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**Leninist
standards
of
party life**

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The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU expressed the determined will of the Party to develop and to observe rigorously the Leninist standards of Party life and Party leadership; it called upon Party organisations and all Communists to adhere to them strictly in all their activities.

In this book the authors present the essence of the standards and principles of Party life elaborated by Lenin, and their role in the work of the Party. They have also generalised the experience gained in the practical application of these standards and principles by Party organisations.

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ЛЕНИНСКИЕ НОРМЫ ПАРТИЙНОЙ ЖИЗНИ

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AS LENIN TAUGHT

Introduction. Party of a New Type. Increasing Role of the CPSU. Standards of Party Life.

The founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, scientifically proved the necessity for the working class to have its own independent party to fulfil the organisational and leading role in its struggle for emancipation. They showed that the proletariat cannot establish its political rule without a revolutionary party. "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day," wrote Engels, "it must—and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party."¹

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* they substantiated important propositions concerning the party of the proletariat as its vanguard, as the most revolutionary, theoretically prepared and politically steered detachment of the working class, having as its aim the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

With the clarity of genius, Marx and Engels set the workers' party these tasks: the formation of an army of the proletariat, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the capture of political power by the proletariat, and the building of a communist society.

Marx and Engels emphasised that a Communist Party expresses the interests of the proletariat as a whole, irrespective of what nation it belongs to, that in its spirit it is an internationalist party calling for the unity of the proletariat of all countries in their joint struggle against exploiters.

The leaders of the proletariat described the essence of the mutual relations that should exist between a workers' party and the working class. They defined the characteristics

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 409.

of Communists, noting such qualities as theoretical preparedness, knowledge of the historical conditions of the struggle waged by the working class, and the capacity to analyse a situation. To use their own words: "The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."¹

Marx and Engels advocated placing high demands on the members of workers' parties. While putting before them the task of actively drawing in new members, they at the same time warned against choking the Party with unsuitable people, unstable elements, representatives of alien classes; they insisted on strengthening the proletarian character of the nucleus of a party in every possible way. They showed the need to develop the initiative and activity of Party members, and inner-Party democracy, including criticism and self-criticism.

In their theoretical works, as in their practical activity, Marx and Engels paid great attention to the training of new Party members, to the unity and solidarity of Communists, to conscious Party discipline. Their pronouncements concerning the need to hold aloft the title of Communist, and to maintain the purity of the moral features, and the authority, of every Party member, still ring clearly in our ears today.

The first embryo of an independent political party of the working class, the prototype of the present-day Communist Parties, was the Communist League founded by Marx and Engels in 1847. Marx and Engels were the organisers and leaders of the First International (the International Working Men's Association)—the first international revolutionary mass organisation of the proletariat in history.

The International Working Men's Association did a great deal to help the working-class movement of different countries spread the ideas of scientific communism and train pro-

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works* (in one volume), Moscow, 1968, p. 46.

letarian leaders. The First International laid the foundations for an international organisation of the working class based on the ideological and organisational principles of a party of Communists.

Inheriting the experience of the Communist League and the First International, the Russian Marxists headed by Lenin organised the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

"Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia!"¹ rang the words of Lenin after the centre of the revolutionary movement had shifted from Western Europe to Russia.

Lenin saw that Russia was the weakest link in the system of imperialism, that it was a knot of all its contradictions. Conditions were being created in Russia for a revolutionary explosion against tsarism and the rule of capital. In order to head the fight of the working class and of all working people for social progress, and to lead that fight along the path of victorious revolution, it was necessary to have a proletarian party.

The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin in 1895, was the embryo of a Marxist party of the Russian proletariat, and for the first time combined the ideas of scientific communism with the working-class movement. However, the St. Petersburg League of Struggle and the social-democratic organisations that were formed following it in other cities of Russia, did not comprise a party, since they had no ideological and organisational links.

The formation of a mass workers' party was not achieved even at the First Congress of the RSDLP held in Minsk in the year 1898. That Congress, it is true, announced the creation of a party and that had a great political and revolutionary-propagandist significance. But in reality, no party was formed. The social-democratic organisations still lacked centralised leadership, unified tactics, a programme and party rules; there was no ideological or organisational unity. Moreover, when the nucleus of revolutionary Marxists led by Lenin were sent into exile, ideological vacillations in the local organisations of the RSDLP, and the influence of opportunist elements, increased.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 467.

In these difficult conditions, Lenin worked for the organisation of a Marxist party. To achieve this task, he assigned an important part to the all-Russia political paper *Iskra*. In the first issue of that paper, Lenin wrote that Russian Marxists could capture the fortress of tsarist autocracy that stood before them only when all the forces of the awakening proletariat were united "...with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party which will attract all that is vital and honest in Russia".¹

Exposing the opportunism of the "economists" who came out in support of spontaneity in the working-class movement, Lenin showed in his book *What Is To Be Done?* that the role of vanguard fighter could be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory. The whole book is imbued with the idea of the need to create a party to act as a leading and organisational force in the working-class movement.

Lenin pointed out that the working class could gain victory over the exploiters, and fulfil its historical tasks of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and constructing socialism and communism only under the leadership of a party of Communists, a party of a new type, different from the conciliatory parties of the Second International. It was necessary to have such a party, the vanguard of the working class, to unite the working people, to be their political leader in the struggle for power, and to direct all the forces and the energy of the masses towards the building of the new society—a party free from compromises, opportunism and dogmatism.

To the creation and to the strengthening of such a party, Lenin gave all his energies and genius as a revolutionary and Marxist theoretician and his great talent as an organiser of the proletariat. Basing himself on the conclusions of Marx and Engels, and taking into consideration the experience of the revolutionary movement in the new epoch, Lenin elaborated a complete and integrated body of thought on the Party. He worked out scientifically and carefully laid the organisational basis of the Communist Party.

Lenin showed that a Marxist party is a part of the working class—its *vanguard* detachment. "Our Party," said

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 371.

Lenin, "is a union of conscious, vanguard fighters for the liberation of the working class." But the Party must not be confused with the whole working class. The Party is only the vanguard of the working class, formed from the best sons and daughters of the working class, i.e., the most disciplined and selfless fighters, those who are dedicated to the revolutionary cause. The Party must contain only fighters, and not just anyone who wishes to join it. This distinction between the vanguard and the mass of the workers is unavoidable.

The working class, in its composition, is heterogeneous. It consists of men who possess various degrees of class consciousness and who have attained different levels of political maturity. So if the Party were to admit to its ranks all those who wished to join it, then it would dissolve itself in the mass of the working people and would be unable to fulfil the role of a vanguard that carries behind it the whole working class.

In order to be a true vanguard, the Party must consist only of the *conscious* vanguard detachment of the working class, it must deeply understand the objective laws of social development, it must know and be able to apply Marxist teachings creatively, and it must educate its members in the spirit of communism.

The Party is not only the advanced and conscious detachment of the working class, it is also its *organised detachment*. It embodies the solidarity of the working class and constitutes a strong organisation in which all its members are united in a single collective. Every Communist works under Party control and bears individual responsibility for the affairs of the whole Party.

Lenin expressed with absolute clarity and precision his view that nothing could be more organised than the Party, that the entire Party should accept and formally confirm organisational ideas. He wrote:

"The Party is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers.

"Is that possible? Can the strength of hundreds be greater than the strength of thousands?"

"It can be, and is, *when the hundreds are organised.*"

“Organisation increases strength tenfold. . . .

“The political consciousness of the advanced contingent is, incidentally, manifested in its ability to organise. By organising it achieves *unity of will* and this united will of an advanced thousand, hundred thousand, million *becomes* the will of the class.”¹

The proletariat is not afraid of organisation and discipline. Indeed, the whole life of the working class, its conditions of work and struggle have taught it to organise itself. That is why advanced workers place a high value on organisation. And organisation and political consciousness go hand in hand.

The Party can be a strong and united organisation only if it is built according to the principle of *democratic centralism*, with single rules, a single centre, and a single discipline, with the minority submitting to the majority, and lower units of the Party to higher ones.

Democratic centralism means that the Party combines centralism in leadership and discipline with the increasing development of initiative among Party members. Without this, the Party cannot be really revolutionary; it cannot lead the class struggle of the proletariat, nor build a new society.

A united and centralised Party is unthinkable without *discipline*. Organisation and discipline are closely connected; strong organisation is impossible without strict discipline. Freedom of discussion and criticism, with unity of action—that was how Lenin defined discipline in a workers' party. Once a decision is taken, all members of the Party are bound to act as one man. Genuine unity of the Party is not merely ideological unity, but also organisational unity, involving a single discipline binding on all members.

The Party is not a political organisation isolated from the masses. It is *the embodiment of the connections of the vanguard with the mass of the people*. The Party has close links with the working class, with all working people; and it displays constant concern for these links so that they may be multiplied and strengthened all the time.

In its policy and in all its activity, the Party proceeds from the fact that the real creators of history, the decisive

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 406.

forces of social development, are the working people. There is nothing which the Party values more than the confidence and support of the people. If the Party's strength lies in its links with the people, then the people's strength lies in the leadership of the Party.

From this follows the unceasing concern of the Party to multiply and to consolidate its links with non-Party people, to value the confidence of the people, to fight resolutely against any kind of sectarianism which could isolate the Party from the people, and, at the same time, to come out decisively against attempts to dissolve the Party in the people.

As the vanguard of the people, the Party is called upon to train and enlighten the people, "...expressing *their* interests, teaching them organisation and directing *all* the activities of the masses along the path of conscious class politics".¹ That is why the Party, i.e., all Communists, must constantly carry out ideological-educational work among the working people, must take into consideration their moods, must consult them, develop their initiative, and work with them regularly so as to verify at every step that the Party's links with them are maintained and in order to gauge how strong these links are.

The Party can strengthen itself, and its links with the masses can multiply, only if it implements the principles of *inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism*. The whole of inner-Party life is directed to drawing into active work large sections of Party members. The Party develops in every possible way the activity and the initiative of Communists and their individual responsibility for the affairs of the Party.

A most important condition for the success of the Party consists in that it boldly criticises its shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes. The Party cannot fulfil its role of leader of the working class and all working people if it is afraid to admit its mistakes openly and honestly, or if it cannot correct them in time.

The ideological and organisational *unity of the Party* is a firm Leninist principle. Of course, this does not mean just any kind of unity. Lenin always spoke out strongly against

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 409.

unity in the sense of a reconciliation between revolutionary and opportunist lines. He stressed that unity is possible and necessary only on a consistently Marxist basis.

The proletariat has various social institutions: trade unions, co-operatives, youth and cultural organisations. The Party is called upon to lead all of them, to help them in working out the correct political line, and to direct their activities. It is the Party's duty to lead these organisations because the Party is the most perfected, the *highest form of working-class organisation*, and has in its ranks the most advanced and the most conscious representatives of the proletariat and all working people.

Political leadership is a science as well as an art. It demands great skill, the capacity to quickly choose and change forms of struggle. It is therefore understandable that the role of political leader can be fulfilled only by the Party as the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: "We are the party of a class, and therefore *almost the entire class* ... should act under the leadership of our Party..."¹ He firmly came out against all attempts to reduce the role of the Party to a mere recorder of spontaneously developing events. He said that the mission, and the whole idea of the existence of the Party is to become actively involved in life, to mould the consciousness of the working class and all working people, to permanently lead the revolutionary struggle of the masses for the victory of the new social order.

As the people's movement expands, so the real character of the various classes is unfolded more and more, and it becomes ever more vital for the *Party* to lead the working class, to be its organiser and not just to trail at the tail of events.

The CPSU is built and conducts all its work upon the principles of *proletarian internationalism*. Its militant slogan today is still the call: "Workers of all countries, unite!" The CPSU actively fights for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the international communist movement.

Such are the CPSU organisational principles elaborated by Lenin.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 260.

The emergence of the world's first Marxist Party based on the Leninist organisational foundations signified a radical turn not only in the history of the Russian but also the international working-class movement.

The beginning of the new epoch in the life of mankind, the transition from capitalism to socialism, is inseparably connected with the heroic history of the CPSU. The Party guides the construction of communism in the Soviet Union; it exerts a gigantic influence on the whole course of world history. The rich experience of the CPSU—the Party of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the leading force of the first socialist society in history—is of great international significance.

The CPSU firmly unites the working-class movement with socialism, follows the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, and creatively develops and applies it in the new historical conditions.

The CPSU is the leading and guiding force of socialist society; it is the political leader of the entire Soviet people. As stated in the Party Rules: "*It directs the great creative activity of the Soviet people, and imparts an organised, planned and scientifically-based character to their struggle to achieve the ultimate goal, the victory of communism.*"¹

History has seen a large number of political parties. There are many of them today. In Europe alone, for example, there are over a hundred parties. In these parties, groups of men unite to achieve certain aims. They belong to a class, expressing and defending its interests, leading its struggle. The role of a party is determined by those tasks and aims which are set it by a given class.

Every action of a party is judged by life. Failing to withstand the test of time, many political associations have disappeared from the scene without trace. Others struggle on vainly attempting to survive in the political arena, and still having pretensions to lead mass movements. But it is only the parties of the working class, the parties of Communists that are growing and gaining strength.

There have been and there are many parties. But there was no party which traversed a path equal to the historical

¹ *The Road to Communism*, Moscow, 1961, p. 597.

path of the CPSU which has become the genuinely transforming force of our society.

History has shown that the proletariat not only needs a party to capture political power; it is no less necessary in the period of the direct construction of socialism and communism. While up to the time of the revolution, as Lenin observed, the whole Party reminded one of the then agitation and propaganda Party committees, i.e., it dealt mainly with the work of propaganda and agitation among the masses, it afterwards became the ruling party, bearing the responsibility for the fate of the country, for the leadership of all aspects of the life of society.

The path of the pioneers was not easy, nor was it devoid of mistakes. But one thing is clear: the general line of the CPSU, at all stages, was correct. Socialist industrialisation, the collectivisation of agriculture, the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country, the raising of the material well-being of the people, the cultural revolution, the education of the new man—all these transformations were possible thanks to the leadership of the Party. Following the behests of Lenin, the Soviet people built socialism. And when the menace of fascist enslavement hung over them, it was precisely the Party of Lenin which headed the titanic struggle of the people for the honour and independence of their Motherland, which organised the people for the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The full-scale construction of communism is a qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet society and in the activity of the Party. The Party is now concentrating the will and the energy of the whole people on the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

The strength of the Communist Party lies in its close, indissoluble links with the people; it lies in its boundless devotion to the working class and all working people, and in the fact that it has in its ranks the best from the working class, from the people. The strength of the Party derives from the fact that it scientifically expresses the needs of historical development, and that it remains true to Marxism-Leninism, and creatively applies and enriches this great revolutionary theory. The strength of the Party, the guarantee of its success, lies in its allegiance to Leninist organisa-

tional principles, in the creative activity and initiative of all Party organisations, and in the high responsibility of every Communist for the cause of the Party.

The people consider the policy of the Party to be correct and devote all their strength to translating it into life. This, more convincingly than anything else, confirms the growing role of the Party as the highest form of socio-political organisation of the people, and its increasing influence upon all aspects of the social life of the country.

The Programme of the CPSU gives a scientific explanation of this increase in the role of the Party. It results from:

- the increasing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, demanding a greater degree of political and organisational leadership;

- the upsurge in the creative activity of the masses, and the drawing of millions of working people into the management of state affairs and production;

- the further development of socialist democracy, the increase in the role of social organisations, and the extension of the rights of Union republics and local organisations;

- the increasing importance of the theory of scientific communism, its creative development and propaganda, the need to intensify the communist education of working people and the struggle against the survivals of the past in the consciousness of men.

The growth in the role of the CPSU at the present stage is also due to the complex international situation, the special responsibility of the Party and the country for the strengthening of peace and social progress, and for the defence and consolidation of the great socialist camp.

The Party views the increase in its role as an increase in its responsibility before the people—since the Party is their *political leader, organiser, ideological leader and educator*.

The working people have convinced themselves from their own experience that the CPSU serves the interests of the people, that the welfare of the working people is its first concern. The Party builds its policy and practical activity on a scientific basis by taking into account the experience of the masses and their collective reason. It ensures the

correct leadership of the entire work of the construction of communism; it imparts to this work an organised, planned character.

The CPSU Programme and the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress have shown the clear path of transition from socialism to communism, defined the concrete methods and means for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, for the transformation of socialist relations into communist relations.

The tasks of communist construction demand further perfection of the style and methods of Party leadership, and more intense organisational and ideological work among the masses. In order to ensure the all-round advance of economy, science and culture, and to consistently implement the principles of socialist management and the new methods of planning and economic stimulation of production—as elaborated by the March and September plenary meetings (1965) of the CC CPSU—it became necessary to raise Party work to a new, higher level.

In the solution of economic and cultural problems, a competent, business-like approach is gaining an ever greater foothold in Party work. As never before the need has arisen to make conscious use of the methods of analysis and generalisation while retaining singleness of purpose. Only on the basis of the deep analysis and generalisation of the concrete conditions, processes and phenomena of social life, can Party organisations succeed in evaluating situations objectively, and in determining correctly the main tasks, and concentrating the efforts of Communists and all working people on them. It is not enough in the modern age to rely on feelings and intuitions; it is necessary to be able to determine what is really important and basic in any situation, and to find the right paths for the solution of set tasks. It is not enough to have only the desire to raise the level of leadership; it is necessary to find out more effective ways and means to achieve assigned aims, thus unifying political and economic leadership.

Lenin often pointed out the impermissibility of separating the leadership of the economy from politics. Inability to connect current practical problems with basic political work inevitably leads to loss of perspective and narrow-mindedness. In order to lead the economy, it is necessary to have a

political approach to the solution of economic problems. This means that in solving economic problems one should begin from Party policy, from the perspective of the development ahead— one should look forwards not backwards, taking into account the over-all interests of the country, and resolutely fighting against narrow departmental and parochial tendencies.

Life teaches that the stability of economic successes depends upon the scope of political Party work. And the latter, in its turn, yields positive results only when it is closely linked with life, with the solution of the practical tasks of economic construction.

In this connection Lenin said: "We must devote our attention to business and not to resolutions. Under the bourgeois system, business matters were managed by private owners and not by state agencies; but now, business matters are our common concern. These are the politics that interest us most."¹

Party committees are organs of political leadership. Methods adopted by Party organisations for the solution of economic and other problems are different from those adopted by Soviet or economic organisations. The former do not take upon themselves the administrative functions of economic organisations. But neither can they stand aside from leading economic construction; they bear responsibility for it and must act, using their own Party methods.

Lenin repeatedly warned that it is impermissible to mix the functions of Party collectives with those of state departments, to deprive Soviet organs of their individual responsibility and to try to take their place. In the various decisions of the Party, this idea has always been underlined. One may recall here the resolution of the Eleventh Party Congress, whose proceedings were conducted by Lenin. There, it is stated: "Under no circumstances must the Party organisations interfere in the current, day-to-day work of economic bodies, and must always refrain from issuing administrative orders in the field of work of the Soviets. Party organisations must direct the activity of economic bodies, but in no case try to substitute for them or deprive them of their functions. Absence of strict delimitation of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 430.

functions and incompetent interference lead to the absence of strict and exact responsibility of each one for the assigned job, and increase bureaucratism in the very Party organisations which attempt to do everything but succeed in doing nothing....”¹

Party leadership lies in the execution of political and organisational, and not administrative, functions.

The CPSU Rules confirm this in the following directive: “Party organisations must not act in place of government, trade union, co-operative or other public organisations of the working people; they must not allow either the merging of the functions of Party and other bodies or undue parallelism in work.”²

The Party concentrates its attention on economic and cultural questions by always striving to perfect its organisational and political-educational work, by selecting and training cadres properly, by conducting systematic work control, by developing criticism and self-criticism, and by giving no quarter to anything that is stagnant, outgrown or a brake on forward movement.

For the successful solution of assigned tasks one must be able to take a great share of responsibility, be business-like, examine situations calmly and realistically without allowing oneself to be hypnotised by high-sounding phrases, and assess the real possibilities as well as the difficulties, the successes as well as the shortcomings. A thoughtful and thorough approach to any problem, the ability to be guided by all-sided analysis, to evaluate critically the results of one’s activity, and to have a considerate and attentive attitude to people—these should form the style of work of Party organisations, of all Communists.

The most important condition for the successful fulfilment of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party is the undeviating implementation of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of collective leadership.

What are the Leninist standards and principles of Party life?

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of the Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, Part I, Moscow, 1954, pp. 627-28 (in Russian).*

² *The Road to Communism, p. 613.*

At the dawn of Bolshevism in Russia, Lenin wrote that the normal activity of the Party and the successful struggle to translate its policies into life is impossible "...without the collective elaboration of certain *forms and rules for the conduct of affairs*, without the establishment ... of every Party member's *responsibility* to the entire Party".¹ Such forms and rules for conducting Party affairs were worked out by Lenin and his associates in the period of the formation of the Party and were entered into the Party Rules adopted at the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

The Leninist standards of Party life are the *main guiding rules which define the forms of Party organisation, its inner life and its methods of activity*. They deal with all that is connected with the rights and obligations of Party members and Party organisations, the character of mutual relations between Communists and Party committees, the procedures for the formation of leading Party organs, the organisational structure of the Party and other aspects of Party life. They are based on scientific principles—the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the revolutionary party—and are intimately connected with the aims and tasks of the Party.

Embodied in the CPSU Rules these standards assume the character of *laws binding* on all Party organisations and all Communists. Lenin wrote that the Party Rules are "...the general decision concerning the forms and guiding rules of Party organisation ... the collectively adopted Rules of organisation".²

The principles of Party leadership are science-based propositions containing the essence of the Leninist teaching about the leading role of the Communist Party. They include: democratic centralism as an organisational principle of Party building and the Party's practical activity; collective leadership as the highest principle of Party leadership; the selection of cadres and the verification of task fulfilment as the main content of the Party's organisational work; the unity of theory and practice, and of organisational and ideological work; the Party leadership of the mass organisations of the working people; and others.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 219.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 58.

The Leninist standards of Party life have withstood the test of time. In the process of the development of the Party, they have been improved, enriched, brought into accord with the situations in which the Party was obliged to act and with the tasks which followed from them. But the fundamental organisational principles of the Party, and their organic unity with ideological principles, have remained unchanged.

The correctness of these principles, and their great vitality have been confirmed by the entire experience of the Party. The Leninist principles and standards of inner-Party life make the CPSU a militant force, united ideologically, organisationally and tactically in its day-to-day activity.

The Leninist standards and principles of Party life are embodied in the Rules of the CPSU. The Party Rules and the Party Programme are the most important documents of the Party. While the Party Programme provides the scientific basis for the main tasks and aims of the Party, for its strategy and tactics during the contemporary stage of historical development, and is the foundation for the *ideological* unity of the Party, the Party Rules define the organisational principles of Party building, the standards of inner-Party life, the forms and methods of its practical activity, and are the foundation of the *organisational* unity and solidarity of the Party ranks.

The Party Rules state what the Communist Party is, what its role in the life of the country is, who is admitted to the Party and how, what the obligations and rights of Party members are, what the structure of the Party is, from the primary Party organisations up to and including the Central Committee and the Congress, and how the Party must carry out its leadership of social and state organisations.

Obviously, the Party Rules lay down only the most important rules of inner-Party life. The Party Rules cannot foresee all requirements, all the details of the work of Party organisations. They establish only the main, basic rules, while the details of practical work are determined by other documents and decisions of the Party. However, all documents and decisions are based upon the Party Programme and the Party Rules.

The Rules of the CPSU reflect all the inner life of the Party, and all the basic forms of Party organisation. They are the basic law of Party life, the most powerful ideologi-

cal and organisational weapon of the Party, by which all Party organisations and all Communists are guided in their day-to-day activity. The most strict observation of this law ensures the correct organisation of the Party, creates that unity of action of all Communists without which the Party would not be able to fulfil the role of leader and organiser of the masses.

The Leninist standards of Party life are not something fixed and unchangeable. When faced with new tasks in a concrete historical situation, the Communist Party—while remaining unswervingly faithful to Marxism-Leninism in all questions of organisation and of theory—courageously changes its forms of organisation, gives them new content, and subordinates them to the solution of the new political tasks.

The Party perfects its organisational forms in a scientific way, applying Leninist Party principles. Changes in forms and methods of organisational work are determined by economic and political necessity, by practical expediency. They are made when life proves that old forms have exhausted themselves and are unsuited to new conditions.

Of course, a really creative search for new and better organisational forms has nothing in common with thoughtless, subjectivist decisions, with unjustified reorganisations. It was not without reason that Lenin regarded the passion for such reorganisations as extremely dangerous. He stressed that the crux of the matter does not lie in institutions, in new arrangements or in new directives, but in men—in the correct selection of cadres and in the verification of the fulfilment of task assignments.

From the moment of the formation of the CPSU, Leninist standards and principles of Party life have been the indisputable rules of its activity. The Party has always attached great importance to them. However, during Stalin's personality cult these fundamental standards were often disregarded. For example, Party congresses were not called for years on end, CC plenary meetings were irregularly held, one-man decisions were taken on important questions. All this had grave consequences. At its Twentieth Congress, after passing censure on the violations of the Leninist standards and principles of Party life, the CPSU decided to restore and strictly adhere to them in Party and state life,

In order to implement the decisions of the Twentieth Congress, the Party and its Central Committee did a great deal of work to liquidate the consequences of the cult of the individual, and to restore and develop the Leninist standards and principles of Party life. This found expression in the Programme and the Rules of the CPSU adopted at its Twenty-Second Congress.

“Undeviating observance of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership, enhancement of the responsibility of Party organs and their personnel to the Party rank and file, promotion of the activity and initiative of all Communists and of their participation in elaborating and realising the policy of the Party, and the development of criticism and self-criticism, are a law of Party life. This is an imperative condition of the ideological and organisational strength of the Party itself, of the unity and solidarity of Party ranks, of an all-round development of inner-Party democracy and an activation on this basis of all Party forces, and of the strengthening of ties with the masses.”¹

The October (1964) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU marked an important stage in the life of the Party and the country. It expressed the unbending will of the Party to develop and strictly observe the Leninist standards of Party life and principles of leadership. A great contribution to the development of inner-Party relations on the basis of Leninist principles was made by the Twenty-Third Congress.

The life of every Communist should be permeated with concern for the observance and consistent implementation of the Leninist standards of Party life and of the CPSU Rules. This should become the permanent cause of all Party members, and of every Party organisation. We should always remember the wise instructions of Lenin: “...the Party itself is *obliged* to see to it that its Rules are observed by its functionaries.... He who cannot demand *successfully* of his agents the discharge of their Party duties towards those who entrusted them is unworthy of the name of Party member.”²

¹ *The Road to Communism*, p. 584.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 224.

Generalising the experience of recent years, the Twenty-Third Party Congress introduced certain amendments into the CPSU Rules. These amendments supplement and develop the standards of Party life; they are intended to strengthen further the organisational basis of the Party.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union reached the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution armed with its rich experience in leadership of communist construction, and of the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The glorious fifty-year path traversed by the Party, and the work of its organisations during that period, equips the Party to tackle new tasks still better and more fruitfully, because the Party is a living political organism developing in inseparable connection with the processes of construction of the new society. The organic unity between science and politics is one of the most important principles of Party leadership.

The glorious path of struggle and achievement of the Leninist Party, its heroic experience in leading the construction of the new society, and its rich inner-Party life are all reflected in the theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU entitled "Fifty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution" adopted at the June (1967) CC Plenary Meeting. These theses are a political document of great importance for the further work of the CPSU, and for the international communist movement.

COMMUNIST—A TITLE OF HONOUR

**Party Membership. Careful Selection of New Members.
Requirements of the Party Rules. Obligations of a
Communist. Rights of a Party Member. Personal
Responsibility.**

The CPSU has always given great importance to the question of Party membership. This question was in the centre of attention of the Twenty-Third Congress, which considered that concern for the purity of Party ranks must become a law of Party life, and that every Communist must live up to and bear with dignity the high title of member of the CPSU.

Why is this? Above all, it is because with the great and complex tasks facing the Party at present, and with the political and labour activity of the masses greatly increased, the role and responsibility of every Party member is increasing.

And this is quite natural. The great responsibility before history which devolves on the CPSU, also presupposes a high sense of responsibility in each of its Party organisations and in all its members.

Today, these words of Lenin sound with a new force:

“We must strive to raise the title and the significance of a Party member higher, higher and still higher....”¹ These words express the basic Leninist principle of Party life—to constantly raise the title and significance of a Party member. This firm principle is reflected in the rigorously defined standards formulated in the Rules of the CPSU. These ensure the implementation of this basic Leninist principle in the practical life of Party organisations.

Raising the importance of the title of CPSU member is connected, first, with correct selection of new Party members, second, with increasing the responsibility of Party members, with strengthening Party discipline, and, third,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

with drawing all Communists into active day-to-day Party work and organising inner-Party life so that it gives scope for the display of initiative.

The Leninist principles of admission into the Party are the basis of its organisational structure. They ensure its proper establishment as a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party, its leading, organising role in all fields of work. The membership question is a *fundamental question* of Party building.

The Party's composition largely determines the policy which the Party pursues, the manner in which it is organised, the ways and methods which it employs to achieve its aims and to solve the problems that arise.

The CPSU is a party of revolutionary transformation of society. This fact is reflected in its composition. The Party can successfully fulfil its role of mass leader only if it takes into its ranks none but the most advanced, conscientious representatives of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia—those who are ready to merge their interests with the interests of the Party, to stand up to any difficulty, to overcome any obstacle.

Lenin pointed out repeatedly that the strength of the Party is determined not so much by the number of its members, as by their high qualities, adherence to Party principle, good organisation and discipline. The Party is a fortress opened only to the staunch revolutionary fighters for the rebuilding of society on communist principles, who submit their will to the will of the Party.

Lenin himself, and his loyal disciples and associates, conducted an uncompromising and persistent fight for the purity of the Party's ranks. At the Second Congress of the RSDLP there was a sharp controversy between Lenin and his comrades-in-arms on the one hand and the Mensheviks headed by Martov on the other concerning the first paragraph of the Party Rules, i.e., the question of Party membership.

That dispute was a matter of principle on the result of which depended the fate of the Party, the path of its development, the character of its activity, its future. The question was whether the Party should be a fighting party, a revolutionary, disciplined organisation, consisting of revolutionaries in action or whether it should remain a diffused amorphous association, devoid of any unity of will or action.

This question was reflected in the two formulations of the first paragraph of the Party Rules. The Leninist formulation ran thus:

"A party member is one who accepts the Party's programme and supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of its organisations."¹

The formulation of Martov was:

"A party member is one who accepts its programme, supports the Party financially, and renders it regular personal assistance under the guidance of one of its organisations."

It would appear that the difference between the two formulations is not large. In fact, however, they contain two diametrically opposed views regarding Party membership.

Martov and the Mensheviks considered that the acceptance of the Programme and financial support for the Party were the basic and sufficient conditions for Party membership. They proposed accepting into the Party all those who wished to join it, without binding them to membership of one of its organisations, without demanding of them Party discipline.

In the opinion of the Martovites, any striker, or any intellectual, had the right to consider himself a Party member even if he did not want to join one of the Party organisations. They advocated an "open door" policy, erasing the distinction between the Party and the working class, a policy which would have made it impossible for the Party to lead mass struggles, and would have led to the liquidation of the Party as the fighting vanguard of the working class.

The formulation of Lenin, accepted over sixty years ago at the Third Party Congress, has passed the severe test of time. The Leninist principles of Party membership have proved to be stable, vital and entirely correct.

Lenin demanded three compulsory conditions for Party membership: acceptance of the Programme, financial support for the Party (payment of membership dues), and personal participation in one of the Party organisations. His formulation reflected the essence of the party of the new type, its active, revolutionary character, its monolithic unity and its well-organised structure. It provided a foundation for the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 476.

unity of views and for the *active struggle* of Communists for these views, for the fulfilment of the Programme and the Rules. The words and the deeds of a Communist must not be at variance. A Party member is a fighter, as Lenin said, who is ever ready to carry out any task assigned by his organisation. Lenin viewed the Party as an organised whole, as a fighting, monolithic detachment. Every Party member must necessarily be a member of one of the Party organisations. This condition ensures his revolutionary training and high discipline, and the control and leadership of the Party over his activities. The Party is a harmonious system of Party organisations acting according to a single plan.

The Martovites wanted to turn the Party into a medley of individuals, an amorphous assembly of men. They said that the formulation of the Bolsheviks would close the doors of the Party to many people. Lenin's reply to such accusations was as follows: "It would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles!) than that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member."¹

In his statements at the Second Congress, in his work *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, and in a number of other writings, Lenin argued out the principles and standards of Party membership. Even so, depending upon historical circumstances, the conditions for membership of the Party have changed. This is natural. Nevertheless, the essence of the Leninist basic principles, the need to maintain the purity of the Party's ranks, has always been and remains the cornerstone of the organisational structure of the Party. Today, the CPSU and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by these principles.

In the present Party Rules, the Leninist principles are expressed as follows:

*"Membership of the CPSU is open to any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the Programme and the Rules of the Party, takes an active part in communist construction, works in one of the Party organisations, carries out all Party decisions, and pays membership dues."*²

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

² *The Road to Communism*, p. 598.

Let us examine the conditions for Party membership:

First condition—*acceptance of the CPSU Programme and Rules*. The Party Programme places as the main task the building of communist society in the USSR. That means, by accepting the Programme and the Rules, a Communist accepts as his duty the need to fight actively for the consolidation of the new social system, considering it as the cause of his life.

Hence the second condition for Party membership is *active participation in communist construction*. To build communism means to achieve daily successes at one's post in the development of production, science and culture; it means being a creator of new social relations, and participating in the communist education of working people.

The CPSU is a party of revolutionary action. It not only sets itself high aims, but also unflinchingly seeks to achieve them. Its main characteristic is unity of theory and practice, of words and deeds. And the Party demands the same from each of its members; it considers the active fight for Party policy to be the most important criterion of loyalty to the Party for one who deserves the high title of member of the Leninist Party today. The Party has no need for gasbags and braggarts whose words and deeds fail to match one another. Only conscientious untiring fighters for the ideas of the Party, for communism, deserve the high title of member of the CPSU.

The third necessary condition for Party membership is *work in one of the Party organisations and the implementation of Party decisions*. The Party is not an association of individuals, but a system of monolithically connected organisations. And it is inside these organisations, at factories and construction sites, in collective and state farms, in various establishments and educational institutions, that Communists work as organisers of the working people for the fulfilment of concrete tasks. Their strength lies in their collective, joint actions carried out hand-in-hand with their Party comrades.

The field of the social and Party activity of a Communist is, first of all, in the organisation to which he belongs. It is in the Party organisations that the advanced members of society are united and undergo political schooling, become ideological fighters, participate in discussing all ques-

tions of politics and the practical activity of the Party, and in elaborating and implementing Party decisions. The role of the primary Party organisations is particularly great in controlling the implementation by every Communist of the Party Programme and Rules.

The fourth, also indispensable, condition for Party membership is the timely *payment of Party dues*. The Party is a voluntary, self-sustaining organisation. Membership dues are its chief financial source. Therefore, everyone who joins the Party must regularly pay his membership dues, thereby providing material aid to the Party.

The payment of membership dues appears at first sight to be only an elementary duty of a Communist. However, it has a fundamental significance. If a person does not pay his dues regularly, it means he does not have respect for the Party, he lacks discipline, and there is no certainty that he would prove to be worthy of membership in a more difficult situation. It is worth recalling Kalinin's words in this connection, addressed to the Secretaries of Party organisations:

"...If you fall behind for a month or two in paying dues, it will not matter much to the Party, its treasury will not suffer. Our Party is not a poor party now.... The point is that if you fail to pay your Party dues on time, it means that you don't think about the Party, you are attending to your Party duties in a slipshod fashion. Anybody who adopts such an attitude to his Party duties, and what is more, to such simple, strictly organisational ones as the payment of dues, does not take the Party seriously. To anybody who thinks of the Party, the payment of Party dues is a source of satisfaction, because he thereby establishes material contact, as it were, with the Party, comes, so to speak, in touch with it."¹

It has become a practice in the Party, when a Communist fails to pay his Party dues for a period of three months without valid reasons, to discuss his case in his primary Party organisation. If it turns out that he has in fact lost contact with his Party organisation, the meeting then considers him to have left the ranks of the Party.

Such are the basic principles of Party membership.

¹ M. I. Kalinin, *On Communist Education*, Moscow, 1953, pp. 388-89.

Of course, not everyone is capable of being a member of the Communist Party. Not everyone can withstand the hardships and trials of a Party member, and bear the heavy responsibility of being a Communist.

The Party does not give Communists any kind of privileges; it only makes high demands of them. Addressing workers and peasants, Lenin once said: "Comrades, non-Party workers and labouring peasants, join the Party! We promise you no advantages from joining; it is hard work we are calling you to, the work of organising the state."¹

The highest duty of a Communist is to serve selflessly the cause of the working class, of all working people, to be boundlessly devoted to the ideals of communism. The Chairman of the Byelorussian Rassvet (Dawn) Collective Farm, a hero of the battles against the fascists in Spain, and at the front in the Great Patriotic War, K. P. Orlovsky, has well said:

"To be a Communist is a great thing; it is not for everyone to have that honour. A Communist is a person of a special mould for whom his duty constitutes the whole meaning of his life. A Communist can be killed, but to shake his faith in his sacred cause—impossible!"

To be a Party member means to merge one's desires and actions with the desires and actions of the Communist Party, to dedicate oneself completely to the struggle to put its policies and ideals into practice.

It is with such great demands that the Party approaches the selection of its members. Even at the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B) it was noted that the growth of the Party is progressive insofar as its ranks are replenished with advanced, stable, modest representatives of the working class and working people. The admission of people into the Party who do not possess these qualities does not strengthen, but on the contrary, weakens its ranks. Even isolated instances of people joining the Party who do not deserve to be called Communists, bring harm to the Party, undermine its prestige, and lower the fighting capacity of Party organisations.

Guided by the Leninist principles of individual selection, the CPSU constantly replenishes itself with advanced people

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 65.

from Soviet society. In recent years, Soviet people have become more and more desirous of linking their lives ideologically and organisationally with the Party, and joining its ranks. Here are some figures. In 1953 the number of candidate-members of the Party was 175,000, while in 1965 the corresponding figure was 735,000. In the four years between the Twenty-Second and the Twenty-Third Congresses, over three million people became candidate-members.

In selecting new members, local Party organisations should be very exacting. And this is usually the case. However, in some Party organisations, as was pointed out at the Twenty-Third Congress, the demands made of new members had been lowered and the principle of individual selection violated. As a result, there were not a few cases of poorly prepared, immature and even chance people getting into the Party.

Not long before this Party Congress, in its resolution of 20th July 1965, "Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Kharkov Regional Party Organisation Concerning Admissions to the Party and the Education of Young Communists", the Central Committee condemned violations of the principle of individual selection, and some slackening of the rules of admission to the CPSU; it pointed out the necessity of enhancing the responsibility of Party organisations and Communists in selecting new members to the Party.

Endorsing the measures adopted by the Central Committee, the Twenty-Third Party Congress made it incumbent on all Party organisations to be more attentive when admitting new members to the Party, to adhere most strictly to the principle of individual selection, and to see that, in strict conformity with Party Rules, only advanced and conscientious workers, collective farmers and intellectuals actively participating in communist construction are admitted into the Party.

The instruction of the Congress to the effect that in the social composition of the Party, the *leading* position should go to the *working class*, deserves special mention. This is the Party line on selecting new members, a line which it pursues firmly and consistently. Whereas between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Congresses workers accounted for 30 per cent of new candidate-members, between the Twen-

tieth and Twenty-Second Congresses they accounted for 40.6 per cent, and between the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Party Congresses, 47.6 per cent. Such a line is in accordance with the nature of the CPSU, and of the role and place of the working class in socialist society. In our country, the creation of the socio-political and ideological unity of the people does not mean lowering the leading role of the working class. As stated in the Programme of the CPSU, the working class, as the most advanced, organised force of Soviet society, is continuing to fulfil its leading role in the period of the full-scale construction of communism.

The reason for this is not only the fact that the working class constitutes a significant part of the people; more than that, its decisive place in social production derives as before from the fact that it is the most progressive and most influential force in society. The Leninist Party has been and remains the mouthpiece of the working class in its struggle for communist ideals.

Under present conditions there cannot be any special restrictions on admitting into the Party representatives of other social groups. At the same time one should not conclude from this that there is now no need for the Party and its organisations to exercise control over the qualitative composition of its new members. In the question of replenishing its ranks, as in any other question, the Party cannot let things take their own course. It controls the growth of its membership.

This means that along with *the most* advanced and conscientious representatives of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, the Party also enrolls the best engineers, designers, agronomists, technicians, teachers, etc., into its ranks. Specialists of various kinds constitute over two-thirds of the office employees admitted into the Party. The number of Party members among the intellectuals is also increasing.

The amendments to the Rules of the CPSU adopted at the Twenty-Third Congress are meant to improve further the qualitative composition of Party recruits, to heighten the role and the responsibility of Party organisations, and of every Communist, in selecting new members.

It was decided in particular that young people up to the

age of 23 years inclusive (and not up to 20 years, as earlier) could join the Party only through the Komsomol. Why this change? The previous rule was adopted at the Twelfth All-Russia Conference of the RCP(B) in August 1922. At that time the total number of Komsomol members was about 300,000. In many enterprises, and in the majority of villages and various institutions there was no Komsomol organisations. It was difficult, therefore, to demand that every person who wished to join the Party should have gone through the Komsomol schooling. The placing of a high age-limit on the admission of young people into the Party through the Komsomol would have restricted the growth of Party ranks, and narrowed the base for the selection of new members from among the better part of young workers and peasants.

Now the position is quite different. The Komsomol has in its ranks over 23 million boys and girls. Every young person who aspires to join the ranks of the CPSU can and must go through the school of the Komsomol, get his training there and show his worth in his work.

In these conditions the raising of the age-limit presents no obstacle to joining the Party for the advanced and most active section of the youth, while for the unprepared it does serve as a certain restriction. This amendment to Party Rules is intended to heighten the role of the Komsomol as the reserve of the Party.

On the question of membership of the CPSU, an important Leninist requirement is the presentation of a *recommendation* at the time of joining the Party. This recommendation takes the form of a political guarantee from a Communist containing an assurance that the applicant deserves to be a Party member. The recommendation is a serious Party document testifying that the Party is receiving a reliable member. The recommending comrade assumes before Party organisations the responsibility for making an objective assessment of the qualities of the recommended comrade.

Not all Party members have the right to give recommendations. The Rules adopted at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU give the right to recommend to Party members of not less than five years standing (instead of three years as it used to be before). This measure is also directed towards the more rigorous selection of new members to

the CPSU. Today, recommendations for new members can be given only by those Communists who have themselves gone through serious Party schooling and have received solid training in practical work in a Party organisation.

The Congress also decided that a Komsomol member wishing to join the Party must get a recommendation from his district or city committee of the Komsomol. Previously, the Party Rules just stated that such a recommendation was equivalent to the recommendation of one Party member. And what was the result? Some Komsomol members were admitted to the Party according to the general procedure, i.e., by means of a recommendation from three Communists, while the Party organisation did not even know the opinion of their Komsomol organisation about them. But the Komsomol is the militant assistant of the Party, and in it boys and girls go through a schooling in communist education. Among those who join the Party over one-third are Komsomol members. Would it be correct then, when admitting a Komsomol member to the Party, not to seek the opinion of his fellow-comrades? The introduction of the more precise clause on the one hand reflects the general heightening of the demands made of new members of the Party, and on the other it contributes to raising the authority of the Komsomol among young people.

Mention must be made of the introduction of another more precise clause in the Party Rules, the one concerning the method of coming to decision on admissions to the Party by primary organisations. Decisions are now taken not by simple majorities, as was done earlier, but by the vote of at least two-thirds of the Party members present at a meeting. This is of basic importance. Such a procedure makes it possible to give better and fuller consideration to the opinions of Communists, and to make fewer mistakes in selecting new Party members. The same procedure applies in deciding whether or not to expel a person from the Party.

This amendment is therefore also meant to improve the qualitative composition of new Party members, to raise higher the title of Communist, and to increase the responsibility of primary organisations in admitting new members.

However, life shows that even this provision is still not enough to guarantee the selection to the Party of only really devoted and advanced fighters for communism. A man is

truly known only in the course of actual life, in practical work, in the crucible of struggle for the Party's policy. For this reason, a one-year period of candidate-membership is fixed for everyone who is preparing to become a Party member. Passing through the stage of *candidate-membership* is a rule of Party life which permits the Party to verify more closely the individual qualities of those wishing to join it, and helps them to better acquaint themselves with the Programme and the Rules of the Party and with Party procedures.

The provision about candidate-membership was included in the Party Rules at the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference in the year 1919. Striving to preserve strong Party discipline and communist militancy, the Party kept a watchful eye on the quality of its new members, so that its backbone was formed from really proletarian elements. In order to guard against the flow into the Party of "not purely proletarian elements", the Eleventh Congress decided upon different conditions for the admission of new members, according to their social position.

With the victory of socialism, the class structure of Soviet society changed, and there no longer existed the need to have different candidate-membership periods. In 1939, the Eighteenth Congress decided to introduce one candidate-membership period for all applicants to the Party, irrespective of whether they originated from the working class, the peasantry or the intelligentsia.

Stressing the importance of the candidate-membership stage, Lenin pointed out the necessity of applying strict rules which would make this stage a serious test of an applicant to the Party and not an empty formality. A candidate-member needs special care and guidance from his Party organisation. He needs help in preparing himself for joining the Party ranks. It is important for him to have discussions with older Communists about the Rules and Programme of the CPSU, to take up Party and social assignments, and to benefit from political education. It is important that every young Communist should be able to prove his worth in practical affairs by participating in Party activities.

At the end of the one-year period of candidate-membership, his Party organisation must consider the question of giving full membership of the Party to the candidate-mem-

ber. If he proves to be unworthy and does not deserve to be admitted to the Party because of his personal qualities, then his Party organisation will decide to refuse him Party membership. It will refuse full membership and not prolong the candidate-membership stage, as was done before the Twenty-Third Congress. Experience had shown the unsoundness of such postponements and the Congress decided to limit the period of candidate-membership to one year only.

Thus, *the Twenty-Third Congress re-established the Leninist attitude to the question of Party membership as a fundamental question of Party building; it developed and enriched the Leninist standards of Party life with the new experience gained by the Party in the full-scale construction of communism.*

The task now is to see that the clauses in the Party Rules concerning Party membership, and the firmly established standards of Party life, are strictly observed by every Party organisation, by all Communists. The selection and training of new Party members is the affair and the concern of the whole Party. These questions must always remain in the centre of attention of Party organisations.

It stands to reason that joining the Party does not complete, but in fact only begins the process of the formation of a Communist as a conscientious fighter for the cause of the Party. But it is necessary to draw him into the active work of his organisation from the beginning, to give him concrete assignments, and to control their execution. Young Communists especially require constant attention; they form at present almost a quarter of the CPSU membership.

The Party conducts extensive and many-sided ideological-educational work, while at the same time building its inner-Party life, so that Communists actively participating in the daily work of their organisations receive a real Leninist schooling in Party work and a firm ideological grounding.

All Party members have the same rights and bear the same responsibilities to their organisation, to the Party. This is stated in the Rules of the CPSU. The *rights and duties* written into the Party Rules comprise the essence of the standards of Party life and a code of conduct for every Communist. They are nobody's inventions; they are the result of the historical development of our Party.

It is a great honour to be a Communist, but great also

are the responsibilities that fall upon a Communist's shoulders. These affect every aspect of his life and work, and determine what his obligations are, what he should do and how, in order to justify the title of a Leninist.

At present the main task of the CPSU and the Soviet people is the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. That is why the Party Rules give the greatest priority to the duty of a Party member *to work for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to serve as an example of the communist attitude towards labour.*

This is his highest revolutionary duty, his internationalist duty before the world revolutionary movement.

The measure of the Party-mindedness of a Communist, his ideological conviction, and his sense of responsibility to the Party and the people, is the extent to which he devotes his strength to the common cause, to the development of production, to increasing output; and the extent to which he supports all that is new and advanced, and contributes to the growth of socialist wealth.

Lenin often said that a Party member must set an example in labour discipline and energy, and that it is not only necessary to picture great tasks at a political level, but to implement them in practice, too. Otherwise, Lenin observed, "even an ordinary labourer will begin to sneer at us and say: 'What use is it to keep on showing us what you want to build? Show us that you can build. If you can't build, we're not with you, and you can go to hell!' And he will be right."¹

It is well known that economics is the basis of the development of society, and the creation of all material and spiritual wealth. The new man is trained in the course of doing socially useful collective labour. The Soviet people devote most of their energies to the development of production and science. And this is the main field of activity of Communists.

Millions of people in the Soviet Union are engaged in building communism. This is the entire people's cause. But Party members should be the most energetic, the most advanced and the most untiring in this cause. The participa-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 73.

tion of a Communist in social labour is his foremost duty; it is also an indication of his political maturity and his dedication to the great cause of the Party.

The overwhelming majority of Party members discharge their duties with honour, setting real examples of creative labour, daring and of awareness of their responsibilities. There was extensive discussion of this at the Twenty-Third Party Congress. Delegates spoke with pride about millions of their comrades—Communists who devote all their energies, knowledge and abilities to the construction of the new society, to the great revolutionary cause.

At present over 70 per cent of the members of the CPSU are engaged in the sphere of material production, at industrial enterprises, at construction sites, in transport and in agriculture. The Party is sending more and more Communists to the decisive sectors of production, demanding of them that they play their vanguard role in labour by blazing new paths in science and technology and solve problems creatively and on a scientific basis.

Essential to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism is the current five-year plan. So, wherever a Communist may work, he should devote all his strength and knowledge to fruitful work for the fulfilment of the plan. Setting an example himself, he should call on other people to conquer new heights, to be innovators in production, to uphold the new in science and technology, to manifest initiative and creative activity, and be sensitive to what is new and progressive. The striving to scale the heights of science and technology, constant creativity, and deep concern for the life of the people—these are the qualities that are at the heart of the life of a Communist.

Thousands of facts may be cited to show that whenever a Communist, a good organiser, has been assigned to a difficult, backward sector, he quickly succeeded in mobilising the forces of his collective and achieved an improvement in the situation.

At the Kamensky Chemical Works (Rostov Region), the carbon bisulphide workshop had been lagging behind for a long time; so the Party Committee recommended a young specialist, Communist Y. P. Kovalev, for the post of the shop's superintendent.

After taking charge of the workshop, Kovalev saw that

bureaucratic practices had taken deep root there. For example, in one month alone, a superintendent of one of the shifts "issued" 97 punishment orders. He came up to the new shop superintendent with a long list in his hand.

"Please, Yuri Petrovich, punish these men."

"What for?"

"Well, for..." and the shift superintendent began narrating the faults of his subordinates. He spoke for a long time, parading all of their shortcomings.

"By the way, did you notice anything good in anyone in your shift?" asked Kovalev.

"Oh, yes! They are all good workers. It is only that you have got to keep on warning them."

Kovalev explained that a workshop can function successfully only in an atmosphere of confidence, mutual help and collective interest. On his suggestion this question was discussed at the bureau meeting of the shop Party organisation and at the Party meeting. As a result of common efforts the shortcomings were overcome and the shop collective gradually gathered speed, caught up with the other shops and then became a leading unit of the works.

In the interests of the fulfilment of the five-year plan, of developing the economy of the country, and raising the material level of the people, it is necessary to pay special attention to the further growth of agricultural production. This is indeed a vital problem. Over two million Communists are now at work in the villages, doing their best to implement the decisions of the March (1965) CC Plenary Meeting and of the Twenty-Third Party Congress. Of these, 520,000 Communists are working as tractor-drivers, combine operators, and leaders of tractor brigades; over 360,000 are working in animal husbandry. On an average there are 42 Communists to a collective-farm Party organisation and 75 Communists to a state-farm Party organisation.

Whoever a Communist may be—a worker or a collective farmer, scientist or student, official or a simple employee—he is called upon to set an example at his post and in discharging his social obligations to non-Party persons.

"Propaganda by the setting of examples—that is what is expected of us," Lenin taught Communists. It is the duty of Party organisations to train Communists to be active in work, to have a sense of responsibility for an assigned job.

to be intolerant of shortcomings, and to make high demands of themselves and their fellow-comrades.

But for a Communist, it is not enough just to be good at his work, to merely serve as an example of an active and selfless fighter in the building of the new society. A Communist is a leader; he is called upon to organise the masses, to explain Party policy to them, to be an organiser and a propagandist always and everywhere. By joining the Party, he takes upon himself responsibility for the affairs of his non-Party colleagues, for the work of his brigade, sector, enterprise or collective farm, region, and country.

The Soviet people have undertaken a great social task, the construction of communism. Millions of people are participating in this active, living and creative process. The problem now is to teach first the majority and later on all working people to work as model workers and as production innovators. For this it is necessary to conduct constant, purposeful organisational, ideological and educational work. And it is not only the duty of propagandists to do this, it is the duty of all Communists, of the whole Party.

The CPSU Rules demand of each Communist *to put Party decisions firmly and steadfastly into effect; to explain the policy of the Party to the masses; to help strengthen and multiply the Party's bonds with the people; to be considerate and attentive to people; to respond promptly to the needs and requirements of the working people.*

The chief law of the life and work of a Communist is service to the people, concern for the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, for raising their communist consciousness and political activity. Lenin made the point that "a Communist who is incapable of utilising the practical experience of hundreds upon hundreds, is no good at all". This remark should never be forgotten.

The prestige and influence of a Party member as a mass leader depends directly upon his personal example in his work, and in his social life, his way of living; it also depends upon the extent to which he is capable of organising people and responding to their needs. As the saying goes, one good example is better than a thousand words. We respect those who serve as examples of the Communist attitude to work, of moral purity, those who do not pride

themselves on their positions but are simple and attentive in their relations with people and demonstrate the Party's concern for them.

Unfortunately, there are still Communists who overlook the immense significance of the personal participation of a Party member in educational work, who have lost all real contact with the people and place all their hopes on the force of orders and instructions. Some of them, placed in positions of leadership of the economy, are prone to saying: "Education! That is the affair of the Party organisation; my task is to manage."

It must be said that nothing more quickly undermines the prestige of a Party member than self-conceit, callousness, and a formal and bureaucratic attitude towards people. Some leaders make endless promises and never fulfil them, forgetting their responsibility to the Party and the people. When the words of a Communist differ from his deeds, they do great harm.

With such behaviour, some immature Communists discredit the Party in the eyes of the working people and so lower the effectiveness of Party organisations. But genuine Communists are distinguished by their attentive and considerate approach to the requirements of the working people, by their truthful, sincere, sociable and truly Bolshevik attitude towards people. And this explains why the CPSU commands respect among the people, why the people have great faith in it and follow its lead in all matters.

On the banks of Lake Ladoga in the Olonets District (Karelia) there lives a Party activist named M. I. Zakharov. Highly respected by the people of his district, Zakharov is a big-hearted person, a man of principle and an exacting leader. He gives all he has to the people among whom he lives and works—a warm heart, the strength of his intellect, his remarkable organising talent and his work. Zakharov has a deep sense of Party feeling and possesses that most precious quality—the capacity to work with people, to find the way to their hearts and minds. Once, in conversation with some Communists, Zakharov said:

"Have you ever noticed how the facets of a diamond glisten, presenting to the eye all the colours of the rainbow? A marvellous sight indeed! When you take a diamond, you notice that while one of its facets is shining, another

is dark. And then if you keep turning it all its facets begin to shine. And that is how we Communists, Party activists, should work with the people, so that they also shine with all their facets, all their best qualities. We should arouse the best forces in them and direct these towards communist construction."

The Party-feeling of a Communist, his ideological convictions and his devotion to the cause of the Party are tried and tested in his struggle with difficulties, and by his capacity to overcome them. People judge a Party member by his firmness in fighting formal, bureaucratic, unfeeling and crude attitudes towards the people, by his concern for and the comradely attention he pays to the working people, to their needs, and by the correspondence of his words and deeds.

Communist relations are being formed in the course of the construction of the new society. A Communist is called upon to develop them; the Party Rules enjoin him *to take an active part in the political life of the country, in the administration of state affairs, and in economic and cultural development; to set an example in the fulfilment of his public duty.*

As a rule, Communists participate actively in social life, and help in the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of the Soviet people. Communist society will be a highly organised society of free and conscious workers. In order to help attain it, it is necessary, as Lenin said, to train oneself to be a Communist, and to enrich one's mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.

Marxism-Leninism is the ideological foundation of the communist world outlook. Knowledge of this revolutionary theory, the ability to apply its principles creatively in practical activity, and to conduct one's work on a scientific basis are vitally necessary for all Communists.

A Communist implements Party policy not mechanically, but consciously; and the greater his political maturity, the more conscientiously does he implement Party decisions, the better is he able to explain Party policy to the people, and the more effective is his work.

Ideological conviction is the weapon of the Communist, the source of his strength and stability. The need to consult Marx and Lenin and to find in their works the correct

approach to the solution of new problems and to the understanding of the laws of social development, must be instilled in every Communist. This enables him independently to understand politics, to find himself in life, to solve practical problems correctly and to take others along with him.

The Twenty-Third Congress drew the attention of Party organisations to the serious need to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members. The Congress approved a new system of Party education elaborated by the Central Committee. This new system is better balanced and more consistent, embracing primary political schools, schools teaching the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, schools for Party officials and the officials of economic organisations and the evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism. This system ensured consistency and continuity in the ideological and theoretical training of Communists, and makes it possible for them to master Marxist-Leninist theory—philosophy, political economy and foundations of scientific communism—deeply, purposefully, creatively and gradually, and to learn to apply this theory in practice.

It will be of interest to recall here a talk that M. I. Kalinin had with some young functionaries in which he said:

“I am nearly seventy, but just the same from day to day I am bound to keep abreast with literature and to study. And it cannot be otherwise. Yet I am somewhat more experienced and politically more alert than you are, I can find my way out of a difficult situation with greater ease. You are younger, and hence it is more difficult for you, but only knowledge can help. You must study all the time. Life itself imperatively demands this of you.”¹

The CPSU Rules state it as a duty of a Communist to master *Marxist-Leninist theory, to improve his ideological knowledge, and to contribute to the moulding and education of the man of communist society.*

Devotion to communism and ideological conviction are not shown by knowledge of quotations, but by an individual's behaviour and actions, by his work, by his struggle for communist ideals, by his everyday life.

In addition to the need to learn revolutionary theory, the Party Rules require a Communist to *combat vigorously all*

¹ M. I. Kalinin, *Op. cit.*, p. 403.

manifestations of bourgeois ideology, remnants of a private-property psychology, religious prejudices, and other survivals of the past.

These two propositions are closely interconnected. A successful struggle against alien ideology can be conducted only by a political fighter who regularly studies revolutionary theory, and develops Bolshevik adherence to correct ideas and principles. This is part of the class struggle, and there can be no compromises; a Communist must take a clear-cut position and stand up against alien views with all the weapons at his command.

A Communist should be a person of high character, morally pure. The Party demands that he *observe the principles of communist morality, and place public interests above his own.*

A Communist values these above all else. His mission is to wage a passionate struggle for the new mode of life, for the new type of relations among people. It is a bad Communist who divides his life into two parts: one which is connected with his work, and the other—the personal, his own. A real Leninist cannot make such a division in his life.

In the eyes of millions of people, Communists are the most consistent and the most courageous fighters for the people's interests, they are men possessing great moral strength. The people will remember for ever the names of such fearless fighters for the Revolution as the Bolsheviks Babushkin, Bauman, Dzerzhinsky, Frunze, Spandaryan, Podvoisky and others.

The deeds of generations of Communists from the Putilov Plant, the Sormovo Works, the Orekhovo-Zuyevo Works, and the Lugansk Works, and those of countless other Communists, have been written into the annals of the struggle for communism in letters of gold.

During the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, Soviet people drew courage from Party members. People learn such qualities as creative daring and perseverance in work from Communists; they learn to be men of principle, to be efficient and to develop the ability, as Lenin said, "to examine critically their own mistakes".

An example of the Leninist approach to the solution of new problems is set by the Central Committee of the CPSU

which, in a scientific way, solves the fundamental questions of the economic and political life of Soviet society. The Party strongly condemns those Communists who act regardless of the collective, isolate themselves from the masses, get puffed up and exaggerate the value of their own services.

The more conscientious and cultured a Party member is, the better able he will be to discharge his duties and to value the experience and opinion of other comrades; he will also be more modest and will have greater respect for the merits of others. Lenin used to treat people with extraordinary respect and showed untiring concern for the working people. V. A. Karpinsky recalls that every worker and peasant who had the opportunity to meet Lenin felt this. Two peasants once went to see Lenin with a petition.

"The peasants irresolutely made two steps forward.

"What is your name?" Vladimir Ilyich asked turning to the older of the two.

"Lavrenty."

"And your patronymic?"

"What do you want to know that for? Lavrenty will do. All my life I have been known as Lavrenty and nothing else."

"All your life is one thing, and now it is another thing. Now there is another government. So, what is the name?"

"Well, in that case Ivanovich," said the peasant heaving a sigh of relief.

"Fine, Lavrenty Ivanovich. Please take a seat in the armchair here. And you, comrade, next to him, in that chair." ¹

People from the Putilov Plant who once worked with Kirov in a shop Party organisation tell how Kirov combined the qualities of a fearless and irreconcilable fighter against the enemy, with warm-heartedness and softness in personal relations with comrades. Towards friends in the Party, Kirov behaved with warmth and modesty, befitting a genuine Leninist. They recall how he would simply walk into a workshop and begin to discuss things with the workers there; at one time he would work at a lathe, at another he would give approval and support to comrades, and furnish simple and clear answers to the most complicated questions.

¹ *Lenin, Comrade and Man*, Moscow, 1964, p. 179.

Communists cannot be allowed to behave boastfully, or to have high-and-mighty manners. Gorky wrote that any manifestation of immodesty or a tendency to consider oneself superior to fellow-comrades results from lack of moral fibre and philistinism. He strongly opposed those who transformed leadership into a "leader-cult". He said: "...leadership, highly valuing the people's energy, shows the way of achieving the best practical results with the least wastage of strength, while the 'leader-cult' is the individual aspiration of a philistine to show himself superior to his fellow-comrades—something which can easily develop in a person prone to mechanical manoeuvring and possessing an empty head and an empty heart."

It is therefore not surprising that people who exchange their Party principles for mechanical manoeuvring, are mostly concerned with their own well-being. There are some officials who get all manner of personal jobs done for them by their subordinates. And even though they do this in a "respectable" way, accompanying their requests for favours with the facetious explanation—"do it, not as a job, but out of friendship"—the essence of the matter does not change. Such things are absolutely impermissible in the Party. Relations between Communists should be characterised by a high sense of Party principles, and all thought of rank and position should be foreign to them.

A politically mature and conscientious person will always put the interests of the Party and the country first. All social interests are for him personal interests. In fact, the very understanding of personal interests in such a person is incomparably deeper and greater than in politically narrow and immature people. For a genuine Party member, the personal is inseparable from the social, his own interests are inseparably linked to the interests of the state and the people. They see their personal interests in their first and highest duty—selfless service to the people.

Communist morality embraces not only industrial and social activity, but also a Communist's personal mode of life. The social activity of a Communist and his private life are inseparable from one another.

The Party does not establish a code of conduct and separate rules for every one of its members and for all occasions of life. But that does not mean that Communists are not

concerned with the behaviour of their comrades; they demand from each of them that they set an example in their mode of living, in their family life; they severely condemn drunkenness, licentiousness and other social vices.

For a Communist, the observance of Party principles is a foremost obligation. Would it be right, therefore, for someone to hide, out of a mistaken sense of friendship and comradeship, the mistakes of their fellow-comrades, and to manifest in this way lack of principles? They would only harm their comrades and the common cause. Deep feelings of friendship and comradeship find their manifestation in the effort to help one another in life and work to overcome shortcomings. Friends should openly criticise and correct each other. As a popular saying has it: "Without a faithful friend you can never know the mistakes you commit."

Lenin many times said that we are internationalists. The CPSU is an inseparable part of the international communist and working-class movement and firmly stands on the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, consistently upholds the unity and solidarity of the world communist movement, and of all the revolutionary forces in the world today.

The CPSU Rules enumerate the international duties of a Communist as follows:

to be an active proponent of the ideas of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism among the masses of the working people; to combat survivals of nationalism and chauvinism; to contribute by word and by deed to the consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and the fraternal bonds linking the Soviet people with the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp, with the proletarians and other working people in all countries.

Soviet Communists sacredly fulfil their internationalist duties and, guided by the behests of Lenin, resolutely defend the general line of the international communist movement from all kinds of attacks, and firmly put it into practice.

They see their internationalist duty in further strengthening the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union—the bastion of peace and friendship among the peoples of the world, the stronghold of communism. The whole world is watching the achievements of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. Its torch lights the path of the peoples

of the world to the bright future. This is the great internationalist service of the CPSU to the working people of the whole world. It is therefore necessary that each Party member should work with a deep understanding of this historical duty, and justify by his behaviour his mission and responsibility before history.

At the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, addressing the delegates, said:

"...Permit me to make a request to you, the request of a friend and comrade. When you return to your Republic, region and district, when you go back to your place of work, please convey to the workers and collective farmers, and all Soviet working people, that we Spanish Communists, just like the working people of all countries, are deeply interested in the successful fulfilment of the new five-year plan. For this new victory which we expect of you will not only raise the living standards of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the economic, industrial and defensive might of the Soviet Union, but it will at the same time be a strong stimulus to the development of the democratic and socialist forces in the capitalist countries. This victory will strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation between the countries of the socialist commonwealth, and it will help the development of the international communist movement."¹

The CPSU Rules require every Communist *to strengthen to the utmost the ideological and organisational unity of the Party; to safeguard the Party against the infiltration of people unworthy of the lofty name of Communist; to be truthful and honest with the Party and the people.*

The monolithic unity of the Party has been and will always be the most important source of its strength and invincibility. Unity is to the Party what air is to a man. And it depends not only on the leaders of the Party, but on every Communist.

Communists are a family of like-minded people, Lenin said; therefore, we cannot work without unity on fundamental questions, and we should conduct all our work in the

¹ *Twenty-Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes. Politizdat, 1966, p. 328 (in Russian).*

light of Party decisions. Lenin considered the conscientious carrying out of collectively taken decisions to be the highest manifestation of unity. He wrote:

“Discussing the problem, expressing and hearing different opinions, ascertaining the views of the *majority* of the organised Marxists, expressing these views in the form of decisions adopted by delegates and carrying them out conscientiously—this is what reasonable people all over the world call *unity*.”¹

After a decision has been taken by the relevant bodies, Lenin pointed out, all Party members must act as one man. A Communist’s devotion to the Party is tested by his ability to uphold the common cause and the way he implements Party decisions. To be a Communist means, above all, to merge one’s own desires and actions with the desires and actions of the Party.

Lenin came out against all kinds of attempts to undermine the unity and solidarity of the Party, to introduce the spirit of splittism and confusion into it, and so to weaken and ruin it.

At the Tenth Party Congress, held in 1921, Lenin moved the well-known resolution “On Party Unity” in connection with the intensified factional activity of Trotskyites, Democratic Centralists, the Workers’ Opposition and other opportunist groups. This resolution emphasises the absolute need for complete faith among Communists and for work which is genuinely amicable, and which genuinely expresses the unity of will of the vanguard of the proletariat.² The Party and its Central Committee are unswervingly guided by this Leninist document, and always comes out uncompromisingly against any kind of deviation from the general line of the Party, against any violation of its unity.

The task of safeguarding and strengthening the unity of the Party remains and will always remain the first duty and obligation of every Communist. A Communist is called upon to live up to the high ideals of the Party, and to undeviatingly observe the laws and rules established by it.

A most important quality of a Communist is truthfulness. Only a sincere, honest Party member deserves respect. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 519.

² *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Part I, pp. 527-30 (in Russian).

training of a Communist in the spirit of honesty and truthfulness means, above all, training him to view everything from the standpoint of general state and Party interests and not from the viewpoint of local, and even less so from that of personal, interests. It means keeping the common interests in view all the time, and showing intolerance towards acts that bring damage to the people's cause.

The Party Rules enjoin Party members *to display vigilance, to guard Party and state secrets*. All Soviet people, in whatever circumstances or in whatever field of activity they may be, need this quality of vigilance. It is the duty of Party organisations constantly to foster Communists to cultivate a high sense of political vigilance.

The Party Rules put great emphasis on the need to carry out criticism and self-criticism. This is a vital need, an indispensable condition for raising the level of activity and responsibility of Communists. It is a well-known fact that the development of our movement is accompanied by difficulties and shortcomings. Criticism helps detect and eliminate them. Lenin considered criticism to be one of the foremost duties of a Communist. The Party Rules speak of the need *to develop criticism and self-criticism, boldly lay bare shortcomings and strive for their removal; to combat ostentation, conceit, complacency, and parochial tendencies; to rebuff firmly all attempts at suppressing criticism*.

The Rules also require Communists *to implement undeviatingly the Party's policy with regard to the proper selection of personnel according to their political qualifications and personal qualities; to be uncompromising whenever the Leninist principles of the selection and education of personnel are infringed*.

Sometimes it is thought that this latter rule concerns the leaders of the Party only, and that for an ordinary Party member, there is nothing to do in this connection. That is not true! Work with personnel is not only the affair of leaders, but of all Communists. The Party demands from everyone the most extensive application of Lenin's instructions concerning the observance of open, public and democratic procedures in the selection and promotion of personnel. When proposing the candidature of a comrade for a post, it is necessary for Party organs to take into consideration the opinions of both Communists and non-Party people.

Another requirement of the Party Rules, expressing a most important Leninist principle of Party life, is: *to observe Party and state discipline, which is equally binding on all Party members. The Party has one discipline, one law, for all Communists, irrespective of their past services or the positions they occupy.* Party discipline requires every Communist to abide conscientiously by the Party Programme and Rules, and to carry out the decisions of Party organisations and Party meetings. Discipline in the Party is, of course, strict, and its demands are high. But they do not prove burdensome to a genuine Communist. He conscientiously and willingly meets these demands.

While shouldering Communists with heavy responsibilities, the Party also gives them extensive rights. There exists internal unity between these responsibilities and rights, as concrete standards of Party life.

The rights given to a Party member enable him to discharge his Party duties, to develop his sense of responsibility, his initiative and his involvement in Party activity. All Party affairs are conducted by all Party members, who have equal rights without exception.

A Party member is endowed with these rights:

to elect and be elected to Party bodies;

to discuss freely questions of the Party's policies and practical activities at Party meetings, conferences and congresses, at the meetings of Party committees and in the Party press; to table motions; openly to express and uphold his opinion as long as the Party organisation concerned has not adopted a decision;

to criticise any Communist, irrespective of the position he holds, at Party meetings, conferences and congresses, and at the plenary meetings of Party committees. Those who commit the offence of suppressing criticism or victimising anyone for criticism are responsible to and will be penalised by the Party, to the point of expulsion from the CPSU;

to attend in person all Party meetings and all bureau and committee meetings that discuss his activities or conduct; to address any question, statement or proposal to any Party body, up to and including the CC CPSU, and to demand an answer on the substance of his address.

The rights and responsibilities of a Party member reflect the Leninist thesis concerning the lofty duty and individual

responsibility of Communists, ensure the further development of inner-Party democracy, and create conditions for every Party member to live, work and fight in the Leninist style.

One of the most important tendencies existing in the inner-Party life of the CPSU is the striving to heighten the responsibility of the individual Communist, and his role in finding solutions to the tasks of his Party organisation, and of the whole Party. This is all dictated by the increase in the size and the number of the tasks that fall upon the shoulders of the Party, by the growth of its leading and organisational role.

At the time of the formation of the Bolshevik Party, when its first Rules were being discussed, Lenin said that "...every Party member is responsible for the Party, and that *the Party is responsible for every one of its members*".¹ A Communist is a master of his organisation and of the Party, and consequently he bears responsibility not only for his own personal assignments but also for the state of affairs in his Party organisation and in the whole Party.

A Communist must answer for everything. In the eyes of the people he is a Party representative, a defender of the interests of the working people. That is why to be a Communist is a great honour. The Party is judged according to each one of its members.

It should be a cause of concern to everybody when a Communist forgets his responsibility to the Party collective. It may happen at a general Party meeting or at a unit meeting. There he sits, silent or nodding mutely; he agrees with the opinion of the Secretary in all things. He has no opinion of his own to express concerning the problems under discussion. He is afraid of falling "out of step". Whatever this is, it certainly does not square with the Leninist standards of Party life.

One cannot help recalling an article written by the oldest Communist, Y. D. Stasova, only a few days before her death. She wrote:

"A great deal of work has to be done by the Soviet people in order to implement the programme for the development of the national economy, of Soviet society, laid down

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

by the Twenty-Third Party Congress. The further perfecting of the forms and methods of Party leadership, the raising of the responsibility of every Communist for Party and state affairs, ought to prove conducive to such work.

"We, the veterans of the revolution, at times have to listen to or read about, with surprise and frankly with indignation, facts concerning indiscipline and even immoral behaviour of some Communists, their passiveness at Party meetings and in the implementation of Party tasks, their indifference to manifestations of bureaucratism, suppression of criticism, etc. For a member of Lenin's Party, the ruling Party of our Soviet state, such behaviour is absolutely unpardonable and it must, according to the nature of every concrete case, be severely punished up to the point of expulsion from the Party. In this way we shall raise the authority of the Party among the masses. That is why it was good that such a proposition was included in the CPSU Rules by the Twenty-Third Congress. A Communist is an active soldier of the Party, pure as a crystal, a dedicated and principled fighter for communism, for the people's happiness, and no kind of indulgence should be shown here."¹

One Party discipline, the highest responsibility for the fate of communist construction, is binding on all members of the CPSU, irrespective of their titles and posts.

The Party is strong because it acts collectively and sees to it that all Communists actively and creatively participate in its practical activity.

The meaning and the spirit of the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress consist in cultivating in *every* Communist a sense of his historical responsibility to the Party, to the country, to the people, and to the working people of the whole world for the realisation of the great ideals of communism. This is possible if a Party member feels that his job is not merely to carry out mechanically the instructions given him, but that he is also a Party leader having the right and the duty to feel responsible for the cause of the whole Party. The rights and duties of a Party member, as well as the other standards of inner-Party life, permit him to bear the responsibility for the state of affairs in his organisation and in the Party as a whole.

¹ *Pravda*, February 21, 1967.

The policy of raising the responsibility of every Communist is intimately connected with the directive of the Twenty-Third Congress regarding the enhancement of the role of the Party's primary organisations. These have always been and remain the foundation of the Party—the cells where, above all, a Communist conducts his Party activity and where he acquires political maturity.

The primary Party organisations can best of all control the way a Communist implements the Programme and Rules of the CPSU and justifies his high title. Their main task is to find the most suitable ways and means of drawing every Communist into active Party work, into the fields of interest of his collective and the whole Party.

The Party traits of a Communist are not inborn qualities. They are cultivated in the course of a whole series of experiences in his collective and in his Party organisation, by the style of its work, and by the observance of the Leninist standards. Integrity, comradesly help, individual responsibility, and adherence to principle—these are the factors that favour the correct training of a political fighter, of an active Party leader.

In the Central Committee's Theses on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the October Revolution, it is said that the Party makes high demands of Communists, raises their theoretical level, educates them in the spirit of irreconcilability to stagnation and routine, and supports what is new and advanced.

To show genuine, individual responsibility for the cause of the Party means to fight for the implementation of the measures laid down by the Party, and to promote, at every step, the success of communist construction.

DEMOCRACY AND CENTRALISM

Organisational Principles of the Party. Highest Party Organs. Party Members Conduct All Affairs. Party Democracy and Discipline. Leninist Principles of Criticism and Self-Criticism.

We have said how important it is for every Communist to justify his high title. However, for really well-coordinated, concerted work, this is not sufficient. It is necessary that Communists be organised, so that they can act together by belonging to a united collective. The most important principles regulating inner-Party relations are defined and precisely formulated in the CPSU Rules.

The guiding organisational principle of the Party is *democratic centralism*. It indissolubly combines the extensive development of inner-Party democracy with strict Party discipline, the organisation and cohesion of Party ranks with the activity and initiative of all Communists. Only a centralised leadership can give expression to the interests of the entire Party and the whole people, and not merely those of individual persons or groups, and can unite their energies and direct them towards the common aim.

The principle of democratic centralism was fully elaborated by Lenin. He taught that in order to lead the working-class movement correctly and to unite and direct the efforts of all Party organisations and all working people towards the common aim, the Party must be a cohesive, centralised organisation with a single leading organ at its head, with its lower units subordinated to higher ones, and having strict Party discipline. Lenin saw the guarantee of the historical victory of the working class the world over in the creation of such a united, centralised Marxist Party, uniting all local Party organisations.

That is why democratic centralism has become the organisational foundation on which the monolithic unity of the Party is based. It is accepted as an indisputable standard

of the inner-Party life and organisational structure of all Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is embodied in the Party Rules as follows:

(a) election of all leading Party bodies, from the lowest to the highest;

(b) periodical reports of Party bodies to their Party organisations and to higher bodies;

(c) strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority;

(d) the decisions of higher bodies are obligatory for lower bodies.

These clauses of the Party Rules are most important requirements, obligatory standards of Party life. They show that the CPSU is a united, centralised organisation built on the basis of both centralism and inner-Party democracy. Centralism in the Party structure and leadership, and iron discipline are combined with the great exercise of initiative by Party organisations and with the active participation of all Communists in Party life.

Inner-Party democracy finds one of its expressions in the fact that the elected organs of the Party periodically report to the Party members. The entire work of Party organisations is based on the initiative and activity of Party members themselves. At Party meetings, conferences and congresses, in Party committees and in the Party press, they freely discuss questions relating to the policy and practical activity of the Party, and put forward suggestions and exchange opinions. It is the Party members who are the masters of their own organisation, and so it is they who have the last word.

Centralism means that the Party has one Programme and Rules, one leading organ in the form of the Party Congress, and the Central Committee elected by it. There exists strong discipline in the Party, equally binding on all Party members. The Programme, the Party Rules and the centralised leadership ensure a high degree of organisation and monolithic cohesion in the Party, the unity of its views and aims, and the concerted action of Party organisations and all Communists.

Lenin always upheld the idea of centralism in the organisation of the Party and resolutely opposed the idea of

autonomism, according to which "parts need not be subordinated to the whole". He called this "opportunism in organisational questions".

In 1903, Lenin wrote that once the Party had been organised, that meant the creation of power, the transformation of the authority of ideas into the authority of power, and hence the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher ones.

The principle of democratic centralism makes it possible for the Party to take strictly into consideration the objective conditions of the development of society. This is necessary for working out correct policies and putting them into action. It permits the Party to single out the main, decisive tendencies in the development of society and at the same time to take into account specifically local conditions and particularities. This has an important significance in the work of Party committees as organs of political leadership, since they are called upon to direct the building of communism, to coordinate the activity of various detachments and to see clearly the perspectives and the pressing tasks of the day.

The Party is a living organism. Differences of opinion can appear in it. That is quite understandable and inevitable. But it is by the confrontation of different opinions and propositions that collective decisions are arrived at which are binding on all members. Centralism in the CPSU is democratic centralism, resting upon the will of the majority of Party members.

Consequently, Party democracy and centralism do not contradict one another but form an *indissoluble unity*, ensuring a high degree of activity and initiative among Communists, the fulfilment of adopted decisions, and strong discipline.

The Communist Party is built on the territorial-and-production principle. It consists of a large number of different bodies—Party organisations and leading Party organs. Forming the foundations of the Party are the primary Party organisations. These exist at the places of work of Communists—in factories, state farms, collective farms, and other enterprises, in the units of the Soviet Army, in educational and other institutions, etc. There can also be territorial primary organisations at the places of residence of Com-

munists, in villages, and in house-management offices in towns.

At enterprises, collective farms and institutions where there are more than fifty Party members and candidate-members, shop, section, farm, team or department Party organisations are created inside the common primary Party organisation with the permission of the district or town Party committees. Inside the shop, section, etc., organisations, as well as inside the primary Party organisations, having less than fifty members and candidate-members, there can be Party groups on a team or other production-unit basis.

The primary Party organisations constitute the principal links of the Party with the masses. Their fields of activity are the places where the direct processes of creation are taking place; they gather the experience of the masses and enrich the Party with it; they organise the working people so that the Party's policies and decisions can be put into practice.

The primary organisations are like the cells of a living organism. If the cells are alive and active, the organism is strong and healthy. It is the same with the Party. If each one of its organisations is in fighting form and works actively, then the Party's role and influence is high.

In present conditions, when the leading and guiding role of the Party in the entire life of Soviet society is growing, and when the initiative of each labour collective is developing, the significance of the primary organisations of the CPSU is also increasing. The successes of communist construction depend to a large extent upon the level of their organisational and political work, and upon their ability to influence actively through Party channels the further perfecting of production, and to carry out the daily work of giving the people a communist education.

There are over 340,000 primary Party organisations in the CPSU. They have been formed in all the decisive sections of the national economy. There is not a single enterprise, whether in the sphere of production, services or administration, without a Party collective.

The quantitative rise in Party organisations, and the more correct placing of Communists in the decisive sections of production, have led to the creation of shop Party organ-

isations and Party groups inside many primary organisations. On January 1, 1967, there were 302,000 shop Party organisations and 368,000 Party groups.

With this development, the main centre of Party work is shifting more and more to factory shops, to brigades, to production sectors. This allows primary organisations to bring under their ideological and organisational influence an entire collective and each member of it individually.

The task of further strengthening the Party is directly connected with the imperative need to heighten the fighting capacity of the primary Party organisations. The resolution of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU on the CC report emphasises that Party committees must rely firmly on the primary Party organisations, must help them handle inner-Party work and carry out political work among the working people on a mass scale.

The CC report states:

"Party committees must be in constant contact with primary Party organisations and the officials of district, town and regional committees, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics should regularly visit primary organisations, talk with Communists, listen to their advice and deliver reports to them."¹

Primary Party organisations are united in the district, town, area, regional, territorial and Republican Party organisations, and on a country-wide basis in the single, centralised organisation, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Party organisation of a given territory as a whole is the highest body of all the Party organisations serving its parts.

In 1962-63, Party organisations were re-constituted on the so-called production principle, as a result of which the overwhelming majority of territorial and regional Party organisations were divided into two—industrial and agricultural, with the formation of leading organs in each of them. Later on, a similar re-constitution of Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organisations took place.

After two years of operation, this principle of organisation had to be rejected. The replacement of the territorial-and-production structure of the Party organisations by one

¹ 23rd Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1966, p. 124.

based on the production principle alone led objectively to restrictions on the functions, rights and duties of Party, Soviet and economic organs; it also led to Party committees replacing economic bodies and gave rise to parochialism and red tape. As a result of this reorganisation, districts, regions and territories as administrative-economic entities became uncoordinated in respect of both Party and state matters. This, of course, did great harm to the cause of the Party.

This mistake was quickly noticed and corrected. The November (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU re-established the Leninist principles of building Party organisations. In all Republics, territories and regions, unified Party organisations and unified Party organs were restored. Now the CPSU has: 14 Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, 6 territorial committees, 133 regional committees, 10 area committees, 745 city committees, 415 city district committees, 2,746 rural district committees and 23 branch Party committees equivalent in status to the district committees. All the 14 Communist Parties of the Union Republics are included in the CPSU not on a federal basis, but as constituent units of the single Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The highest organ of the CPSU, or, as Lenin said, "the Party's head", is the Party Congress. Regular congresses are convened by the Central Committee at least once in every four years. There can also be extraordinary congresses. These can be convened on two months' notice by the Central Committee or by the demand of at least one-third of the total number of Communists represented at the preceding Party Congress.

The Party Congress hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee, the Central Auditing Commission and other central organisations; reviews, amends and endorses the Party Programme and Rules; determines the Party line on questions of home and foreign policy; examines and decides most important questions of communist construction; and elects the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

In her recollections of Lenin, N. K. Krupskaya says: "All his life—right up to the end—he attached extraordinarily great significance to Party congresses. He considered the

Party Congress to be the highest body of the Party; at a Congress all personal considerations must be set aside, nothing must be concealed, everything must be said openly.”¹ Lenin viewed the Congress as the indisputable authority, and considered it to be “the most responsible assembly of the Party”.²

During the preparations for a Congress, Lenin attached particular importance to the generalisation and spreading of the experience gained in the practical work of local Party organisations, and to the deliberation and application of the collective thought of the Party. It is necessary, he said, to “bring to the Congress the *practical experience* of economic development to which thought has been given and which has been carefully analysed by the common labour and common effort of all members of the Party....

“From congresses and meetings to discuss general questions to congresses and meetings to summarise *practical experience*—that is the slogan of our times. The task of the moment and the task of the Party Congress, as we conceive it, is to learn from practical experience, to discard what is harmful, to combine all that is valuable, in order to determine precisely a number of immediate practical measures and to carry out these measures at all costs, not hesitating at any sacrifices.”³

Despite the difficult conditions of underground work, revolution, Civil War, and the earlier period of NEP, during 26 years in Lenin’s time, the Party held 12 congresses and 13 conferences. Party congresses were real festivals for Lenin. One recalls the memorable conversation Lenin had at the Second Congress with one of the delegates belonging to the “Centre”.

“How oppressive the atmosphere is at our Congress!’ he complained. ‘This bitter fighting, this agitation one against the other, this biting controversy, this uncomradely attitude!...’ ‘What a splendid thing our Congress is!’ Lenin replied. ‘A free and open struggle. Opinions have been stated. The shades have been revealed. The groups have

¹ *Such Was Lenin*. A collection of articles. Politizdat, Moscow, 1965, p. 61 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 206.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 405, 407.

taken shape. Hands have been raised. A decision has been taken. A stage has been passed. Forward! That's the stuff for me! That's life!'"¹

Each Party Congress is an outstanding event in the life of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people. It reflects a whole historical period traversed by the country under the leadership of the Party. Party Congresses define the policy of the Party, outline the tasks of communist construction and show the ways of their implementation.

The Party painstakingly prepares itself for its Congresses. The practical results achieved in national economic construction and cultural development, and the work of the Party organisations, are subjected to all-round analysis; problems to be submitted to Congress are discussed with the broad mass of the people participating.

Of great importance is the Twenty-Third Party Congress held in 1966. In its composition it was one of the most representative congresses in history. It was attended by 4,619 delegates with the right to vote and 323 delegates with voice but no vote. The delegates included 1,141 workers, 554 collective farmers and state-farm workers, 704 economic executives, 744 secretaries of district Party committees, city Party committees and area Party committees, 408 secretaries of primary and shop Party organisations and Party group organisers, a large number of scientists, outstanding personalities in art and literature, workers in the field of culture and public education, workers belonging to the Soviets, trade unions and the Komsomol, and servicemen.

Delegates from 86 Communist and Workers' Parties and the national-democratic and socialist parties of the world also attended the Congress as guests.

The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, after hearing and discussing the Report of the Central Committee, presented by L. I. Brezhnev, fully approved the political line and the practical activity of the Central Committee; it also approved the proposals and the conclusions contained in the CC Report. The Congress considered and confirmed the directives for the five-year national economic development plan for the years 1966-70, presented by A. N. Kosygin; it made partial amendments to the Party Rules; it adopted

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 347.

the declaration concerning US aggression in Vietnam; and it elected the central organs of the Party.

Adhering to the Leninist traditions of the Party, the Congress deemed it advisable to restore the Politbureau of the CC CPSU in place of the Presidium and to re-establish the post of General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The entire proceedings of the Congress were permeated with a militant spirit of Leninist adherence to principle, with efficiency, comradeship and serious-mindedness, and with a sober and creative approach to the solution of all the problems connected with the life of the Party and the country. The Congress demonstrated the indestructible Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party, its ideological maturity, its political wisdom, and its increasing role in the life of society.

The Congress summed up the gigantic political and organisational work of the Party, defined the perspectives and the direction of the current stage of communist construction, and collectively worked out the political line of the Party for the immediate future. The decisions of the Congress correspond to the vital interests of the Party and the people, and have been warmly and unanimously approved by them.

Expressing the will of the whole Party, the Twenty-Third Congress resolutely confirmed the line of strict observance of Leninist standards of Party life and principles of collective leadership. The Party put an end to the mistakes connected with the subjectivist approach to the solution of the organisational problems of the Party, re-established united Party organs, did away with the numerous reorganisations, reshufflings and unjustified replacements of personnel which led to lack of confidence and at times to irresponsibility.

A great deal of work done by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU was concerned with fundamental questions of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, with making more active use of all the resources of our ideology in the interests of the communist education of the working people. The Congress armed Party, Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organisations, and the whole of Soviet society, with a militant programme of ideological and educational work to extend over a long period.

The Congress defined the course of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It instructed the Central

Committee and the Soviet Government to continue in the future a foreign policy aimed at creating the most favourable conditions for the construction of communism, for strengthening the might of the world socialist system and for supporting in every possible way the struggle of the peoples of the world for national and social liberation, for preserving peace and preventing a new world war, and for affirming the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Congress adopted decisions to strengthen still further the CPSU organisationally and ideologically, to enhance further the vanguard role of Communists and to raise their responsibility for assigned tasks, to develop inner-Party democracy more, to expand and consolidate the links between Party organisations and the largest sections of the masses.

The Congress elected the highest leading organ of the Party, the Central Committee. In the period between congresses, the CC leads the entire work of the Party and its local Party organs, carries out the selection and placing of leading personnel, directs the work of central state and social organisations of the working people through the respective Party groups, creates various Party organs at enterprises and institutions and guides their activity, appoints the editorial boards of central newspapers and journals which function under its control, fixes the Party budget and controls expenditure, and represents the CPSU in its relations with other parties.

Plenary meetings of the CC are held not less than once every six months, as laid down in the Rules. Between the plenums, the Politbureau leads the work of the Party, while the leadership of current work, mainly concerning the selection of personnel and checking-up on the fulfilment of assignments, is exercised by the CC Secretariat.

The role of the Central Committee in the life of the Party and the country is very great and many-sided. The CC is the militant headquarters of the Party, its ideological, political and organisational centre. There is not a single question of any significance to the country which can be decided without the CC, without its guidance. The Central Committee consists of people who are engaged in the various fields of Party and state work, in industry, in transport, in agriculture, in science and in culture. The great political

experience and collective wisdom of the Leninist Central Committee—relying as it does on the scientific foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the decisions of Party Congresses, and on the Programme and the Rules of the Party—ensure correct, centralised leadership of the Party and the country, monolithic unity and strong cohesion in the Party's ranks, and the successful realisation of the tasks of communist construction.

The Central Committee makes a profound study of the phenomena of life, and evaluates new and emerging situations scientifically. Its entire work is permeated with the Leninist demands (a) to approach all problems from the standpoint of known scientific data, on the basis of objective laws, and (b) to rely on the collective experience and intelligence of the masses, and to examine critically its own activity. It is in the spirit of these high demands, displaying great regard both for principles and the need for efficiency, that CC plenary meetings are held.

The Central Committee is a real centre of creative thought. Developing the theory of scientific communism, it enriches the latter with the experience of the millions. The most outstanding services of the CC have been the elaboration of the scientific principles of the socialist economy, and the new methods of planning and economic stimulation of production. The latter are now of exceptionally great importance for the development of the national economy of the country.

The Leninist principle of centralism as implemented by the leading organs of the Party, presupposes, as Lenin himself pointed out, the fullest freedom for the extensive development of initiative and self-activity in local Party organisations. This principle ensures "the possibility ... of a full and unhampered development not only of specific local features, but also of local inventiveness, local initiative, of diverse ways, methods and means of progress to the common goal."¹

While giving united centralised leadership to all the activities of the Party, the Central Committee shows constant concern for enhancing the role of local Party organisations in leading economic construction and in matters of culture, and for expanding the rights of Union and Auto-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 208.

nomous republics, territories and regions. As elaborated by the Central Committee, the new method of planning and economic stimulation, and the new system of purchasing agricultural products, are meant to improve further the use of all available resources and opportunities in the development of the economy and culture of the country.

The Central Committee strongly opposes any petty regulation of the work of local Party organisations; it is for giving a free rein to their creative initiative, and encourages them to settle questions in the light of local conditions and specific features, basing themselves on the established proposition that all Party organisations are autonomous in deciding local questions, so long as their decisions do not go against Party policy. The maintenance of constant contact with local organisations, and taking their experience and opinions into account, is characteristic of the work of the Central Committee.

Lenin pointed out that the normal functioning of the Party and its local organisations is unthinkable without the strict observance of democratic principles in Party life. At the time of the first (1905) Russian revolution, he wrote:

"The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is organised on democratic lines. This means that all the affairs of the Party are conducted, either directly, or through representatives, by all the members of the Party, all of whom without exception have equal rights; moreover, all officials, all leading bodies, and all institutions of the Party are subject to election, are responsible to their constituents, and are subject to recall."¹

These Leninist theses are embodied in the Party Rules and are firmly put into practice: all leading organs of the Party from bottom to top are elected, and are responsible to their Party organisations; the free and business-like discussion of questions of Party life in individual Party organisations and in the Party as a whole is an inalienable right of each Party member.

Under the influence of the all-round development of Party democracy, including criticism and self-criticism, Communists quickly acquire a political education and ideological

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 434.

training. Party democracy not only permits them to fulfil their duties successfully, and to make full use of the rights given to them by the Party Rules, but it also enables everybody to learn from one another, to discover their mistakes in time and to take measures to rectify them.

Party organisations are controlled not by individuals but by collective bodies—meetings, conferences, or congresses. In the intervening periods the leadership is exercised by a collective of Communists in the form of a bureau, a Party committee, district committee, city committee, regional committee, or territorial committee of the CPSU. These executive organs are responsible to the organisations which have elected them and they are called upon to implement the will of Party members as expressed in the resolutions of their meetings and conferences.

The principle of democratic centralism not only ensures the greatest possible participation of Party members in the elaboration of Party policy, and in the decisions of Party organs, but it also permits them to elect to Party organs those comrades in whom they have confidence, and whom they know well as consistent Leninists. Lenin said that members must have the right to elect their own responsible leaders. They must have the right to replace them. And they must have the right to know and to verify each and every, even the smallest, step in their activity.

Another irrevocable standard of inner-Party life is that Party organs must regularly report back to Party organisations on their work. If members are to meet every situation consciously, and are to participate actively in the life of the Party, then they must be kept informed about the situation in the Party and of the various measures taken by it. This accountability to Party organisations permits the exercise of control from below, and makes it possible for leaders to be tested and for any errors they may commit to be rectified quickly.

The election and the accountability of Party organs ensures the active participation of Communists in discussing and resolving the most important problems of Party life, and in forming the leading Party organs. At report-back and election meetings, and at Party conferences, Party members carry into practice the right given them by the Party Rules *to elect and be elected to Party bodies.*

While discussing the reports of Party committees, Communists assess the individual qualities and political maturity of their leaders, criticise and point out shortcomings in their work, make suggestions for improving organisational and political work among the masses, and elect to Party committees the most deserving, capable and knowledgeable comrades, those who have proved their worth in practical work.

The CPSU Rules fix the *time for the presenting of reports by and the election of Party bodies* at all Party levels. These have now become established standards of Party life. In the primary organisations these election and report-back meetings are held once a year; in the district, city, area, regional and territorial organisations, once every two years; and in the Republics not less than once in four years. The work of Communists during meetings and conferences largely depends on how they are prepared, how large the circles of people drawn into their preparation, and whether or not there exists an atmosphere favouring criticism and self-criticism, and the free and business-like exchange of opinions.

For example, in the Party organisation of the Moscow Heavy Alloys Plant, a report-back and election meeting was prepared and conducted in the following manner. Members were told the time and place of the meeting two weeks beforehand. This factory meeting was preceded by Party meetings in shops and sections, in the preparation and proceedings of which members of the Party Committee participated. The report of the Party Committee was prepared collectively, by all the members of the Committee. To enable a deeper study of particular problems of production, and of organisational and political work in the shops of the factory, the Party Committee organised a group of Communists from among the best workers, foremen, engineers and technicians. They went to shops, shifts, and teams, acquainted themselves with the work of shop Party organisations and Party groups, talked to workers, and found out their opinions on what should be done in order to fulfil successfully the tasks facing the collective. This made it possible for the Party Committee to analyse in a scientific way the work of the enterprise under the new system of planning and economic stimulation of production, and to outline practical

measures for the further intensification of organisational and political work in the factory.

Most attention was paid in the report to the work of the Party organisation and of its members in putting into practice the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, in ensuring the fulfilment of production plans and the socialist obligations undertaken by the collective, and in educating people. The report cited convincing instances of the enhancing role of the shop Party organisations and Party groups in developing socialist competition, in making better use of fixed production assets, in improving the quality, reliability and durability of goods, in increasing economy and thrift, and in carrying out mass-scale political work among the workers and employees. In addition, the report dealt with serious shortcomings which were hampering the successful fulfilment of the plant's production plans.

All this contributed to a lively discussion of the report of the Party Committee, and of the tasks that faced the Party organisation. Party members seriously considered how better to organise their work in the new conditions, how to achieve the highest efficiency in production. They sharply but correctly criticised the Party Committee and the leadership of the factory for insufficient control and verification of plan fulfilment. The Party Committee, particularly, was weak in checking up on how the organisational and technical measures concerning the introduction of new techniques and advanced technology were being implemented. The resolution adopted by the Party meeting outlined concrete measures for ensuring the fulfilment of the production plan, and for improving organisational and political work at the plant.

The principle of the election of and regular reporting back by Party organs is proof of the democratic character of the Party; it is proof of the fact that Party members are the real masters of the Party.

During the election of leading Party organs it is essential that inner-Party democracy and the demands of the Party Rules, and the instructions of the Central Committee relating to reports and elections be strictly observed. Elections must be by secret ballot. All Party members have, hence, an unlimited right of objection to and criticism of candidates. Elected candidates are those who have received more

than half the votes of the participants of a meeting or conference.

The foisting of candidates on a meeting or conference who have been considered undesirable by the majority of the participants in it should in no case be allowed. A Party member must never reconcile himself to practices in which inner-Party democracy is violated, and in which, under the banner of democratic centralism, someone's personal views are imposed upon a collective as being the only correct ones. The established rule in the Party according to which every Communist can directly express his opinion, put questions, and make suggestions, should be undeviatingly followed. Every member must be convinced that his views will be considered and that, using the rights given him by the Party Rules, he can elect to the Party Committee those comrades whom he considers necessary.

Equally, it is impermissible when proposals for inclusion on the voting list are prepared in an unorganised manner, without extensive preliminary discussion.

The decision of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU to abolish the rules concerning renewals and replacements in Party organs and of secretaries of primary organisations, introduced a few years ago, is of great significance. These rules have not been justified in practice.

In the CPSU elections renew leading organs from the bottom to the top of the Party. This has always been so, and it is both natural and logical. Nevertheless, renewal is not an end in itself, and is not done for the sake of form. When replacing personnel primary consideration should be given to their working and political qualities in the light of local concrete conditions.

However, as a result of the fixing of an obligatory percentage of renewals in Party organs, this most important principle was often implemented formally. As a result, experienced, good personnel who could have worked even more actively in the Party committees were often left out of them. The rate of replacement of the most numerous core of Party functionaries—secretaries of primary Party organisations—increased considerably.

The Twenty-Third Congress retained in the Rules only the main proposition concerning the need for the systematic

renewal of all elected Party organs—from the primary Party organisations up to the Central Committee of the CPSU. As to who, in fact, should be elected to them, that is entirely a matter for meetings, conferences or congresses to decide, after giving due consideration to concrete local conditions, and the working and political qualities of comrades.

Another important directive of the Congress stipulates that members and alternate members of the Politbureau of the CC, Secretaries of the CC, members of the CC, members of the government, ministers and other leading personnel should regularly speak before Party activists and all working people on current problems of economy and culture, and on internal and foreign affairs. Since the Congress, this directive has been extensively carried out; it makes it possible to develop still closer links between the leading organs and broad sections of both Communists and non-Party people, and provides the latter with an opportunity to inform themselves of the activity of the leading Party and government bodies, and to make suggestions and observations.

The restoration of the Leninist standards of Party life and their further development brought about an upsurge in the creative activity of Party members. Various new forms have appeared and are now being developed for the participation of Communists in inner-Party affairs, and in matters concerning the state, the economy and culture. Over two million Communists have been elected to different leading Party organs. Local Party committees rely, in all their work, on the members of the Party, drawing them into active social work.

Communists develop ideologically, enlarge their outlook, and get accustomed to discipline and organisation by taking part in discussions and decisions on the various problems of Party life, and on the productive activity of enterprises and collective and state farms.

The regular convening of meetings, extensive and business-like discussions of current problems of production, and organisational and ideological work, are all laws of Party organisations, the indispensable conditions for their normal activity. Lately, there has been a substantial extension of the range of questions submitted for discussion to Communists. In the Party organisations of enterprises and collective farms, fundamental problems of improving production, and

the new principles of planning and economic stimulation are now being considered.

The Party organisation of the Volgograd Tractor Factory calls meetings in an organised and interesting way. The Party Committee there sees to it that Party meetings at the shop level and factory level are held regularly. At these meetings problems are put forward for discussion and collective decision by Communists concerning the improvement of production, communist education and inner-Party life. For instance, the questions that were discussed at recent Party meetings held at the factory were: socialist competition; Communists as innovators in production; measures for the intensification of the ideological and political education of young people; the implementation of measures for raising the profitability of production. These discussions are, as a rule, business-like, comradely, sharp and principled. At every meeting, Communists are informed about the implementation of previously adopted decisions, and what has been done about their critical observations and suggestions. All this favours the development of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and the strengthening of the influence of the Party organisation on all aspects of the life of the factory collective.

At Party meetings, problems that are being submitted more often for discussion now concern inner-Party life, ideological and educational work, and moral and ethical questions. Fewer clichés and less formalism, and more sharp criticism, efficient discussion and consideration for the opinions of Party members are now in evidence.

Party work can produce the desired results only if it is linked with life, if it is concrete and purposeful. Many Party organisations have recently accumulated a great deal of experience of organisational work in the implementation of the production plans and socialist obligations that have been undertaken by their collectives. They have begun to go deeper into the economy and affairs of industrial enterprises, and collective and state farms, to make fuller use of existing internal resources and opportunities for increasing production, and to work more actively for the implementation of the decisions of the Party and the government.

As an example, let us take the Party organisation of the Kaluga Turbine Factory. In it, there are over a thousand

Communists, the majority of whom are engaged directly in shops, shifts and teams. The Communists are the pioneers of all that is new and advanced. The Party organisation has drawn every worker and employee of the enterprise in communist labour competition, in order to increase production and improve its quality. With the participation of advanced workers, foremen, engineers and technicians, the factory has worked out concrete measures for assimilating new techniques, for mechanising and automating production, and in general for introducing the achievements of science, technology and advanced methods of work. The whole work of the Party Committee and the shop Party organisations is geared to the implementation of these measures.

The Party Committee is concerned about strengthening all important sections of production with qualified personnel. Experienced engineers and technicians as well as advanced workers who know the processes of production well have been chosen as heads of shops and teams. Classes have been organised and regular seminars held for factory personnel on technical and economic subjects. The Party Committee and the shop Party organisations strive to raise the level of activity and responsibility of Communists. The Party meetings systematically consider questions of production and of organisational and political work.

In its endeavours to promote technological progress, the Party Committee has made extensive use of the services of the factory personnel. Design offices and teams of specialists to work out suggestions for advancing production have been set up in shops and departments on social lines. Almost every third factory worker is now a rationaliser. In the last two years, over a thousand suggestions for rationalisation have been submitted by them, from which about five hundred have been introduced into production, making economies worth over two hundred thousand rubles.

The Party organisation is doing much to raise the political, cultural and technological level of the factory's personnel. A detailed plan has been worked out for raising the general-educational and technological standards of workers and employees which envisages every worker and employee completing his secondary education in the immediate future. The overwhelming majority of the factory's workers are studying in schools for working youth, secondary tech-

nical schools, institutes and various study-circles for technical education. To provide practical help to young workers in their studies, the Party Committee has enlisted the co-operation of engineers and technicians of the factory, secondary school teachers, students from advanced classes of technical institutes and secondary technical schools. A university of technological progress is now functioning at the factory.

The factory is working smoothly. Its collective is successfully implementing its production plans, mastering the manufacture of new technique, and intensifying the tempo of production.

The growth in the work and initiative of Communists, and in their sense of responsibility finds a clear expression in the development of social principle.¹ Many effective ways and forms of enlisting Communists in Party work of this kind have recently appeared: commissions of Party committees for the preliminary consideration of admissions to the Party and of the personal affairs of Communists; non-staff instructors and Party committee sections; commissions to control administrative work; economic councils under district committees and Party committees; methodological councils and commissions on Party organisational and ideological work; consulting-rooms for political questions, etc.

Inner-Party democracy is not confined only to the active participation of Communists in discussions and the adoption of resolutions. Democracy and discipline are intimately connected and are not opposed to one another. Lenin many times remarked that inner-Party democracy must be indissolubly combined with the good, precise organisation of work to ensure the practical implementation of collectively adopted decisions. He constantly underlined the individual responsibility of every Communist, every official for the tasks assigned them, and demanded the most strict observance of *Party and state discipline*.

Lenin deeply studied the sources of discipline in the Party. Party discipline, he said, is based above all on the conscientiousness of Party members, on their boundless

¹ What is meant here is work done on a voluntary basis without remuneration.—Ed.

devotion to the cause of the revolution and to communist construction, and on the close connection between the Party and the people.

The CPSU is a voluntary union, based on a definite ideological and political foundation, including unity of world outlook and common views on fundamental questions of the building of the new, communist society. By joining the Party, members voluntarily take upon themselves the obligation strictly and unswervingly to observe collectively worked out and established rules and standards. Consequently, discipline in the Party is conscientious and not mechanical.

Without firm, conscientious discipline in its ranks, the Party could not fulfil its role. Discipline is its law. It is obligatory for all. Shoulder to shoulder, as faithful Party comrades, Communists march to their common goal. They have equal rights. They are characterised by firm discipline, mutual help and control, respect and confidence, simplicity and warm-heartedness.

The *strictest Party discipline* is an indispensable rule of the inner life of a Leninist Party. Freedom of discussion is combined with active struggle for the implementation of collectively adopted decisions, requiring the united action of Communists. And the greater the degree of inner-Party democracy, the higher should be the sense of individual responsibility of every Communist for the common cause, and the greater should be the need for Party discipline.

Lenin did not tolerate laxity, nor any variance between words and deeds; he was severe with those who tried to violate Party discipline. He repeatedly pointed out that there is one discipline for all Communists in the Party, irrespective of their services and their posts. Anyone who tries to approach the Party with different yardsticks weakens discipline. With all its spirit and character the Party opposes all ideas favouring more than one discipline, i.e., different rights and obligations for different Party members.

Obviously, the high authority of the Party among the masses is not automatically transferred to each of its members. This authority must be established in every case by the personal example and by the selfless work of each member. The Twenty-Third Congress resolutely condemned the conciliatory attitude of some Party organisations towards those who forget these facts, neglect their Party duties and

display discreditable faults. Liberalism towards such members and candidate-members of the CPSU has been roundly denounced. Neither can one reconcile oneself to cases when higher Party organs, without sufficient foundation, have reduced the severity of sanctions meted out to Communists by primary Party organisations, revoking the latter's decisions concerning expulsion from the Party. As a result there remain in the Party people who do not deserve to be called Communists.

In order to strengthen Party discipline and enhance the responsibility of Communists for the observance of Party Rules, the Twenty-Third Congress considered it necessary to add in the introductory part of the Party Rules the statement that the *Party frees itself from persons who violate the Programme or the Rules of the CPSU, and who compromise by their behaviour the high title of Communist*. The Congress also established that the decision of a primary Party organisation on an expulsion from the Party becomes effective after its confirmation by the district committee or the city committee of the CPSU. Earlier, all decisions on expulsions had to be confirmed by the regional committees, territorial committees, or the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics.

The Congress also revoked as a punitive measure demotion from membership of the CPSU to candidate-membership. Statistics had proved that this sanction was most often applied in the cases of people who were unfit to be in the ranks of the CPSU at all, and from whom the Party had to free itself. Apart from that, transfer to candidate-membership as a form of punishment led to a situation in which there existed in the Party two categories of candidate-members: candidate-members proper, and "candidate-members-in-punishment".

It is known that in Lenin's lifetime, the Party Rules adopted at the Twelfth All-Russia Party Conference in 1922 laid down that transfer to candidate-membership, as a form of Party sanction, was not to be allowed. A Party organisation has at its disposal a sufficient number of other effective measures of educational value, and if a person does not merit carrying the high title of Party member, the Party organisation ought to decide the question of his Party membership.

The restoration of Leninist standards and their proper implementation by Party organisations will serve to strengthen Party discipline further. What is important is that there must always exist high standards in all organisations with irreconcilability towards violators of the Party Rules. Of course, strict sanctions do not mean that anyone who has committed only a slight error or has accidentally stumbled is expelled from the Party. The Party Rules demand that in all cases the character, causes and circumstances of errors must be thoroughly gone into.

Deserving particular censure are instances when higher Party organs try to discuss the personal affairs of leaders, bypassing the respective primary organisations, and so depriving them of their constitutional right to demand an answer from any Communist. Of course, a district committee, city committee or any other higher Party organ can take decisions concerning any Communist. But only in cases where this is really necessary. One must not make rules out of exceptions. No one knows a Communist better than his fellow comrades and hence it is not possible to take a decision concerning him objectively without involving them. And when a district or city committee takes such a decision, they must explain it to the primary organisation.

An important element of Party discipline is the unconditional *subordination of the minority to the majority and of lower Party organisations to higher ones*. If a majority has clearly and definitely expressed its decision, the duty of everyone is to submit to that decision and act as one man. If a higher Party organisation has adopted a decision, the duty of lower units is to submit to it and unswervingly put it into practice.

This concerns the decisions of the Central Committee above all, since it embodies in itself the will of the whole Party in the period between congresses. The decisions and directives of the CC have the force of law and form the basis of the activity of all Party organisations and of each individual Communist.

Strict discipline in the Party does not infringe upon the rights of a Communist, does not prevent him from expressing his opinion on any problem of Party life. On the contrary, the more complicated the tasks facing the Party and its local organisations, the greater must be the demand for

their deep and all-round discussion. From among many points of view there emerges a dominant one, and this becomes the basis for a decision. Every Party member has the right to uphold his opinion before a decision is taken. But, once that is done, all Communists are in duty bound to carry it out.

It is very important that in every primary Party organisation, an atmosphere of high standards among Communists and of intolerance towards various forms of indiscipline is created. Those Party organisations work correctly in which even the smallest lapse in his Party duty on the part of a Communist immediately becomes an object of collective discussion. Comradely criticism and influence cannot prevent a Party member from being an active Party fighter, and can rather develop this quality in him even further. But if a Party member refuses to listen to the voice of his comrades, then it becomes necessary to apply disciplinary measures, up to expulsion from the ranks of the Party. By expelling from the Party those who violate the Programme and Rules, and compromise by their behaviour the high title of Communist, the Party will not become weaker, but stronger, and its authority among the masses will grow higher.

Lenin considered the development of *criticism and self-criticism* in every way among the indispensable conditions for strengthening the Party and for improving its work. The Party of Communists criticises itself, and by criticising inevitably strengthens itself. Principled, open criticism was considered by Lenin to be the duty of a revolutionary. He pointed out that it had a place in the arsenal of every Party organisation. Lenin warned that the Party must critically examine the results of its activity, and should not hide from the Party members and the people the shortcomings in its work.

The Party cannot fulfil its role of leader of the working class and all working people if it fails to notice its own shortcomings; if it is unable to expose the negative aspects in its work, if it is afraid of openly and honestly acknowledging its mistakes and cannot correct them in time.

Lenin wrote in this connection: "A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfils *in practice* its obligations towards its *class*

and the *working people*. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification—that is the hallmark of a serious party; that is how it should perform its duties, and how it should educate and train its *class*, and then the *masses*.”¹

Open criticism of its own defects is not a sign of the weakness but of the great strength of a Marxist Party, and a means of strengthening it further. Lenin insisted that a Party could learn to win and succeed only when it could face the truth, even the worst, squarely.

The CPSU unfailingly follows Lenin's counsels and directives. It constantly analyses its work, courageously and resolutely uncovers and corrects its errors, mistakes and shortcomings. Through its resolutions, the Party calls upon all Communists and Party officials to develop criticism and self-criticism, looking upon it as one of the most important conditions for strengthening and enhancing the fighting ability of its ranks, for establishing enduring links with the masses, and for making steady progress in its revolutionary creative activity.

The Party Rules also impose upon every Party member the duty to develop criticism and self-criticism, to expose shortcomings courageously and help overcome them, to combat self-conceit, ostentation, complacency and parochialism, and to give a resolute rebuff to all attempts at the suppression of criticism.

A Communist's interests should not be limited only and exclusively to his personal affairs; he should as a matter of principle expose errors, criticise the people guilty of committing them, and courageously and directly uphold the truth. Neither conscience nor the intelligence of a Party member can be reconciled to anything that contradicts Party morality or Soviet law. He courageously comes out against everything that has been outlived, against all distortions of Party policy and all actions that bring harm to the Party and the state.

The most important feature of Bolshevik criticism is its *partisan character*. The Party supports only that criticism which improves its work, helps it move forward, and does

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 57.

not weaken but strengthens it. That is why Lenin said no one should be allowed to utilise inner-Party democracy to the detriment of our common cause, to abuse the right of free discussion of questions of Party policy. "We are not a debating society," remarked Lenin, and he most resolutely condemned demagogues, those men who irresponsibly throw about harsh phrases, and said that we must refuse, once and for all, to compete with such men in the field of "democratism".

Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the fact that criticism in the Party cannot cross the limits set by its partisan nature, that it must be done in accordance with the standards of Party life, but that it is both necessary and possible to support criticism and to direct it without contradicting Party principles.

The Party cannot put up with any situation in which, under the banner of freedom of criticism, opinions are expressed aimed at discrediting and weakening the Party leadership, and undermining Party principles. Lenin wrote: "Freedom of criticism is a splendid thing—but once we are agreed on this, it would be no bad thing to concern ourselves with the content of criticism."¹

Criticism must have its content, and it cannot be criticism for the sake of criticism. In this connection, Lenin advised: "When you hear such criticism, criticism without any content, criticism for the sake of criticism, be on your guard; make inquiry to find out whether the criticising comrade's vanity has not been injured in some way; perhaps he has been offended or is irritated...."²

Genuine Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism is always permeated with real concern for improving a situation. It helps enliven Party work, and it also helps the Party educate Communists in the Leninist spirit.

It is worth remembering the following words of Kirov: "Among us Bolsheviks, in practice, there never existed any very tender relationship. We often say things that go against the grain. That is true. But, this need not be overworked. Such things should be done judiciously. But the point is that to close one's eyes to shortcomings can in no case be

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 425.

² *Ibid.*, p. 436.

permitted. Every one of us is guilty who for one reason or another, says to himself: 'Well, it is inopportune to talk, I had better keep silent. I shall not criticise.' When necessary, you must look sincerely, in a Bolshevik way, straight into the eyes of a comrade, and say: 'You, my dear man, are all muddled up. If you can't stand, I shall help you. If you cannot be lifted by your hand, I shall lift you by your hair. I shall do everything so that you pull yourself together; but if you don't, then, dear fellow, you have only yourself to blame for it, and you will have to be kept aside.' " ¹

Unflinching observance of the principle of democratic centralism, and its correct application in practical work, is the sure way to strengthen the authority of the Party, to enhance the activity and initiative of Communists, and to improve the organisational and political work required to implement the tasks set by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

¹ S. M. Kirov, *Collected Articles and Speeches*, Gospolitizdat, 1944, p. 103 (in Russian).

SUPREME PRINCIPLE OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

**Collective Leadership from Bottom to Top. Essence of
Collective Leadership. Collective Leadership and
Individual Responsibility.**

Collectivism is one of the most important principles of Party leadership. Many years of experience show that only by observing this principle, by relying on it, is it possible to guide and develop the creative initiative of Party organisations, to analyse situations correctly, and to evaluate the results of work objectively.

The collective nature of its decisions and actions is a great source of strength to the Party leadership, permitting it to unite the talents and experience of many people, and protecting Party organs and their leaders from arbitrariness and one-sidedness.

Collective leadership is indispensable for the normal activity of the Party and all its organisations, for the correct training of its officials, and for the development of the activity and initiative of all Communists.

The theoretical basis of the principle of collectivism in Party leadership is the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the decisive role of the masses in the historical process, the masses as the genuine creators of history. It was in the collective work of the working people, in their inexhaustible energy, in the wisdom of their experience, that Lenin saw the most decisive condition for the building of the new society.

Collective leadership follows from the very nature of the Communist Party, from its function as the collective political leader, organiser and teacher of the working people. In order to lead the masses and to fulfil this role of leader successfully, the Party must conduct all its work on a genuinely democratic basis. The importance of the principle of collectivism lies in the fact that it guarantees the cor-

rectness of political and organisational leadership, ensures the successful implementation of adopted decisions, and the development of the Party as the highest form of social and political organisation and the leading and the guiding force of Soviet society.

It is precisely in the Party collective, in the joint discussions and common work, and in the process of comradely criticism, that the qualities of genuinely political leaders of the Leninist type are developed.

Lenin laid the basis of the principle of collectivism in the Party and elaborated it from all sides. All Lenin's works, all his practical activity were permeated with his constant concern for the implementation of this principle in Party life. Only collective leadership, he taught, corresponds to the nature of the Party and can protect it from committing serious mistakes. When elaborating the draft Party Rules for the Second Congress of the RSDLP, he wrote that the supreme organ of the Party is the Congress, and all leading Party organs are collective organs, which must take decisions by majority vote. Lenin worked tirelessly to mobilise all Communists for active and creative participation in the day-to-day practical life of the Party. He highly valued in a Communist the ability to think independently, to form judgements on all the aspects of the life of the Party and to make his own contribution to the common cause.

Lenin severely condemned any attempt to ignore the opinions of ordinary Party members, to look upon them as merely the executors of the will of leading personalities. For him, a Party member was an active, conscientious, political fighter, a master of his Party, prepared to bear complete responsibility for its work.

In all his work, Lenin set an example of strict observance of the principle of collective leadership. Despite the boundless confidence of the whole Party and of the whole people in him, he never permitted himself to decide questions alone, on behalf of those collective bodies whose member or leader he was.

Before deciding any important question concerning the Party leadership, Party policy, or the determination of tasks or slogans, Lenin always sought and found a way to consult Party members, to exchange opinions with the largest

possible number of comrades representing a wide range of organisations.

This ability to rely on the masses and to learn from their collective experience was one of the basic and most characteristic features of the personality and practical activity of Lenin. And he always inculcated this ability in his comrades, in all Party officials, and all Communists.

In every leading Party collective, Lenin remarked, there must exist conditions for the free exchange of opinions, and no member of a collective should try to impose his own opinions by force upon other comrades, to consider himself above the collective. If someone's opinion is considered to be erroneous, then he must abide by the decision of the majority. It is only in such conditions that adopted decisions will in reality reflect the collective experience and knowledge of the members of a leading Party collective.

In his well-known "Letter to the Congress", Lenin expressed concern that the conduct of certain personalities in the Central Committee might acquire an excessive importance for the future of the Party, and in order to prevent this he recommended enlarging the Central Committee to include in it the best and most self-possessed representatives of the working class.

Old Bolsheviks who had the pleasure of working with Lenin narrate in their recollections how Lenin steadfastly relied upon the experience of the working people, and how highly he valued the collective opinion of his comrades-in-arms. V. A. Karpinsky, for instance, wrote:

"His temporary isolation from the Party and Party organisations functioning in far-away Russia, greatly worried Lenin. It was necessary to decide quickly problems which were new and which had the highest importance for the fate of the Party and the country. But, to decide them all by himself, without the Party, without its highest organs was *absolutely unthinkable to him*.

"So Lenin overcame thousands of obstacles of all kinds in order to establish contact with the Party quickly, and at any cost to arrive at a *collective decision*.

"For Lenin, the Party of the revolutionary proletariat was *everything*. He was organically linked with it and not for a moment did he separate himself from it; he could never counterpose himself to it or consider himself above it,

*“Lenin considered the collective functioning of the Party leadership, based upon Marxist theory, as the highest principle of leadership, ensuring the Party complete success in the achievement of all its aims.”*¹

Clara Zetkin wrote that Lenin completely merged himself with the mass of the comrades, and really was one of them. Neither by any gesture of his, nor by any expression of his face did he ever want to put pressure on anybody as “the leading personality”. His authority, Clara Zetkin observed, was the authority of the ideal leader and comrade, in whom there was not even a trace of “the man of power”.

During Lenin’s lifetime, Party congresses and Central Committee plenums were convened regularly. The Central Committee headed by him was the model of collective functioning, of collective leadership.

In the CC Report to the Ninth Party Congress, Lenin said: “It must be emphasised from the very outset, so as to remove all misunderstanding, that only the corporate decisions of the Central Committee adopted in the Organising Bureau or the Political Bureau, or by a plenary meeting of the Central Committee—only these decisions were carried out by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. The work of the Central Committee cannot otherwise proceed properly.”²

Lenin kept a close watch on the implementation of the decisions of Party congresses and CC plenums to see to it that all collective organs worked normally, and that their decisions were not replaced by the orders of individuals. An interesting example of Lenin’s style of work is given by an old Communist, T. S. Krivov, in his recollections of him. While working in the Central Control Commission, he decided to consult Lenin. After stating the case, he said:

“‘We are awaiting your decision....’

“‘My decision?’—Lenin even raised his head in surprise—‘But why mine? Am I the CCC? The Congress has elected you and your comrades. So you have to decide about it.’

“‘But what is your opinion, Vladimir Ilyich?’

“‘Well, that is a different matter. I can give my opinion.

¹ *Recollections of V. I. Lenin*, Vol. 2, Gospolitizdat, 1957, pp. 696-97 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 444.

I consider the deed to be disgraceful. When you discuss the case, you may take this opinion into consideration, as that of one of the Party members. No more than that.... As regards the punitive measures, I shall keep silent about them. That is entirely and fully within the competence of the Control Commission....'”¹

The Leninist way of presenting the question of the relation between the masses and their leaders, between the leaders and the led deserves attention. Lenin stressed that it is the masses themselves who throw up worthy leaders from their ranks. The masses follow their leaders, but at the same time they guide the latter, and correct them whenever necessary. Genuine leaders of the people not only teach the masses, but learn from them, too.

The correct training of leading Party workers can take place successfully only when all the members of the Party participate in it, when the work and behaviour of every leader is made widely known and is subjected to extensive discussion.

“And for that very reason,” Lenin wrote, “*the whole Party* must constantly, steadily and systematically train suitable persons for the central bodies, must see clearly, as in the palm of its hand, *all the activities* of every candidate for these high posts, must come to know even their personal characteristics, their strong and weak points, their victories and ‘defeats’.... In this way, and in this way alone, shall we enable the whole body of influential Party workers (and not the chance assortment of persons in a circle or group-let) to know their leaders and to put each of them in his proper category.”²

Drawing in large circles of people in the elaboration and implementation of decisions, assessing the opinion of the majority, relying on the majority and expressing its will—these are the Leninist principles of Party life. They guarantee the all-sidedness and correctness of Party decisions. Forgetting or violating these principles inevitably brings with it the isolation of the leaders from the masses, and the adoption of thoughtless, erroneous decisions.

A genuinely scientific, Marxist-Leninist approach to the

¹ *Recollections of V. I. Lenin*, Vol. 2, pp. 129-30 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 117-18.

problem of collective leadership presupposes a correct solution of the question of the authority of the leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement.

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the important role of the leaders of the working class. While acknowledging the decisive role of the people in the development of society, Marx, Engels and Lenin considered that a leading personality, although he cannot change the course of history to his liking, does nevertheless play an important role in it. A leader can, by his activity, accelerate the pace of events, indicate a less difficult path towards a goal, or, on the contrary, slow down the movement forward and make it more difficult. Leading personalities are those who have understood, earlier, more clearly and more deeply than others, a new situation and the needs of social development, and have headed a mass movement.

Marxists-Leninists attribute great importance to the role of leaders—statesmen, military leaders and theoreticians. The successful activity of the masses depends to a great extent on how they are organised, i.e., on who guides them, who their leaders are. The working class cannot triumph without throwing up its own political leaders, its advanced representatives, capable of organising the working-class movement and leading it.

Lenin resolutely opposed those who preached the idea of “no authorities”. He wrote: “Marxists cannot adopt the usual standpoint of the intellectual radical, with his pseudo-revolutionary abstraction: ‘no authorities.’”

“No. The working class, which all over the world is waging a hard and persistent struggle for complete emancipation, needs authorities.”¹

Understandably enough, the authority of a leader stems not from his titles and ranks, but from his knowledge, talent, work, ability to organise the masses and his concern for the needs and aspirations of the people.

The Communist Party always opposes those who try to lower the significance of the leaders of the working-class movement, to counterpose the leaders to the masses, the working class, the Party. However, while noting the important role of leading personalities, the Party also condemns

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 412.

the glorification of any leader. The glorification of a personality inevitably pushes the people and the Party into the background, fetters them, lowers their role and importance.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism always came out against the cult of the personality, considering it alien to the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary movement, to the spirit of communism. It is well known that Marx, Engels and Lenin severely criticised those who indulged in the glorification of their own services. They could not tolerate flattery and eulogies.

"Because of aversion to any personality cult," wrote Marx, "I have never permitted the numerous expressions of appreciation from various countries, with which I was pestered during the existence of the International, to reach the realm of publicity, and have never answered them, except occasionally by a rebuke."¹

Engels also expressed his negative attitude to any personality cult a number of times. Once, the leaders of London's Communist Labour Education Society decided to organise a musical function in honour of Engels's birthday. So Engels wrote to them: "Marx and I were always against all kinds of public demonstrations in honour of individuals, with the exception of only those cases in which some significant aim is pursued; above all we were against such demonstrations which concerned us in our lifetime. That is why if I had had the slightest apprehension that such a function was being organised in my honour, I would have hurried, in time, with my most humble but most insistent request to the comrade musicians to refrain from carrying out this intention."

According to Lenin's comrades-in-arms, none among those who worked with him or under his leadership permitted himself to do or say anything that might amount to his glorification, because they knew that for their pains they would only get a severe censure from Lenin.

A. V. Lunacharsky in his recollections narrates a remarkable conversation that took place in 1918, soon after Lenin was wounded. Calling Bonch-Bruyevich and a few other comrades, Lenin told them: "With great dissatisfaction I

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 310.

notice that my personality is being glorified. It is regrettable and harmful. We all know that it is not a matter of personality. It would be rather awkward for me to prohibit such a phenomena. There would be something ridiculous about it, too, pretentious. But you have got to put a stop to all this fuss."¹

While opposing the cult of the individual, Lenin, in all his work and all his behaviour, was an outstanding example of intolerance towards the idea that it is at all possible for one individual to lead a country which has a Party that has absorbed into itself all that is best in the people, without taking into consideration the will of the collective, without relying upon that will. He could not conceive of the work of leading Party organs other than as collective work.

Lenin often warned about the consequences of the overglorification of individuals. On the one hand, it leads to the lowering of the role of the Party among the masses, to the throttling of their creative initiative and enthusiasm; on the other hand, it leads to the isolation of a leader from the masses, to the abuse of power.

The CPSU constantly sees to it that the principle of collective, comradesly and well-coordinated work in all elected organs is observed. The principle of collective leadership is embodied in the Programme and the Rules of the CPSU as a law of inner-Party life, as an indissoluble condition for the normal activity of Party organisations.

The Party Rules state: *The supreme principle of Party leadership is collective leadership.... The cult of the individual and the violations of inner-Party democracy resulting from it must not be tolerated in the Party; they are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life.*

The Party is strictly guided by these Leninist principles of collective work. In the Party Rules, concrete organisational forms and rules are defined which permit the implementation in practice of these principles from top to bottom of the Party. These forms and rules are basic standards of Party life.

In what do they find their expression? First of all, in the regular convening of Party congresses, conferences and meetings.

¹ *Izvestia*, February 14, 1960.

As the supreme organ of collective leadership in the Party, reflecting the common opinions of all Communists, Congress can discuss the tasks of the Party deeply and from all aspects, and can adopt the most correct and authoritative decisions. Lenin attached the utmost importance to the regular convening of congresses, to their thorough preparation, and to seeing that they elaborate the correct policy, strategy and tactics for the Party, and arm it with a clear programme of action.

At its congresses the Party sums up its activity, generalises the experience gained in the practice of communist construction, and marks out the new tasks and the paths leading to their realisation. Every congress, in accordance with concrete historical conditions and the experience of revolutionary struggle, enriches and develops Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU is of great significance for the destiny of the Party and the country. Its proceedings were distinguished by their high ideological level and their great efficiency. It adopted decisions testifying to the Party's Leninist, strictly scientific and principled approach to the examination of the most important problems.

The role of the *plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU* is very great, too. Their regular convening is a Party law. The CC plenary meetings collectively discuss and decide cardinal problems relating to Party leadership, economic and cultural affairs, inner-Party life, and ideological work.

The October (1964) and the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee have been held in conditions allowing business-like and frank discussions of the tasks that faced the Party. The measures elaborated by these plenums for the improvement of the management of industry and agriculture are of great significance and were received by the entire Party and all Soviet people with great satisfaction. Under the influence of the decisions of these plenums, greater attention is being paid to questions of the Party's organisational work, to the application of the rich experience of the past, and to discovering improved forms and methods of work for Party organisations and their leading bodies.

Another necessary standard of Party life is, in the same way, the *regular holding* of congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, Party conferences, plenums of Party committees, and Party meetings. The frequency of all such meetings is fixed by the Party Rules.

But the point is not merely that congresses, conferences, plenums, meetings should be regularly convened. This, by itself, does not ensure genuine collectivism. The point is that every Party organ must be a genuine collective in itself, and all Party organisations and Party committees must sponsor joint discussions and decisions on all burning questions. The rich practical experience and collective intelligence of the Party's members, must always be taken into consideration and put to use.

The main thing is for all organisations, all Communists, to be convinced that without collectivism in deciding questions the Party cannot develop successfully, that it can today correctly lead the economy and strengthen its ranks only on the basis of collectively worked-out policies and collective guidance, scientific approach to problems, the careful weighing of the experience, opinions and will of the masses, and the development of the enthusiasm and initiative of every Communist.

The sense of individual responsibility of each Party member must also be heightened if collectivism is to be implemented fully in practice.

Life teaches that decisions taken by single individuals usually bear the marks of one-sidedness and subjectivism. One man alone cannot properly know everything pertaining to any particular question. No leader, however experienced and capable he may be, whatever knowledge may be at his command, can replace the experience and creative initiative of an entire collective.

Collective leadership is, as it were, the unification of many opinions into one opinion, of many talents into one talent. It should also increase the sense of responsibility of the people who have jointly elaborated a decision for its implementation. Because they have jointly merged their points of view, they should jointly put their decisions into practice.

The comrades elected to leading Party organs are the best, the most active, the politically most mature Communists, those possessing experience of practical work, and command-

ing deep knowledge. At the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and at the Party conferences preceding the Twenty-Third Congress, more than 340,000 Party members were elected to regional committees, area committees, city committees and district committees of the Party. Among them were 125,000 workers and collective farmers, and 63,000 engineers, technicians and specialists in agriculture.

Communists have become more exacting in the election of leading Party bodies. They are now guided not so much by formal considerations of the posts held by candidates, but pay attention first of all to their efficiency and political qualities.

For instance, in the Moscow Regional Committee, there are 186 members and candidate-members, among whom are 39 leading workers and collective farmers, 27 leaders of industrial enterprises, building organisations, collective farms and state farms, 12 engineers, agronomists and economists, 70 Party and 20 Soviet officials, and 18 leaders of scientific, cultural, educational and health institutions. The members of the regional committee are in direct and day-to-day touch with people. There are no "honorary" members. Everyone is engaged in a definite job, actively participating in the elaboration of decisions, and doing organisational and political work in the primary Party organisations. All this permits regional committee members to take initiatives, to express their opinions, to make suggestions. The capable utilisation of their experience and knowledge enables regional committees to come to correct decisions and provide qualified leadership.

The role of the plenums of Party committees as organs of collective leadership has grown considerably in recent years. The majority of these are characterised by efficient proceedings, frank exchanges of opinions and the extensive use of the method of criticism and self-criticism. The manner in which plenums are prepared is also changing. The study of questions to be put on the agenda of plenums is now done not by a narrow circle of officials alone, but by many members of the committee, rank-and-file Communists.

A plenary meeting of the Belgorod Regional Committee of the CPSU—which considered the questions of the propaganda work of Party organisations and the introduction

of the achievements of science and advanced experience into agricultural production—was prepared as follows:

Many members of the Regional Committee, specialists in agriculture, leading workers and innovators from collective and state farms were invited for the purpose. They visited many farms, got acquainted with the work in livestock farming and field-crop cultivation, talked to collective farmers and state-farm workers, and at the same time tried to find out how better to organise the work.

The Regional Committee Party Bureau then prepared a detailed report and worked out concrete suggestions. The participants in the plenary meeting discussed these thoroughly and supplemented them. After the plenum, the members of the Regional Committee went to the districts and helped them to organise the work of implementing the decisions they had adopted.

Concern for improving Party work finds expression too in the fact that the agendas of the plenary meetings of Party committees more and more include questions concerning the principles and methods of Party leadership in the economy, the combination of ideological and organisational work, the observance of the Leninist standards of Party life, and ways of improving the militancy of primary Party organisations.

After the Twenty-Third Party Congress, a plenum of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine discussed the tasks of Party organisations in the further improvement of organisational work and the verification of the implementation of Party and government decisions; the CC of the Communist Party of Byelorussia considered at a plenary meeting the question of heightening the responsibility of Communists in carrying out the demands of the Party Rules; the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia discussed at its plenum measures to increase the vanguard role of Communists in the light of the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress; and a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan examined the question of the tasks of ideological work.

The Party Bureau, as the executive organ of a Party organisation, can carry out its decisions successfully only when it acts collectively, and after an extensive and free exchange of opinions.

Let us take the work of the Party Bureau of the Ryazan City Committee of the CPSU. There are eleven people in it: three secretaries, one department head, the chairman of the City Executive Committee, the secretaries of two city district Party committees, the director of an enterprise, the secretary of a Party committee, the rector of an institute, and a factory worker. By working together in this collective Party organ, the Bureau's members at the same time learn the art of Party leadership, receive an ideological and political schooling.

This Bureau usually meets twice a month. To prepare for its meetings, it mobilises specialists, leading workers, innovators in production and Communist-pensioners. Bureau materials—notes, draft resolutions—are sent to Bureau members two or three days before a meeting. Bureau members acquaint themselves personally with the people and the facts connected with the questions on the agenda of a meeting. By studying questions on the spot, they can discuss them efficiently and can make concrete suggestions. As a result, well-thought-out decisions are taken.

Afterwards Bureau members go out to the enterprises, attend Party meetings, hold discussions with workers and specialists, deliver political reports, and help Party organisations.

The Bureau of the Ryazan City Committee now discusses more often questions concerning work in the organisational, ideological and educational fields. Production and economic work is considered to be mainly a question of organising people for the execution of assigned tasks, and of enhancing the vanguard role of Communists. The City Committee Bureau systematically hears the reports of primary Party organisations on these questions, as well as reports by the secretaries of Party organisations, economic executives and leaders of Komsomol and trade union organisations.

The Bureau meetings regularly discuss questions of technical progress, of improving the organisation of industrial production, of increasing the productivity of labour, of lowering the costs of production, of introducing scientific discoveries, new techniques and advanced methods of work into industrial production, and of improving cultural and social services to the working people.

Lenin pointed out that "collegiate methods are essential for the conduct of the affairs of the workers' and peasants' state. But any expansion of these methods, any distortion of them resulting in red tape and irresponsibility, any conversion of collegiate bodies into talk-shops is a supreme evil, an evil which must be halted at all costs..."¹

A passion for meetings, reports, resolutions, etc., destroys the essence of collective leadership, harms the cause. Collective work and collective methods are necessary, not so that people can meet and deliver speeches for their own sake, but so that, by employing the experience of many people, correct measures can be elaborated and executed in the quickest possible way.

A great responsibility for organising collective work rests upon the secretary of a Party committee. He is called upon to coordinate the work of the committee, to be exacting towards himself and his elected colleagues, and to organise the implementation of collectively adopted decisions by skilfully applying the experience of his fellow comrades.

It deserves to be emphasised once again that collectivism is not a form, but the essence of Party work methods. It is essential for a leader to be deeply convinced of the need for joint discussion and combined experience; he must be convinced in the fact that only collective thinking can produce the correct solution to a problem. Without this, a genuine atmosphere of collective work cannot exist.

Only when Party workers are always correcting themselves and their fellow comrades, only when there is a lively exchange of opinions, i.e., open and direct criticism and self-criticism, together with respect for Party principles, can correct solutions be found. Even the slightest manifestations of servility and toadyism within the Party are absolutely intolerable since they can eat away the fortress of the Party's ranks like rust.

Unfortunately there are still cases when some committee members, afraid of falling out of line, keep silent and do not express their opinions. They see that a problem is not being solved correctly, but they do not speak up; instead they prefer to compromise with their own consciences. Such

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 437.

behaviour in a Communist, especially one enjoying the confidence of his comrades, damages the Party's cause. A principled attitude is the only correct attitude. When a matter is serious, it is better to be unsuccessful in speaking the truth, as Lenin taught, than to keep silent about it.

Collective leadership does not exclude, but on the contrary presupposes the *personal responsibility* of officials for assigned jobs. Lenin made the point that along with collective leadership it is essential to have individual responsibility and individual management so that there is neither red tape nor shirking of responsibility. He wrote: "At any rate, and under all circumstances without exception, collegiate management must be accompanied by the precisest definition of the personal responsibility of *every* individual for a *precisely* defined job. To refer to collegiate methods as an excuse for irresponsibility is a most dangerous evil..."¹

The correct assignment of duties is of great importance for the enhancement of the sense of responsibility of every Party worker for his assigned job. Even in the period prior to the October Revolution, when the Party had to function in the difficult conditions of illegality, Lenin considered that a Party committee should strive to divide its work among the comrades as far as possible, because the different aspects of the Party's work call for different abilities.

Every elected organ divides its assignments among its members. It is important that each member does his assigned job in time and with enthusiasm. Otherwise, collective work is impossible.

Collective leadership, in the Leninist sense, means hard work, excellent organisation, and a high sense of responsibility on the part of every Communist for putting Party decisions into effect. Collective leadership is judged by its concrete successes in industry and agriculture and in the field of culture.

The principle of collective work demands of Party members that they correct a Party leader in time when he commits a mistake, that they do not allow particular shortcomings to develop into big mistakes, and that leaders listen to the critical remarks directed at them and

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 437.

react correctly to them by taking measures to rectify their shortcomings.

The open and extensive discussion of the mistakes of Party officials and workers is of great educational value. Lenin constantly advised the Party not to conceal the mistakes and failures of its leaders from the masses, but to make them the subject of general discussion by conscientious workers. He wrote in this connection: "That may appear embarrassing at first sight, it may seem 'offensive' sometimes to individual leaders—but we must overcome this false feeling of embarrassment, it is our duty to the Party and to the working class.... Only through a series of such open discussions can we get a really harmonious ensemble of leaders; only given this condition will it be *impossible* for the workers to cease to understand us; only then will our 'general staff' really be backed by the *good* and *conscious* will of an army that follows and at the same time directs its general staff!"¹

The Leninist principles of collective leadership are all the more fully implemented when, on basic questions, the Party organs consult Party members, the people who know the problems concerned. Because it is clear that however capable a leader may be, whatever energy he may be able to put into his work, it is not possible to achieve real lasting successes without the support and the active participation of large numbers of people.

Party activists play a big role in the life of the Party. They give expression to the common opinion, and organise the implementation of Party decisions and directives. Meetings of Party activists are convened for the discussion of very important problems. Although the Party Rules do not fix a period for the convening of such meetings, nonetheless they must be convened whenever necessary.

Participants in meetings of Party activists are not elected or delegated, but invited by the Party committee. Consequently, such meetings, in spite of their importance, are of only a consultative character. Their decisions can only take the form of recommendations. If they are confirmed by the Party bureau or the Party committee, then they become

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 118.

obligatory for all Communists of the given Party organisation.

To consult the core of Party activists regularly on the most important problems of a Party organisation's life, to rely on their experience, authority and knowledge, and to verify in this way the correctness of its actions—these are the indispensable conditions for the successful work of a Party committee.

Consistent and resolute implementation of the Leninist principle of collective leadership can be relied on to raise the level of the creative activity of all Party members, and to improve the general standard of leadership in all fields of the economy and culture of the country. In collective leadership lies the strength of the Party, the guarantee of its success.

SELECTION OF CADRES AND VERIFICATION OF WORK DONE

The Heart of the Matter. The Leninist Principles of Work with Cadres. In the Crucible of Life. The All-Round Assessment of People. A Permanent Reserve. Ideological Stealing. The Verification of the Work Done.

Leading cadres have a major role to play in the fulfilment of the great and complex tasks of communist construction envisaged by the Twenty-Third Congress. The success of any work, in the final analysis, depends on those to whom the work has been entrusted, on those who happen to deal with it. That is why the question of cadres has always been an important one in Party work.

Lenin always insisted that the Party cannot carry out its policies without systematic work in the selection and placing of cadres. The adoption of a correct decision, he said, is of first rate importance for leadership. But that is only the beginning. In order that the decision shall not remain on paper only, it is essential to take it to the masses, and to organise them for its implementation. All this requires a great deal of both political and organisational work.

Policies are put into effect by men. The heart of the matter, therefore, is the correct selection of personnel and control over the execution of assignments—that is how Lenin presented this question.

Cadres are the guiding force of Party and state leadership. Their selection, placing and training form the basis of the organisational activity of the Party.

The Communist Party has always attached great importance to the training and correct utilisation of cadres. At the different stages of socialist construction, in order to meet the tasks facing the country, the Party so places its cadres that their creative energies, abilities, and talents are best directed towards the realisation of the great aim of communism.

At the inception of the Communist Party, Lenin remarked that no class in history had gained power without producing its own political leaders, its own advanced representatives capable of organising the movement and leading it.

The whole experience of the international communist and workers' movement teaches that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist Party—cannot successfully conduct the struggle against capitalism for the conquest of power, nor head the new proletarian state and organise socialist construction without experienced and steeled leaders enjoying the confidence of the working people. Lenin showed that for its victory, the working-class movement needs resolute and devoted fighters, wholly dedicated to revolutionary activity.

In his classical work *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin wrote: "Without ... tried and talented leaders, professionally trained, schooled by long experience, and working in perfect harmony, no class in modern society can wage a determined struggle."¹

From the very first days of the Party's existence, Lenin paid particularly great attention to the training of Party cadres. In the hard conditions of underground work, in the fight against numerous enemies, professional revolutionaries were steeled as courageous and devoted fighters for the cause of the working class, irreconcilable to all types of opportunism. They headed the Bolshevik organisations, aroused the working class and all working people to fight against capitalism, for the victory of the revolution, for the establishment of Soviet power.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the Communist Party took upon itself the responsibility for the fate of the country, for the construction of the new, socialist society, it had at once to face the task of selecting and promoting tens of thousands of leaders for Soviet, economic, military, cultural, educational and other state and social organisations. The question of the training of cadres at that period was not an easy one. Lenin, in his work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, wrote: "Of course, not weeks, but long months and years are required for a new social class, especially a

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 461.

class which up to now has been oppressed and crushed by poverty and ignorance, to get used to its new position, look around, organise its work and promote its *own* organisers." ¹

The Communist Party was the main source of supply of cadres for all the organisations of the young Soviet state. At the same time Lenin taught Party and Soviet organisations to take pains to find capable administrators among non-Party workers and peasants. He deeply believed in the creative forces of the masses. He wrote: "There is an enormous amount of organising talent among the 'people', i.e., among the workers and the peasants who do not exploit the labour of others. Capital crushed these talented people in thousands; it killed their talent and threw them on to the scrap-heap. We are not yet able to find them, encourage them, put them on their feet, promote them. But we shall learn to do so if we set about it with all-out revolutionary enthusiasm, without which there can be no victorious revolutions." ²

Implementing this Leninist instruction, the Party promoted to state jobs tens of thousands of workers and peasants during the first years of Soviet power. Very many capable and talented organisers were discovered among the people.

The question of cadres became even more acute during the years of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture. The gigantic scale of socialist construction demanded the preparation and promotion of hundreds of thousands of specialists with secondary and higher education, and millions of skilled workers. This question was discussed at the Central Committee plenary meetings in the years 1928 and 1929.

At the call of the Party, thousands of Communists, Kom-somol members, non-Party workers and peasants went to study at workers' schools, technical schools and institutes. Many thousands of the best workers engaged in production were promoted to top jobs in all the fields of industry and in the newly collectivised agriculture. For the theoretical and technical education of the new personnel, a large network of courses and institutes was created so that their

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 262.

² *Ibid.*

studies could be pursued without interrupting their production work.

The cadres who were brought up and trained by the Party in the years of the earlier five-year plans were the decisive force in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. They also ensured the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. Under their leadership the Soviet people overcame tremendous difficulties in restoring their war-ravaged economy in an incredibly short period of time, and reached new heights in the development of their economy and culture, and entered the period of the full-scale construction of communism.

In the post-war years, the Party has extended the scale of cadre-training still further. In the various branches of the national economy and culture, there are at present over 13 million specialists, including five million with higher education. About four million students are studying in higher educational establishments alone. The training of specialists with secondary technical education has also increased considerably. The directives of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU on the five-year plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR, provide for the training of about seven million specialists with higher and secondary education during the years 1966-70, or 65 per cent more than under the preceding five-year plan. It is envisaged that at the end of the new five-year plan the annual admission to institutes will reach 940,000 students, and 1,600,000 students to technical schools.

The CPSU has trained and promoted to leadership an enormous number of ideologically steeled and highly qualified cadres capable of solving the complex tasks of building the new society.

The following data demonstrate the great qualitative changes that have taken place in the composition of cadres. On the eve of the Eighteenth Party Congress, the percentage of secretaries of regional committees, territorial committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics with higher education was 28.6, whereas the corresponding figure now is 98 per cent. Nearly two-thirds of them are engineers, technicians, agronomists and other specialists in industry and agriculture. Every second secre-

tary has gone through the Party school. Among regional committee and city committee secretaries, those with higher education once numbered only 4.9 per cent; now they total 90 per cent.

The composition of leading Soviet officials has also changed radically. In the year 1939, the chairmen of regional and territorial executive committees, and councils of ministers of Union and Autonomous republics with higher education comprised 16.6 per cent; at present they comprise 94 per cent: the figures for chairmen of the executive committees of city and district Soviets are 2.6 and 79 per cent respectively.

There is also a significant improvement in the qualitative composition of leading cadres at industrial enterprises and construction sites. As a rule, good organisers and specialists are to be found at the head of all factories, works and building organisations.

The Party is now paying particular attention to strengthening agriculture with good cadres; talented organisers of collective- and state-farm production are being carefully trained. Over two million Communists, including 500,000 agronomists, zootechnicians and veterinary personnel are engaged in agriculture. Thousands of remarkable innovators, experts in their professions, have emerged.

It can be said in truth that in all sectors of Party, state and social activity, and in the various branches of the national economy, science and culture, there are many energetic organisers, men who are politically mature, with a broad outlook, and capable of properly executing their assigned tasks. This is a big achievement of the Party.

However, as was pointed out at the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU, the task of strengthening the most important sectors of production and culture with cadres is not yet solved. There still exist enterprises which lag behind in fulfilling production plans; there are backward collective and state farms. And when one starts investigating the causes of this state of affairs, then, most often, it turns out to be a cadre problem.

At present, when the scale of activity in all the fields of the economy and culture has attained gigantic proportions, the correct training and promotion of cadres assumes decisive importance. That is why the Party, its Central

Committee, pays special attention to the all-round improvement of the work with cadres and demands that it be put on a scientific basis, that great efforts be concentrated on improving the qualitative composition of administrators and organisers, that all sectors of communist construction be strengthened with really experienced men capable of organising the work.

In the course of many years, the Communist Party has elaborated *scientific principles* of work with cadres. In the works of Lenin, and in resolutions of Party congresses, conferences and plenums of the Central Committee, the theoretical foundations have been laid on which the entire work of selecting, placing and training cadres is built. These foundations and principles are, with the accumulation of experience and with the appearance of new tasks of communist construction, constantly enriched and developed.

Lenin said: "We shall go our way and try as carefully and as patiently as possible to test and discover real organisers, people with sober and practical minds, people who combine loyalty to socialism with ability without fuss (and in spite of muddle and fuss) to get a large number of people working together steadily and concertedly within the framework of Soviet organisation. *Only* such people, after they have been tested a dozen times, by being transferred from the simplest to the more difficult tasks, should be promoted to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labour, leaders of administration."¹

These words of Lenin's express the gist of the scientific principles on which the Party selects and places cadres.

To select cadres correctly means to select them on the basis of *political* considerations, that is, on whether they deserve political confidence, are ideologically steeled, whether they understand the Party's policies and the interests of the state rightly, and whether they can fight courageously for their realisation. This is one aspect of the matter. The other aspect, no less important, is to select cadres on the basis of considerations of *efficiency*, that is whether they can do the given work, whether they have the necessary knowledge and experience for it, and whether they can organise and supervise the work correctly.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 262-63.

It follows that only those people should be promoted to responsible posts who are boundlessly devoted to communism, are ideologically firm, place the interests of the Party and the state above everything else, possess the necessary theoretical and practical qualifications and practical experience, and who are capable of organising and leading large numbers of people.

The Party regards it as imperative to educate and train cadres in the spirit of the high *moral principles* forming the moral make-up of the builder of communism: a high sense of social duty, collectivism and comradely mutual help, honesty and truthfulness, simplicity and modesty, the highest regard for principles and intolerance of shortcomings, attentiveness towards people, and faith in the creative strength of the masses.

It is demanded of all leading personnel that their personal lives set an example for all Soviet people. Only those people deserve the high title of Soviet leader who organically combine in their character courageous service to communist ideals with high ethics and unimpeachable moral purity.

The ideological convictions of a leader, his moral and political make-up are determined principally by the manner in which he implements Party policy in practice. Only those leaders are trustworthy who are boundlessly devoted to the Party and the people and place social interests above personal interests.

In order to lead, Lenin taught, it is essential to be competent, to know fully and exactly all the relevant conditions of production, including the latest techniques of production, and therefore to have the necessary scientific education. When estimating the working capacity of leaders, Lenin always paid particular attention to their *organisational and administrative abilities*.

Indeed, to lead an industrial enterprise, construction site, collective farm, state farm, research institute, to be at the head of a Party committee or Soviet institution, one must have the necessary theoretical grounding, a good knowledge of the scientific foundations of the organisation and management of production and of economic methods; one must be an active fighter for technical progress, for high profitability and advanced production methods, and a militant propa-

gandist for and able organiser of the introduction of all that is new and advanced. Without this, leaders are not able to fulfil the tasks facing them, and command the respect of the people.

In evaluating the working capacity of an administrator it is important not only to consider his knowledge and organisational qualities, but also his ability to work boldly, with initiative, and to settle questions independently without waiting for instructions from above on each and every issue.

No less important qualities of a leader are his exacting attitude towards himself and towards his subordinates, punctuality, precision, self-possession and tact.

But a one-sided approach to the selection of cadres, i.e., to consider only the political or the working qualities of a person, is harmful. If such a method of selecting leaders is adopted, it only results in utilitarianism, in the infiltration of cadres who are morally unstable and unreliable; it allows all kinds of careerists to worm their way into leading posts.

The Party Rules speak of the need *to implement undeviatingly the Party's policy with regard to the proper selection of personnel according to their political qualifications and personal qualities. To be uncompromising whenever the Leninist principles of the selection and education of personnel are infringed.*

The Party demands that all leaders be men of high principle, with a high ideological level, men able to look ahead and do a job in a scientific way, to detect shortcomings in time and to adopt decisive measures to eliminate them. A leader is expected to adopt a *political* approach to the solution of a problem, to be *efficient* in handling a job and to be *business-like* and *persistent* in pursuing it to the end. Most important of all for the socialist economy and the task of building communism is that a leader should be flexible and circumspect in his approach to all economic matters; he should consider not only the advantages but also the profitability of the measures he takes, and get the best results at the least cost.

Nowadays a leader needs to be not only a job organiser, but also an educator of people. Only then is it possible to ensure the further improvement and development of pro-

duction, the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of national plans, and the creative growth of the people's abilities.

Particularly high demands are made on Party organisers who work within the Party apparatus and are called upon to head a Party organisation. A Party worker is a *political* leader. He should be a man of principle and high ideological level, well-acquainted with his job and an able organiser. People holding Party jobs must be able to work with other people, have a creative approach to the solution of problems, be capable of political and organisational leadership, and, in the words of Kirov, live one life with the Party's members, breathe the same air with them, and share their joys and sorrows.

Practical interests demand the more frequent promotion of young, capable organisers to positions of leadership, and their combination with older, more experienced personnel.

Older cadres have a good grounding and can find their bearings with relative ease. Here lies their advantage. But their numbers constantly decrease. They gradually leave the arena. Besides, some old workers have a tendency to keep looking stubbornly back and to stick to the past, to the habitual and to fail to observe the new in life.

Younger cadres have their own advantages. They constitute the great majority, show more initiative, work more energetically, have a better developed sense of the new, and they grow and learn rapidly. That is why the Party demands that young cadres that have been tested in their work be promoted to leading posts, without counterposing them to older personnel, strictly following Lenin's instructions concerning the proper *combination of old and young cadres*.

Unfortunately, some people still have a wrong approach to this question. They think as follows: a man has reached a certain age, so he should be pensioned off. There are others who are afraid of promoting young cadres. Both attitudes are harmful. Can age be a deciding factor? What is important is to take the ability of a worker into consideration. When he cannot bring anything new to his job, when he lags behind in life, and has become a sort of brake on the job, then he has to be replaced by another worker possessing greater initiative. But if a person, despite his years, is full of energy, and works well, why then raise

the question of his replacement? A rational approach, which takes into account the requirements of a given job, is what is needed.

The constant renewal of cadres, the promotion of new, trained comrades, the combination of young with well-experienced workers in the Party and state apparatus—this should be a law in the development of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the training of local, national cadres. Since the establishment of Soviet power a large army of leading cadres belonging to the various nationalities has been educated and trained. This is a great victory for the Party. A constant exchange of qualified cadres takes place between the Republics in the country. The experience of development in the USSR shows that without fraternal mutual help with cadres it is not possible to ensure the rational development of the productive forces and to combine correctly the interests of the whole country with the interests of the various Republics.

The placing and distribution of cadres should be subordinated to the basic political and economic tasks awaiting solution at a given moment. Starting from concrete circumstances, it is essential to concentrate efforts on those sectors of the economy which are of particular importance for the whole country. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in view the abilities and characteristics of each person to be promoted and to appoint cadres to positions where they can develop themselves and make the greatest contribution, bringing the maximum benefit to the common cause. Lenin, even in pre-revolutionary times, pointed out that for the different aspects of revolutionary work different abilities are required. A person who is totally unfit as an organiser may be irreplaceable as an agitator, or a comrade incapable of the most strict conspiratorial work may be an excellent propagandist.

When promoting any person one must be certain that he possesses the experience required for the job, has had sufficient Party schooling and is politically fit, and has been technically prepared for the new post. In one of his works Engels wrote about some young comrades who, not having practical experience and political maturity, aspired to leading positions in the Party:

“Let them understand that their ‘academic education’, which requires moreover a thorough critical verification, does not at all give them an officer’s rank with the right to a corresponding post in the Party; that in our Party everyone has to start from the lowest rung; that in order to occupy responsible posts in the Party, it is not enough to possess literary talent and theoretical knowledge only, even when the one as well as the other are unquestionably evident, but that it also requires a sound knowledge of the conditions of Party struggle and the mastering of its forms, tried and tested personal honesty and integrity of character and finally, voluntary enrolment in the ranks of the fighters. . . .”¹

Cadres are formed not in schools, not through books, but above all in the crucible of life, in struggle. Education is only an indispensable precondition for a person to become a full-fledged Party worker. Lenin said that “...maturity is attested not by a document or certificate, but by experience and practice”.² The school of life, the day-to-day struggle for the cause of the Party, the courageous overcoming of difficulties—that is what steels a leader, develops the necessary qualities in him.

Y. D. Filinova, First Secretary of the Volsk District Party Committee, Saratov Region, was a delegate to the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress and spoke there. She has been working at that post for the last eight years. But, before occupying that high and responsible position, Filinova traversed a long path of practical work as a teacher, headmistress of a school, secretary of a primary Party organisation, Party instructor, and head of a department of the Party district committee. In 1952, Filinova finished the Higher Party School, and then worked as a secretary of a Party district committee, and as chairman of the district executive committee. All this time she worked hard, acquired knowledge, practical experience, and an ideological grounding. This enabled the district Party organisation to entrust her with the post of first secretary of the district committee.

Or, take another example: V. A. Semenov is the director

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 75 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 458.

of the Volgograd Tractor Works, one of the biggest factories in the country. He has also been through a great school of life: he has worked as an engine-driver, a team-leader, a foreman, and a shop superintendent. Simultaneously, without leaving his work at the factory, he studied at a technical institute. After completing his studies he became superintendent of a big shop, and then secretary of the Party committee of the works. A good theoretical grounding, great practical experience, and organisational abilities combined with high moral qualities served as the basis for his promotion to the post of leader of one of the biggest enterprises in the country.

These are typical examples. The majority of leading Party workers started on their way to their present positions as ordinary workers, collective farmers, or office workers.

It is indispensable for the correct selection, placing and promotion of cadres to have a good knowledge of them in their day-to-day work. Lenin always evaluated the political and working qualities of cadres from all sides. For example, in August 1921, in one of his notes, he asked for a brief assessment of a person. He wanted to know how the comrade was fit from the point of view of (a) conscientiousness, (b) political maturity, (c) knowledge of the job, (d) administrative abilities.

Various means are employed in studying cadres: reference to documents and the opinions of people from the places of work of the comrades concerned, checking-up on concrete assignments, and personal interviews. Meetings of Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations at which Communists and all the working people give their estimations of leaders and point to the shortcomings in their work, are extremely good and reliable means of assessing cadres.

Important documents indicating the abilities and shortcomings of comrades are written references. It has become a practice with all organisations to prepare such documents. These references are official documents, confirmed by those collective bodies in the name of which they are given, and do not express some individual's personal opinion but the opinion of a collective organ. It is vital that references be objective, and so help to give cadres the places they really deserve. Non-objective references cause confusion and do great damage.

It is only possible to form a correct picture of the political and working qualities of a person by making an all-sided check on his practical work. And checking-up on cadres from above must be supplemented by a check from below. Appraising cadres without taking into account the opinions of the masses often leads to one-sided and incorrect judgments.

"In appraising persons," wrote Lenin, "in the negative attitude to those who have 'attached' themselves to us for selfish motives, to those who have become puffed-up commissars and 'bureaucrats', the suggestions of the non-Party proletarian masses ... are extremely valuable. The working masses have a fine intuition, which enables them to distinguish honest and devoted Communists from those who arouse the disgust of people..."¹

A good way to make all-round appraisals of cadres is to hold preliminary discussions of candidates for leading posts in primary Party organisations, in meetings of working people. This procedure is now becoming a rule in Party organisations. Before proposing a person for some responsible post, his candidature is thoroughly discussed at a Party meeting or a general meeting at his place of work. His appointment is only made after taking into consideration the opinions expressed at these meetings.

The proper all-round assessment of cadres is of exceptionally great importance in the creation of a permanent reserve of cadres. Lenin mentioned this a number of times, and it has been referred to often in documents of Party congresses and plenums of the Central Committee.

The question arises: who forms the reserve? The deputies of Party workers in leading positions may be regarded as their reserves. Hence it is important that such deputies should only be people who have been correctly educated, possess initiative, and are promising.

But the formation of reserves should not be restricted to deputies only. All workers should be considered as reserves who possess the necessary political and working qualifications and are fit for a leading post.

Many women prove to be excellent organisers. Since the Soviet government was formed, the participation of women

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 39-40.

in social production has grown greatly. Thousands of women are now working at leading posts in Party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organisations. Forty-six per cent of the workers for the Moscow City Committee and district committees of the Party, for instance, are women. Women number among the secretaries of every district committee of the capital. Five work as first secretaries.

Party organisations must show constant concern for promoting women to leading posts, helping them in their practical activity, creating the necessary conditions for them to display their organisational abilities and creative talents.

The Communist Party has always considered cadres as the dearest possession of the country, as the heart of the Party and the state. That is why it sees that they are properly employed, and well distributed between the centre and the various regions, and between production and administration.

In recent years the Party has carried through a considerable redistribution of cadres. At the call of the Party, thousands of leading cadres and specialists from cities have gone to the villages, have become heads of collective and state farms, and have achieved significant successes in raising the level of agriculture. A large number of experienced specialists in the field of economics in central bodies and ministries have gone to enterprises and construction sites.

Concern for the correct utilisation of cadres, and the careful distribution of forces between production and administration, is one of the most important tasks of Party organisations.

Today, when the scale of economic construction and cultural development has vastly expanded, and when the political outlook and cultural level of the Soviet people has risen, much more, naturally, is demanded of Party cadres. They should tirelessly master the Leninist skills of leading the masses, systematically and persistently raise their ideological and theoretical level, study the techniques and the economics of production, and be in touch with all that is new and advanced. Only then can leaders in the Party, in the Soviets and in the economy become true leaders and organisers of the workers, collective farmers and all working people.

The *ideological and political education* of cadres is of decisive importance in the work with them. The higher the

ideological level and theoretical grounding of cadres, the more freely they orientate themselves in all the complex situations of life, the more clearly they can see the perspective of the development of society, the more qualified their leadership, and the more fruitful their practical activity.

In ideological training, indeed, lies the source of strength of cadres, their staunchness in implementing Party policy and in defending its interests. Firm ideological conviction, boundless devotion to the Party's cause, to the brilliant ideas of communism, are the most important features of a leader of the Leninist type.

Lenin has always been and remains the best example of a fighter for communist principles and ideals. His life was a continuous struggle for the happiness of the working people. Lenin is infinitely dear to hundreds of millions of people. His name has become the dearest name, the beacon and the lodestar for the working people of the whole world. It lives and will continue to live in the hearts and minds of all advanced mankind, calling for the unrelenting struggle for peace and socialism, for a better future, for a free and happy life, for brotherhood and equality among peoples, for communism.

And the names of Communists, outstanding organisers of the socialist state, trusted comrades-in-arms and disciples of Lenin, such staunch Bolsheviks as F. E. Dzerzhinsky, A. A. Zhdanov, S. M. Kirov, M. I. Kalinin, N. K. Krupskaya, V. V. Kuibyshev, G. K. Orjonikidze, Y. M. Sverdlov, M. V. Frunze and many others will live for ever in the hearts of Soviet people. Neither the ruthless persecution which tsarism let loose on revolutionaries, nor prison, exile, nor penal servitude, nor even threats to their lives—nothing could shake the will of the Communists-Leninists, nothing could force them to give up their ideas, their fight for people's ideals.

Unbending ideological conviction and devotion to the cause of the Party and the people were the main sources too of the heroic deeds of Communists at the fronts of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, and of their great labour enthusiasm during the years of peaceful socialist construction. Devoted to the ideas of communism, they infected others with their enthusiasm, imbued them with deep faith,

inspired them to selfless labour and feats of arms, educated people in a genuinely communist spirit—in short, they led the people.

Now, when the Soviet people are putting into practice the ideals of communism, the possession of deep ideological conviction is especially important. The immense strength of communist ideology lies in the fact that it is based on scientific foundations, on knowledge of the laws of social development. At its base is the scientific world outlook of Marxism-Leninism. Mastering this great teaching is the prime duty of every leader.

Lenin wrote: "...it will be the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, i.e., that it be studied. The task will be to spread with increased zeal among the masses of the workers the ever more clarified understanding thus acquired...."¹

The Central Committee of the CPSU has elaborated a *harmonious system for the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres*. The training of theoretical workers in the Party is assigned to the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU, while the training of Party cadres and cadres for the Soviets is the task of the Higher Party School of the CC CPSU, the Republican and inter-regional higher Party schools, and of the extra-mural Higher Party School of the CC CPSU.

A big part in cadre training is played by the secondary Party educational institutions and the Soviet-Party schools, which train workers of the district level, for rural Party and Soviet organisations.

There are advanced training institutes for various specialists, and refresher courses for leading personnel. Tens of thousands of Party workers without special education study at the extra-mural departments of higher and secondary special educational establishments.

The training of leading personnel and the provision of their theoretical and ideological grounding is not limited

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 372.

to the educational institutions of the Party alone. But many get their training through the system of Party education in their enterprises and offices.

Party education is now somewhat differently organised than before. At the basis of its organisation lie the principles of *sequence and continuity*, ensuring the continuous ideological and theoretical growth of Communists, and the extension and deepening of their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory. For this there exists a system of political education for beginners, and at secondary and higher levels, making it possible for every Communist to study Marxism-Leninism thoroughly, not in a haphazard fashion, but starting from his own level of knowledge and training.

As a concrete instance, let us look at Party education at the Lenin Metallurgical Works in Kuibyshev. Following many years of political education, hundreds of Communists, mainly engineers and technicians, have received a solid knowledge of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, and have acquired the habit of independent study. For many of them, the further acquisition of theoretical knowledge is not a question of obligation, but a deeply felt need. The majority of these comrades are raising their ideological and theoretical level at the evening university of Marxism-Leninism—the higher stage in the system of Party education—at the district Party school, and at the theoretical seminars organised by the Party Committee.

There are many others who study at schools teaching the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and still others who have not yet acquired the habit of reading political literature independently, study at political schools for beginners.

The Party Committee of the works keeps a regular watch over the ideological content of the political education of cadres, and endeavours to link it with life, with the practical tasks facing the collective.

This helps the leading personnel of the works to understand Marxist-Leninist theory better, and to combine organisational and political work with the solution of economic tasks. Most of the leading personnel—engineers and technicians—work creatively, take an active part in the social life of the collective, and strictly observe the standards and principles of communist morality. The many thousands of workers at this enterprise are successfully solving the tasks

that face them, and have earned the right to be called a communist collective.

The ideological level of a person cannot be judged only from the place where he has studied or by his degree. Knowledge can take the form of firm personal conviction only after it has been applied in practice, only after it has been turned into real facts of life. Lenin pointed out that without work, without struggle, a bookish knowledge of communism is worth nothing. The communist ideological consciousness of a man is to be judged not by his words, but by his practical deeds. Genuine ideological conviction always produces an inseparable unity of thought and action, of words and deeds. If there exists a gulf between someone's words and his deeds, if he says one thing and does something quite different, then that means his convictions, as Lenin aptly put it, are no deeper than the tip of his tongue.

The communist convictions of any worker, whatever post he may occupy, are shown in his deeds, in his practical contribution to the common cause. Ideological conviction shows first of all in active, constructive labour for the building of communist society. An ideologically convinced person always looks on his own assigned tasks as part of the common task. And this raises his work to a higher level, gives it a deep content, makes it creative and can lead to labour heroism.

Great importance is attached nowadays to the *economic education of cadres*, to the study of the economy and organisation of production, of advanced methods of work, and the scientific principles of socialist management.

The Party and the government have elaborated and are executing major economic measures which should produce further rises in industrial and agricultural production. The decisions adopted recently by the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR considerably expand the scope for the initiative and independent economic activity of industrial enterprises and collective and state farms. At the same time the responsibility of leaders and specialists for the results of the work of their enterprises, for the proper scientific and technical organisation of production with due regard for the needs of the economy, i.e., for the most effective utilisation of all their material and technical resources, has

increased immensely. It is essential to raise in every way the level of the economic education of leading cadres. They should thoroughly know the economics of production, and be able to analyse, consider, correlate and conduct the economy rationally, prudently, and effectively in all its branches.

Many Party committees have gained considerable experience in this respect. Let us take the Leningrad Party organisation. There, the question of economic education was the subject of special discussions at the plenary meetings of the city committee and the district committees of the Party. After the September (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, economic seminars were organised at the city and district levels, in which all the workers in the Party apparatus studied the problems of planning, the organisation of labour and the economic stimulation of production. A series of lectures on economic questions were organised for Party activists. Scientists and specialists delivered lectures on: the application of the economic laws of socialism in the practical work of communist construction; improving the planning of industrial production; problems of profit and profitability in industry; the scientific organisation of labour; improving cost accounting and the evaluation of the work of an enterprise, etc.

Refresher courses have been arranged in Leningrad for directors, chief engineers, leading specialists and economists in industrial enterprises; courses in economy have also been arranged for heads of shops, sections, departments, and shifts. A methodological council composed of leading economists has been entrusted with organising the teaching process. With the active participation of this council, teaching programmes have been drawn up and a system of study seminars elaborated. To help students in these courses, lecture notes are being published, and group and individual discussions arranged. In many enterprises in Leningrad there exist universities for the study of new technology and economics, technical and economic councils, bureaus and groups for economic analysis, all engaged, as social bodies, in spreading knowledge of economic science.

After the March (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, many Party committees intensified the economic education of collective- and state-farm cadres. In Altai Territory, for

instance, seminars on economics, led by the heads of district production boards, have been organised for chairmen of collective farms and directors of state farms. The subjects studied in these seminars cover questions of the economics and organisation of agricultural production, and advanced methods of work. Exchanges of experience also take place in them. Lectures and reports at these seminars are delivered by scientists from the agricultural institute, by specialists belonging to the production boards, economists, and leaders of collective and state farms. For leaders of teams, heads of farms, managers of departments, economists and cashiers of collective and state farms, seminars in economic science are organised at the farms. All this helps collective- and state-farm cadres to organise production better and attain a greater degree of efficiency.

Selecting and testing personnel is inseparably connected with verification of task fulfilment. Lenin said: "*To test men and verify what has actually been done—this, this again, this alone is now the main feature of all our activities, of our whole policy.*"¹

Verification of the work done, particularly if it is combined with control from below, taking into account criticisms of shortcomings from large sections of people, is an important instrument both for the education of cadres, and for the objective assessment of their qualities. It helps to bring to the fore the sectors of production that lag behind, to adopt timely measures for strengthening them with matured, experienced administrators; and it contributes to the promotion of new personnel capable of solving contemporary problems.

With the growth of communist construction, the role of verifying the execution of assignments has grown too. The fulfilment of the plans for economic and cultural development prepared by the Party depends directly upon how precisely and quickly each Party, Soviet and economic body, each leader, implements the decisions of the Twenty-Third Party Congress, the directives of the CC CPSU and those of the government.

The Party places complete trust in its cadres; but it also asks them to give an account of their activities. A leader

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 226.

must answer fully for the tasks entrusted him by the Party. That is why it was pointed out at the Twenty-Third Congress that it is essential to raise resolutely the level of the standards demanded from all cadres, and to place their work under the strictest control.

Verification of task fulfilment disciplines cadres, raises their sense of responsibility for the jobs entrusted them, and for the observance of Party and state discipline. When left without control, even good workers become complacent, slow down their tempo of work, and start losing their positive qualities.

As is emphasised in the CC Report to the Twenty-Third Party Congress, properly organised control of task execution is an important means of educating leading personnel. It must be carried out systematically to help in eliminating mistakes, and to find better, more correct solutions to the tasks facing the Party. That is why Party organisations must regularly control the work of cadres, uncover the faults in their work in time, and correct and educate them.

Work control is a function of leadership, said Lenin, underlining the inseparable connection between leadership and the verification of what has actually been done. No kind of resolution, however good its intentions may be and whatever excellent measures it may envisage, can change anything if the work is not organised and control over the fulfilment of a job is not merged with the actual *organisation of its fulfilment*.

Lenin insisted on control being exercised personally by leaders of all ranks. He particularly demanded of his deputies that they set aside an hour or two daily for personal work control. He considered the main idea to be not the exposure of the guilty, but to ensure the unconditional implementation of adopted decisions and to discover shortcomings in time, to eliminate them, and to achieve an improvement in the work.

An important means of improving verification of the work performed, as stated at the Twenty-Third Congress, is the *regular hearing of reports* of the regional committees, territorial committees and CCs of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics by the CC CPSU, and those of district committees and city committees by regional committees and territorial committees of the Party. Let us take the following

example. The CC of the CP of the Ukraine, in the middle of 1966, heard the report of the Party Committee of the Zhdanov Heavy Engineering Works on the implementation of the decisions of the September Plenary Meeting of the CC. This question was studied from all sides. Officials of the CC apparatus acquainted themselves with the work of the Party Committee of the factory, and of the shop Party organisations and Party groups, and analysed economic data relating to the enterprise. The proper preparation of the report helped produce a clear picture of the work of the Party organisation and promoted a lively discussion.

The CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine noted that the Party Committee and the primary Party organisations of the works had begun to deal more concretely with the teaching of economics to leading cadres, engineers and technicians, and with the organisation of lectures and discussions on economic questions. Factory and workshop bureaus for economic analysis, economic councils, rationalisers, innovators and broad sections of the working people had all been geared to exercising thrift and making the most economical use of all material and labour resources. Raising the level of organisational and political work had helped the factory to improve its basic technical and economic indices.

But it was also noted that the enterprise could work still better, that the Party Committee and the shop Party organisations had not taken all the measures possible to tap unutilised resources, and to reduce rejects, non-productive expenditures, surpluses of materials and component parts.

The CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine seriously reproached the Zhdanov City Committee for not helping the Party organisation of the biggest enterprise of the city sufficiently. The resolution of the CC indicated concrete measures for improving the work of the Party organisation, of the administration and of the whole enterprise; it also showed how to overcome shortcomings and to impose control over the implementation of the resolution.

Correctly organised verification of task execution presupposes the elaboration of resolutions which can be understood by those who have to execute them, which are distinguished by precision and clarity, and which state the exact jobs to be done, their time limits and who has to do them. At the same time practical, business-like control should be estab-

lished over the implementation of resolutions, and immediate and qualified help accorded when and if required. Otherwise, even the best resolution runs the risk of remaining on paper only.

To perform those verification functions also means to bring to light positive experience and to detect all the sprouts of the new and the progressive at an early stage and to nurture them in every way.

Lenin devoted great attention to this. In 1922, in a letter to N. Osinsky, he advised: "We need more and more concreteness in studying local experience, details, the little things, practice, business-like experience, going deeply into real life—*uyezd*, *volost* and village; examination of what, where, by whom and why (by what means) success is achieved, in spite of the abyss of poverty and ruin, in reaching genuine improvement, even if on a small scale, and courage to unmask mistakes and incapacity, popularising and *advertising* with all our strength every local worker who is in any way outstanding, and making him a model."¹ The more there is of such work, said Lenin, the deeper we are able to go in practice, the more successfully can we proceed in our construction.

The best form of verification is undoubtedly direct acquaintance with the state of affairs at a place of work, and intercourse with those who are directly in charge of executing a job. For the Party official, neither references, nor job reports, nor telephone calls, nothing indeed, can replace direct observation and meetings with ordinary workers and Communists.

The effective instruments for intensifying control in all spheres of economic life and management, for the verification of the actual implementation of the directives of the Party, are the organs of People's Control, which permit the ever greater enlistment of the masses in managing state affairs, in strengthening state discipline and socialist legality.

An important role in improving verification work is played by commissions of primary Party organisations of industrial and commercial enterprises for exercising control over the work of administration. With the help of these commissions, Party organisations exercise control over the execution of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, pp. 578-79.

production tasks, government orders, the introduction of new technology, and the quality of products; they also struggle against all manifestations of narrow parochial and departmental attitudes and defend state interests.

As an example, let us take the commissions that work in the Party organisations in the city of Podolsk, Moscow Region. There are over one hundred such commissions. They include ten commissions for controlling the implementation of plans for the introduction of new techniques, mechanisation and automation in production processes; twelve commissions for controlling technological processes, and the rational use of means of transport; six commissions for controlling the quality of construction work; fourteen commissions for realising measures for economy and thrift. The Party organisations have elected to these commissions about 800 Communists who possess initiative and are well acquainted with production.

The Twenty-Third Congress drew the attention of Party committees to the need to improve the style and methods of leadership and the organisational skill of leading personnel. Party officials must master the art of political leadership, and regularly study the theory and practice of Party building. Party work is not casual work, but a profession; more than that, it is a great art.

In recent years, many new comrades have been promoted to leading Party positions. They have all had a good specialised training as engineers, agronomists, economists; however, many of them are in need of further knowledge in the field of Party building, in the art of organisation. Often, when handling a problem, they face difficulties and require constant help. That is why the systematic education of Party officials assumes an exceptionally great importance today.

The Moscow City Party Organisation has accumulated considerable experience in this field. The city committee bureau discussed this question in September 1966 and adopted a resolution concerning measures for the further improvement of the ideological and theoretical training and practical qualifications of Party activists. A large network of city and district Party schools and theoretical seminars has been set up. A permanent seminar has been organised for secretaries of district committees. They study one day a month during working time. At these seminars, lectures are delivered on

current problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the international communist movement, Party building, and the economy and organisation of industrial production; exchanges of experience also take place. Since the Twenty-Third Congress, the seminars have discussed questions concerning the work of the district Party committees to improve the style and methods of Party leadership, to increase the fighting capacity of the primary Party organisations, and to improve ideological work. In the same way seminars are organised for heads of departments and instructors of district Party committees.

An important role in raising the ideological and theoretical level and professional qualifications of Party workers is played by the evening university of Marxism-Leninism and its branches. The university includes one city and nine district faculties of Party building giving two-year courses, in which over three thousand secretaries of primary Party organisations, deputy secretaries, and members of Party bureaus and committees study.

The study plans of these faculties allow for 288 hours of study and cover: the history of the CPSU—150 hours; Party building—70 hours; the fundamentals of scientific communism—30 hours; problems of economics and the organisation of production—38 hours. On each of these subjects, lectures are delivered, seminars and practical classes are held on particular topics, excursions to museums and exhibitions are organised and visits to leading enterprises of the city arranged. Lectures and reports are delivered by qualified teachers from higher educational establishments, scientists and specialists from research institutions, and responsible officials of the City Party Committee.

The district Party schools have a good record of work. Another three thousand secretaries of primary and shop Party organisations, two thousand deputy secretaries and Party group organisers study and exchange their experience of Party work at these schools. They study the problems of Party building, the economics and organisation of industrial production.

Apart from this, in all the district committees of Moscow, permanent seminars are organised for secretaries of Party organisations. At present separate plans have been made for seminars for the secretaries of Party organisations of in-

dustrial enterprises, of building organisations, research institutions, state bodies, institutes, schools, commercial enterprises, and of cultural and health establishments.

Many seminars are held at enterprises themselves. Participants in them learn about the organisation of labour, the introduction of new techniques and advanced technology, planning, and the work of shops run on a cost-accounting basis. For instance, at the First State Watch Factory, which has switched over to the new method of planning and economic stimulation of production, the secretaries of the Party organisations of some machine-building enterprises studied the organisation of planning and the results of cost accounting in the shops and departments; at the Kalibr Factory they studied the work of introducing plans for the scientific organisation of labour. The secretaries of the Party organisations in the textile industry studied at the Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Factory the organisation of socialist competition and political work among the masses.

Theoretical conferences on problems of Party building have become very common. In most districts they dealt with such topics as: "The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU and the growth of the leading role of the Party in communist construction", "The Party Rules of the CPSU and the high title of Party member", "The Leninist principles of selection and education of cadres". Over seven thousand Communists have attended these conferences—members of the city committee and district committees, workers in the Party apparatus, secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of the bureaus of Party organisations, Party group organisers, lecturers and propagandists. Over a hundred reports have been delivered at them, and over five hundred people have participated in the discussions.

Systematic study by Party workers helps them improve inner-Party work. That is the reason why the work of many of the Party committees and primary Party organisations of the capital has become more concrete and efficient recently, and the role and importance of collective bodies enhanced. Since the Twenty-Third Congress many district committees have discussed at their plenums questions concerning the selection, placing and education of cadres, the observance of Party Rules by Communists, and the intensification of mass political work and the communist education of the

working people. In many Party organisations the level of criticism and self-criticism has risen, Communists have become more strict and exacting towards their comrades as regards mistakes and faults in their work and individual behaviour.

Work with cadres is many-sided. It demands a thoughtful approach; it needs to be conducted systematically and purposefully. Improving the work with cadres will help guarantee the successful solution of the tasks set by the Party.

LINKS WITH THE MASSES

Mass Organisations. Ways and Means of Influencing People. Political Direction. Party Groups in Non-Party Organisations. Soviets of Working People's Deputies. School of Communism. The Party's Reserve. Seeking Lenin's Advice.

The CPSU, as the leading and the directing force of Soviet society, bears a great responsibility before the people for the fulfilment of the plans of communist construction drawn up by the Twenty-Third Congress. It is called upon to give correct and science-based leadership of the whole work. And this makes it incumbent on Party organisations, on all Communists, constantly to improve the forms and methods of their organisational work, and to strengthen and expand their links with the people.

Its permanent links with the people is the most important source of the strength and invincibility of the Party. Lenin said: all that we have achieved shows that we are relying upon the most wonderful strength in the world—the strength of workers and peasants. Lenin had a profound belief in the creative strength of the people. He taught the Party that it is invincible when it is closely linked with the working people and inspired by the same thoughts and feelings. Lenin called upon Party members to plunge into the spring of the creative labour of the people.

Always to be with the masses, to strengthen the links with them—this is an indestructible Leninist principle of Party life. The Party demands that Communists sacredly follow this principle. The highest law of the life and work of the Party is service to the people, concern for the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, and for raising their communist consciousness and political activity. A characteristic feature of a Communist should be deep respect for the collective intelligence of the people, the ability to rely, always, on “the joint experience, the experience of millions of working people”. Lenin em-

phased that "a Communist who is unable to utilise the practical experience of hundreds upon hundreds, is no good at all". This should never be forgotten.

Strong links with the people help the Party to understand the people's needs better. Lenin gave a precise definition of what this means, stressing that the invincibility of the Party lies in its close, inseparable links with the working people:

"To live in the *very midst* of the masses.

"To know their *mood*.

"To know *everything*.

"To understand the masses.

"To be able to approach them.

"To win their *absolute* confidence.

"Not to isolate the leaders from the masses who are being led, the vanguard from the whole army of Labour."¹

It means, therefore, living among the people, knowing their mood, understanding them. And it means being able to work with people, to win their confidence, and still more, to learn from the people, to assimilate the wisdom of the people—all this is a most important principle of Party policy; to know people's thoughts, their arguments, their views, to know them not in general, not only during official meetings, or during official tours, but in their day-to-day life; to learn from the working people, always and everywhere, to listen attentively to their voice, to be able to convince people. Communists cannot carry the masses with them by command, but only by their energy and ideological influence, by conviction and organisation.

Lenin himself set the best example of a genuine popular leader, inseparably connected with the mass of the working people. It is well known how extremely attentive he was to the numerous messengers—workers, peasants, soldiers—who used to come to him from all the corners of the country, how deeply interested he was in the work of scientists, writers, men of art and culture, and how often and readily he visited enterprises or went to villages, in order to study for himself the life of the people.

Taking these facts into consideration, the Twenty-Third

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth Ed., Vol. 44, p. 497 (in Russian).

Congress included in the obligatory standards of Party life the rule concerning the making of *regular reports to Communists and to the working people* by members and candidate-members of the Politbureau of the CC, by the secretaries of the CC, by members of the CC and the Government—and by all leading Communists—on current problems of economics and culture, and internal and foreign affairs.

Since the Congress this rule has been increasingly observed in the life of the country. Now, in many organisations, it has become a rule for leading officials and members of Party Committees to deliver speeches regularly on political matters, and in general to impart information to and discuss things with the working people.

The speeches of the members and candidate-members of the Politbureau of the CC, and of the secretaries and members of the CC, attract particularly great interest.

For instance, after the December (1966) Plenary Meeting of the CC, which discussed the foreign policy of the USSR and the efforts of the CPSU to unite the international communist movement, speeches were delivered to the biggest Party organisations of the country by all the members and candidate-members of the Politbureau of the CC, and by the secretaries and members of the CC. They went to enterprises, collective and state farms, educational establishments and military units, and held discussions with the working people, and with leading officials of regions, territories and Republics.

A pressing task for the Party now is the strengthening of its links with the various sections of the working people, and creating conditions for the uninterrupted growth of their political and labour activity. Permanent contact with the people, reliance on the people, generalising their experience—these are the very foundations of correct policies, of genuinely scientific, concrete and effective leadership of social processes. Without expanding and deepening the connections between the Party and the people, it will not be possible to accomplish successfully the new tasks of communist construction.

The Party and its Central Committee are perseveringly and consistently trying to improve Party leadership. The job is not an easy one. A great deal of thoughtful work, with the

active participation of all Party organisations is required in order to organise and guide the masses in the solution of the main tasks of creating the new society, and to pool the knowledge and experience of many people.

In what way, through what channels, does the Party establish its links with the people? The most important of these are *the mass organisations of the working people*—the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the co-operatives, and other social organisations. No less popular and effective are the mass media—the press, radio and television, and literature and art. The mass organisations are, in Lenin's words, "the transmission belts from the Communist Party to the masses...".¹

The classics of Marxism-Leninism considered work in these organisations, and winning them over to the side of the Party, one of the first duties of a Communist.

The role and significance of mass organisations in communist construction is increasing all the time. And this is as it should be, since the political consciousness and activity of the masses is also always on the increase; democracy is flourishing. However, the greater participation of mass organisations in the development of the economy and culture of the country requires a higher level of Party leadership in these organisations, and better coordination of their activities. The Rules of the CPSU require Party organisations to lead the mass organisations of the working people and to develop their initiative.

In this connection the question of the methods and principles of Party leadership of mass organisations assumes particular importance, for this is, as Lenin said, already the question of the approach to the masses, of winning over the masses, of establishing links with the masses.

The Party is the leader and teacher of the mass organisations of the working people. It elaborates the correct political line, defines the tasks and directions of the practical work of all social institutions, coordinates their work, and strengthens them with leading personnel. Only the Party expressing the interests of all the people, as their collective intelligence, is capable of directing the work of the mass organisations and organs of power.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 192.

The basic methods of Party leadership are persuasion, education, ideological influence, and the development of the initiative of mass organisations in every way. These methods comprise the essence of the Leninist principles of Party work. Following these principles, Party organisations take a constant interest in the work of the mass organisations of the working people, help them, give them advice and make recommendations to them, without, however, trying to substitute themselves for them or subjecting them to unnecessary control.

The Party seeks to obtain the correct combination of Party and state leadership, and a clear *division of functions* between Party, state and social bodies. In 1922, addressing a CC plenary meeting, Lenin said: "...it is necessary to delimit much more precisely the functions of the Party (and of its Central Committee) from those of the Soviet government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the Party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present too frequent, irregular, and often petty interference."¹

This Leninist proposition was embodied in a resolution of the Eleventh Congress of the Party. It was stated in it that while maintaining the general leadership and direction of the entire policy of the Soviet state, the Party should fix a much clearer boundary between its work and the work of Soviet organs, and between its apparatus and the apparatus of the Soviets.

What benefits did this bring? First, it produced better discussion and solution of questions of an economic character in Soviet bodies, and it heightened the responsibility of Soviet officials for their work; second, it permitted the Party to concentrate on basic Party work, viz., the over-all leadership of the work of all state bodies and mass organisations, and political and organisational work among the people.

Mixing the functions of the Party and the Soviets, as life has shown, always generates duplication of work, destroys individual responsibility, and in the final analysis, lessens the role of both the Party and state organisations. Party

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 253.

bodies lose their political approach to the solution of problems, their ideological influence among the masses is reduced, and their work with cadres, and the effectiveness of checking up on the fulfilment of tasks assigned is weakened. That is why the Central Committee cuts short all attempts to substitute guidance by Party bodies for the leadership exercised by economic executive personnel, to mix up the functions of Party and state bodies; it rather raises the role and responsibility of state bodies and mass organisations.

The Party propagates its line and influences the work of mass organisations through the Communists who work in them. As has been mentioned already, there exist *Party groups* in non-Party organisations. This is an established organisational means of exerting influence on them. Such groups are formed at the time of the congresses, conferences and meetings of the Soviet, trade union, co-operative and other mass organisations of the working people, as well as in the elected organs of these organisations where there are not less than three Party members.

Fulfilling its leading role through the system of state and mass organisations, the Party unites their efforts and directs them to a single goal, using such methods of organisational, ideological and educational work as are specific to them. The Party develops in every way the initiative of Soviet and economic bodies in order to stimulate maximum efficiency in their work. That is how the tasks of Party organisations in guiding mass organisations were defined in the theses of the CC CPSU on the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.

The Twenty-Third Party Congress gave special attention to raising the role of the *Soviets of working people's deputies*. They are the elected organs of state power, and constitute the political foundation of the USSR; that is why they should make full use of their rights in fulfilling the tasks of economic and cultural development. They should take the initiative in solving planning problems and questions of finance and land, in guiding local industrial enterprises, and in organising social and cultural services for the people.

The Soviets are the all-embracing mass organisations of the working people by means of which they participate in running the country.

The emergence of the Soviets and their activity are

inseparably connected with the history of the Communist Party. As soon as the first Soviets of workers' deputies appeared, Lenin predicted a great future for them. He noted that the Soviets were created by the working people themselves, by their revolutionary energy and creative labour, and that they functioned entirely in the interests of the masses.

The Party groups in the Soviets, and the local Party organisations, in implementing the directives of the Twenty-Third Congress, raise in every way the role of the Soviets, and help draw into their work ever broader strata of the working people. Suffice it to mention that in 1967 over two million people were elected to local Soviets of working people's deputies. And over a million and a half of the people's elected representatives take an active part in the permanent commissions, the most widespread form of activity of the deputies. Now various self-acting organisations like supernumerary departments, instructors' and inspectors' groups, house and street committees, parents' committees and other bodies, involving twenty million activists, are being grouped around the Soviets.

Party organisations make every effort to enhance the role of the Soviets, to raise the responsibility of their executive bodies, deputies and officials towards the people, to stimulate their work, to direct their efforts to the solution of questions of government, of economic and cultural development, of raising the living standards of the working people, of improving public education, public health, social insurance, commerce, public catering and the provision of public amenities to the working people.

The Party will continue to see to it that the Soviets make full use of their rights, exercise their influence more actively on all aspects of social life, that everywhere they act as full-fledged organs of power. Combining local and national interests, the Soviets solve questions of the development of their districts, cities, regions or territories, concern themselves with the most useful and correct deployment of natural wealth and labour resources, and bear political and moral responsibility to the people for the observance of socialist law and order.

Party bodies define the main direction and tasks of the Soviets, educate the officials of the Soviet apparatus, con-

trol their activity, lead the work of the Party groups in the Soviets, and promote improvements in the methods and style of the work of the Soviets. In short, as Lenin put it, the Party's leadership is akin to the job of a conductor, who, while obtaining strict coordination of the orchestra, does not attempt to play for each musician.

Of course, it is impermissible to mix up the functions of Party and Soviet bodies, to interfere in the administrative work of the Soviets. As pointed out by the Twenty-Third Congress, Party organs must totally overcome the practice of petty tutelage and of substituting themselves for Soviet bodies.

"Mixing up the functions of Party bodies with those of state organs, such as the Soviets, must never be allowed.... The Party must propagate its decisions through the Soviet bodies, *within the framework of the Soviet Constitution*. The Party strives to *lead* the activity of the Soviets, not to take their place."¹

By employing correct Party methods, Party organisations are called upon to encourage steady improvements in the work of the Soviets by increasing their *influence on the organs* of Soviet power. Naturally, the attention of Party organisations should be directed, first of all, at the activities of the deputies to help them in fulfilling their great responsibilities. With this aim in view, reports may be heard from deputies at Party, trade union and general meetings of working people, support may be accorded them by means of advice, by deeds, and by strengthening their authority. Communists also make sure that the inquiries and suggestions of the deputies do not go unanswered.

The large-scale enrolment of the people in the administration of the state, the further development of Soviet democracy, the growth of the political activity of the working people—these are major concerns of Party organisations.

A great role in communist construction is played by Soviet *trade unions*. Lenin defined their significance concisely, but clearly and profoundly, when he said that trade unions are intended for education. They are "an organisation designed to draw in and to train; it is, in fact, a school: a

¹ *The CPSU in Resolutions...*, Part I, p. 466 (in Russian).

school of administration, a school of economic management, a school of communism".¹

The strength of Soviet trade unions lies in the fact that they are always guided in their work by Party policy. Their importance as a school of communism, as a militant organiser of the people increases still further at present.

In the new conditions created by the introduction of the economic reforms, the trade unions have increased their responsibilities for the fulfilment of plans, for improving production and technical progress, for new forms of socialist competition and the movement for communist labour, for improving the organisation and payment of labour, and for increasing the qualifications of workers.

Lenin pointed out that one may draw the most cheerful perspectives, and choose as targets the highest indices of economic development, but if the working people are not imbued with a sense of the need to fulfil these plans and perspectives, and so do not implement them steadfastly and conscientiously, then even the very best plans will remain on paper only and will never get off the ground. That is why it is the duty of trade unions, as stated in the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress, to develop socialist emulation still further, to improve their educational work among the working people, and to be still more concerned with the organisation of labour and with the living conditions of the workers.

A most convincing demonstration of the immense power of educational work and of socialist competition was the massive outflow of creative initiative and enthusiasm generated by the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Today, when the rights of the trade unions are being extended, and their importance in mass education and in the administration of the national economy and social affairs is growing, Party leadership of their work becomes even more important. It is essential that the Party help the trade unions take full advantage of their extensive rights, intensify their work, and take the most active part in all the spheres of economic and cultural development, in the entire social and political life of the country.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 20.

Communists who have been elected to trade union bodies must consider themselves as having had great trust placed in them, and must justify this by their deeds. Lenin said that trade union officials "...should live right among the workers, study their lives in every detail, and be able unerringly, on any question, and at any time, to judge the mood, the real aspirations, needs and thoughts of the masses. They must be able without a shadow of false idealisation to define the degree of their class-consciousness and the extent to which they are influenced by various prejudices and survivals of the past; and they must be able to win the boundless confidence of the masses by comradeship and concern for their needs."¹

The Twenty-Third Congress also made it incumbent on Party organisations to pay particular attention to the communist *education of Komsomol members and all Soviet young people.*

The education of the younger generation is a very important task of the Party and the state, and of the whole of socialist society. The Party and the people look upon the rising generation as an inexhaustible source of revolutionary builders of the new world, as a great creative force in the building of communism.

Lenin wrote: "We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. We are a party that is waging a self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness, and youth is always the first to undertake a self-sacrificing struggle."²

The Party has always attached great importance to the enrolment of young people in the revolutionary movement, and in the economic and cultural work of building the new society. Young people form half the labour force of the national economy of the USSR. Millions of them study in higher educational establishments and in schools, or work in laboratories and on scientific expeditions.

The Komsomol is the trusted helpmate and reserve of the Party, the fighting vanguard of the youth, its self-acting mass organisation. At present there are over 23 million

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 192.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 354.

young people in its ranks. The Komsomol is an active creative force of society. It helps the Party train young Communists, and mobilise the youth for participation in the building of the new society. The Party constantly and carefully guides the work of the Komsomol.

As life makes new and greater demands on young people, so the task of intensifying the work and the creative initiative of the Komsomol grows. It is responsible for the education of the younger generation in the spirit of dedication to the ideals of communism, readiness to fight for the victory of communist ideas, and selfless defence of the socialist Motherland and support for class brothers.

Young people usually join the Komsomol at an age when their character is being formed, when their convictions and life-long ideals are taking shape. It is highly important, therefore, to give them a correct communist education from the very start, to steel them ideologically and morally. That is what the Komsomol does.

However, there are still Komsomol organisations which understand their role badly, and commit serious errors in work. They merely affiliate themselves to economic organs, copy them or try to take their place, and assume the roles of carriers and providers. They do not conduct ideological and educational work among young people, do not help them find their place in society, and do very little to cultivate in them a creative, honest attitude to labour and to social work.

The main thing in the work of the Komsomol is the communist education of young people. The political training of boys and girls and the practical work of the Komsomol should be subordinated to this. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the youth of today have not gone through the severe school of revolutionary struggle and steeling that the older generation has. One must not forget either that bourgeois propaganda does not spare any effort to find ways of influencing immature persons.

That is why the ideological and political work of the Party and the Komsomol should strengthen the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of young people, inculcate in them a class approach to all questions, teach them the heroic traditions of revolutionary struggle and of the selfless labour of the Soviet people. The aim of this work should be to

sharpen the sense of social responsibility of every young man and woman, and to make the ideals of communism their firmest convictions, so that everywhere and at all times they remain active, uncompromising fighters for communist ideals against the ideological and moral views of the old world.

To educate young people in the communist spirit—it was stated in the greetings of the CC CPSU to the Fifteenth Congress of the Komsomol—means to cultivate in boys and girls the Marxist-Leninist outlook, firm ideological conviction, a class approach to the phenomena of life, and devotion to the cause of the Communist Party; it means to train staunch and selfless fighters for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

To educate young people in the communist spirit means to develop in them the sentiments of Soviet patriotism, of indestructible fraternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union, of love for the socialist Motherland, and permanent readiness to defend it with arms in hand from any encroachments by enemies.

To educate young people in the communist spirit means to develop and strengthen in boys and girls the sentiments of fraternal friendship for and solidarity with the working peoples of all countries, and class enmity towards exploiters, and towards bourgeois ideology and morals.

To educate young people in the communist spirit means to form in boys and girls a conscious and conscientious attitude to labour, to cultivate in them a sense of pride in their profession, a permanent striving for greater skill, a sense of responsibility for the cause of the collective; to conduct the work of education in such a manner that the youth clearly realise the indissoluble connection of their personal life with the life of the people, the unity of personal and social interests.

Over seventy-five million Soviet citizens have received their first and unforgettable schooling in life in the ranks of the Leninist Komsomol. The task of the Komsomol is clearly defined in the speeches of Lenin, and in Party documents. The problems of work among young people have been discussed at many congresses of the CPSU.

The Party has created, educated and steeled the Leninist Komsomol as its reliable reserve; and the Komsomol con-

siders it to be the greatest honour and the loftiest task to justify the Party's trust.

The leadership of the Komsomol exercised by Party organisations has its specific features. It is founded on persuasion and recommendation; it is distinguished by careful attentiveness and tactfulness. Every initiative and independent activity of the Komsomol should be supported and developed in every way so that Komsomol members can themselves deal with situations and correctly solve the problems that crop up. Komsomol members need fatherly advice concerning the better organisation of work, and the utilisation of the experience of their elders.

Contacts between Party officials and Komsomol activists, and all young people, are of inestimable value. It is not accidental that the majority of the secretaries of regional committees, city committees, district committees and primary Party organisations regularly address young people on the most important questions of political life, economic construction and cultural matters. Party organs are attentive to the needs, and quick to answer the queries of all boys and girls, and support all their good initiatives. The problems of the communist education of young people are regularly discussed at meetings of primary Party organisations, at bureau and committee meetings, and at plenums of the regional committees of the CPSU. They patiently train Komsomol cadres, impart to them political and organisational experience, and strengthen the Party nucleus of the Komsomol.

As a mother carefully nurses her children, so the Party fosters the younger generation—the hope and the future of the Soviet Motherland. It trains a generation of selfless fighters for the ideals of communism. The novel *The Youth Is with Us*, by the Soviet writer V. Kochetov, contains these words: "If, in our lifetime, we do not succeed in irrigating the Karakum Desert and turning the course of the Siberian rivers from north to south-west, it will not matter; for that we will not be called to account. But if we educate the youth badly, history will not forgive us; for that we shall be severely punished."

The Party's links with the people are not only established through mass organisations of the working people. The Party requires each Communist to conduct his own work among

the masses. Lenin wrote at the end of the last century that the ideas of socialism can be understood and assimilated by anybody, even by a politically backward worker, if an agitator or propagandist can approach him in such a way as to transmit these ideas to him, i.e., if he can convey them to him in language he understands, making use of the facts of ordinary life that are known to him.

This Leninist requirement, that every Communist must conduct personal educational work, is reflected in the decisions of the Twenty-Third Congress and in the Party Rules: *It is the duty of a Party member... to put Party decisions firmly and steadfastly into effect; to explain the policy of the Party to the masses; to help strengthen and multiply the Party's bonds with the people.*

It is impossible to solve the tasks that face the Party without working among the masses. The policy of the Leninist Party towards the socialist revolution was backed by the large-scale propaganda and agitational work done by the Bolsheviks among the workers and peasants. In the difficult period of the establishment of Soviet power, Communists-Leninists conducted a colossal campaign to mobilise the workers to toil for every ounce of bread, metal and coal. The Party's call aroused the people to great feats during the years of the first five-year plans and the Great Patriotic War; it inspired them to heroism and imbued them with a profound conviction in the rightness of their cause.

The basic task of Party organisations in the field of ideological work is to teach all working people the spirit of high political consciousness and the communist attitude towards labour and the social economy, to eradicate completely all remnants of bourgeois ideology and morals, and to foster the all-sided, harmonious development of the personality and the creation of a genuine wealth of spiritual culture.

The Twenty-Third Congress called for a still further rise in the level of the ideological work of the Party, for its still closer link with life, with the practice of communist construction. The goal is to ideologically ensure the fulfilment of the five-year plan, to develop in all members of society a scientific outlook and communist morality.

The Party instructs all its organisations to conduct daily ideological and educational work by making extensive use of all the means of influencing people—oral propaganda and

agitation, the press, radio, television, art and literature. This work contributes to the formation of the new man, both his mental outlook and his moral standards. Characters have to be "reforged", the finest chords of the mind and heart must be struck, centuries-old habits and prejudices have to be overcome, the stubborn resistance of old customs and the influence of bourgeois ideology have to be countered. Without the education of the new man, the building of the new society is meaningless.

The higher the consciousness of the people, the higher also will be their labour and political activity, and the more successful will be the struggle for the creation of the new society. That is why the arming of the people with scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology, raising their political consciousness, and inculcating in them the new communist attitude towards labour, is a very important part of communist construction. All this work is turned on man with his labour, his life, his needs and his interests. And when man is kept foremost in view, then the fruits of education can ripen and bring satisfaction.

It is essential that Party organisations talk to the people openly and honestly, courageously seeing the truth for what it is without hiding difficulties and shortcomings. They must know what people are thinking, what worries them, and they must give clear and correct answers to their questions. We must clear up all our propaganda and agitation work, taught Lenin. It is essential to look at life as it is, to be fully aware of both its positive and negative sides. The whole activity of the Party, and its efficient, business-like, Leninist style, are conducive to ideological work. It is directed towards making man assimilate the ideas of communism, transform them into his convictions, and then apply them in practical work. One should be able to translate ideals into life.

Lenin loved to say: "We must seek advice from Marx." He found in Marx answers to fundamental questions, took his *method* and *approach* to the solution of new tasks, and his ability to take real life into account.

"*To seek Lenin's advice.*" This tradition of the Party must now become a law for every Communist. That is why Party organisations pay particular attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, to the cultivation of commu-

nist conviction, adherence to ideological principles, and Party militancy in them.

The teaching of the communist attitude to work, and communist labour discipline to all the members of society is an important part of the work of Party organisations. This is fully as it should be. To build communism means, more than anything else, to work well, to achieve higher and higher productivity of labour. To have a communist attitude to work means to work enthusiastically and conscientiously in the interests of society, to consider work as one's moral duty. Teaching this attitude is best done through the examples of the best workers.

The new man with the new morality is brought up in a collective. The nucleus of this collective consists of Communists. It is they who form public opinion, create an atmosphere of intolerance towards violators of discipline, of the moral standards and rules of the socialist community. It is they who conduct the struggle against the remnants of the past in the consciousness of men, and above all against such shameful phenomena as religious prejudice, parasitism, drunkenness, and hooliganism.

Lenin considered the struggle to overcome prejudices in the consciousness and behaviour of men as essentially a class struggle. The ideologists of imperialism spend billions of dollars in their efforts to poison the minds of the Soviet people, to propagate their own corrupt ideas alien to the people, to undermine the faith of the working people, especially the youth, in the ideals of communism. This makes it vital for Party organisations to be on the alert to imperialism's hostile ideological intrigues, and to give them a fitting rebuff.

The main method of political work is *persuasion*. Persuasion not only in words, but in deeds. Lenin referred to the great force of the personal example of a Communist, of the participation in political work of a leader, who is called upon to be an organiser and an educator of people, in the following passage: "Nothing helped so much to enhance the prestige of the Communist Party in the towns, to increase the respect of non-Party workers for the Communists, as these subbotniks . . . when non-Party workers saw in practice that the members of the governing Communist Party have obligations and duties, and that the Communists admit

new members to the Party not in order that they may enjoy the advantages connected with the position of a governing party, but that they may set an example of real communist labour....”¹

The Party commands its members to learn from the people, to popularise all that is best in the work of the people, to listen attentively to the criticisms of non-Party people.

The Central Committee of the CPSU devotes special attention to such a highly effective form of ideological work as personal contacts between the leaders and the working people.

The Party leader who is best connected with the people is not the one who sits on presidiums of meetings more often than others, but the one who understands the real needs of the people better and more deeply than others, who tirelessly, every day, looks for new ways and means of satisfying these needs as fully as possible and who is able to convince people, to arouse their enthusiasm and mobilise them for active and conscientious participation in communist construction.

Strong links with the people, and good organisational and political work among the people—that is the road to the successful solution of the great tasks set by the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

* * *

Such are the basic standards of Party life and the principles of leadership elaborated by Lenin and developed by the Party in the course of its practical work. They are of immense value to the CPSU; they are the basis of the inner life of Party organisations, and of the methods they employ in organisational and ideological work. Lenin's ideas and principles, and the whole of Lenin's life and work, constitute a remarkable school for the education of communist leaders of the Leninist type.

The Party is always concerned with seeing that all Communists and all leading cadres master the Leninist style of Party and state leadership. This means the absolute ob-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 202.

servance of the Leninist standards of Party life, and the Leninist principles of Party and state leadership.

Lenin said: "It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a Communist in general. You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link...."¹

The tasks of communist construction outlined in the Programme of the CPSU and the decisions of the Twenty-Third Party Congress are of paramount importance. Party organisations are required to strengthen their ranks, to improve the forms and methods of their organisational and ideological work, and to exercise ever greater and deeper influence on all aspects of the life of society.

The directives of the Twenty-Third Congress on the current five-year plan envisage a high rate of growth of the social product, a substantial rise in the living standards of the people, and the fuller satisfaction of their material and cultural needs. The volume of industrial production for the five years is expected to rise by about 50 per cent, and agricultural production by 25 per cent. Capital investments in the national economy will amount to about 340,000 million rubles. The most important tasks of the five-year plan are: to accelerate scientific and technical progress, to raise the efficiency of production, and to improve the quality of products.

The struggle for the successful fulfilment of the five-year plan, as the Congress resolution on the CC Report underlines, must be in the centre of attention of all Party organisations. They are called upon to unleash and to lead the creative forces of the people, to raise the activity of every Communist, of every Party official, and of all working people in the struggle to fulfil the plans of economic development of the country laid down by the Party.

In every city, in every village, in every enterprise—everywhere—an atmosphere of tremendous labour enthusiasm must be created. This means, above all else, the further extension of socialist competition and the movement for communist labour.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 274.

The indispensable condition for the fulfilment of the five-year plan is the transition to *the new methods of planning and management of the economy*. It is important to ensure the consistent implementation of the principles of socialist management, planning and economic stimulation of production elaborated by the March and September (1965) plenary meetings of the CC, and approved by the Twenty-Third Party Congress.

For the successful implementation of the plans of economic construction and cultural development outlined by the Party, it is essential to *raise further the level of organisational and ideological work, and to mobilise all Party members in every way, so that they fulfil their vanguard role*.

The Party has done away with the mistakes produced by the subjectivist approach to the solution of problems of Party building. The principle of collective leadership is being more fully implemented at the centre and at the local level. The importance of the plenums of Party committees has grown; in a business-like manner, without fuss or idle talk, they discuss and solve the most important problems connected with the work of the Party and its various organisations. The Party committees have drawn closer to the primary organisations, and afford the latter great help in the solution of practical tasks.

The Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU demanded that in future all Party organisations strictly and absolutely observe the Leninist standards of Party life, and the principles of inner-Party democracy. The leading Party organs are called upon to be still more attentive to the opinions and suggestions of Communists, to create conditions for the free and business-like discussion of problems, and for the development of criticism and self-criticism. It is necessary that the atmosphere in every Party organisation be such as to make it possible to correct any Communist who has committed mistakes or violated Party Rules.

The development of inner-Party democracy presupposes the simultaneous strengthening of discipline inside the Party. These two processes are indissolubly connected in the life and activity of the Party. The Party is constantly strengthening the discipline and cohesion of its ranks, requiring the strict implementation of Party decisions by every Communist, and the education of all its members in

the spirit of selfless service in the interests of the people. *Complete democracy*, the CC Report to the Twenty-Third Party Congress states, *and freedom of opinion during the discussion of any question, and iron discipline once a decision is adopted by the majority—this is the unchangeable law of the Party.* Party organisations should demand absolute observance of this thesis by all Communists, wherever they may be working and whatever posts they may hold.

The development and observance of the Leninist standards and principles of Party life is indispensable if the creative activity of Communists is to be enhanced, the militancy of Party organisations raised, and improvements to the entire organisational, ideological and political work of the Party made.

* * *

The Leninist standards and principles of Party life are the indisputable rules of work of all Marxist-Leninist Parties. The fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, in their day-to-day activities, make extensive use of the experience of the CPSU in Party building. At the basis of their organisational structure lies the principle of democratic centralism. They apply this principle creatively, taking into account the concrete conditions in which they work and the tasks that face them.

The organic combination of democracy and centralism in the organisational structure of Marxist-Leninist Parties gives them flexibility in their work, and ensures both the unity and the creative initiative of Communists.

This basic Leninist principle of democratic centralism has been and is subjected to vehement attacks from opportunists. Some opportunists strive to "liberate" democratic centralism from centralism; they talk of the irreconcilability of democracy and centralism and draw conclusions about the need to "expand" democracy, extend freedom of discussion and give freedom to Party factions and groupings.

Others, Left-sectarian elements, overemphasise the importance of centralism, undermine the democratic basis of the life and activity of the Party, substitute administration for it, and hamper the development of the initiative of Party members. This inevitably leads to the personality cult, which is alien to the very nature of Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 condemned the various manifestations of revisionism and Left opportunism, and called upon the Communist and Workers' Parties to fight against the manifestations of bourgeois ideology which paralyse the revolutionary energy of the working class.

Absolute observance of the Leninist standards of Party life, the Statement of the 1960 Meeting emphasises, means: guarding the unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye; strictly observing the principles of Party democracy and collective leadership; tirelessly striving to strengthen the links between the leading Party organs and Party members and the broad masses of the working people; prohibiting the cult of the individual; and developing in every way the activity of Communists, and criticism and self-criticism in their ranks.

Inseparably connected with the Leninist standards of inner-Party life—and defined by them—are the principles governing the mutual relations between Communist Parties, the forms of communication between them, and the means by which they strengthen their unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The essence of proletarian internationalism was precisely defined by Lenin as follows: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in *every* country without exception."¹

The Rules of the CPSU state that the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an integral part of the international communist and working-class movement. It firmly adheres to the tried and tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism; it actively promotes the unity of the international communist and working-class movement as a whole, and fraternal ties with the great army of the Communists of all countries.*

The experience of the CPSU is of immense international importance. It convincingly confirms the fundamental propo-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

sition of Marxism-Leninism that only an ideologically steeled and organisationally united Communist Party is capable of confidently directing and developing the forces of the new society, of steadfastly leading it along the path to communism.

The stronger every Marxist-Leninist Party is, the firmer it stands on Leninist principles, and the higher its authority and influence among the people, the stronger the cause of world communism. This is the only correct position, guaranteeing fresh successes in the revolutionary struggle, and in the construction of socialism and communism.

The glorious fiftieth anniversary of Soviet power, of genuine people's rule, represented the triumph of the ideas and principles of Lenin's Party. The theses of the CC CPSU, entitled "Fifty Years of the Great October Socialist Revolution", state that the CPSU is of the flesh and blood of the working class, of the labouring, creative people; it has no interests other than the interests of the people.

Possessing immense theoretical wealth, and having accumulated unmatched experience of revolutionary action, the Party looks forward with courage, and meets the future with confidence. The coming years will undoubtedly bring new victories to its cause, the cause of communism.