



MASTERING BOLSHEVISM

by JOSEPH STALIN

"TROTSKYISM HAS CEASED TO BE A POLITICAL TREND IN THE WORKING CLASS... IT HAS CHANGED FROM THE POLITICAL TREND WHICH IT WAS SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS AGO, INTO A FRANTIC AND UNPRINCIPLED GANG OF WRECKERS, DIVERSIONISTS, SPIES AND MURDERERS ACTING ON THE INSTRUCTION OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF FOREIGN STATES."

-(1937).

PRODUCED BY THE INTERNATIONALISTS

IDEOLOGICAL FORUM

No. 2 Second edition.
December 1968.

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This document is produced under the auspices of the Ideological Forum. The Ideological Forum deals with topics of importance to the anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist struggles and invites reader participation. The target of attack is modern Soviet Revisionism, the 'revisionist' parties in the imperialist countries and elsewhere, trotskyism, 'Castroism' and various other shades of liberal bourgeois ideologies vying for influence in the revolutionary ranks, e.g.. 'new left ideology'.

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JOSEPH STALIN

Comrades, it can be seen from the reports and the discussion on them at the Plenum that we are dealing here with the following three basic facts:-

First, the wrecking and diversive spying work of the agents of foreign countries, among whom the Trotskyites played an active enough role, affected to some degree or other all or almost all our organisations, both economic, administrative and Party.

Second, the agents of foreign countries among the Trotskyites penetrated not only into the lower organisations but also into some responsible positions.

Third, some of our leading comrades, both in the centre and in the localities, were not only unable to recognise the real faces of these wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers, but they were so careless, complacent and naive that not infrequently they themselves assisted the agents of foreign powers to get into various responsible positions.

These are three indisputable facts which naturally arise from the reports and discussions on them.

Political Carelessness

How can it be explained that our leading comrades, who have a rich experience of struggle against every kind of anti-Party and anti-Soviet trend, proved to be so blind and naive in this case that they were unable to recognise the real face of the enemies of the people, were unable to discern the wolves in sheeps' clothing, were unable to tear the mask from them?

Can it be stated that the wrecking and diversional - spying work of

the agents of the foreign powers who are busy on the territory of the U. S. S. R. could be something unexpected and unprecedented for us? No, this cannot be stated. This is shown by the wrecking acts in various branches of national economy during the past ten years, starting with the Shakhty period, which are set out in official documents.

Can it be stated that we have lately had no warning signals and forewarning directives about the wrecking, spying or terroristic activity of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite agents of fascism? No, this cannot be stated. There were such signals, and Bolsheviks have no right to forget them.

The foul murder of Comrade Kirov was the first serious warning that the enemies of the people will practice duplicity and, in doing so, will disguise themselves as Bolsheviks, as Party members, so as to worm their way into our confidence and open a path for themselves into our organisations.

The trial of the "Leningrad Center," like the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, provided new foundations for the lessons arising from the fact of the foul murder of Comrade Kirov.

The trial of the "Zinoviev-Trotskyite bloc" extended the lessons of the previous trials, plainly showing that the Zinovievites and Trotskyites unite around themselves all the hostile bourgeois elements, that they had become the spying and diversionist--terroristic--agency of the German secret police, that double-dealing and concealment are the only means by which the Zinovievites and Trotskyites can penetrate into our organisations, that vigilance and political keenness are the truest means of preventing such penetration, for the liquidation of the Zinovievite-Trotskyite gang.

The Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. in its closed letter of January 18, 1935, regarding the foul murder of Comrade Kirov, gave a **resolute warning** to the Party organisations against political complacency and parochial gaping. It says in the closed letter:

We must put an end to opportunist complacency arising from the mistaken presupposition that in proportion to the growth of our forces the enemy will grow ever tamer and more inoffensive.

Such is the law of relations between bourgeois states.

Such a presupposition is basically wrong. It is a belch of the Right deviation, which assured everyone that the enemies would quietly creep into socialism, that in the long run they would become real socialists. It is not the business of the Bolsheviks to rest on their laurels and stand around gaping. It is not complacency that we need but vigilance, real Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance. It must be remembered that the more desperate the position of the enemies, the more willing they will be to seize on extreme measures as the only measures of doomed people in their struggle against Soviet power. We must remember this and be vigilant.

In the closed letter of July 29, 1936, regarding the spying and terroristic activity of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite block, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. called on the Party organisation to show the maximum vigilance, to be able to recognise the enemies of the people no matter how well masked. It says in the closed letter:

Now when it has been proved that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite scum unite all the most bitter and sworn enemies of the working people of our country — spies, agents provocateurs, diversionists, White Guards, kulaks, etc. — in the struggle against Soviet power, when every distinguishing mark has been obliterated between these elements on the one hand and the Trotskyites and Zinovievites on the other, all our Party organisations, all members of the Party must understand that the vigilance of Communists is necessary in every field and in all situations. An indispensable quality of every Bolshevik in the present conditions must be the ability to recognise the enemy of the Party no matter how well he be masked.

So signals and warnings were given.

What did these signals and warnings call for?

They called for the liquidation of the weakness of Party organisational work and the conversion of the Party into an impregnable fortress into which not a single double-dealer could penetrate.

They called for putting a stop to the underestimation of Party political work and making a resolute turn in the direction of strength-

ening such work to the utmost, in the direction of strengthening the political vigilance.

And what happened? The facts have shown that our comrades took in these signals and warnings with more than stiffness.

This is eloquently shown by all the facts which we know from the sphere of the campaign for verifying and exchanging Party documents. In reality the relations between them are far from being those of good neighbours. It has been proved as plainly as two and two make four that the bourgeois states shower their spies, wreckers, diversionists and sometimes murderers on each other, behind their frontiers; give them instructions to worm themselves into the factories and institutions of these states, to create their own network there and "in case of necessity" to smash them from the rear so as to weaken them and undermine their power. Such is the case at the present time.

Such, too, has been the case in the past. Take for example the countries of Europe at the time of Napoleon the First. France at that time was swarming with spies and diversionists from the camp of the Russians, Germans, Austrians and English. And, at the same time, England, the German states, Austria, and Russia had behind their lines no fewer spies and diversionists from the French camp. Agents of Great Britain twice made attempts on the life of Napoleon, and several times roused the peasants of the Vendee in France against the government of Napoleon. And what was Napoleon's government? A bourgeois government which had strangled the French Revolution and retained only those results of the revolution which were profitable to the big bourgeoisie. Needless to say, Napoleon's government did not remain indebted to its neighbours. It also undertook its own diversionary measures. Such was the case in the past, 130 years ago. Such is the case, 130 years after Napoleon the First. France and England at the present day are swarming with German spies and diversionists and, on the other hand, Anglo-French spies and diversionists in turn are at work in Germany. America is swarming with Japanese spies and diversionists, and Japan with American.

Such is the law of relations between bourgeois states.

The question must be put: why should the bourgeois countries be gentler and more neighbourly to the Soviet socialist government than they are to bourgeois states of their own type? Why should they send fewer spies, wreckers, diversionists and murderers behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union than they send behind the frontiers of bourgeois countries which are akin to them? Where did you get this from? Will it not be truer, from the point of view of Marxism, to suppose that the bourgeois states must be sending twice or three times as many wreckers, spies, diversionists and murderers behind the lines of the Soviet Union than behind those of any bourgeois state?

Is it not clear that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, spies, diversionists and murderers in our country, sent behind our lines by the agents of foreign states?

Our Party comrades forgot about all this, and having forgotten were caught unawares.

This is why the spying and diversive work of the Trotskyite agents of the Japanese and German secret police was completely unexpected by some of our comrades.

How can it be explained that these warnings and signals did not produce the proper action? How can it be explained that our Party comrades in spite of their experience of struggle against anti-Soviet elements, in spite of a whole series of warning signals and forewarning directives, proved to be politically shortsighted in the face of the wrecking and spying diversive work of the enemies of the people?

Is it that our Party comrades have become worse than they were before, have become less conscientious and disciplined? No, of course not.

Is it that they have begun to degenerate? Again, no. Such a supposition is completely unfounded.

Then, what is the matter? Whence arises such gaping, carelessness, complacency, blindness?

class should learn of their real intentions it will curse them as an alien people and drive them from it. This in reality explains how

Such is the law of relations between bourgeois states.

The fact is that our Party comrades, carried away by economic campaigns and by enormous successes on the front of economic construction, simply forgot some very important facts which Bolsheviks have no right to forget. They forgot one fundamental fact from the sphere of the international position of the U.S.S.R. and did not notice two very important facts which apply directly to the present wreckers, spies, diversionists and murderers sheltering behind the Party card and disguised as Bolsheviks.

2. Capitalist Encirclement

What are these facts which our Party comrades forgot, or which they simply did not notice?

They forgot that Soviet power has conquered only one-sixth of the world, that five-sixths of the world is in possession of capitalist powers. They forgot that the Soviet Union is in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. It is an accepted thing to talk loosely about capitalist encirclement, but people do not want to ponder upon what sort of thing this capitalist encirclement is.

Capitalist encirclement — that is no empty phrase; that is a very real and unpleasant feature. Capitalist encirclement means that here is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the socialist order on its own territory and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and which surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it.

Our comrades forgot this fundamental fact. But it is precisely that which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encirclement and the Soviet Union.

Take for example the bourgeois states. Simple-minded people may think that extremely good relations reign between them, as between states of the same type. But only simple-minded people can think so.

America is swarming with Japanese spies, and Japan with American.

3. Present-Day Trotskyism

To proceed. In carrying on a struggle against the Trotskyite agents, our Party comrades did not notice, they overlooked the fact, that present-day Trotskyism is no longer what it was, let us say seven or eight years ago; that Trotskyism and the Trotskyites have passed through a serious evolution in this period which has utterly changed the face of Trotskyism; that in view of this the struggle against Trotskyism and the method of struggle against it must also be changed. Our Party comrades did not notice that Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class, that it has changed from the political trend in the working class which it was a seven or eight years ago, into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instruction of the intelligence services of foreign states.

What is a political trend in the working class? A political trend in the working class is a group or a party which has its own definite political face, platform and program, which does not and cannot hide its views from the working class but, on the contrary, openly and honestly carries on propaganda for its views in full view of the working class, does not fear to show its political face to the working class, does not fear to demonstrate its real aims and tasks to the working class but, on the contrary, goes to the working class with open visor to convince it of the correctness of its views. In the past, seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism was one of such political trends in the working class, an anti-Leninist trend, it is true, and therefore profoundly mistaken, but nevertheless a political trend.

Can it be said that present-day Trotskyism, the 1936 Trotskyism, let us say, is a political trend in the working class? No, this cannot be said. Why? Because the present-day Trotskyites are afraid to show their real face to the working class, are afraid to disclose their real aims and tasks to it, and carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class should learn of their real intentions it will curse them as an alien people and drive them from it. This in reality explains how

it is that the chief method of Trotskyite work is now not open and honest propaganda of its views among the working class, but the masking of its views, servile and fawning praise for the views of its opponents, a false and pharisaical trampling of its own views in the dirt.

If you remember, Kamenev and Zinoviev at the trial in 1936 strenuously denied that they had any political platform. It was fully possible for them to develop their political platform at the trial. But they did not do so, declaring that they had no political platform. There can be no doubt that both of them were lying when they denied that they had a platform. Even the blind can now see that they had their political platform. But why did they deny the existence of any political platform? Because they were afraid to disclose their real political face, they were afraid to demonstrate their real platform for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., fearing that such a platform would arouse revulsion in the working class.

At the trial in 1937, Piatakov, Radek and Sokolnikov took a different line. They did not deny that the Trotskyites and Zinovievites had a political platform. They admitted that they had a definite political platform, recognised and unfolded it in their testimony. But they unfolded it not to call on the working class, not to call on the people to support the Trotskyite platform, but in order to curse it and brand it as an anti-people's and anti-proletarian platform.

The restoration of capitalism, the liquidation of the collective farms and state farms, the restoration of the system of exploitation, an alliance with the fascist forces of Germany and Japan to bring war against the Soviet Union nearer, a struggle for war and against the policy of peace, the territorial dismemberment of the Soviet Union, giving the Ukraine to the Germans and the maritime provinces to the Japanese, the preparation of the military defeat of the Soviet Union if enemy states should attack it, and as a means of achieving these tasks, wrecking, diversion, individual terrorism against the leaders of the Soviet government, espionage for the benefit of the Japanese and German fascist forces - such was the political platform of present day Trotskyism which was set forth

by Piatakov, Radek and Sokolnikov.

Naturally the Trotskyites could not but hide such a platform from the people, from the working class. And they hid it not only from the working class but also from the Trotskyite rank and file, and not only from the Trotskyite rank and file but even from the leading group of the Trotskyites, consisting of a small handful of 30 or 40 people. When Radek and Piatakov asked Trotsky's permission to call a small conference, 30 or 40 people, to inform them of the character of this platform, Trotsky forbade them, saying it was inexpedient to talk of the real nature of the platform even to a small group of Trotskyites as such an "operation" might cause a split.

"Political figures" hiding their views and their platform not only from the working class but also from the Trotskyite rank and file, and not only from the Trotskyite rank and file, but from the leading group of Trotskyites — such is the face of present-day Trotskyism.

But it follows from this that present-day Trotskyism can no longer be called a political trend in the working class. Present-day Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of the intelligence services of foreign states.

Such is the indisputable result of the evolution of Trotskyism in the past seven or eight years.

Such is the difference between Trotskyism in the past and Trotskyism at the present time.

The mistake of our Party comrades is that they did not notice this profound difference between Trotskyism in the past and Trotskyism at the present time. They did not notice that the Trotskyites since ceased to be devoted to an idea, that the Trotskyites have long since turned into highway robbers, capable of any foulness, capable of all that is disgusting, to the point of espionage and the outright betrayal of their country, if only they can harm the Soviet government and Soviet power. They did not notice this and were therefore unable to reconstruct themselves in time to wage battle

against the Trotskyites in a new and more regular manner. This is why the abominable work of the Trotskyites of late years was a complete surprise for some of our Party comrades.

To proceed. Finally, our Party comrades did not notice that there is an important difference between the present-day wreckers and diversionists, on the one hand, among whom the Trotskyite agents of fascism play "an active part", and the wreckers and diversionists of the time of the Shakhty trial, on the other hand.

In the first place, the Shakhty and Industrial Party wreckers were people openly alien to us. They were in greater part former owners of factories, former managers for the old employers, former shareholders of old joint-stock companies, or simple bourgeois specialists who were openly hostile to us politically. None of our people had any doubt about the authenticity of the political face of these gentlemen. And the Shakhty wreckers themselves did not conceal their distaste for the Soviet system.

The same cannot be said of the present-day wreckers and diversionists, the Trotskyites. The present-day wreckers and diversionists, the Trotskyites, are mostly Party people with a Party card in their pocket, and consequently people who formally are not alien to us.

Whereas the old wreckers went against our people, the new wreckers on the contrary cringe to our people, laud them, lick their boots, in order to worm their way into their confidence. As you see, the difference is essential.

In the second place, the strength of the Shakhty and Industrial Party wreckers was that to a greater or lesser degree they possessed the necessary technical knowledge, while our people, not possessing such knowledge, were forced to learn from them. This circumstance gave a great advantage to the wreckers of the Shakhty period, made it possible for them to do their wrecking work freely and unhindered, made it possible for them to deceive our people technically.

This is not so with the present-day wreckers, with the Trotskyites. The present-day wreckers have no technical superiority over our people. On the contrary, our people are better trained

trained technically than the present-day wreckers, than the Trotskyites. During the time from the Shakhty period to our own days, tens of thousands of genuine, technically strong Bolshevik cadres have grown up among us. One could mention thousands and tens of thousands of Bolshevik leading figures technically developed in comparison with whom all such people as Piatakov and Livshitz, Shestov and Boguslavsky, Muralov and Drobnis are empty windbags and mere tyros from the point of view of technical training. In this case, what does the strength of the present-day wreckers, the Trotskyites, consist of? Their strength lies in the Party card, in the possession of a Party card. This strength lies in the fact that Party card gives them political trust and opens the door of all our institutions and organizations to them.

Their advantage lies in the fact that holding a Party card and pretending to be friends of the Soviet power they tricked our people politically, misused their confidence, did their wrecking work furtively, and disclosed our secrets of state to the enemies of the Soviet Union. This "advantage" is a doubtful one in its political and moral values, but still it is an "advantage". This "advantage", in reality, explains the fact that the Trotskyite wreckers, as people with a Party card having access to all places in our institutions and organizations, were a real windfall for the intelligence services of foreign states.

The mistakes of some of our Party comrades is that they did not notice, did not understand all this difference between the old and the new wreckers and the Trotskyites, and not noticing this, they were unable to reconstruct themselves in time so as to wage battle against the new wreckers in a new way.

4: The Seamy Side of Economic Success

Such are the basic facts from the sphere of our international and internal situation, about which many of our Party comrades forgot, or which they did not notice.

This is why our people were taken by surprise by the events of the last few years as regards wrecking and diversion.

It may be asked: but why did our people not notice all this,

why did they forget about all this? Where did all this forgetfulness, blindness, carelessness and complacency come from?

Is it an organic defect in the work of our people? No it is not an organic defect. It is a temporary phenomenon which can be rapidly liquidated by some efforts on the part of our people.

Then what is the matter?

The matter is that our Party comrades have been totally absorbed in the economic work in recent years, have been engrossed to the limit in economic successes, and being engrossed in all these things forget about all else, threw aside all else.

The matter is that being carried away by economic successes they began to regard this as the beginning and end of everything, and simply gave up paying attention to such things as the international position of the Soviet Union, capitalist encirclement, strengthening of the political work of the Party, struggle against wrecking, etc., supposing all these questions to be second-rate and even third-rate matters.

Successes and achievements are, of course, a great thing. Our successes in the sphere of socialist construction are truly enormous.

But successes like everything else under the sun, have their seamy side. Among people who are not very skillful in politics big successes and big achievements not infrequently give rise to carelessness, complacency, self-satisfaction, overweening self-confidence, swell-headedness and bragging. You cannot deny that braggarts have lately developed among us tremendously. It is not surprising in these circumstances of big and serious successes in the sphere of socialist construction that feelings of boastfulness are created, feelings of showy demonstration of our successes, and feelings are created for underestimating the strength of our enemies, feelings of overestimation of our own strength, and as a result of all this political blindness appears.

I must here say a few words about the dangers connected with successes, about the dangers connected with achievements.

We know by experience of the dangers connected with difficulties. For a number of years we have been fighting against such

kinds of dangers, and I must say not without success. Among people who are not staunch, dangers connected with difficulties not infrequently give rise to downcast feelings, distrust in their own forces, feelings of pessimism. And, on the contrary, when it is a matter of fighting against the dangers which arise from difficulties, people are tempered in this struggle and emerge from the struggle really granite Bolsheviks.

Such is the nature of the dangers connected with difficulties. Such are the results of overcoming difficulties.

But there is another kind of danger, the danger connected with successes, the danger connected with achievements. Yes, yes, comrades, dangers connected with achievements, with successes. These dangers consist in the fact that among people little skilled in politics and not having seen much, the condition of successes—success after success, achievement after achievement, the over-fulfillment of plans after over-fulfillment of plans— gives rise to feelings of carelessness and self-satisfaction, creates an atmosphere of showy triumphs and mutual congratulations which kill the sense of proportion and dull political instinct, take the spring out of people and impel them to rest on their laurels.

It is not surprising that in this narcotic atmosphere of swelled-headedness and self-satisfaction, this atmosphere of showy demonstrations and loud self-praise, people forget some essential facts which are of first-grade significance for the fate of this our country: people begin to miss seeing such unpleasant facts as capitalist encirclement, the new forms of wrecking, the dangers connected with our successes, etc.

Capitalist encirclement? A mere bagatelle! What significance can some capitalist encirclement or other have if we fulfill and surpass our economic plans? The new forms of wrecking, the struggle against Trotskyism? Mere details! What significance can all these trifles have when we fulfill and surpass our economic plans? The Party statutes, the election of Party organs, the reporting of the Party leaders to the mass of the Party members— is there really any need for all this? Is it worth worrying about all these trifles at all if our economy grows

and the material situation of the workers and peasants becomes ever better and better? Mere details! We overfulfill the plans, our Party is not bad, the Central Committee of the Party is also not bad—what do we need? They are funny people sitting there in Moscow in the Central Committee of the Party. They invent some kind of questions, talk about some wrecking or other, don't sleep themselves and don't let other people sleep.

This an example plain to see of how easily and "simply" some of our inexperienced comrades are infected with political blindness as the result of a dizzying rapture in our economic successes.

Such are the dangers connected with successes with achievements.

Such are the reasons why our Party comrades are carried away by economic successes, have forgotten facts of an international and internal character which are of real importance for the Soviet Union, and have not noticed a whole series of dangers surrounding our country.

Such are the roots of our carelessness, forgetfulness, complacency, and political blindness.

Such are the roots of the shortcomings in our economic and Party work.

5: Our Tasks

How are we to liquidate the shortcomings in our work? What must be done in order to do this?

It is necessary to carry out the following measures:-

1. First and foremost, the attention of our Party comrades who get bogged down on "current questions" in one department or another must be turned towards the big political questions of both international and internal character.
2. The political work of our Party must be raised to the proper level, making the main task that of the political training and Bolshevik steeling of the Party, Soviet and economic cadres.
3. It should be explained to our Party comrades that the economic successes, the significance of which is undoubtedly very

great and which we shall also strive for in the future, day after day, year after year, are nevertheless not the whole of our socialist construction.

It should be explained that the seamy sides connected with economic successes and expressed in self-satisfaction, in carelessness, in the deadening of political intuition, can be liquidated only if economic successes are combined with the successes of Party construction and the developed political work of our Party.

It should be explained that economic successes themselves, their stability and duration, wholly and fully depend on the successes of Party organisational and Party political work, that without this condition economic successes may prove to be built on sand.

4. It should be remembered and never forgotten that as long as capitalist encirclement exists there will be wreckers, diversionists, spies, terrorists, sent behind the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the intelligence services of the foreign states; this should be remembered and a struggle should be carried on against those comrades who underestimate the significance of the fact of capitalist encirclement, who underestimate the strength and significance of wrecking.

It should be explained to our Party comrades that no economic successes whatsoever, no matter how great they are, can annul the fact of capitalist encirclement and the results arising therefrom.

The necessary measures must be taken to give our comrades, both Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, the possibility of getting acquainted with the aims and tasks, with the practice and technique of the wrecking, diversionist and espionage work of the foreign intelligence services.

5. It should be explained to our Party comrades that the Trotskyites, who represent the active element in the diversionist and wrecking and espionage work of the foreign intelligence services, have already long ceased to serve any idea compatible with the interests of the working class that they have turned into a gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies, assassins, without principles and ideas, working for the foreign intelligence services.

It should be explained that in the struggle against contemporary Trotskyism, not the old methods, the methods of discussion, must be used, but new methods, methods of smashing and uprooting it.

6. The difference between the present-day wreckers and the wreckers of the Shakhty period should be explained to our Party comrades. It should be explained to them that whereas the wreckers of the Shakhty period misled our people in the sphere of technique, utilising their technical backwardness, the present-day wreckers with Party cards in their possession deceive our people by utilising the political trust shown towards them as party members, utilising the political carelessness of our people.

To the old slogan of the mastery of technique which corresponded to the Shakhty period there must be added the new slogan calling for the political training of cadres, the mastery of Bolshevism and the liquidation of our political trustfulness, a slogan which fully corresponds to the present period we are passing through.

The question may be asked: was it not possible ten years ago, at the time of the Shakhty period, to advance both slogans simultaneously, i.e. the first slogan regarding the mastery of technique and the second slogan regarding the political training of cadres? No, it was not possible. Things are not done that way in the Bolshevik Party. At the turning points of the revolutionary movement, some basic slogan is always advanced as the key slogan in order, by catching on to it, to draw in the whole chain. That is what Lenin taught us: find the main link in the chain of our work, lay hold of it, draw it in, in order through it to draw in the whole chain and go forward. The history of the revolutionary movement shows that this is the only correct tactic.

In the Shakhty period, the weakness of our people lay in their technical backwardness. Technical questions and not political ones were our weak spots at that time. As far as our political attitude towards the wreckers of that time was concerned, it was perfectly clear that it was the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards politically alien people. We liquidated this technical weakness of ours by advancing the slogan regarding the mastery of technique and by educating tens & hundreds of thousands of technically steered Bolshevik cadres during the past period.

It is a different question now when we have technically developed

Bolshevik cadres and when the part of wreckers is played not by openly alien people in the possession of technical superiority over our own people, but by people in possession of Party membership cards and enjoying all the rights of Party membership. The weakness from which our people suffer now is not technical backwardness, but political carelessness, blind faith in people who come by chance into possession of Party membership cards, the failure to check up on people not according to the political declarations they make, but according to the results of the work they do. The key question now facing us is not the liquidation of the technical backwardness of our cadres, but the liquidation of the political carelessness and political trustfulness in wreckers who have by chance obtained possession of Party membership cards.

Such is the fundamental difference between the key question in respect to the struggle for cadres in the period of the Shakhty days and the key question of the present period.

That is why ten years ago we could and should not have issued both the slogans together, namely, the one regarding the mastery of technique and the one regarding the political training of cadres.

This is why the old slogan of the mastery of technique must now be supplemented by the new slogan of the mastery of Bolshevism, the political training of cadres and the liquidation of our political carelessness.

7. We must destroy and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make the class struggle here of necessity would die down more and more, and that in proportion as we achieve success the class enemy would become more and more tractable.

This is not only a rotten theory but a dangerous one, for it lulls our people, leads them into a trap, and makes it possible for the class enemy to rally for the struggle against the Soviet government.

On the contrary, the further forward we advance, the greater the successes we achieve, the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the broken exploiting classes, the sooner will they resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more will they seek to harm the Soviet state and the more will they clutch at the most desperate means of struggle, as the last resort of doomed people.

It should be borne in mind that the remnants of the broken classes in the U. S. S. R. are not alone. They have the direct support of our enemies

beyond the bounds of the U. S. S. R. . It would be a mistake to think that the sphere of the class struggle is limited to the bounds of the U. S. S. R. . While one end of the class struggle has its operation within the bounds of the U. S. S. R. , its other stretches to the bounds of the bourgeois states surrounding us. The remnants of the broken classes cannot but be aware of this. And precisely because they are they will continue their desperate assaults in the future.

This is what history teaches us. This is what Leninism teaches us.

We must remember all this and be on our guard.

8. We must destroy and cast aside another rotten theory according to which the individual who is not always engaged in wrecking and who even occasionally shows successes in his work cannot be a wrecker.

This strange theory exposes the naivete of its authors. No wrecker will engage in wrecking all along the line if he wants to avoid being exposed in the shortest possible time. On the contrary, the real wrecker has from time to time to show successes in his work, for this is his only means of keeping himself going as a wrecker, of winning the confidence of people and of continuing his wrecking work.

I think that the question is clear and requires no further explanation.

9. We must destroy and cast aside the third rotten theory, to the effect that the systematic fulfilment of economic plans reduces wrecking and its consequences to nought.

Such a theory can only have one purpose, namely, to titillate the self-esteem of our departmental officials, to lull them and to weaken their struggle against wrecking.

What is the meaning of "the systematic fulfilment of our economic plans?"

First, it has been proved that all our economic plans are below normal because they do not take account of the tremendous reserves and possibilities lying hidden in our national economy.

Second, the general fulfilment of the economic plans by the commissariats as a whole does not mean that the plans are also fulfilled by certain very important branches. On the contrary, the facts go

to show that quite a number of commissariats, which fulfill or even more than fulfill the economic plans for the year, systematically fail to fulfill the plans in several very important branches of the national economy.

Third, there can be no doubt that had the wreckers not been exposed and thrown out, the position in respect to the fulfillment of economic plans would have been far worse. This is something which the shortsighted authors of the theory under review need to remember.

Fourth, the wreckers usually adapt the main part of their wrecking work not to the peace-time period, but to that of the eve of war or of war itself. Suppose we were to lull ourselves with the rotten theory of "the systematic fulfillment of the economic plans", and were not to touch the wreckers. Do the authors of this rotten theory appreciate what a tremendous amount of harm the wreckers would do to our country in case of war, if we were to allow them to remain inside the body of our national economy, sheltered by the rotten theory of "the systematic fulfillment of economic plans?"

Is it not clear that the theory of "the systematic fulfillment of economic plans" is a theory advantageous to the wreckers?

10. We must destroy and cast aside the fourth rotten theory to the effect that the Stakhanov movement is the chief means for liquidation of the wrecking.

This theory has been invented so as to divert the blow from the wreckers with a noise of chatter about Stakhanov workers and the Stakhanov movement.

In his report, Comrade Molotov quoted a whole number of facts which go to show how the Trotskyite and non-Trotskyite wreckers in the Kuznets and Don Basins abused the confidence of our politically careless comrades, systematically led the Stakhanov workers a dance, placed spokes in their wheels so to speak, artificially created a whole number of obstacles preventing their working successfully and finally succeeded in disorganizing their work.

What could the Stakhanov workers do alone if the way capital construction was carried on by the wreckers in the Don Basin, let us say, led to a gap between the slowly moving preparatory work of

coal mining and all the other fields of the work?

It is not clear that the Stakhanov movement itself is in need of our effective aid against all the various machinations of the wreckers so as to speed things on and to fulfill its great mission? Is it not clear that the struggle against wrecking, for its liquidation, and the gaining of the upper hand over wrecking is the necessary condition for the Stakhanov movement to blossom out to the full?

I think that this question is also clear and in no need of further comment.

11. We must destroy and cast aside the fifth rotten theory to the effect that the Trotskyite wreckers possess no more reserve, that they are mustering their last reserves.

This is untrue, comrades. Only naive people could invent such a theory. The Trotskyite wreckers have their reserves. These consist first and foremost of the remnants of the smashed exploiting classes in the U. S. S. R. They consist of a whole number of groups and organisations beyond the bounds of the U. S. S. R. and hostile to the Soviet Union.

Take, for example, the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary Fourth International, two-thirds of which is made up of spies and subversive agents. Isn't this a reserve? Is it not clear that this International of spies will select forces to do the spying and wrecking work of the Trotskyites?

Or take, for example, the group of the rascal Sheflo in Norway who provided a haven for the arch-spy Trotsky and helped him to do harm to the Soviet Union. Isn't this group a reserve? Who can deny that this counter-revolutionary group will continue in the future to render services to the Trotskyite spies and wreckers?

Or take, for example, the Souvarine group in France, a group of rascals like Sheflo. Isn't this a reserve? Can it be denied that this group of scoundrels will also help the Trotskyites in their espionage and wrecking work against the Soviet Union?

All these ladies and gentlemen from Germany, all the Ruth Fischers, Maslovs and Urbans who have sold themselves body and soul to the fascists-- aren't they reserves for the espionage and wrecking work of the Trotskyites?

Or take, for example, the well-known gang of American writers headed by the notorious racketeer Eastman, all these gangsters of the pen who live by slandering the working class of the Soviet Union-- aren't they reserves for Trotskyism?

No, the rotten theory that the Trotskyites are mastering their last forces must be cast aside.

12. Finally, we must destroy and cast aside still another rotten theory to the effect that since we Bolsheviks are many while the wreckers are few; since we Bolsheviks have the support of tens of millions of people while the Trotskyite wreckers can be numbered in tens and units, then we Bolsheviks can afford to pay no attention to such a handful of wreckers.

This is incorrect, comrades. This more than strange theory has been invented so as to bring solace to certain of our leading comrades who have failed in their work by reason of their inability to carry out a struggle against the wrecking, to lull their vigilance and to make it possible for them to sleep in peace.

It is, of course, true, that the Trotskyite wreckers have the support of isolated individuals, while the Bolsheviks have the support of tens of millions of people. But it by no means follows from this that the wreckers are not able to inflict serious damage on us. It does not at all need a big number of people to do harm and to cause damage. Tens of thousands of workers have to be set to work to build a Dnieprostroy, but it requires not more than a few dozen men to blow it up. Several Red Army corps may be necessary to win a battle during war time. But it needs only a few spies somewhere in the army headquarters or even in a divisional staff to steal the plan of operations and to pass it on to the enemy for this gain to be lost. Thousands of people are required to build a big railway bridge but a few people are sufficient to blow it up. Tens of thousands of such examples could be quoted.

Consequently, we must not comfort ourselves with the fact that we are many, while they, the Trotskyite wreckers, are few.

We must bring about a situation where there is not a single Trotskyite wrecker left in our ranks.

This is how the matter stands with the question of how to liquidate the shortcomings in our work, common to all our organisations, economic and Soviet administrative and Party. Such are the measures necessary for the liquidation of these shortcomings.

We have just outlined the main defects in our work, including

coal mining and all the other fields of the work?

It is not clear that the Stal-22- movement itself is in need of our

As regards the Party organisations in particular and the defects in their work, the measures necessary to liquidate these shortcomings are stated in sufficient detail in the draft resolution submitted for your consideration. I therefore think there is no need to enlarge here on this aspect of the question.

I would like to say just a few words on the question of political training and raising the level of our party cadres.

I think that if we are able, if we succeed in giving ideological training to our Party cadres from top to bottom and steeling them politically so that they can find their bearings with ease in the internal and international situation, if we succeed in making of them fully mature Leninists and Marxists capable of solving the questions of the leadership of the country without making serious mistakes, then we can thereby solve nine-tenths of all our tasks.

How do things stand with regard to the leading forces of our Party?

In our Party, if we have in mind its leading strata, there are about 3,000 to 4,000 first rank leaders whom I call our Party's corps of generals.

Then there are 30,000 to 40,000 middle rank leaders who are our party's corps of officers.

Then there are about 100,000 to 150,000 of the lower rank Party command staff who are, so to speak, our Party's non-commissioned officers.

The task is to raise the ideological level and political vigor of these command cadres and to introduce among them fresh forces awaiting promotion, and thus expand the ranks of our leading cadres.

What does this require?

First and foremost, we must make the proposal to our Party leaders beginning with secretaries of our Party units to the secretaries of regional and republican Party organizations to select, during a definite period, two individuals, two Party functionaries each capable of being able to act as their effective deputies.

The question may be asked: Where are we to get these two deputies for each one, if we have no such people, no workers who corres-

... who live by slandering the working class of the Soviet Union -- ... they reserves or Trotskyism?

pond to these requirements? This is incorrect, comrades. We have tens of thousands of capable and talented people. It only needs to know them and to promote them in time so that they should not remain in their old places too long and begin to rot. Seek and ye shall find.

Further, four-month Party courses must be established in each regional centre to give secretaries of units Party training and to re-equip them. The secretaries of all primary Party organizations (units) should be sent to these courses and then when they finish them and return home their deputies and the most capable members of the primary Party organizations should be sent to these courses.

Further, to equip politically the first secretaries of the district organizations, eight-month Lenin courses must be established in the U. S. S. R., in, say, ten of the most important centres.

The first secretaries of district and regional Party organizations should be sent to these courses, and then when they finish them and return home their deputies and the most capable members of the district and regional organizations should be sent there.

Further, six-month courses for the study of history and the Party's policy under the central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must be set up to achieve the ideological re-equipment and political improvement of secretaries of the town Party organizations. The first and second secretaries of town Party organizations should be sent to these courses and then when they have finished them and return home the most capable members of the town Party organizations should be sent there.

Finally, a six-month conference on questions of internal and international policy under the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. must be established.

The first secretaries of divisional and provincial organizations and the Central Committee of the national Communist Parties should be sent here. These comrades should provide not one but several persons really capable of replacing the leaders of the Central Committee of our Party. This should and must be done.

I conclude, comrades.

We have thus outlined the main defects in our work, including

those which are common to all our organizations, economic, administrative and Party, and also those which are specifically peculiar to Party organizations only — defects made use of by the enemies of the working-class for their diversionist and wrecking, espionage and terrorist work.

We have further outlined the chief measures to be taken to render harmless and liquidate the diversive, wrecking, espionage and terrorist assaults of the Trotskyite fascist agents of the foreign intelligence services.

The question arises: Can we carry through all these measures, do we possess all the necessary possibilities for this? Undoubtedly we can. We can, because we have at our disposal all the means necessary for the realization of these measures.

What do we lack? We lack only one thing: the readiness to liquidate our own carelessness, our own complacency, our own political shortsightedness.

There is the rub. Cannot we who have overthrown capitalism, in the main built socialism, and raised aloft the great banner of world communism, get rid of this ridiculous and idiotic disease?

We have no reason to doubt that we shall certainly get rid of it, given, of course, that we will it. We will get rid of it, not just in an ordinary manner but in a Bolshevik fashion, in real fashion.

And when we get rid of this idiotic disease, we can say with complete confidence that we fear no enemies from within or without, we fear none of their assaults, we shall shatter them in the future as we are doing now and as we have done in the past.

We have also outlined the main defects in our work, including

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WORK, (Aug. 1968).

For publications, please write to:
The Internationalists, Trinity College, Dublin, 2, Ireland.

Title: Mastering Bolshevism

Organisation: The Internationalists

Date: 1968

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