

26

Cross ref. 3103  
+ 1101 (P2) ~~114~~  
Jan 15, 1925

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE REPORT.

No. 1018

Date, February 18, 1925.

OFFICE: American Legation, Riga.

GEOGRAPHIC DESIGNATION: (RUSSIA)-UNION OF SOVIET  
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

SCHEDULE No. and SUBJECT: P2220 Radical subversive  
activities.

TITLE: Bolshevization of the sections of the Com-  
munist International in other countries.

SOURCE: Moscow press.

D.B.M.

(Initials of Officer preparing  
report).

F.W.B. COLEMAN.

(Signature of Chief  
of Mission).

REFERENCE TO PREVIOUS REPORTS:

1-2/

G. Zinoviev has contributed to the Moscow IZVESTIA, the official organ of the Soviet Union and the R.S.F.S.R. governments, an essay on the "Bolshevization of the Parties of the Communist International", with which, according to repeated official assurances, the Soviet government has no relations. This article is intended as a preface to a meeting of the full Executive Committee of the Communist International some time this month.

Zinoviev states that the sections of the Communist International in other countries have now been

- 2 -

set up in the rough, and that the next thing to do is to Bolshevize them. What this means is the subject of the article.

Bolshevization is a word of terror to bourgeois ears, he remarks before settling to his task. Repressive action may be looked for, but it will now be too late. Repression is now almost necessary for the further hardening of these Parties. One is somehow reminded of <sup>(brer)</sup> rabbit's vociferous objection to the briar patch.

Before telling what Bolshevization is Zinoviev pauses further to say what it is not.

Bolshevization is not creation of a small Party of Communist elect; a Bolshevist Party is a mass Party. A Bolshevist is not a sectarian; he is a convinced and faithful follower of Marx and Lenin.

Bolshevization is not mere imitation of the Russian revolution. Keeping the grand aim-world revolution - in view, a Bolshevist will not be averse to trimming and tacking to suit local circumstances.

Bolshevization is utilization of the experience of the Bolshevist Party in three Russian revolutions in accordance with the concrete situation in each country.

A number of problems are common to all sections of the Communist International:

- 3 -

1. Penetration into trade unions.
2. Winning over the poorer peasantry, of whom the middle class must at least be neutralized.
3. Skillfull agitation in colonies and semi-colonial countries.
4. Instillation of firm will to win out.

Each of these problems has to be solved in each country as circumstances there may dictate: "the alpha and omega of Bolshevization consist in the first place of knowledge how to adapt Leninism to the concrete peculiarities of each given country".

Let not any one mechanical process be mistaken for Bolshevization. Factory, military and even territorial, germ-cells are all right, indeed essential, but they are only a part of the Bolshevik structure. The more important thing is to breathe life into this Galatea.

The one thing needful is to study ways and means in each given country of making the Bolshevik Party a mass Party, and to make it fight for Leninism.

In England work in the trade unions and the colonies first, last and all the time!

In France make the Bolshevik Party a mass Party! It is a downright shame that there are only a few thousand members at Paris. Dominate the trade unions! Win the labor centers in the provinces! Go at the peasants and the colonies

- 4 -

with a will! Push reorganization on factory  
germ-cell principles!

In Germany get back into the trade  
unions, and stay there! No more foolish  
secessions! Face against Brandler's brand of  
opportunism! Wake up to the fact that "we"  
lost 1,000,000 votes in the last elections,  
and the Social-Democrats won 1,500,000!

In the Soviet Union scotch the snake-  
pretaxism!

In Poland study Lenin on peasants and  
nationalism!

Even Milukov knew what Bolshevization  
meant when he wrote about the capture of  
the Jaures canonization festivities. Getting  
the masses to march under Communist banners,  
no matter under what pretext, is genuine Bol-  
shevization; the rest will come of itself.

The foregoing is of course the compressed  
sense of the article, not <sup>z</sup>question unless so  
indicated.

It is apparent, of course, that there is  
nothing new in this programme. Zinoviev has  
been preaching this doctrine consistently from  
the beginning of the Communist International  
until this day.

Perhaps it may be worth while saying, how-  
ever, that this view of the role of the Com-  
munist International is not consistent with  
the official version, occasionally put forth

- 5 -

for foreign consumption only, that the Communist International is a federation of Communist Parties originating in the several countries of the world and tolerated at Moscow only because the oppressed of the world have no other refuge. The Department, of course, does not need to be reminded that the Communist International was organized at Moscow to set up and direct Communist Parties in other countries and to bring about world revolution; that it was set up and has been directed from the beginning to this day by the same men that established and now maintain the Soviet Communist regime in Russia; and that without the breath of life breathed into the foreign sections of the Communist International from Moscow they would have remained, and now would speedily again become, inanimate creations of the Muscovite brain.

Practically, it need hardly be added, Bolshevization means earning the Moscow subsidies by strict and unquestioning obedience to the commands of Moscow.

The news summary states that the French Communist Union of Youth is reorganizing on the principles of the factory germ-cell and already has 87 germ-cells in Paris and environs.

- 6 -

**Enclosures:**

1. **Bolshevization of the parties of the Communist International.**  
(IZVESTIA, No. 15, January 18, 1925).
2. **French Union of Youth reorganizing on principle of factory germ-cells.**  
(PRAVDA, No.28, February 4, 1925).

see (9)

**Report and enclosures in quintuplicate.**  
**Copy to E.I.C.Paris.**  
**Copy to E.I.C.Paris for Pecking.**

DBM/ES

Enclosure No. 1 in report No. 1018

TITLE: Bolshevization of the parties of the  
Communist International(\*).

SOURCE: Article by G. Zinoviev, Moscow  
IZVESTIA, No. 15, January 18, 1925.

(Translation).

(\*) This article was published in the first issue of the magazine COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL for 1925.

An extended session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International will take place in February. Only half a year has elapsed since the World Vth/Congress but many questions have already accumulated on the order of the day of the international Communist movement, which demand authoritative solution. Among the most important questions which the February extended session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International will have to examine belong in the first place questions relative to the international unity of trade unions. Conclusions must be drawn from the rapid end of the "democratic-pacifist period" from a new season of international reaction, from the discussion in the Russian Communist Party, etc. But probably the most important matter is the Bolshevization of the parties of the Communist International.

During the first period of the existence of the Communist International, which coincided with the end of the imperialistic war and a stormy surge of the revolutionary movement in a number of countries, all of us who clearly understood

- 2 -

even then what importance the role of the Party has in revolution, have nevertheless believed in the possibility of a speedy victory over capitalism in spite of the fact that the Communist Parties had not yet had time to spring up in the most important countries. That was a period which may be called the Sturm and Drang period of the Communist International. Hatred of the imperialistic slaughter, which embraced the largest masses of the workmen at the time of utmost economic exhaustion of the belligerent countries, was displayed in a stormy movement with such force that it seemed that the sea might overflow at any moment and flood the nests of capitalism.

The second period in the work of the Communist International was approximately the period 1921-1924. It became clear that the victory would not be won so easily, that a number of years must be given to build Communist parties in the first place. This work was more or less successfully accomplished between the III and the V World Congresses of the Communist International.

Now the third period is opening. Its beginning will be counted from the V Congress. The Communist Parties have been built in the rough. Now the problem is the Bolshevization of these Parties. The V World Congress of the Communist International issued this slogan. The February session of the Executive Committee



- 3 -

must make it more concrete must clothe it in flesh and blood.

The Bolshevization of the Parties! This slogan now becomes the bugbear ~~erew~~ of all the world bourgeoisie. This is almost a modern "ghost" which is wandering all over Europe. The world bourgeoisie, instigated by its flunkies of the II International, is undoubtedly preparing extraordinary legislation against the Bolshevized Parties of the Communist International. World imperialism wants to get up an extraordinary law against Communists and to proclaim a crusade against Bolshevization, approximately of the same type as during the epoch of the I International but, naturally, with worse atrocities and scorpions.

Too late, gentlemen!

Even if you succeed in driving underground this or that Communist Party, weakening it by repressions, that will not only not stop the Bolshevization of the given Party but will even accelerate it in certain cases. Can you really not yet understand that it is simply necessary for some of our Parties to go through prisons, through extraordinary laws, through an illegal period, to become finally Bolshevik.

Passage through a spell of fierce persecutions, living through an illegal period is simply one of the most indispensable parts of the process of Bolshevization of a Party!

- 4 -

The speedy passage of the European bourgeoisie from the "democratic-pacifist era" to a spell of enraged bourgeois reaction is one of the precedents for the genuine revolutionization of the large labor masses and, consequently, of the labor parties. The bourgeoisie is doing everything possible to demonstrate before the largest masses of people the impossibility of a peaceful way, the utopian character of the pacifist plans of the "left block" of the Social-Democracy. Thus the bourgeoisie is pushing the labor masses toward Bolshevism. In short, the bourgeoisie is doing its best to create the necessary precedents for the Bolshevization of the young Parties of the Communist International. We, on our hand, only have to see that the practical lessons given to the working class by world imperialism shall bear fruit.

What is the Bolshevization of our Parties?

In the first place a few words as to what Bolshevization does not mean.

To Bolshevize a Party does not at all mean to adopt a policy of creating a small organization of "pure" Bolshevism, an organization of the "elect", etc. Bolsheviks are in the first place mass workers i.e. first of all they are opposed to sects. Bolshevization is not vulgarization. A Bolshevik is first of all a genuine Marxist, i.e. a convinced follower of Marx and Lenin. Trying to become a leader of the largest masses of people, a Bolshevik will try at the same time

- 5 -

to remain on the level of Marxist science, actually to penetrate into <sup>the</sup> algebra of the proletarian revolution.

Bolshevization is not the mechanical transplanting of the experience of Russian Bolshevism onto the soil of other countries. A Bolshevik will first of all try to understand the concrete situation. A Bolshevik will adapt the teaching of Marx and Lenin not in general but to the given circumstances of space and time, social conditions, economics and politics.

The Bolshevization of the parties of the Communist International is the utilization of the experience of the Bolshevik Party in three Russian revolutions (also the experiences of the best other sections of the Communist International) in accordance with the concrete situation in each given country.

There are a number of problems which are quite common to all the Parties of the Communist International, such as:

(1) Correct approach by the Communist vanguard to the non-Party labor masses. In Europe that means in the first place a correct solution of the question of attitude <sup>t</sup> trade unions, i.e. tactics of lasting work of Communists inside trade unions.

(2) Correct approach to the peasantry.

These are three groups in the agricultural population of the entire world, which can and must be

- 6 -

won to our side and become allies of the proletariat: the agricultural proletariat, semi-proletarians - ("Parcelnie") small-plot peasants and petty peasantry, not hiring labor. There is another group of peasantry (middle peasants) which must be at least neutralized by us (see Comrade Lenin's resolution on the peasant question adopted by the II World Congress of the Communist International: it is one of the most important documents on the Bolshevization of Parties).

(3) Correct solution of national and colonial questions. This problem is closely connected with the correct solution of the peasant question, because nations inhabiting colonies and semi-colonies are in their majority peasants.

(4) Bolshevist, (i.e. firm) will to gain the victory, and subordination of all tactical details to this fundamental aim. Hence the possibility of "compromises" in the sense of Lenin's teaching on "Diseases of the left tendency".

But all these problems have to be solved in each country in its own manner. He is not a Bolshevik who confines himself to a mechanical repetition of what he learned from the history of Russian Bolshevism. He is a Bolshevik who understands that the alpha and omega of Bolshevization consist in the first place of knowledge how to adapt Leninism to the concrete peculiarities of each given country.

- 7 -

A danger exists at present that certain organiza-  
tion principles of Bolshevism will be taken for the  
 whole of Bolshevism. The structure of a Party on  
 the principle of factory germ-cells is, undoubtedly,  
 one of the most important problems of the day for  
 the young Parties of the Communist International.  
 Parties, built on the basis of the old Social-  
 Democratic pattern (not production, but territorial,  
 elected germ-cells) can not become serious Bolshevik  
 Parties. All that is true. But still this, al-  
 though a most important, organization principle of  
 Bolshevism, is not the whole of Bolshevism. It is  
 only a part of Bolshevization. But on the morrow  
 after we shall have succeeded in reconstructing a  
 given Party on the basis of production germ-cells  
 we shall face the most important question: how to  
 pour life into this production germ-cell? What  
 policy should the Party carry on to become a real  
 Bolshevik Party?

To Bolshevize a Party at the present time means  
 to know how to concentrate attention in each given  
 country on concrete central problems which give  
 the possibility to the given party to (1) become  
a mass Party, (2) to become a Party of combat and  
Leninism.

In England, for instance, that means now to  
 put in the foreground (1) trade unions questions  
 and (2) the colonial question. The central pro-  
 blem of the day consists in explaining in Marxist  
 and Leninist spirit to the masses of the members

- 8 -

of the trade unions the contact between economy and politics, because many, not only rank-and-file members of the British trade unions but even several from among "honestly mistaken left" and semi-left leaders of the British trade unions, are convinced that the Labor Party, with its MacDonaldis and Hendersons is but a servant, a flunky of the trade unions. These leaders of the trade union movement did not even happen to think so far that in reality the situation is just the opposite.

The tops of the British workmen are inspired by a peculiar "labor" imperialism. The British Party can not become a Bolshevik Party without having put at the center of its work the colonial question, side by side with the ~~the~~ trade union question and the question of the correct approach to the Labor Party.

In France the Bolshevization of the Party consists at the present moment in creating the tradition of a mass revolutionary labor Party in that country. There has been no such tradition in France. The Communist Party has confined itself entirely to this problem. More members into the Party! It is an intolerable situation when almost the entire French proletariat sympathizes with the French Communist Party, whereas our Paris organization consists only of several thousand workmen.

- 9 -

The struggle against Fascism, which is springing up under the protectorate of the "left block".

Not to lose one's head, not become embarrassed when the growth of the Party is proceeding at a good rate. Not to appear in a situation when events may grow over the head of the Party.

To settle correctly the question of the mutual relations with the United Confederation of Labor, having done away with all frictions at their very beginning, which are still noticed in this direction. To try to attain by all means a complete solidarity with the revolutionary trade unions.

To march toward the winning of labor centers in the provinces.

To give a worthy swing to the work among the peasantry and in the colonies.

Remembering all these problems it is necessary to work on the reorganization of the Party on the principle of factory germ-cells.

In Germany the Bolshevization of the Party at the present period consists in the first place in the correct solution of the trade union question. The German Communist Party has shown us in the course of last year an example how a Party which sincerely desires to be a Bolshevist Party is capable of making mistakes of a non-Bolshevist character. Such was the mistake of the German Communist Party in the trade union question before the Frankfurt Parteitag. This mistake must be corrected not only theoretically, not only by

- 10 -

resolutions, in newspapers, posters, but also in the everyday work of the Party, in all its practical policy.

Struggling correctly against Brandler's opportunism, which almost imperiled the German Communist Party, the Communist Party must at the same time struggle against the "left" abstraction, which tears the Party away from the labor masses. It must not underestimate the fact that we lost at the recent elections about 1,000,000 votes and, what is even more important, that the German Social-Democracy won about 1,500,000 votes. (My italics - translator). Now one must know how to carry on agitation in a new manner, carry it on so that it would "stick" to everyday work, the current sensations, the present life of the German workman. It is most necessary at present for the German Comrades to struggle against a tendency to build for themselves "a cell under a fir-tree", make charity out of need and be satisfied with a small organization of "pure" Bolsheviks instead of working untiringly so as to wrench away the masses from the influence of the Social-Democracy and bring them to our ranks.

In the S.S.S.R. the Bolshevization of the Party consists at present in ideological struggle against Trotskyism and the liquidation of Trotskyism as a "legal shading" in the Russian Communist Party.



- 11 -

In Poland the Bolshevization consists now in learning well Lenin's views on the peasant and national questions. The Polish comrades now have to return to a certain extent about 20 years backward because they did not share Lenin's views in these questions. But the experience of the world revolutionary movement proved the entire correctness of Lenin's views in comparison with "Luxemburgism" (It is worth while pointing out that the overcoming of faulty sides of "Luxemburgism" in theoretical and tactical spheres is in general one of the parts of Bolshevization).

And so on, and so forth.

We embraced only a few instances. We know well that the indications mentioned are not complete. These are only illustrations of the idea that Bolshevization in the first place means concretization, differentiation. To Bolshevize does not mean to clip hair in the same manner. To Bolshevize does not mean to paint all in one and the same color. On the contrary, to Bolshevize means in the first place to know definitely the social situation in a given country, where a given Party has to work directly. To Bolshevize it means to know as one's five fingers the entire economic situation of one's own country, all the political peculiarities of a given country, all the shadings of

- 12 -

political and economic life of a given country. To Bolshevize, it means to apply Lenin's teaching in one's own country under a given concrete situation.

The leaders of the Russian Whiteguardist bourgeoisie, which was defeated by us in our revolution, have an advantage over the leaders of the foreign bourgeoisies, which have not yet been defeated by the labor class, because they have taken into account certain "lessons of October". That is the leaders of the defeated Russian bourgeoisie understand rather well what Bolshevization is. Here is one instance. A rather well known leader of the Russian counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, P. Miliukov writes the following in an editorial entitled "Bolshevization" in the newspaper "DOLBEDNIE NOVOSTI" published in Paris:

"On November 27 the remains of Jaures were taken over to the Pantheon. This day was selected by the French Communists for making a review of their forces. In a capital which sent to Parliament almost the entire Communist fraction of this Parliament(?) it was not difficult to lead out into the streets a hundred thousand sympathizers of Communism. A visible comparison of this large crowd with its banners, Communist slogans which do not yield to Moscow ones, and no less expressive songs and cries, with the thin groups of

- 13 -

official participants of the festival and their followers, more disciplined but less noisy, could not but give an impression of the complete victory of the followers of Bolshevik tactics. "Paris took Jaures from the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democracy and returned him to the proletariat", this is the Communist comment, for the sake of which of course this street demonstration was staged".

Leading a hundred thousand (people aware of events claim that there was not a hundred but at least two hundred thousand) Paris workmen into the streets with slogans "which did not yield to Moscow ones", was justly valued by Miliukov as "Bolshevization".

Yes, to Bolshevize a Party, it means in the first place to lead under the banners of our Party the masses of the workmen, their vanguard, their flower, hundreds of thousands of workmen in European capitals. The rest will come of itself.