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The COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

THE question of recruiting members for, and the regulation of the composition of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: The C.P.S.U., the working class, the peasants and the government machinery; with facts illustrative of the internal problems of the Party.

By

V. MOLOTOV

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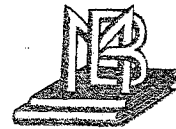
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The C.P.S.U.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

By
V. MOLOTOV



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FOREWORD.

THIS pamphlet is of interest to the European and American Communist Parties, not only from the point of view of the information it contains on the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but also in view of the regulation of the composition of the Party with which it deals, a question which, with various modifications, confronts them in their own daily activity as well.

A few remarks on the figures concerning the composition of the C.P.S.U., contained in the pamphlet. From these figures we find that 61 per cent. of the Party members are workers (by origin) and 39 per cent. non-workers. Among the latter 21 per cent. are peasants and 18 per cent. miscellaneous elements—employees, intellectuals, housewives, etc. On first sight it is not clear why non-proletarian elements should constitute over one-third of the membership. Prior to the revolution the make-up of the Party was more homogeneous, it was with few exceptions a Party of workers. But not only large numbers of workers have flocked to the Party; after the October victory the progressive elements of the other toiling sections have done so as well. A Communist Party cannot and should not refuse to accept truly loyal Communist elements, sincerely wishing and able to be of use to the revolution. This is particularly true concerning the poor peasants. It must be borne in mind that after the revolution many new Party organisations have cropped up in the rural districts, where no such organisations existed before.

That explains why the number of non-working elements has increased in the Party after the revolution

as compared with the period prior to the revolution. However, we wish to make the reservation that the above figures are average figures. In the principal labour districts where the main Party organisations are concentrated the percentage of non-workers is smaller and the number of workers considerably greater than the average figures show. Thus in the Leningrad organisation workers constitute 74 per cent., in Moscow about 72 per cent., and in the Ukraine 68 per cent. of the membership.

Naturally, in admitting progressive employees, intellectuals and peasants into the Party, we must watch that alien elements wishing to worm their way into the Party of proletarian dictatorship for ulterior motives, and in some cases even with sinister objects, should not get into the organisation.

This is accomplished by the Party by means of careful regulation of its ranks and the acceptance of new members; while the doors are wide open for workers the ranks are systematically sifted from those coming in under false colours, who followed the Party for a certain time but whose opportunist nature took the upper hand at a certain stage of development.

Owing to this regulation the social composition of the Party is being systematically improved, it becomes ever more homogeneous; the percentage of employees and miscellaneous elements constantly diminishes while that of the workers increases in the Party. This process of bringing about greater homogeneity in the C.P.S.U. will continue also in the future and due attention is now being paid to this matter by the whole Party.

The need for more extensive enrolment of progressive workers in the Party, improvement of the general mass and educational work of the Party, struggle

for strict Leninist consistency and unity in the Party, outlined in Molotov's pamphlet, holds good at the present time also for other sections of the Comintern.

A strong Party organisation, based on ideological unity and close contact with the working class, is now the elementary principle of organisational structure in all Comintern sections.

This principle is also one of the component parts of Leninism, one of the Leninist fundamentals of the Party. This principle has been forged in the international struggle of the proletariat, it has become the structural basis of the Communist Parties as elaborated by Lenin.

That one of the main features of Party structure is the question of regulation of its composition, is an axiom with all Communist parties. The Communist Parties of all countries are comprised primarily of workers. But it is a known fact that the influence of the Communist Parties on the working class increases with each class conflict, in each phase of the struggle, that the organisational results as a rule greatly lag behind this growth of political influence. That is why the practical approach to and proposals on the question of rallying workers to the Party outlined by Comrade Molotov and in the resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. are of immediate interest for all sections of the Comintern.

As far as the C.P.S.U. is concerned, its attitude on the question of regulation of its composition was fundamentally the same prior to the revolution, in its outlaw period. That attitude was to bring to the Party all progressive, all politically mature elements of the working class, and simultaneously to work intensely, training new reserves for the organisation.

As early as 1902, when the Bolshevik Party, as a centralised political organisation of the proletariat,

was being formed, Lenin, in presenting his organisational plan, said in his "What is to be Done?":—

"... Our first and most urgent duty is to help to develop working class revolutionaries who would be on the same level in relation to party activity as the intellectual revolutionaries."

The importance he ascribed to the creation of Party cadres of workers is seen from the following, also taken from the same work:—

"If we have specially trained detachments of revolutionary workers who have gone through a long period of schooling . . . then no intelligence service in the world will be able to cope with them, as these detachments of people who are heart and soul for the revolution will enjoy the unrestrained confidence of the broad masses of workers." (Lenin's Works, Volume IV.)

The strength of a proletarian party lies in its influence and in the confidence of the workers which it enjoys. And if the Party itself consists of people who are not only heart and soul loyal to the proletariat, but who themselves have come from the working class, that influence and confidence increases so that no police force in the world, i.e., no forces of the hostile class, with its governmental machinery, is in a position to break the organisation.

Lenin assigned to the Bolshevik Party the task of systematic work in training working class revolutionaries. His idea was that this work has to be developed to the utmost because to the extent that the revolutionary movement develops among the workers they give rise to ever larger numbers of talented people capable of guiding their revolutionary endeavours.

Lenin always, and from various angles, urged the task of drawing the progressive sections of the working class into the organisational orbit of the Party. He did so particularly in connection with the constant complication of the Party's tasks and the need to adapt the organisation for the fulfilment of new tasks.

Thus, during the 1905 revolution, Lenin wrote in an article entitled "The Reorganisation of the Party," that the new tasks call for a reorganisation of the Party. Parallel with the underground apparatus, the retention of which he considered obligatory, he urged the creation of new and broader organisations notwithstanding the revolutionary situation; claiming that "all conceded liberties are in the highest degree uncertain." He said—:

"It is absolutely necessary to create new and ever new contacts, open and semi-Party (and accessory) organisations, side by side with the conspirative machine. . . Without this, the adaptation of our activity to the new conditions and our ability to solve new tasks is inconceivable."

Without new organisations, without new and wider contact, and hence, without much wide sections of workers in the Party and without new cadres, it would be impossible to "solve new tasks."

That is why Lenin persistently worked over his Party comrades, who did not immediately understand the peculiarities of the situation, who feared the widening of the Party by taking in workers, even in a revolutionary situation, to convince them of the need for a decisive change in the organisational structure of the Party. The working class, said Lenin, is instinctively in favour of the Party, and the ten years of Party activity have done very, very much in turning this blindness into consciousness.

The workers, said he, have accumulated fighting experience, they have shown their readiness and ability to fight under the leadership of the Party, and 99 out of every 100 who join the Party are its conscious adepts.

“Onward, then, more courageously. Take hold of the new weapon, pass it on to new people, multiply your points of support, call all Social Democratic workers to your side, get them by the hundreds and thousands into the ranks of your Party organisations.”

That was Lenin's call to the Party in 1905. By this, of course, he did not mean that these workers be simply taken into the Party, but that they be given active and even the most responsible work to perform. He said:—

“Let their delegates revive the ranks of our central bodies; let a new spirit of young and revolutionary Russia be brought in by them.”¹

Thus, the task of rallying workers to the Party is linked up by Lenin with the task of revival and renewal of the leading cadres of the Party. That task he always held up before the Party in the later period both before the revolution and particularly so after the revolution. For instance, during the civil war he wrote:—

“More new people from the masses into the Party for independent participation in the erection of a new life—such is our motto in the struggle against all difficulties, such is our road to victory.” (Lenin, “The Workers' State and the Party Week,” Collected Works, Vol. 20.)

¹ The above quotations are taken from Lenin's article: “The reorganisation of the Party.” Volume VIII, Lenin's works.

This Leninist idea on the question of drawing workers into the Party must find more application than hitherto in the practical work of the sections of the Communist International. There is no doubt that tens of thousands of revolutionary workers who have become class-conscious and who can and should be drawn into Party activity are grouping themselves around these sections in the various countries, such as Germany, Great Britain, France and others. That this is so is seen from the recent strike in the Ruhr, for instance; where the Party organisations hardly made any progress during the year prior to the lock-out and where, during the lock-out, it managed to take in about two thousand workers, and to attract a much larger number of workers to the revolutionary trade union opposition. There is no doubt that such progressive workers are to be found also elsewhere, and that they are waiting for a favourable moment because our Parties have not yet learned the knack of approaching these comrades in their daily practical work.

The following remark by Lenin in the same article on “Reorganisation of the Party” deserves particular attention:—

“If we do not make use of the moment we miss it, because the need for organisation, which is very sharply felt by the workers, may assume the distorted and dangerous form of wishing to strengthen some ‘independents’ or other.”

We know that the fact that workers are still joining the Parties of the Second International to-day is to a certain extent due to the insufficient activity of the Communist Parties, which are unable to rally the workers whom they rouse to political life.

Lenin ascribed particular importance to the build-

ing of Party organisations in the large factories, i.e., where the basic sections of the working class are concentrated. He wrote:—

“Factory groups are of particular importance for us. The main strength of the movement lies in the organisation of workers in the large factories, as they constitute not only the numerically preponderant section of the working class, but particularly the most influential, developed and militant sections of the working class. Every factory must be our fortress.”

The C.P.S.U., both before and since the revolution, has been so built that its fundamental nuclei are situated in the large factories. The C.P.S.U. first and foremost pays attention to the large factory nuclei. It is true that the European sections of the Comintern and particularly the C.P.G.B. have taken a series of practical steps in strengthening their positions in the large factories, but there is still much to be desired in this respect.

Lenin always emphasised that the acceptance of new members to the Party must be accompanied by strict selection. Selection must be particularly strict in so far as the non-proletarian elements are concerned. But he deemed it necessary also to prove the workers.

The controversy on the question of Party membership at the Second Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1903 is now generally known. In arguing against the future Mensheviks, Lenin expressed the following ideas: The Party does not need people who are flippant about the revolution, but people who carry out tasks assigned to them by the Party in preparing and organising its ranks. The eloquent intellectuals must not be trusted because most of them will not go

with the Party to the very end. Only exceptional individuals will do so, and they, as all other Party members, should be put under Party control. They should be placed in a position which would give the Party the fullest possibility to guide their political activity. Lenin was also opposed to the idea that every striker should have the right to regard himself as a member of the Party. It is one thing to participate in a strike and another matter to dedicate oneself wholly to the revolution. The latter presupposes a high degree of consciousness, which the entire working class cannot attain under capitalism. That is why it is necessary to select even among the workers who wish to join the Party. Later, when the Mensheviks advanced the idea of a broad Labour Party in the form of a Labour Congress, Lenin said:

“Our Party should be enlarged five-fold and even ten-fold, but chiefly, and *almost exclusively*, by rallying purely proletarian elements, and exclusively, under the ideological standard of revolutionary Marxism.”

Lenin particularly emphasised the need for the strictest selection in accepting new members after the revolution even in regard to workers. He urged that privileges be granted in joining the Party only to workers of many years standing, maintaining that “genuine petty bourgeois elements,” remnants of the former upper classes and peasants had flocked to the factories.

Parallel with this, Lenin ascribed great importance to the cleansing of the Party. The C.P.S.U. has many times, partly or in whole, sifted its ranks (through examinations and re-registrations). The question of cleansing the organisation has again been preliminarily decided at the November Plenum, and

it will be finally decided at the coming National Party Conference.

Is the question of cleansing the Communist Party of any significance in the capitalist countries?

Naturally, the question there has not the same importance as in the ruling proletarian party, but it is of significance also to them, although in a different way. The Communist Party, which is the sole political Party in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship is faced with elements organised with the object of utilising their membership in the ruling party in favour of elements alien and hostile to the Communist Party and the proletariat. But the Communist Parties in capitalist countries may be tainted by alien elements for different reasons, especially, of course, in countries where they work legally. That danger is chiefly that opportunist elements of various types may flood its ranks. The Comintern Sections in the capitalist countries are therefore confronted with the task of filtering their ranks in order to eliminate those elements.

It should be remembered that Lenin considered it particularly important to cleanse the ranks of the Communist Parties of opportunist and petty bourgeois influences. In this respect the Second Congress of the Comintern decided as one of the 21 conditions of affiliation to the Comintern that:—

“The Communist Parties of all countries in which Communists work legally must institute periodical purgings (re-registrations) of the Party ranks so that the organisation may be systematically cleansed of petty bourgeois elements which inevitably make their way into it.”

Naturally, the cleansing of the ranks in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries cannot be done in the same way as in the C.P.S.U.

In the C.P.S.U. the ranks are purged by means of special commissions which verify each individual member, his past and present, the degree of his ideological firmness, his Communist stamina, his private life, etc.

The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are confronted with this task in a different way. First of all they must test their members in economic and political struggles. Of chief importance in this is the improvement of the leading ranks, the officials, the removal from responsible and leading posts, and if necessary even expulsion, of those who cannot get rid of their social democratic traditions and views, who want to force these on the Communist Parties, who interfere with the application of a revolutionary programme and tactics, who engage in factional feuds in the Party. This work in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries must be linked up with intensive recruiting of progressive workers to the Party and the promotion of new ranks to leading posts in the factory nuclei.

RECRUITING WORKERS AND REGULATION OF THE GROWTH OF THE PARTY.

THE question of the make-up and regulation of the development of the Party became one of the burning political issues after the October Revolution. That is so because of the exclusive rôle which the Party plays in the general system of the proletarian dictatorship. Our Party cannot be regarded as separate from the mechanism and the whole system of proletarian dictatorship. The Party is one of the most important organs of that dictatorship, it embodies within itself the leading rôle of the working class in the proletarian revolution. Bolshevism also devoted much attention to the question of composition of the Party, the question of how to build the Party and, in general, the principles of Party structure, prior to the October Revolution. But since the Party has taken power that question has become of particular importance. The rôle of our Party has since then increased throughout the international labour movement. And that is natural, for the Party leads the first proletarian State. However, to the extent that the peasantry constitute the overwhelming mass of our population and the numerical relative strength of the working class is insignificant, the realisation of the leading rôle of the working class in relation to all toilers and, consequently also, the realisation of the leadership of the Party in the proletarian State, is connected with unusual difficulties. To be in the position of a ruling Party in

our proletarian State necessitates particular attention to the matter of strengthening the Party's ties, especially with the working class. Without the firm support of the workers and all toilers there can be no question of socialist construction. That is why the Party always considers the question of recruiting more workers to its organisations. But the question of the development of the Party was always bound up primarily with the question of bringing the most progressive elements of the working class into its ranks.

Parallel with this the Party has, in the course of the last ten or eleven years, keenly considered the question of cleansing its ranks of alien elements, of people who joined it under false colours, and of degenerates. Intensive recruiting of working men and women to the Party was invariably bound up with the purging of the Party organisations of socially and ideologically alien elements.

At the present time, when we begin to reconstruct our economic system along socialist lines all along the front, the question of the composition of the Party and its growth is becoming of particular importance. The Fifteenth Congress stated in its resolution on the report of the Central Committee that: "The building up of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the economic reconstruction of the country, constitute at this moment a most important factor in the international revolutionary movement." The task of socialist construction has thus become the major task of the Party.

What does it mean to effect a socialist economic reconstruction? It means not only a maximum development of industry, and particularly heavy industry, on the basis of its general reconstruction, but also a general increase in individual poor and middle peasant enterprise, a reconstruc-

tion of agriculture on the basis of large scale and collective technique. The reconstruction period is an epoch in the course of which the working class, in firm alliance with the peasantry, advances all along the line, including the rural areas, determined to eradicate the roots of capitalism nourished by small commodity production. It is a period of creation of the basic technical and economic requisites for the building up of socialism. As we have already entered that period, the tasks of reconstruction determine the chief elements of our endeavours. The working class, the vanguard and the leading class in the proletarian revolution, must shoulder the colossal weight of realisation of these tasks. The tasks of reconstruction cannot be fulfilled without extraordinary heroism of the workers, without singular self-denial, determination and discipline of the proletarian ranks. Only on this condition will the working class retain its supremacy in relation to all toilers engaged in the construction of socialism. Lenin said on the tasks of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to Communism that:

"That transition is impossible without the supremacy of the class which alone has been trained by capitalism for large scale production and which alone is alien to the interests of the small proprietor."

In the period when economic reconstruction on new foundations, on the foundation of modern technique and socialisation of small production in the form of large scale enterprise, begins, it must be particularly remembered that it can be accomplished only if the leadership is guaranteed of that class "which alone has been trained by capitalism for large scale production and which alone is alien to the interests of the small proprietor."

The Party is the vanguard of the working class, and must assemble in its organisations all the best and progressive sections of the working class. This is particularly necessary now when our practical work in economic development is being ever more inseparably connected with the realisation of the tasks of direct socialist construction.

The Party decided at its Thirteenth Congress that more than half of its members must be workers from the bench; that was more than four years ago. That task could not be realised within a year, and it has not been realised as yet. A year ago the Central Committee again resolved to take up this task, which was to be realised in the course of two years. The year which has elapsed since that decision of the Central Committee has shown that if we proceed at the present rate of recruiting workers into the Party, that task will not be accomplished by the end of the two years. In some places the realisation of this task has been undertaken by means of too simple and mechanical means. But we have reasons to believe it absolutely necessary to carry out the decision that 50 per cent. of the Party members shall be industrial workers. Not only must we accomplish this task, but we must set it as a minimum which must be realised in the immediate future, and that having realised it we must go further along that road.

But it is no mere quantity that we want, not simply 50 per cent. of industrial workers in the Party. What we need is that that 50 per cent. shall consist of truly progressive workers, that they be workers capable of being in the vanguard of the working class supervising the work of socialist industrialisation of the country. Tasks so enormous have risen before us that we must ask ourselves—

can we realise them with our present forces, with the present ranks of our Party? We must ask ourselves what conclusions we must draw from the tasks of economic reconstruction concerning the question of the composition and growth of the Party. In answering these questions we will have to say that at least 50 per cent. of our Party members must be industrial workers, and that this is but a minimum for the Communist vanguard of the working class.

What does it mean to be in the vanguard of the working class now in the reconstruction period? It means, first of all, to be politically sound and determined in surmounting the difficulties of socialist construction. It means not to lose our outlook, to resist all petty-bourgeois pressure, and to stand firmly on our international positions. To be in the vanguard of the workers under the present conditions means to work with exclusive energy in increasing production, in developing industry, and especially in helping to intensify the production of means of production and heavy industry. One of the major tasks now is persistent and courageous struggle against bureaucracy in our government apparatus, in the mass organisations (particularly the unions), and in the Party itself. Without a stubborn struggle against bureaucracy we will not be able to interest the necessary millions of workers and rural toilers in the matter of socialist construction. To be in the vanguard means to work most energetically on our own cultural development and the raising of the cultural level of the masses. To be in the vanguard of the working class in the reconstruction period means to work energetically in the consolidation of the workers' and peasants' alliance, and to help in every way in the advancement of agriculture and its gradual reconstruction on the basis of a higher technique and collectivism.

To be in the vanguard of the workers means always to be at the head of the masses. In the present conditions, especially for the leading ranks, this means a considerable strengthening of the connections with the mass of the working class and with the general mass of toilers. Only by stressing these tasks shall we correctly approach the question of the Communist vanguard, the Party, its composition and its growth.

THE PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

LET us now take up the question of the present composition of the Party and the changes which have taken place within it during recent years. Here we should begin with the main question—the Party and the working class. What is our party in relation to the composition of the working class?

Before giving statistics, I want to make some reservations. To answer the question raised one must know not only the social composition of the Party, but also the composition of the working class itself. Unfortunately we have no more or less satisfactory data on the question of the composition of the working class. We are living in a proletarian State, but we are still badly studying the composition of the working class. For instance, on such questions as the industrial status of the workers, or the workers' relations with agriculture, or the presence of hostile social elements in the midst of the working class, in our institutions and organisations, we have either no serious data at all or what we have is absolutely vague. It appears that we have as yet not been seriously studying the composition of the working class. In the future, when we analyse the different social sections of the Party, we will have to use the necessary parallel figures in relation to the composition of the working class. Of course, the figures on the composition of the workers in the Party and the working class in general give important material from which the main political deductions may be drawn.

What is the composition of our Party?

We have 39,213 nuclei (not including the Red Army) and in addition to that 3,370 village candidate groups. Thus, we have about 40,000 nuclei of which 9,963 are proletarian and 20,660 rural nuclei, the rest being in offices, etc.

On July 1 of this year we had in the Party 1,418,060 members and candidates. The analysis of the social composition I shall now make will not apply to the Red Army, etc. With these exceptions (concerning about 100,000 members) we have 1,317,369 people in the Party. It is on the basis of these figures that I am going to work.

We will take the social composition. There are 793,984 (almost 800,000) workers, i.e., 61 per cent. of the membership in the Party. Of the organisations in which the percentage of workers is much above the average, Leningrad occupies first place—74 per cent.; the industrial districts of the R.S.F.S.R.,¹ second place—70 per cent.; the Ukraine third place—68 per cent. These organisations consist of more than two-thirds workers.

How has the Party composition changed in the recent years. For this there is no need to take the statistics for the entire period. It will suffice to take the main figures on the composition of the Party beginning with January 1924; in cases about which we have no complete figures for 1924 we will take the figures beginning with the following years. This means that the figures on the composition of the Party will be given chiefly in comparison with the period preceding the Lenin recruitment.² It should be mentioned, by the way, that the Lenin recruitment

¹ The Leningrad region, the Donetz Basin, parts of Ukraine, the Urals, the central industrial districts (including the Moscow province) and others.

² The Lenin enrolment took place twice after Lenin's death, in 1924 and 1925, and brought 400,000 workers into the party.

marked a new epoch in the development of the Party and that therefore the statistics enabling us to compare the composition prior to the Lenin recruitment and after it are particularly important now.

Beginning with 1924 the Party membership has increased from 446,000 to 1,317,000, i.e., about three-fold. During the same period the relative strength of the working class section has risen from 44 per cent. to 61 per cent. The rise of the relative strength of the workers in the Party was accompanied by a corresponding diminution in the percentage of office workers and "miscellaneous," whose percentage has dropped from 36 to 18, i.e., has been cut in half. The percentage of peasants in the Party has risen from 20 to 21, i.e., it has practically remained stable.

But we are interested not only in the social composition of the Party and the social origin of the members, we are more interested in the percentage of workers actually engaged in industry. It is only they who live under the same conditions as the working masses in general, and it is through them that the Party establishes firm contact with the working class. We are naturally particularly interested in the question of growth and composition of the Party as far as this proletarian section is concerned.

Here are the outstanding figures on this question.

There are now 552,536 industrial workers in the Party constituting 42 per cent of the total membership. These include workers, agricultural labourers, the so-called junior staff (watchmen, cleaners, etc.—in the factories). There are some organisations in which the industrial workers constitute more than 60 per cent. These are few. Among them are the Grozny organisation in North Caucasus, the Stalin and Artemov organisations in Donbas and the Zlatov organisation in the Urals. They are not municipal organisations but include entire districts, i.e.,

urban and rural territories. There are altogether 19 district organisations in which the percentage of workers employed in industry is over 50. Now as to the dynamics in the composition of the Party.

Compared with the period preceding the Lenin recruitment the number of party members employed in industry has increased $6\frac{1}{2}$ times. This shows how much the composition of the factory nuclei has changed in the course of the last four or five years. If we take the period beginning with 1925—with regard to that period we have statistics concerning all groups belonging to the Party—the picture will be as follows: the number of workers has almost doubled; the number of peasants on the land has more than doubled (although in absolute figures the increase in the number of industrial workers is somewhat greater than that of peasants); the number of office workers and others has increased a little over 150 per cent. It is interesting to note that in relation to the beginning of 1925 the percentage of industrial workers in the Party has remained practically unaltered. In 1925 they constituted 41 per cent. and now 42 per cent. Thus we have made no marked progress in the last $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in increasing the relative strength of industrial workers in the Party. In the period of 1926 and in the beginning of 1927 there was even a slight decline in the relative strength of industrial workers in the Party which was later made good by the October recruitment of last year and the first half of this year.

What is the Communist strength in the working class in general? In other words, how big is the Communist stratum in the proletariat? If we take the factory workers (2,900,000) we find that the Communists constitute 12 per cent. of the total (more exactly, 11.9 per cent.), as against 11.4 per cent. at the beginning of 1925. If we take the entire mass

of workers not confined to the three million factory workers alone, their number is, according to the Central Statistical Department, 7,148,000 (the average number of workers in the U.S.S.R. in 1927-28). Among these are included the factory workers, transport workers, agricultural labourers, builders, workers in small and handicraft industries, and the junior staff connected directly with industry. It is difficult to find an accurate figure as to the Communist stratum in the various sections of the working class. We can give only approximate figures. As pointed out above, the Communists constitute 12 per cent. of the factory proletariat; among the transport workers 14 per cent. are Communists. In the other sections of the working class the percentage of Communists is much lower. Thus among the building workers and the workers employed in the small and handicraft industries the Communists constitute only 5 per cent., whereas among the agricultural labourers they constitute about 1 per cent. Let us take the figures on the various branches of industry. The highest percentage of Communists is to be found in the oil-fields—18.5 per cent. Pretty nearly one-fifth of the oil workers belong to the Party. Then comes the printing industry, where the percentage is about the same. A little below follow the leather workers, the metal workers, the chemical and food workers. We should mention here that although the metal workers' average in the Party is about 14 per cent., in the Urals, the largest metallurgical centre, they comprise a little over 9 per cent. In the Ukraine, the percentage of Communists is below the average in all industries. Finally, we will take the figures of the two largest cities of the country—Moscow and Leningrad. In the Moscow province the workers in the Party constitute 9 per cent. of the total number of workers, while in the Leningrad province they con-

stitute over 19 per cent. This is due to the difference in the kind of industry and the corresponding cultural and political level of the workers of these large industrial centres.

On the question of the possibility of attracting new proletarians to the Party we will take up the so-called "gravitation" towards the Party. In the last 3½ years, 1,867,000 applications have been made to our Party. Of these about one million were filed by workers. The number of new members accepted during the 3½ years is 793,000—57 per cent. of whom are workers. It should be mentioned that whereas among the new applicants accepted as candidates the workers predominate, it is not so when it comes to transferring candidates to full-fledged membership. The Party must make greater effort in transferring working class candidates to full-fledged membership.

What reserves has the Party among the workers?

The main reserve consists of the non-Party active workers. These are the workers who are engaged in the various phases of social activity in the trade unions, at production conferences, in the Soviets, the co-operatives, women delegate meetings, the Y.C.L., etc. It is absolutely impossible to compile any figures on this. If we were to take only the workers who do one kind of work or other in the trade unions, who collect dues in their departments, for instance, as active trade unionists, then there is about a million of them. But there is another way of judging the activity of non-Party workers. Thus, for example, there are over 100,000 working women delegates, tens of thousands of

† Production conferences meet regularly to discuss questions concerning the improvement of the methods of production. They consist chiefly of active workers, but technicians and members of the administration also participate.

active co-operators and people working in the Soviets, thousands of active workers are to be found in the Young Communist organisations in the factories. Properly speaking, the entire proletarian Young Communist section is a Party reserve, and it consists of about 650,000 young men and women. Of what significance these non-Party active workers are in swelling the ranks of the Party organisations may be seen from the fact that two-thirds of the workers who participated prior to the October recruitment[†] in the work of the various proletarian organisations have now joined the Party.

Who are these active non-Party proletarians? It is admitted that in many cases their level is quite high. Many examples could be given to show that non-Party workers complain of the low cultural and political level of Communists. These are facts. On the other hand, there are considerable sections of truly active and advanced workers among them. It is among these that new cadres of loyal Soviet workers, active builders of Socialism, develop. I will give you an illustration taken from the material of the Organising Department of the Central Committee on the composition of the active non-Party workers. Here is an example giving you an idea of an active worker who is particularly interested in co-operation:

"Drozdetsky, an active worker (45), employed in the Basakov factory, told the Commission how in his free evening hours he goes from co-operative to co-operative to observe. He found once in a co-operative shop that a water-pipe was out of order. Large quantities of flour were being

† The October recruitment took place in the autumn of 1927 on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution (October 25th-November 7th by the Roman calendar).

flooded. Comrade Drozdetsky called out the manager and asked him to take immediate measures to save the flour. The manager told him to mind his own business. Then Comrade Drozdetsky took out his co-operative membership card and a newspaper containing an article urging co-operative members to watch the work of their co-operatives, and said that he would not budge until the flour was saved. The result was that the manager called up a plumber, the pipe was fixed, and steps were taken to dry the flour."

This is but a small example. To a certain extent it is characteristic of our co-operatives, but it also shows the stuff our active non-Party workers, whose number is legion, are made of. At any rate, when the question of grain and flour has become a matter of such great importance, active workers who have their eyes on the doings of the co-operatives are very useful, and they are truly progressive elements taking an active part in the building up of Socialism.

Among the various working-class strata of importance in filling the ranks of our Party first attention should be paid to the Young Communists. At the present time about one-third of the new Party recruits come from the Y.C.L. The colossal importance of the Young Communist League is in this respect obvious. There is no doubt that the mass of Communist young workers are the chief reservoir of our Party. That is why we must call attention to the fact that not all is perfect with regard to the growth of the Party organisation, as far as the Young Communists are concerned. Thus, among the Young Communists joining the Party, there are 5.5 per cent. fewer industrial workers than among the new members in general. On the

other hand, among the Young Communists joining the Party, office workers constitute 6 per cent. more than among the other new Party members. The Party organisations and the Young Communist League must do something in this respect.

An enormous and one of the main reservoirs in the coming period will be the mass of working women, who constitute about 30 per cent. of the working class. We are very much behind in this respect. We have altogether only 172,000 women in the Party, 41 per cent. of whom are factory workers. There is a marked increase of women in the Party to be observed in recent years—from 9 per cent. in 1924 to 13 per cent. in 1928. But this percentage is absolutely unsatisfactory as yet. The working women in the Party constitute only 6.5 per cent. of the female proletariat. In such an important industry employing female labour as the textile industry, women Communists comprise less than 4 per cent. of the workers. Of the female farm hands working on labour agreements (189,000) only 1.3 per cent. belong to the Party. From this it is clear that the Party verily has an inexhaustible reservoir among the working women. It should be mentioned that the percentage of female agricultural workers in the Party is considerably lower than the percentage of male labourers. This indirectly shows that among the working women employed in industry there are broad proletarian ranks among whom there is good material for our Party.

In deciding the question of more intensive recruiting of working men and women to the Party we must bear in mind also the difficulties we have to surmount in carrying these tasks out. We must remember the need for serious attention to the proletarian character of the new ranks coming to the Party. The

figures on the so-called proletarian standing (statistics on nine central industrial provinces) direct our attention to that. From them it is clear that the industrial (or labouring, to be more exact) status of the Party members is an average of 14 to 17 years, whereas the industrial (labouring) status of candidates is an average of 10-12 years. The figures on the October recruitment show that 45 per cent., or almost half of the new workers accepted to the Party, have an industrial standing of less than 5 years. This is largely due to the considerable numbers of young workers, but that is not all. In the rural areas there are also considerable changes to be observed in the Communist ranks. Among these there is also the difference between the Party members and candidates—among the labouring Party members only 10 per cent are on the land; among the same class of candidates about 17 per cent are on the land. It is clear that we are attracting to the Party sections of workers on the land. All this requires the greatest attention to the proletarian character of the newly-accepted members.

As already mentioned, we have no more or less reliable data on the composition of the working class and we know that that composition has considerably changed during the war and the revolution. The working class has become less homogeneous. Hundreds of thousands of the best proletarians have fallen out of its ranks in the course of the last ten to fifteen years. On the other hand, the ranks of the working class have been swelled by considerable sections who have but recently come from the land. We need not forget that a certain section of directly alien social elements, coming from the classes ruined by the revolution, have joined its ranks during the war and the revolution. The growing heterogeneous nature of the proletarian ranks must be remembered

when we recruit workers for the Party. We must avoid membership drives and mechanical methods such as quotas, instructions from above, etc. We must see to it that when new members are accepted attention should be paid especially to workers with an old industrial standing and in general to the most truly proletarian elements. The reserves of the Party in the working class are enormous. The ranks of Non-Party active workers are growing and they comprise the best material for the Party. Our aim that 50 per cent. of the Party membership should be industrial workers is but a minimum for the next two years. In some organisations we must make much progress compared with the present relative strength of the workers, and we must see to it that over 50 per cent. of their membership are industrial workers. With regard to other organisations, especially in relation to the national territories and republics in the north and south, matters are of course different. Here we must particularly emphasise the need for intensive recruiting of proletarian elements coming from the native inhabitants. We must emphasise the need for a higher percentage of aborigines in the nationality republics and districts.

It is unconditionally possible to ensure that 50 per cent. of the Party membership should be industrial workers. For this at least 80 per cent. of the newly-accepted members in the next two years should be industrial workers and that at least 300,000 to 350,000 industrial workers be taken in. This should be done by taking in the most loyal, active and determined proletarian builders of socialism.

THE RURAL PARTY ORGANISATION.

WE shall now take up the question of the rural Party organisations.

The statistical matter on the composition of the rural Party organisations recently obtained calls for determined measures to improve the state of affairs.

Take the most striking figures from the recent investigations. The Central Statistical Department investigated the farms of a number of rural districts, among which were also farms of Communists. The investigation affected 574 groups of farmers among whom there were over 4,000 Communists. This insignificant group of farms does not enable us to draw conclusions concerning the rural Communists throughout the country, but the figures of the Central Statistical Department enable us to judge concerning some of the most important tendencies in the development of our rural organisation.

From the material we find the relative strength of workers in the rural Party organisations is 25 per cent., among these the agricultural labourers working for wages constitute about 8 per cent. In judging the social composition of the rural organisations, the question of the relative strength of the well-to-do elements is very important. The Central Statistical Department has compiled very interesting figures on this question. A comparison of the relative strength of the most well-to-do section of the rural population with the corresponding percentage in the composition of the rural Party organisations is very significant. The figures show that farms, the average value of the means of production of which is from 800 to 1,600 roubles, constitute 13 per cent of all farms, while the corresponding percentage of farmers in the Party

organisation is 20. The number of farms, the value of the means of production of which is above 1,600 roubles (in most cases that applies to rich farmers), constitute 3 per cent. of all farms, while the corresponding figure in the Party is over 4 per cent. Thus, the relative strength of the well-to-do farmers in the rural Party organisation is considerably higher than their relative strength in the rural population in general. The Central Statistical Department has, in addition to that, separately classified the Communists exclusively engaged in agriculture. In this the results are still less favourable for us. Among that group of Communists the farmers possessing means of production to the value of 800 to 1,600 roubles constitute almost 27 per cent. (as against 13 per cent. of the population) and farmers possessing means of production to the value of over 1,600 roubles—8 per cent. (as against 3 per cent. of the population) of the Party membership. These facts emphasise the great relative strength of the rich section of the rural population in our organisation. We will take another glaring example of the same type. According to the same figures of the Central Statistical Department, almost 60 per cent. of the Communist farmers in the Crimea employ hired labour. The Ibrahim case¹ was no mere accident. It had its roots in the rich peasantry, and, as may be seen, in some of the rich elements in our organisation. That the figures of the Central Statistical Department have on the whole correctly reflected the social nature of our rural organisations can be confirmed by the figures concerning 986 Communist farmers taken from the census in the Vologod province. According to those statistics, we have the following picture; the

¹ The ex-chief of the Crimean Government which is part of the R.S.F.S.R. He was shot for supporting counter-revolutionary, wealthy and criminal elements.

number of farmers possessing two horses and over constitute 7 per cent of the population, while the number of Communists of the same category constitute 12 per cent of the Party membership; the number of farmers owning 3 heads of cattle and over constitute 20 per cent of the population, whereas the number of Communists of the same category constitute 29 per cent. of the membership. These figures emphasise no less glaringly the great relative strength of the well-to-do farmers in the rural Party organisations.

Let us examine the position of the Socialist elements in agriculture.

Take the government farms. We have 5,885 government farms and only one-tenth of them, 602, have Party nuclei. Nine-tenths of the government farms have no Communist nuclei. Only 7,280 workers on government farms, out of a total of 140,000 belonging to the agricultural union, e.g., 5 per cent. are Communists. Such is the state of affairs in the government farms.

Take the collective farms. In May of this year we had 32,500 collective farms, comprising about 400,000 farmers. The number of nuclei in the collective farms on July 1st was 587 and the number of Communists a little over 13,000. But here is a remarkable thing about the question of the rôle of the Party organisation in collective farming. Only a little over 4 per cent. of all rural Communists belong to collective farms! Of the 311,000 rural Communists, only a little over 13,000 belong to collective farms. The fact that only 4 per cent. of the Communist farmers belong to collective farms is very ominous. In this connection I will give you two examples taken from "Bednota," a peasant paper. Here is a letter from a secretary of a Volost

† The rural organ of the Central Committee C.P.S.U.

Committee, Comrade Serzhantov, Topolkov volost, Besegon yuezd, in the province of Tver. He writes:

"On August 1st, 1928, we had in the Topolkov volost organisation altogether 21 members and candidates; three of them were poor peasants, one worker, seven middle peasants, six office workers, and four well-to-do peasants. Not a single Communist belonged to a collective farm. Both the well-to-do and the middle peasantry cling to their individual enterprise. As to the well-to-do Communists, I think that they came to us prior to the Fifteenth Congress. I came across the following fact: In July I started to organise a collective farm in the village of Filatina, where my farm is situated. The non-Party peasants gladly came in, but the rich Party member, Ivan Gussev, categorically refused to join us for fear that our farm should fall to pieces and that he would not get his land back. By this refusal he undermined the organisation. Ivan Beliakov agitates against the collective farm, telling the peasants that the Party is wrong in urging them to organise collective farms. We have quite a few such Party members. The well-to-do Communists who possess their own farms not only do not agitate in favour of collectivism, but are definitely against it."

Here is a passage from another letter, from Comrade E. Tomson, from the village of Udino, Yartsev yuezd, province of Smolensk. He writes:

"Only one Party member joined the commune. All others still cling, on various pretexts, to their individual farms. Our Party members agitate among the peasants in favour of communes and collective farms. But that agitation is not successful, and gives no positive results."

Such are the facts we meet with in our rural organisations. After this the question arises, can we accomplish the socialist reconstruction of agriculture with such members, can this composition of our organisations guarantee a correct enforcement of the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress concerning more aggressiveness towards the rural rich? The task of advancing and transforming agriculture has now become of extraordinary and immediate importance. In contrast to industry, we have not yet reached the pre-war level in agriculture. In that economic sector we are making painfully slow progress, while the problem of advancement of agriculture (increasing the yield, widening the cultivated areas, raising the technical level of agriculture), and the co-operation and collectivisation of the peasantry, stands out very sharply to-day. The tasks of agricultural progress depend on the reconstruction and development of productive co-operation and collectivisation.

From this it follows that in the composition of the rural organisations, as characterised in the figures given above, we must effect a decisive change so as to harmonise it with our tasks in the rural areas. It must be realised that we cannot postpone any further the problem of a cardinal improvement, the question of cleansing and renovation of our rural ranks. If we are not simply talking, but are seriously undertaking to advance and gradually to transform agriculture, the present make-up of our rural organisations can by no means be satisfactory to us. We find in our rural organisations a considerable percentage of elements incapable of realising these tasks, elements who even work directly against their realisation.

Attention must be focussed on the shady sides in the work of our rural organisations. Without this

there can be no cardinal improvement. But we must understand also the difficulties under which the rural Communists have to work. Our assistance to these organisations is still inadequate, and really insignificant. This notwithstanding the fact that loyal Party and Soviet workers in the rural areas are in dire need. Thus, when we approach the question of the composition of our Party ranks, not from the viewpoint of automatic regulation or the viewpoint of dry percentages, but of the substance of the matter, the question as to what the tasks before us are and what we have in our organisations to look to in order to carry them out, then the question of regulation of the Party's growth becomes of enormous political significance. We see in the example of the rural organisations that the present composition of the Party organisation is in many respects unsatisfactory, that with the members we have now in the Party we shall not be able to cope with the tasks before us. But the question of improvement of the composition of the Party and the cleansing of the Party ranks must be raised not only in relation to the rural organisations.

THE PARTY, THE STATE APPARATUS, AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY.

THE next question is that of the Party and the State apparatus.

The Soviets are those organisations which incorporate the dictatorship of the working class and through which the working class leads the peasantry. They are the organisations supervising the entire process of socialist construction. That is why the question of the State apparatus is, from the point of view of the reconstruction period, a most important question.

What is the rôle of the Communist in the ranks of the State apparatus? Take a few figures on the changes which have transpired in the Communist ranks in the State apparatus in recent years. We find great improvement as far as the Communist stratum is concerned. In the last three and a half years the number of Communists working in offices (we take all office workers, most of whom are employed in Government institutions) has increased by 200,000, and constitute now about 12 per cent. (11.6 per cent.). The percentage of office workers in the Party is 35, but the percentage of Party members (not candidates) is 43. It should be mentioned that the increase is great among Communist office workers who were formerly industrial workers. In the last four years the number of Communist ex-working-men in the State institutions has doubled. Of the total number of office workers, ex-workers constitute half of the Party membership. As you

see, the improvement in the composition of the Communists in the State apparatus is obvious. But we cannot ignore the fact that the existence of a considerably high percentage of office workers in the Party gives rise also to certain unfavourable consequences for the Party. The great influence of the old officialdom in the apparatus leaves its imprint also on some of the Communists working there. Bureaucracy, insufficient contact with the masses, and, at times, also the influence of alien and degenerated elements, seriously affects the work of the government institutions and finds its reflection even on the Communist stratum in the government apparatus. In accepting office workers the Party, therefore, always imposes great restrictions. In the resolution of the November Plenum of the C.C. that question was also taken up.

The resolution of the Plenum says that it is necessary "to limit to the utmost the acceptance of non-proletarian elements in the course of the next few years, in which connection office workers filing applications to the Party will have to have at least a few recommendations from factory workers (in the villages from agricultural labourers and farm hands"). This is one of the important points of the resolution. That point contains a clear political injunction which emphasises the need for close contact of the people working in government institutions with the working masses. Instead of mechanical restrictions, this is a correct political emphasis on the angle from which we must view the drawing in of non-workers to the Party. We must draw into the Party the new cultural forces, especially technicians. This question must be taken up in connection with the tasks of economic reconstruction. Can these tasks be successfully realised without cultural forces in the Party, without an influx

of educated people who are loyal to the cause of socialism? No; they cannot. It is our task to intensify our work in the sphere of raising the cultural level of the working masses and the toilers in general and in training new qualified experts—workers for all branches of socialist construction—to the utmost. The Party must absorb considerable sections of these, and to a certain extent also the experts who have definitely come over to the side of the proletarian revolution. The number of qualified specialists is too small in our ranks. Thus the number of Communist engineers engaged in our industry is 138. This is a truly negligible figure. Meanwhile a considerable section, about one-fifth of newly-accepted workers in the Party, comes from active participants in factory production conferences. The ranks of workers who have gone through the school of social work in production conferences and efficiency commissions will increase among newly-accepted members. But there are in those commissions and conferences very active and loyal technicians and engineers. Are not these the experts who should be absorbed by our Party? In our statistics reference is made to a group of technicians which includes agronomists, land surveyors, assayers, foresters, topographers, architects, etc. This group consists of 796 Party members. Or take another example. Statistics were recently published in the press from which it is clear that of the 32,000 Communist office workers in the rural organisations (in eleven provinces of the R.S.F.S.R., eleven Ural districts, and eight districts of North Caucasus) eight are doctors, three veterinary surgeons. To say after this that we are rich in cultural forces is absolutely impossible. And we know that without cultural forces in general, and especially in the Party, which supervises all

constructive work, the reconstruction of our economic system is impossible.

Of course, there cannot be many among the ranks of the old specialists who could be taken into the Party. Here we are confronted with the elementary task of differentiation among them, and persuading them to work for the Soviet Government. The Snakhtny case revealed clearly enough that we have some of the most bitter enemies among the specialists, whose skill we must nevertheless use. We cannot do without them, and there is still very much to be done in order to create working-class cadres of qualified specialists.

But we must not forget the fact that certain representatives of the intelligentsia, some great scientists, are now ready to join the Party. We took this year into the Party a man prominent in the sphere of philosophy, Debordin, who declared in a letter to the Central Committee that "all my activity under the actual supervision of Party institutions has long since tied me to the C.P.S.U. with inseparable ties." As another example, we may take the recent joining of the Party by Professor Williams, one of the most eminent scientists in the sphere of agriculture. There is no doubt that great scientists will come to our Party also in the future. But the main influx of qualified specialists to the Party can come only from the new cadres, the growing young specialists coming from the midst of the working class, from the toiling masses.

In making sharp restrictions in relation to office workers who want to join the Party, the resolution of the Plenum has in mind the protection of the Party from careerists and the like. On the other hand, the Party must not repel, but rather attract, engineers, teachers, agronomists, etc., who stand close to us and who enjoy the confidence of the

workers. The best intellectual elements truly loyal to the cause of Socialism will not be hampered by the fact that they will have to secure recommendations from industrial workers in joining the Party.

At the same time, in taking office workers into the Party there must be drastic examination and control of the institution with the assistance of our industrial workers. Take a few examples to illustrate what some of the Communist elements in the Government apparatus really are.

Here is an example taken from the investigation made by the Central Control Commission in the Marisk region.¹ We shall take the figures given by Comrade Lakstukin, member of the C.C.C. In the Marisk region the Government apparatus was cleansed. Altogether 1,603 people were examined in 45 institutions. Natives comprised only 20 per cent. of the staff. Altogether 270 people were dismissed, 30 of whom were natives. Why were they dismissed?

"Among those removed were 33 clergymen or members of clergymen's families, 11 ex-policemen or members of their families, 3 ex-Czarist officials, 46 White Guards and participants in insurrections or members of their families, 22 rich farmers, 13 exiles, 13 who have been or are facing trial, 32 merchants, manufacturers and former manufacturers, 40 miscellaneous. The highest percentage is given by former active White Guardists, merchants and manufacturers."

Then information is given as to who was en-

¹ An autonomous region affiliated to the R.S.F.S.R. Its area is 23,000 square kilometres with a population of 482,000, of whom the Maris (a Finnish tribe) comprise about 53.3 per cent. Russians—42.3 per cent., and other nationalities—4.4 per cent.

trusted with the carrying out of the policy of the Party in the Soviet institutions.

"For example, in the rural bank there were six White Guardists who played no mean rôle in distributing credit. In the Marisk co-operative there were two rich farmers and four ex-policemen 'organising' the peasants. In the commercial department the question of buying grain was entrusted to three ex-clergymen who hired out sleighs. . . . The question of rational distribution of land is controlled by a rich farmer who hired out sleighs. . . . The question of rational distribution of land is controlled by a rich farmer who possesses 1,500 beehives. . . . The middle peasants have been over-taxed, which caused great discontent among them. About 4,500 complaints have been received concerning unjust taxation. Many peasants are fined according to Article 107.¹ to the extent of 20 or 25 poods of grain, etc."

It is such hands that shape our policy here and there. Can we believe that these people will properly carry out the policy of the working class, the policy of fighting the rich farmer, the policy of defending the agricultural labourer and the poor peasant and helping the middle peasant, let alone the tasks of productive co-operation and rural collectivism? Is not perhaps the reason why we had so many excesses in applying Article 107 and general distortion in the work of our local institutions, that rich peasant and White Guard elements get into some of the organs of our Government machinery and deliberately distort the policy of the Soviet Government and mock the instructions of the superior government and Party institutions without ever being punished for it?

¹ Wealthy peasants were prosecuted for concealing grain on the basis of this Article.

The question of a cardinal improvement in the staff of our government and economic institutions is of extraordinary importance for our Party. In this respect there is very much to be done. We must test our staff by the aid of mass criticism, participation of the masses in the work of the Soviets, and energetic organisation of fresh members. The slogan of self-criticism is of vital importance in relation to the government apparatus.

The resolution of the Plenum of the C. C. on the recruiting of workers is simultaneously a resolution to combat bureaucracy. In order to draw new recruits into the Party, we must tell them why we do that and why they should come to us. That is why we must link up the task of extensive recruiting of workers to the Party with the cardinal tasks of Socialist construction and with the task of attracting the broad masses of the working class. The energetic recruiting of workers to the Party must be linked up with the task of interesting the masses in the practical work of Socialist construction, and this must be a more intensive struggle against bureaucracy in government institutions, the trade unions, and even in the Party organisations. Without a determined struggle against bureaucracy we cannot bring about a considerable increase in the participation of our working men and women in the construction of Socialism. In the period of economic reconstruction, the bureaucratic obstacles in the way of mass participation in the realisation of our principal tasks greatly impede our progress. To develop and reconstruct our industry on new technical foundations and gradually to do the same in agriculture requires an intensification of our practical struggle against bureaucracy. Otherwise, we shall not be able to utilise one-tenth of the growing activity of the working class in the interests of Socialism. The task of industrial progress of the country cannot be

realised without a general increase of labour discipline in the mills and factories, without intensive work in reducing the cost of production, without increasing the responsibility of all our industrial directors. In our conditions this requires the most active and conscious participation of the masses in the work of construction. We have no other way of realising the task of reconstruction and hence the task of "catching up and excelling" the advanced capitalist countries, from a technical and economic viewpoint.

The struggle against bureaucracy is inseparably bound up with the elevation of the cultural level of the masses. In this respect, we are progressing too slowly. In this respect we must welcome the Young Communists' initiative in launching the so-called cultural drive. That is but one example of the proletarian public spirit which we must have. Let us have less talk and more practical work in raising the cultural level of the working men and women, the agricultural labourers and poor peasants—such is our present task in the sphere of culture. The Party, the trade unions and the Soviets must help the Young Communist League in this matter. We have too little of such proletarian public spirit and it must be developed more widely in our present conditions. From the point of view of tasks and the methods of work, this is one of the real methods of development of Soviet democracy for which we have plenty of important requisites. The practical struggle against bureaucracy will be greatly enhanced by success in the cultural drive.

In Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov 10 per cent. of the population between the ages of 25 and 40 are Communists. Thus, the Communists constitute quite a number among the most virile section of the population of the large cities. Should not these figures remind us Communists of the great responsibility we have, considering that we have had such

meagre success in the struggle against bureaucracy? Are we going to wait until 100 per cent. of the population of the large cities are Communists in order to be successful?

We have plenty of resolutions and speeches on the struggle against bureaucracy. What we must have now is practical measures and practical achievements. The Central Control Commission has considerably intensified the struggle against bureaucracy in the State apparatus in the last few years. But the results obtained are by no means satisfactory as yet. Further practical measures are necessary. As one of such measures, we should consider, for example, the following: Inasmuch as the struggle against bureaucracy calls for stronger ties between the leaders and the masses, why should we not resort to such measures as that of sending some leaders of the Party and the trade union organisations, say, for six months or a year to work in a factory or in a factory organisation? Would anything bad come of it if one or another of our organisations were in a position to show some good examples of this? This must be combined with more promotions of industrial workers to Government and other institutions.

Our Party is now an organisation of almost 1½ million. The role of the Party in all Socialist construction is constantly increasing. But that is not all. It is necessary that the Party should attract ever larger sections of workers and rural toilers to the work of the Soviets and to all constructive work. Only in this way can the cardinal tasks of economic reconstruction be solved. This again calls for an intensive struggle against bureaucracy in our institutions. Real successes in this struggle are now of greatest significance not only for the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., but also for the entire international proletariat.

THE WORK OF THE MASS ORGANISATIONS.

THIS is not the first year that we have spoken of animating the Soviets. This task has been before us in connection with the growing activity of the masses of town and country. However, we are making but very slow progress in animating the Soviets. A substantial change by improving the Government apparatus must be effected at all costs. This can be accomplished only with the support of the mass proletarian organisations, especially the trade unions.

In connection with the chief tasks of the reconstruction period the work of the trade unions becomes of ever greater importance. The trade unions are the main lever of the proletarian dictatorship and a school of Communism for the broad masses of the working class. In raising production, in the struggle against bureaucracy, in raising the cultural level of the workers, in drawing the mass of workers into all branches of Socialist construction, the trade unions must occupy a most conspicuous place. The trade union organisations must be most sensitive so far as the defence of the workers' interests is concerned. Here it is necessary to fight most energetically against bureaucratic elements, against the estrangement of the leaders from the masses, and also against the tendencies to drag behind the backward strata of the working classes. The Eighth Trade Union Congress will sum up the work of the unions, record their achievements, and remove the defects, particularly in the sphere of trade union democracy and self-criticism.

In view of what we have said, the defects in the work of our mass organisations, and especially the trade unions, which indicate how backward we still are in this respect, must be exposed. A crying example of how some trade union organisations (and also Party and other organisations) have become torn away from the masses can be seen in the Bobrusk case which has been given so much publicity in the press, I mean the disgusting maltreatment of the Jewish working girl, Barshai. The case is now much talked of in the local and national press. It is really hard to find a more hideous example of anti-Semitism than the case which happened in one of the factories in the district of Bobrusk.

Here is what happened (taken from "Izvestia"):

"In the Glass Factory 'October' (district of Bobrusk), facts have become known of maltreatment and abuse of a Jewish working girl, Barshai. Three factory workers, Tochilin, Glatkov and Gruzdev, were constantly aggravating the girl, calling her 'Sheenie' and insulting her in every way. But that was not all. Once, during the dinner hour, Tochilin tore the girl's dress and poured a stream of cold water down her bare body while the workers eating nearby enjoyed the savage display."

There is no need to quote any other descriptions of this barbarous behaviour of the hooligans. If matters have come to such an anti-Semitic pitch, it is obvious that there is nothing to be said about cultural work in the factories. The fact that we witness anti-Semitic outbursts and abuses without any resistance even among the workers is enough to show that we still have many defects in this respect. In the given case, matters could have taken

such a turn only because of complete absence of struggle against anti-Semitism, complete neglect of cultural work, and the failure of the trade union, Party and other organisations to give the most elementary protection to people who are abused and insulted.

It is interesting to see the attitude of the local organisations after the matter got into the press. Soon after the first press reports a district Party conference was held a few miles away from the factory, and the reporter at the conference was the chairman of the district commission in charge of investigation into the Barshai affair. He was also chairman of the Bobrusk Trades Bureau. But in the decision of that conference the abuse of the Jewish girl in the October factory found no expression. The Central Committee of the Chemical Workers' Union of White Russia sent its secretary, Comrade Kudryayev, to participate in that commission in investigating what had happened in the October factory. Comrade Kudryayev participated in the "investigation," he was near the factory but did not take the trouble to step inside the factory. There are numerous other facts illustrating the indifference towards the workers on the part of the local trade union and other organisations. Now that a lot of noise has been made about it, the local organisations are beginning to wake up. The anti-Semitic outrage has already been condemned by the district and national trade union bodies of White Russia as the work of the class foe, and the existence of other facts of anti-Semitism, hooliganism, etc., have been emphasised.

Still, we cannot help asking the question: Where were our organisations when these anti-Semitic and hooligan outrages of factory workers have recurred time and again in a factory employing about 800

people, e.g., one of the largest factories of the Bobrusk district? Where was the most elementary contact of the local trade union organisations, where was their concern about the workers, where was the responsiveness of the trade union, Party and other organisations? It suffices to voice these questions to stress the crying defects in the work of our mass organisations.

I will give you another sufficiently glaring example, although on a smaller scale. This time it concerns not Bobrusk, but Moscow. Here is what happened to Kostina, a working girl employed in the New Age Factory. Comrade Kostina, coming one day home from work, found her family—her husband and a five-year-old child—evicted from the room out in the hall. That was done by the Moscow Managers of the Chemical Workers' Union in charge of the premises. It was discovered that Kostina's husband, formerly a watchman working for the management, was a few months previous to that discharged and that he could not find another room, and because of that the management, with the assistance of the corresponding Soviet institutions, threw the family out of the building. That has happened in the centre of Moscow (Georgev Street) to a working woman, a member of the same union and a member of the Communist Party. Need we go far to look for bureaucracy and indifference in so far as the needs of the workers are concerned? Does not this small fact show that we need not travel to Bobrusk in search of such examples?

There is no need to show any other examples of the deficiency of our trade union bodies, etc. To have a clear picture of the defects in this domain, it suffices to recall what the Party said in its Leninist resolution on the tasks of the trade unions a few

years ago. In the resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress on the Trade Union question, we read:

“Contact with the masses, e.g., with the vast majority of workers (and all toilers), is the most important and principal condition of success of any form of our trade union activity.”

The resolution further says that we need Communists in the unions “who would lead a workers' life, who would know all sides of it, who would be able with certainty to know the mood of the masses on any question, and, at any moment, understand their real strivings, needs, thoughts, able to determine without a shade of false idealisation the degree of strength of the influence of the various prejudices and obsolete ideas, able to gain unbounded confidence of the masses by comradely relations with them and by solicitous satisfaction of their demands.”

The facts cited above show that there is still much to be done to wake up the trade unions along the lines indicated in that resolution. The resolution of the Central Committee, therefore, speaks of “carrying out the slogan of self-criticism and development of trade union democracy in which there is still much to be desired.” Our trade unions embrace over nine-tenths of the workers. Therein lies the chief advantage as well as the chief difficulty in the work of the trade unions. In the ranks of the working class there are progressive as well as backward elements. The fact that these backward elements exist cannot but influence the work of the trade union bodies. But on the other hand, it is of utmost importance and of greatest benefit to the proletarian dictatorship to effect a real change in the sphere of trade union democracy and self-criticism which would embrace the vast masses of workers and em-

ployees. So much the more energy and perseverance is necessary in working along these lines, in making our mass organisations more solicitous and heedful concerning the needs of the workers, in making them use the enormous possibilities they have to mobilise the working class in the solution of our fundamental tasks and in surmounting the difficulties in the sphere of Socialist construction arising from them.

ABNORMALITIES IN THE PARTY.

LET us examine the situation in the Party organisations themselves. We have become accustomed to call many ulcers in the life of the Party "maladies." Not infrequently we classify as maladies and defects facts which are absolutely intolerable in a Party which is the vanguard of the working class. Besides, bureaucratic methods still make themselves felt in many respects in the Party organisations. But real proletarian democracy is of the utmost importance under our present conditions in the development of democracy within the Party. The Party organisations must be ahead of the others.

The question of Party work must particularly be dealt with in connection with the situation in the mills and factories. The factories are our main basis, and it is chiefly here that our work must be improved. But even in the big factories our Party organisations are often, as it were, lost in the general mass instead of being the vanguard and organisational centre of the workers.

A glaring example of the situation can be seen in what has recently occurred in a large factory in the Moscow Province, the Podolsk machine works. On October 5, Comrade Kalinin delivered a speech at a general factory meeting which was attended by 7,000 people. At that meeting sentiments far from proletarian were expressed. Workers expressed ideas typical of the rich peasantry. But the behaviour of most of the Communists at that meeting was also very interesting. Of course, there were comrades who properly rebuffed the utterances of some of the typical rich peasant "workers," but the role and

influence of the nucleus as such, a nucleus consisting of 500 members, was not felt at the meeting. It is a known fact that Communists in the factories ignore general meetings, believing that all questions can be better dealt with at Party meetings, which they consider quite sufficient. We could give many examples of such attitude towards general workers' meetings. We do not combat this in sufficient measure. But at that meeting in Podolsk there were quite a few Communists; however, they were quite helpless in rebuffing the rich peasant ideas.

It is no accident that that Party organisation manifested such weakness. It reflected the general deficiency in the Party factory activity. The Podolsk factory employs a large number of semi-rural workers, but it has also at least one thousand skilled workers. The manner in which Party work is carried on in that factory may be seen from the following: factory department meetings are attended by 7 or 8 non-Party people out of 900 or 1,000 on the job. The system of Party education embraces altogether 7 non-Party workers; the factory wall newspaper appears only 4 times a year; the influx of new workers to the Party is insignificant, etc. Without improvement in Party activity in the factory, the Communist nucleus will be able to assume the role of a true vanguard, and the meeting of October 5 was a good lesson.

I will now quote a letter from a worker which compels us to reflect on the question of degeneration even in factory Party life. This letter was written by a worker from Dniepropetrovsk. He sent it recently to the Central Control Commission, stating his motives for resigning from the Party. Here are the conclusions which the author of that letter drew:—

“In conclusion I should like to say what the workers say :

“ 1. They say that it is high time to stop promoting workers to administrative posts. We have done enough of that for 10 years. If we continue, the inflated staffs will remain inflated, as it is not in the interests of the nucleus to combat them if it contains several score of promotees who cling to their positions like a drowning man to a straw. Here is an example: the Trades Bureau did away with the position of the chief instructor, and the Party officials re-instituted that post and dissolved the Trades Bureau in return.

“ 2. The workers say that it is high time to have a general cleansing in the Party, and the fact that many are labelled as workers need not stop us, for under this label plenty of filth has crept into the Party. . . . Let there be but half of the members left, but the Party should be of flint and not of jelly. We triumphed in October not as a Party of millions, but as a Party of several score of thousands, a Party made of steel. If you throw all self-seekers out of the Party, for which the help of the broad non-Party masses is necessary, resignations will become less frequent.”

Of course, we cannot by far agree with the conclusions drawn by the author of this letter. His outlook is too narrow and limited to the circle of his own environment. His opposition to the promotion of workers is definitely wrong, although it cannot be denied that in some cases promotion means careerism and self-seeking, that it is misused in application. But on one point he correctly expresses the opinion of the masses, namely, on the need for a general cleansing of the Party. On this he is right.

The question of cleansing the Party is being raised from all sides. The situation in the rural Party organisations renders hasty steps absolutely

imperative. The same is true concerning our office nuclei. Finally, we must also consider the question of verification and improvement of the composition of our factory organisations. The intensive recruiting of working men and women into the Party should go hand in hand with the measures we take towards the examination and cleansing of our ranks.

If we enquire as to the extent to which we have been purging and cleansing our organisation in the last few years, the measures taken can hardly be considered satisfactory. These measures have rather been too mild, too weak, in the last few years.

Here are some figures on the number of expulsions: In 1925, 2.3 per cent. of the membership were expelled; in 1926 also 2.3 per cent; in 1927, 1.5 per cent.; in the first half of the current year, 1.1 per cent. This shows that the percentage of expulsions has been declining, but, simultaneously, the percentage of resignations from the Party has been rising. Unfortunately, the percentage of such withdrawals is particularly high among the workers. Not enough attention has been paid to this by our organisations.

I will give you some figures on how we combat bureaucracy in the Party. These are statistics compiled by the Central Control Commission. We find that in the first half of 1926, 7 per cent. of all cases brought before the C.C.C. were brought on charges of bureaucracy, abuse of authority and protectionism. In the second half of 1927 the percentage of such digressions was 8. However, whereas in the first case 4.5 per cent. of the defendants were expelled, in the second half only 2.2 per cent. were expelled. Thus, if in 1926 almost two-thirds of all those called to responsibility for such digressions

were expelled, in 1927 these expulsions dropped to one-fourth. Greater activity on the part of the C.C.C. in this respect has become imperative.

The fact that workers leave the Party calls for serious attention. Even such a strong organisation as that of Baku has lately recorded many resignations. This means that our organisations are as yet unable to assimilate the new ranks who join the Party en masse.

Laterly all our work is carried on under the slogan of self-criticism. We have already disclosed many ulcers on the Party's body. All remembered the broadcast affairs of Smolensk and Artemovsk,¹ Sochi, etc. Our work must continue under the slogan of self-criticism. The question now must be— is it not high time to take serious practical steps in cleansing our organisations, hand in hand with our mass criticism? Do we not lag behind in this respect? That it may become clear to the workers that the slogan of self-criticism is of profound practical significance we should resolutely eradicate all elements of decay and degeneration which come to the surface in our ranks. A general Party cleansing is demanded. The effectiveness of our slogan of self-criticism becomes ever more dependent on the question of purging our Party organisations. While in the State apparatus we are confronted with the task of taking energetic practical steps in the struggle against bureaucracy, in our Party organisation the question of a cleansing is on the order of the day. Under the present circumstances these two tasks are

¹ Decadence has been revealed in the Smolensk and Artemovsk organisations among the leaders. That took the shape of suppression of self-criticism, bureaucracy and demoralisation in private life. The Central Committee investigated those organisations and those who were found guilty have been expelled from the Party and removed from their posts. Some of them have been brought before the Court.

inter-locked. We will have to tackle them at the coming National Party Conference.

We have decided that two years from now at least 50 per cent. of the Party members should be industrial workers. We must proceed with the practical realisation of this task. While resolutely cleansing our ranks from alien and bureaucratic elements, we must absorb the best proletarian elements in the factories and on the land. These refreshing ranks of progressive working men and women will add new working-class forces to our Party. They will strengthen our Party organisations. In 1919 Lenin, in summing up the results of the proletarian membership drive during the Moscow recruiting week, spoke of the enormous positive significance of the influx of new working class forces to the Party. Pointing out that most of the new cadres will be inexperienced in matters of governmental administration, Lenin emphasised that the "elements of freshness, directness, firmness and sincerity are in them greater than in others." Now that the ranks of the proletariat have become more consolidated, we can with certainty calculate that a membership drive among the workers will give us splendid new forces, new detachments of loyal fighters for the proletarian revolution and truly active builders of socialism.

The recruiting of large sections of new forces must increase our work of ideological and political enlightenment in the Party. A far-reaching development of democracy within the Party, a general raising of the ideological and political level of its ranks, and an increase in Marxian theoretical knowledge of the leading sections, is now more necessary than ever before. The duties of the Communist vanguard increase immeasurably with the increasing difficulties of socialist reconstruction.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A LENINIST LINE IN THE PARTY.

WE have already compared the present situation in the Party with the situation prior to the Lenin recruitment. The Lenin recruitment added about 200,000 new workers to the Party. That enormous influx of proletarian ranks in the C.P.S.U. was the best reply to the outburst of the Trotskyist opposition which started an open struggle against the Party at the end of 1923.

Beginning with the autumn of 1923, the Trotskyist opposition, as the most glaring expression of the growing petty-bourgeois vacillations among some of the Party, started an open struggle against the line of the Party. At a moment when we were just making our first great strides in the restoration of industry and the establishment of the dominant position of industry in our economics, when the co-operatives experienced the first great success in distribution, not only in the towns but also in the rural areas, and when agriculture really began to make palpable progress, at that moment the petty-bourgeois opposition in the Party began to wail and lament about the crisis and the collapse of the October revolution. It should be remembered that precisely at the beginning of that period when the economic basis under our socialist construction was beginning to become considerably firmer and the relative strength of the socialist elements to the detriment of capitalist elements was becoming felt, at that moment the Trotskyist opposition commenced to criticise and condemn the Leninist policy of the Party, obviously succumbing to petty-bourgeois

sentiments in the country. The Lenin recruitment—the influx of 200,000 proletarians to the C.P.S.U.—was an effectual answer to the vacillations and panic of the opposition of that time.

It is also known that the Mensheviks based their hopes on the Lenin recruitment, believing that it would demoralise the Bolshevik Party. The Menshevik Dalin compared the Lenin recruitment to the “Trojan horse” which would give an entry to enemies of Communism and demoralise the Party. The history of the subsequent five years mocked the Menshevik predictions. The Lenin recruitment has since then, to a considerable extent, become an organic part of the active elements in the Party. The main active workers in the Party consist now precisely of workers who joined us as Lenin recruits. Thus more than two-thirds of the members of group centres in the factories are comrades who joined the Party during the Lenin recruitment and after. This is also true, although to a somewhat less extent, of the secretaries of those groups. The proletarian groups have since then grown considerably and been consolidated and the Lenin recruitment has done a good deal in cementing the Party organisation. During the struggle against the opposition the ranks of the Lenin recruitment were among the best sections of the Party, firmly standing by the Leninist policy of their organisation. This clearly shows the enormous significance of the Lenin recruitment for the Party.

The struggle against petty-bourgeois deviations is now again becoming of enormous political significance. At the end of 1923, beginning with the famous declaration of the “forty-six,” the Trotskyist opposition, for the first time since the introduction of the new economic policy, took up an open struggle against the Party. The phases

which Trotskyism had passed through in its struggle against Leninism have fixed themselves in our memory. That struggle ended with the expulsion of the elements who under the disguise of radical phraseology defended a semi-Menshevik policy in the Party. In essence, Trotskyism is an expression of petty-bourgeois disbelief in the strength of the working class, and in the victory of Socialism. Trotskyism, as represented by its leaders, has been demolished and expelled from the Party. However, we now witness attempts at reviving these tendencies in the Party on the part of the Trotskyist elements. Our struggle against that has been insufficient of late, a thing to be remembered in our future work.

On the other hand, an out-and-out opportunist Right deviation from the Leninist line has lately raised its head in the Party. That, too, is one of the expressions of petty-bourgeois vacillation, one of the manifestations of petty-bourgeois pressure on the working class. The Right deviation has entered the scene at a moment when our economic situation has become acute. But the Right deviation is not exclusively a result of the economic situation of this year. The roots of the Right Wing tendency are no doubt deeper than that. The Right deviation cannot be regarded as a temporary and rapidly passing phenomenon.

As an open expression of opportunism the Right deviation leads to the surrender of all Party positions under the onslaught of petty-bourgeois spontaneity. In the period when the reconstruction of the whole of our economic system has begun, in this most difficult and responsible period of socialist construction, one or another section of our Party is bound to waver in the enforcement of our policy. The tasks of socialist transformation are hard and we have now begun actually to fulfil those tasks. They are

truly great and difficult. We must make ever greater capital investments to accelerate the development of heavy industry, a thing which does not give any marked increase in our output at once, but only after a certain lapse of time. Parallel with this we witness marked progress and a gradual further development of mass productive co-operation and agricultural collectivism. These tasks in industry and agriculture will confront us for a very long time, and necessitate colossal efforts. We have approached the principal tasks of Socialism and it will require many, many years of persistent work to eradicate the roots of capitalism nourished by the millions of small farms. We have tackled the most difficult tasks in laying the socialist foundation. In this period ideological hesitation and open opportunist tendencies even in the ranks of the Bolshevik Party are inevitable. The Right Wing is therefore not purely a result of our economic difficulties of the moment. The danger that opportunism will grow lies in the extraordinary difficulties arising from the reconstruction period.

All combined, this leads to the conclusion that our struggle against deviations must now be waged on two fronts. The struggle against Trotskyism must be intensified outside of the Party while a simultaneous irreconcilable struggle is waged against its recurrence within the Party. No conciliation with Trotskyism and Trotskyist tendencies can be tolerated within the Party. On the other hand, as the Party has already been tempered and has already scored considerable victories in the struggle against Trotskyism, the general present social and economic situation calls for directing the struggle chiefly against the Right danger, against the out-and-out opportunists. The keenness of the class struggle arising from the present situation stresses the importance of the

task and also the task of struggle against any sign of conciliation in relation to the Right danger in the Party.

Now a few words on the question of the ideological character of the two deviations. The deviations from the Leninist line of the Party are linked up with the conditions of victory of the proletarian dictatorship in a country with an overwhelmingly peasant population surrounded on all sides by capitalist countries. Both Trotskyism and the Right elements deviate from Leninism precisely on this question, although their mistakes are not the same.

What did Lenin say concerning the conditions necessary for the triumph of the proletarian dictatorship, as far as the question can be abstracted from foreign relations? Lenin said:

“The supreme principle of the dictatorship is to preserve the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, so that the former may retain its leading position in the government.”

In this formula on the dictatorship of the proletariat Lenin emphatically stressed the need for the maintenance of the alliance with the peasantry. But there is more than that to this statement. It speaks also of the need of retaining leadership in relation to the peasantry on the part of the proletariat in power. Thus in Lenin's formula on the dictatorship we find two ideas—the idea of a workers' and peasants' alliance and the idea of working-class hegemony in that alliance.

The Trotskyist idea is incompatible with this Leninist proposition. Trotskyism began with the underestimation of the idea of the alliance of the peasantry. It sunk to the level of repudiation of this idea, and was transformed into an anti - middle - peasant ideology. No

matter how much Trotskyism may try to camouflage its anti-middle-peasant policy by the use of radical phraseology, in essence it rejects one of the main Leninist ideas—the idea of working-class alliance with the peasantry.

The Right, out-and-out opportunist, deviation loses sight of the second part of Lenin's proposition. The Right elements emphasise the importance of the alliance with the peasantry, but in practice they waive the idea of working-class hegemony in that alliance. Whether this is clearly expressed or not, a characteristic feature of the Right deviation is its underestimation and actual repudiation of the idea of working-class hegemony in the worker-peasant alliance. In doing so the Right tendency distorts Lenin's formula of the supreme principle of the dictatorship. That is why the ideas of the Right are irreconcilable with Leninism.

The substance of the Leninist formula on the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in the fact that it embodies both ideas—the idea of an alliance with the peasantry and the idea of working-class hegemony in the alliance. The Leninist formula contains a two-fold idea, while the Right and Left tendencies separate the two elements and entirely distort them by doing so. Good or bad, the policy and practice of the Party is to materialise this two-fold Leninist formula.

During the years of struggle against Trotskyism the Party had to defend the unconditional need for unity with the peasantry to ensure the victory of the proletariat. The Party invariably defended, and still stands by, the idea that without a firm alliance with the peasantry Socialism cannot be built, that without strengthening that alliance the proletarian dictatorship is doomed. We waged a fierce struggle against Trotskyism in defence of

this idea, and have succeeded in having this idea, in the main, assimilated by the Party ranks. That is the most important result of the struggle against and victory over Trotskyism. But in some cases our struggle against Trotskyism and our emphasis of the importance of unity with the middle peasantry was understood one-sidedly. Some Party members memorised only that part of Lenin's proposition which speaks of the need of unity with the middle peasantry. Such conception of the "supreme principle of the dictatorship" distorts Lenin's idea, and leads to a repudiation of Marxism. In unconditionally defending the idea of unity with the middle peasants as one of the basic conditions of victory of the proletarian dictatorship, we must intensify our struggle against the incorrect interpretation of Lenin's idea of unity with the peasantry which minimises the importance of the leading rôle of the working class in the alliance with the peasantry. The Party combated Trotskyist ideology, which denied the need for a firm alliance with the middle peasants and which refused to see the position and living conditions of the basic mass of the peasantry. But the Party must just as fiercely combat the ideas which tend to repudiate the idea of working-class supremacy in the worker-peasant alliance, surrendering thereby, under pressure of petty-bourgeois sentiment, the basic positions of the working class. The Right tendency, which is cardinally wrong on this point, is a repudiation of the class proletarian line.

Whither the ideas of the Right tendency lead may be seen from the position taken by Comrade Frumkin.

Comrade Frumkin¹ has clearly enough disclosed

¹ A responsible worker in the Commissariat for Finance.

the substance of the Right tendency. He outlined his position in his speech at the Plenum of the C.C. as follows:

“The question before us is—which is the greater danger—the shortage of bread or the rich farmer? That is how the question must be put.”

This is not a Marxian method. It is not true that there will be bread if we stop fighting the rich farmer, and that if we continue to fight him we shall deprive ourselves of bread. This idea truly expresses absolute panic in face of the rich peasant. However, not the rich but the middle peasant is the chief grain producer. Of course we buy grain also from the rich farmer who possesses a certain part of the marketable grain. But no one says that we must not buy grain from the rich farmer or that we must not pay him for it. That is not the question. There is not a single important question that we decide without a view to the interests of tomorrow, without considering the prospects of development. The philosophy of the Right tendency advocated by Comrade Frumkin is one of the obstacles in the solution of the most difficult problems of our economic development, and especially the development of the poor and middle farmers. If we were to confine our outlook to the upper stratum in the Soviet village, if we were to link up the main tasks of the moment with the destinies of that stratum, we would surely meet with greater and more numerous difficulties instead of extricating ourselves from them. The question of grain is a question of development of the poor and middle peasants. Comrade Frumkin, in putting the question in this form, and that is why his ideas do not facilitate, but rather make it more difficult for the

proletarian State to extricate itself from its present economic difficulties.

What does Comrade Frumkin's proposition amount to in the long run? It ignores the tasks of Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the tasks of improvement of the conditions of the poor and middle peasants. Instead of this Comrade Frumkin tells us that:

“We must not hamper the work of the rich farmers.”

The idea is perfectly clear. Comrade Frumkin is preaching collaboration with the bourgeoisie. That is the “new” element in Comrade Frumkin's idea. In whose cause has Comrade Frumkin adopted the idea of collaboration with the bourgeoisie? Is it possible to proceed with the successful construction of Socialism, successful progress in our economic reconstruction, on the basis of such ideas? Of course not. The idea of collaboration with the rural bourgeoisie is totally alien to our Party; it is an opportunist idea, it is a Right wing idea, and Comrade Frumkin is at this moment its most outspoken exponent.

The social value of this tendency is apparent. We are living in a country of small peasants, a country in which petty-bourgeois hesitation may recur time and again, especially in periods when the economic situation becomes acute. It must also be remembered that we have a huge administrative machine in which there is plenty of bureaucracy, which is bound to impress some Communists working in that machine. The ideas of the bourgeois intellectuals are not infrequently felt pretty strongly. We must now devote particular attention to the struggle against these anti-proletarian influences which through various channels permeate

even the Party. In cases where direct or indirect influences of the petty-bourgeoisie on some elements in our Party become strong, we must wage an energetic ideological struggle so as not to allow the demoralising ideas to infect the healthy elements in the Party. At the moment we must chiefly wage an ideological struggle against the Right tendency and against those who stand for conciliation with it, and the more determined and consistent this struggle (parallel with the struggle against Trotskyism in all its manifestations) the more shall we isolate and weaken the influence of these alien ideas.

When we say that Comrade Frumkin's position stands in essence for the idea of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, it certainly represents a finished opportunist line. Lenin told us many times that opportunism means collaboration with the bourgeoisie, collaboration with the capitalists. That idea is incompatible with Bolshevism. We cannot allow the substitution of the idea of collaboration with the bourgeoisie for the idea of an alliance with the middle peasants. And that is just what Comrade Frumkin is doing. Our alliance with the middle peasant under the leadership of the working class in power can in no way be compared with collaboration with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we must have unity with the middle peasant to be able to attack capitalist elements and to eradicate the roots of capitalism.

Such is the way leading to the triumph of Socialism.

The Party has absorbed in the last few years hundreds of thousands of new proletarians in its ranks. In doing so it has strengthened the ranks of the builders of Socialism and consolidated the ideological positions of Leninism. That was most

splendidly demonstrated in the rebuke given to Trotskyism. The Party will give a no less unanimous and no less effective setback to the Right tendency.

The rôle of the apparatus in our Party, which is a centralised organisation, is great enough. But we must not forget that the activity and consciousness of the ranks have greatly risen in the last 5—7 years. The rank and file react now very quickly and actively to the slightest sign of hesitation or deviation from the Leninist line. Recent events connected with the struggle against the Right deviation have sufficiently confirmed this. The greater consciousness and activity of the rank and file, added to the support given to the Party by the working class in general, is a guarantee that we shall make further success in our construction and that the Party will steadfastly enforce the Leninist line.

SUPPLEMENT.

Resolution on Recruiting of Workers for and Regulation of Development of the Party.

v. (Adopted unanimously by the Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on November 24, 1928, on Molotov's report).
Political Premises of the Problem of Party Growth.

The transition from the period of restoration to the period of socialist reconstruction of the entire economic system on the basis of modern technique, the decisive influence in which belongs to industry, and particularly heavy industry and real mass development of co-operation and collectivism in the rural areas, has raised before the working class of our country the principal tasks of direct socialist construction. As always, our Party marches in the front ranks of the working class, the vanguard of socialist construction. The period of socialist reconstruction accompanied by cultural backwardness of the working class and the predominance of small agriculture in the country is connected with great difficulties. This is the more so considering that international imperialism is making ever more determined efforts from without to surround the U.S.S.R. with a direct economic blockade of the capitalist powers and to prepare for a military invasion of the Soviet union. Under these conditions the role of the Party as a Communist vanguard of the proletariat and leader in all socialist construction is particularly difficult and responsible.

The Soviet Government, notwithstanding the great difficulties of the revolutionary struggle and socialist

construction, has made the first great socialist successes. These successes have been obtained on the basis of ever greater utilisation of the internal resources of the country and have become possible only as a result of the singular heroism and loyalty of the working class based on an ever firmer alliance with the millions of peasants. The Soviet system made possible the attraction of the broad masses of the working class and the toiling peasants of all nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union to the cause of building up socialism, arousing the formerly oppressed and backward nationalities to active participation in all Soviet pursuits. As a true leader of the workers and the masses of all toilers, the Party has invariably stood at the head of the Soviets engaged in laying the foundation of the new socialist order.

The role of the Soviets must be greatly increased in the process of socialist transformation of the country's economics. For this the work of the urban and rural Soviets must improve a good deal, and in particular the struggle against bureaucracy in government institutions must be resolutely begun. The Soviet apparatus, as it is to-day, is largely permeated with elements of the old officialdom and survivals of the former ruling classes, among which hatred to the Soviet Government is still alive. Bureaucratic abuses, indifference to the needs of the workers, outrageous stiffness and red tape often discredit the work of the Soviet institutions. Some parts of the governmental and co-operative apparatus actually become demoralised and fused with the bourgeois capitalist elements of the population. This gives rise to the need for a thorough cleansing of those institutions. It must be remembered that the government apparatus as represented by the old officialdom leaves its imprint also on some of the

Communist elements working in that apparatus. Under the slogan of development of ruthless self-criticism the Party called upon the workers and all toilers to wage a merciless struggle against all signs of demoralisation and bureaucracy in our institutions. Courageous and consistent proletarian self-criticism is inseparably bound up with the promotion of new tens and hundreds of thousands of workers to government posts, and the attraction of the millions of toilers to all work of the Soviets, which also necessitates a general raising of the cultural level. Only by so interesting the masses in the performance of governmental functions, will the government be able definitely to free itself from the bureaucratic elements in its work. That is one of the main tasks of our Party as the leader of the proletarian dictatorship at the present time.

In this, as in all other work, the Party relies on the support of the proletarian mass organisations, and particularly the trade unions. The latter have made great progress in the past and they have become the main connection between the Party and the working masses. That makes them the more responsible for the realisation of the most difficult tasks confronting the proletariat in the period of socialist reconstruction, demanding on the one hand the work of an ever wider section of qualified experts of various types and on the other an enormous growth in the active participation in socialist construction on the part of millions of the toiling masses as compared with the preceding period.

However, our mass organisations (the trade unions and others) do not always display the necessary sensitiveness in relation to the needs and requirements of the working men and women; in many cases they lag behind the growing activity of the masses, and therefore make insufficient use of

their great opportunities to mobilise the working class forces for the solution of the main tasks before them and for surmounting the difficulties of socialist construction. Trade union activity is weakest in regard to the new ranks of workers that have come in the last few years to our mills and factories and especially in regard to the enormous and ever-increasing mass of seasonal and agricultural labourers who, without going through the school of proletarian training in the unions, cannot join the ranks of actual builders of socialism. The most important task of the trade unions and other mass organisations at the present time is to wage a merciless struggle against bureaucratic estrangement from the workers, a struggle against stiffness in dealing with their social interests as well as against succumbing to the moods of the more backward sections, and in general against the numerous elements of bureaucracy still to be found in our mass work. In carrying out the slogan of self-criticism and in the actual realisation of trade union democracy a decisive step must still be made.

The existence of broad sections of non-Party active workers in the mass proletarian organisations and especially in the trade unions is one of the most important and potent reservoirs of new active forces, new leaders in the many branches of economic and cultural pursuits in the proletarian State. Relying in its work on these non-Party active proletarians, helping in every way the further numerical development and the cultural and political growth of these ranks and taking from among them new detachments for its organisations, the Party is engaged in the most important pursuit of bringing about a constantly more active participation of the workers in advancement of industry and in all socialist construction, a serious enlivening of the mass organ-

isations and development of genuine proletarian democracy, and, finally, in the direct all-round strengthening of its ties with the masses of the working class.

The reconstructive period means not merely a maximum development of all industry, the light and especially the heavy industry, and its cardinal transformation on a higher technical base, but also, while the advancement of individual farming is in every way encouraged a reconstruction of our agriculture on the basis of modern technique and collectivism. This period of socialist construction is that epoch in the proletarian revolution in which the working class, in firm alliance with the peasantry, fully understanding the difficulties and extent of the task, tackles the problem of eradication of the roots of capitalism nourished by small commodity production all along the front, including the backward village. This is connected with an intensive crowding out of capitalist by socialist elements which naturally accentuates the class struggle in the country.

In view of the incessant pressure of imperialism on the U.S.S.R., the growing resistance to socialist construction on the part of the bourgeois elements (wealthy farmers, capitalists, bourgeois intellectuals, counter-revolutionary saboteurs) at certain moments gives rise to hesitation in one form or another also among our petty bourgeois allies. In its turn this hesitation is reflected in petty bourgeois moods among the less consistent elements of the working class and in opportunist vacillations in some sections of our Party. Parallel with attempts to revive Trotskyism (Menshevist ideas under cover of "Left" phrases) the Right, openly opportunist, danger (sur-rendering the position of the Party under petty-bourgeois pressure) has strengthened in the Party. From this it follows that in the given period the

Party must, with utmost determination, fight on two fronts, against two different deviations from the general Bolshevist line and against conciliation in relation to either of them as being absolutely alien to Leninism. Inasmuch as the Party has already scored decisive successes in combating Trotskyism, the struggle against the Right deviation, an irreconcilable struggle against which is one of the chief conditions of repelling the class enemies of the proletarian dictatorship and successful progress in the path of socialist reconstruction in town and country, is at the present time of foremost importance although the struggle against Trotskyist ideology has to be continued. The best way of doing that is to raise further the intellectual and political level of the Party ranks and the Marxian theoretical knowledge of the leaders, to develop consistent and thoroughgoing democracy within the Party and to strengthen the Party organisations by absorbing the most progressive, active and loyal proletarians to its ranks.

Invariably standing in the ranks of the vanguard of the Communist International, in the ranks of the vanguard of the international proletarian revolution, our Party must now seriously verify its work and outroot all defects, abuse and demoralisation in its institutions. Only by such attitude in relation to itself, only through a determined and severe exposure of its defects and by consolidating and purging its ranks, will the Party become even more capable of leading the millions of workers and rural toilers as the active builders of socialism, without which socialist economic reconstruction of the country is impossible.

For this a most decisive struggle against bureaucracy and bureaucratic methods must be waged on the basis of democracy, proper and constant realisation of the elective principle and, consequently,

removal of any secretary or leading body in the Party (a bureau or a committee) in compliance to the wish of the organisation. For this the leading ranks in the Party must considerably strengthen their ties with the masses by attending workers' meetings, by reporting to the workers and peasants about their work (Party, Soviet, trade union, co-operative, administrative), by visiting local organisations and guiding them, by taking up work in industry and the lower institutions and by promotion of new cadres of industrial workers for leading posts., etc. For this it is the more necessary to strike hard against such abnormalities and ulcers in the Communist ranks as moral looseness, drinking, complaisance and servility before "superiors," glossing over of outrageous behaviour and companionship with wealthy farmer and capitalist elements on the part of various sections working in our institutions. All this necessitates a daring and resolute enforcement of the slogan of self-criticism also in the Party. The latter must in this respect serve as an example. Hesitation in introducing self-criticism, creative mass criticism from below, will be ruthlessly fought by the Party as one of the most glaring manifestations of bureaucracy.

The Tasks of Regulation of the Composition of the Party.

The question of the composition of the Party, regulation of growth and recruitment of working men and women must be regarded from the angle of our present tasks.

In the last few years, particularly since the Lenin recruitment, the Party has experienced a very rapid growth. Hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of progressive proletarians have joined the Party who now comprise a considerable section of the leading

Communist ranks. These new Party members have already on many occasions demonstrated their Bolshevik tenacity in the sharp struggles against the opposition, and constitute a most important force in the ranks of the active builders of socialist society.

Now, too, the Party takes primarily proletarians into its ranks. But the number of office workers, and especially peasants, is also increasing. The sending of factory workers to government posts and schools also affects the composition of the Party, the result being that while the proletarians considerably predominate (61 per cent.), the workers actually engaged in production constitute a much smaller section in the Party (42 per cent.).

But the Party has colossal reserves in the ranks of the working class. These reserves consist of the broad and ever growing ranks of non-Party active proletarians in the trade unions, at production conferences, in the Soviets, co-operatives, Young Communist organisations, working women's delegate conferences, the various societies, clubs., etc. Some sections of the industrial workers, particularly the skilled workers, are insufficiently represented in the Party. A decisive step must be made in recruiting working women to the Party as in this respect we are much behind, a thing absolutely intolerable under the present circumstances. An intensive recruitment of young workers who have gone through serious schooling in the Young Communist organisations in the factories is very important. We are very much behind in recruiting agricultural labourers to the Party, and immediate attention must be directed to that. The intensive recruitment of working men and women must be combined with the strictest observation of the conditions that office workers and others have to comply with in joining the Party, and also with the necessary selection of peasants, particularly

poor peasants, and especially those actively working in the collectivist movement, who are loyal to the Party.

Commensurate with the aims of intensive recruitment of workers for the Party and, consequently, commensurate with the principal tasks of the period of socialist reconstruction it is necessary to recruit for the Party the truly progressive elements of the working class capable of being at the head of the working masses in surmounting the difficulties of socialist construction, in repelling the petty-bourgeois ideological waverings, in generally raising the confidence of the great mass of workers and rural toilers in the Party. It is our task to absorb the working men and women most politically steadfast in time of difficulties, the workers who are true internationalists, who by personal example help to raise the productivity of labour and discipline, who ardently and stubbornly combat bureaucracy, who work for their own cultural development and who are thereby able to strengthen the Leninist ranks of the proletarian vanguard. The Party cannot leave out of consideration the fact that the make up of the proletariat has undergone changes during the war and revolution by absorbing considerable new sections, especially peasants and to a certain extent people coming from social environments totally alien to the working class. That is the more reason why the Party should absorb all revolutionary conscious and loyal socialist elements of the proletariat, especially those working men and women who have many years' standing in large-scale production. Our immediate task is that at least 50 per cent. of the Party membership should consist of industrial workers not later than by the end of 1930.

The extensive recruiting of workers must be combined with the strictest examination of the present

Party ranks and a most determined cleansing of the organisation of its socially alien, bureaucratic and demoralised elements. On the one hand, all possible ideological measures must be taken to combat resignations from the Party on the part of the more backward, but loyal revolutionary workers. On the other hand, more energetic measures than in the past must be taken to purge the organisation by driving out the elements who utilise their membership of the dominant Party for their selfish and careerist purposes, degenerates and those who have made common cause with the wealthy elements, etc.

The relative strength of the proletarian elements in the rural organisations is still absolutely negligible; so is also the strength of collective farmers in the Party. At the same time, we find that in some cases these organisations consist largely of wealthy peasants and of elements closely related to them, people who have become degenerated and are totally alien to the working class. This makes the task of a decisive improvement, thorough cleansing and considerable refreshing of the organisations a most immediate task. In the nationality republics and territories where the proletarian ranks are not great, an intensive drawing in of agricultural labourers, especially natives, and a corresponding improvement of the social composition of the organisations is one of the decisive conditions of socialist construction.

The widest possible non-Party working masses must be made to participate in the intensive recruiting of workers and in cleansing the Party of ideologically and socially hostile elements. This participation of non-Party workers, and, in the rural areas, the non-Party peasants, especially agricultural labourers and poor peasants, must be really active and of a truly mass character. This assistance on the part of the non-Party toiling masses is of singu-

lar importance for the Party as the greatest support in the entire process of socialist construction supervised by the Communist Party.

CONCLUSION

1. Not later than at the end of 1930 at least one-half of the Party membership must consist of industrial workers, for which purpose at least 80 per cent. of the newly-accepted members in the course of the next few years must be factory workers, especially workers of many years standing, among whom the necessary organisational and educational work should be carried on.

2. The number of non-proletarian elements wishing to join the Party within the next two years must be greatly restricted, in which connection office workers handing in applications must have several recommendations from factory workers (agricultural labourers in the rural areas).

3. A determined and quick step must be taken in accepting agricultural labourers, the most active and best poor peasants and members of collective farms to the Party. While doing so, it is necessary most thoroughly and quickly to improve, cleanse and refresh the composition of the rural organisations.

4. Acceptance of new members and regulation of the growth of the Party organisations should not be done mechanically (for instance, by fixing dates and quotas, etc.) and should not be in the form of mass campaigns; it should be linked up with more intensive work on the part of the Communist and mass organisations.

5. The examination of the ranks and cleansing of the organisation of alien elements, degenerates,

bureaucrats, etc., must be much more resolute and more systematic, and should be guided by the Central Control Commission and the Local Control Commissions.

6. The acceptance of new members and the cleansing of the organisation should be done with the widest and most active participation of the non-Party workers and toiling peasants at open Party meetings, prior to which the names of applicants and those expelled, etc., should be announced.

7. The procedure in accepting working men and women as candidates, and their transference to full-fledged membership, should be simplified and the number of bodies through which they must pass should be greatly diminished. The sub-district and section committees must consider these questions within the next two weeks.

8. Stronger measures of an educational and political character in the struggle against resignations from the Party on the part of the more backward working men and women, agricultural labourers and poor peasants, must be taken.

9. More drastic promotion of new proletarian ranks belonging to the Party to all branches of governmental work is necessary, making sure that the intellectual and political level of these ranks is elevated and that cultural work is carried on among the working masses.

10. The Party institutions including the Central Committee must systematically investigate the corresponding work of the local organisations, make the necessary corrections in their practice and inform all Party organisations of the results and publish them in the Press.

11. The recruitment of new wide cadres of pro-

gressive workers to the Party must be inseparably bound up with a determined and thorough-going introduction of proletarian democracy in the Soviets, the trade unions and the Party, and, consequently, with a more intensive practical struggle against bureaucracy in all institutions on the basis of this decision and the July appeal to the C.C. on self-criticism.