN EXAMINATION OF ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES

Let us examine a few of these larger world developments in the relation to their effect upon the crisis of capitalism. Let us take the policies of the Roosevelt government, the New Deal in all its aspects, which is one of the main stages of the socialist arguments for the capitalist recovery from the crisis. Is it in any way true that the Roosevelt policies have improved the situation for capitalism? We need not examine one by one the Roosevelt policies to disprove this immediately. When we see what the Roosevelt policy of inflation means in the situation of the world capitalism, it immediately becomes clear that far from bringing new elements of stability into the world, this inflation policy has delivered shattering blows to the capitalist world. It has upset every relation of forces in the world market, and in world politics. It has not only brought about the extreme sharpening of the class relations within the country, representing the most far-going offensive against the living standards of the American masses, but has at the same time been an imperialist offensive throughout the world against the imperialist states of the United States. It has meant the extreme sharpening of the struggle for markets; it has inaugurated a world-wide currency war; it has changed the balance of power; it has disturbed all political alignments in the world, and in combination with other factors, has brought about such a sharpening of the international relations as has not been known before except in the midst of general war.

It is only for the purpose of creating new illusions among the masses, that the bourgeoisie speaks of the Roosevelt policies as having a stabilizing effect in the world situation. These illusions are very clear in the case of having the opposite effect, that of bringing the international antagonisms to the breaking point.

Let us examine the second great development in the world—the rise of Hitler-fascism to power in Germany. Is this, as the social fascists and renegades say, introducing new elements of stability into the world situation of capitalism? Far from it. The policy of the Hitler regime not

correctness of that judgment and brings us at this time to the point where we are very closely approaching a world revolutionary situation. The Thesis of the 13th Plenum declared that the mainstays of capitalism are already being destroyed. The world economic crisis, which is most closely interwoven with the general crisis of capitalism, sharpens all the cardinal contradictions of the capitalist world to such an extent that a turn may take place at any moment which will mean the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The Plenum declared that the great task before the international proletariat is to prepare to turn this crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution. This is the keynote of the 13th Plenum.

The Social-Democracy, the Second International, and all the various attachments to it, the renegade groups, the left social-fascists, have interpreted the events of the past 15 months in the opposite sense. They reject the conclusions of the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., and see instead the beginning of a new period of stabilization for world capitalism, a period in which capitalism has won a victory over the proletariat and entered a more or less protracted period of fascist reaction. The 13th Plenum gives a great deal of attention to disproving thoroughly the social-fascist thesis, making clear for the world movement the true significance of these big events that have taken place in the past 15 months.

only hastens the development of a catastrophic situation for the German masses, but introduces new strains and new disorders into the international relations of the capitalist powers. We shall go into a more detailed examination of the problems raised by the rise of Hitler in dealing with the problems of the struggle against fascism; at this moment it is sufficient to point out that German fascism, arising on the basis of the accentuation of every contradiction, internal and external, of world capitalism, represents a sharpening of the crisis of German capitalism, and a sharpening of the whole world crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The third factor to be mentioned as a characteristic of the past fifteen months is that in every capitalist country, there has taken place a general lowering of the living standards of the masses, a general all-around attack upon all the toiling sections of the population, and, accompanying this, a sharpening of political repression, of all the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the working class and the toiling farmers, peasantry, and the bourgeoisie itself struggling antagonistic groups, and must resort more and more to extraordinary means to secure united class action.

A fourth feature of this period, which has intensified the chaos of the capitalist world, has been the continued victories of the Chinese Soviet Republic, which, in the past weeks, have already emerged triumphantly from the test of the sixth and Soviet expedition of the Nanking Government, rigged out and financed by American imperialism and assisted politically and materially by British, Japanese and French imperialism. In spite of this great concentration of the forces of reaction against the Chinese Soviets, they have again emerged victorious, creating, in the Far East, a new strong base for the anti-capitalist elements, for the anti-imperialist revolution, intensifying at the same time, all of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, who are beginning to move among themselves for the actual division of China.

THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE WORLD SITUATION

Finally, there is that most important factor in the world situation: the Soviet Union and its socialist construction. In the past fifteen months, there has been a tremendous shift in the relation of forces in the favor of the socialist system of the Soviet Union and against the capitalist world. While the capitalist world has moved steadily forward, consolidating its Socialist inward, continuing the steady advance of socialist industrialization of the country, consolidating the victorious inclusion of agriculture into the socialist economy through the victories of collectivization, which solved the basic economic questions of the country, still presenting difficulties a year ago, so that this year for the Soviet Union what Comrade Stalin described as the last year of economic difficulties for our Socialist Fatherland, is a year upon this basis of the rise of Soviet power to new heights, that the political victories of the Soviet Union have been won in the past year. It is in the light of this change in the relation of world forces that we must understand the whole series of diplomatic victories won by the Soviet Union.

During this past year, since the 12th Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the Soviet Union has emerged as a great industrial power. It has realized in the slogan of the Soviet Union "Communist Party to catch up with and surpass the most advanced countries of the world. The Soviet Union is already second only to the United States in industrial production. And

requires the struggle against social fascism. What is the significance of fascism? It is of the most tremendous political importance for our movement today that our Party answer this question sharply and clearly, in such a way as to make the masses understand this question. The Thesis of the 13th Plenum gives four main characteristics of fascism, which are essential to the understanding of the problem and which our Party must convey to the broadest masses in the U. S.

Let us examine a central problem in the struggle for the majority of the working class, in the preparation of the workers for the proletarian revolution. This is the problem of the struggle against fascism, which also

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF FASCISM

First, the growth of fascism means that the revolutionary crisis and the indignation of the broad masses against the rule of capital is growing. This is the answer to the basic point of the social democracy, which sees in the rise of fascism the defeat of the revolution, which tries to discourage and demoralize the working class by picturing the rise of fascism as the defeat of the proletarian revolution. On the contrary, we must make clear that the rise of fascism is itself an indication of the deepening of the crisis of capitalism and a factor in that deepening, an indication of the rise of the indignation of the broad masses against capitalism.

Secondly, the growth of fascism shows that the capitalists are no longer able to maintain their dictatorship by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general. That is, the rise of fascism is itself realizing one of the basic preconditions of the revolutionary crisis. It is the realization of that condition which Lenin long ago pointed out to us as one of the preconditions for the struggle for power of the working class, that condition when the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the old methods. Fascism is an expression of that condition.

Thirdly, that, moreover, the methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy in general are becoming a hindrance to the capitalists both in their internal politics as well as in their foreign politics. That the policies of finance capital today require that the capitalists themselves carry through measures which destroy the existing apparatus of control, which destroy the old social forms and relationships and introduce conditions of instability in every feature of life, and thereby destroy among the masses the authority and the influence of the parties and the institutions of capitalist democracy which have hitherto been their main instruments of rule.

And fourthly, that in view of these things the capitalists are compelled to pass over to open terrorist dictatorship within the country and unrestrained chauvinism in foreign politics which represent direct preparation for imperialist war.

From these main characteristics of fascism, which we must make clear to the broadest masses as the basis of our political struggle against fascism, it becomes clear that fascism is born directly out of bourgeois democracy with the help of the social fascists. The rise of fascist tendencies on the part of the bourgeoisie is a sign of the passing of the crisis into a revolutionary crisis, is an inevitable phase of the revolutionary struggle. But on the other hand, we must emphasize that the victory of fascism is not inevitable. Whether fascism is victorious or not depends upon the forces of the fighting working class and its allies; and the development of these fighting forces of the working class depends upon the defeat of the paralyzing influence of the social democracy within the working class.

Therefore, the struggle against fascism, the raising of the broadest masses for the struggle against fascism, is in the first place the struggle to defeat the social democracy, to isolate the social democratic leaders from the masses, to destroy their influence among the masses.

Let us examine the situation in Germany in the light of this analysis of fascism and answer some of the questions which are heard among the broad masses of workers, some questions which rise spontaneously in the minds of the politically uneducated workers, and questions which are especially raised and cultivated by the renegades and the social fascists.

First, let us again answer the question: Why, in Germany, did not the Communist Party seize power in the beginning of 1933? The answer to this question must be repeated again and again. The workers did not seize power in Germany under the leadership of the Communist Party because the influence of the social democracy prevented the workers from developing the struggle against fascism. Social democracy disarmed the work-

THE LESSONS OF THE HEROIC FIGHT OF THE GERMAN C. P. AGAINST FASCISM

What is going on in Germany under the fascist rule? It is difficult to give a detailed answer to all the questions involved in the inner situation in Germany because of the conditions of illegality, because of the extremely difficult conditions under which the German working class is gathering its forces today. One thing is quite clear, that the revolutionary forces of the German working class are consolidating themselves daily and weekly under the conditions of the Hitler terror. The German Communist Party has not been destroyed, but has sunk its roots deeper than ever among the decisive masses of the German working class. The workers who continued under the leadership of the Social Democratic Party a

year ago, are now beginning to come over in large numbers to the German Communist Party.

There are such problems as this, for example, which typify the process which is going on. In some industrial localities in Germany we have social democratic workers coming in organized groups to the Communist Party and requesting to be admitted into the Communist Party in such numbers that the local leadership of the Communist Party has hesitated to take them in on the grounds that the Party has had to conduct a campaign to overcome this hesitation to take

ing class and paved the way for Hitler to come to power. The working class can take power only when the majority of the working class, the decisive sections of the working class, are prepared for the revolutionary struggle and accept revolutionary leadership. The German social democracy still exercised a decisive influence over the majority of the German working class. The role of the social democracy and of the trade union bureaucrats in Germany was decisive and pre-determined the rise of Hitler to power. Hitler came to power not only through the financial assistance of the big capitalists of Germany, but above all, through the direct collaboration of the social democracy and the trade union bureaucrats.

The question is then raised—agreeing with this, is it not necessary that the Communist Party lead the revolutionary section of the German working class in insurrection, in armed struggle against the rise of fascism even though they were in a minority and even though the conditions for a successful struggle were not present? It is especially necessary to give a clear and sharp answer to this question because it has been raised even within the ranks of the Communist Party and even in the leadership of the German Communist Party itself. This tendency within the German Communist Party was represented by Remmele and Neuman, who came forward with the thesis that although it was impossible to take power, although defeat of such an attempt was pre-determined by the rule of the social democracy and the trade union bureaucrats, and although it was lost, yet "heroes" could still have been struck even though it was pre-determined to defeat.

This position, which in words sounds very revolutionary, is of course politically nothing but capitulation to the Social Democracy. It is a complete acceptance of the social democratic understanding of the significance of the rise of fascism and of Hitler. Along with it necessarily goes the view that the victory of Hitler inaugurates a protracted period of fascist reaction and long time delay of the revolution. It is a point of view which denies the possibility of the development of the revolutionary forces within Germany, for the mobilization of the majority of the working class to overthrow Hitler. Its political essence is in no way to be distinguished from the position of the social democracy and the renegades, especially the Trotskyites, that the rise of Hitler opens a new era of fascism.

First of all, this theory is based upon a false analogy between Hitler and Mussolini, between Germany and Italy, and depends upon the comparison of the 10 years of fascist rule in Italy with the perspective of Hitler in Germany. This analogy completely ignores the different period in which these events occur. Italian fascism came to power at the end of the first post-war wave of wars and revolutions, at the beginning of the period of relative stabilization of capitalism. In Italy, fascist rule was maintained in power not by the assistance of a stabilizing capitalist world around Italy. German fascism comes to power in quite opposite circumstances. It rises at the end of capitalist stabilization, at a period when the capitalist world, far from being able to give help toward stabilizing German capitalism, is itself in the deepest crisis, and is itself divided in a thousand sharpening contradictions by which the rise of fascism in Germany itself becomes a central point in deepening all these conflicts and in the immediate development of a world war situation. There are further, the inner problems of German economy which are pre-determined by this world situation, the increasingly catastrophic conditions of German economy which are intensified by the rise of German fascism. Therefore, the influence of the social democracy prevented the workers from developing the struggle against fascism. Social democracy disarmed the work-

ers in large masses of the social democratic workers. Other considerable numbers of social democratic workers, who are not yet ready to join the Communist Party, place themselves at the disposal of the Communist Party for revolutionary work, beg for directives, and accept the Communist Party as the only leader of the daily struggles.

There is a further tendency among Social Democratic workers, among some circles, to try to reconstitute the Social Democratic Party upon an illegal basis, upon the basis of a united front program with the Communist Party and against their old leaders. This is a tendency which is quite dangerous, and against which the German Communist Party has to struggle, but which at the same time is one of the stages of the coming of the social democratic workers to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is more and more penetrating the factories and the fascist factory organizations. It is not necessary for me to give long, detailed examples. They have been reported in the Worker and Daily Worker. I merely cite these things to characterize the process that is going on, the gathering of all revolutionary forces inside and around the German Communist Party.

The last question which must be answered with regard to the development of Germany, is what has become of the Social Democracy. Has it been destroyed? Is it still a danger? The Social-Democratic

Party in Germany as an organization is shattered. But the political influence of the Social-Democracy still exists and is still a main social support of the fascist dictatorship. The central problem of the German Communist Party still remains the liquidation of the influence of the Social-Democracy upon the German working class. What we have said about Germany holds true for the entire Second International. The role of each of the different national sections of the social-fascists differs only in detail according to the alignments of its own national bourgeoisie.

Especially significant in this process of winning over the social-democratic workers in Germany and throughout the world is the problem of exposing the Social-Democracy and struggling against the "left" reformists—"left" social fascists. In every country, Social-Democracy endeavors to protect itself against the trend of the masses to Communism by setting up left wing groupings, by a certain division of labor, whereby they attempt to pacify their followers with left phrases while continuing essentially the same policies of their official parties. This is the problem in England of the struggle against the leaders of the struggle who sabotage the decision for unity. This is the problem in the United States of the struggle against farmer-laborism and against those specialized sub-divisions of the farmer-labor party idea, the Muste group, the renegades, and the third party elements of the bourgeoisie.

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DEEPENING OF GENERAL CRISIS IS MATURING DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

We have pointed out the main factors determining the character of this period as one of the deepening of the crisis and the passing over to the revolutionary crisis. There is one aspect of this problem that remains to be examined which is especially significant for the United States. This is, what part is played in this process by the rise or fall of industrial production, by the course of the business index. How is it possible, some comrades may say, that we can speak of the deepening of the crisis in a period in which there has been a recovery of production in the capitalist countries. There has been such an increase in production. It is true that this increase has been very uneven, irregular and spotty. But making all allowances for this and taking the whole capitalist world, the 1933 witnessed a growth in general industrial production of some 20 to 30 per cent. What is the significance of this feature and what part does it play in our analysis of the whole character of the whole situation? We are not interested in trying to explain away any facts that exist in the capitalist world. We want to face every fact fully and frankly to understand exactly what it means. We don't want to fool ourselves about anything. Therefore, we must give a very clear answer as to whether this increase of capitalist industrial production signifies in any way an alleviation of the crisis. Does it signify that the crisis of capitalism in the terminology of the bourgeois experts, "touched bottom," that the perspective may now be recovery either gradual or rapid?

We examine the character of this increase in industrial production, we must come to the conclusion that it has no such significance. This increase in production has taken place upon the basis of the extreme rapidity of the development of the international antagonisms, and the preparations for war. If we take the increase in production as the first place, been an increase in the production of materials for war. It has been an accumulation of stocks of war materials, munitions, weapons and supplies for the coming world war. In the second place, insofar as the increase in production goes beyond the limits of war preparations, it is mostly caused by inflation and the speculative market created by inflation. Now, it is clear that these two influences are truly character-

istic of the increase in industry. All such increase in industrial production, based upon war preparations and upon inflationary, speculative markets, in no way contributes to a stabilizing of capitalism, in no way indicates that the bottom of the crisis has been reached. It only marks the passing of the crisis into new forms. The crisis cannot be measured by economic indices, but has taken on political forms.

This is the analysis which we made already last summer of the significance of the Roosevelt New Deal, at the time of our Extraordinary Party Conference. It has been proved correct for the whole world situation.

It is not necessary for us to go over all that ground again, especially in view of the fact that, experience since last July, when our Extraordinary Party Conference met, has completely confirmed our analysis. We have nothing to correct in the analysis that we made and we have very little to add to it. Certain new features have come forward in the New Deal since our Extraordinary Party conference, which are further developments of the basic trends that we pointed out at that time. There is a much more concrete and rapid development of the inflationary program, there is an enormous expansion of the program of direct financial help to the plants of monopoly capitalism, even beyond anything that we envisaged at that time. The new budget that was just presented to Congress by Roosevelt carries these policies so far that if anyone had predicted such a development six months ago, it would have seemed impossible, but now these facts are accepted as quite normal and everyday factors along with the tremendous tempo with which the crisis is developing.

Roosevelt has developed much sharper and drastically the policy which we pointed out at that time of cutting off unemployed relief, substituting relief with forced labor projects, and so-called Public Works, which are not Public Works, and complete rejection of any and every form of unemployment insurance. All these latest developments of the New Deal are merely the logical outgrowth and development of the basic features which we analyzed at the Extraordinary Party Conference. They are all concrete examples of the general significance of the developments within capitalism all over the world.

SHIFTING OF IMPERIALIST RELATIONS SHOWS SHARPER WAR DANGER

The United States occupies no "exceptional" position, except that in many respects it represents the sharpest expression of all these tendencies of capitalist development throughout the world, that in many features it leads in a development of these policies for the rest of the world. But in the character of the measures that are adopted, in the direction of development and in the significance of these features as the passing over of the crisis into new and sharper forms, the analysis of the world situation applies exactly the same to the United States as to the other capitalist countries. Especially is this true with regard to foreign policy, that is, war preparations. It is true, only to a lesser degree, with regard to the fascistization of the political life within the country.

These two main features of world development, fascism and war, are developing in the United States as in other sections of the capitalist world. There are certain illusions, not only among the masses, but even within our own ranks, that the development by Roosevelt to a certain extent of new attitudes to some international questions, brings a certain pacifist trend into American foreign policy. These illusions, more or less, crystallize around the interpretation of the recognition of the Soviet Union as an effort towards peace on the part of the United States Government.

These things have brought about a changed relation in world politics and in view of the extreme sharpening of the imperialist camp, the necessity of re-groupings in the imperialist camp, created the possibility for the Soviet Union to strengthen its international position by utilizing some of these imperialist contradictions. Does this in any way indicate any change in the basic direction of American policies? By no means. It indicates a certain change in the imperialist relations at the moment, a sharpening in the first place of the struggle between the United States and Britain, a struggle which for the past few years has been conducted in South America in an armed struggle between the puppets of the two imperialist powers, and with the development of the currency war, becomes sharpened in every field where the two powers come face to face. At the same time it indicates any further sharpening of the contradictions between the United States and Japan due to the tremendous expansions of the Japanese monopolistic control of the Far Eastern markets at the expense, in the first place, of the United States, but also of England. It also reflects the fact that in the immediate preparations for war the other imperialist powers are more ready than the United States, that the United States needs more time for maneuvering for position before the outbreak of the general conflagration. Furthermore, it reflects, as one of the basic strategic situations of American imperialism, that American imperialism is playing for time as a factor weakening its enemies, figuring that the further development of the crisis will strike Japan and Britain harder than the United States.

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It is being consciously prepared by the Roosevelt administration, not only for military duties, but for every phase of life. Mr. Woodring says the army is our secret insurance against chaos. That is, if the army were not so well prepared, there would be chaos in the United States, or the immediate threat of chaos. This should be a very good answer to those who think that the policies of the New Deal are already stabilizing conditions in the United States. Conditions cannot be very stable when the army stands as the main insurance against chaos in the country. He says:

"Let me speak frankly: If this country should be threatened with foreign war, economic chaos, or social revolution, the Army has the training, the experience, the organization, and the men to support the government and direct the country in the national interest."

In this quotation he starts out with the word "if," but later on, he shows that this "if" is not a very important word for him, because he declares directly that this same insurance is not against some general possibility that exists, but against an imminent danger that the country faces. He says in describing the Army:

"It is essentially a self-contained nation within the nation, an authority able to work independently of the political and business conditions of the country, under the constitutional Commander-in-Chief, the President, assisted by the Secretary of War..."

"... The Army is standing by loyally, ready and able not only to support the constituted authority, but to organize and lead the country so as to defend the people from starvation and disorder."

This is the program of the army today, it is the preparation for the militarization of the entire country from top to bottom—the economic and social life of the country. With regard to the industries of the country, Mr. Woodring describes the preparations for industrial mobilization as looking beyond the scope of War Department activities, as including all plans requisite to government supervision and coordination of industry, transportation, labor, finance and similar matters in time of national emergency. Every factory in the country has its particular place in the plan, every factory in the country is a part of the war machine already engaged in this apparatus in such a way that the practical control and direction of industrial production can overnight be in the hands of the general staff of the Army.

NEW DEAL SHOWS ARMY TESTING ITS MACHINERY FOR WAR

Of equal significance is the method by which, in the first stages of the New Deal, the Army has carried through the testing of its machinery. You will remember how indignantly the liberals and socialists met our accusation that the reforestation camps were measures of militarization. Mr. Woodring makes no bones about it. He says:

"I believe that history will record the successful carrying out of the Army's part of the reforestation program as one of its most notable peacetime achievements. The program was supervised by the Army, Agriculture, War and Labor Departments. The Army, however, very soon proved that it was the only government agency which has the facilities and the trained personnel capable of performing a great majority of the tasks in connection with an undertaking of this nature. The selection of the men was accomplished by the Department of Labor. While actually at work the men are under the supervision of the technical experts from other departments, mainly the Forestry Service of the Department of the Interior. The Army did the rest."

Further proposing the extension of this army administration of the activities of the New Deal, he says: "It would not be too much to say that with proper constitutional authority the Army could take over and run them in the interest of the New Deal."

"It is my opinion that the Army SHOULD take over immediately some of the activities which are now being handled by some of the new executive agencies. Whether or not it is true, as many hold, that the C. C. C. camps are the forerunners of the great civilian labor armies of the future, I believe that this activity should be expanded and put under the control of the Army."

"While unemployment is rapidly decreasing, there have always been large numbers of unemployed in this country. Despite prospects of improvement in the coming months, I prophesy that by next summer a million young men will be enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps."

"I should also like to see extended to every unemployed veteran of the World War who desires it an opportunity to enroll in this corps. I should like to invite this winter to adopt a rule by which one disabled veteran would be given a job for every hundred able-bodied workers, thus supplementing the present reduced federal outlay on pensions."

"I should like to see a physical education program developed in these camps that would not only make their members familiar with games but would give them such

skill that when they return home they could be leaders in recreational programs among their own people. I should like to see them organize athletic associations like the German Turnvereins and the Sokols of Central Europe, which would result in raising the physical standards of our entire population."

"The lessons which the army has learned from this experience will be themselves a invaluable. Our young officers are receiving lessons in practical leadership; the army's traditional 'hard-boiled' theories of discipline have had to be discarded in favor of force of character and natural leadership."

"The result in the American army of the future will be better morale and better relations between officers and men."

"I believe, however, that far greater importance at this time are the stabilizing effects that the carrying out of the program will exert upon the moral and social structure of the whole country."

"In my opinion, next year the individual C. C. C. set-up should be eliminated in the interest of economy and efficiency and the whole program taken over by the army as part of its regular duties. We do not desire to make soldiers out of the C. C. C. boys against their will, but we do desire to help direct and develop this great experiment in long-range social economies and in physical training."

"In the same way, I believe that the army should take over the work of rationing the unemployed which is now being admirably performed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. This is solely in the interest of efficiency and economy. I urge these basic reforms in no narrow spirit of selfishness on behalf of the army, which is trained to do its duty without thought of public praise. If the army were so directed, it could organize the veterans of the World War, the C. C. C. men, and through them, the administration of the emergency relief, into a system of economic storm troops that could support the government's efforts to smash the depression..."

In these few quotations you have every feature of the fascist program for the internal policy in the United States as a part of the preparations for international war, the complete fascistization of the inner life by the war machinery of the country—and this is not from the thesis of the 13th Plenum of the Communist International at Moscow. Neither is this an editorial made from the Daily Worker. Let me remind you that this was written by the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Harry H. Woodring, former Governor of the State of Kansas.

These things have brought about a changed relation in world politics and in view of the extreme sharpening of the imperialist camp, the necessity of re-groupings in the imperialist camp, created the possibility for the Soviet Union to strengthen its international position by utilizing some of these imperialist contradictions. Does this in any way indicate any change in the basic direction of American policies? By no means. It indicates a certain change in the imperialist relations at the moment, a sharpening in the first place of the struggle between the United States and Britain, a struggle which for the past few years has been conducted in South America in an armed struggle between the puppets of the two imperialist powers, and with the development of the currency war, becomes sharpened in every field where the two powers come face to face. At the same time it indicates any further sharpening of the contradictions between the United States and Japan due to the tremendous expansions of the Japanese monopolistic control of the Far Eastern markets at

THE 13TH PLENUM REMAINS BASIC OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING PARTY IS STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF MASSES

(Continued from Page Four)

The 13th Plenum thesis points out the main centers of the sharpening of the war danger, the first of these being the Pacific. In the Pacific are involved all the main contradictions of the capitalist world. There is the contradiction between the imperialist countries, especially the United States and Japan, and the revolutionary movement in the semi-colonial countries, especially sharply represented by the Soviet territories of China, the antagonisms between the imperialist giants of the world, between Japan and England, between

Japan and the United States, between the United States and England, between France and the others. It is there also where the aggressive policy of all the imperialists finds its most extensive concretization at the moment—Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the moving of French forces from Indo-China into the Province of Yunnan, the extension of British occupation of parts of Sinkiang from its base in Tibet, by the exceptionally strong and persistent efforts of United States imperialism to make use of the government of Chiang Kai Shek to strengthen its foothold on the Pacific mainland.

PACIFIC IS CENTER OF WORLD IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS

In the Pacific, we have the sharpest and most immediate threat of war against the Soviet Union, complicated by the inner-imperialist antagonisms. It would be a mistake for us to think that the immediate danger of war in the Far East against the Soviet Union is being removed or softened by the latest developments in world politics. Anything may happen in the Far East, and the strengthened position of the Soviet Union and its more favorable diplomatic situation have not removed the threat of Japanese initiation of such a war. There is a distinct possibility that the opposite may result. Japan is completely controlled by a semi-feudal military clique which bases itself on monopoly capital and landlord classes, which are closely interwoven. The policy of this dominant ruling group in Japan cannot in any way be forecast according to what we might consider "rational" policies for a ruling class. The very nature of the position of this ruling class, the extreme instability of its foundation, and the growing threat of revolutionary forces, compel this ruling group to a position of adventurism in politics. If the militarists consider the alternative to launching a war against the Soviet Union to be their own loss of power, then no matter what the prospects of eventual outcome of such a war, they will launch it. If we consider this war must come, the strengthening of the Soviet Union will not deter them, because they know everything that is going on in the Soviet Union, the Five-Year Plan, the construction of Socialism and the consolidation of the new collective agriculture, and that the war, if it comes, will be twice as unfavorable. The very threat of United States action against their seizures in China is likely to decide the militarists to hasten the war with the Soviet Union. And we must not think that Roosevelt, who can exploit such nice felicitations with the Soviet fatherland, would be displeased if Japan would be weakened by a war with the Soviet Union, which at

the same time would weaken the Socialist system which is the greatest menace to world capitalism.

Our previous analysis of the Far Eastern policies of Hoover—that he was interested in precipitating war between Japan and the Soviet Union, by the extension of the Roosevelt policy, although his policy is much more complex.

On the Western front, that is, in Europe, the war danger is sharpening also in both respects—against the Soviet Union and among the imperialist powers. The rise of fascism in Germany has certainly not been a pacific influence. The ruling regime in Germany is offering the services of its entire war machinery, which is being rapidly increased, for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. It is peddling its services to every war office in Europe and is at present conducting very serious conversations with Great Britain and relations of Great Britain and Germany at the present time are revolving around the question of a war against the Soviet Union initiated by Hitler. At the same time, the rise of fascism has completely opened up the whole question of a re-division of territory, revision of national frontiers throughout Europe, a question which can only be settled by armed conflict. The very opening of this question has so strained relations throughout Europe, that it is a complete menace for the capitalist press to speak of the European situation being more explosive than it was in 1914.

Aside from these two main centers of the sharp development of the war issues, there is the fact that British and American imperialism are preparing for a decisive struggle throughout the world for world hegemony, in the Atlantic and the Pacific. With relation to the world danger, the developments of the past year show further Social Democratic support of the war preparations, a more slavish reproduction of the policies of each imperialist bourgeoisie, the Social Fascist parties, and this, in itself, is an indication of the imminence of the war danger.

"BOURGEOISIE WANTS TO POSTPONE THE DOOM OF CAPITALISM BY A CRIMINAL IMPERIALIST WAR"

We have reviewed our tasks in the struggle against war many times. We have further elaborated the basic directives in the struggle against war which were laid down at the Sixth World Congress. Under the heading, "Immediate Tasks," we shall speak more about some special features of the struggle against war. What is new in the question is the immediacy of the war danger, which is much sharper than it has ever been. What is new is the necessity to combat the tendencies to relax the struggle against war, tendencies which rise out of a certain feeling of exultation over the victories of our socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union, and the feeling that because of these victories all is well, the danger is not so big. These victories are very great; these victories mean very much; these victories strengthen the opportunities for our transformation of the crisis into the proletarian revolution, but in no way do they lighten our tasks in the struggle, and in no way do they remove the dangers involved in the world situation.

To sum up this section, I repeat the paragraph of the thesis which points out: "The bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the land of victorious socialism. The great historical task of international communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war, even before war has begun and, thereby hasten the doom of capitalism by a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war, the triumph of revolution, can assure the victory of the revolution that breaks out in connection with war."

We pass over to a brief consideration of the tasks of the Parties that have been laid down at the world situation. The Thirteenth Plenum laid down that the central orientation of all tasks of the Parties is the development of mass indignation against fascism and war, the organization and strengthening of the struggle against fascism and war.

The first concretization of this general orientation is the fight against fascist ideology. The thesis points out that the Communists, the Communist Party, must daily and concretely expose every manifestation of chauvinism, expose this to the masses and the Party, and in the internationalist countries, must come out determinedly, systematically for the independence of the colonies, for the liberation of the oppressed nations from all national oppression. In the semi-colonial countries, the antagonisms, the Communist must definitely take a stand against all ideas of imperialist occupation and imperialist solution of these territorial questions, counterposing the conception of self-determination of these areas, such as Upper Silesia, the Saar, Northern Bohemia, the Danzig Corridor, etc.; they must on the basis of the program of self-determination come out against the imperialist solution of these questions, against the incorporation of any of these disputed territories into the hangmen's government of Hitler fascists. They must popularize widely the solution of the national question in the U.

S. S. R. and the tremendous economic, social and cultural successes by the peoples formerly oppressed by the Czarist empire, as a result of their liberation by the October Revolution. This whole theme of the fight against fascist ideology must become a matter not of resolutions only, but of programmatic articles in the theoretical press, but must be made mass issues and a characteristic feature of the mass work of the Party.

Second, is the fight against the fascization of the bourgeois governments and against war. In every so-called democratic country the process of fascization is speeding up. The tasks of the Communist Party, and this especially applies to the United States, must be first of all to brush aside the fatalistic conception of the inevitability of fascist dictatorship and of imperialist war, as well as the opportunist underestimation of the tempo of development of fascism and war. The careful explanation of the economic and political movement of the masses, that comes with a fascist dictatorship, is the first task in the struggle against fascism and war. The popularization of this explanation, the bringing of this explanation to the workers in concrete terms of their everyday life, so that it can be readily grasped and understood, is the basic feature of this struggle.

Upon the basis of this broad popular explanation of all the concrete issues of fascism and war, preparations, it is possible for us to arouse the masses to concrete action, to a united front movement, to build a united front struggle against fascism and war, and to draw into this struggle the broadest masses of workers from all organizations of the working class, and especially to win these workers who are in the reformist organizations, in the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L., in all kinds of workers clubs, mutual benefit societies, etc.

Upon that basis it is possible to bring them into demonstrations, into actions, into all kinds of expressions of opposition to fascism and war, or the protection of their democratic rights, developing concrete struggles in the formation of strikes, control committees, etc., for the preventing of the shipments of munitions, etc. In the fight against fascist dictatorship, the Communists have essential features of this struggle. First, always and everywhere take as the starting point the defense of the everyday economic and political needs of the masses. It is impossible to develop a mass struggle against fascism and war upon any other basis, fascist mass organizations, becoming a practical problem for us in the U. S. also. Fascist mass organizations are springing up everywhere overnight, faster than we can keep track of them, and we have not yet solved the practical problem involved, of penetrating these mass organizations, with special attention to the growing company unions. This is our task, and without this we cannot successfully develop mass struggle against fascism in America. Especially it is necessary to penetrate the Social Fascist mass organizations, and in the U. S., the American Fed-

eration of Labor. The recent developments in the U. S. which are especially sharp, Fourth, there must be the most consistent struggle to win the working youth, bringing them to political struggle against fascism and war, on the basis of the defense of all their everyday needs; the youth organizations must break out of their narrowness with the help and leadership of the Party.

In the development of the struggle against fascism and war, in the struggle for winning the majority of the working class from the reformist leadership and their influence, the tactic of the united front from below, becomes more and more a central question. During the period since the 12th Plenum of the ECCI there have been accumulated tremendous experiences in the united front struggles. It is impossible to go into a detailed examination of all of these international experiences, but the action plan that we are saying that the action plan that we carried through have proven to be essentially correct and of the most tremendous value for the International movement, that the Communists have improved in almost every country the application of the tactic of the united front and strengthened the revolutionary forces thereby.

IN STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR MUST WIN LEADERSHIP OF WORKERS FROM REFORMISTS

In the course of these experiences, we have learned very concretely the two main dangers that beset all this work. There is constantly the danger of transforming our united front efforts into a conciliation of the social democratic leadership and ideology instead of a means of sharpening the struggle against them, further to separate the masses from them. This is the right danger, the main danger. We have experienced this danger in our work in the U. S. It has shown itself in very sharp forms in other countries. The British Party conducted a very valuable and fruitful united front campaign, especially in connection with the Independent Labor Party in England. There also we saw some sharp examples of development of the right danger. Certain tendencies to orientate ourselves towards negotiations and maneuvers with the reformist leadership, not enough direct approach to the masses below and the winning of them to joint action on the basis of a class struggle program, and bringing about the disintegration of the influence of the Social Fascist leadership in the localities where the Social Fascist organizations are active, the Slovakian Party where for a period after the 12th Plenum the Party leadership began to orientate itself upon a wrong estimation of the Social Fascist leaders and to develop theories about the united front as a bloc with the Social Fascist organizations, instead of the united front as a development of the united struggle from below to liquidate the influence of the social fascist misleaders.

We felt the pressure of such tendencies in the United States, in the development of the united front actions in which we were involved with the Musketiers. On the whole we can say that these activities which we carried through were valuable and that our line was correct. We have suffered greatly at times in the concrete application of these measures. This whole theme of the fight against fascist ideology must become a matter not of resolutions only, but of programmatic articles in the theoretical press, but must be made mass issues and a characteristic feature of the mass work of the Party.

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This perspective that we unfold, for the development in the trade union field, has two dangers. The most immediate danger is that we will confine ourselves to phrases and pronouncements about it and go through the motions of reorganizing ourselves and at last find ourselves with exactly the same forces, under different names. But the proposals that we make in this respect are not to sharpen all the existing forces under different names. What we propose is to broaden the organized base of the class struggle trade union movement. When that is achieved and we begin to move forward, we must be keenly conscious of the danger of the other danger which is the chief danger:

BROADEN ORGANIZED BASE OF CLASS STRUGGLE TRADE UNIONS

In connection with this general aspect of the trade union work it is especially necessary to mention two of our weakest features which must begin to receive more systematic and more serious development. The first of these is our Negro work. We have spoken of this many times. We have had certain beginnings in drawing the Negroes into the revolutionary trade union movement. If the Bureau compiled about eight weeks ago a correct, about 10 per cent of the T. U. U. L. membership is Negro.

This growth of Negro membership is very spotty and confined almost entirely to the lightest of the light industries (with the exception of steel in Buffalo). This question is of the most profound importance, not only for the trade unions as such, but for every phase of our Negro work. We cannot give the proper proletarian direction to the Negro liberation movement until we have laid the foundation of Negro mass work in the basic industries. Comrades, we must orientate our trade union work on this question much more seriously than we have.

The second special question in the trade union field that we must emphasize is the serious situation of the agricultural workers. Here again, we have not merely the trade union question. Consideration of this question is of primary importance for us not only because of the fact that the agricultural workers number several millions in the United States and become increasingly important in the economy of the country, but also the fact that the organization of a mass trade union of agricultural workers is one of the basic necessary instruments for the revolutionary direction to the entire working population.

What I have said concerning the trade unions, in all general aspects, applies also to the unemployed. We have already given a very clear program for the struggle for unity in the unemployed field. Our slogan is the

MOBILIZE U. S. WORKERS TO SUPPORT CUBAN REVOLUTION

What actions have we carried through in support of the tremendous revolutionary upheaval of the Cuban workers, right at our door? How have we mobilized the workers in support of the Cuban revolution? We can say that we have made a very good journalistic campaign in the Daily Worker. How far have we gone beyond that? And especially on the important part of the leadership, in which American imperialism is directly financing and supporting in all ways, politically and materially, the armed expeditions against Soviet China, what have we done to expose this activity of American imperialism? Here we are weak even on the journalistic side, not to speak of organizing mass protest with regard to these issues.

These matters must become a more serious part of the everyday life of our Party, and that doesn't mean only in the columns of the Daily Worker. It means in the activity, in the planned work of our sections and district committees. Our sections and district committees are a most important part of the leadership of our Party because they are the party that conducts the work closest to the masses, reaching the broadest masses of workers, and the development of this activity on a section and district scale as well as directly by the masses, becomes the secret of the whole future development of our Party.

It is necessary to say a few words about the most acute aspect of the struggle for Negro liberation and the efforts to give this struggle organizational form in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. I have said several times that we can make no advance

STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING PARTY IS STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF MASSES

All of this work can be accomplished only by building the Party. We have made a certain progress in the past year in building the Party. Our dues-paying membership is growing, slowly as yet, but growing. Dues payments in December, I think, were over 23,000 average. This is still a small growth. We are making some progress in the crystallization of the development of our cadres, in building up the Party organization, and in activating Party fractions; but comrades, this growth still is so small that it is entirely out of proportion to the tremendous growth of our tasks and our possibilities. If we should judge by the objective situation, the development of the Party, the crisis of capitalism, the break down of all the old influences in the minds of the workers, the doors that are open for us, then we would have to say that in the year 1934 our task is to become a Party of 100,000 to 150,000 members. And how can we think in such terms? We grow a few here and there, and the fluctuation is so great, that we lose 80 per cent of what we gain? How can we become a mass Party when we approach the building of the Party in such a careless manner?

The problem is not a single one. It is not simply a matter of recruiting like recruiting into an army. The problem of building the Party is in the first place a problem of a struggle for the Party line among the masses. If our recruiting power is weak, then it is weak because of the weaknesses of the Party among the masses. We have had the development of mass trade unions in the last year from which we have not recruited 1 per cent into the Party. What does that mean? It means that in that mass union where we did not recruit 1 per cent into the Party, that means that our leadership in that Union is very weak and precarious and we may lose it at any moment. The struggle for the building of the Party is the struggle for the leadership of the mass movement, the struggle for the line of the Party among the masses; and that means also, planned work, concentration work, Party discipline, the development of the activity of the Party, the bringing of the Party members directly into the mass work, the bringing of the mass work into the Party, and the mass work where they are not yet. Most of them are not yet in the trade unions, and not even in the unemployed councils. It means making every Communist a leader of the non-Party masses. You cannot recruit workers into the Party until you first have won some degree of leadership over them, and the weakness of our Party recruiting, the

that we will submerge ourselves in a broad and undifferentiated movement, will tend to develop a trade unionism that will imitate the American Federation of Labor and thereby disarm the workers in the struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. We must find the way to achieve a much broader development of mass trade union organization on a class struggle basis. At the same time we must sharpen all the existing forces under different names. What we propose is to broaden the organized base of the class struggle trade union movement. When that is achieved and we begin to move forward, we must be keenly conscious of the danger of the other danger which is the chief danger:

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The second special question in the trade union field that we must emphasize is the serious situation of the agricultural workers. Here again, we have not merely the trade union question. Consideration of this question is of primary importance for us not only because of the fact that the agricultural workers number several millions in the United States and become increasingly important in the economy of the country, but also the fact that the organization of a mass trade union of agricultural workers is one of the basic necessary instruments for the revolutionary direction to the entire working population.

What I have said concerning the trade unions, in all general aspects, applies also to the unemployed. We have already given a very clear program for the struggle for unity in the unemployed field. Our slogan is the

MOBILIZE U. S. WORKERS TO SUPPORT CUBAN REVOLUTION

What actions have we carried through in support of the tremendous revolutionary upheaval of the Cuban workers, right at our door? How have we mobilized the workers in support of the Cuban revolution? We can say that we have made a very good journalistic campaign in the Daily Worker. How far have we gone beyond that? And especially on the important part of the leadership, in which American imperialism is directly financing and supporting in all ways, politically and materially, the armed expeditions against Soviet China, what have we done to expose this activity of American imperialism? Here we are weak even on the journalistic side, not to speak of organizing mass protest with regard to these issues.

These matters must become a more serious part of the everyday life of our Party, and that doesn't mean only in the columns of the Daily Worker. It means in the activity, in the planned work of our sections and district committees. Our sections and district committees are a most important part of the leadership of our Party because they are the party that conducts the work closest to the masses, reaching the broadest masses of workers, and the development of this activity on a section and district scale as well as directly by the masses, becomes the secret of the whole future development of our Party.

It is necessary to say a few words about the most acute aspect of the struggle for Negro liberation and the efforts to give this struggle organizational form in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. I have said several times that we can make no advance

STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING PARTY IS STRUGGLE FOR LEADERSHIP OF MASSES

All of this work can be accomplished only by building the Party. We have made a certain progress in the past year in building the Party. Our dues-paying membership is growing, slowly as yet, but growing. Dues payments in December, I think, were over 23,000 average. This is still a small growth. We are making some progress in the crystallization of the development of our cadres, in building up the Party organization, and in activating Party fractions; but comrades, this growth still is so small that it is entirely out of proportion to the tremendous growth of our tasks and our possibilities. If we should judge by the objective situation, the development of the Party, the crisis of capitalism, the break down of all the old influences in the minds of the workers, the doors that are open for us, then we would have to say that in the year 1934 our task is to become a Party of 100,000 to 150,000 members. And how can we think in such terms? We grow a few here and there, and the fluctuation is so great, that we lose 80 per cent of what we gain? How can we become a mass Party when we approach the building of the Party in such a careless manner?

The problem is not a single one. It is not simply a matter of recruiting like recruiting into an army. The problem of building the Party is in the first place a problem of a struggle for the Party line among the masses. If our recruiting power is weak, then it is weak because of the weaknesses of the Party among the masses. We have had the development of mass trade unions in the last year from which we have not recruited 1 per cent into the Party. What does that mean? It means that in that mass union where we did not recruit 1 per cent into the Party, that means that our leadership in that Union is very weak and precarious and we may lose it at any moment. The struggle for the building of the Party is the struggle for the leadership of the mass movement, the struggle for the line of the Party among the masses; and that means also, planned work, concentration work, Party discipline, the development of the activity of the Party, the bringing of the Party members directly into the mass work, the bringing of the mass work into the Party, and the mass work where they are not yet. Most of them are not yet in the trade unions, and not even in the unemployed councils. It means making every Communist a leader of the non-Party masses. You cannot recruit workers into the Party until you first have won some degree of leadership over them, and the weakness of our Party recruiting, the

without multiplying our membership by three or four five times after making an allowance for all fluctuations, we will have failed in our task, in our duty under the present situation, to make a more conscious work through the instruments of the building of the Party. And here I speak about the main instrument for reaching the non-Party masses, that is, literature, the printed word. Our Party literature, and in the first place, the Daily Worker, are the main instruments of mass agitation in the direct contact of the Party with the masses. It is the most systematic, the most reliable, the most effective.

We have made certain progress, especially with the Daily Worker, in transforming it into a mass paper. We must make it much more of a leading organ, the instrument of the Party leadership for mass contact, than it is yet. The progress that we have already made proves the tremendous possibilities of using this paper for the building of the Party, for the building of the mass organizations.

It is not possible to develop a mass paper if we allow the circulation to grow only spontaneously by itself. Nothing happens spontaneously. Or, if it does happen spontaneously it is so inadequate that it doesn't fit the situation at all. The Daily Worker circulation is growing now as we might expect it to grow spontaneously, but we must make sure that many workers are ready to take the Daily Worker gladly as their paper; and the only reason they don't is because they do not know there is a Daily Worker, have never seen it, nobody has ever brought it to their attention, they never will see it until they are in the street or we in an organized, systematic, stubborn way, over a period, develop the new contacts for the Daily Worker among those circles that are ready for the Daily Worker. This is a primary task for the Party; and all the other tasks that we have spoken about depend upon carrying out this task.

How many workers have been brought into our Party in the last year? Approximately the number in 1932, maybe a little more or a little less. If we take the last part of the year it has brought the average up. In the first part of the year we fell far below 1932, which means we did not systematically take up the question of recruiting and all the other tasks that we have never dreamed of before. If we come out to the end of this year

SHOP PAPERS AS ORGANS OF THE PARTY STRONGHOLDS IN THE SHOPS

Then another feature of the same thing—shop papers. Why is it we seem to have periods in our Party when something is fashionable, then it goes out of fashion and everybody forgets about it. Shop papers used to be very fashionable in our Party. I can remember when no D. O. would get up in a Party meeting without saying how many shop papers he had and what their names were, and now when we are especially concentrating upon shop work, no one ever talks about shop papers. We are going to penetrate the shops of the U. S., but we are going to forget all about shop papers while we do it! Now we have another problem. We are not only penetrating the shops, but we are greatly emphasizing the question of our relations to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, especially in Latin America and more particularly in the Caribbean. How can we differentiate ourselves from the social-fascists, if in these everyday issues we are not "development of the colonies," "American imperialism, we deal with them only when we are writing the resolutions or Manifestoes of the Central Committee?"

In connection with this also we have a very serious lack of attention and indifference to the question of our relations to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, especially in Latin America and more particularly in the Caribbean. How can we differentiate ourselves from the social-fascists, if in these everyday issues we are not "development of the colonies," "American imperialism, we deal with them only when we are writing the resolutions or Manifestoes of the Central Committee?"

What does this mean? How are we going to build the stronghold of the Party in the shops if in the first place we ignore and neglect shop papers, and in the second place when they are there we silently agree or actively refuse to reforming them into trade union organs? They would be Party organs? It is not so very necessary to have trade union organs in the shop right now. The time may come when that will be very important. The trade union press is the main thing, but the place to develop the trade union press is now in the general trade union press, and the only organization which can properly develop a system and network of shop papers is the Party organization. We must insist that shop papers become an important point on the order of business in every section and in every district of the Party, and the central office of the Party must to the degree to which we recover our line on this, weak sector of the front, and begin to really establish a battery of shop papers worthy of the name, we can begin to perform this important task. We have set ourselves of establishing the Party strongholds in the shops.

A word on the problem created by our Party on the expected and possible government repression against our movement, problems of illegality for our Party. To a certain extent semi-legality exists in some sections, in the South, and there is a possibility of a very sudden change in the situation, and almost overnight we might be faced with a condition of illegality for our Party. In such a world situation in which we live at the present time, such things are possibilities, and we must state as one of the basic things—the testing and knowledge of our cadres and their development. Besides this, there are all of the special features of organization for the quick possibility of illegality of our work.

THE EIGHTH CONVENTION OF OUR PARTY IS NOW ON THE ORDER OF THE DAY

All of these features of the tasks of the Party are foundations on which must be developed the whole Party program. All issues lead directly to the struggle for power which is on the order of the day for the international proletariat. All the problems of the struggle for power must be raised and clarified before the working class today. In clarifying these issues on the basis of the development of the immediate struggles, we must give more concrete answers to the workers as to what is the alternative of the capitalist way of life, and what the Communist program is to reconstruct the world, how such reorganization must be brought about and what it will mean in the life of the workers. Here we must make use of the lessons of the Soviet Union on the basis of the conditions and experiences, making use of the special features of American life which contribute to an explanation of all the problems of the Socialist reorganization of society, which is in a material way better prepared in America than anywhere else in the world.

The 13th Plenum of the C. C. I. has issued the call for preparations for the Seventh World Congress. This will be held in the latter part of 1934. The agenda and the reports will be published about the first of June, and until that time our Party and the other parties have the duty of making whatever proposals we have in mind for the agenda, and for the general preparations for the Congress. At the coming Convention of our Party we will also have to make arrangements for the selection of the American delegates to the World Congress. The Eighth Convention of our Party is now on the order of the day. The Political Committee has already sent to all members of the Central Committee proposals for this convention, proposing the date for April 3. We have proposals from some of the districts that the place be Cleveland. The detailed problems of organizing the convention will be dealt with separately with a special report by Comrade Stachel. Here I only want to raise the question in its connection with the whole task of the Party; to emphasize that the convention and all of its activities, discussions, meetings and elections to the Executive Committee, are to be the basis around it, are to be used as instruments for carrying through and popularizing the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the Open Letter of our Extraordinary Party Conference, the control tasks which we have set ourselves—that is, the carrying through of the decisive turn to the development of our cadres, mass organizations and mass struggles in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party, to consolidate a strong mass Bolshevik Party in the United States and to prepare for the seizure of power.