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The Pace Must Not Slacken

NO matter how one estimates the latest stock exchange crash in America : whether one regards it as a purely financial crisis, or considers it to be the direct precursor of an imminent industrial crisis in the large imperialist countries, one thing remains indisputable ; there are great disturbances in the economy of world imperialism which foreshadows inevitable outbreaks and shocks on a gigantic scale sooner or later in the economy of capitalist countries.

There may be various estimates of the influence which the catastrophic fall of American stock prices will have on the economic situation of Europe. One may reckon that the return flow of European speculators' credits from America will bring with it a temporary alleviation of the almost impossibly stringent European financial and capital market, and will evoke an ostensible and short-period stimulation (which is hardly likely), or, on the other hand (and here more weighty arguments come into play) it may be argued that the financial stock exchange crisis in America will have its continuation and intensification in smashes on the exchanges of

Berlin, Frankfurt, London, Paris, Amsterdam, and other sanctums of international capital speculation, and thus intensify still more the prolonged depression of European capitalism. But of one thing there is no doubt : the bankruptcies of the stockbrokers who have burnt their fingers in America, or the "liquidation" and the "embarrassments" of the old, respectable banks and insurance institutions in various European capitals by no means testify to "diseases of the growth of stabilised capitalism." Even the trumpeters of "organised capitalism" can hardly regard those crisis phenomena which are to be observed in all capitalist countries at the present time as justifying their argument. If, as the theoreticians of "organised" capitalism" say, monopolistic capitalism has succeeded in overcoming the anarchy of the home market and outliving its internal contradictions, then why cannot all the travails of finance capital put a period to the crashes and shocks which are now to be observed on the world financial and capital market ? All the interventions of the bankers' consortiums could not check the fall in stock

quotations on even one of the European exchanges; the glorified machinery of federal reserve banks in America proved quite incapable of averting such "Black Fridays" as have not been known before in all the story of post-war American economy. The exchange and general financial crash is beginning to be too much even for the capitalist magnates.

BUT in fact crisis phenomena are to be noted not only on the surface of capitalist economy not only in the sphere of its fictitious and financial capital. They lurk in the profound depression of various spheres of capitalist industry, which are languishing in the fetters of over-production, and the seriously reduced purchasing power of the toiling masses. The stagnation in industry and commerce in such countries as Austria, Poland and Hungary is beginning to acquire the features of a strong crisis. But in order to estimate the dynamics of the economic development of Europe it is perhaps even more important to make a sound analysis of the economic situation in Germany, which is typical of all large capitalist countries. To this end we cite the statement of the bourgeois economist Gustav Shtolper, which is valuable to us just because he exactly hits upon all the instability and contradiction of the present situation in Germany. In the September number of the *German Economist*, Shtolper wrote as follows: "For more than a year now German industry has been suffering from a depression. According to the figures of workers receiving unemployment pay there are 200,000, or one-third more than the corresponding figure for last year. In details the situation is even worse. The textile, leather and motor industries are gripped by a complete crisis. The building trade is growing less and less active. In September this year the number of protested bills was half as high again as last year. These facts are set off by a still comparatively good situation in the iron and coal industry, a considerable easing of the situation in the State Bank and an essential improvement in the trade balance. Heavy industry is consolidated." Shtolper's statement could not be improved upon as showing the protracted nature of Germany's economic depression, which has now lasted for over a year. The insoluble contradiction between an inflated production machin-

ery and a constricted market leads in Germany to a specific manifestation: to a contradiction between the temporary stability of the situation in heavy industry and the critical state of all the industrial spheres working for the wide consumption market. But that which is to be observed in Germany is characteristic of all the other imperialistic countries.

On this plane great importance is to be attached to the fall in the production index in America, where signs of an economic break are coming to the surface increasingly. According to the *Analyst's* figures the production index for cast iron shows a decline to 118.7 as compared with 126.3 in August and 127.4 in July. According to preliminary figures the production index of the motor industry was 126.2 in September as compared with 137.2 in August, seasonal fluctuations being taken into consideration. A decline is also to be observed in the production of the steel-founding industry, beginning with June. Whatever the further dynamics of industrial development in America may happen to be, we already have a struggle on the part of American capital to force an industrial export, and undoubtedly this will be intensified during the forthcoming period in order to prevent an efflux of gold from the bank strong rooms, and this in turn must intensify and sharpen competition on the world market to an extraordinary extent.

THE magnates of financial capital clearly realise the difficulties which will arise during the forthcoming period. With all their powers they are preparing for the coming battles, with a view to surpassing their imperialist rivals in the world market and to develop to the maximum the attack on the proletariat. In this connection the new enormous concentration of banking capital and, following from that the concentration in industry, is not only an expression of the enormous difficulties which capitalism is now passing through. It is simultaneously an economic mobilisation of capitalism's forces with a view to a frantic development of the struggle on the home and the world front. The fusion of the "Deutsche Bank" and the "Diskonto Gesellschaft" in Germany, the fusion of the larger American banks, with a share capital reaching legendary figures, the gigantic processes of fusion of industrial monopolies on a national and inter-

national scale, the new forms of "investment trusts," etc., by no means witness to a new era of "organised capitalism," but are the finest confirmation of the correctness of the economic and political analysis which the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. provided. The enormous intensification of capitalism's economic and social antagonisms is driving it into attempts to resolve those antagonisms by violent methods.

THE world bourgeoisie is preparing for that with all its powers. Together with the concentration of its economic might it is striving also to concentrate its State machinery for suppressing the proletariat and to consolidate the political might of its class organisations generally. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is entering upon a swift and resolute liquidation of "democracy" and the establishment of a fascist regime, whether by a legal "parliamentary" path or by a *coup d'état* is a matter of indifference. Everywhere the bourgeoisie is setting to work to reconstruct, to "reorganise" and "rationalise" its party system—that complex mechanism for ideological and organised influence on the petty bourgeois, and even proletarian masses.

There is no longer any need for discussing whether the State is being fascisised, whether "bourgeois democracy" is being outlived, whether the social-democratic parties are being transformed into social-fascist parties or not. The events in Austria must convince the most stubborn supporters of Bukharin—Ebert and Meyer—that the Sixth Congress and Tenth Plenum of the Comintern were correct in bringing the struggle with social-fascism, with its right, and its still more dangerous "left" wing, into the forefront.

Through the example of Austria we have been afforded the possibility of observing how resolutely and intelligently the bourgeoisie with the aid of the social-democrats are carrying through a fascist coup. This road, the "Schober road," will become the model for the bourgeoisie of other countries.

In reality, what is happening in Germany, France, Finland, Latvia, etc., at the present time most clearly illustrates the class movements and readjustments characteristic of the present stage in the revolutionary rise of the proletariat, when the bourgeoisie cannot but strive to realise its fascist programme by the shortest path possible.

WHAT, for instance, do the demands and hopes of the German bourgeoisie amount to? In the first place they demand "financial reform," "reforms" in financial administration and the State budget. Behind this is hidden the struggle to liquidate or radically to restrict all social insurances, to effect an enormous increase in the taxation on mass consumption, and a reduction in the so-called "non-productive expenditures," to plunder the toilers by monopolies, etc. In a word, the corner-stone of German capital's present policy is the "dictatorship of saving," which translated into class language means an unprecedented plundering attack upon the most elementary needs of the toiling masses. Secondly one of the most important planks in the economic policy of German financial capital is the struggle against all forms of communal enterprises, and in particular against the competition of retail co-operatives, which in some places may diminish the receipts of the trustified bourgeoisie. The financial magnates are striving to achieve control over communal local governments and their disbursements, and a rejection of State assistance to communal and co-operative enterprises, thus confirming that in the given stage of capitalist development the characteristic tendency is not towards increasing the powers of the State in these matters, but on the contrary, towards the development of private monopolist tendencies. Thirdly, the bourgeoisie is striving to effect a rationalisation and simplification of the parliamentary system of administration, and in the course of this, cynically dictates to social-fascism a "review" of the electoral laws, demands an extension of the executive authority of the bourgeois State at the expense of the legislative authority, an increase in the powers of the President of the Republic and so on. In the present period another feature of no small importance is the fact that the bourgeoisie has resolutely tackled the question of enlarging its class organisation, is endeavouring to reduce the number of bourgeois parties and to subject them to the open dictatorship of the great bourgeoisie. Fourthly, the most important section of the bourgeois programme is the break-up of the revolutionary proletariat and its advance guard. The "Law for the Defence of the Republic" particularly in Germany, pursues this end, the end of suppressing every attack of the proletariat

which threatens to complicate the difficulties of capitalist rationalisation and of carrying out the Young Plan. There can be no doubt that the time is not far distant when all so-called "wild" strikes and economic struggles of the proletariat led by the Communist Party and the revolutionary T.U. opposition will be declared "outside the law." And with this also goes the interdiction of the Communist Party and the organs of the revolutionary opposition generally, the arrest of strike committees, the dispersal of red factory committees and so on. The leaders of the reformist T.U. bureaucracy and the social-democrats are already working for this, cynically declaring that only thus can "the rights of the proletariat's trade union struggle be preserved by the State."

WE have indicated the chief points in the programme for the fascisation of Germany, which are indicative because in one form or another they will be put on the agenda, are already being put on the agenda of the "leading" "democratic" countries of Europe, and of France and Britain first and foremost, irrespective of whether the power is in the hands of the notoriously reactionary Tardieu Government, or in that of the MacDonald "Labour" Government. In many other European countries the fascist development has already gone considerably farther. The "classic example" of Austria will find, is already finding, many imitators. One may say without any exaggeration that similar conditions in which at the present time the ruthless struggle between the forces of reaction and the forces of revolution is being carried on are everywhere driving the bourgeoisie on to the "Schober road," the road of the legal and illegal "review" of the bourgeois democratic regime and its replacement by a fascist regime undisguised by any of the parliamentary trappings.

AT this late stage there is surely no need to show that social-democracy, now transformed into social-fascism, has played and is playing the most active part in the process of transforming bourgeois democracy into fascist dictatorship. Everything, literally everything, that the Comintern Sixth Congress and the E.C.C.I. Tenth Plenum stated concerning the evolution of social-democracy into a social fascist organisation, welded for good and ill with

the bourgeoisie's State apparatus, and also being fascised, has been brilliantly confirmed by the course of events. Will the theoreticians and practitioners of the Right Wing deviation still dare to declare that social-fascism is not one of the chief forces making for the fascist evolution of the bourgeois State? Will anyone of them dare to dispute that the "left wing" social democrats are a most dangerous enemy to the proletariat in its struggle with the fascist danger and a fascist coup? They have already allowed this question to sink into oblivion.

It is no longer a question of the "essence of social-fascism" at the present time. In the conditions of the intensifying antagonisms of the "third period" and the immediate threat of a fascist coup, social-fascism has itself been forced to reveal that "essence" to the broad proletarian masses. Is it at all possible to formulate the programme of social-fascism better than has been done by the "left wing" Austrian social-democracy, in putting forward the three main points of the social-fascist creed: 1. "Heal thy economy"; 2. "A strong State authority"; 3. "The break-up of the Communist Party." Is it still necessary to prove that this programme of Austrian social-fascism has now become the programme of international social-democracy, which has taken as its purpose, to assist capitalism with all its powers during the approaching "difficult times," to consolidate its dictatorship in every country and to prepare for war against the U.S.S.R.

The important thing at the present stage of the struggle is to provide a very precise and definite analysis of the present inter-relationships, the present distribution of roles as between the ruling finance capital and its two assistants in the suppression of the proletarian revolutionary struggle; national fascism, based mainly on the middle and petty bourgeoisie, and social-fascism, based mainly on the labour aristocracy.

Of course the inter-relationships between these vary according to the different countries. But there are certain common features in these inter-relationships, and new features at that, arising from the present international situation.

EVERYWHERE the bourgeois States are becoming more fascist in view of the approaching storms. Fascism everywhere is becoming an official, legalised and statutory

system. And everywhere at the present time social-democracy, closely fused with the bourgeois State machinery and with the ruling finance capital, has become social-fascist, and is actively assisting in the fascisation of the State and participating or claiming to participate in the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Social-democracy is at the moment hiding this social-fascist degeneration from the workers by contraposing the "democratic" bourgeois State authority, to the national-fascists and the fascist organisations which officially are not participating in that government. For their part the great bourgeoisie dominating in the State contrapose the national-fascists to the social-fascists, frightening the latter with the former, in order to hasten the social-fascist lackeys in their unconditional acceptance of the bourgeois fascist programme and in order to carry through that programme with the smallest costs. Thus at the moment we have the semblance of a struggle or even an intensification of the struggle between the national fascists and the social-fascists, whilst in fact both of them are now co-operating by all means with finance capital in establishing the latter's open fascist dictatorship.

Certain "right wing" elements are seriously disposed to accept this semblance of a struggle. The conception of the so-called "third power" is evidently not merely a monopoly of the "right wing" opportunists of Poland; it can celebrate its birth in other parties also, inasmuch as the most favourable conditions are being established for that birth in the form of an enormous increase in the fascist movement and the social-democrats' pretence at opposition.

Consequently, at the present time, one of the most urgent ideological tasks of the Communist Parties is to struggle against the illusion that social-fascism is capable of or is preparing to wage a genuine struggle against national-fascism, even out of "competitive" motives. Our task consists in explaining to the masses that the question of the day is not a "struggle" between social-fascism and national fascism, but their increasing "co-operation" with each other, which at a certain stage will pass into an organisational fusion. The connecting link between them is not only the rôle which definite strata of the labour aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie are playing (the officials and em-

ployees) in the process of transforming social-democracy into fascism, but is even mainly the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist Party.

Social-democracy realises that to the extent that it loses its influence among the working masses it also loses its "value" to the bourgeoisie. But it will lose this "value" in bourgeois eyes in consequence of the growth of Communist influence and the revolutionary development of the workers. Consequently, during the "great days" of realising the Young Plan in Germany, the restoration of Austria, Poland, and the carrying through of rationalisation in France, etc., the social-democrats will endeavour to save their positions by increasingly resorting to murderous measures against the revolutionary proletariat and the Communists. At the present time the bourgeoisie is making greater demands of the social-fascists and the latter are zealously endeavouring to meet them. But that will not help them. Under the present conditions the more they rage, the more swiftly will they lose influence among the workers. That is their vicious circle.

SUCH is the process of realignment of class forces in the camp of the enemy. And what of the camp of the revolution? What can the proletariat and its Communist Party bring in opposition to the mobilisation and concentration of the forces of the class enemy? What must we do to repulse the new attack of capital on the toiling masses, to transform the present revolutionary rise in the workers' movement into a planned and co-ordinated mass attack?

The general nature of the political and economic development during the past few months has completely confirmed the analysis and decisions by the Tenth Plenum. The heroic struggle of the Austrian proletariat, which under the leadership of the Communist Party is demonstrating with arms in hands against the fascists, the August 1st campaign, the strike of the plumbers and builders in Berlin, the fights in America, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Belgium, etc., the movement beginning to develop in Britain, all witness to the fact that the proletariat is passing to an offensive movement. It is true

that this movement is still of a limited and unequal nature, the economic strikes only too frequently embrace only isolated crafts, works and enterprises, for instance, the last metal workers' strike in Berlin, or that of the dockers in France. But what are the essential features of those strikes? What distinguishes them from the preceding strikes of the second half of 1928 and even of the beginning of 1929?

Their first distinguishing feature is that from the very beginning they are headed by the Communist Party and the Revolutionary T.U. movement. Whilst last year we were able only to "capture" these movements, which broke out as the result of the termination of wage agreements, we are now able not only to continue the struggle against wage agreements despite the will of the reformist T.U. bureaucracy, but even to develop that struggle. This is an enormous step forward. The second characteristic feature of the present battles consists in the fact that they are regarded by the strikers themselves as advance guard struggles, as attempts to break through the system of wage agreements between the employers and the social-fascists. Even if these advance guard struggles end in defeat, in the consciousness of the strikers themselves and in broad circles of the workers they are regarded as victories in principle, as a victory for the principle of the class struggle as against the principle of class co-operation and social-fascist treachery. From the first these struggles have the significance of political battles, despite their limited economic and local nature.

It has to be said that many sincere adherents of the new offensive tactic of our Communist Parties do not realise these distinguishing features in the present "guerilla" attacks. Here and there one hears the complaint that so far we have not succeeded in preparing and organising mass economic battles and in transforming the economic into political battles, have not succeeded in carrying through successful mass political strikes, and so on. It has to be said quiet decisively that these complaints are merely an unconscious reflection of pessimistic and passive moods, which still exist in our ranks. The Communist Parties must act forcefully against all such manifestations of scepticism hidden beneath "left wing" phrases.

EVERYTHING points to the circumstance that we are passing through the calm before the storm, that mass economic clashes will develop during the forthcoming months, and that by their very character these economic conflicts will be not merely a "reproduction", of the Ruhr, Lodz, and other strikes of last year but will be so to speak a co-ordination of such strikes with the revolutionary political demonstrations of May day and August 1st. The danger is that our Party may lag behind the maturing mass battles and will be caught in confusion at a time when the bourgeoisie have energetically prepared for them. The specific difficulty of the present moment consists in the circumstance that whilst the bourgeoisie are already finishing, or have even finished their preparations for the new attack on the proletariat, we have not yet accomplished that preparation and are still without a clear understanding of all its importance. So far our organisations have not succeeded in fully assimilating all the problems which the Tenth Plenum set them. Hitherto they have not set themselves to their accomplishment in bolshevik fashion. And time will not wait.

Every struggle for which we are now preparing or which we may be already carrying on must be weighed and considered from the aspect of preparation for the coming battles. Every organisational task which we now accomplish must be estimated from the aspect of creating such a revolutionary front of the proletariat as will not be shaken by the attack of fascism and social-fascism. Every sectional struggle which we undertake must be closely linked up with the general political and revolutionary tasks which were laid down by the E.C.C.I. Tenth Plenum. The development of mass self-criticism, the independent leadership of every economic conflict, the exploitation of every political event in order to raise the activity of the masses, to develop the struggle, the struggle against the interdiction of the Communist Party and all revolutionary organisations, the organisation of self-defence and the preparation of mass political strikes constitute our main immediate tasks. Our Parties must now develop a feverish energy in order to accomplish these tasks, in order to avoid being left at the tail of events.

How the Bolsheviks Work Out Their Plans, Prepare for Struggle and Grapple with Obstacles.

By A. Martynov.

WE are now experiencing in the U.S.S.R. the second struggle with a desperate class enemy, after that of 1917-20. The piteous philistine, seeing what is now going on in the Soviet Republic, malignantly shouts, "See what they have accomplished after twelve years of Soviet rule! Ration cards, food difficulties, persecution of 'thrifty farmers,' a general cleansing, daily disclosures, and nobody can live in peace." But the revolutionary proletariat, the dominating figure of this period, is not disconcerted over this "disquietude," knowing that it is engaged in a determined battle for the eradication of the roots of capitalism, and that this battle is proceeding with great success. Some of the wiser of our class enemies soberly begin to realise this fact.

Farbman, correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, who came to Moscow, writes :

"One begins to understand already in Moscow that nine-tenths of the population are involved in the five-year plan and in the desire to carry it into effect. . . . Are they the same 'old grey cattle,' as they were once called?" (Retranslated from Russian.)

The Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, Duranti, refers to a statement of a certain American writer, Hindus, who travelled through some districts of White Russia and the Ukraine :

"Only now," he said to me, "can one speak of the victory of the revolution, of progress of the socialist system in the villages." (Retranslated from Russian.)

Schoffer, correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and Feiger, economic editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the hard-boiled spokesmen of individualism and liberalism, write in the same spirit although of course with reservations. Feiger writes :

"The menace of Bolshevism is great. It shakes Europe to its very foundations, opposing to individualism, a society which thinks, feels

and fights collectively. Bolshevism has already gone a long way towards the creation of a collective man. Its main object now is to do away with classes and to establish a classless society."

The battle for socialism can be compared to a great and powerful stream, the flood-gates of which have been opened by the Party, but the stream itself is controlled and regulated by the Party. The strategical plan of the present socialist offensive was roughly outlined in December, 1927, at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., which marked a great historical milestone in the class struggle not only of the Russian but also of the international proletariat. For the first time was the riddle of the capitalist world crisis in the "third period" solved, and the problems arising therefrom for the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. mapped out.

Comrade Stalin said in his report at the Fifteenth Congress that :

"We are now on the eve of a new revolutionary awakening both in the colonies and in the metropolis. A new revolutionary upsurge is arising out of stabilisation. . . Capitalist stabilisation is becoming ever more putrid and unstable. . . . Growing interventionist tendencies in the imperialist camp and the menace of war (in relation to the U.S.S.R.) is one of the outstanding facts in the present situation."

These formulae bore both the "class against class" slogan advanced by the Ninth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the characterisation of the "third period" given by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. At the same Fifteenth Congress which met in the period of transition from restoration to reconstruction in the U.S.S.R., were given the "Directives on the Drawing Up of a Five-Year Plan of National Economy" to hasten the pace of industrialisation and the rate of development of heavy industry first and foremost. At the same Congress, Comrade Molotov in his report on work in the rural areas, said that :

"The problem of amalgamation and transformation of the small individual farms into big collective units must in this period be advanced as the Party's chief problem in the rural areas. . . In accordance with the task of greatly stimulating the amalgamation of small into big collective farms, the system of agricultural credit must direct most of its attention to the support and development of productive co-operation of the broad masses of "poor and middle peasants."

In the resolution on Comrade Molotov's report we read :

"These prerequisites create the possibility for a . . . more determined offensive on the Kulak based on the attained successes in the consolidation of the alliance of the proletariat with the poor and middle peasants."

That was a programme of an aggressive socialist offensive subsequently termed the *Second Programme of the Party*. In order to live up to this programme it became necessary to change the methods of Party work. In this connection Comrade Stalin urged in his report an intensive struggle against bureaucracy and the development of self-criticism. Comrade Stalin, in his report at the Fifteenth Congress, said that:

"Precisely because we want to go forward we must make it one of our main tasks to engage in sincere and revolutionary self-criticism. There can be no progress without that. There can be no development without that."

In what relation stood this strategic plan of the Party to the "new course" which the Trotskyist opposition, finally smashed at the Fifteenth Congress, wanted to force upon the Party? The Trotskyist opposition accused the Party of Thermidorian degeneration, of its sliding towards capitalism. The Trotskyist opposition repeated Ustrialov's fairy tale, but its calculations were wrong. It was precisely after the opposition was smashed that the Fifteenth Congress of the Party mapped out its plan of an aggressive socialist attack on the capitalist elements. Did that plan have anything in common with such slogans of the Trotskyist opposition as "Down with the kulak, the nepman and the bureaucrat!" No. There was an irreconcilable contradiction between the plan of the Party and the slogans of the Trotskyist opposition. The Trotskyist opposition did not believe in the possibility of the victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Its

starting point was a disbelief in the possibility of preserving the bloc of the workers with the middle peasants and in the drawing in the latter to take part in the process of socialist construction. It laboured on the assumption that a "disalliance" with the middle peasants is inevitable in the U.S.S.R. It therefore built its own plan of "super-industrialisation" which was to be accomplished through the exploitation of the rural areas, which were regarded by it as a "colony." The course taken by the Party at the Fifteenth Congress assumed on the contrary that the alliance of the proletariat with the middle peasantry will be preserved. It advanced as a foremost task the drawing in of the poor and middle peasants to the process of socialist construction, mapping out new forms of an alliance of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasants, the form of a productive alliance—and in close relation with this main task it put forward the task of a more aggressive attack on the kulak.

Were the slogans promulgated at the Fifteenth Congress, taken by themselves, new slogans? Of course not. We can find all of them in the works of Lenin. Lenin said at the beginning of the new economic policy that ours is a temporary "respite" and that the menace of an intervention in the U.S.S.R. will after some time become quite real. Lenin repeatedly said that unless the Soviet Republic enters upon the path of industrialisation "we are doomed." Lenin repeatedly spoke of the necessity of collectivisation of farming. He said :

"The latter (our home enemy) holds on to his small enterprise and there is only one way of undermining him, and that is, the transformation of the economic system of the country, including agriculture to a new technical base, the technical base of modern large scale production."

Lenin repeatedly said that the new economic policy does not eliminate the class struggle, that under N.E.P. the class struggle will in some stages be even more acute, although not in the same forms as in the period of the conquest of power. Finally, Lenin repeatedly spoke of a recurrence of bureaucracy in the Soviet Republic and of the need for a durable, persistent and merciless struggle against it.

All these slogans were therefore not new. They were old Leninist slogans. What was new

is that these slogans were bound together in one complex and were placed on the order of the day as an immediate task which brooked no delay, arising from the new phase of struggle now entered upon by the international and the Russian revolutionary proletariat. Under these circumstances quantity turned into quality. The historical significance of the Fifteenth Congress was that it grasped the element of a turning point in the general international situation, that in linking up the change in the international situation (the increased danger of an intervention in the U.S.S.R. and the consequent necessity of strengthening the defensive power of the latter) with the change taking place in the U.S.S.R. (the transition from the restoration to the reconstruction period), it placed on the order of the day the problem of "catching up with and over-reaching the advanced capitalist countries." What was new was that it linked up the task of accelerating the rate of industrialisation with the task of the organisation of collective farming which lags very far behind industry. What was new was that it concluded from all of these factors combined (the war danger, industrialisation, and the development of collective and government farms) that it was necessary more aggressively to assail the capitalist element. Lastly, what was new was that commensurate with this it placed on the order of the day the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy and a most extensive development of self-criticism as an immediate task. Precisely because the Fifteenth Congress closely linked up all these problems and put them on the agenda as immediate problems, we have the right to say that the Fifteenth Congress mapped out a whole strategical plan by which the Party will have to be guided in the course of a long period. And looking backwards and reviewing the march of events one cannot help wondering how the C.P.S.U. foresaw and provided for this course of events in its strategical plan of two years ago.

Did all delegates at the Fifteenth Congress realise the full significance thereof? Did they all understand that we were entering a phase of a protracted and an acute class struggle, and that the Party must accordingly reorganise its ranks? As subsequent development in the internal life of the C.P.S.U. has shown, not all of them quite fully realised this at the time. Only the

soundest Leninist elements in the Party who had well assimilated Lenin's revolutionary dialectics had a clear idea. One section in the C.P.S.U., drunk with the crushing victory over the Trotskyist opposition, thought at the time of the Fifteenth Congress that now we can at last take a rest, enjoy our laurels, and engage undisturbed in "practical work," Comrade Stalin sensed this danger of a demobilisation sentiment and of "practicalness" at the Fifteenth Congress, and warned the Party against it. He said:

"Some of our comrades want to drift smoothly and calmly along the current, without any perspectives, without looking into the future; they want to feel about them an atmosphere of festivity and solemnity; they want festive meetings every day, that we should everywhere be applauded, and that everyone of us would by turn be made the honorary members of all kinds of presidiums. And what would be the results? The results are clear. At first we would become musty, then gray, then we would be sunk in the mire of philistinism, and later we would become ordinary philistines. That, indeed, is the way of degeneration."

The correctness of the new course taken by the Fifteenth Congress and the timeliness of the warning issued by Comrade Stalin against demobilisation sentiments and against "practicalness" to which were addicted some elements in the Party who had no clear understanding of the historical significance of the Fifteenth Congress, were borne out immediately after the Congress. Although we had a medium harvest, a crisis in the gathering of corn set in at the end of 1928 and the beginning of 1929, caused by the frantic counter-offensive of the kulak. Simultaneously the Shakhty case flared up, disclosing that there were saboteurs holding key positions in our industry, closely linked with the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie and aiming at obstructing our socialist construction. At the same time, the fact that our Party and trade union organisations in the Shakhty district had not noticed in the course of years the obstructive work of the saboteurs, and likewise the discovery of corruption soon after that in our Smolensk Party organisation, signalled that in some links of our Party the watchfulness in relation to the class enemy had relaxed, and that in some of them, true not in many, there were elements of downright corruption.

To the kulak obstructions in the gathering of corn and to the sabotage in Shakhty the Party unanimously retaliated by means of the "extraordinary measures," which proved successful. But a certain section of the Party undoubtedly regarded the grain gathering obstructions of the kulaks and the Shakhty sabotage merely as temporary transitional episodes. When a repeated application of the extraordinary measures in the collection of grain in connection with the prospects of a bad harvest in the Ukraine and in North Caucasus failed and when the kulaks succeeded in influencing some of the middle peasants, great waverings arose in the Party. The more this section of the Party looked forward to a peaceful development of socialist construction ("the kulaks' peaceful growing into socialism!"), the more it wavered, and the more easily it fell into a panicky and capitulatory mood when it became evident that this is not the way of life, that the class struggle is becoming ever sharper. This capitulatory mood of that section of the Party was most clearly expressed in Comrade Frumkin's letter to the C.C. at the time of the July Plenum of the Central Committee, and partly in the vacillations of Comrade Bukharin who spoke of a "dis-alliance" of the proletariat and the peasantry, of the need for the establishment of unrestricted free trade in the country, of the need for slowing down the rate of organisation of collective farms (in order not to quarrel too much with the kulak).

The opportunist vacillations at the time of the Plenum of the C.C. of July, 1928, showed that the realisation of the strategical plan mapped out by the Fifteenth Congress, that the aggressive mass socialist offensive against the capitalist elements on a wide front, is possible only after some serious preparation, only if we succeed in paralysing overt and covert opportunism which plays an impeding rôle in the Party and the trade unions, if we succeed in rousing the Party in all its approaches to the masses against the class enemy and against those ready to capitulate. Thus, already at the time of the July Plenum of the C.C., i.e., on the eve of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, the question of fighting the Right danger and the conciliators stood very sharply in the C.P.S.U.

The preparations for the present general mass onslaught on the capitalist elements by means of an expanded struggle against the Right Wingers

in the Party lasted nine months. From the July Plenum of the C.C. of 1928 to the April Plenum and the Sixteenth Party Conference of 1929.

Why was so much time necessary for the preparations? Because of the specific conditions of struggle against the Rights and the conciliators in the C.P.S.U. Firstly, the C.P.S.U. has developed and become tempered in the struggle against opportunism more so than any other Party in the Comintern. The shaping of outspoken opportunism was therefore perforce very slow in the Party, and expressed itself chiefly in practical work. Secondly, practical opportunism has deep roots in the U.S.S.R. Its roots lie in the mass of petty-bourgeois elements, in the existence of 25,000 small farms with which some of the workers are connected. That is why the struggle against opportunism must perforce be a drawn-out struggle in the C.P.S.U.

All this predetermined the specific features of the struggle against the Right deviation and the conciliators after the July Plenum of the C.C. A stubborn and irreconcilable struggle had to be waged against the Right Wingers through the medium of extensive self-criticism, concentrating in the first stages of the struggle on the ideological side. Simultaneously it was necessary to guarantee that the Party line was strictly carried out by binding the vacillating comrades with Party discipline, by criticising the Right Wingers and conciliators from below, by removing and displacing some of them and if necessary by cutting them off entirely. At the same time, in order to be at the head of the mass criticism, the Party had to place the control of the main levers of persuasion of the masses into firm hands. All this was done in the interval between the July Plenum and the C.C. of 1928 and the April Plenum of 1929. The struggle against the Right deviation in theory and in practice began with expanded self-criticism.

The central organ of the Party, the *Pravda*, began to issue a regular page of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, entitled "Under the Control of the Masses," as an element of self-criticism, and the editorial board of the *Pravda* was strengthened by additional members. The attempt of Comrade Slepov (of the young "Bukharin school") to restrict the limits of self-criticism, met with due resistance. When a

section of the Moscow leadership openly started to fight against the line of the Fifteenth Congress as a fight against "Trotskyism," the Central Committee issued a letter in September to the Moscow Committee after which the active Party members and the rank and file removed from their posts the wavering leaders, with the wholehearted support of all other Party organisations. At the November Plenum of the Central Committee, Comrade Stalin gave a crushing criticism of Comrade Frumkin's letter, showing it to be a most open and thorough expression of the Right deviation. Later when Bukharin's "Notes of an Economist" appeared in the *Pravda* urging in a veiled form that the Party should adapt its programme of industrialisation to the "narrow passages," these notes were subjected to a thorough criticism in the press. His attempts to distort in an opportunist fashion the significance of "Lenin's testament" were similarly criticised. Then at the time of the December Congress of trade unions a struggle began against the opportunist elements in the Executive of the A.U.C.T.U. who revealed a backward tendency, a lack of responsiveness to the masses, an inclination to pursue a trade unionist "neutral" policy, and even an effort to counterpose the trade unions to the Party. A struggle began on the question of putting a secretary of the Central Committee into the A.U.C.T.U. with the purpose of strengthening the ties between the two bodies; this quickly ended with a defeat of the opportunists and their removal from the leadership, after which the trade unions were able to become more active.

Such were the preparations within the Party for the general struggle. Simultaneously preparations were in progress for the general struggle also among the non-Party workers and peasants. While the struggle was waged against the Right Wingers and conciliators, the Party investigators discovered cases of corruption in the Smolensk, Sochi, Artemov and other organisations. Simultaneously a socialist contest movement began in the factories. A number of administrative and economic measures of the time prepared the conditions for a wide offensive on the kulaks. In order to give the poor and middle peasants incentive to work and in order to free them from kulak influence, the July Plenum of the C.C. decided to call off the

"extraordinary measures" and the November Plenum decided to lower the agricultural tax. At the same time the Soviet Government issued a decree concerning a series of agronomical measures to raise the yield on the soil of the poor and middle peasants. These measures to stimulate the development of individual enterprise of the poor and middle peasants were on no account a deviation from the course taken by the Fifteenth Congress with regard to collective farming. Side by side with these measures a decree was issued concerning the organisation of new Government farms, indicating concrete tasks, and the same Plenum which called off the extraordinary measures when they had lost their effectiveness, adopted a resolution saying:

"The Party policy must be based on a determined struggle against the elements who express the bourgeois tendencies in our country and who try to dodge the resolutions of the Fifteenth Congress to carry further the offensive on the kulaks as well as against those who want to give the extraordinary measures a permanent or a prolonged character."

That the resolution was in earnest was soon borne out by facts. When with the new harvest the kulaks again began to obstruct the grain collections, the Party started another strong offensive on the kulaks by mobilising the poor and middle peasants against the saboteurs, by forcing the kulaks from below, to give up their corn. The success of this mobilisation was prepared for by the previous measures taken by the Party and the Soviet Government.

* * *

Thus the Party and the Soviet Government prepared also for the spring of 1929 to start a wide mass socialist offensive all along the line. When at the beginning of 1929 the Right Wing opposition shaped itself as a group and began to assume the form of a faction it was already entirely isolated and ideologically exposed in the Party. The April Plenum of the Central Committee was able to deliver a strong blow to Bukharin's group (removal from their posts with emphatic condemnation) with the support of the broad sections of the Party membership. Immediately after this the Sixteenth Party Conference worked out a programme of attack all along the line, concretising and laying additional emphasis to the programme laid down by the Fifteenth Congress. The Sixteenth

Party Conference passed a resolution to adopt the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development, it mapped out a course of development of agriculture in the direction of collective farming, it summed up the results and decided upon the immediate tasks of the struggle against bureaucracy, and a resolution was adopted to cleanse and verify the ranks of the Party. In discussing the Five-Year Plan, the Sixteenth Conference adopted the maximum programme of the two submitted, rejected the attempts of the Right Wingers to diminish the rate of industrialisation by urging the establishment of a two-year plan inside the five-year plan, a plan to concentrate merely on the liquidation of the grain difficulties, and the adaptation of the plan to the "narrow passages." On the course of development of agriculture, the Sixteenth Party Conference passed a resolution energetically sweeping away and condemning all opportunist slogans of the Right Wingers and conciliators on this question.

After the Sixteenth Conference, the Party set all its forces into operation and opened up all avenues of mass struggle, for socialist economic reconstruction and against capitalist sabotage.

First of all there was the question of fighting the bureaucracy. This is not a new struggle in the Party. The October revolution destroyed the old bureaucratic State apparatus and opened up a wide field for the self-activity of the masses and for interesting all toilers, "down to the cooks," in socialist construction and in the administration of the State through the Soviets. But bureaucracy revived in the Soviet apparatus, firstly, owing to the exceedingly broken up form of farming and its separation from the town, and the low cultural level of the masses; secondly, because the Soviet apparatus absorbed many of the old officials who served the Tzar and the bourgeoisie. Because of this the struggle against bureaucracy had to be waged constantly in the U.S.S.R. on Lenin's initiative, and to the extent that Soviet economy developed and became more complex, that struggle sharpened.

But the struggle against bureaucracy has now become of particular significance. In view of the greatly accentuated class struggle the "have-beens" to be found in the State apparatus use their positions there to fight against socialist construction and to penetrate every sphere of life to the harm of the Soviet Government. In compiling statistics they distort the figures so as

to induce those who deal with them to become pessimistic. They sabotage the work in the sphere of production. In the village Soviets they distort the Party instructions and pursue a kulak policy. Because of their bureaucratic attitude, because of their being torn away from the masses, some of the people in the apparatus who side with the Soviet Government, do not notice these things, do not disclose them, and do not fight against them. There are some elements in the Party who have become corrupt and have merged with the kulak in the villages and themselves become perpetrators of criminal deeds. Such being the case, the struggle against bureaucracy has become, as the Sixteenth Party Conference put it, "one of the chief forms of the class struggle." To make this struggle successful, the Party followed Lenin's advice, and mobilised the masses for the struggle. In the factories the struggle against bureaucracy has assumed the widespread form of production conferences and the institution of temporary control commissions. The young workers have organised their "light cavalry" groups which "raid" Soviet institutions, in the struggle against bureaucracy. Commissions of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection investigate various factories, inform the masses of their work at production conferences, thus encouraging them to take part in the investigations, by which means the commissions receive much information from the workers. To eradicate bureaucracy in the Soviets the initiative of the workers and toiling peasants is in every way encouraged, in accordance with the decisions of the Sixteenth Conference, in recalling and displacing bureaucrats from their posts. While the bureaucratic elements are being combed out, workers are being promoted to administrative and government posts, and according to Party instructions all heads of institutions and factories must in every way assist those promoted.

The struggle against bureaucracy is waged not only in Government institutions, but also in the Party. According to a Party decision, responsible Party leaders are sent for a certain length of time for factory work in order not to become torn away from the masses. By means of assignment of precise duties for every individual, a struggle is waged against those Communists who, owing to indifference, or corruption and fusion with bourgeois experts, consciously or

unconsciously sign every paper submitted to them by the latter thus serving for the latter as a protection.

Thanks to the fact that broad masses have been mobilised in the struggle against bureaucracy, various forms of sabotage and corruption are now being discovered. Thanks to successful mass control quite a number of cases of corruption have been discovered in Government and Party organisations, and since the Sixteenth Conference some demoralised links have been found even in such tested and militant organisations as those of Baku and Leningrad. Another step in the struggle against bureaucracy is the general cleansing of the Party and the Soviet institutions, now taking place in accordance with the decisions of the Sixteenth Party Conference, in which broad masses of non-Party workers take part by attending meetings where the cleansing takes place, and the unusual interest shown by these masses in the present cleansing serves as the best evidence of how strong are the connections of our Party with the working-class, and how these ties are now being further strengthened.

The struggle against bureaucracy is most closely linked up with self-criticism, which has now become most widespread in the Soviet Republic. With this self-criticism are closely linked up the socialist contests which originally began on the initiative of the workers themselves, and which have now developed into a wide movement throughout the country. Lenin raised the question of socialist contests in its full scope as early as in 1918. In his article on this subject, written in 1918 and recently published, Lenin said :

“Bourgeois writers have wasted mountains of paper in praise of competition, private enterprise, and similar excellent virtues of the capitalists and the capitalist order. But as a matter of fact, the capitalists have long ago displaced the system of independent small production in which competition could to any large extent stimulate enterprise, energy, bold initiative, by gigantic factory production, stock companies and other monopolies. Competition under such capitalism is a most brutal crushing of enterprise, energy and bold initiative of the masses. Competition has given way to financial swindle and despotism. . .”

Further Lenin says :

“The lackeys and flunkeys of the bourgeoisie have described Socialism as a uniform, stereotyped, monotonous, gray barracks. . . But Socialism does not do away with emulation, but on the contrary, for the first time, makes possible its really widespread and mass character. It makes it possible to draw the majority of toilers into the arena of such work where they would be able to assert themselves, to give full scope to their capacities, reveal their talents, which are an as yet untouched source in the people and which capitalism has suppressed and choked by the thousands and the millions. Our task now that we have a Socialist Government is to organise contests.”

This task advanced by Lenin, to organise contests, is now being carried out with greatest energy by the Party.

Socialist emulation has lately begun on the initiative of the young workers in connection with the production conferences, and has assumed the most variegated forms—forms of contests, challenges, organisation of initiative groups, taking charge of benches and workshops, organisation of workers initiative brigades. Contests that began in some department turned into contests between various departments in a given factory, later into contests between various factories and between entire districts, concluding agreements on the matter. The Party seeks to direct the contests along the most pressing tasks of Socialist construction of the moment—the strengthening of labour discipline, the raising of labour productivity, reduction of the cost of production, the struggle against loafing, greed, defective products, and encouragement of labour inventiveness.

Emulation is practised also in the capitalist countries where the employers, in order to raise the productivity of labour, organise competitions among workers, introduce the bonus system and profit-sharing. In the U.S.S.R. emulation is of a fundamentally different character, it is directed towards the collective drawing in of the entire mass to the business of industrialisation of the country. Its object is not merely to raise the productivity of labour, but to train the workers in a socialist spirit. Accordingly, bonus paid to those who excel all others in the competitions, are of a different character than in the capitalist countries. If a worker proves to be better than the others in a

competition, he is sent to some school to raise his qualifications; if a department or a factory proves ahead of the others in a competition, it is compensated in the form of organisation of creches, schools, etc., for the whole factory, or is given a flag of honour for its revolutionary merits.

These contests have already given marked results. For instance, a department of the Krassny Putilovetz has reduced as a result of a competition the percentage of defective products from 49 to 18, another from 30 to 8. In a department of the Stalingrad "Krassny Oktyabr" the productivity of labour has doubled as a result of a competition. The coal-mine "Naklonnaya" exceeded its programme by 63 per cent. in April. There are innumerable examples of this kind.

From the towns the Socialist contests have reached the villages. The initiators in the villages were the workers' brigades which went there to help the poor and middle peasants in their election campaign and the harvest. So far, only the Government farms and some of the collective farms in villages close to factory districts have been affected by Socialist competitions. These competitions in the rural areas are expressed not only in the form of contests between Government and collective farms, but also in the form of agreements between them, and the factories and works. The ploughing of "industrialisation acres" in Siberia were a result of competition. Socialist competition in the villages greatly rouses the interest of the peasants in Socialist construction in general. In the Zhukov districts, for example, a public festival connected with Socialist contests attracted about 6,000 people, a phenomena never seen during religious festivals. There is such enthusiasm in some of the competitions that even bourgeois observers are astonished. Thus, for example, Schupel, a German specialist, employed as an adviser in the Siberian collective farm union, who watched the progress of the competition in the commune "International" said: "I must say without any compliments or exaggeration that the people have worked as probably nowhere else in the world." The Party is now trying to conduct the Socialist competitions in the villages not only along the lines of bigger crops contests, but also along the lines of tax payment, consolidation of collective

farms, increase of the elements of social property in them, and intensification of the struggle of the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks.

This sweep of activity of the workers and peasants has already given results even beyond the greatest expectations of the optimists. According to the Five-Year Plan that part of industry which is regulated by the plan was to give an increase in output of 21.4% in 1928-29. But the increase given by that industry was actually 24%. Capital construction has exceeded the programme by 2%. There is an increase in the output of means of production of 26.6%. The output of pig-iron has increased 22.5%, agricultural machinery 43%, etc. The qualitative side lags behind quantitative progress and even the standards indicated in the five-year plan, but it too has risen considerably. The cost of production in industry dropped in the first half of the year 2.3%, and in the second half 7%. Real wages have risen 2.3% for the year. To this should be added the appropriations for the fund for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers to the amount of 72 million roubles, for housing construction 163 million roubles, and social insurance one billion roubles.

Industrialisation will be greatly stimulated now through the introduction of the uninterrupted working week in the factories and institutions. Its significance lies not only in the fact that it gives great economy, it is also of enormous importance because it hits severely the ancient customs and religious prejudices of the masses, actually doing away with all religious holidays. It is to be observed that this measure, which could be realised only in the Soviet Republic, a measure inconceivable in any capitalist country, met with no resistance in an single factory or institution.

There are big achievements to be recorded also in agriculture. While last year the collection of grain was so difficult that it lasted throughout the year, in the present year the Soviet Government was able to complete the collections in the first two quarters, in spite of the desperate resistance of the kulaks. Further, in spite of what the Right Wingers have to say about the "degradation" of agriculture, the area under grain in 1928-29 increased 6% although the winter crop was lower than a year ago owing to unfavourable weather. Collective and Gov-

ernment farms have developed beyond all expectations. The cultivated tracts of the Government and collective farms increased during the year to six million hectares instead of the 4,800,000 mapped out in the plan. According to the plan, there was to be a 7.1% increase in the cultivated land of the Government farms, but the actual increase was 27%.

We do not close our eyes to the fact that notwithstanding all these achievements the difficulties in the way of the industrialisation of the Soviet Republic and of socialist reconstruction of the entire economic system, are still extremely great and that they will not be overcome so very soon. While the difficulties in the sphere of grain collection and bread supplies are not as great as before, we have now an acute stringency in the supply of meat and dairy products. While the collective farm movement, is making rapid progress, the kulaks, driven out of one position, are concentrating in other positions, trying to get into the collective farms so as to obstruct the delivery of grain on the part of the latter. Socialist contests in the villages have so far not greatly touched the individual

peasants, etc., etc. Finally, the growing danger of an intervention calls for great efforts to raise the defensive power of the Soviet Republic.

The difficulties are great, the resistance offered by the class foe is enormous, but it is already clearly manifest that the strategical plan worked out by the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. as interpreted by the plan will be carried out sooner than was expected, that the Five-Year Plan will in fact be carried out in four years, that the revolutionary initiative, revolutionary creativeness and enthusiasm of the millions of workers and peasants under Party leadership will in their stormy onslaughts break down the resistance of the class enemy.

The storming now conducted in the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the steeled Leninist Party is of international significance. Already at the Fifteenth Congress the strategical plan of the Socialist offensive in the U.S.S.R. was closely linked up with the beginning of a revolutionary awakening of the international proletariat, and each victory of the proletariat on the internal front in the U.S.S.R. to-day, is a victory of the world revolution.

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The Purging of the Party and the Approval of its Ranks

By E. Yaroslavsky

ONE of the conditions of affiliation to the Comintern (point 13) says: The Communist Parties in countries where the Communists work legally must periodically cleanse their organisations and re-register their membership so as to purge themselves systematically of insincere petty-bourgeois elements which inevitably come into their ranks.

It must be admitted that hitherto the C.P.S.U. alone of all sections affiliated to the Comintern has systematically operated this decision. We say this not in the way of a reproach to the Communist Parties abroad, although we know that in every legal Communist Party, as the ideological struggle has shown in the past few years, there are communistically unsound and alien elements who reveal their opportunist and even social democratic nature in the moments of severest struggle. The history of secessions of various groups in the German, French, Italian, American, Swedish, Czecho-Slovakian, Belgian and other Communist Parties, has shown that there were people and groups in these Parties, who, in the course of the struggle, proved nearer to the social democrats than to the Communists, who eventually found an asylum in the fold of the Second International.

But the purging of the C.P.S.U. and the approval of its members is of particular importance. The C.P.S.U. is the only Communist Party in the world at the head of a Government. It develops, grows and gains vigour in a country where there is only one legal Party on the political field. It thrives in conditions of a proletarian dictatorship when any vacillation in its ranks is quickly reflected on the entire course of economic and political life of the country. It lives and thrives in a country where small farming still predominates accompanied by a gigantic growth and predominance of socialist elements in industry and successful socialist evolution in the rural areas in the past few years.

Variation in membership is inevitable in such a Party in the early years of the proletarian dictatorship. The Party's backbone has been

and is the proletariat, but there are in the Party also peasants and half-peasants. The young elements of the proletariat now coming to the Party have not gone through the school of capitalist exploitation such as their fathers have experienced. Then there are some intellectuals who are not always ideologically sound as Communists and who come to the Party because it is a ruling Party. Finally, there are many of these who formerly belonged to other Parties and are now in our ranks. There can be no doubt that alien elements come to a political Party for ulterior purposes, that such people demoralise the organisation, and are the cause of bureaucratic abuses. That is why the Party fearlessly purges its ranks even in the most difficult moments.

The first time the Party ranks were re-registered was in 1919, but that was not a general purging of the organisation, it was merely an approval of some of its branches. The first general purging and expulsion of non-communist elements took place in 1921, when the period of economic restoration set in. Since then, the Party has more than once examined some of its weakest detachments. Thus, in the interval between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Congresses there was an approval of the members and candidates belonging to other than factory organisations. The object of that approval was to "cleanse the Party of socially alien elements, of perverts, and of non-proletarians who have not been conspicuous as Communists in the improvement of the work of the various governmental, administrative and other institutions, and who have had no direct contact with the masses of workers and peasants." (Resolution of Thirteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

Altogether, about 25% of the Party membership was then examined. It should be recalled that the general purging of the Party of 1921 had been most ruthless. The approval commissions expelled in 1921 about one-third of the membership. The 1925 purging resulted in an expulsion only of about 6% of those examined. Then

there was a partial examination of rural nuclei in 1926 and a general re-registration of the members and candidates in 1927.

In beginning the present purging the Party knew what difficulties it had to encounter, the difficulty of examining about one-and-a-half million members and candidates. There is no doubt in the Party that its social composition is invariably changing for the better. At the time of the first general purging of 1921 the workers comprised a little over one-third of the membership (37.3%). On January 1st, 1929, they comprised about two-thirds of the membership (62.4%). The number of workers in the Party directly employed in industry is also increasing. On January 1st, 1928, such workers constituted 40.7% of the membership (not counting those in the Red Army and Navy), i.e., about half-a-million (497,283); on July 1st, 1929, industrial workers comprised 46.6% of the total membership, or 724,646. Thus, in the period of one-and-a-half years, the number of workers in the Party (not counting those in the army and navy), increased about a quarter-of-a-million. There can be no doubt that the combing out of the socially alien elements in the Party accompanied by simultaneous measures of recruiting factory workers and agricultural labourers into the organisation, has lately still bettered the Party's composition. This is illustrated by statistics concerning the acceptance of new members in the past six months. Of the new Party candidates accepted in the last half-year workers constitute 74.5%, peasants 15.2%, and employees and others only 10.3%.

But if the social composition of the Party is constantly improving and the proletarian elements are constantly gaining in strength, what has called forth the need for a general cleansing now on the eve of the thirteenth year of the proletarian dictatorship? The Party is now resolutely entering upon the path of socialist economic reconstruction. It must mobilise all its forces, it must put all its members to a rigid test, and eliminate all those for whom its aims are alien, who have become demoralised from contact with petty-bourgeois elements, under the pressure of alien environment. Opportunism and those who personify Right Wing deviations cannot be combatted through discussions alone. People who pursue in practice a reactionary policy, who distort the line of the

Party, who aid and abet the socially alien elements of town and country, who repel the proletarians, agricultural labourers, and poor peasants from the Party, who oppose the organisation of collective farms, cannot be Party members. The general purging of the Party is therefore one of the strongest weapons of self-criticism, by it the Party puts to the test every one of its members, examining not only his past, but his work to-day, finding out what he or she is as a Communist, as a member of the Party engaged in the building up of Socialism, whether it can vouch for the given member as a builder of Socialism.

What are the main principles of this approval? Every Party member, whatever his post, must go through the examination. An exception has only been made for members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, since these comrades enjoy the confidence of the whole Party and have been elected by the Party's highest legislative institution—the Congress. But the Party organisation has a right to insist also upon the examination of any member of the Central Committee or Central Control Commission, if his behaviour is unbecoming, if there is something about his past or the present which would make impossible his being a member of the C.C. or the C.C.C. or perhaps even of the Party.

The examinations take place at public meetings attended also by non-Party people. It goes without saying that we do not idealise the latter. We are emphatically opposed to "The class cleanses its Party" idea. Non-Party workers, employees, agricultural labourers and poor peasants, who know something about the daily activity of Party members, or who know something about their past, help the Party in discovering the shortcomings of the given Party members, in disclosing how they distort the line of the Party in their public activity or in their private affairs. Lenin repeatedly spoke of the value of such assistance from the non-Party people. "There are places," said Lenin, "where the Party is purged chiefly with the aid secured from the experience and information of non-Party workers who criticise and whose criticism is heeded. That is most valuable and most important. Should we really succeed in thus purging the Party from top to bottom, "sparing

no one," the revolution would indeed accomplish a great deal." (Lenin, Vol. XIII.).

"Of course, we do not accept everything from the masses for the latter too, sometimes succumb to views not altogether progressive, especially in a period of greatest fatigue, hardship and suffering. But what the mass of non-Party proletarians and in many cases the mass of non-Party peasants have to say with regard to 'disguised,' 'bureaucratic,' and 'insincere' Communists is most valuable. The labouring masses are very sensitive in distinguishing honest and devoted Communists from people who despise those who with sweat on their brow, seek a living, who have no privileges and no access to the authorities." (Ibid.).

"It is a great thing to purge the Party and to take the suggestions of the non-Party labouring sections into consideration in doing so. It will give us great results. It will make the Party a much stronger vanguard of the class than it was before, it will make it a vanguard much more closely bound up with the class, more capable of leading the latter to victory out of the multitude of hardships and perils." (Ibid.).

By drawing the non-Party masses to the campaign of approval of the Party ranks, it does not mean that we give these people the right to decide who should and who should not remain in the Party. The instructions issued in this respect say the following :

"1. Under no conditions should the open meetings be converted into arenas of demagogic discreditation of the Party by elements alien to the proletariat, and no non-labouring or alien class elements should be admitted.

"2. On no account should we follow the course of leaving it to the non-Party elements to decide upon the correctness of the line pursued by one comrade or another.

"3. The open meetings should be used as a means of elucidation of the line of the Party and attraction of the best proletarians, agricultural labourers and poor peasants to the organisations."

The Party considers expanded self-criticism to be a main condition of success in the purging. In this respect, the resolution on the purging of the Party adopted by the joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U., as well as the instructions, speeches and articles on the subject, aim at a development of most extensive self-criticism. We are not only concerned in

examining the activities of each individual Party member, the Party aims also at the examination of the activities of each nucleus, how it carries out Party decisions, whether it is authoritative in the enterprise, whether it understands its tasks. That is why, in this general purge of the Party, we consider of exceptional importance the development of self-criticism in the press, the wall newspapers, and at meetings. The Party ranks can be purged of its socially alien, non-Communist, insincere, corrupt and bureaucratic elements, it can discover the class position of each member, show up his mistakes and misdeeds, only with the aid of such self-criticism. The approval and general purging of the Party ranks is consequently one of the best methods of establishing contact with the broad masses, one of the means of raising the Party's authority and gaining the confidence of the masses. Every Party member submits his past and his present before the masses. This means that the entire history of the struggle of our Party, the struggle of the working-class, is revealed before the masses. The masses realise what rôle the Party played in this struggle. Usually the masses see before them an administrator, a manager, a director, but what that director or administrator was, say five, ten, fifteen or twenty years ago, the mass does not know. It knows only the grey reality of to-day, but it does not know the heroic yesterday of the people in question. That is why the examination of all Party members in front of the masses is of great illuminating significance. A Party member, after having gone through the test, is at times viewed in an entirely different light than he was prior to it, when nothing was known about him, except that he is a director, a foreman, a worker, the chairman of a factory trade union committee, or an employee in a co-operative, a bank, etc. The masses become still more attached to the Party, they begin to feel their kinship to it, when they see that it listens to what they have to say, reckons with their suggestions, makes good the mistakes of the various comrades, and even expels from its ranks those who in the opinion of the masses, are unworthy of being in the Party.

What has the purging shown? We have no statistics as yet on the basis of which to judge the final results, but, on the whole, we may already conclude that the Party is a healthy organism. An average of about 10% of those passing

through the test are expelled from the Party. In the villages the percentage is about 16, and in the factories about 8 or 9. If we recall that in 1921 about 33% were expelled, then we certainly have a big difference in the results. How is that to be explained? It is to be explained of course not merely by the fact that our approach now is milder than it was in 1921. Of course in 1929 we reckon with all mistakes and blunders made in 1921, 1925 and 1926. But it should be remembered that the social composition of the Party has greatly improved during these years. The office and school nuclei have become considerably proletarianised, as compared with the past. Political education has made great headway. The Party has rid itself in these years of ideologically alien elements. Why, a few thousand Trotskyites alone have been expelled from the Party. About 53,000 expulsions have been recorded by the control commissions in the course of one-and-a-half years, from January 1st, 1928, to July 1st, 1929. Those who find Party discipline too hard, drop out of the Party voluntarily and mechanically. About 16,000 have so left the Party in the last year-and-a-half.

The Party has now about one million members of proletarian origin, which largely explains the results of the present general purging. It should be remembered that everyone of those expelled by the examining commissions has the right to appeal to the various district and territorial control commissions and finally, to the Central Control Commission. And there is no doubt that after the appeals are acted upon, the indicated percentage will come down, although we think there have been fewer mistakes made this time by the examining committees than in the past.

* * *

What is the attitude of the non-Party elements to the purging? As a rule they show the greatest interest and take a very active part, especially in the factories and in the villages. All reports on the approval of village nuclei speak of unusual activity of the peasants in the purging of their nuclei. Peasants would come sometimes ten or twelve kilometres to attend approval meetings, and would sit to three or four o'clock in the morning; in some cases, meetings were held on the fields where field work was in

progress; women came with their babies to the meetings. That is how much interest the peasants have shown in the examination of the rural Communists. We have witnessed in the villages a profound political class differentiation on the basis of the struggles centred around one or another Communist. The poor peasants and agricultural labourers heatedly defended the best Communists, the rich peasants, on the contrary, organised with the purpose of discrediting the Communists who pursue a correct class policy and of defending those who in fact betray the Party, who support the kulaks, who maintain family or social ties with the latter, or who support them economically. The Party does not stop at the dissolution of entire nuclei, entire party organisations, if such organisations pursue a line at variance with the line of the Party. True, there have been but few such cases, but such cases there have been. The Party pitilessly expels those elements who have a demoralising effect, who are alien to the organisation, who conceal their counter-revolutionary past, who have become corrupt and criminal. However, if we analyse the make-up of the expelled elements, we find that they would be desirable members of any non-Communist Party, of any Social-Democratic Party. The Communist Party alone adopts such a ruthless attitude to its members. Of course, if it is a question of some misdeed of a Party member which is the result of his insufficient class consciousness, his insufficient political understanding, or his lack of experience, the Party endeavours by means of all kinds of advice and educational measures to correct the comrade, in which respect the instructions issued on the cleansing give exhaustive suggestions.

The Party is very cautious with regard to the young cadres in the national republics, knowing beforehand how slowly, with what painful slowness, the Communists of these nationalities are re-educated, nationalities which but yesterday were at the lowest stage of development, almost thoroughly illiterate, kept under the powerful sway of the clergy, the feudal nobility and the semi-feudal masters.

The Party is particularly considerate in dealing with proletarian and peasant women, remembering how hard it is for them to do their duties as Party members, when under the present social conditions they still have to carry the

burden of bringing up children, of feeding the family, of taking care of the home, etc.

* * *

A few words about the results of the purge in the Red Army and Navy. We have to deal with that because the opposition has more than once asserted that the Red Army, especially its officers, consists of kulak elements. According to the opposition, the army is practically a thermidorian institution.

But what has the examination of the Party ranks in the Red Army shown? Firstly, there is a constant growth in the percentage of Communists and Young Communists. Secondly, the smallest percentage of expulsions has been recorded in the Red Army and Navy. While the average expulsions in the Party are about 10%, the percentage in the Red Army and Navy is 4½% (3.28% members and 7.02% candidates). It is to be observed in this connection, that the Communists in the Red Army and Navy are from 68.2% (Baltic Fleet) to 47.7% (Siberian Military District) workers. These figures are sufficient to refute any slander with regard to the Red Army. All those who are really alien elements in the army and navy have been expelled. The ideological strangers or those belonging to alien classes constitute about half of those expelled (44.3%). The examination among the forces took place also in the presence of the non-Party men. No army in the world knows anything like it. The commanders and commissars had to tell the ranks all about their past and about their present activities. Any private Red Army man had the right severely to criticise the conduct of his officer as a Party member, as a comrade.

This examination was of colossal significance in the political education of the Red Army. They have seen before them the entire heroic struggle of the Red Army, all periods of the civil war, the active participators in which were the officers and commissars. That brought the officers closer to the ranks, raised their authority in the eyes of the Red Armyists. With all the rigidity and strictness in examining the ranks, 95.3% of all officers and 97.2% of all political commissars belonging to the Party have remained in the organisation. Of the responsible officers belonging to the Party, only about 200 have been removed from their posts. We

should like to see an example of such critical treatment of military and naval officers in any other country. Nothing like it exists.

* * *

We do not yet draw the final conclusions because the purging has not yet ended. It is too early to strike the balance. Undoubtedly, a good many mistakes will have been made in the process. The Party press rectifies these mistakes and criticises them without mercy. One of the most serious mistakes is that the Party organisations do not sufficiently concentrate on recruiting workers and agricultural labourers. True, we had an influx of considerable sections in practically all organisations at the time of the purge, and there will undoubtedly be a considerable increase in the number of agricultural labourers in the Party when the cleansing is over. However, the C.C. and the C.C.C. have pointed out in a recent decision that this side of the matter is not given due attention and that the Party committees do not take adequate interest in the purging, shifting most of the burden to the examining commissions specially elected for that. Another shortcoming is that the Young Communist organisations do not take sufficient part in the examination. A fourth shortcoming is that the nuclei outside of the factories are being examined without attracting to a sufficient degree the non-Party workers of the enterprises in question, people who are in closest contact and who have to contend with the activities of the nuclei of these institutions.

But no matter what the shortcomings may be, the results of the purging are unquestionably favourable. The Party is being purged of its unfit elements who discredit it, undermine its efficiency, demoralise its organism. The Party raises its authority in the eyes of the broad masses. It concentrates more attention on the shortcomings revealed during the examination. It establishes closer relations with the masses of non-Party workers and peasants. It refreshes its ranks by recruiting fresh proletarian forces. It enters the battlefield in the struggle for the Five-Year Plan stronger and with tested ranks. It finds it easier to place and mobilise these ranks for the carrying out of the most complicated and difficult tasks.

When the purge is over, when the appeals made by those expelled by the approval commissions have been examined, we shall have a

more exact picture of the results of the campaign. The balance will finally be struck by the Sixteenth Party Congress. Whatever the final results may be, we may say in advance that the Party will come to its Sixteenth Congress internally more consolidated, more efficient, and

with all alien non-Communist elements thrown overboard. The Party will have finally organised its ranks for the carrying out of the great tasks outlined in the Five-Year Plan of Socialist construction by the time of the Sixteenth Congress.

The Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Organisation necessary to carry out decisions

(Letter of the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I. to all Communist Parties, endorsed at the session of the Polit-Secretariat, September 2nd, 1929.)

DEAR COMRADES,
The severe criticism of the shortcomings and weak points of the organisational work of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries meted out at the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., was fully vindicated by the events of August 1st. The preparatory work and the carrying through of the demonstrations on August 1st in all countries were a vivid illustration of the existence of great defects in the organisational work of all Communist Parties.

I. Weakness of factory nuclei and very inadequate work in general by Communist Parties in factories. As a rule, in all countries, preparations for August 1st took place not according to factories, but to residential districts. In a few countries, conferences of factory representatives were called, but owing to the inadequacy of the work of the Communist Party in factories, it was frequently impossible to get delegates to these conferences elected through general factory or delegate meetings. The inevitable result of this state of affairs was—that although various meetings and conferences called in connection with preparations for August 1st as a rule passed excellent and fundamentally revolutionary resolutions, it frequently happened that there was no organ in the factory capable of putting these decisions into practice.

This weakness of factory nuclei and the inadequacy of Party work in the factories are the principal reason of the poor results of the strike movement on August 1st.

August 1st is a vivid example to all Communist Parties that it is impossible to carry out

the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. re preparation for the new revolutionary wave without making factories the pivot of all the work, and factory nuclei the main lever. This question is now confronting all the Communist Parties as the most urgent organisational and political problem, delay in the solution of which will jeopardise the most important decisions of the Sixth Congress of the C.I. and of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. re the new line.

II. In order to as soon as possible achieve serious changes in factory work, the Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I. suggests that all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries should hold during the next three or four months organisational conferences in the biggest organisations of the industrial districts of the country, as well as a general organisational Party conference. At these conferences, the recent concrete work of the most important factory nuclei, as well as the work of Party committees directly responsible for the work of these nuclei, should be submitted to searching self-criticism. We propose that the starting point of this self-criticism should be the preparation and carrying through of August 1st.

The Organisational conferences should be organised in a manner to include: (1) representatives of the most important factory nuclei, taking care that these representatives should not be only nucleus secretaries who are of course inclined to under-estimate the errors and weak points in the work of their factory nuclei, but also rank and file members of the respective nuclei who have distinguished themselves in the course of industrial and political demonstrations

of the proletariat as capable organisers well able to form factory nuclei, committees of action organise strikes, demonstrations, etc.

III. When discussing the work of factory nuclei, one should pay special attention to such practical questions as contact between the nucleus and the mass of the workers of the given factory. The main function of the factory nucleus—as laid down in the statutes of Communist Parties—is to serve as a liaison organ between the Party and the non-Party masses. The nucleus can meet regularly, it can discuss regularly all questions within its province, but if it is not instrumental in spreading Party influence among the masses, it will not fulfil, in spite of all its other positive qualities, the fundamental functions of a genuine factory nucleus. The most important concrete tasks in regard to contact between the nucleus and the masses are: (1) Every nucleus member carries on regular recruiting work to secure new members and sympathisers for the Party among the factory workers and, above all, among the workers of his own department (workshop); (2) whenever conflicts are brewing in the factory (or department), and also when questions arise which might drive workers to demonstrate *en masse*, every nucleus member must immediately let the nucleus bureau know of this; (3) the bureau, on its part, must be active, drawing as many non-Party workers as possible into the discussion of the question and into practical work, and placing before all the workers of the factory (at general and delegate meetings, with the help of proclamations, factory newspapers, etc.) questions connected with the organisation of the struggle, formation of committees of action, elaboration of demands to the employer and all other steps likely to ensure the success of the mass sections of the proletariat; (4) as soon as the question is decided (and on receipt of instructions from the Party committee) all nucleus members must be united before the non-Party masses; (5) under present conditions of semi-legal or completely illegal work, every factory nucleus is in duty bound to publish a factory newspaper.

The conferences must discuss very carefully the state of affairs in a number of countries where Party members employed in the factory do not want to work in the factory nucleus. Efforts should be made to find out if there are not among them people who are Party members only in

name, or members so addicted to social-democratic methods of work that very soon they will not be able to help the Party to strengthen its position in enterprises. Parties should turn their attention as soon as possible to such members, helping them to understand the new line and to adapt themselves to it. Those who oppose work in factories, should be got rid of by the Parties as unnecessary ballast.

On the other hand, all Parties must consider carefully and in a businesslike manner the difficulties pointed out by Party members employed in factories in regard to participation in the work of the factory nuclei, difficulties arising out of long distances between their places of employment and their residential districts, etc. When solving these questions, our attitude to them should be as follows: if in order to do justice to the duties of a factory nucleus member, Party members have to endure various inconveniences (for instance, getting home very late and travelling by an inconvenient train, etc.), they must not allow this to interfere with their efforts to transfer the centre of gravity of their work to the enterprise. But of course, Communist Parties must be mindful of a correct distribution of Party duties between individual working-class Party members, taking care that they should not be engaged in Party work every evening of the week. In all the Parties the situation now is such that while a small circle is overburdened with dozens of duties, the main body of the membership does hardly any regular Party work. One should put an end as soon as possible to this abnormal state of affairs.

IV. The work of factory nuclei cannot be satisfactory unless there be correct systematic leadership of this work on the part of Party committees, especially the basic committees which are directly responsible for the work of factory nuclei (district, urban, local, etc.). To ensure a decisive change in the attitude of Party committees to factory nuclei and work in factories in general, the conferences will have to discuss the following concrete measures:

1. To establish, as a firm and obligatory rule, that in the preparation of political campaigns, maximum attention is to be paid to measures which guarantee the participation of factory nuclei in these campaigns as their chief driving force.

2. The Party committee must establish permanent connection (making also provision for extraordinary cases) with factory nuclei. Factory nuclei must keep the Party committee systematically informed about everything going on in the factory. The Party committee, on its part, must lead and instruct factory nuclei systematically. Of special importance are provisions for firm and fully responsible leadership at the outbreak of conflicts in enterprises.

3. The present methods of leading and instructing by means of circulars must undergo a radical change. As few circulars as possible, as much personal leadership as possible on the part of Party committees and instructors. As far as police conditions permit, conferences of secretaries and nucleus representatives should be called regularly, to sum up past work and discuss the plan of immediate tasks. It is very important to call together nucleus representatives in the form of instruction - conferences before the organisation of political campaigns. Finally, the C.C. must take measures for the establishment of an institute of permanent instructors.

4. To bear in mind the peculiarities of work among women workers and among the working youth in discussing and deciding on questions of consolidation of the activities of the factory nuclei and the local Party committees.

5. To revise existing street and temporary concentration groups, and to reorganise with as little delay as possible those which are still wrongly organised on the residential basis. All Party members employed in enterprises must be removed from these nuclei and sent into suitable factory nuclei.

6. One should persevere in the efforts to make all factory nuclei publish factory newspapers.

7. The question of cadres should also be discussed at the conferences. The Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I. proposes to discuss the following questions and to make concrete decisions:—(1) registration of leading cadres (precautions being taken to prevent documents getting into the hands of our class enemies); (2) promotion of new Party workers from the ranks of working-class members who have distinguished themselves during the recent mass

actions of the proletariat; (3) taking note of experience with promotees, side by side with taking note of renovation of leading cadres by removal of opportunist, passive, etc., elements shown their incapacity of leading Party work who have under present conditions.

In regard to the technique of registration of leading cadres, the Department makes the following suggestions: (1) no complicated system with cards, files, etc. The registers should be small books and the writing should be done in cipher and code, the books should be kept as the most secret documents and in such places where they could be easily and with certainty destroyed; maximum care in keeping the registers, particularly in illegal Parties; (2) registration should be limited to as narrow a circle as possible (secretaries of Party committees and factory nuclei and their deputies, leaders of trade union fractions, bureau members of regional committees). It is essential for Party committees to discuss systematically the state of affairs in the leading cadres and the results achieved with new promotees, to sum up past work, its positive and negative sides, and to decide on the next tasks. The Organisation Department of the E.C.C.I. lays stress on the enormous importance of this work, because without boldly promoting new workers, without boldly replacing by these new workers those who have proved themselves opportunist and passive leaders of Party organisations, the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the C.I. and of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. concerning the new line, will not be carried out.

VI. Finally, our experience of August 1st has shown that verification of the execution of the instructions of the Party leadership, and also of the instructions of the C.I. is very inadequate indeed in all Parties. Party committees and the suggested Organisational conferences must pay serious attention to this question and must elaborate business-like concrete proposals in regard to putting an end to this state of affairs. In this connection, we must firmly establish personal responsibility of leaders of Party organisations for the execution of instructions of the higher Party organ and of the Communist International.

The "Present Moment" in India

By G. Safarov

THE heroic six months' struggle of 150,000 Bombay textile workers, their retreat without the least sign of collapse or weakness, the attraction of new working-class fighters into the strike movement at Jamshedpur and Calcutta; the maturing of a strike movement among the railway workers; the swift political development of the working masses; Girny Kamgar, which is not to be shattered by any persecution or laws against "hooliganism"; the demonstration of 500,000 in Calcutta at the funeral of the young revolutionary Jatindranath Das, who died during a hunger strike in prison; the incessant students' strikes, which break out in place after place; the endless meetings and demonstrations under the slogans of "Hurrah for the revolution" and "Down with imperialism"—such is the picture of to-day in the India which is living for to-morrow.

In this situation there are many known features which make "incomprehensible" India akin to Russia on the eve of the 1905 revolution.

Fearfully and with warning glances in the direction of the British Government, the liberal bourgeoisie are noting that the country has not known such an agitation since 1921, in other words, since India passed through her first revolutionary stage. The liberal bourgeoisie are by no means enraptured with this growing revolutionary rise, which may interfere with their capitulatory transactions with British imperialism. They are trying in all ways to hide the fact that the chief motive power of the revolutionary rise is now the Indian proletariat, which was not the case in 1919-1922. But meantime the strike statistics prove this irrefutably.

	1926.		1927.		1928.	
No. of strikes	.....	128	.....	129	.....	203
No. of strikers	.....	186,000	.....	131,000	.....	506,851
No. of lost working days	.....	1,097,000	.....	2,019,000	.....	31,647,404
	1st quarter.		2nd quarter.			
	1929.	1928.	1929.	1928.		
No. of strikes	45	58	47	52		
No. of strikers	77,385	83,370	150,000	290,654		
No. of lost working days	820,215	1,065,083	5,000,000	13,012,506		

In the third quarter of 1929 200,000 workers participated in the jute mills strike, and the

number of working days lost reached the figure of 1,725,000.

India has now grown accustomed to revolutionary slogans and demonstrations; the influence of the working-class on the intermediate petty bourgeois strata of the towns has grown extraordinarily; to the very broadest masses the working-class has become the outpost of the revolutionary struggle against the British Government. India is now passing through a period of a revolutionary rise, and the representatives of that rise are the working-class on the one hand and the city petty bourgeois strata with the student youth at their head on the other. Meantime the Indian bourgeoisie has come closer than ever before to a treacherous transaction with the British bourgeoisie, and is exerting all its strength to accomplish this transaction as swiftly as possible in order to avert further revolutionary disturbances. On the instructions of the MacDonald Cabinet the Viceroy of India has promised India "dominion status," and Ghandi and Co. are already going into raptures.

"The proletariat struggle, the bourgeoisie steal into power." That Leninist formula could not be improved upon as a characterisation of the present situation in India. It goes without saying that the Indian bourgeoisie cannot under any circumstances count on receiving power from the hands of British imperialism. It is a question of attracting individual representatives or certain strata into the ranks of the British bureaucracy, of a certain distribution of petty official positions and profitable sinecures under the flag of a dominion constitution. The notorious Nehru constitution revealed this secret of bourgeois policy, and the statements daily appearing in the Indian press concerning the "intentions" of the British Labour Government to form a bloc with the Indian national reformist bourgeoisie against the masses of India witness to the extraordinary hurry of the Indian bourgeoisie in this connection. Only with difficulty observing the formalities of a shop-window opposition, the Indian bourgeoisie is doing everything it can to reach the longed-for

end as quickly as possible. It is with rare ardour attempting to persuade MacDonald and Co. to hasten with a conference of British and Indian politicians. "If the British Labour Government displays such directness and resolution in carrying through the policy proclaimed by the Labourites for India as it displayed in regard to Egypt, if it displays that resolution at the moment when all the political problems have acquired sufficient clarity, we think that half the difficulties which are so frequently appealed to will disappear, and it will be easy to create an atmosphere of agreement at the general conference." (*The Hindoo* for 29th July, 1929.) Thus the Indian bourgeoisie of the National Congress are alluring the MacDonald Government with the prospects of agreement with them. Through the Viceroy the MacDonald Government has already promised a conference in London, but of course it will not grant the "rights" of Egypt. In December an all-Indian National Congress is to assemble at Lahore. By then the period of the ultimatum threatening the British with a declaration of civil disobedience in the event of a refusal of dominion status to India will be nearing expiration. Their diligent fawning on MacDonald and Co. reflects the inward anxiety of the Indian bourgeoisie, which knows only too well that it is politically bankrupt, that it is not able to keep any "left wing" promises. The Indian liberal bourgeoisie is trying to hide its naked poverty under "left wing" phrases and gestures, which are hardly likely to take in anyone concerning their real intentions. The Indian National Congress is all but ready to be laid out. And yet this near corpse is trying to block the road of the revolutionary movement, and in this consists its main political significance. In order to render the revolutionary movement impotent the bourgeoisie is pretending that it will be glad with all a father's pride to adopt it as its own legal child. Only thus can the fact be explained that the leaders of the National Congress have tried to lay their paws on the body of the dead Das, who was in no sense a hero of bourgeois treachery. It was convenient for the counter-revolutionary liberals to declare Jatindranath Das as a national hero and martyr, in order the more easily to pave the way for the young Nehru who has been put forward by Mahatma Gandhi himself as president of the Lahore congress.

With the aid of the clever young men who swear their fidelity to socialism and the revolution and at the same time do not break away from their filial devotion to their fathers, the counter-revolutionary liberals are hoping to decapitate and paralyse the vast movement of the revolutionary strata of the town petty bourgeoisie, and to isolate the working-class in its ruthless struggle against imperialism. Mahatma Gandhi himself, that great lover of Herodic poses and misty phrases, has spoken on this question in the language of the fly-blown politician: "A friend of discipline, he (Dwarkanath Nehru) has always revealed his readiness for loyal submission even when he regarded it as mistaken. He is undoubtedly a man of extreme convictions by comparison with those close to him, but he is modest and sufficiently practical not to carry the matter to a rupture. He is as clear as crystal, he is true beyond all suspicion. He is a knight without fear and without reproach. The nation will be in sure hands." (*Bombay Chronicle*, 5th Oct., 1929.)

And it is this knight without fear and without reproach whom they are trying to force into the position of national leader of the masses of India, in opposition to the other, the collective leader, the new revolutionary class, the proletariat, which has come to the forefront and will not concede the position to any strangers and enemies.

With a broad gesture the younger Nehru is to-day calling for a boycott of the Whitley Commission, sent by the Labour Government to study the conditions of labour in India. This "left wing" gesture costs the Indian bourgeoisie very little, as it does not consider it necessary to study anything in this sphere and is in no way disposed to assist the attempts of British capital to thrust itself between the Indian workers and the Indian capitalists. The younger Nehru is proclaiming a boycott of the Whitley Commission because it is not with this commission that they will have to discuss their act of treachery. None the less, at a trade union conference in the United Provinces this same Nehru points to the necessity of being doubly cautious in the handling of such a sharp instrument of class struggle as strikes. That is enough from him. He knows that some of the older men will follow in his tracks and openly declare that "the class struggle is useless so long as a third power dominates over both sides." (*Hindustan Times*,

October, 1929.) The innumerable attempts of the national reformist bourgeoisie to organise their own trade union movement along Kuomintang lines is a characteristic feature of the last few months. The Indian bourgeoisie is ready to exploit the class struggle against the British capitalists to a certain extent in order to strengthen their influence over the working masses.

In addition to all this, the intrigues of the Indian bourgeoisie with the peasant movement are worthy of special attention at the present transitional stage. The weakness of the peasant movement at the present time serves to indicate that the revolutionary rise has still inadequately captured the masses outside the city boundaries. Beyond all doubt no small role is played in this regard by the circumstance that the working-class advance as the decisive revolutionary force has not yet led to a final political and organisational formulation of the Communist advance guard in India. None the less, the bourgeoisie realise quite clearly that the peasants' silence is growing more and more suspicious and that the day is not far distant when the direct ally of the working-class, the basic masses of the peasantry, will enter the arena of the political struggle.

The betrayal of the peasant movement in Bardoli tore the mask of hypocrisy from the leaders of the Congress. To please the landowners and bureaucrats the Indian National Congress was declared to be the "common ground" on which the landowners and the peasants, the exploiters and the toilers, were to unite in brotherly union. None the less, the prospect of the working-class being supported by peasant reserves is forcing British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie to seek their own roads to "alleviate the peasant misery," and to eliminate the growing discontent. In this connection the foundation of the Land League in Bombay is highly indicative. The first and chief principle of this league says that "property in land is based not in the rights of the State, but on the rights of the landowner." This principle completely exposes the national reformist bourgeoisie's attitude to the land question. It is trying to dam the fiscal appetites of British imperialism somewhat whilst creating bigger possibilities for the capitalist transformation of the landowners' and then the large peasant properties. None the less, whilst putting for-

ward this point of view, the bourgeoisie is simultaneously trying to catch the peasant masses with slogans of struggle for a reduction of the land tax. Mr. Patel, the super-traitor of the Bardoli movement, the leader of the Bombay Land League, is "pining in expectation of the day when it will be possible to organise all the peasantry of Bombay and Madras, raising them to a peaceable, yet resolute protest against the existing system of land taxation." (*Hindustan Times*, 2nd Sept., 1929.) Of course Patel does not forget to add that "only non-violence" can be the method of struggle, although it would be truer to say that it can be only a method of rejecting the struggle for peasant interests.

The officials of British imperialism also realise quite clearly the danger for them of the influence of the proletariat being carried into the countryside. "The Communist movement is still not very widespread outside the town proletariat, but it may prove alluring to the Indian peasant. If the British strong hand be removed the Indian Ryot will kill his landowner, just as did the Russian peasant." (Sir Basil Blackett in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1929.) That is not only an expression of British imperialism's fear of the rising revolutionary wave, but a reminder to the Indian bourgeoisie of the unity of their interests with those of British capital in the work of defending landed property against the peasants.

The nearer the Indian bourgeoisie gets to a decisive capitulation to British imperialism the more it endeavours to extend the basis of its influence with the masses, and not only the petty bourgeois masses of the city population, but even among the workers and peasants. It is with this endeavour that we have to connect the attempts of the leaders of the Indian National Congress to transform that Congress into a strictly centralised organisation, with a widely ramified network of nuclei in the villages and with a firmly established discipline. In *Young India* Ghandi has already complained that the congress organisation embraces only two-thirds of the 250 districts of British India. The Indian bourgeoisie needs a centralisation of its political influence over the masses just in order to block the path of the revolutionary wave, and also to get its hands on the machinery of administration, which it could afterwards blend with the British bureaucracy's machinery of administration.

British imperialism is trying to help the national reformist bourgeoisie to paralyse the revolutionary rise, overwhelming the working-class and all the radical elements of the national emancipation movement with ruthless persecution. Thus it is trying to ensure a monopoly of legality, and with it a monopoly of the representation of the masses, to the Indian bourgeoisie. In the struggle with the Bombay textile workers the Indian bourgeoisie completely unmasked itself, acting not only as the direct agent of the British police system, but as the chief organiser of strike-breaking in the enterprises. From time to time the Indian bourgeoisie may play with strikes, in so far as those strikes occur at British enterprises, but as soon as the working-class strike movement acquires a genuinely national scale the Indian bourgeoisie openly declares ruthless war on it.

At the December Congress the Indian bourgeoisie will feel no compunction in hiding its treachery beneath a copious flood of "left wing" phrases and "left wing" gestures. And for that very reason the working-class must at once set itself the task of concentrating the political activity of the masses. It must pull off

the glove of the Indian bourgeoisie, by summoning the masses to a resolute struggle against any kind of negotiations with British Imperialism, and by permeating these masses with the idea of the systematic and direct preparation of a mass strike. It must oppose the bourgeois methods of national reformist treachery with its own revolutionary methods of mobilising the masses; to the bourgeois methods of extension of the political and organisational basis of compromise and deception of the masses it must oppose its own methods of extending the basis of the revolutionary movement among the masses. The working-class must formulate its political advance guard, it must find organisational formulation in left wing trade unions, discarding the treacherous leadership of Joshi and Co., and finally, the representatives of the working-class must proclaim the programme of the peasant revolution and make it the touchstone of all the further struggle.

A revolutionary class has already been born in India which will smash through the bourgeois betrayal. The question of India's freedom will be decided, not at a round table in London, but at the weaving looms of Bombay and Calcutta.

