

loyally support the Communist International and would combat Two-and-a-Half Internationalism just as it is now utilizing its organization power to fight the minority. The press committee elected by the convention to control the Volkszeitung consists of comrades who are themselves unreliable from the standpoint of their Communist ideology.

The attitude of the majority toward Two-and-a-Half Internationalism is again shown by the manner in which it is combatting the opportunist tendencies in our trade union work which it is compelled to admit exists and

which it seeks to stigmatize in its thesis. However, why does not the majority tell the party who the leaders of this tendency are? Why does it treat it so abstractedly? This is using "diplomacy" in fighting a menace to the party. With such methods, the party will never be able to defeat the Two-and-a-Half and social democratic ideology which is all too prevalent in our ranks. The majority cannot convince the party membership that it realizes the extent and the menace of Two-and-a-Half Internationalism within the party with such methods.

## LOREISM IN THE WORKERS PARTY

By ISRAEL AMTER

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, after hearing of the derelictions of Comrade Lore, branded him and his followers as "remnants of views of the Two-and-a-Half International." This has been stated very mildly in the resolution of the Presidium of the Communist International. (Later we shall see what Comrade Zinoviev said on this matter.)

In reporting to the Presidium for the American Commission, Comrade Radek, speaking of Lore and his followers said: "In conclusion let me say something about the Lore group. I believe that we are not dealing here with personal lapses of Comrade Lore. He has written articles in which he presents the history of the Communist International completely in the spirit of the Second-and-a-Half International. He represents us as a movement which at first was anti-parliamentarian, and for splits in the trade unions, and then crept out to a realistic standpoint. Or in an article on the British Labor Party Lore says: 'Poor MacDonald would like to do everything good for the working class, but the liberals won't let him.' In an article on the German revolution, he says that conditions have long been overripe for the revolution, but the German Communist Party, for which there are international difficulties, has succeeded in keeping the workers from the revolution.

"I believe that behind these matters there is one fact in regard to Comrade Lore. During the war there were in America German workers, former social-democrats, who for patriotic reasons were against America's participation in the war. Part of the German comrades in America came to us not as Communists but as a result of the struggle which they conducted as Germans against America's entry into the war. And perhaps I am mistaken, but I have the impression that Lore represents this section. . . . For that reason I believe that the C. E. C. acted incorrectly when it regarded the lapses of Lore as lapses of peculiar fellow. This is a centristic tendency in the party against which the C. E. C. must fight. The comrades must oppose Lore in the press; they must attack him.

"The comrades must not be misled by the fact that in the question of the support of the third party Lore has gone along with us. He did so from a traditional social-democratic point of view—because of fear of compromises with petty-bourgeois parties. We are on no account against such compromises. . . . But in Lore we have a social-democratic viewpoint meeting with a Communist point of view. And it would be very wrong if the decision of the Executive Committee of the Comintern should be so interpreted as if the Executive Committee puts the banner of the executive into the hands of Lore and should say that he represents the point of view of the executive. This is merely a coincidence."

There are American comrades, defenders of Lore, who maintain that Lore was a Communist in his antagonism to the war. Let us see if his nationalism has so completely vanished—even at the present time. On November 19, Lore had an editorial in the Volkszeitung entitled "The Belated Pardon." In this article Lore states:

"The pardon granted the French ex-premier Joseph Caillex and—in less measure that granted ex-minister Louis Malvy by both houses of parliament is a correction of an unjust act committed in the heat and hatred of the war, even if it comes very late. . . .

"Joseph Caillex represented for nearly twenty years that movement in France which sought a rapprochement with Germany in order to question the world supremacy of Great Britain." (Emphasis mine.)

Lore evidently has a notion of bourgeois justice, and feels that Caillex, who was a "liberal", was treated unjustly by Clemenceau. We Communists in the laughable role of defending the liberals against the reactionaries! But the crux of the situation is that Caillex was for a "rapprochement" with Germany, in order together with her to secure the hegemony of the world. This is the innate nationalism in Lore, which Radek was perfectly justified in charging him with. Despite their militant opposition to the war, the motive of Lore and his followers was not a Communist, but a German, patriotic one.

But we have a still better specimen of this nationalism. Two days after Comrade Lore confessed his sins regarding the Communist International, his stupid, social-democratic articles regarding the German revolution and the British labor government, there appeared on the editorial page of the Volkszeitung (Dec. 4) the following notice:

"The Shame of the German Bourgeoisie. Berlin, Nov. 12. As we have learned, the constructors and engineers of the Zeppelin works at Friedrichshafen are going to move to America. Just the people who always talk of the 'fatherland' are selling themselves to the entente."

The "shame of the bourgeoisie"—because of the loss of the Zeppelin works! The "shame of the bourgeoisie" because Germany will no longer be able to build Zeppelins! And when the Zeppelin arrived in America, Lore celebrated it with a broad scareline in the Volkszeitung!

Radek was perfectly right: Lore is still a nationalist.

### Social-democracy Still Rampant.

In this period of the decay of capitalism, the social-democrats not only fail to lead the workers into action against the capitalists and capitalist state, but in keeping with their cowardice and treachery, speak well of the bourgeoisie and refuse to attack the enemies of the revolution.

Unfortunately we have to record that in the Workers (Communist) Party there are remnants of this ideology and Comrade Lore is one of its most outspoken exponents. A man the name of Louis Simon died recently. Simon was a socialist, a member of the cigarmakers' union and of the Volkszeitung Konferenz, and viciously fought the Communists at every stage. Lore knew this as well as anybody else. Yet in the Nov. 17 issue of the Volkszeitung we find an obituary containing the following: "Simon did not always share our ideas especially in the last two years, but he was a staunch man—a man who always supported a good cause and was always on the job when it was necessary to help it along." Evidently in the mind of Lore, to fight Communism is a "good cause"—to assail the Workers Party is a "good cause!"

On Sep. 24, there appeared in the Volkszeitung an article by Kautsky, entitled "The Question of the War Blame." In this article Kautsky attempts to prove that the social-democrats were not responsible for betraying the international, but on the contrary succumbed to the deception of the German kaiser. Innocent politicians who "took a position" only against Austria and not against the policies of the German government," because they "were deceived by the German government in the belief that Germany had no hand in Austrian policies, that she was mediating between Austria and Russia and in this activity in the interest of peace, was attacked by the czar."

Lore declares that he placed a footnote in the issue explaining the reason for publishing the article. But Lore always has bad luck: things just happen in the Volkszeitung. Only three weeks later, after the real Communists in the German federation protested against the publication of an article by the renegade Kautsky in the Volkszeitung, did the footnote appear. And what does Lore say in the footnote? He too, wishes to prove that the social-democrats did not act from innate cowardice and treachery, but were deceived by the German kaiser! In other words, he practically identifies himself with Kautsky! Lore, the "Communist!"

### The Crown of Lore's Treachery

Lore's attitude to the Communist International as revealed in his article on the fifth anniversary of the Comintern in March, is duplicated in the following paragraph from an article in the Volkszeitung on Dec. 12, 1924, entitled "Dark Clouds Are Rising on the World Firmament." This article deals with the charges of the Herriot government that the Communists intend to overthrow the government.

In the midst of this article Lore writes: ". . . The Communists not only repudiated the nonsense attributed to them, but at the same time proved how little their ostensible intentions of overthrowing the government would serve the interests of 'Moscow,' which is supposed to be directing them. If the Soviet government, as is constantly being contended by the capitalist press, is placing great hopes in obtaining a loan from the Herriot government, it would

naturally do nothing to nip these hopes in the bud."

These statements need no comment—they come from the "Communist" Lore!

What did Comrade Zinoviev say in the Presidium of the Communist International when the American question was before the Presidium? ". . . Now as regards Lore. From what I have read he proves that he is by no means a Communist. I really do not know whether he belongs in the central executive committee. In the resolution we have said that very politely. Perhaps we will be compelled to tell it to him less politely. The fact that Lore was against the support of LaFollette is of no moment. We know the manners of the social-democrats who hide behind some barricades, who say they are against the work among the farmers—because they are orthodox Marxians. The American Party will find ways and

## THE PECULIAR LOGIC OF THE MAJORITY

By JACK BRADON.

WHY does the majority oppose a farmer-labor party now, when it admits that the material conditions are substantially as they were, when the majority was in favor of such a party? Does not Marx warn, those who care to heed: That it is upon the material conditions of the working class that the policies of a revolutionary party must rest, and not upon the illusions of the mass? How does the blabbering of the majority offered us, as an excuse for its thesis and action, reconcile with the practicability of Marx and Lenin?

In one breath they tell us that the material conditions are not only as tense as they were, when the majority was for an F. L. P., but that these conditions are growing worse; in the next breath we are told that there is no demand for a F. L. P. because LaFollette devoured and digested it. But they add, that there was an honest to goodness demand for a F. L. P. at the time that the majority favored it.

Since the majority clearly shows its deviation from Marx and Lenin, by failing to formulate its policy upon the actual and potential conditions of the working class, let us see, what there is in their argument that the demand for an F. L. P. is off on an indefinite vacation.

### What Became of This Much Talked-of Demand?

We are told that aside from the united front decision of the C. I., and the experiences of the British C. P.—two factors were interpreted to have constituted the demand for a farmer-labor party in the United States. First, the formation of the C. P. P. A.; second, and far more important, the manifestation of the more conscious rank and file. Let us then (aside from the material conditions, which in the long run must be the policy-determining factor) merely examine this demand that existed, but has now vanished.

In the first place, the organization of the C. P. P. A. by labor leaders was not prompted by their craving for an F. L. P. Nor was it due to pressure from the rank and file. Had the rank and file been possessed of the pressure credited to it, it would have used that pressure upon the labor leaders, for what it considered more immediate needs. That is, it would have made those leaders put up an aggressive fight for wages and hours. Neither was the pressure of the rank and file of such moment as to drive these leaders towards the organization of the C. P. P. A. as a blindfold to ward off such pressure.

Even a brief examination of the railroad brotherhoods which constitute the backbone of the C. P. P. A. will easily convince anyone that none of those leaders were in any danger from the rank and file, on the contrary, they were all firmly seated in the saddle of leadership of their respective unions. The C. P. P. A. was organized principally as a center where some of the quarreling labor leaders could be united upon the issue: as to who was a friend, or an enemy of labor, so as to punish or reward them according: that is, to make more effective that non-partisan policy so dear to them; also to eliminate if possible, the growing habit of squabbling between the labor leaders, because of their political infringements upon each other. It was an alliance of labor leaders, each seeking to strengthen himself.

THERE WAS NOTHING IN THE IDEOLOGICAL OR REPRESENTATIVE MAKE-UP OF THE C. P. P. A. TO HAVE WARRANTED INTERPRETING ITS FORMATION AS A DEMAND FOR A F. L. P. In a word, the C. P. P. A. have no intention of forming a F. L. P. This is corroborated by the fact that it hopefully waited for the democratic party to nominate McAdoo, or for the republican party to nominate some other fake progressive. Had this been done, the C. P. P. A. would be no more.

### C. P. P. A. and the Labor Party.

To say that, the C. P. P. A. constituted one of the demands for a F. L. P. in 1922-23-24, when it was not pressed from below, when it could have swung in back of any republican or democrat, without fear of national effective rank and file opposition, and that it will not constitute a demand in 1925, when it is under the pressure

means of stating openly what is the trouble with Lore."

The trouble with Lore is that he is no Communist. This is not a manifestation of today or yesterday. Lore has shown a consistent opposition to the ideas of the Communist International, in his support of Serrati, Levi, his criticism of the Comintern and of Zinoviev—in his utterances on questions arising in the United States, in his conception of what a Communist Party should be and do. This the Communist International knew and knows. This the majority of the C. E. C. knows or should know—unless it believes that Lore is a Communist.

What has the majority of the C. E. C.—who are the C. E. C.—done in carrying out the decisions of the Presidium of the Communist International, namely in carrying on an "ideological campaign" against Lore and his followers, who are "remnants of the Two-and-a-half-International" in our party?

of a promise to its followers to create a party in 1925, is to be contrary to facts.

The only real basic demand that existed in 1922-23-24 for a F. L. P.—a class F. L. P., has not vanished, as the majority contends. On the contrary, it has been strengthened. To deny that what ever pressure existed from below, still exists for a F. L. P., is to say that our two years or so, of agitation thru the T. U. E. L., etc., for a F. L. P., has not only failed to increase that pressure, but has in some mysterious way wiped it out entirely.

### Who Guides the C. E. C. Majority Policy?

The majority does not admit it, still its attitude shows plainly; that it is not the needs or the demands of the rank and file that it gauges the situation by, but rather, by the mood of a few labor fakers. Here we see: First, that the material conditions are favorable to the continuation of the farmer-labor slogan. Secondly, that the only basic demand most worthy of heeding—that of the partly disillusioned portion of the rank and file is still here.

The only difference that has caused such a sudden and complete change of heart in the majority, is the fact that Mahoney, Fitzpatrick, Cramer, and a few others of their stripe do not happen to be in the proper mood now, that they are not for a united front with the Communists. This appears to be the only reason for the majority's attitude toward a F. L. P. C. E. C. Majority Workshops United Front From Top.

What comrade, who lays claim to the most elementary knowledge of the Communist movement will not readily admit that, the Fitzpatricks, Mahoneys, etc., are not to be relied upon? Who does not know that this element works with us only, as long as we do not challenge their leadership and do not in any way show our Communist face? Still, it is upon them that the majority bases its conclusions, and not upon the prevalent and potential economic and political conditions, or the temper of the rank and file.

The majority reminds one of a child who sat on a hot stove, as a result, much of the skin and flesh of a certain part of its anatomy was badly burned. The child immediately concluded that the stove was no good and should be disposed of. It never occurred to the child that, tho, the stove was not a suitable thing to sit upon, it was still useful, if employed for those purposes for which it was made.

The majority became badly contaminated with the illusion that at one sweep an all-inclusive F. L. P.

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