Speech on Bolshevization of the American Party to the Organizational Conference of the Communist International, Moscow, March 18, 1925.

by William Z. Foster

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The question of the reorganization of the American Party was not brought up actually until the 5th World Congress [June 17-July 8, 1924]. The question was dealt with before, but was looked upon with great mistrust. In America the reorganization of the Party encounters great difficulties. The difficulties not only consist in the numerical weakness of the membership, but especially in the fact that we have not even a united Party. The Party is theoretically united, it is true, but in reality, besides the English speaking organizations, it is divided into 17 foreign language federations. Out of 19,000 members in the Party, only 2200 belong to the English speaking group. The Central Committee has no real direct contact with the local organizations, but must depend on the Central Bureaus of the various language federations to act as intermediaries.

Reorganization is possible in spite of this condition. Fifty percent of the foreign speaking comrades speak English, at least well enough so that they can take part in Party work. There is great resistance within the Party against reorganization. This resistance is not active, but a passive resistance, and a tendency to maintain the language federations is undoubtedly present. Keeping all this in mind, a certain amount of success may be noted. In Chicago we already have 7 factory nuclei. In the coal districts of Southern Illinois the objective situation favors reorganization. Unfortunately I have no statistics regarding this situation.

We are compelled to proceed very carefully. Comrade Piatnitsky is right in saying that a transition must be created, and in such a way that all the Party members in one factory, regardless of what language they speak, must become members of the united factory nucleus, maintaining the separate national organs as propaganda organs.

The work of the trade union fractions is pretty well advanced. The Trade Union Educational League has somewhat the same significance as the Minority Movement in Great Britain. Up to this time the League consisted practically only of communists, but it is already beginning to attract non-Party workers.

The question of the factory nuclei is identical with the question of the proletarianization of the Party. The reorganization is part of this process. Today the Party is not yet sufficiently linked up with the proletariat. The contact must be developed in the near future.

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