

POLITICAL

EDUCATION

**THE  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY**

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# POLITICAL EDUCATION

PART THREE

THE COMMUNIST PARTY



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## PART III

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS)

The Communist Party is the only revolutionary party of the proletariat. Before the Revolution in Russia and during the first years of the Revolution, besides the Bolshevik Party, there still existed the Menshevik Party, which tried to pass itself off as a "labour" party. In other countries Social-Democratic or Socialist parties, calling themselves "labour," exist alongside the Communist parties.

What is the difference between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties? Why has the Bolshevik Party become recognised as the political leader of the working class, of all the toilers, while the Menshevik Party has been thrown out and smashed with disgrace and hatred? Why is the Bolshevik Party an example for the whole international revolutionary movement of the working class, while the Menshevik Party is made up of those who have fled to the side of international counter-revolution?

The Bolshevik Party leads the struggle of the working class for the construction of socialism itself. How does it lead that struggle? How is the party organised? How is it connected with the masses? How does the party recruit, cleanse and strengthen its ranks? What are the duties of members of the party? What is party discipline? How does the party preserve its unity?

All these questions are treated in Part III. In this part there are the following chapters:

1. The party is the advance guard of the working class.
2. The party is an organised detachment of the working class.
3. The party is the highest form of class organisation of the working class.
4. The party is the weapon of working-class dictatorship.
5. The unity of the party.
6. The party cleanses itself of opportunists and alien elements.

## I

# THE PARTY IS THE ADVANCE GUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS

### What is the Party?

The programme of the Communist International says the following on "What is the Communist Party?":

The Party is the vanguard of the working class, and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of the experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism, and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organisation, bound by an iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism—which can be carried out owing to the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, owing to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain inseparable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experience of the masses themselves.

But however well the masses know that socialism alone brings the working class real emancipation from capitalist servitude; however well the masses know that socialism can only be won through working-class revolution, unless the forces of the working class are united in a firmly-knit revolutionary organisation, the revolution cannot be victorious.

History knows not a few cases when revolts and revolutions against the exploiters were beaten only because the classes in revolt were not well organised. The Paris Commune of 1871 fell chiefly because the revolutionary masses in their revolt did not have a strong, well-organised working-class party at the head of the movement. The German revolution of 1918 did not lead to the victory of the working-class dictatorship because the working class in Germany had not yet at that time managed to create its strong Communist Party, a mass party of the working class, and consequently Social-Democracy got the chance to betray the revolution.

The workers of Vienna in 1934 were defeated in their heroic struggle because, instead of having such a party, they were disorganised and betrayed by Austrian Menshevism.

That is to say, the force which explains the aims and means of struggle to the workers, which organises the struggle, which itself goes at the head of the working class, and leads it on, is the Communist Party. It is the *head, the advance guard of the working class*.

The advance guard is not the whole army. Consequently the party is not the whole working class, it is only its advance section, the more class conscious and active section, which has recruited the best workers, those who are most tried in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The capitalist class also has its parties. Every political party is a *class* organisation. Every such party has as its task the defence of the interests of its class. Every party is therefore interested that it should be in power.

Not all the capitalists and landlords belong to the bourgeois and landlord parties, but only those who best understand the interests of their *whole class*, and who are most interested in these general class needs. But the factory owner who is a member of a capitalist party is interested in the needs of the *whole* capitalist class, not because he is concerned about the affairs of his competitor, or even of his partner—if necessary he would stick a knife into either of them. He is interested in his class as a *whole* because he understands that he cannot save his own skin unless the whole factory-owning class is organised for struggle against its class enemy, the workers.

The workers do not have different interests. If sometimes it happens in capitalist countries that the interests of different groups of workers conflict, then it is only because in certain cases the capitalist class knows how to set them against one another very cleverly (for example, workers of different nationalities, employed and unemployed, strike-breakers and strikers), but it is not because the workers have different economic interests.

The capitalist class tries in every way to bring about demoralisation in the ranks of the working class by means of its agents inside the proletariat.

The capitalists have been able at the expense of the exploitation of the main mass of workers and especially with the aid of the revenues they have got from robbing the colonies, to create inside the working class a privileged upper section with special advantages, support and encouragement which consists of well-paid workers, the so-called *labour aristocracy*. This section, consisting of people who have been bought over by the bourgeoisie, acts in support of capitalist interests because their interests are more closely connected with the interests of their masters than with the interests of the general mass of workers. The capitalist class binds itself to support the labour aristocracy by high wages, various kinds of rewards and good jobs. This is the section which Marx, Engels and Lenin called "the capitalistic proletariat."

However, the bourgeoisie doesn't limit itself merely to these means of disorganising the ranks of the working class. It uses the whole power of its state machine for the persecution, smashing and prohibiting of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. It acts by means of police provocation, arrests, imprisonments and shooting of the leaders of the party. Moreover the capitalist class in order to split the ranks of the workers makes wide use of methods of bribery, hired spies, the sowing of dissension within the working class, treachery, strike-breaking, the use of national and religious prejudices and above all makes wide use of Social-Democrats and Mensheviks for the deception and splitting of the working-class ranks. The social-fascists are the chief support of the bourgeoisie inside the working class.

The working class is not all alike in its class-consciousness. In its ranks you find those who are more conscious and those who are less conscious, you find advanced and you find backward workers. In the working class there are old proletarians, as you might say, hereditary members of the working class, there are workers who have only just come in from the country, and there are others who come from the ranks of petty traders who have been ruined. All these groups of the working class cannot be equally hardened and educated in a class sense. In order best to fight for the interests of the whole working class the more advanced and class-conscious workers have to be united in the Communist Party. Only by forming a party are the best and most advanced

elements of the working class able to influence the backward workers, re-educate and organise them. Lenin wrote as follows on the importance of a political party as the advance guard of a class:

In order that the mass of a *definite class* may learn how to understand its own interests, its situation, may learn how to carry on its own policy, precisely for this an organisation of the advanced elements of a class is immediately necessary at any cost, though at the beginning these elements may form a negligible section of the class.

When the best and most conscious section of a class is organised, it is in a position to lead enormous masses. This is the meaning of the *power of organisation*. Lenin wrote as follows on the power which organisation represents:

The party is the conscious, advanced section of a class, its advance guard. The power of this advance guard is ten, a hundred times greater than its numbers.

Is that possible? Can the power of hundreds exceed the power of thousands? It can exceed it, *when the hundreds are organised*.

Organisation increases power by tenfold.

It may be asked: If the party is a detachment of the advanced workers in countries where the bourgeoisie is in power, where the capitalists try to break the unity of the working class by bribes, by the introduction of national hatreds, etc., then perhaps in the U.S.S.R. where the working class is itself in power, there is no difference between the party and the whole class? No, in the U.S.S.R. the party is the *advance guard* of the working class.

The Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, pointed out in its resolution on the party:

The Communist Party is needed by the working class not only for the conquest of power and during the period of conquest of power, but even after power has passed into the hands of the working class.

In the Soviet Union also the working class is not all of one kind.

For many generations under the conditions of Russian capitalism the ranks of the main core of the working class were formed, grew up and were educated in the spirit of struggle against tsarism and the capitalists. From the ranks of those factory workers who had passed through the school of strike and revolutionary struggles against the police regime of the tsarist autocracy and against the bourgeoisie, a core of militant working-class revolutionaries was created. This mass of old workers, hardened in the struggle, always has been and still is to-day the backbone of the working-class dictatorship.

But the working class does not consist of this industrial core of workers alone. Soviet industry, transport, Soviet farms are growing rapidly and the mass of the working class is also rapidly growing in the country. The ranks of the working class are all the time being swelled by new people who come from different sections of the population in both town and country. In the towns, hand workers, artisans, people who come from the petty bourgeoisie and from the families of office employees are gradually being drawn into the working class. But the chief source of the new groups of workers is the country. Millions of workers were but peasants yesterday.

In order to turn these people into conscious workers great political and educational work is necessary, since they bring with them into the ranks of



the working class both the moods and the habits which are natural to other classes and particularly to the bourgeoisie.

The working class under the leadership of the party is gradually re-educating these raw and backward masses of workers. They are being re-cast in the melting pot of the working class, are outliving their backward views and moods, and gradually becoming active participators in socialist construction.

The advanced workers are drawing the backward sections of the workers into the struggle for socialism, by means of socialist competition, shock-brigade work, a conscious attitude towards production and the everyday construction of socialism. A great part of the new workers who have come from the country has passed through the school of socialist competition and shock-brigade work, and received a general political preparation in the collective farms. This simplifies the task of the class education of those who have come from the collective farm villages.

The tried party of Lenin is leading the struggle against the hesitations and wobblings of these backward elements who have come from other classes. The party has recruited the best, most conscious and revolutionary representatives of its own class. The party has grown and hardened in a many-years' struggle against tsarist autocracy, against the relics of feudalism and against capitalism both at home and internationally, and also against all the parties of traitors (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and others), and various opportunist tendencies. In this fight the party has won the immense confidence of the working class and the labouring masses and become their only recognised leader.

The party leads the revolutionary struggle for the interests of the whole working class and not of its separate backward groups. This detachment of the best fighters of the working class throughout the whole history of the workers' revolution, has been the unchanged and only leader of the working class.

This detachment is the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*.

### The Leading Role of the Communist Party

Can there be a successful struggle of the working class for socialism except under the leadership of the Communist Party? There cannot.

The party confidently leads the movement of the proletariat because it knows the laws of the movement of society and the methods of struggle and victory of the working class. The teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has given this knowledge to the party of the working class. This revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is a very powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party. The power of the theory lies in allowing the movement to be directed along a correct course, in avoiding useless victims in the struggle, in allowing the outlining and carrying out in practice of a correct policy. The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism allows the Communist Party to know which laws and forces are acting in the interests of the working class and which are against it. And this allows the choosing of the best ways and means of struggle of the working class for Communism. The party of the working class uses the weapon of revolutionary theory for revolutionary struggle, applying it in practice..

Theory loses its content—Comrade Stalin said—if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, exactly in the same way as practice becomes blind if it does not light its road with revolutionary theory. But theory can become a great force in the working-class movement if it is formed in continual connection with revolutionary practice, *for it and it alone, can give confidence to the movement, the power to take the right direction and understand the internal connection of the events about it, for it and it alone can help in practice to understand not only how and where classes are moving at present, but also how and where they must move in the near future.*

The Bolshevik party has been nourished on the full force of the class hatred of the workers for capitalism. It has been formed and strengthened on many years' experience of the class struggle of the workers against their class enemies. It has passed through the painful years of illegal existence under the Tsar, through prison, penal servitude and hard persecution. It has passed through the barricades of three revolutions, through the fire of civil war, of revolt and intervention. It has swept from its path hundreds of counter-revolutionary conspirators, acts of wrecking and treachery, it has grown up and matured in struggle against all the petty-bourgeois compromising parties and tendencies in the labour movement and against every opportunist distortion of Marxism-Leninism. The party has been formed as a powerful organisation of united will in struggle against numerous efforts to shake its iron discipline. Therefore it alone is capable of organising the working class and uniting all its revolutionary and creative forces in the struggle for socialism.

What qualities should the party have in order to be in a condition to lead the working class?

Comrade Stalin has said that it should possess the qualities "of a militant party, of a revolutionary party, it should be bold enough to lead the workers into the struggle for power, experienced enough to find its way in the complicated circumstances of a revolutionary situation, and supple enough to circumvent all kinds of concealed rocks on the course towards its aim." Only a militant party, filled with revolutionary decisiveness, can lead the working class into the struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only a party possessing great experience of struggle, able to weigh and utilise all the conditions of struggle in order to win victory with the least losses, can lead the struggle of the working class in a complicated revolutionary situation.

This means at the same time that the party must know how in definite circumstances to apply the corresponding methods of struggle, to offer battle to its enemy, just at the place and time when it is of advantage to the working class and not to the advantage of its class enemy.

In those capitalist countries where the influence of the Social-Democratic or Socialist parties is still strong among the working-class masses, the workers' forces are weakened by the treacherous policy of these parties which draws the working class away from the revolutionary struggle for power.

The Social-Democratic parties pass for parties of the working class. In fact they are parties which carry out and defend the interests of the capitalist class. They split and disorganise the ranks of the working class, weaken its fighting capacity, facilitate for the bourgeoisie the further exploitation of the

workers and the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

*The leaders of the Social-Democratic parties are faithful lap dogs of capitalism.* When they defend the interests of the capitalists they are defending their own well-being, their own income and good jobs.

*The Social-Democratic parties are the chief social support of the capitalists in their struggle against working-class revolution.*

In Russia the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries both before and after the February Revolution of 1917 when they came to power, carried through a policy of *treachery* to the working class. They called on the workers and peasants to live in peace and agreement with the capitalists and landlords, and not to touch their factories and estates, or to resist their exploitation. The Mensheviks and S.R.'s supported and partly led the counter-revolutionary struggle of the capitalists and landlords against the Soviet power. To-day also they are serving international imperialism, helping it to create wrecking and conspirative organisations within the U.S.S.R., preparing together with the military staffs of the capitalist countries a fresh intervention against the land of the Soviets.

From the desperation of the resistance of the class enemy to the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, from the efforts which are necessary to root out the elements of capitalism, it can be seen what iron restraint, what a strong organisation, fighting capacity, sense of discipline and class-consciousness is called for from the working class in order to win victory over capitalism.

Not every worker has this class-consciousness and training. The working class as a whole can obtain these qualities if the best, most advanced and most self-sacrificing working-class fighters in its ranks are united in a strong Communist Party. Then they will weld the whole mass of the workers around themselves, leading them victoriously.

Only the Communist Party—Lenin said—if it is really the advance guard of a revolutionary class, if it includes its best representatives, if it consists of completely class-conscious and devoted Communists, trained and hardened in the experience of obstinate revolutionary struggle, if this party has succeeded in connecting itself unbrokenly with the whole life of its class, and through it with the whole mass of the exploited and has succeeded in inspiring complete confidence in this class and this mass, only such a party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most merciless, decisive and last struggle against all the forces of capitalism.

In this way the Communist Party which unites in its ranks the best representatives of the working class, forms the advance guard of the working class and is its political leader. It is that organisation of the working class which alone is capable of converting it into a powerful political force and leading it to the victory of socialism.

The Communist Party is a *party of a new type*, completely different from the Social-Democratic parties both as they formerly existed and as they exist to-day. This is a militant party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, which has imbibed the whole revolutionary experience of the struggle of the working class and is filled with the determination to fight to the end for the victory of the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism.

## II

THE PARTY IS AN ORGANISED DETACHMENT OF  
THE WORKING CLASS

## Programme and Constitution

The Communist Party is an organised detachment of the working class. For the party successfully to lead the struggle of the working class it must not only know the aims of that struggle but also organise its ranks correctly.

The aims of the party, the methods of its struggle for these aims and the organisational forms of the party's construction are determined by the programme and constitution. All members of the party ought to be well acquainted with both these documents, otherwise they cannot know what the Communist Party aims at and how it seeks to fulfil its aims. Otherwise they cannot be active participators in party life or be members of the party.

"There cannot be a Communist who does not know the programme and constitution of his party and its most important political and organisational decisions," says the statement of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. on the cleansing of the party.

*The programme contains the exposition and explanation of the ultimate aims which stand before the Communist Party as the advance guard of the working class. It defines both the way of achieving that aim and the fundamental forces upon which the working class operates in its struggle for socialism.*

*The constitution defines who may be a member of the party, how the party is constructed, that is to say, the construction of its organisations, who leads them and how, what are the duties of party organisations and party members.*

The programme and constitution of the party are closely connected with one another. The constitution of the party, which defines the party's organisational forms, has as its aim the construction of the party ranks in such a way as best to guarantee the fulfilment of the party programme, to guarantee the complete victory of Communism.

The chief thing in the programme is that it sets as its task the destruction of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of classes, the reconstruction of the life of the whole of humanity on the basis of Communism. The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is drawn up on a study both of the general laws of the development of capitalism and of the historical peculiarities of Russia and the chief stages in its development.

The programme of the C.P.S.U. was adopted in its present form at the Eighth Congress of the Party in 1919.

The programme begins with an introduction in which it is established that with the October Revolution of 1917, "began the era of the world proletarian Communist revolution." Further on this introduction, on the basis of the teaching of Marx and Engels, explains the laws of the development and collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialism.

The first programme of the C.P.S.U. was adopted at the Second Congress in 1903. The newspaper *Iskra* (*The Spark*), in whose editorial board Lenin played the decisive role, carried through the preparation for this Congress and

the working out of the project of the draft programme. In drafting the programme Lenin had to carry on a struggle against Plekhanov who distorted the significance of the dictatorship of the working class and did not consider it necessary to include this most important question for a working-class party in the programme. Lenin, therefore, drafted in particular detail and insisted upon during the discussion of the programme, the question of the dictatorship of the working class.

The programme adopted at the Second Congress placed before the party and the working class the task of preparing and carrying through the proletarian revolution with the aim of "replacing capitalist production relations by communist," that is by overthrowing capitalism, establishing the dictatorship of the working class and the construction of socialism. The programme pointed out that "an essential condition of this social revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the conquest by the proletariat of such political power as will permit it to suppress any resistance from the exploiters."

The programme was adopted at a period when the labour movement in Russia was only beginning to emerge onto the high road of struggle against tsarism. Under these conditions the chief immediate task of the party was the overthrow of autocracy, and the abolition of the relics of feudalism. Therefore the programme placed the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy along with the ultimate aim of the working class, the achievement of communism, as the immediate task and as the condition for the further victorious struggle for the dictatorship of the working class.

This immediate aim, the overthrow of autocracy and the abolition and destruction of the relics of feudalism, was set out in a special part of the programme called "*The Minimum Programme.*"

But the struggle for the dictatorship of the working class, for the construction of socialism and communism, formed the basis of the programme. This task and the ways for solving it were set out in that part of the programme called "*The Maximum Programme.*"

The February Revolution of 1917 led to the overthrow of autocracy. The workers' revolution in November 1917 which had as its task the establishment of working-class dictatorship, "by the way" and "incidentally" destroyed all the relics of feudalism. The minimum programme was carried out. The period of working-class dictatorship brought forward other tasks: the strengthening of the power of the working class, the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes, the development of socialist forms of economy, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the socialist reconstruction of the village, the development of a powerful offensive in the struggle for socialism and the actual construction of socialism.

At the same time not only did changes take place in the economic and political structure of Russia, but deep changes also took place in world capitalism. The old party programme had been a detailed analysis of capitalism in its former aspect, that is, before it had reached its highest stage, imperialism. The new imperialist stage of capitalism raised the class struggle to a new and higher stage.

All this called for a change in the old programme of the party and the drafting of a new programme. This was done at the Eighth Congress of the Party in March, 1919.

The programme of the C.P.S.U. is a Marxist-Leninist programme, based on knowledge of the laws of capitalism, in particular of its highest and last stage, of imperialism, on a knowledge of the laws of the class struggle and the methods of winning the dictatorship of the working class and the complete victory of Communism.

The programme of the C.P.S.U. is the programme of the revolutionary working class which is fighting for Communism together with the working class of the whole world.

The programme of the C.P.S.U. is the programme of one of the most powerful detachments of the whole world Communist movement, led by the world Communist Party, the Communist International. It is stated in the party programme: "Only the new,\* Third, Communist International, of which the C.P.S.U. is one of the detachments, is the leader of the struggle of the working class for its emancipation."

The programme of the C.P.S.U. establishes those tasks which stand before the party during the period of proletarian dictatorship in the political sphere, in the sphere of national relationships, in the military sphere, in justice, popular education, religion; in the economic sphere—industry, agriculture, distribution, banking, finance, the housing question; in the sphere of labour protection and social insurance, of the protection of people's health. In this way the programme establishes the tasks of the working-class dictatorship in all spheres of socialist construction, of economic and cultural construction, and the guaranteeing of the continual improvement in the material and cultural situation of the workers and toilers of the U.S.S.R.

Before the November Revolution the party was called "The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks)." At the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1918, its name was changed and it was called the *Communist Party*.

All class-conscious workers throughout the world to-day connect the name of Social-Democrat with the treachery and crimes against socialism committed by the present social-fascists.

The party called itself the *Communist Party* just as Marx and Engels called the party founded by them in 1847 Communist. Only the C.P.S.U. and the other parties of the Third International have the right to that name since they alone are the direct descendants of the revolutionary ideas of the Communist League and First International which Marx and Engels led.

The party has re-examined its constitution several times in accordance with the changing conditions under which it has had to work. Under the tsarist autocracy the party had to work in one set of conditions, after the seizure of power, during the civil war, in the epoch of general socialist offensive, it worked in other conditions.

But throughout the history of the party the constitution has remained unchanged in its *chief* point, i.e., that the party of the working class should be organised as a party internally welded together by a unity in ideas and iron proletarian discipline.

The constitution of the party defines who may be a member of the party, what are the rights and duties of party members, how the party organisations

\* The Programme says "New" because the Second International which existed up to the war of 1914 collapsed, and its leaders passed over to the side of the capitalist class. The Third Communist International was finally created by Lenin in 1919.

should work, how its organs are elected and so on, in a word, how the whole party is organised from top to bottom. "Anyone may be considered a member of the party who recognises the party programme, works in one of its organisations, accepts the decisions of the party and pays party dues."

In the following part we shall learn about the struggle which took place at the Second Congress of the party between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks around this paragraph.

Just now it is sufficient to stipulate that every party member is called upon to recognise the party programme, to work in his party organisation, to obey without reservation all the decisions of the party and to pay regularly his party dues. Non-observance of any one of these conditions implies non-membership of the party.

We will now come to the organisational principles of the C.P.S.U.

### Democratic Centralism

The Communist Party is organised in such a way as to guarantee, firstly, complete inner unity of outlook, secondly, the combination of the strictest working-class discipline with the widest initiative and activity of the party membership.

Both these conditions are achieved because the party is organised on the basis of *democratic centralism*.

Democratic centralism is the system according to which all the organs of the party are *elected and have to report on their activity to the electors*, whilst this elective character and reporting are combined with the *strictest discipline and obedience of all the lower organs of the party to the higher organs*.

*Democratic centralism comprises the best conditions for the development of the political activity of the party members and their every-day participation in the building of the party.*

On the basis of democratic centralism all the lower party organisations are subordinated to the higher. Territorial and regional organisations are subordinated to the Central Committee; district organisations are subordinated to their regional, territorial or republic committees; party cells are subordinated to the district committees, and in big enterprises to the factory party committees.

All decisions of the party congresses and the Central Committee must be fulfilled by the whole party; decisions of republic, territorial or regional conferences and committees must be fulfilled by the district organisations of these republics, territories or regions; decisions of district conferences and committees are binding on the factory, village and collective farm party organisations in this district.

All the organs of the party right from the bureau of the party cell up to the Central Committee and Central Control Commission are *elected*. All the organs of the party are elected at party meetings, conferences and congresses. Moreover these organs *report* to their organisations at the meetings of those who elected them (conferences, congresses).

A party committee or cell bureau throughout the whole of its activity from conference to conference is not only under the control of the corresponding party organs, but also under the social control of the whole mass of party members in the given organisation.

In cases when the elected organ is not capable of carrying out its task and does not guarantee the carrying through of the correct party line, this organ can be changed before the period of its office has expired through the calling of an extraordinary conference by decision of the higher organs and organisations, or on the initiative of lower organisations.

The Bolsheviks put the interests of the working class and its party above everything. The Bolsheviks subordinate all forms of internal party organisation to these interests, *to the task of the best organisation of the ranks of the working class*. It follows from this that, as we have already stated, one form of organisation is suitable for the conditions of underground illegal existence, another for conditions of civil war, and yet another in conditions of reconstruction of national economy.

When the party was underground the organisations were not always able to call conferences to elect committees. Arrests often took place. Therefore in underground conditions it was inevitable to have *co-option* as well as election, that is to say the introduction of new members to the committee by picking the best and most tried Bolsheviks by decision of the committee itself, or of a higher party organisation.

During the civil war also it was not always possible to call local party conferences. Evacuations took place, and in accordance with offensives and retreats organisations returned to work. In these circumstances it was not everywhere possible to guarantee the complete election of party committees, and in such cases the leadership of party organisations was frequently nominated by the higher leading organisations of the party.

Democratic centralism thus represents a flexible system of party organisation which guarantees all the conditions for combining the conscious and active participation of the whole party membership in party life together with the best forms of centralised leadership in the activity and struggles of the party and the working class.

### The Production Principle of Organisation

The party flexibly adapts its organisational forms to the peculiarities of the different sections of economy and socialist construction, combining the *territorial* form of organisation with the production form.

"Whereas," Comrade Kaganovich writes, "the Western European Social-Democratic parties are organised on the territorial principle, that is, the members of the party are united according to where they live, our party is organised on a production basis."

"The basic principle of the organisation of the Communist Party," says the fourth point in the Constitution of the Communist International, "is the cell in the enterprise (in the factory, mill, mine, office, shop, estate, etc.), which unites all the party members working in the given enterprise."

Cells organised according to the production principle are subordinated to territorial party organisations, district committees, etc.

In order to strengthen the party and political leadership over the Soviet farms, collective farms and machine-tractor stations, at the beginning of 1933 the party created political sections, investing them not only with the general political and mass work in the Soviet farms and collective farms, but also with the direct leadership of the party cells in the Soviet farms and collective farms.



What was the cause of this? First of all the great victories won by the party in the sphere of the socialist reconstruction of the village.

The victory of the collective farm system in the village demands that the leadership of the party organisation in the collective farm should be concrete and fitted to the production and economic tasks of the collective farms. For this it was necessary to create independent *collective farm* cells, separate from the general *village* cells. The village cells comprised all those village Communists working in the village Soviet, in the co-operatives, in the militia, in the schools, etc., and therefore they were not greatly concerned with the production life of the collective farms and were divorced from the needs of the collective farms. The district committees were divorced in the same degree, in so far as they led the work of the Communists in the collective farms by means of the village cells also. Precisely because of this divorce of the territorial party organisations from the collective farms, it became possible for kulaks and hostile elements to penetrate the collective farms.

To reinforce party influence in the collective farms and strengthen the party and political leadership of the collective farms, the party recognised that it was essential to put the Communists in the collective farms into special cells, placing their leadership in the political sections of those machine-tractor stations which served the given collective farms. In all permanent production brigades in which there are three or more Communists, party groups are created.

The political sections lead the collective farm cells in all questions arising from the work of the machine-tractor stations, that is, in all production and economic questions and in all questions of organisational and mass work among the collective farmers. In all other questions (Soviet organisation, finance, education, propaganda, etc.,) the district committees lead the collective farm cells.

The decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. of June 15, 1933, on the work of the political sections states:

In the new situation of work in the village, which is determined by the final victory of the collective farm system in the struggle against private forms of economy, and the defeat of the forces of the class enemy, the significance of the mass political and organisational work of the political sections increases still more.

Political sections also exist in the Red Army, in transport, in the Civil Air Fleet. They carry on all the organisational and mass political work and lead the corresponding party cells.

In certain sections of industry (the coal industry) *party organisers* are at the head of the party organisations, and are nominated by the higher party organisations.

The political sections and party organisers maintain connection with local party organisations through participation in the work of the local party committee.

### Party Discipline

The party constitution says:

The free and businesslike discussion of questions of party policy in the various organisations or in the party as a whole, is the inalienable right of every party mem-

ber, arising from inner party democracy. Only on the basis of inner party democracy can Bolshevik self-criticism be developed, and party discipline be strengthened, which should be conscious and not mechanical. . . . The preservation of the unity of the party, merciless struggle against the slightest attempt at fractional struggle and splitting, the strictest party and Soviet discipline are the first duties of all party members and all party organisations. . . . The decisions of party and Soviet centres must be fulfilled quickly and accurately.

Discipline is the compulsory condition for the correct development of party life. No kind of organisation is possible without discipline. All the more then does the Communist Party need a strong, really iron discipline both when it is waging the struggle for working-class dictatorship and when it is leading the country of working-class dictatorship.

At the basis of party discipline lies the fulfilment by the party organisations and individual Communists of the party programme and constitution, and of all the decisions and directives of the higher party organisations.

Discipline is a compulsory condition for the realisation of inner party democracy. What in fact would be the value of party democracy unless the minority in the organisation is subordinated to the majority! What use would the very best decision accepted by an organisation in the most democratic way be, if the members of this organisation did not carry out the decision!

*Discipline in the Communist Party is based on a conscious attitude of the party member towards his duties.*

The best members of the working class *voluntarily* enter the party. But in entering the party the worker voluntarily assumes all the obligations arising from the party programme and constitution. And one of his first obligations is to strengthen the party organisation and observe its discipline. So long as he is not a member of the party, the party trains him in the spirit of understanding the interests of his class, the party calls on him to act in an organised manner together with the whole of the working class. From a party member who is an active participator in party life, who has voluntarily and consciously assumed the obligation of unreservedly fulfilling party decisions, the party expects the observation of strict Bolshevik discipline.

What demands does party discipline make upon a Communist?

It demands that he should know the decisions of the party *and carry them into life*. It demands revolutionary activity and class-consciousness from him. This is the compulsory condition for conscious discipline. If discipline were based not on the conscious attitude of the party member towards his obligations, not on his readiness to give all his strength to carrying out the directions and slogans of the party, then that discipline would not be Bolshevik, revolutionary discipline, but formal, barrack-room discipline.

Lenin pointed out three chief conditions on which the Bolshevik discipline of the Communist Party is based.

"On what," Lenin asks, "is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the working class maintained? How is it checked? How is it strengthened?" And he answers:

In the first place, by the consciousness of the working-class advance guard and its devotion to the revolution, its training, its self-sacrifice, its heroism. Secondly, by its ability to form connections with, to a considerable degree to get close to, or if you like to merge itself with, the widest mass of toilers, in the first place the

proletarian mass, but also with the non-proletarian toiling mass. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership which this vanguard carries through, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, on condition that the widest masses become convinced of this correctness through their own *experience*.

The significance of party discipline lies in the fact that it guarantees the fighting capacity of the party. Unless it had discipline in its ranks the party would not be in a position to win the victory of the working class and peasantry over the capitalists and landlords and would not be in a position to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and victoriously develop the struggle for socialism.

On January 1, 1933, the party comprised 3,172,000 members and candidates. And unless this whole mass of party members and candidates were united by a common and single will and activity, then there would inevitably take place the greatest disorganisation in the party. But a party in which there is disorganisation is not a party but a mob.

The class enemy desires nothing more than disorganisation in the party. This at once would open a thousand possibilities before him for smashing the dictatorship of the working class.

The party possesses the unlimited confidence of the mass of workers. This confidence would be impossible if the aims and policy of the party were incorrect, if the party were not strongly connected every day and every hour with the masses, and if it were not that an iron working-class discipline strengthened the party.

### Party Democracy and Self-Criticism

Discipline within the Communist Party is based on the conscious, active participation of the whole party in decisions on the questions which are before it. In the Communist Party this conscious discipline is combined with a wide application of inner party democracy. Inner party democracy not only "does not exclude but presupposes the criticism and struggle of opinions within the party," says Comrade Stalin.

But after the struggle of opinions is over, criticism has been exhausted, and the decision adopted, the unity of will and the unity of action of all Party members is the essential condition without which either a united Party or iron discipline within the Party would be unthinkable.

The Tenth Congress of the Party defined working-class inner party democracy, stating that it is:

Such an organised form for the carrying out of Communist Party policy as guarantees all party members, even the most backward, active participation in the life of the party, in the discussions of all questions which are brought before it, in the decision of these questions, and an equal and active participation in party construction.

Working-class democracy and the successful struggle against distortions of the teaching of Marx and Lenin, against capitalism and opportunist twisting of the party line are impossible without a broad development of self-criticism in all questions of party life, without the bringing forward of proposals for the improvement of work and the correction of deficiencies in the activity of this or that organisation or organ of the party. Self-criticism is a sign of the

strength of the party. Only weak parties are afraid to recognise their mistakes and correct them. Lenin said:

The working class is not afraid to recognise that in the revolution something has turned out splendidly, while something else has not turned out at all. All the revolutionary parties which have perished up to now, have perished because they were swell-headed and could not see where their strength lay, and were afraid to talk about their weaknesses. But we shall not perish because we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses and we learn to overcome weakness.

Self-criticism implies such a development of the activity of the whole mass of party members as raises the sense of responsibility of each Communist for the whole work and policy of the party.

It is the most important condition for the political education of the party, of the working class and of the whole of the labouring masses. Self-criticism raises initiative and draws millions of toilers into socialist construction.

But—said Comrade Stalin—in order to draw in the millions of the masses it is necessary to develop working-class democracy in all the mass organisations of the working class and above all inside its Party. Without this condition self-criticism means nothing, is nonsense, a phrase.

Bolshevik self-criticism is self-criticism “without respect of persons,” it is a merciless exposure and disposal of all phenomena which hinder the struggle of the party and the working class for the construction of socialism. Since it is directed against all these phenomena, self-criticism is also directed against those responsible for these phenomena, against bureaucrats, rogues, people on the make, semi-kulaks, opportunists, degenerates, etc. Bolshevik self-criticism is a weapon for cleansing the party from those alien or degenerate elements who have got into its ranks. “The party cleansing is the expression of Bolshevik self-criticism in our party . . .” states the decision of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. of April 29, 1933.

### Construction of the Party Organs

The highest party organ is the All-Union Party Congress. In the interval between congresses the organ which leads the party is its Central Committee elected at the Congress. In the Union Republics (the Ukraine, White Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan) and the Republics which comprise the Trans-Caucasian Federation (Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan), the highest organs of the party are the republic congresses. At these congresses the Central Committee for the party of the given republic are elected, and between congresses they are the leading organs of the party. The Central Committees of the republic organisations of the party are equal to the territorial committees. They lead the work of all the regional (in the Ukraine), district and lower party organisations in the Republic, and are completely subordinated to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The highest organs of the party in the autonomous republics, regions and territories are the republic, regional and territorial conferences and the territorial and regional committees elected by them.

In the districts, the District Party conferences meet not less than once a year. The conferences elect district committees which in the interval between

them lead the factory, collective farm, Soviet farm, and other organisations.

The All-Union Party Congress also elects the Central Control Commission.\* The task of the Central Control Commission (and local Control Commissions) is to support the party in strengthening its unity by decisively overcoming all efforts at the formation of fractions or groups within the party, to preserve the party from the penetration of alien elements, to cleanse the party of bad Communists and of those who have degenerated, to cleanse it of those who distort the line of the party, of opportunists, bureaucrats, those under kulak influence, etc.

The Central Control Commission at the same time is the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. It has its organs in the territories, republics, regions and districts, the local Control Commission being at the same time the local organ of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This union of the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection was carried through on Lenin's initiative. The Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are now struggling against everything which hinders socialist construction within both the party and the state apparatus. The Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection sternly prosecute bureaucracy, wastefulness, stupidity, idleness, squandering, inactivity, negligence, etc.

In big industrial enterprises where there is a large number of party members there exist party committees, elected at factory conferences, as well as workshop cells, or collectives—link cells which unite the Communists working in a number of connected shops of one factory, and finally party groups.

There is a similar organisation also in certain big Soviet farms. In all other enterprises, institutions and collective farms, the lowest party organisation is the party cell at whose head is the elected bureau.

### The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has been formed in historical circumstances during long years of struggle against tsarism, against the capitalist class and its agents among the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the opportunists in general. It has been formed in the process of struggle for the victory of Soviet power and in the process of leading the country of working-class dictatorship. It has been selected by the party during long years of struggle for a trained Bolshevnik leadership. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. is the fighting political and theoretical staff and leader of the construction of socialism. The Central Committee consists of the best Leninists who have been tried by the party through many years in the various periods of its history on the different sections of the revolutionary struggle, the civil war, and the construction of socialism.

The best members of the party are to be found among the members of the Central Committee, leaders on the economic front, co-operators, party organisers, military specialists, propagandists, theoreticians, organisers, experts in Soviet agriculture, in national policy, etc.

\* The Seventeenth Party Congress abolished the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, handing over its state functions to a new Commission of Soviet Control of the Council of People's Commissars, and its work in the factories, organisations, co-operatives, etc., to the trade unions. The Central Control Commission has been reformed into a Commission of Party Control of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. whose work is the strengthening of party discipline and the struggle against those who break party ethics.

That is why, as Comrade Stalin has said, "the wisdom of our party is concentrated" in the Central Committee.

There are sixty-nine members of the Central Committee, thirty-five of whom were in the party before 1905 and thirty-four before 1917.

The Central Committee has in its ranks forty-six members of working class families who grew up in families of fitters, turners, clothing workers, cobblers, railway workers, agricultural labourers, etc. The whole life of the remaining members of the Central Committee who in the past were teachers, doctors, engineers, etc., has been passed among the working class and in its service.

All the chief and most important questions of party policy are discussed and decided by the Plenum of the Central Committee.

In order to carry on its political work the Central Committee organises a political bureau (Politbureau), while the general leadership of organisational work is carried on by the Orgbureau and current organisational and executive works falls on the Secretariat.

### The Party Cell

The chief lower organisation of the party is the cell in productive enterprises (mills, factories, collective farms, Soviet farms), in offices and educational institutions.

The importance of the lower cells is enormous, since it is through them that the party is immediately connected with wide masses of workers and toilers. A wide educational work is carried on in them among the party members and candidates. All the most important questions of party life and of the Soviet state are discussed by the party members in the cells and party groups. Such an organisation of the party allows each Communist to participate actively in party life and to discuss questions of socialist construction and party decisions.

The most important point in the work of the cell is that the cell as a whole and each of its members in particular should recognise that the cell is a part of an unbroken whole, a part of the whole party, and, moreover, the part which is actually in that place where the party enters into direct connection with the whole mass of workers, employees and of collective farm peasantry. Consequently the cell must feel the whole responsibility which it has before the party and the working class as a whole. Comrade Kaganovich has spoken as follows on the importance of factory cells:

Our party represents a united organism. Every cell is a link in a great united chain, a link of a great party and the strength of the whole chain to a great degree depends upon the work and the strength of a given link. It is impossible to think in this way: Our cell is a little one, in a little factory, and if there is a breakdown in our work, that will not have much importance for the work of the party. We must remember that every cell is a link in a single chain and the breaking of one link can be felt throughout the chain. That is why every cell, be it small or large, be it in factory or Soviet institution, be it a university or a Red Army cell, be it a collective farm or a Soviet farm cell, must attract our attention, even so far as examining the concrete questions of its organisation and inner cell life.

The cell must be concerned with all questions of the life and work of its enterprise, though it must not assume the work of other organisations, of the

factory committee, Soviet leadership, or co-operative. It must *lead* the work of these organisations but it must not take their place. The chief thing in the work of the cell is to embrace all the workers of the factory, workshop or brigade with its Bolshevik influence. For that the cell creates party groups and link organisers, who carry on party work in the various shifts and brigades. The party groups and link organisers are concerned with the correct distribution of Communists in the shift or brigade in each part of the factory. In this way Communist influence is guaranteed among all the workers of the shift and brigade, and consequently among the whole mass of workers in the enterprise, whereby the everyday political education of the workers is achieved. Both the factory and party committees, and the workshop cells, and the party groups, and each Communist in particular, must be active, must react to all the needs, demands and wants of the workers. It has to be borne in mind that the number of workers in the U.S.S.R. is growing on an immense scale, almost doubling during the first Five-Year Plan. Among the masses of workers who have come into the factories the greater part are peasants, who did not get sufficient political preparation in the village and this should be given them in the factory, in the first place by the factory cell.

#### The Party Cell Leads the Whole Political Mass Work in the Enterprise

In carrying out this work it fights for the industrial financial plan and for the fulfilment of all the economic tasks of the enterprise. *It must not command in the enterprise, it must not take the place of the director, who bears all the responsibility for the work of the enterprise.* It must not break the *single authority*, that is the system by which the director runs the enterprise, and bears complete responsibility for the direction of its economic, productive life. Comrade Kaganovich explains the role of the cell in the enterprise as follows:

The cell and its bureau have their direct obligations for which they are directly responsible, they lead party work and carry out the directives of the party. The cell watches after everybody. But to watch after everybody, to lead everybody, that does not mean to work for everybody. The difference has to be observed. The bureau of the cell must lead, must look into every corner, must know everything that is done in the factory, but it must not work for everybody, it must not take on everything.

Communists participating in various congresses and conferences and also working in Soviets, in trade unions, co-operatives and other elected social organisations, are united in the *Communist fractions* of these organisations. These fractions have the task of carrying out the party line in the given organisation. The fractions are led by the corresponding party committees. Fractions of higher organisations do not have the right to lead the fractions of lower organisations.

The cell has the right to accept party members and also to exclude bad Communists from the party. A fraction has no such right.

A cell meets at definite intervals and discusses the chief questions of the life and policy of the party. A fraction meets only for discussion of the most important questions which the given Soviet, trade union or co-operative organisation has to decide. The decisions of fractions are binding for all

Communists in the given organisation, and they are bound to vote for these decisions at meetings of a non-party organisation and to carry them into life.

### The Duties of a Party Member

When a worker joins the party he does it in order to fight for socialism in an *active and organised manner*. But it is impossible to build socialism without a conscious attitude towards production, without constant care for the fulfilment of the production plan, without labour enthusiasm.

The first duty of a Communist is to be in the van of production, to be an *example of labour discipline*, and to show an example of real care, effort, striving, energy, initiative and enthusiasm in the struggle for fulfilling the production plan.

Exemplary shock work, without days off, without lateness, without turning out bad work, this is the first duty of a Communist in production. A Communist must be a shock worker, must be in the front ranks of the participators of socialist competition, must draw *backward* workers into competition, must master the technique of his work, must fight against money-grabbers, against greed, against those who jump from job to job, against the theft of socialist public property, etc.

*To march in the ranks of the best production workers is the duty of an active builder of socialism, is the duty of a Communist.*

In the mills and factories, in the mines, in the collective farms, in state institutions, in the co-operatives, everywhere where socialist construction is going on, the class enemy tries to put a spoke in the wheels, to wreck, to sabotage, to smash and destroy socialist construction. Even among the workers (especially among those who have only just come into industry), unconscious elements are still met with who are not free from alien influences. Therefore the party member wherever he may find himself, must recognise that he is a *fighter in the positions of the class struggle*, and must strengthen by every means the power of the working-class dictatorship. He must always be on guard to repel the provocations of those who are in with the kulaks and fight against all attempts at smashing socialist construction.

There are Communists who think that if they themselves are not on the make or under kulak influence, then they have already justified the name of Communist. But this is little enough. The party member has to see that those who are on the make, the grabbers and the slackers who are working side by side with them, are helping the class enemy by their activities and agitation. Therefore the Communist cannot be indifferent to the acts and agitation of these breakers of productive work. It is little enough that the Communist is not like them. He cannot be just satisfied with the consciousness that he is better than they, he must fight in the most decisive way against all agents of the class enemy; he must expose them at meetings and in the wall-paper; those who are incorrigible and betray the cause of socialism he must get thrown out, while welding the workers closer around the party. The Communist must be merciless towards those who within the ranks of the working class itself, are treacherously leading socialist construction to destruction.

In still greater degree must the Communist be uncompromising with regard to distortions of party policy, particularly if the attempts at such distortions are made by members of the party.



The party cannot permit the propagation in its name of views which are foreign to it and which do not correspond to its general line. *It is the duty of every Communist to fight for the party line* against opportunist distortions. He must repulse all opportunist attempts both in the discussion of general problems and throughout his practical work. He must at the same time expose double-dealers who in words are for the line of the Party whilst in practice distorting it.

But how can a Communist do this if he does not know the programme, constitution, and chief decisions of the party? It is clear that he is in no condition to do this properly. Not for nothing did the decision of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. on the cleansing of the party emphasise that "there cannot be a Communist who does not know the programme and constitution of his party, and its most important political and organisational decisions."

The *political consciousness* of a party member is the essential condition for his active participation in political life and party work. Without this he cannot fulfil his role of defender of the general line of the party.

From this condition there follows the duty of a party member to raise his political level, to study in a party school, to assimilate the programme and constitution of the party, to read the party press and know all the party decisions, to attend punctually party meetings, and to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Stalin says:

There is nothing higher than the title of member of the party founded and led by Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a party. It is not given to all to withstand the storm and stress that accompany membership in such a party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible privation and heroic effort—these are the ones who must first of all be members of such a party.

A party member must always remember the great responsibility which rests on him. A party member is bound:

1. *To know thoroughly what the party is fighting for*, to know its general line, its most important decisions and current tasks.
2. *To be an advanced worker in his own enterprise*, or upon any other section of socialist construction, be the best shock worker, a fighter for the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan.
3. *To be an unceasing fighter for the general line of the party*, against all kinds of opportunist distortions of this line, *to be straight and honest before the party and a disciplined Communist*.

### The Party Constitution

The party as we have seen makes very great demands upon its members. These demands arise from the fact that the party tries to have in its ranks only the most class-conscious, firm workers, and those who are most devoted to the interests of the working class.

The party guards itself very carefully against alien elements.

It has established a whole number of special conditions for acceptance into the party in order to prevent its ranks being overrun. The party even in the period of tsarism strictly followed its constitution in order not to let into

its ranks secret police agents or people who were hostile or foreign to the interests of the working class. To-day the party keeps to its constitution even more carefully. This is quite to be understood since the Communist Party to-day is the party which leads the state, a ruling party. All kinds of careerists inevitably try to get into such a party, as well as bureaucrats and adventurers, so that they can utilise their position for personal ends.

So the party unswervingly keeps to its constitution. It is not afraid of growing. On the contrary, it tries to bring a continual stream of the *best* workers into its ranks. But the party tries to make its growth assist the *strengthening* of its ranks and the increasing of its connections with the masses and the widening of its working-class core.

The Communist Party is a party of the working class. But in its ranks there are also collective farm peasants, employees, handicraft workers, teachers, technical and other specialists, who are devoted to the interests of the working class.

However, workers comprise the main mass of party members. *Every year the core of workers in the party grows.* In 1928 workers comprised 57.8% of the party membership, while at the end of 1932 the percentage of workers had grown to 64.5. The percentage of employees in this period had decreased from 20 to 7.7, while the percentage of collective farm peasants had risen from 22.3 to 27.8.

In order to enter the party workers who have been engaged in industry not less than five years, must present three recommendations from party members who have at least a five-year membership, while workers who have been engaged in industry less than five years, must show recommendations from five party members with five years' party standing. The same applies to workers from Soviet farms, Red Army men and engineers, and technicians, who are actually working at production; they must also present five recommendations. Collective farmers, members of artisans' co-operatives and elementary school teachers, have to give five recommendations from party members of five years' standing, and in addition a recommendation from the representatives of the political section of the machine-tractor station or from the district committee. Other categories of employees have to give five recommendations from party members of ten years' standing.

All new party members are first of all registered as *candidates*. During their period as candidates the party organisation must check the degree to which they show themselves devoted to the party, the quality of their activity and class-consciousness, and the extent to which they master the foundations of party policy. For the first category the period of being a candidate is fixed at one year, while in the second, third and fourth categories, it is two years. Those who have come from other parties, whatever their social origin, have to pass through a three-year period as candidates, and must also have five recommendations from party members. Their acceptance is confirmed in the last place by the Central Committee of the party.

The stricter conditions for accepting members who are not industrial workers of long standing, are demanded by the effort to create a well-trying class composition for the party in which industrial workers predominate.

The party preserves itself from being overrun with alien elements not only through its method of accepting new members. It also, as we have

already shown, carefully cleans its ranks of all those who disgrace the party and the name of Communist.

The Bolshevik Party has to be free of anything foreign to the interests of the working class. It is absolutely essential from time to time to carry out a general cleansing of its ranks when the party is one which is still able to work legally, and especially when it is a party in power. This is directly stated in the conditions of entrance into the Communist International. One of these conditions calls for the following:

The Communist Parties of all countries in which the Communists are carrying on their work legally, must carry out periodical cleansing of the membership of the party organisations, so as systematically to clean the party from the petty-bourgeois elements which inevitably creep into it.

Through its Control Commissions the party carries on continual checking of its membership and from time to time has a general cleansing. During the party cleansing of 1929-30, over 100,000 people were expelled from the C.P.S.U. as being unworthy to be called Communists. In their place new columns of advanced workers, of the best shock workers and most devoted fighters for socialism entered the party. The party also carried out a general cleansing of its ranks in 1933.

### III

## THE PARTY IS THE HIGHEST FORM OF THE CLASS ORGANISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

### The Leadership of Working-Class Organisations

The Communist Party is not the only organisation of the working class. The working class has many different organisations, trade unions, Soviets, the Communist League of Youth, the co-operatives, the various cultural and social organisations, etc., etc.

These organisations unite different sections of workers and have their own definite tasks. The Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies are the state organs of the working-class dictatorship. Soviets are those organisations which have the greatest mass character and through them the party is connected with the millions of the toilers in town and country and draws them into the administration of the Soviet state. The trade unions embrace all workers and employees. The trade unions educate them in the spirit of Communism, draw them into socialist construction, into the struggle for the improvement of the state apparatus, for the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan, and for the raising of the material and cultural condition of the masses. By means of co-operation, both consumers' co-operation and particularly producers' co-operation (collective farms), the party draws the many millions of toilers in town and country into socialist construction.

Consumers' co-operation by driving out private trading capital, organises distribution to the workers and masses of the toilers on a basis which excludes profiteering and guarantees a good service for the consumption needs of the masses of workers and peasants. By means of co-operation the party developed Soviet trade by driving the N.E.P. man or petty trading spirit

out of it, and converting it into a weapon for welding together town and country. Co-operation is not only the organisation of trade, but also an organisation for a widespread satisfaction of the different living needs of the toilers.

Co-operation develops communal dining rooms, etc., gradually realising Lenin's slogan of "the transition from petty individual domestic economy to large-scale socialised economy."

Artisan manufacturing co-operation plays a big part in the work of aiding socialist construction. By organising petty commodity producers into artels and helping them with credits, raw materials and tools, the party converts them into participators in social production, into participators in socialist construction. But the widest and most important form of productive co-operation which draws millions of petty commodity producers, the peasants, into socialist construction, is the *collective farm movement*. The economic and political importance of the collective farm movement will be told in detail in the Sixth Part of this series.

The Communist League of Youth is a mass organisation of young workers and peasants. The working-class youth plays the leading part in this organisation. Through the Communist League of Youth (Komsomol) the party organises, draws into socialist construction and educates the youth, while it brings in the children through the Pioneer organisation, which is led by the Komsomols. The Komsomol is the reserve of the party.

How can the working class manage to organise properly all these working-class organisations for the struggle for Communism? This can only be achieved by the fact that the chief *political* organisation of the working class, the Communist Party, guarantees a strong united leadership over these organisations.

The Communist Party by its leadership arranges the correct activity of all the organisations of the working class. The working class is interested in destroying capitalism and creating socialist society. All the organisations of the working class must serve this class. In order to bring this struggle to a successful end, all organisations by various methods and in various sections of the front, must march towards one and the same aim. For this they should be able to see better the main direction of their movements and be able to carry out the general line of the party.

The capacity to see the main direction and successfully to move according to it, is given to the different organisations by the *Bolshevik Party* which is armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching. All other organisations of the workers comprise, so to say, "driving belts" from the party to the class, and so to the masses, by whose help the party organises and re-educates the widest masses for struggle and victory over capitalism, for socialism.

In this way the party is the organisation which stands at the head of all other organisations of the proletariat, and it is, as Stalin has said, "*the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.*"

The Communist Party leads all organisations and acts through all the levers of working-class social organisations in order to prevent discordance.

But how, nevertheless, does the party lead all other working-class organisations? Stalin answers this question as follows:

This does not mean, of course, that the non-party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, etc., should be formally subordinated to party leadership. It is simply a question of party members going into these organisations as people who undoubtedly have influence, and taking all measures for convincing non-party organisations to approach the party of the working class in their work and voluntarily to accept its political leadership.

#### IV

### THE PARTY IS THE WEAPON OF WORKING-CLASS DICTATORSHIP

The party is the fighting staff of the working class. Since it is the highest form of class organisation of the workers, the party cannot at the same time look upon itself as an organisation apart from the working class. All its activity is in the service of the working class, for its aims, for its struggle. It is actually the weapon of the working class in its struggle.

Comrade Stalin has said the following in regard to this:

The party is not only the highest form of class union of proletarians, it is also a *weapon* in the hands of the proletariat *for* the conquest of dictatorship when that has not yet been won, *for* the strengthening and widening of the dictatorship when it has already been conquered. The party could not raise itself so high in its importance and it could not surpass all other forms of organisation of the working class unless the working class was facing the question of power.

The chief question of class struggle in all capitalist countries is the question of the transference of power to the working class, the question of working-class revolution, of the dictatorship of the working class; the Communist Party must put the conquest of the proletarian dictatorship as its first and most immediate task.

In the Soviet Union the political task of the party is the strengthening of the working-class dictatorship and the building on its basis of a classless socialist society.

The party is the fighting staff in the struggle for the *strengthening* of the working-class *dictatorship* in just the same way as it was formerly the staff in the struggle for the *conquest* of working-class dictatorship.

To strengthen the dictatorship of the working class, to develop still wider socialist construction, finally to destroy the relics of capitalist classes and to construct socialism is only possible when all the energies of the mass organisations have been united around the party and when the unity of working class will runs through all their activity. This in its turn calls for the education of a strong fighting discipline among the widest masses of the working class, and for very decisive struggle against the penetration into the workers of any spirit of petty bourgeois degeneration.

*The working class needs the party in order that its ranks may be properly organised, in order to lead it in the struggle for working-class dictatorship, in order to win dictatorship, to maintain and strengthen it, in order to develop the struggle for socialism and to build classless socialist society.*

*The leadership of the party is the chief thing in the dictatorship of the working class.*

However, it would be a mistake to draw the conclusion that since the party is the highest leading organisation of the working class, and at the same time the weapon of proletarian dictatorship, you can consequently consider that the dictatorship of the working class and the leadership of the dictatorship of the working class by the party are one and the same thing.

The party gives leading directives to the Soviets, trade unions, co-operatives, Young Communist and other organisations, and they carry these directives into life. In their turn these organisations draw wide masses of workers and peasants into fulfilling the directives of the party. The party cannot and does not attempt to substitute itself for the whole system of working-class dictatorship. The party leads the struggle of the masses but it does not take its place, does not substitute itself for the mass organisations of the working class. The party is the general staff of the class struggle, but the general staff cannot take the place of the army.

The party is the leading force of the working class, and to use Lenin's expression, it is "the ruling advance guard of the proletariat." But it rules the country through the organs of proletarian dictatorship, through the Soviets, the organs of state power. The party organs and the organs of state power, the Soviets, are not one and the same thing.

The party leads the activity of the Soviet organs, but it is wrong from that to draw the conclusion that the Soviets, the organs of justice, or the organs for leading industry, transport, the army, or municipal economy, are direct organs of the party. Communists are at the head of the majority of the organs of State power because Communists are those people who are most class-conscious and devoted to the working class, because they act under the control and leadership of the party, and in this way the subordination of their activity to the general class interests of the workers is guaranteed. But that does not mean that the organs for leading, let us say, municipal economy, are in any kind of way party institutions and not institutions of state power.

So it would be completely wrong to think that in the Soviet Union there is a dictatorship of the party. In the Soviet Union there is the dictatorship of the working class led by the party. Sometimes Lenin used the words, "dictatorship of the party," but only in the sense of *leadership by the party over the organs of working-class dictatorship*.

This leadership is essential in the interests of the general struggle of the working class for the construction of socialist society. Since the party is the advance guard, the leadership of the working class, then consequently it is also the leadership of the working-class dictatorship. So it is not merely incorrect to identify the leadership of the party with the dictatorship of the working-class, but even to oppose the leadership of the party to the working-class dictatorship.

The dictatorship of the working class is able successfully to struggle against its class enemies, to achieve their annihilation and build classless society only under the leadership of the party.

It is impossible—says Comrade Stalin—to oppose the dictatorship of the working class to the leadership (dictatorship) of the party. It is impossible since the leadership of the party is the chief thing in the dictatorship of the proletariat, if we have in view any kind of firm and complete dictatorship, and not such a dic-

tatorship as was, for example, the Paris Commune, which represented an incomplete and unfirm dictatorship. It is impossible since the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the party lie, so to speak, along one line of work and act in one direction.

## V

## THE PARTY AS A UNITY OF WILL

## The Struggle on Two Fronts

The party of the working class in its fight for Communism has to deal not only with the resistance of the class enemy, but also with pressure from non-proletarian social sections which surround the working class. The working class in all countries is surrounded by various sections of town and country petty-bourgeoisie, small traders, shopkeepers, owners of small workshops, peasants, etc.

The working class is not cut off from these non-proletarian sections by a Chinese wall. The working class itself is not all alike in its composition. As we have already said above along with the old workers who have been in industry for generations, new groups of workers come into the ranks of the working class, groups which have emerged from the non-proletarian classes.

Alien, petty-bourgeois influences penetrate the working class through these people who have emerged from other classes, who bring into the working class petty-bourgeois wavering, hesitations, different kinds of departures from the direct class interests of the workers. The more unstable elements within the working class give way to these influences and bring wavering and hesitations into the party also.

But the internal organisation, discipline, working-class training and revolutionary activity of the workers cannot be guaranteed if within its own advance guard, within the party, there are petty-bourgeois hesitations. This is why the party of the working class must always wage a merciless struggle against all these petty-bourgeois influences.

The Communist Party, formerly under the leadership of Lenin, and to-day under the leadership of Stalin, has unswervingly waged a bitter battle against all hesitations. *The whole history of the Communist Party is a struggle against alien class influences on the proletariat and its party.* These influences within the party have taken the form of various kinds of opportunist deviations, oppositions and actions against the party. *Opportunism is a line directed towards agreement with the capitalist class, is treachery to the interests of the working class. Opportunists distort the correct Leninist line of the party in the interests of the capitalist class.* The Bolshevik Party throughout its history has fought against two chief forms of opportunism in the working-class movement. One of them was always expressed in the policy of *open agreement and co-operation with the bourgeoisie, in the last analysis in the policy of direct treachery to the interests of the working class and defence of the interests of the capitalist class.* Another form of opportunism is *petty-bourgeois looseness which breaks working-class discipline, incapacity for consistent firm struggle against the class enemy, and efforts to conceal retreat in the face of the class enemy, under false revolutionary wordiness.*

Both forms of opportunism penetrate the party through unstable elements and sections, and are expressed in the form of various opportunist deviations, right and "left" deviations from the party line.

Right opportunism at present consists of direct defence of the interests of the class enemy in the ranks of the working class and its party. It is the agency of the class enemy, the agency of the kulaks.

At the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan the right deviation attacked rapid rates of industrialisation of the country, the active carrying out of the policy of collectivisation, the building of Soviet farms, the merciless struggle against the kulaks. Right opportunism preaches the policy of go as you please, of renunciation of the class struggle, of retreat before difficulties. The line of the right deviation is a line not for strengthening the struggle against the class enemy, not for the liquidation of the kulaks, but for peace with them, that is, for strengthening the kulaks and consequently for smashing the dictatorship of the working class.

These views of the right deviation are opposed to the foundations of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and to the general line of the party. At the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (June-July, 1930) Stalin said:

There can be no doubt that the victory of the "right" wing in our party would mean complete disarmament of the working class, the arming of the capitalist elements in the village and the growth of the chances of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

As for "left" opportunism, it represents the simulated "revolutionism" of the petty-bourgeoisie. Capitalism does not only exploit the working class, but also the town and country petty-bourgeoisie. It oppresses and ruins it. But the petty-bourgeoisie is incapable of organised struggle against capitalism.

*"The revolutionism" of the petty-bourgeoisie is despair and rage, but not a disciplined and organised struggle.*

The petty-bourgeoisie cannot bear the regime of working-class dictatorship. It would like somehow or other to preserve its petty economy by limiting the competition of the big capitalists, or else by jumping all at once straight into the epoch of socialism.

But it cannot bear the hard regime of proletarian dictatorship, the rupture of the old and the obstinate persistent struggle for building the new, connected as it is with immense difficulties. It would like to jump right into socialism without the dictatorship of the working class, so that they could go to sleep to-day as small property-owners and wake up to-morrow in a socialist state. This current of petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" inside the labour movement found its expression in the shape of various kinds of anarchist and semi-anarchist theories.

The mood of the petty-bourgeoisie, discontented with the system of working-class dictatorship, sometimes finds its expression within the Communist Party also in the shape of a "left" deviation, which conceals its petty-bourgeois, opportunist nature under an outwardly false "leftism."

The "left" deviation only appears "left" through its pretended "revolutionary" babbling. In fact there is nothing more revolutionary or more "left" than the party, than the Bolshevik Party.



Both deviations from the party line, both right and "left," lead to the same thing, to the breaking of the policy of the dictatorship of the working class, to the weakening of its position and to the strengthening of the position of the enemies of the working class. That is why cases of their unification for a joint struggle against the party are common.

Both these dangers, both the "left" and the right—Comrade Stalin has said—both these deviations from the Leninist line, both the right and the "left," lead to one and the same result, although from different ends.

The Communist Party has always carried on the fight on two fronts against both right and "left" opportunism. *This fight on two fronts is the law of the development of the Communist Party.* It is the law of the whole of international Bolshevism also.

In fighting on two fronts the party in definite conditions concentrates its fire on the chief danger at the given moment. So to-day the chief danger is right opportunism. Why precisely is right opportunism the chief danger to-day?

The working class in the Soviet Union is waging a struggle for classless socialist society. It is finishing off the relics of the forces of the defeated class enemy. It is finishing off the kulaks. It is burning out all the old roots of capitalism. And this causes a desperate resistance to socialist construction from the relics of the exploiting classes. They try by underhand means, by quietly sapping from within, to destroy the collective farms, to bring about the collapse of industry, to demoralise discipline in the enterprises, in the Soviet farms and collective farms, to spoil tractors, to break machines, to steal socialist property, which is the basis of the socialist system. They strive in every way to smash socialist construction and restore capitalism.

Right opportunism is the agency of the class enemy. It does not propose to destroy the kulaks and other remnants of capitalist classes, but on the contrary, to allow them to develop freely. That is why right opportunism is to-day the chief danger.

"Why is the right deviation now the chief danger in the party?" Comrade Stalin asked at the Sixteenth Congress. "Because," he answered, "it expresses the kulak danger, and the kulak danger at the present moment, at the moment of general offensive and pulling up the roots of capitalism, is the chief danger in the country."

### On Conciliation and Double-Dealing

There are people inside the party who, seeing the stern struggle against opportunism, are grievously perplexed. "Surely we can come to some arrangement, make some concession to one another, find some kind of 'middle line'?" This is philistine reasoning. Since here it is a question of the revolutionary policy of the working class, then there can be no talk of "somehow or other" coming to an arrangement, but only of working out a correct line for the party which alone will guarantee the interests of the working class and the victory of socialism. If the Communist Party did not overcome opportunist deviations, but came to some arrangement with them, made concessions to them, then things would end with the degeneration of the party into an ordinary opportunist party differing in no way from the

Mensheviks or any of the Social-Democratic parties in the Second International. It is just the peculiarity of Social-Democratic parties that they compromise over their disagreements and contradictions and do not overcome them, do not get rid of them through struggle.

Comrade Stalin says:

Either the one or the other set of principles must be placed at the basis of the work of the party. A "middle" line in questions of principle is a "line" beset with difficulties, a "line" of smearing over disagreements, a "line" of ideological degeneration of the party, a "line" of ideological death of the party.

Comrade Stalin further emphasises that

the policy of a "middle" line in matters of principle is a policy of dying and degenerating parties. . . . The history of our party is the history of the overcoming of inner party contradictions and of the unswerving strengthening of the ranks of our party on this basis.

Therefore those who try to get the party to compromise with deviations are in practice helping opportunism and themselves are concealed carriers of opportunism.

Consequently, it is impossible successfully to wage a real struggle against opportunism and the destructive activities of different oppositions unless at the same time a fight is carried on against conciliationism towards deviations. Conciliationism is a kindly attitude towards deviations instead of decisive struggle against them. In essence conciliationism is an attempt to conceal and therefore to encourage deviations.

It is impossible to be a Bolshevik and simultaneously to get along peacefully with deviations from Bolshevism, or not to struggle against them. If a Communist sees distortions of the Bolshevik line in views he hears expressed, or in practical work, and quietly passes them by without engaging in struggle against them, he is not a Communist but a philistine. Moreover a Communist who sees distortions of the general line of the party or of the bases of the Bolshevik teaching, without fighting against them, is in practice concealing these distortions and assisting deviations, and consciously stands on the side of the deviators against the party.

Attacking conciliationism towards the right deviation in 1928, Comrade Stalin described this form of conciliationism as follows:

We have in the party people who are prone to declare, for the unburdening of their conscience, war against the right danger in the same way as the priests sometimes cry out, "Hallelujah! Hallelujah!" but do not take any steps, absolutely no practical measures towards getting a fight against the right deviation underway, and overcoming this deviation in practice. We call such a tendency a *conciliatory* tendency towards the open, opportunist right deviation. It is not difficult to understand that struggle against such a kind of conciliationism is a fundamental part of the general struggle against the right wing, against the right danger. For it is impossible to overcome the right opportunist deviation unless a systematic struggle is waged against conciliationism which covers the opportunist under its wing.

Such conciliationism towards deviations leads in the end to direct defence of these deviations. The conciliator frequently has recourse to direct deception of the party, to double-dealing.

The Trotskyists in their time showed disgusting examples of double-dealing

in their struggle against the party. They tried to deceive the watchfulness of the party, to make use of all organisational possibilities of calling special fractional meetings, of breaking party discipline, of setting the mass of party membership against the Central Committee. The right deviationists had recourse to the same methods in 1928-29.

Double-dealing in present conditions appears in many cases in the form of *recognition in words* of the policy and directions of the party and conscious distortion or sabotage of them *in practice*.

This was the case, for example, in May, 1933, when a number of party workers in the coal industry of the Don Basin welcomed the decision of the Central Committee of the party to reorganise the leadership of this industry in various resolutions and speeches, but in practice sabotaged and broke this decision.

Double-dealing—Comrade Kaganovich says—is nothing else but bringing into the ranks of the party, into the ranks of the working class, the old bourgeois kulak “man of virtue,” for deceit, hypocrisy, double dealing was considered a sign of virtue among the capitalists, the traders, and kulaks. That kulak, that trader, who didn’t deceive had no “self-respect.” It’s not for nothing that there exists an old traders’ and kulaks’ proverb, “If you don’t cheat you don’t sell.”

Double-dealing is kulak and merchants’ morality. The person who is capable of double-dealing, who is capable of concealing his real views from the party by deceptive methods, is entering the path of treachery to the party.

That is why the party systematically wages war against double-dealing and cleanses its ranks of double-dealers.

Double-dealing is impossible where there is Bolshevik watchfulness among party members. Double-dealing is impossible where Communists behave towards conciliationism with the same intolerance as they have for deviations from the party line.

### On the Struggle for the Organisation and Unity of the Party

The struggle against opportunism is impossible without the struggle against the formation of groups and fractions within the party.

The iron discipline of the Communist Party, as has already been pointed out, is based on the Bolshevik unity of the party ranks. This discipline is only possible on condition that the party is united in its thoughts, in its policy, in its practical work and in its organisational structure.

“Iron discipline in the party is unthinkable without unity of will, without complete and unconditional unity of action of all the party members,” Comrade Stalin said.

There can be neither discipline nor unity in the party unless the Bolshevik organisation and the Bolshevik concentration of its ranks breaks the formation of fractions and grouping within the party. The Tenth Party Congress in 1921 in the resolution, “On the Unity of the Party,” ordered the immediate dissolution of all groups which had been formed before the Congress, and entrusted “all organisations with the strictest attention to prevent any kind of fractional activity. Non-fulfilment of this decision of the Congress,” the resolution says further on, “must carry with it unconditional and immediate expulsion from the party.”

This decision which was written by Lenin has always guided the party

in its struggle against fractional groupings and various opportunist oppositions.

Why has the party throughout its history fought so sternly against the formation of fractions in the ranks of the C.P.S.U.? Because fractions within the party destroy the unity of the party. The existence of fractions means the existence of several centres of leadership within one party. It is clear to anybody that there can be no united party where there exist several leading centres. And when there is not a single leading centre, where there is not unity of action, the dissolution and breaking up of the party, the collapse of its discipline take place. What is the point, you may well ask, of a party in which there is neither discipline nor unity and in which confusion reigns? The working class doesn't need a party like that. Such a weakening of the party is of advantage only to the enemies of the working class.

That is why Comrade Stalin has said that the party is "*a unity of will incompatible with the existence of fractions.*"

## VI

### THE PARTY STRENGTHENS ITSELF BY CLEANSING ITSELF FROM OPPORTUNIST AND ALIEN ELEMENTS

#### On the Methods of Overcoming Opportunism

Opportunist elements are the source of fractionalism within the party. They cannot accept the iron discipline of the party, attempt to break it and destroy the unity of the party.

The party therefore wages merciless war on these elements and throws them out of its ranks. If it did not do so it would not be the fighting leading staff of the working class and would be unable to guarantee its own internal unity of will and consequently unity of action. Only by freeing itself from its opportunist burden does it do away with the danger of dispersion and degeneration within its own ranks and strengthen its unity.

The party has driven the Trotskyists from its ranks and they have since become transformed into open counter-revolutionaries and the advance guard of capitalist counter-revolution. The party systematically cleanses itself from incorrigible "leftist" exaggerators. At the Sixteenth Congress the party recognised that the views of the right opportunists were incompatible with membership of the C.P.S.U. and mercilessly threw the right opportunists out of its ranks as kulak agents. It roots out all who maliciously distort the line of the party.

In the middle of 1932 the party liquidated the underground groups of Rutin, Galkin and others, which consisted of fragments of the beaten right opposition and a few former Trotskyists. There belonged to this group people who had already been driven out of the party and also those who had remained in it, but were deceiving it by double-dealing.

At the end of 1932 the party liquidated another group led by Rismont and Tolmachov, consisting of degenerates who had passed over to the position of open White-Guardism.

All the opportunist oppositions within the party tried to get the right to carry on their destructive work without hindrance, under the label of

"democracy" and "ideological struggle," so as in this way to be able freely to preach their destructive ideas within the party and disorganise the party. The whole rich revolutionary experience of Bolshevism and of its merciless struggle on two fronts against opportunism decisively rejects the theory of "outliving" opportunism inside the party. This principle was expressed by Comrade Stalin in the following remarkable words:

The theory of "overcoming" opportunist elements through ideological struggle within the party, the theory of "outliving" these elements within the framework of one party, is a rotten and dangerous theory which threatens to bring the party to a state of paralysis and chronic sickness, which threatens to hand the party over to be consumed by opportunism, which threatens to leave the working class without any revolutionary party.

The party mercilessly rids its ranks of all those elements which bring with them rot and decay. By doing this it strengthens itself.

### Party Cleansing

During the years after the November Revolution, the party grew rapidly and recruited millions of the best and most advanced workers. Before the November Revolution of 1917 the party only had 115,000 members altogether, while at the beginning of 1933 it already embraced about 3,200,000 members. This great growth of the party, Kaganovich says, "is evidence of the immense confidence, love and support for the party from wide masses of collective workers and farmers. The party knows this and the party is proud of it."

The mass streaming of workers and collective farmers into the ranks of the party is bound up with the successes of socialist construction. These victories have not only raised the productive enthusiasm, but also the political activity of the masses, bringing the best of them into the ranks of the Communist Party.

But at the same time in isolated cases alien elements and hidden agents of the class enemy, double-dealers, careerists, etc., get into the party.

Comrade Kaganovich in his speech on the party cleansing, said that "the cleansing of the ranks of the party is an essential process just as is the process of cleansing a healthy organism of unhealthy elements."

Before the Revolution under the tsarist regime, the cleansing of the party went on in a natural manner without special cleansing campaigns. "He who was weak retreated." The cleansing of the party from tired, unhealthy, undisciplined elements and from those who were not completely devoted to the cause of the working class, went largely along the lines of natural selection.

After the victory of the November Revolution the position changed, when in consequence of the victory of the working class, alien elements crept into the party as well as the best members of the working class. Lenin declared that, "Not one deep and powerful popular movement in history has managed without filthy scum, without the planting of adventurers, rogues, boasters, and windbags on to the inexperienced innovators."

The party has always waged a merciless struggle against these elements, organising periodical cleansings of its ranks.

The cleansing which has been carried through in 1933 was essential, because in the present conditions of class struggle, revolutionary watchfulness is

necessary with regard to the class enemy. The enemy is beaten but not yet destroyed. He is changing his tactics of struggle by acting secretly, getting not only into the collective farms and Soviet farms, but even into the party in order better to insure himself and destroy socialist construction from within.

Of whom does the party cleanse its ranks? The decision of the Central Commission and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. of April 29, 1933, on the cleansing of the party answers this question as follows:

The following are cleansed from the party:

1. Elements which are alien and hostile to the working class, who have got into the party by deception and who remained there in order to disorganise the ranks of the party;

2. Double-dealers who live on deceiving the party, concealing their real aims from it and under cover of a lying oath of "loyalty" to the party in practice attempt to destroy the party policy;

3. Open and concealed breakers of the discipline of the party and the state, who do not fulfil the decisions of the party and the government, who cast doubt and discredit on the decisions and the plans drawn up by the party by babbling about their "unreality" and "unrealisable" character;

4. Degenerates who have got mixed with bourgeois elements and do not desire to fight in practice against the class enemies, who do not fight in practice against kulak elements, slackers, people on the make, thieves and robbers of social property;

5. Careerists, those who think of their own skins first, and bureaucrats, as well as all those who use their presence in the party and service of the Soviet state for their own personal or profitable ends, who have become cut off from the masses or who neglect the needs and demands of the workers and peasants;

6. Morally degenerate elements who by their behaviour lower the dignity of the party or smirch the banner of the party.

Along with these there are many Communists who are deeply devoted to the party, but who nevertheless insufficiently understand the policy of the party, do not know its programme or constitution, or are unacquainted with the chief decisions of the party. The party does not throw out these people, but transfers them to the position of candidates or sympathisers and in this way allows them to prepare themselves to become mature and politically developed party members.

To-day, in addition to candidates, the party is organising groups of sympathisers. This is all that active mass which has come very close to the party, which stands on the threshold of the party and acts under the direct leadership and according to the directives of the party. Sympathisers are those who are the Communists of to-morrow.

The periodical cleansings of the ranks of the party are a sign of the immense strength of the Communist Party. Only a strong party is capable of carrying through such a cleansing in its ranks as verifies the work of every organisation as well as of every party member in particular, and moreover, checks everything openly with the participation of the widest masses of non-party members.

Having freed itself from the rubbish and waste, the party still further strengthens its ranks and raises the ideological and political level of the party members, increases self-criticism, making it real and Bolshevik. The cleansing welds the non-party masses of toilers more strongly about the party and increases the confidence of the masses in the Communist Party.

The party has emerged from the cleansing of 1933 with a still higher

fighting capacity, ideologically welded together, ready for great new feats in the struggle for the Second Five-Year Plan for the construction of classless socialist society.

In Great Britain, the oldest capitalist country, the working class movement also was the first in the world. It had its beginnings in the time of the great Utopian Socialist, Robert Owen, and developed into the powerful Chartist Movement in the 'thirties and "hungry 'forties." But with the rapid expansion of British capitalism in the mid-nineteenth century, England, "the workshop of the world" in those days, held a monopoly of the world market; the British capitalist class reached a position of unchallenged supremacy, from which they were able to stifle the further growth of a revolutionary working class, and were able to throw their influence over the existing forms of working-class organisation—the trade unions and co-operative societies.

The crisis of the 'eighties gave birth to socialist organisations and to a new wave of class struggle culminating in the Dockers' Strike of 1889. But the further imperialist expansion of Britain enabled the capitalists to rely on a privileged upper section of the working class and thereby to prevent further revolutionary development. Out of the Colonies the imperialists were able to bribe this upper section, this "aristocracy of labour," with higher wages and various other privileges. Thus, just as the trade union officials of the 'sixties and 'seventies were supporters of liberal capitalism, so their successors in the twentieth century, though often calling themselves "Socialist" or "Labour," were actually to be found in support of capitalist interests. Thus, before the war of 1914-1918, the largest political parties that claimed the support of the working class, the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party were openly reformist, as were also the trade union leaders and leaders of the Co-operative Societies. They disdained even to call themselves Marxist and relied for their theoretical guidance upon the chiefs of the Fabian Society, an organisation of petty-bourgeois socialists. But so powerful at this period was the influence of the ideology of British imperialists that even organisations which called themselves Marxist were tainted by opportunism, with jingoism, and with what Marx called "parliamentary cretinism": on the other hand, the reaction against this prevailing opportunism had issued in a number of smaller sects with "leftist" views.

It was only with the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism and with the loss of British imperialism's predominance in the world market that conditions ripened for the birth of a Communist Party. The end of the war and the reverberations of the Russian Revolution brought the historical conditions for the creation of a Communist Party. But the effect of the previous conditions lingered on and it was not until the middle of 1920 (July 21) that the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed: and not until two years later that it began to be set on a firm basis. But from the end of 1922, drawing on the experience of other parties, collected and generalised by the Communist International, the British Party, at first mainly as an agitational force, began to develop towards the leadership of the revolutionary working class.

Meantime, Social-Democracy in Britain under the forms of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party, like its counterparts in other countries, was more and more being revealed as the chief social support of the bourgeoisie. But in the first stage of the post-war period this was not yet

clear to wide masses of the workers, while at the same time the Labour Party retained to some extent the loose federal structure with which it had begun. This situation determined the policy of the Communist Party for the first six years of its existence. That policy, which was largely based on the line worked out by Lenin in his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism: An Infantile Disease* in 1920, can be briefly described as "critical support" of the Labour Party. In the struggle to carry out this policy, which of course was combined with the propaganda of Communism and the building of widespread mass movements, such as the Minority Movement, the young Communist Party, originating from previous sectarian groupings, itself learned and taught to the revolutionary working class the constant need of mass work, of building the united front of the workers in daily struggle.

With the development of the Labour Party into a "third party" of the capitalists (shown by its anti-working class conduct of the Labour Government, by its policy in opposition, by its systematic hunting down and expulsion of Communists or Communist sympathisers, and finally by the betrayal of the General Strike and the adoption of the policy of "Mondism") an entirely changed situation developed. The Communist Party of Great Britain, therefore, after discussion in 1927 and 1928 adopted a new line of policy, of opposition to the Labour Party, of independent leadership of the class struggle. Against this new line, a group of right-wing opportunists carried on a fight for two years: until the whole party in this struggle was completely mobilised against the right wing, which was defeated at the Leeds Congress of December, 1929. In the years that followed 1929 left "sectarian" tendencies, especially in trade union work, began to show themselves in the Party and had to be fought against. Thus the British Communist Party had to learn to fight on two fronts against opportunism on the one hand and against "left" sectarian tendencies on the other.

The sharply critical character of the situation created by Hitler's accession to power in Germany in March, 1933, caused the Party to make United Front approaches to the Labour Party, T.U.C. General Council, and I.L.P. Only the I.L.P. agreed. And in the subsequent campaigns and efforts to bring the Labour Party and Trades Unions within the scope of the United Front, the political and practical experience gained by the Party in the struggle to apply a correct line, was of the greatest value.

Together with the I.L.P. and with the support of many local Labour organisations and Trade Unions, the Party carried out the great Hunger March and Congress Campaign in the spring of 1934.

The continuous strides towards fascism and the outbreak of war during 1934, emphasised the urgency of the Party's efforts to win the majority of the working class for a revolutionary way out of the crisis under the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

### Structure

The Communist Party is the leader and the organiser of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and for the establishment of Socialism. The carrying through of this essential role determines the structure and organisational form of the party.

The basic Communist organisation is in the factories and streets. Every



Party member is first and foremost a member of a factory cell, or a street cell. The factory cells comprising the Communists employed in a given factory or pit, etc., and the street cell consisting of those living in a given area, who cannot for any reason (housewives, etc.) be enrolled in a factory cell.

All cells in a given town or convenient area are grouped to form a local party organisation which is directed by the local party committee elected by the membership.

In Britain and in the United States the party is organised into a number of districts which cover the local organisations in the given area.

Party activities in the districts are under the leadership of the District Party Committee which is elected by a district congress or convention of delegates from the cells and locals.

The district of the party is divided into several sections, each with its responsible committee. The cells are directly guided by the Section Committee, which for this purpose appoints an instructor to each cell or unit.

The highest authority in the party is the party congress or convention which considers the work carried out by the party, and decides the policy nationally. Delegates to the party congress are elected at district conferences, which meet to consider the questions which are to be discussed at the party congress, and elect their district quota of delegates.

The congress elects the Central Committee which is the responsible authority between congresses.

The Central Committee appoints a Political Bureau and Secretariat which gives day to day leadership to the Party.

All party officials, editors, organisers, etc., have to be confirmed on appointment by the Central Committee or Political Bureau.

Party members in non-party organisations meet as a fraction in order to act on a common policy.

Every organ of the party has the full right and indeed the duty of criticism—including self-criticism—of the party's activities. But decisions once taken must be carried out by every organ and every member of the party.

The party works in the closest contact with the Young Communist League, which although organising separately is under the political guidance of the Communist Party.

On these principles and with this structure the Communist Party is fitted to act as the highest form of working class organisation, comprising the most active and class conscious workers, and leading the struggle of the whole working class, along revolutionary lines for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

The continuous and rapid strides towards fascism and the outbreak of war during 1934-35, emphasised the urgency of the party's efforts to win the majority of the working class for a revolutionary way out of the crisis under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Every organ of the party has the full right and indeed the duty of criticism—including self-criticism—of the party's activities. But decisions once taken must be carried out by every organ and every member of the party.

*And so we find from the third part that:*

The Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class. It organises its forces, leads them politically, unites the revolutionary energy of

all the organisations of the working class and directs it into the struggle for communism.

For the success of this struggle it is essential for the working class to have a fighting party which is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the class struggle, which is ideologically hardened, which is organisationally welded together and united by iron working-class discipline. The Bolshevik Party has all these qualities. The other Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union are also built on these foundations.

All these qualities of the Communist Party make it fundamentally different from the Social-Democratic parties which deceive the workers by calling themselves "Labour" parties. The Communist Party in its aims, in its activities, by its organisation, is a party of a new type, is a party of uncompromising struggle against the class enemies of the workers, and against the open or concealed opportunist agents of these enemies, it is a party for the conquest and realisation of the dictatorship of the working class and the construction of socialist classless society.

Throughout all its history the Communist Party has waged a merciless struggle on two fronts against "left" and right opportunism, as well as against conciliationism towards opportunist deviations. This struggle on two fronts is the law of the development of Bolshevism. In the struggle on two fronts the party has always made clear what is the chief danger at any given period and aimed its fire in that direction, while not ceasing to struggle against other forms and manifestations of opportunism.

At the present time the chief danger is right opportunism.

The party hardens and strengthens itself by cleansing its ranks of opportunists and alien elements.

#### QUESTIONS FOR STUDY TO PART III:

1. Why do we call the Communist Party the advance guard of the working class?
2. In what way does the capitalist class try to bring about the disorganisation of the ranks of the working class? By what methods does it confuse the consciousness of the workers?
3. Why is it that the Communist Party would not have been victorious if it had not always waged an uncompromising fight against opportunist deviations from the Leninist line?
4. Why is right opportunism to-day the chief danger?
5. In what does the discipline of the Bolshevik Party consist?
6. How does the party lead mass organisations? How are Communist fractions in non-party elected organisations formed and how do they work?
7. What is the difference between the programme and the constitution of the party?
8. What are the duties of Communists in their production work?
9. Why does the party not allow factionalism in its ranks?
10. Why does the party periodically carry out cleansings of its ranks?
11. What is the meaning of the struggle of the party on two fronts?
12. What is double-dealing?



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