

ON THE ROAD TO BOLSHEVIZATION

COMMUNIST PARTY USA, 1929



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I.

INTRODUCTION

The ever-sharpening class struggles and the feverish preparations of the American capitalists for war against the workers' Republic of Russia, as well as for war against their imperialist rivals, raise most difficult and most important problems before the American Communists. The substance of these problems is the mobilization of the American workers for the class war.

A Bolshevik Party must be organizationally and ideologically a monolithic Party, hewn of one piece. Our American Party is not yet a Bolshevik Party. It is rent by a factional struggle of years' standing. This factionalism has weakened the power of resistance of the Party against opportunist influences.

The problem of mobilizing the American workers for the class war, therefore, presented itself to our Party, before all, in

the form of a problem of mobilizing its own forces. It was necessary that factionalism should be eradicated in order to establish the indispensable organizational unity. It was necessary to combat all influences in the Party of petty-bourgeois ideology, to fight against all opportunist tendencies and all right deviations in order to insure the ideological unity of the Party.

In our American Communist Party, however, the opportunist influences had grown strong enough to put up resistance against the process of preparation. To break this resistance, the leadership of our International Party, the Communist International had to help.

This little booklet contains a collection of decisions of our International Leadership concerning the tasks and the problems of our Party. We Communists must study them carefully. In the application of these decisions lies our preparation for the tasks ahead of us. The accomplishment of these tasks is our revolutionary duty.

Central Committee of the CPUSA

II.

EXCERPTS FROM THE THESES OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

After the first world imperialist war the international Labor movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The *first* period was the period of extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system, and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat. This period reached its apex of development in 1921, and culminated, on the one hand, with the victory of the USSR over the forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and with the consolidation of the Communist International.

On the other hand, it ended with a series of severe defeats for the Western European proletariat and the beginning of the general capitalist offensive. The final link in the chain of events in this period was the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923.

This defeat marked the starting point of the *second* period, a period of gradual and partial stabilization of the capitalist system, of the restoration of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand, this was a period of rapid restoration in the USSR, of extremely important successes in the work of building up socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat.

Finally came the *third* period, which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level, and in which the economy of the USSR is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-

war level (the beginning of the so-called “reconstruction period,” the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new technique).

For the capitalist system this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards state-capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the USSR, colonial movements, growth of the inherent contradictions of imperialism).

This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars: among the imperialist states themselves, wars of the imperialist states against the USSR, wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist

intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all *international antagonisms* (antagonisms between the capitalist states and the USSR, the military occupation of Northern China — which is the beginning of the partition of China — the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the *internal* antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the left of the masses of the working-class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of *colonial movements* (China, India, and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead — through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization — to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution.

The gigantic growth in the employment of internal combustion engines, electrification, the development of the chemical industry, the new methods of producing synthetic fuels and raw materials (benzine, artificial silk, etc.), the employment of light metals and the extensive development of automobile transport on the one hand, and the new forms of organization of labor, which is linked up with the extraordinarily rapid development of the endless chain system on the other, have revived the productive forces of capitalism. On this basis foreign trade is expanding and the export of capital is increasing to an extraordinary degree. The relative importance of the latter form of economic intercourse between countries has grown considerably compared with pre-war times.

In the sphere of economics is observed an exceptionally rapid growth of capitalist monopoly (cartels, trusts, and banking consortiums) which are exercising increasing influence on agriculture. Simultaneously with the organization of capital in cartels and trusts on a "national" scale, there is

an increase *in the growth of international finance capitalist combines*. At the same time a growth is observed in state-capitalist tendencies, both in the form of state-capitalism proper (state electrical stations, municipal industrial and transport enterprises), as well as in the form of the merging of private enterprises with the organs of the state.

Meanwhile the general crisis of capitalism is assuming new forms and is developing special and specific contradictions, which arise out of the radical structural changes that have taken place in the world economic system. The transference of the economic center of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trustified, to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States; the development of capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries; the disproportion between the rate of growth of the economic and military power of certain countries and the dimensions of their colonial possessions; the danger threatening the positions of the

imperialists in the colonies, primarily in China; the development of the USSR — the counter-balance to the world capitalist system which revolutionizes the working-class of all countries, and the toiling masses of the colonies — all these contradictions cannot but lead, in the final analysis, to another explosion.

The growing productive forces of capitalism come more and more into conflict with the restricted internal markets — which have contracted as a result of the state of ruin prevailing in a number of imperialist countries after the war, the growing pauperization of the peasant masses in the colonies — as well as with the structure of post-war world industry, the inherent contradictions of which have greatly increased and become more complicated as a result of the new, fundamental antagonism that exists between the USSR and the capitalist countries. The disturbance of the equilibrium between America and Europe finds most striking expression in the so-called “German problem” and in the decline of British imperialism. Germany, having rapidly