

Towards a World Bolshevik Party

By Jay Lovestone

WHY do the imperialists of every country hate and fear the Communist International? Why have the capitalist plunderers of every nationality turned their heaviest artillery against the Communist International and its supporters?

Then, why do millions of the best of the working masses the world over, the most conscious, the most advanced and self-sacrificing revolutionary proletarians, look to the Communist International for leadership in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression?

The answer to these pertinent questions is obvious.

The Role of the Communist International.

The bourgeoisie despise and dread and the best proletarians revere and follow the Communist International for

precisely the same reasons. Today, in the imperialist stage of capitalism, the class struggle is international in its fundamental aspects; regardless of the specific forms in which it may manifest itself and be fought in the various countries. Consequently, if the workers of any particular country are to fight successfully against their particular national capitalist ruling class, they must learn to estimate the objective economic and political conditions confronting them, from an international, from a world point of view, and to realize the maximum solidarity of forces and unity of action with the workers of the other countries.

It is exactly this prerequisite to working class victory that the Communist International is providing. The Com-

unist International is the world revolutionary party of the international working class. To the heroism of the struggling proletariat the world over, the Communist International adds the vital sparks and the steel rods of a sound Marxian-Leninist program, clear and definite aims, and the unity of organization and action so necessary to insure the victory of the working classes and the oppressed 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 opportunist politics of the Brandler leadership and to the dangerous 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 soon 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 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 proletarian state in the Soviet Union is winning and will continue to win many new supporters for Soviet Russia in the ranks of the working class.

"This was not so before. This is a new fact, a very important fact. It is a fact of world 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 wide sentiment of sympathy for the Soviet Union, not merely among the proletarians, but also in the ranks of the general masses, the petty bourgeoisie and in sections of the bourgeoisie. 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 Locarno treaties and such other relations of being subservient to the will of the Entente imperialists.

The "future" of Germany now rests in the West and not in the East. No longer is there prevalent in Germany the slogan of a common fate, of the common lot of Germany and the Soviet Union. The new slogan is: Towards the West.

This separation and split away from the Soviet Union also has its reflex in the ranks of the vacillating social-democracy. This dangerously treacherous sentiment is likewise mirrored in the Communist Party of Germany. We have been hearing certain comrades speak derisively in this tone: "Go to Moscow; you are a Muscovite." Such remarks are nothing but expressions of the beginning of the return of these comrades from our Communist Party to the social-democrats. Levi spoke in the same manner on the eve of his desertion.

Comrade Bukharin sums up this situation very effectively when he says: "We have here two tendencies. On the one hand, new sound elements from the ranks of the social-democratic workers are coming to the Communist Party. On the other hand, the worst elements inside the Communist Party of Germany are sounding the alarm. They are reflecting the tendencies manifested by the bourgeoisie."

It is out of this situation that the crisis in the Communist Party of Germany has grown. Under the leadership of the Maslow-Fischer group the German Party has 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 line of the Communist International in helping build a powerful Bolshevik Party in Germany? What lessons can the American workers in general and the members of the American section of the Communist International, the Workers Communist Party, in particular, learn from these recent events in Germany?

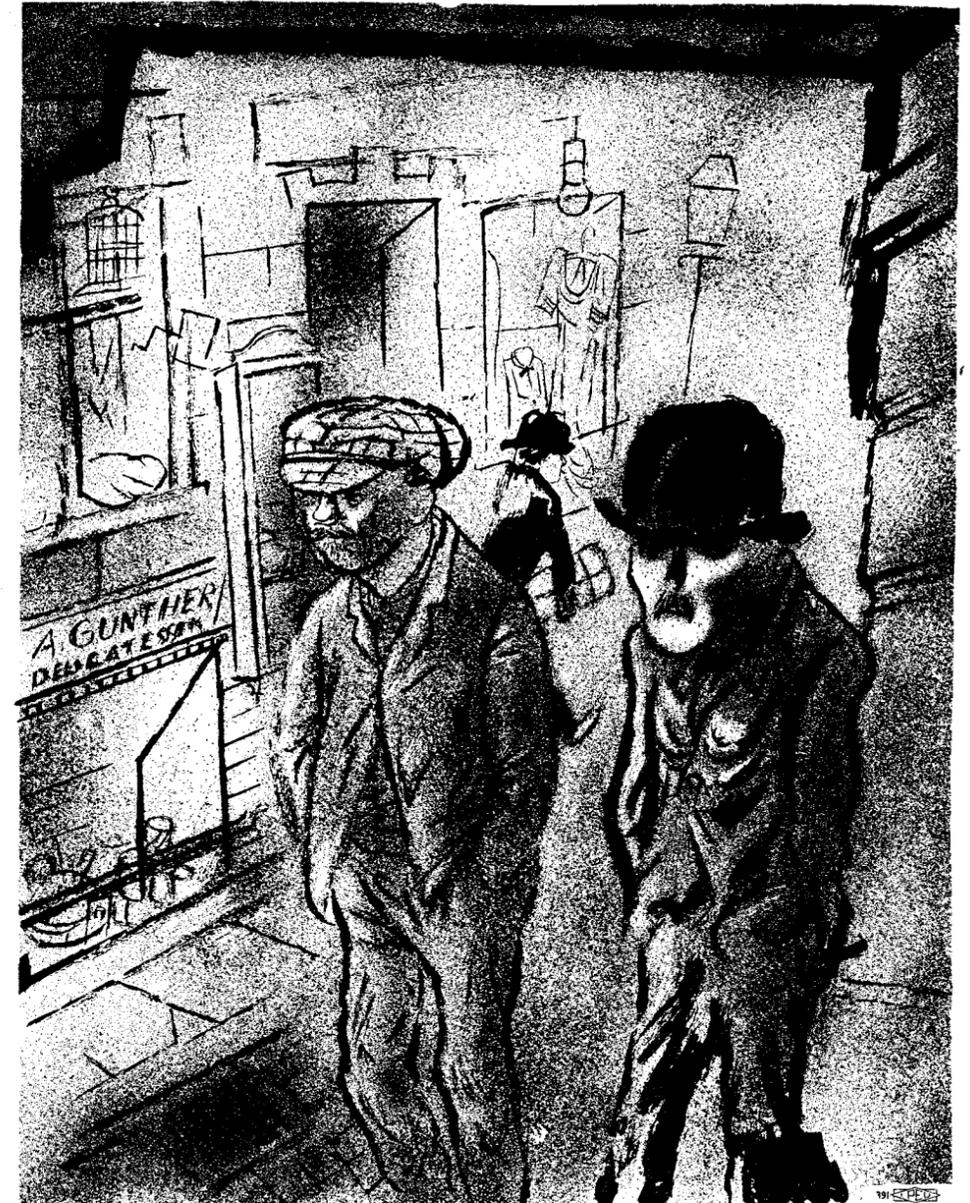
First of all, it must be said that the problem in the Communist Party of Germany is not that of persons but one involving the very fate of the party. Secondly, the present discussion is not one carried on under the banner of defeat as it was before the party congress at Frankfurt. The axis of the discussion is to be found in the problems 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.

Let no one think that the dissatisfaction on the part of the Executive Committee of the Communist International with the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany has come suddenly. The problems examined and decided upon in the last resolution of the Comintern on the German question have been looked into and accepted thrice: Yet these decisions of the Communist International have not been executed. The last congress of the party merely brought forth this non-execution—though acceptance—policy in all its naked ugliness. The last Berlin convention of the party was a dead conference. It reflected the dangerous condition in which the party found itself, but it mirrored no life in the ranks of the party membership.

For nearly eighteen months the careful observer could see the development of a conflict between the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. One need but recall the letter sent by Comrade Zinoviev to the Frankfurt congress of the party, the opposition by the Fischer-Maslow delegates to international trade union unity at the Fifth World Congress, the criticism of the German Party at the March, 1925, sessions of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Comintern for its failure to normalize and democratize the party, the opposition of Katz and Scholem (allies of Fischer and Maslow) to a correct Communist policy in the elections in which Hindenburg was chosen president, the negotiations with the executive of the Comintern on the eve of the Berlin Party Congress, among many other instances, to see that all has not been going well for some time in the German section of the Communist International.

Thus we find in the letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany:

"Up to the last, the Executive has sought to avoid the breaking out of an open conflict and the



Germany "Saved" by the Dawes' Plan!

resulting necessary organizational measures. . . . We have attempted to convince the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group of its errors by means of comrade-like co-operation. Despite our misgivings, we avoided an open conflict, in order that we might throw no difficulties in the way of the German Left, with whose political line the executive has solidarized more than once, at a moment when it was undertaking a severe struggle against the right and ultra-left deviations in the German Communist Party. . . .

"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

Fischer force upon us the urgent necessity of laying the question of the German Party openly before all the members. . . .

"May our enemies break into a howl of triumph and point their fingers at the sore spots in the German Party. May the bourgeoisie and the social traitors of all Germany fling scorn and derision upon the party. **LENIN HAS TAUGHT US TO EXPOSE RUTHLESSLY ALL THE ERRORS OF OUR PARTY, THE SOLE PARTY OF THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT, WITH BOLSHEVIST OPENNESS, WITHOUT CONSIDERING THE ENEMY.** There is no party in the world, like the Communist Party, able to recognize and to expose its defects openly and to their logical conclusion. **THIS IS THE SOLE PLEDGE FOR THE RAPID AND COMPLETE OVERCOMING OF THESE ERRORS.**" (Our emphasis.)

After the Berlin conference Ruth Fischer sent a delegation to Moscow in order to secure the repudiation of the actions of the representatives of the executive of the Comintern at this conference. The answer of the Comintern was an unequivocal declaration that such politics will no longer be tolerated. By this time, the opposition to the Fischer-Maslow policies which had long been smoldering in the Central Committee, succeeded in winning the majority of the committee for its position in behalf of the platform of the Communist International and against the line of the Fischer-Maslow group.

The struggle was intense. Two delegations were sent to the Comintern. Finally Ruth Fischer made a declaration admitting the correctness of the criticism leveled against her policies by the Communist International. The letter from the Communist International to the Communist Party of Germany referred to above was subsequently accepted unanimously by the German commission, by the Praesidium of the Communist International, and by all the representatives of the German Party to the Comintern.

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 line of the Communist International. Concretely the tasks of the party are outlined in an analysis of the errors made in the past and the recurrence of which must be prevented at all costs. The main problems of the party and the chief points of criticism raised against the old Central Committee led by Fischer and Maslow 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 Maslow-Fischer group must be broken.

Pessimism was the chief characteristic of the attitude of the Maslow-Fischer Central Committee towards the masses. The old leadership of the German section had no faith in the powers and activity of the proletarian masses. Its ideology was totally pessimistic. The Fischer-Maslow group 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 west-

ward, there was a movement among the workers eastward, toward the Left, a real growth of sympathy with and support of the Soviet Union. Not even once did the Fischer-Maslow leadership realize that the time was really at hand to help build a left wing movement, especially in the trade unions.

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 regrouping 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 PARTY OF THE WORKERS, A PARTY WHICH FIGHTS TENACIOUSLY FOR THE WORKERS' INTERESTS, FOR THEIR PARTIAL DEMANDS, FOR THEIR DAILY NEEDS,** a party which does not regard the workers merely as an object for agitation, but as class brothers, and which is sincerely endeavoring to form the proletarian united front in the class struggle.

"ALL THE OTHER POLITICAL STEPS UNDERTAKEN BY THE PARTY MUST BE MADE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THIS MAIN TASK." (Our emphasis.)

B. The Intensification of the Trade Union Work.

All energies of the party must be concentrated on improving and extending the trade union work and campaigns. This work is far more important than all the shilly-shally parliamentary maneuvers. Instead of ten percent, at least seventy-five per cent of the party's activities should center in the trade union work.

The errors of the Fischer-Maslow group on the trade union field have been many and serious. It was under the leadership of Ruth Fischer that the German delegation at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International fought against world trade union unity and branded this movement as "a pawn of Russian foreign policy" and a "rapprochement with the MacDonald English government." This is the nadir of the "anti-Moscow" ideology. Maslow's attitude was of a similar nature.

Even in its attempt to fight the tendency to leave the unions, manifested in certain sections of the working class, the Fischer-Maslow group made serious errors. Instead of reasoning with and trying to win over to the correct point of view the many good, though unclear, proletarians, the old Central Committee resorted to mechanical pressure and cuss-words. This is very much akin to the methods used by Fischer and Maslow in its handling of the inner-party problems.

But worst of all is the costly mistake made by the Fischer-Maslow leadership in dissolving the trade union department of the party. That is why the last letter of the Comintern declares: "The organization of a competent trade union department in the Central Committee of the German Communist Party must afford the proof that the lead-

ers of the party are seriously inclined to make this work the fundamental task of the party."

C. Winning Over the Social-Democratic Proletarian Masses.

The party will from now on pay considerably more attention to winning over the proletarian masses still following the banner of the social-democrats. The old leadership practically failed to react to such fundamental, deep-going differences as those which were developing in the social-democracy of Saxony. "One must understand how to distinguish not only in words but in deeds between the counter-revolutionary social-democratic leaders and the broad mass of social-democratic workers," states the Comintern in its estimate of the party's task on this field.

D. The Normalization and Democratization of the Party.

Under the Fischer-Maslow leadership there prevailed in the party too much of a factional atmosphere. Mechanical pressure from on top was too much the order of the day. Capable comrades were denied the opportunity to be active in the party's work. There was a fear of new persons. A narrow clique dictatorship was established in the old Central Committee which sought to maintain its authority through such means and through methods which really smacked of loud American advertising.

This condition is to be liquidated with energy and despatch. It is a non-Bolshevist relationship. New proletarian elements are to be drawn into party activities. The initiative of the broad party membership must be enhanced. Normalizing and democratizing the party will translate itself in the uprooting of the old factional spirit. Party organization must be prosecuted with far greater vigor than the Fischer-Maslow group showed.

The letter of the Communist International is very instructive on this point of the bureaucratization of the German Party when it says:

"This question formed for us a part of the question of the relations toward the non-party and social-democratic workers. For when purely administrative methods are employed in the Party, the same policy is employed on a larger scale to the workers outside of the Party, and the result is the cutting off of the possibility of winning over fresh workers. We believe that unless the Party undertakes these inner-party reforms, it will not be capable of carrying out a correct policy among the masses. For these reasons the Executive demanded these reforms to be made in the direction of 'normalizing Party life'. . . .

"In the Party there is a lack of control from below; that is, by the members of the Party. At the same time, the leading group has been carrying on a perpetual struggle against control from above; that is, by the Executive of the Comintern. In this manner such a state of affairs was created as led to a loss of sense of responsibility, which led to various and quite intolerable things."

Particularly severe criticism was leveled by the Comintern against the character of the Berlin Party conference which did not reflect in the least the Party life and which was barren in every respect.

E. The Relations With the Communist International.

The more the Communist International develops into a Bolshevized world Party, the more importance do the relations between the various sections and the Executive assume. The

attitude to the Communist International displayed by the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany is a very instructive example for all other Communist Parties of how not to deal with the Comintern.

The Fischer-Maslow leadership entertained a childish fear of the Communist International going to the right. It did not trust the Comintern. An attitude of separatism from the Communist International was developing in the Party through the non-Bolshevist methods, through the dishonest methods resorted to by this leadership in its dealings with the Communist International.

On this point the letter of the Communist International is very emphatic. It says:

"Another thing which must be broken with—definitely broken with—is the system of 'double accounting' employed by the above-mentioned comrades for a full year in their relations with the Comintern. Instead of sincerely carrying out the correct line laid down by the Comintern, this group has made continual attempts at side-tracking, substantiating their action to their own party members by references to an alleged 'pressure to the right' on the part of the Executive. At the same time they have offered systematic resistance to the Executive by referring to an alleged 'Ultra-Left Tendency' among the members of the German Party."

The Central Committee of Fischer-Maslow even sent emissaries to other Communist Parties in order to propagate its non-Bolshevist conception of the Communist International.

The fact of the matter is that every anti-Bolshevist deviation which has hitherto reared its head in Germany has begun with an attack on the Soviet Government, the Russian 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, Friesland, various Brandlerites, and the Schumacher group very well illustrates this truth.

And "The changes in the political situation, the final transition of the German bourgeoisie to a Western orientation, the climax reached by social-democratic agitation against Soviet Russia, render the danger of anti-Bolshevist deviations in the German Communist Party at the present juncture greater and more acute than ever," declared the Communist International.

F. The Attempt to Revise Leninism Must Be Repudiated.

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

Comrade Zinoviev in his speech of August 13, 1925, before the German Commission, hit the nail on the head 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 have been demoralized by the N. E. P. We are an agricultural country. Lenin is dead. But Maslow is alive. This was and still is the slogan of this group. Maslow is the West European Lenin. He 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 elaborated completely the tactics of the United Front, is 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 Trotzky, overestimated the Levites, enhanced opportunism everywhere, 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 Leninist theory and practice. Thus we find the Communist International in its letter to the German Party categorically stating: **"THE EXECUTIVE DECLARES BEFORE 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, actually, this criticism of the Third Congress by Maslow is an attack against the entire united front policy of the Comintern; particularly is the truth of this seen when we are now beginning to realize many gains 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—a most instructive document which every Communist should study carefully—very properly characterizes the significance of Maslow's cry: "Back to the Second World Congress," when it says:

"Those, who like Comrade Maslow, deny this important turning point in our tactics, those who seek to discredit it as a 'swing to the Right,' those who deride it as a concession to Trotzkyism or to the apostate Levi, ARE ATTACKING THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE COMINTERN."

There is no doubt that one of the best guarantees for the healthy development of the Communist Party of Germany into a powerful Bolshevik mass Party is the honest and firm determination of the new Central Executive Committee, led by such comrades as Thaelmann and Neumann, to destroy all such anti-Bolshevist tendencies as were manifested by Maslow in his onslaught against Leninism and the Comintern.

G. The Right Deviations of the Maslow-Fischer Group Must Be Corrected.

There are some who will try to misinterpret this policy of the Communist International as a criticism of the German Left, as an attack from the Right, as driving the Communist Party of Germany to the Right. That explains why the letter

of the Comintern to the German Party states so clearly:

"WE CONSIDER THESE ASSERTIONS TO BE WRONG. IT IS NOT THE LEFT WHICH IS BANKRUPT, BUT SOME OF THE LEADERS OF THIS LEFT, and the Left itself will hold its own along other lines, winning ever-increasing numbers of the Party members and developing energetic and positive work."

The fact of the matter is that the errors made by the Maslow-Fischer group are not errors of a Leftist character but of an extreme Right anti-Bolshevist character. We need but cite the overestimation of parliamentary activity by this group, its pessimistic attitude towards the masses, its dangerous anti-Comintern attitude and its continuous coquetting with the Ultra-Left, as only a few of the Right deviations of the Fischer-Maslow group.

There is no doubt that the Communist Party of Germany still faces dangers from the Left and the Right. But with the active guidance of the Communist International, with the Communist soundness at heart of the mass of members and with the energetic Bolshevization program and activities of the new Central Executive Committee, the Communist Party of Germany will surely make considerable progress from now on towards a mass Bolshevik Party.

Some Valuable Lessons for America.

From the crisis in the German Party, the American workers, especially our Party members, can learn much.

The international situation is common in its fundamental aspects in the various countries and produces similar problems at particular moments. Of course, the manifestations of the reactions of the working class to this general condition take on specific and peculiarly local forms in each country. Thus, it is no accident to find that the disease of pessimism has attacked the American section as well as the German Party at about the same time; though the form in which this disease manifested itself in the Workers Communist Party differed from the form in which it showed itself in the Communist Party of Germany.

Luckily, we have a world revolutionary party in the Communist International that is quick to correct such dangerous errors creeping into the policies and tactics of its various sections in their particular reactions to their specific objective conditions. The Communist International has corrected the error of pessimism in our Party as well as in the German Party, to the tremendous advantage of both parties.

1. The Question of Pessimism.

In the recent controversy in our Party over the question of the Labor Party we had the dangers of pessimism permeating our ranks with demoralizing and deadening effect. A whole theory of the "Masses At Rest" and "The Mass Grave" developed in the last Party discussion. In the Daily Worker of November 15, 1924, we read:

"If it is true that the Communists and their Party were so much 'impossible' that the masses will not turn to them for leadership, even in the hour of bitter need and in the absence of any other leadership, then. . . Well, then the only thing the American Labor Movement could do would be to form immediately one general, universal grave-digging association, and begin digging one fraternal grave for the entire working class."

This is, in the last analysis, an expression of utter help-

lessness. To cover the fact that they did not know what to do, these comrades declared categorically: "Nothing can be done."

And in the Daily Worker of December 2, 1924, we are treated to this expression of pessimism, to this confession of a total lack of faith in the activity of the masses:

"The masses which are dissatisfied with the two old capitalist parties—as parties—have now found their haven in the LaFollette movement. As far as building a new party is concerned, the masses are now at rest."

More than that. In the very attitude against a Labor Party policy in our Party we have an interesting resemblance to the attitude of the Maslow-Fischer group and its ultra-left ally towards the united front. "We are not opposed to the united front in principle, but we are opposed to this or that application of it at this time," has been the cry of the followers of the Fischer-Maslow group in Germany. This sounds very familiar. It sounds almost like the cry, "We are not opposed to the Labor Party in principle but whoever raises the slogan of a Labor Party at this time is not a Communist."

The Fischer-Maslow Central Committee sneered at participation by the Party in the struggle for the daily demands of the workers. The Fischer-Maslow group declared that the masses are not interested in their daily needs. The inactivity and the passivity with which this leadership was itself infected were transferred to and seen in the proletarian masses by the Fischer-Maslow Central Committee. After the presidential election in 1924, some of the leaders of our Party in the United States saw in the masses no activity, all passivity, pessimism, insofar as the struggle for independent political action was concerned.

2. Approaching Proletarian Masses.

The Communist Party of Germany had erred in its failure to approach properly and to maintain sufficient contact with the social-democratic masses. Our Party made a similar serious mistake in its attitude after the 1924 election campaign, towards the farmer-labor masses when the labor party slogan and campaign were dropped and when an intense ideological campaign was launched to propagandize the Party against the Labor Party.

Fundamentally, these errors in Germany and America are akin, though their forms differ because of the difference in the class relationships and the difference in the extent of the political development of the working classes in the two countries. In both instances, these errors were mistakes of an opportunist sectarian character.

The German Communist Party began to bask in the sun of its own splendid isolation. Likewise, some leading elements in our Party tried to make a virtue out of the isolation into which we fell through a combination of wrong political policies and unfavorable objective conditions.

3. The Attitude Toward the Comintern.

In the question of its attitude toward the Communist International, the American Party has much to learn. This was demonstrated especially in the attitude of Comrade Foster toward the last decision of the Comintern. While professing allegiance to the Comintern, he agitated the Party against the decision of that body. While protesting loyalty to the leadership of the Comintern, he agitated among his followers about the "mistakes" of this leadership.

Such a policy is akin to that of the Fischer-Maslow group.

Two sets of books—one for public consumption, with doctored accounts, and one private set, revealing the real accounts.

The Communist International is the outward, the real form of the international unity of our Communist movement. Decisions of the Communist International are the expressions of one international experience on the problems of the different national parties. The value of this experience lies not only in the fact that, in the form of Comintern decisions, it corrects wrong policies, but also, and most important of all, it conveys this international experience in the form of theoretical and practical lessons to the Party concerned. When a Comintern decision reverses a policy of a national party it is done on the basis of an experience that was not at the disposal of the body which decided the original policy. The decision of the Communist International makes available such international experience to the leadership of the national party. And this leadership, in turn, must be instrumental in making this experience available to the whole membership of the Party.

The seriousness with which the party leadership applies itself to this task, is a criterion of its Communist quality and its loyalty to the Comintern.

In this respect our Party has to overcome serious shortcomings. Formal admittance of mistakes has been used as a method to conceal them. Minor errors have been inflated to hide major mistakes. That is not Leninism. It is the exact opposite. Leninism is deadly poison to such policies. What is most important, is that such policies are deadly poison to Leninism, to Bolshevism. A party conducted and led by such methods will never be a Bolshevik Party.

The latest manifestation of such an attitude against the line of the Communist International was cited by Comrade Green when he declared:

"The resolution of Cannon was accepted for the Communist International. But as candidates for the Politbureau were selected Comrades Foster and Bittelman who took a position against the Communist International, against the decision of the Comintern. In words, therefore, they were for the Communist International, in action, against it. In words, for Cannon, in deeds, for Foster and Bittelman."

Today, the central issue between the right wing and the Communist elements in our Party is the difference in attitude towards the Communist International.

Was the American Decision Made Suddenly?

Some have expressed profound amazement at the "suddenness" of the Comintern's "change" of policy for the American Party as shown in its cabled decision to the Fourth National Convention of our Party.

There certainly was no "suddenness" in the action of the Communist International. The decision came after months of patient waiting, after months of careful and thorough examination of all the facts.

The decision of the Communist International on the American question, made in April, 1925, confronted the leadership of the American Party with a great task. Its fundamental policy was reversed. Did it understand this reversal? Did it endeavor to understand it or to convey an understanding of it to the membership?

The Comintern was treated to a spectacle that it could not help noticing. Here was a leadership that had been shown its error and now had to prove its revolutionary reliability and seriousness by a Leninist self-criticism. Instead of that, the Communist International found a systematic effort to-

wards deceiving the membership in regard to the Comintern decision. This attempt at deception was resorted to in the interest of a faction: The interest of a faction was considered paramount to the interest of the Party.

Another basis for the action of the Communist International was the treatment of the Lore danger in the Party. The Party was instructed to forge the club of unity of the Party to combat Lore. But in reality the club of Loreism was swung to combat unity. The interests of the Party were sacrificed on the altar of a faction, while the need of the hour demanded that the faction should be sacrificed on the altar of the Party.

All this, coupled with the opportunist sectarian tendencies were largely responsible for the deadening of the Party's life and activities, for the practical collapse of the Party's trade union work, which vacillated between crazy leftism and the rankest opportunism; for the practical cessation of the Party's political campaigns and its almost total isolation. All this dictated the last Comintern decision on the American Party.

Lore, and his opportunist allies who may still remain in our Party, are vainly trying to get solace out of the decision on the German question. They say this is a move to the right. Therefore, the Communist International will soon reverse its line for America. Lore has expressed himself to this effect in the *Volkszeitung*. Lore and his allies are totally wrong. The American decision, like the German decision, is a deadly blow against the right wing.

Our Main Tasks.

Today, the new Central Executive Committee of our Party is facing a very difficult time. The new Central Executive Committee must normalize and democratize the Party. It must free itself completely of all factional prejudices. It must remove ruthlessly all vestiges of factional clique rule no matter where and by whom it manifests itself.

The new Central Executive Committee must increase the initiative of the Party membership and must activate our ranks. We must broaden considerably the leading Party cadres. We must drop all mechanical, dictatorial methods. We must develop a spirit of Bolshevik self-criticism.

In this sense, the significance of the unification of the Communist elements, as indicated by the unity between the Ruthenberg group and those Comrades of the former majority supporting the line of Comrade Cannon for the Communist International, cannot be overestimated. This unification of Communist forces is a positive step toward putting a complete end to the factional struggle in our Party. With this solidarity of the Communist elements in our Party, the enemies of the line of the Comintern have been struck a severe blow.

This unity will hasten the total eradication of factional hostility. It will lift completely, the state of siege—factional siege—which has done such incalculable damage to our Party. This unity will prevent all possible dangers of mechanical methods being resorted to by the new Central Committee. It will tend to uproot the distrust and suspicion which have been paralyzing our Party's life. With this unification, the Central Executive Committee will be able to proceed even more vigorously with its reorganization program than it has done so far.

Simultaneously with the drawing of new elements into Party work there will come an activation of the entire

Party membership and the mobilization of the Party for mass activities. We will be in a position to begin to utilize effectively the partial, the every-day demands of the workers for the development of their class, their political consciousness.

The Central Executive Committee must above all see to it that the Party's trade union activities are increased at least ten-fold. Our Central Committee's trade union department must be made a much more living, a far better functioning, an intensely virile department. Our answer to the expulsion policy of the reactionary bureaucracies must be "into the unions" for our membership. We must destroy the dangerous concept which has hitherto prevailed in certain sections of our ranks that trade union activity is the art and craft of a special group of expert trade unionist comrades. Trade union activity must become the activity of all our members. At the same time, we must fundamentally revise our trade union policy to bring it fully in line with the program of the Red International of Labor Unions.

The labor party campaign must be resumed energetically. The Central Committee should lose no time in educating the Party membership to the need of such a campaign and must carefully prepare the ground for launching a vigorous campaign for a Labor Party in the trade unions and other labor organizations. In doing this, we should make effort to avoid the errors from the left as well as from the right which we have made in the past.

Finally, we must elevate the Communist understanding of our membership. We should train a corps of new Party workers. We should politicalize our Party much more than we have done to date. We should "Americanize" and "unionize" our Party in the true Bolshevik sense of the word. A spirit of Party loyalty must be cultivated in our ranks. A spirit of Party work must be developed in larger sections of our membership. The unification of all Communist forces for the line of the Comintern, regardless of all past factional alignments should be the central task of our Party bolshevization campaign.

The Beginning of Bolshevization.

The foes of the Communist International in every country will be painfully disappointed if they expect a weakening of the German Party as a result of the last decision. It is interesting to note how our enemies outside and within the Communist International greet the difficulties the various Communist Parties must experience. Every difficult moment in the life of a Communist party, every obstacle a Communist party has to overcome is usually hailed by these enemies of the proletariat as the beginning of the end of the Communist party in question. Usually, these critical moments in the lives of our Parties are only the occasions for new periods of activity, progress and development of our Parties.

There is no use in denying the fact that our own Workers Communist Party has been and is still going through a crisis. We are in the crisis of Bolshevization. We are taking the first steps towards laying a healthy Bolshevik foundation for our Party. Let our enemies in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, in the Socialist Party, Lore and Company and the right wing of our Party welcome our difficulties and hardships. The Workers Communist Party will come out of this critical test stronger than it has ever been and really prepared to develop into a mass Bolshevik Party—a living, fighting, victorious section of the world revolutionary party of the proletariat—The Communist International.