

For the Bolshevization of the Communist Party of the United States of America

By MARIO ALPI

For years the Communist Party of the United States has been the arena of an unprincipled struggle between two factions.

Now the Communist International has realized that the Party was not able to eliminate this struggle and, having experienced how vain its reiterated appeals have been, has finally resorted to energetic methods laid down in the Address.

But the behavior of some former leaders and specially the behavior of Lovestone who has been expelled by the Central Committee, has clearly demonstrated how deeply the petty bourgeois and opportunist tendencies had rooted themselves into the Party. Not only the head was ill but the whole body was not well. The long factional struggle had absorbed all the Party's energies so that even today, five years after the Fifth World Congress which drew the line of the bolshevist reorganization of all the Comintern's sections, we find the American section steeped in confusion. Never—I believe—in the whole history of the Communist International has any Party sent to Moscow so many and so large delegations as the American Party did, and it is partly because of this fact that, in spite of all the comrades' sacrifices, we find ourselves in the midst of a financial crisis and most of our activities must be devoted to the raising of funds.

The Party, however, must and will come out of this situation by following the line of the Communist International and by adopting the most drastic measures against any one who attempts to obstruct the process of Bolshevization.

In order to be as brief as possible I shall not analyze thoroughly the Party's general situation, but I shall point out some of the Party's fundamental errors and major weaknesses that I have been able to notice during my national tour of propaganda which has given me an opportunity to get in touch with our ranks.

1.) The Party has not carried out any serious work of political education to acquaint the members with the political and revolutionary meaning of the Bolshevik reorganization. There has been failure to direct our comrades' activities toward the mill and the mine. Even today numerous street units exist in many districts while there are mills and mines in which are employed many comrades who are not acquainted with each other.

2.) The long factional struggle developed in the Party a strong personalism and an anarchist individualism which prevented the comrades from seeing the movement as a whole. There was in the Party a school of factional and personal "games" and an atmosphere of hysteria which shamelessly manifested itself during the last Convention.

3.) Because of the factional struggle the Party failed to study the internal situation, the political and economical problems of the country, etc., and to accept the bourgeois and chauvinist theory according to which everything—even capitalism—is specifically American in America.

4.) Many comrades accepted for factional purposes the decisions of the Communist International with the mental reservation that only the Central Committee of the American Party was able to understand the situation of the United States. Many other comrades who do not know even today that the Communist International to which belongs the leading Communist Party, the Party of the Soviet Union, masters the Marxist method of investigation and does not look at the various problems from a national angle of view. These comrades have not learned anything from the Comintern's mode of dealing with the Italian, German, Bulgarian, Hungarian and English situations.

(5) The Party has utterly failed to give the members a clear understanding of the situation within the Soviet Union so that, when Trotskyism has already been liquidated in every section of the International Cannon was able to confound some comrades when at the 6th Convention the Party, Lovestone introduced a resolution on the ideological struggle within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union many of our comrades were not able to see and expose his factional speculation, and when the bourgeois and social-democratic press published sensational articles about the Soviet Union, groups of comrades were unable to defend energetically the fatherland of the proletariat.

It is not enough to discuss the situation of the Soviet Union in our conventions or in our National Office: It is absolutely necessary to explain it to all the members so as to equip them with data and arguments with which they may win to our cause large masses of proletarian elements influenced by the bourgeois and social-democratic press.

(6) Not only the members at

Enlightenment Campaign on the Comintern Address to the Communist Party

THE Polbureau is desirous of securing the broadest possible Enlightenment Campaign on the Comintern Address and the immediate Party tasks outlined therein. All Party members and particularly the comrades active in the workshops in the basic industries are invited to write their

opinions for the Party Press. Resolutions of Factory Nuclei also will be printed in this section. Send all material dealing with this campaign to Comrade Jack Stachel, care National office, Communist Party, 43 E. 125th St., New York City.

large but even leading and active comrades do not understand the meaning of democratic centralism and adhere to the Trotskyist ideology according to which the Party should be nothing else but a club for eternal discussions. That's why, in the Party's meetings and in the meeting of organizations controlled by us, formality plays so great a role and comrades resort more than often to a procedure that smells of petty-bourgeois and social-democratic parliamentarism.

Freedom of criticism is often interpreted in a bourgeois-democratic manner and that's why some comrades controlling a worker's club went even so far as to tolerate a lecture by an evangelist minister. They thought that from the ensuing discussion would spring up the truth. This shows clearly how the political education of the comrades has been neglected and how the Party has fallen short in explaining Marxism, historical materialism and—above all—discipline.

Given the low ideological level of the comrades, discipline has been understood and applied quite mechanically and has been resorted to for factional purposes. Dictatorship, absolute factional centralism, ill-interpreted democratic centralism and ill-understood discipline have created nothing but confusion.

(7) Much has been said about the problem of Americanization and yet there are many comrades who do not understand it clearly and hold that in order to Americanize the Party it is merely necessary to increase the number of American-born members. They fail to see the impelling necessity of eliminating completely the federationist spirit which was not annihilated by the formal abolition of the old federations. The language fractions were not centralized and they constituted, therefore, so many parties within the party in which the factional struggle found another issue.

(8) One of the most pernicious errors that helped to rear the right-

ideology within the Party was committed when it was stated that the increased production of the United States is a normal development of capitalism. This increased production is absolutely abnormal and it is due to the great expansion of the productive power fostered by the post-war crisis of world capitalism. This increased production is vitally necessary to American capitalism. Given the monstrous productive apparatus created during the war and immediately afterward, when the capitalist countries of Europe were going through a profound crisis, American capitalism cannot reduce its production without reducing at the same time its total profit, without causing a further expansion of unemployment which is already large enough and without producing a general discontent that would spur the masses to the left.

But today the expansion of production finds a serious obstacle in the increased productive power of the European countries, and—in order to beat its competitors on the contracted world market and protect its profit—American capitalism cannot increase its production without rationalizing its industries, without reducing wages, without extending the length of the working day and augmenting the intensity and productivity of labor, thus accelerating the radicalization of the masses.

Many comrades talk about the process of rationalization because they cannot ignore it, but since they do not understand it thoroughly, they adhere to the social-democratic theory, hold that rationalization is also a normal development of capitalism and deny at the same time the radicalization of the masses. They do not realize that the radicalization of the masses is not evinced solely by the march of millions of workers along the streets of the industrial cities because, if such a march occurs and if its aim is the overthrow of the capitalist state, we

have already a revolutionary situation, but is evinced also by the discontent of the toilers which manifests itself in many industries, by their lack of confidence in the misleaders of the yellow trade unions, by the increasing number of strikes, by the expansion of the new Industrial Unions and even by the concealed discontent of those workers who have a mortgaged home and a mortgaged automobile and are, therefore, less inclined to express it.

(10) Many comrades who do not understand the general situation of the country, or they analyze it from a provincial angle of view, thus failing to grasp its close relationship to the international situation, do not realize the danger of war and the necessity of the new unions.

They talk about all this, they talk about the necessity of defending the Soviet Union and building the new industrial unions, but in reality they see the war far away and do not intend to build the new unions. Why? Simply because when they analyze the crisis of capitalism they forget a "little thing," they forget—that is to say—that the unity of the economical world has been broken by the Soviet Union, the sole existence of which is a contradiction which they seek to solve through a war against the U. S. S. R. They forget that the sharpening contradictions between the United States and England and the whole series of imperialist contradictions ushers in a new phase of the crisis. They do not understand that this crisis intensifies the process of radicalization of the workers and emphasizes the necessity of giving the Party a solid structure and of building new industrial unions capable of organizing the radicalized masses.

Some comrades will say that they understand all this. But I ask, "Why then in many districts of primary importance do not exist shop nuclei? Why our ranks do not understand the meaning of the Bolshevik re-

organization of the Party? Is this not enough to show that words are useless if their spirit is not translated into deeds?"

This contradiction shows clearly the existence in our Party of a whole series of social-democratic and syndicalist traditions and shows also how many comrades are more inclined to discuss than to work effectively. Effective work is possible only if our problems are clearly understood, only if our discussions rise out of reality, only if our analyses are based on the concrete situation and not on mere impressions. Thus, and thus only, is it possible to see the development of the situation and to base on it the tactics of the Party and the organizational measures necessary to carry out its work.

III.

All these errors and weaknesses show how great is the Right danger in our Party and how necessary it is to fight against it in order to strengthen ourselves ideologically

and organizationally and face the situation of tomorrow.

It is not with a conciliatory spirit that the Party must be led, but with energy and firmness. It is absolutely necessary to fight against all those who are still steeped in individualism, who do not want to get rid of the factional spirit and cover their opportunism with a superficial Communist phraseology.

The most fundamental and most urgent tasks of the Party in this period are—in my opinion—the following:

(1) Effective constitution of shop nuclei, mine nuclei, etc., and clear definition of their tasks.

(2) Extensive political education of the members in order to lift their ideological level by explaining the international situation, the political and economical situation of the country, the problem of democratic centralism and of discipline, etc. concerning the life of the Party.

(3) Wide diffusion of the Comintern's Program so that all the members may get acquainted with it. Up to this day this has not been done. Several months after its publication the Program is not known by our members. That means that they are not equipped with what constitutes the most effective weapon against our enemies.

(4) Immediate and accurate elaboration of the Party's Program on the basis of the Comintern's one. A commission must be appointed to prepare a draft, on the basis of which a thorough discussion must

be opened, in order to give all the members an opportunity to participate in the elaboration of the final text.

(5) Recruiting of new members among the American-born workers, centralization of all the language fractions and newspapers definition of the fractions' tasks in the several workers' organizations and definition of the general tasks to be carried out by the foreign-born comrades among the workers of their nationalities.

(6) Pitiless elimination of factional mentality, carrying with it social-democratic, syndicalist and anarchist traditions and displaying a super-criticism which has nothing to do with our sound Communist criticism. Such standpoints constitute nothing but obstacles which must be removed.

(7) Preparation of new proletarian leaders through a rapid education of young elements working in the mills. Special educational courses must be started and elements from the language fractions must be called upon to attend them.

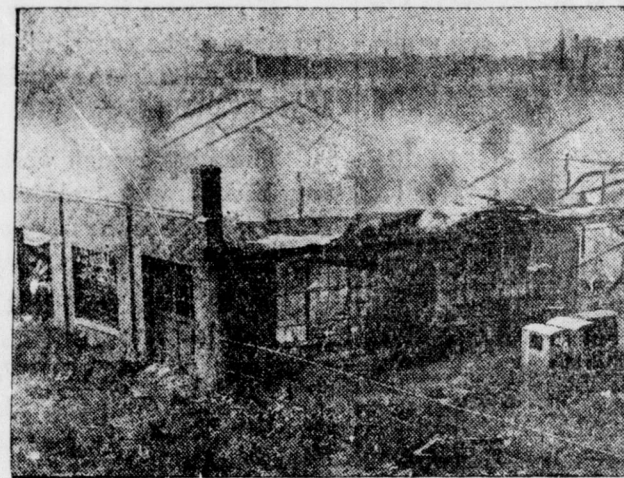
(8) Betterment of the Party's press, indicating the line that it must follow in dealing with the national and international situation, with the trade unions' problems and with the reorganization of the Party. The Party's press must be more proletarian. It is necessary to increase its worker correspondents.

Today the Party must have a more Bolshevik conscience, so that it may face the future. The crisis will cause, in this country, which has a productive power far above its buying capacity, so large a proletarian and revolutionary movement as to obscure all those recorded by history.

The vanguard of the proletariat must be ready, therefore, to face all events. It must have an iron structure that will make it possible for it to go underground as soon as the capitalist class will deem it necessary to intensify its reactions. To lead the proletariat, the Party must be a true Bolshevik Party, and to be such it must, first of all, follow the line of the Comintern, the leading staff of Lenin's World Party.

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Wrecked by Fury of Tortured Prisoners



Remains of part of Auburn prison, New York, burnt by the prisoners who revolted after unspeakable mistreatment.