what Communism is, were wildly ap-
plauding every mention of Communism.
It was a Communist affair, but this
had a tendency toward making it
so.

In connection with Green's attack
upon the Negro Labor Congress, it
should be noted that the congress even
before it opened had forced Mr. Green
to make at least one gesture toward
organizing Negro workers in the
form of a resolution. But in no case could the A. F. of L. bureau-
cracy at the real problem by
carried away with the Jim-Crow system:
A few pitiful segregated unions "for
Negroes" (like a southern railroad car).
are about all that the A. F. of L. bureau-
cracy dreams of—for its purpose is to
give the Negro workers an instru-
ment for liberation, but only to keep
the Negro workers from building an
instrument for freedom—to keep them
away from the "social equality" move-
ment and the Communists.

If there had been the slightest touch
of sincerity about the maneuvers of the
A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the resolution
offered by a Negro delegate at the last
convention of the A. F. of L. would not
have been shelved as it was—that is,
the Green bureaucracy did not dare either to turn it down
openly or to pass it. It was a resolution calling for the organi-
ization of Negro workers in the
form of a resolution. But in no case could the A. F. of L. bureau-
cracy at the real problem by
carried away with the Jim-Crow system:
A few pitiful segregated unions "for
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give the Negro workers an instru-
ment for liberation, but only to keep
the Negro workers from building an
instrument for freedom—to keep them
away from the "social equality" move-
ment and the Communists.

Local Councils Formed.

The organizational crux of the plan of the Negro Labor
Congress lies in the formation of "local councils" in all cen-
ters of Negro population. The way in which the delegates
seized upon this as the basis of successful organization,
showed that there has at last appeared here a serious move-
ment for organization. The idea is that such local councils
will be composed of delegates from all Negro organizations,
with special emphasis upon labor unions, in each locality, on
the unified front basis. Organizations composed of mixed
black and white workers are included, and a peculiarly apt
arrangement is for the inclusion of unorganized Negro work-
ers in connection with the process of organizing them. The
constitution adopted specifies that these local councils (like
the national body) shall not become rival organizations as
against other Negro organizations, or as against any labor
unions, but simply a machinery for the creation and coordin-
ation of the revolutionary front. If this is adhered to, it will probably
result in success where efforts to create a "newer and bet-
ter" rival to other organizations would be a failure. From
the speeches of the delegates one would judge that the es-
establishment of these local councils will be the center
of gravity of the work of the organizers.

Plan Inter-Racial Committees.

But the "united front" principle did not stop there. The
congress made the refreshing declaration in ringing terms
that the Negro workers demand that all of organized labor
shall be free from the proscription and ostracism that was
previously the practice of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, and that
together with Negro separate unions be part of the
NELA. Committee of Ten.

As the Negro Labor Congress had at least a sprinkling
of Communists revere and follow the Communist International for
their "cautious" leaders of the middle class.

Toward Race Hegemony of Negro Workers.

A factor of primary significance in this congress is that
it marks a big step toward the Negro workers'
taking-class organizations in the general Negro race movement.
Hitherto there has been professionalism in leadership, as a
matter of course, and with no organizational basis. Now for
the first time, groups of Negro industrial workers begin to
elect their delegates. That this tends to throw the center of
gravity of the Negro movement into the Negro labor unions
is obvious. And that many Negro middle-class intellectuals
are bewildered and frightened by the fact, is but natural.

The answer to these pertinent questions is obvious.

The Role of the Communist International.

It is exactly this prerequisite to working class victory that
the Communist International is providing. The Com-
have with us today the so-called western orientation of ranks of the general masses, the petty bourgeoisie and in the Union, not merely among the proletarians, but also in the there was a wide sentiment of sympathy for the Soviet speech of August 12, 1925, before the German commission. It is a fact of world historical significance, of this tendency are to be found in the arrival of German democratic working masses approaching the Communist International. By various roundabout ways these workers are drawing nearer to the Communist Parties. Manifestations of this tendency lie in the making of the Communist Party of Germany and the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Germany have not been able to win over and absorb the social-democratic workers approaching the Communists. Furthermore, this Fischer-Maslow leadership has been unable to withstand the dangerous social-democratic, the anti-Communist, the anti-Marxist attitude shown by the worst elements in our own Communist ranks, the kernel of the problem is examined by Comrade Bukharin when he says: "The party must have such a leadership as will be capable of grasping the new situation we have. Prior to this we had to compel them (Fischer-Maslow group) to recognize the world significance of the changes in the British labor movement." This is the principal basis of the decisive action taken by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the German Party situation.

No Sudden Change of Policy.

What have been the errors of the Fischer-Maslow group? What is the Communist International to help build a powerful Bolshevik Party in Germany? What lessons can the American workers in general and the members of the Communist International, the Workers Communist Party, in particular, learn from these recent events in Germany? First of all, it must be said that the problem in the Communist Party of Germany is not that of persons but of the party as a whole. In fact, a few days before the party congress, the present discussion is not one carried on under the banner of defeat as it was before the party congress at Frankfort. The whole situation is the same as in the present of the present and the future and not in the past. The pith of the question lies in the making of the Communist Party of Germany an organic part, a more virile organ of the Communist International.

The Basis of the Crisis.

In his speech delivered during the sessions of the German commission on August 12, 1925, Comrade Bukharin thus estimated the situation:

"This crisis has an international significance. It is tied up with a great regrouping of forces in the world situation. If we should live through this crisis, it will also be an important lesson for every other party in the Communist International."

Let us see what is the economic and political basis of the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany.

There are two outstanding tendencies in the development of the international situation. On the one hand we see a section of the social-democratic working masses approaching the Communist International. By various roundabout ways these workers are drawing nearer to the Communist Parties. Manifestations of this tendency are to be found in the arrival of German and Swedish workers' delegations in the Soviet Union. The growing power of the proletariat state in the Soviet Union is winning and will continue to win many new supporters for the Soviet Russia in the Socialist class. "This was not so before. This is a new fact, a very important fact. It has a very real historical significance, like the drift to the left by the English proletariat." This is how Comrade Bukharin estimated this tendency in his speech of August 12, 1925, before the German commission.

Secondly, the Security Pact marks a new orientation in Germany's policies. Previous to this event, there was a large section of the Soviet Union, not merely among the proletariat, but also in the ranks of the general masses, the petty bourgeoisie and in sections of the bourgeois class. Now this is changed. We have with us today the so-called western orientation of Germany's policies. The German bourgeoisie is seeking protection in the Dawes' Plan, the Security Pact, the Loeb because in the vital interests of being subservient to the will of the Entente imperialists. The "future" of Germany now rests in the West and not in the East. It is in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and the exploited colonial peoples. The recent developments in the Communist Party of Germany afford only additional proof of this role played by the Communist International.

German Section Needs Help.

For some time the Communist Party of Germany had been going downward. Largely due to the disastrous opportunism of the broader leadership and to the four-guise ultra-leftist and Right deviations of the succeeding Ruth Fischer-Maslow leadership, the Communist Party of Germany, one of the mightiest sections of the Communist International, had been traveling towards total isolation from the masses, towards complete loss of influence in the labor unions, and towards a serious organizational weakening. But the Communist International is not an abstract philosophical concept. Being a real world party with a sound, firm revolutionary policy, the Communist International too took a vigorous hand in the situation, corrected the errors made, and put the Communist Party of Germany back on the right road towards winning the German working class for Communism.

The Berlin Party Conference.

The Berlin Party Conference, and the events immediately following its close, proved finally to the Executive that all hopes of settling the differences in the course of normal co-operation are shattered. The attacks made by Comrades Maslow and Ruth
Apropos of this task of the party the letter of the Communist International declared:

"At the present juncture the most important task of the party is to react speedily and energetically to the impending political swing growing within the German working class..."

"The masses of the social-democratic workers now turning away from their counter-revolutionary leaders, and beginning slowly and hesitatingly, but incontestably, to turn towards proletarian revolution, must be made to feel that THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS REALLY A PART OF THE WORKERS, A PARTY WHICH FIGHTS TACTICALLY FOR THE WORKERS' INTERESTS, FOR THEIR PARTY, A PARTY WHICH STRUGGLES AGAINST THE WORST DEVIATIONS WITH ALL THE BOLSHHEVIK OPENNESS, WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE ENEMY." This is the sole pledge for the rapid and complete overcoming of these errors." (Our emphasis.)

The struggle was intense. Two delegations were sent to Moscow in order to secure the rectification of the deviations. In the letter of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany referred to above was subsequently accepted unanimously by the Central Committee, entered in winning the majority of the committee for its position in behalf of the program and against the line of the Fischer-Maslow group.

The Points of Conflict.

Since then there has been going on a discussion in the German Party to win over the entire membership to the stand of the Communist International. Concretely the tasks of the party are outlined in an analysis of the errors made in the Communist Party of Germany and an explanation of how these errors must be prevented at all costs. The main problems of the party and the chief points of criticism raised against the old Central Committee will now follow:

A. The Increase of the Recruiting Powers of The Party.

The Communist Party of Germany must get a new approach to the working masses. The isolation in which the party finds itself as a result of the wrong policies of the Fischer-Maslow group is due to the fact that the party failed to react to the new processes, to the new currents in the working class. It could not see that simultaneously with the orientation of the German bourgeoisie wavered, there was a movement among the workers eastward, toward the Left, a real growth of sympathy with and support of the Soviet Union. Nor could the Fischer-Maslow leadership foresee that the time was really at hand to help build a left wing movement, especially in the trade unions.

B. The Intensification of the Trade Union Work.

All energies of the party must be concentrated on improving the work in the trade union field and amassing. This work is far more important than all the shilly-shally parliamentary manoeuvres. Instead of less percent, at least seventy percent of the party's activities should centre in the trade union work.

Fischer-Maslow group on the trade union field has been many and serious. It was under the leadership of Ruth Fischer that the German delegation at the Communist International Congress of Fifth World Congress expressed concern against world trade union unity and branded this movement as a "pawn of Russian foreign policy" and a "Trotskyist plot." This is the nadir of the "anti-Moscow" ideology. Maslow's reasoning with and trying to win over to the correct point of view the many good, though unclear, proletarians, the old Central Committee of the German Communist Party, and the Communist International. All of these deviations, whether they wore a Right or a Left mask, soon degenerated into social-democracy and resulted in alliance with the social-democrats against Communism. The role played by the Communist Labor Party, Levi, Prisland, various Brandeislers, and the Schumacher group very well illustrates this truth.

F. The Attempt to Revise Leninism Must Be Repudiated.

These Right, anti-Bolshevist deviations assumed serious manifestations not only in the opulantly Ultra-Left group of Kobel, Rossen, and Rosenberg, but also in the Fischer-Maslow group.

Comrade Zinoviev in his speech of August 13, 1925, before the German Commission, stated then when he said:

"The point of view of this group (Fischer-Maslow) was that it is the proper West European representative of revolutionary Marxism. We in Russia are a small agricultural country. Lenin is dead. But Maslow is alive. This was and is still the slogan of this group. Maslow is alive. Lenin understands the situation and will show the way."
In his book, "The Two Revolutions of 1917," Maslow makes a frontal assault on Leninism. The Third World Congress, which established firmly and elaborately completely the Third Party, or the Workers International, the target of Maslow's pen in the opinion of Maslow, this Congress drove the Comintern to the Right, was under the spiritual leadership of Trotsky, with a leadership of Trotsky's ultra-left, and did more harm than good to the West-European parties. Maslow charges Lenin with having misjudged the German Party.

It is obvious that such an assault is an attack on the very heart of Leninism. Moreover, no one can find the Comintern International in its letter to the German Party categorically stating: "THE EXECUTIVE DECLARES BECAUSE THE WHOLE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL THAT THIS MONSTROUS ATTACK UPON LENIN AND LENINISM CANNOT BE TOLERATED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES."

"It is no accident that today, in 1925, Comrade Maslow makes precisely the Third World Congress the object of his attack.

"The Third Congress embodies precisely THAT concrete link in the chain of the development of Leninism and of the Comintern which is of the greatest immediate practical significance in the present situation for all Communist Parties, but above all for the German.

"No one in the German Party would today dare declare himself in principle against the tactics of the united front. Yet, according to Maslow, the Third Congress by Maslow's letter is an attack against the entire unified front policy of the Comintern; particularly is the form of this attack on us now a beginning of the same vituperations from our united front tactics.

"This policy of Maslow translated into practical work means total bankruptcy. It means the destruction of all trade union work and of the party as a living revolutionary organism.

"The letter of the Comintern to the German Party—particularly our own manifestation of the international unity of our Communist movement—"THE WORKERS MONTHLY DECEMBER, 1925"

"If it is true that the Communists and their Party were so 'upset' that they had to turn to the Comintern for help in the hour of bitter need and in the absence of any other leadership, then it is the Comintern's 'change' of policy for the American question, made in April, 1925, confronted the American Party with a great task. Its leadership of the American Party with a great task.

"The seriousness with which the party leadership approached this problem is demonstrated especially in the attitude against a Labor Party, as shown in its cabled decision to the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Germany.

"The Comintern's 'change' of policy was done.

"We are not opposed to the Labor Party in principle but of an extreme Right anti-Bolshevist character. We need no 'suddenness' in the 'change' of policy for the American question, made in April, 1925, confronted the American Party with a great task.

"The latest manifestation of such an attitude against the unity of the Comintern International was cited by Comrade Foster in this number of 'The Workers Monthly.'"
The Workers Monthly

December, 1925

Professor Carver Makes a "Revolution"

By C. E. Ruthenberg

“One of their (The Bolsheviks’) leading dog- 
trines is the materialistic interpretation of history 
which, under Marx’s permutation, allows for no iden- 
tify the mortal enemy. A conflict of the two world- 
form did not originate with Marx, nor was it his most 
the workers. The so-called "socialist" bomb and as 
then nothing but a "first-class" socialist weapon. 
the workers, the enemies of the working class. 
with to achieve a socialist revolution. But in reality 
party of the proletariat—The Communist Interna- 
tional. Let our enemies in the ranks 

The Present Economic Revolution in the United States.

By Thomas Nixon Carver

In the present economic revolution, with a Proletarian Revolu- 
tion victorious in Russia and a new social order actually in 
the process of being created in the Soviet Union, it is the 
task of the workers, and in particular the Communists, who 
serves as the defenders of the capitalist system to scoff at the idea of 
a revolutionary change in the existing social system. Rather, 
it is the workers' task to strip away the disguise of the 
state, to expose the true nature of the struggle. 
this conscious adoption of his method of achieving a social 
revolution. In fact, only a socialist revolution can lead to the 
"economic revolution." In the remaining 

wars devaluing the membership in regard to the Comintern 
decision. This attempt at deselection was resisted to the 

program than it has done so far. 

Another basis for the action of the Comintern 
was the treatment of the American Party. 
The Party was instructed to forge the club of unity of the 
Party to combat Lore. But in reality the club of Lore was 
awarded to the control of the Party's 
leaders and the rank-and-file of the Party were 
sacrificed on the altar of a faction, while the need of 
the Party's program and the unification of the 
faction should be sacrificed on the altar of the 
Party. 

All this, coupled with the opportunist sectarian tradi- 
tionism of the Party's 
technical methods being resorted to by the new Central Com- 
mittee. These mechanical methods 
being resorted to by the new Central Committee for Factional 
siege—which has done such incalculable damage to our 
Party—must be removed. We must develop a spirit of 
Bolshevist self-criticism. We must develop a 
spirit of Bolshevist self-criticism. 

The Central Executive Committee must decide once and 
for all if the Party's 
trade union activities are activities are increased at the 
expense of the 
Party's program and the unification of the 
Party's membership. The unification of all Communist 
forces must be the central task of our Party.