

# Bucharin Makes Impressive Speech at 25th Anniversary Celebration of Russian Communist Party

By ISRAEL AMTER

(Our European Staff Correspondent)

The Russian Communist Party has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary.

Altho the Party is only a few years old, the Bolsheviks who organized it, trace back their lineage to the Social-Democratic Party, which was founded in 1898. That was the date of the organization of the modern revolutionary movement in Russia. Within the party there soon arose factions—the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, who based their differences on matters of principles and tactics.

The principles underlying the Bolshevik movement and the factors that imparted impregnable strength to their faction were outlined in masterly, vigorous form by Comrade Bucharin in a brilliant address at the celebration arranged by the Moscow Trade Unions at the Moscow Trade Union Hall.

"There is one thing that distinguished our Party above all others," he said, "and that was Discipline.

"First of all, we observed Dis-

cipline of Thought. Some regarded our party as rigid, believing that we were narrow and dogmatic. We had adopted a Marxian standpoint and would not tolerate any deviation from that point of view.

"We had constantly to meet with criticism. There was criticism from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. It also was a good party. But it had in it such men as Bernstein, who demanded that there be 'freedom' of thought within the party. He got it in the German Party, owing to the growth of a certain influence—and see what we have today in Germany!

"The Bolsheviks considered it a most serious offense if a person diverged from real Marxism. Yes, they called us dogmatists—but that saved Marxism.

"All the other parties followed the war madness in 1914; our Party adhering to the orthodox point of view and judging all phenomena from that point of view, refused to be carried along by the madness—and thus was saved. Hence the Russian Social-Democratic Party could continue its Marxist way, while all the other parties were shattered.

"As a Marxian Party, the Bolshevik groups always properly evaluated capitalist epochs. Thus, twenty years ago, it discussed the nature and course of capitalist development. It opened a discussion with peasant and with nationalist socialists and in this manner obtained a correct point of view.

"There are some Marxists, who are not masters of Marxism, but of whom Marxism is the master. They are mountebanks. But others, like the Bolsheviks, are capable of adjusting themselves to changing conditions. They are masters of Marxism.

"Lenin, altho personifying the inner compulsion of Marxian thought, yet is capable of using Marxian philosophy as a criterion of action. Judging by the experience of the revolutionary movement, the Bolsheviks suggested the idea of Soviets. The Mensheviks looked at them in astonishment. 'What do you want a new form for?' they asked. 'Social-Democracy is all we need, and that is what we stand for.'

"Lenin has never hesitated to criticize Communists. He has told them openly that simply because they assume a Communist position

is no proof whatever of their ability in practice. Only recently he told them that there are plenty of people in the street who know far more than they do. Communists must learn to build up from the very bottom. If they prove to be incapable, bourgeois specialists will have to be put in. If Communists, therefore, do not wish this to happen, they must learn how to become Communists in practice.

"Many comrades hesitate when giving an answer to questions, feeling they may be judged as belonging either to the right or left. That is not the criterion for an answer—it must be a correct answer. Thus, in confronting the problems before us, some of the Comrades felt disappointed since the Party seemed to be getting more and more interested in the peasants. 'Yes, Comrades, the workers and peasants must be better correlated. Some of the workers thought that, as a result of this new tactic, the party was getting out of touch with the proletariat. The question is simply whether the Party shall be guided by the weight it bears, or shall determine the weight it will bear?'

"When the Revolution broke out, it came as a tremendous surprise to us: we could not believe that the workers were capable of such magnificent achievement. Now they are a big mass which, as yet inert and not understanding, must be dragged along.

"Then there was another factor that made us strong: discipline of organization. There were many things that separated us from the Mensheviks, but the important thing was that we demanded that only those who really work in the Party should be members of the Party. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, wanted also those who sympathize with the movement to be in the Party, such as doctors, lawyers, etc.

"A party such as ours must have not only discipline of thought, but also discipline of will. And we may say of our Party that that was not to be found in any other party in the world. Of course, we were laughed at. We were called soldiers, men not capable of free discussion. Well, history has shown who were right: look at the other parties today.

"A revolutionary party must be

able to adapt itself to all conditions. Today it must be in the trenches, tomorrow in the fields, then in airplanes. Only when it is a master of everything can it hope to conquer. First we sent the workers to the front, then we put them to work building railways. Then we sent them into the fields to harvest the crops. The workers, not comprehending our intentions, used to say that the Central Executive Committee were carrying on some indoor sport or were playing chess with them.

"And above it all stood the authority of Lenin. He was the teacher, not with a rod in his hand, but the master in whom the workers and the members of the Party saw a compendium of world experience.

"And now he is ill—very ill. Tomorrow the doctors will announce that he is a little better. We have the greatest specialists here, but we will bring them from any part of the world in order to save him. Still we dare not conceal the fact that his condition is very critical.

"At such a time, when conditions are improving economically and politically, we must face the worst

calamity—with Lenin on his sickbed. In the face of this possible catastrophe, it is our highest duty to be firmly united, to have a unity of purpose. Any group that tries to break our unity must be fought ruthlessly.

"And we must have close contact with the masses, for without that contact, the Party will cease to exist as a proletarian party. In the Trade Unions are the masses which the Party leads, and they, in turn, lead the broad masses.

"Long live our unity with the Trade Unions! Long live the unity of the Party! Long live the solidarity of the Russian Party with the parties of the other countries! Unity! Unity! That is our call."

With trip-hammer precision, with glistening eyes, standing before the 1,500 workers gathered in the Trade Union Hall, in his blue blouse, Bucharin told them the lessons of the experiences of the Bolsheviks and the Russian Communist Party—lessons that American Communists and the Communists of other countries have yet to learn.