

THE

CPSU:

Декретъ о мирѣ,
принятый единогласно на заседании Все-
российскаго Съезда Советовъ Рабочихъ,
Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ
26 октября 1917 г.

**STAGES
OF HISTORY**

MIR PEACE
PAIX MIR
PEACE
ЭНХ ТАЙВАН
PAZ
RAUHA
السلام
HÒA BÌNH
MIR

FRIEDEN
MIRO
Pokoj
BÉKE
PAIX
和平
PAZ
PAGE





THE **CPSU:**
STAGES
OF HISTORY



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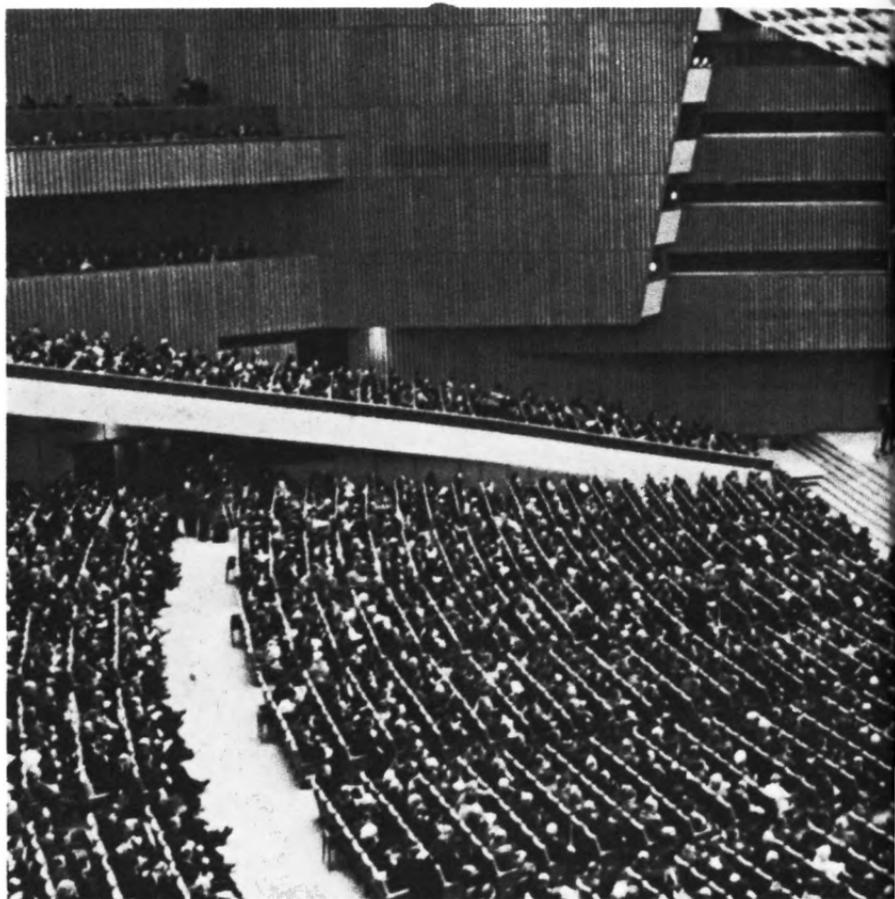
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THE PARTY IS THE LEADER, THE
VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT,
WHICH RULES DIRECTLY.

V. I. LENIN

THE LEADING AND GUIDING
FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND
THE NUCLEUS OF ITS POLITICAL
SYSTEM, OF ALL STATE ORGANI-
ZATIONS AND PUBLIC ORGANIZA-
TIONS, IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION. THE CPSU
EXISTS FOR THE PEOPLE AND
SERVES THE PEOPLE.

FROM ARTICLE 6 OF THE CON-
STITUTION OF THE SOVIET
UNION



TOWARDS THE MAJOR GOAL— COMMUNISM

The path taken by the Communist Party, the leading force of Soviet society, from underground Marxist circles to an 18-million-strong army of Communists, was not an easy one. In the fierce struggle against the enemies of the Soviet Republic in the years of foreign military intervention and the Civil War, the workers and peasants and the representatives of the progressive intelligentsia of Russia, under the guidance of the Communist Party, defended the



gains of the October Revolution and have built socialism.

During the harsh period of Nazi aggression, the Communist Party raised all the Soviet people for the struggle against fascism and, after victory was won, mobilized them for the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged economy. Today all the Party's efforts are directed towards raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people, safeguarding peace on Earth and ridding mankind of the

threat of new devastating wars.

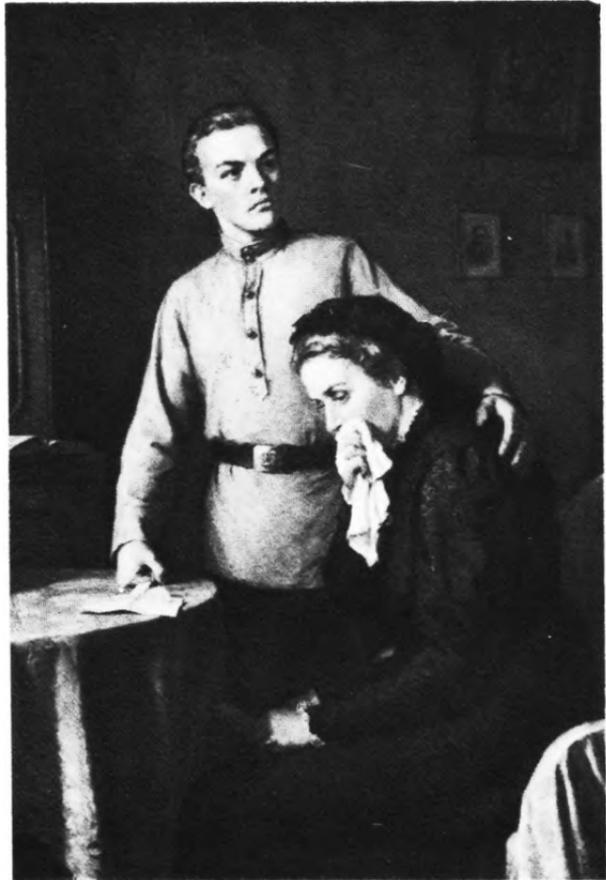
This illustrated booklet which is put out on the eve of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, contains brief information on the history of the CPSU using material from its Congresses each of which was an important milestone on the historic path taken by the Soviet people.

THE LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

THE EMBRYO
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY OF THE
PROLETARIAT

November 1895

"No, we won't take that path." This painting by P. Byelousov shows seventeen-year-old Vladimir Lenin and his mother in the spring of 1887 when the news came of the execution of his elder brother Alexander for participation in an attempted assassination of the Tsar. Lenin chose the path of revolutionary Marxism, which rejects the tactics of individual terror—the supplanting of the struggle of the masses with the struggle of individual heroes. He carried out a tremendous amount of work on the political education and organization of the working class, the advanced revolutionary force of society, proclaimed and put into effect the idea of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and built a Marxist proletarian party of a new type which headed the struggle for democracy and socialism



The Communist Party of the Soviet Union with a membership of over 18 million, the leader and organizer of the people in the struggle for revolutionary changes in the vast country, has a glorious history dating back to the 1880's, when first



1888. Lenin with members of a Marxist circle in Samara. A painting by A. Moravov

Lenin (centre) among members of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class



Marxist groups and circles emerged in Russia. An important landmark was the formation of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which was founded on the initiative of Vladimir Lenin in 1895 in St. Petersburg, then the capital of the Russian Empire.

The League incorporated about twenty Marxist circles in St. Petersburg and began to go from *the education in the theory of Marxism* of a limited number of advanced workers in Marxist circles to *political agitation* among the proletarian masses, linking the theory of scientific socialism elaborated by Marx and Engels with the struggle of the

workers, and the working-class struggle for economic demands with the political struggle against tsarism and capitalist exploitation.

The League's influence spread far beyond St. Petersburg. Similar unions were set up in other cities. The social-democratic movement in Russia continued to develop, though

"Cobble-stone—a weapon of the working class." This is how I. Shadr called his sculpture which symbolizes the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses



not without struggle within the organization. Some stubbornly clung to the obsolete forms of underground circle methods of struggle, while others agreed to mass agitation, but neglected the political tasks of the proletariat and proposed confining the work to the struggle for economic demands, and leaving the political struggle to the liberals. The supporters of such views were called Economists.

Lenin and his followers resolutely opposed these and other manifestations of opportunism in the working-class movement.

The significance of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle lay in its being an embryo of a genuinely revolutionary party which relied on and directed the working-class movement.

The Arrest of a Propagandist. A painting by I. Repin



I CONGRESS OF RSDLP

March 1898

FOUNDING OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Leninist League of Struggle and other revolutionary organizations played an important part in the preparation of the Congress whose aim was to rally the social-democratic organizations into a party. Lenin, who had been arrested by the tsarist government, was in exile, in Shushenskoye, at the Sayan Mountains foothills, where he wrote the pamphlet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* in which

The 1st Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. A painting by V. Zverev



he summed up the experience of the League of Struggle and outlined the programme and tactics of Russian Social Democrats.

In the spring of 1898, nine delegates from six social-democratic organizations of Russia gathered secretly in a house in a quiet street in Minsk. The aim of the Congress was to form a united Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). The programme works written by Lenin on the significance and tasks of a Marxist Party determined, in essence, the ideological direction of the Congress. The Congress pro-

claimed the formation of the RSDLP and elected a Central Committee consisting of three people.

The Manifesto issued on behalf of the Congress said: "The Russian proletariat will throw off the yoke of the autocracy in order to continue, with still greater vigour, the struggle against capitalism, until the complete victory of socialism."



The first issue of Iskra (Spark). The first all-Russia Marxist political newspaper founded by Lenin was put out on December 11, 1900. Strong organization of professional revolutionaries headed by Lenin which formed round this newspaper played an outstanding part in establishing a proletarian party

II CONGRESS OF RSDLP

July-August 1903

RISE OF BOLSHEVISM

After the First Congress, however, the Party still did not function as a single all-Russia organization of the working class.

The social-democratic organizations had neither a single pro-

Надательство „ПРОЛЕТАРИАТЪ“.

Хролетариѡ всѣхъ странъ, соединѡхмесеѡ

ПРОГРАММА

**Россїйской Соціалдемократической Рабочей Партіи,
принятая на второмъ сѣздѣ Партіи.**

The Programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, adopted by the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP. Guided by this first Marxist programme, the Party fought successfully for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic and then socialist revolution in Russia

Развитіе община установило такую тѣсную связь между всѣми народами цивилизованнаго міра, что великое освободительное движеніе пролетаріата должно было стать и давно уже стало международнымъ.

Считая себя однимъ изъ отрядовъ всемірной арміи пролетаріата, Россїйская соціалдемократія преслѣдуетъ ту же почетную цѣль, къ которой стремится соціалдемократы всѣхъ другихъ странъ.

Эта почетная цѣль опредѣляется характеромъ современнаго буржуазнаго общества и ходомъ его развитія.

Главную особенность такого общества составляетъ темное производство на основѣ капиталистическихъ производственныхъ отношеній, при которыхъ самая важная и значительная часть средствъ

gramme nor rules, they lacked centralized leadership and proper organization. Soon after the First Congress the tsarist police arrested two members of the Central Committee and many other prominent Social Democrats.

Among Social Democrats there arose rather a strong opportunist trend of the Economists, who denied the need for a Marxist party as the leading force of the working-class movement. It took the illegal all-Russia political newspaper *Iskra* three years (from 1900 to 1903) to overcome this. The newspaper, founded by Lenin, played a decisive role in the ideological defeat of Economism and the convocation of the Second Congress of the RSDLP.

At this Congress 26 social-

democratic organizations were represented. Its guiding spirit was Lenin. To begin with, the Congress assembled in Brussels, and subsequently in London. Throughout the proceedings there was a fierce struggle between the consistent revolutionaries and the opportunists over a number of problems concerning the programme, tactics and organization. The Congress adopted a Programme which set the Party the immediate aim of overthrowing tsarism and establishing a democratic republic (minimum programme), and the ultimate aim of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat for the socialist reorganization of society (maximum programme). Rules were also adopted which defined the Party's organizational forms.

Lenin speaks at the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP. A painting by Y. Vinogradov





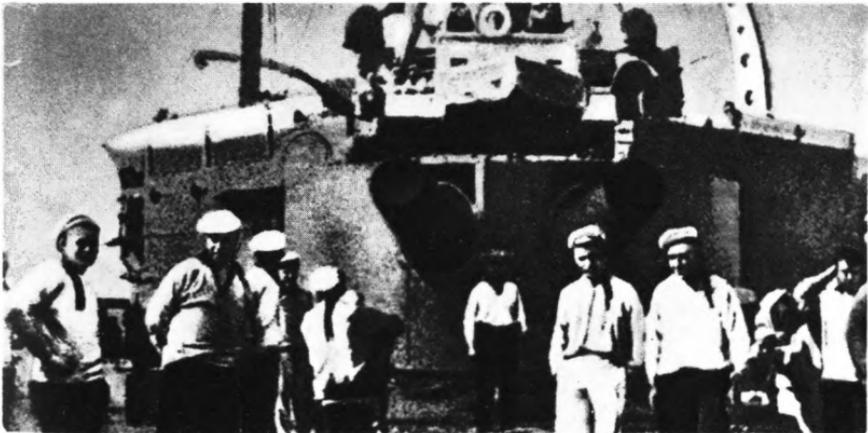
January 9, 1905. On that day, called "Bloody Sunday", a peaceful procession of workers of St. Petersburg was massacred by tsarist troops. A painting by V. Makovsky



1905, Moscow. Police dispersing participants in the rally at the Aquarium Gargens. A painting by G. Lessner

The principal result of the Congress was the creation of a revolutionary Marxist Party based on the ideological, political and organizational principles, worked out by Lenin. In the elections to leading bodies, the Congress split into the supporters of Lenin and those of Martov, in other words, into the revolutionary and the opportunist trends, which have gone down in history as the Bolsheviks (the majority—*bolshinstvo*) and the Mensheviks (the minority—*menshinstvo*). Led by Lenin, the Bolsheviks conducted a determined fight against the Mensheviks' opportunism on organizational questions and for the rallying of the Party on the basis of the Congress decisions. This was the origin of Bolshevism as a trend of political thought and as a political party.

1905. Rebel crewmen of the battleship *Potjomkin*





CONGRESS OF RSDLP

THE LINE—ARMED UPRISING

April 1905

This was at a time when the first bourgeois-democratic revolution was developing in Russia. The shooting by the tsarist authorities of a peaceful workers' demonstration in St. Petersburg (on January 9, 1905)

reverberated throughout the country. There were mass strikes on an unprecedented scale by the working class, and the peasants rose to active struggle. The Party was faced with the task of defining its line of polit-



V.I. Lenin



A.A. Bogdanov



V.V. Vorovsky



R.S. Zemlyachka



P.A. Krasikov



M.K. Krupskaya



M.M. Litvinov



A.V. Lunacharsky



M.N. Lyadov



M.G. Tskhakaya

Participants in the
3rd Congress of the
RSDLP

ical conduct in the revolution. This was all the more necessary because the Mensheviks, who were still formally within the Party, were pushing the working class into submission to the liberals, who were attempting to avert revolution with the aid of a few reforms.

All organizations of the RSDLP—Bolshevik and Menshevik—were invited to the Congress, which was held in London with 38 delegates taking part. The Mensheviks, however, refused to participate in the proceedings, and gathered in Geneva for a special conference of their own. The Congress decisions were based on the fact that in view of the current situation in Russia the task of preparing and carrying through an armed uprising of the entire people was of first importance, the only means by which the auto-

cracy could be overthrown and the minimum programme carried out. Subsequent developments confirmed the correctness of the decisions of the Third Congress. Revolutionary struggle was rapidly gaining momentum in the country. As the struggle developed, the weavers in Ivanovo-Voznesensk elected a Soviet of workers' representatives (deputies). It was the first ever Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the prototype of future Soviets, which were destined to play such a great revolutionary role.

The Congress decisions oriented the Party on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution and on the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, in order to secure the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Workers at a barricade during the armed uprising in Moscow in December 1905. A painting by I. Vladimirov



IV

CONGRESS OF RSDLP

April 1906

PRINCIPAL QUESTION: THE PARTY'S AGRARIAN PROGRAMME

The Fourth Congress was held in Stockholm, at a time when the revolution in Russia was in the descendance. It has gone down in history as the *Unity* Congress. Sixty-two organizations were represented at it, including three national ones. Bolshevik delegates totalled 46, Mensheviks—62. This determined the character of the resolutions adopted—they were not of a sufficiently consistent revolutionary nature.

The Congress concentrated mainly

on the agrarian question. This was an urgent problem owing to the demands of the peasants who were fighting for the abolition of the estates of the big landowners and the satisfaction of their need for land. The people could win only if there were an alliance of the working class and the peasantry, which constituted nearly 80 per cent of the country's population. In his report to the Congress Lenin set out an agrarian programme aimed at a decisive revolutionary break-up of the whole of

Bolshevik delegates to the 4th Congress of the RSDLP sign an appeal to the Party criticizing the Menshevik decisions of the Congress. A drawing by N. Pavlov





1906. Soldiers who took part in revolutionary actions on the way to exile

the old land-owning system by means of the radical democratization of the socio-political system and the nationalization of all land. Lenin's programme called for the carrying through of the bourgeois revolution and its subsequent development into

a socialist revolution. The Mensheviks, opposing the Bolsheviks, assumed a reformist, reactionary attitude towards the agrarian problem.

February 1907. Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers seeing off N. A. Zhidelev, a Bolshevik elected to the Second State Duma by the workers of Vladimir Gubernia



V CONGRESS OF RSDLP

May 1907

ATTITUDE TO BOURGEOIS PARTIES

Delegates to the 5th
Congress



V.I. Lenin



A.S. Bubnov



K.Y. Voroshilov



I.F. Dubrovinsky



M.N. Lyadov



V.P. Nogin



I.V. Stalin



G.D. Lindov



M.G. Tskhakaya



S.G. Shaumyan



Y.M. Yaroslavsky

This was the last Congress attended both by Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. After that their ways diverged, for the Mensheviks slid finally onto the path of reformism. A total of 150,000 Party members in 145 organizations were represented at the Congress. There were 89 Bolsheviks and 88 Mensheviks present. On the majority of questions the Bolsheviks had the support of the Polish and Latvian social-democratic delegates. The keynote of the Congress was severe criticism of the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks. The central question was the Party's attitude to bourgeois parties. In essence this was a question of who could and must exercise hegemony in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The events of 1905-07 had confirmed the Bolsheviks' assessment of the driv-

ing forces of the revolution. The proletariat had come forward as the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, while the liberal bourgeoisie, on whose hegemony the Mensheviks had oriented themselves, took up counter-revolutionary positions even while the revolution was in progress. This was what determined the Bolsheviks' attitude to bourgeois parties. The Congress adopted Lenin's resolution on the question, emphasizing the need to wage uncompromising struggle against counter-revolutionary liberalism, to wrest the petty-bourgeois parties from its sphere of influence, drawing them into the fight against tsarism as allies of the proletariat.

April 1912. Fire was opened on a workers' demonstration at the Lena goldfields in Siberia who had demanded a raise in their miserable wages and an improvement in their unbearable working and living conditions. More than 500 people were killed or wounded. The workers and progressive intellectuals reacted to the bloody atrocity committed by tsarism with strikes, demonstrations and meetings of protest. Those marked the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge in the country. The picture shows police dispersing a workers' protest demonstration in St. Petersburg



VI CONGRESS OF RSDLP/B/

July-August 1917

IMMEDIATE TASK— SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Between the fifth and the sixth congresses Russia went through a period of fierce reaction (1907-10), a new revolutionary upsurge (1910-14), the First World War (1914-18) and a bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917. Under pres-

sure from the insurgent workers and soldiers the monarchy fell. Dual power was established—the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, on the one hand, and the bourgeois Provisional Government on the other. The Soviets represented real power, for they were backed by the armed masses, whereas the Provisional Government had the support of only the conciliatory

April 3, 1917. Upon return from emigration, Lenin addresses workers, sailors and soldiers from the top of an armoured car standing in front of the Finland Railway Station of Petrograd. A painting by K. Aksyonov



parties—the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries (SR's), members of the party of urban and rural bourgeoisie who at that time were against the establishment of workers' and peasants' power, for cooperation with capitalists and landlords, and who assumed the leadership in the Soviets. The existence of a ready-prepared form of government—the Soviets—created on the initiative of the masses, presented an historically unique opportunity for the peaceful development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. It was on this that Lenin oriented the Party of the Bolsheviks in his well-known April Theses which contained instructions on all questions of revolutionary struggle after the over-

throw of tsarism. The policy of the Mensheviks and the SR's, however, weakened the Soviets and made it possible for counter-revolutionary forces to seize all power.

By the time of the Sixth Congress, which was held in Petrograd this time (in 1914 St. Petersburg was renamed Petrograd), the situation in the country was such that the proletariat and the poor peasantry could win power only by force of arms. The preparation of an armed uprising became an urgent practical question. The Congress set the Party's sights, despite the sceptics and opportunists, on socialist revolution.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 confirmed the far-sightedness of the policy of the Leninist Party.

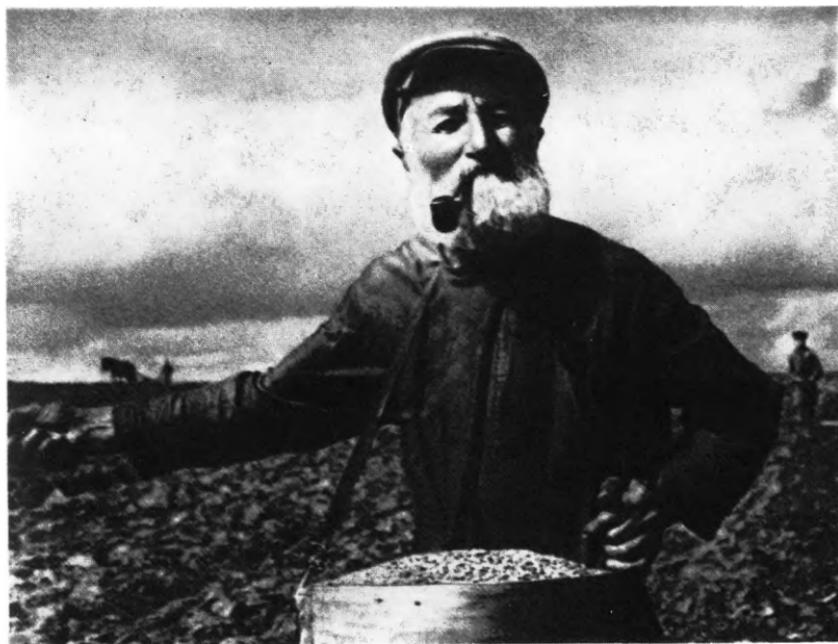
October 25 (November 7), 1917. The revolutionary soldiers and worker-Red Guards of Petrograd assaulting the Winter Palace, the bulwark of the counter-revolution. A diorama by Y. Deshalyt



October 26 (November 8), 1917. V. I. Lenin speaks at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which proclaimed the transition of all power in the country into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. A painting by V. Serov

The first decrees of Soviet power, adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917: the Decree on Peace, proposing that the belligerent countries conclude forthwith an armistice and start talks on universal democratic peace, peace without annexations and contributions; the Decree on Land, under which landowners were deprived of their land estates without any redemption, and all land was declared state property, i.e. the property of the whole people, and turned over to all working people for free use; the Congress also formed the first Soviet government—the Council of People's Commissars—and elected Lenin as its Chairman

Seen in the picture is a peasant sowing wheat seeds on the plot which Soviet power gave him free of charge by the Decree on Land



VII CONGRESS OF RCP/B

March 1918

**PEACE—
THE MAIN SLOGAN
OF THE DAY**

Within the first two or three months after the 1917 October Socialist Revolution, Soviet power was victorious throughout Russia.

The world's first workers' and



In 1918 foreign military intervention and the Civil War had begun. The Communist Party rallied the people to the defence of the socialist Fatherland. Before the summer of 1918 almost half a million volunteers had joined the Red Army. The Red Army man in D. Moor's poster asks: "Have you signed on?"

peasants' government, headed by Lenin, was formed at the Second Congress of Soviets (October 25-26, 1917); it appealed to all governments and nations to conclude an immediate and just democratic peace. The imperialists, however, did not heed the appeal of the Soviet government, and were preparing to destroy Soviet power. The German imperialists, with their vast armed forces along the Eastern Front, were the first to decide to strike at the Republic of Soviets. The salvation of the Revolution lay in an immediate peace. Lenin fought persistently for such a peace, exposing the "heroes" of revolutionary phrases, the "Left-wing Communists", who demanded the continuation of the war with Germany even at the cost of destruction of Soviet power.

Peace was the central question at this Congress of the RCP(B), which was now the ruling party. In the political report of the Central Committee, Lenin showed how utterly disastrous was the position adopted by the "Left-wing Communists", and how dangerous for the Revolution was the line of the traitors, who proclaimed the slogan "neither war nor peace". The majority of the votes at the Congress were cast in support of Lenin, and this gave the Republic of Soviets the necessary respite and the opportunity to set up the worker-peasant Red Army. The Congress decided to name the Party the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the RCP(B). The new name expressed the Party's ultimate aim—communism.

Volunteers in Moscow's Red Square



VIII CONGRESS OF RCP/B/

March 1919

NEW PARTY PROGRAMME

The plans of peaceful socialist construction were disrupted by the Civil War and foreign intervention. The Soviet country entered upon a three-year period of unprecedentedly grim armed struggle against internal counter-revolutionary forces, which had the direct support of the world's major powers—the USA, Britain, France and Japan. Confident of the victorious outcome of the struggle, the Eighth Congress discussed and adopted a new programme which laid down the Party's tasks in the political, economic, cul-

tural and other spheres with a view to building a socialist society (the first Programme adopted in 1903 was fulfilled). Of great importance was a resolution, adopted on Lenin's report, on the Party's attitude to the middle peasants as the allies of the proletariat and the rural poor in the fight to preserve and consolidate Soviet power. At the same time the First Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow; the RCP(B) became one of the leading sectors of the International.



March 1919.
*Delegates to the 8th
Congress of the
Russian Communist
Party (Bolsheviks):
V. I. Lenin, the poet
Demyan Bedny, and
F. D. Panfilov, a
peasant*

РОССИЙСКАЯ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРТИЯ (БОЛЬШЕВИКИ).

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

ПРОГРАММА

РОССИЙСКОЙ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ

(БОЛЬШЕВИКИ).

Принята 8-м съездом партии 10—22 марта 1919 г.

Цена 1 рубль

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО «КОНФЕСТ».

The Programme of the RCP (B), adopted by the 8th Congress of the Party in March 1919. The new Programme set the task of strengthening the workers' and peasants' power and building a socialist society

The mass communist subbotnik, day of unpaid voluntary work done on subbota (the Russian for Saturday), organized by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan railway on May 10, 1919. The volunteers worked for some five or six hours in their free time, and the money thus earned was sent to the state fund to help the state begin peaceful construction. The example was followed by the working people throughout the country



IX CONGRESS OF RCP/B/

March-April 1920

MAIN TASK— ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

The war imposed upon the Soviet Republic by the combined forces of internal and external counter-revolution was drawing to a close. The Party of Communists was the organizing and cementing force that had led the workers and peasants to victory. Questions of economic development occupied an important place in the Congress proceedings. Lenin examined these questions in all their aspects and emphasized the

need for absolute unity of will on the part of the working class as a condition for their successful solution. The Congress exposed the anti-Marxist stand taken by those Party members who denied that it was necessary to employ some of the specialists, who were trained before the Revolution, to have centralized state administration and one-man management of industrial enterprises.



*Lenin in the presidium
of the 9th Congress of
the RCP (B)*



In November 1920 Baron Wrangel, former tsarist general and the last of the Western imperialists' henchmen, was defeated. The foreign military intervention and the Civil War came to an end. The inscription in D. Moor's poster reads: "Wrangel is still alive; finish him off without mercy!"

March 1920. The Soviet government set up a State Committee for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), headed by G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, a prominent power specialist. The picture shows a sitting of GOELRO. Krzhizhanovsky is second from left





CONGRESS OF RCP/B/

March 1921

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY— THE CHIEF THING

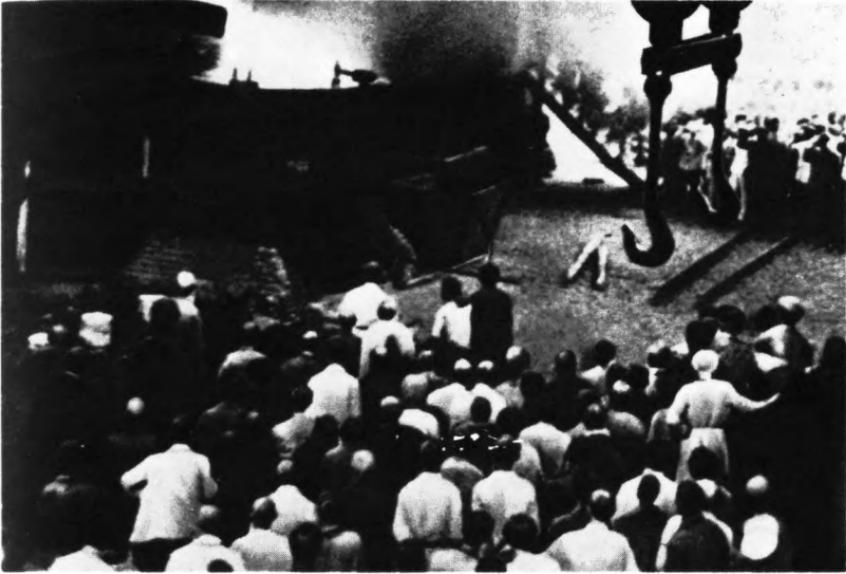
This Congress went down in history as a turning point in the Party's policy: from "war communism" to the New Economic Policy (NEP). "War communism", introduced in 1918 (the requisitioning of all surplus grain from the peasants, a ban on free trade, and the introduction of general labour conscription), was a measure evoked by the emergency conditions of the Civil War. It could not be a policy corresponding to the economic tasks of the proletariat in normal, peaceful conditions. Lenin demonstrated that henceforth the correct economic policy of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country, where the peasantry comprised the overwhelming majority of

the population, was the exchange of grain for manufactured goods, with free trade in surplus foodstuffs being allowed. The New Economic Policy was based on the prospects of establishing a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry with a view to transforming small-scale farming into large-scale socialist production.

The Congress decisions also pointed out the impermissibility of factionalism and splitting activity within the Party, emphasizing that unity of the Party's ranks was a decisive condition for a strong and invincible dictatorship of the proletariat. The Congress exposed the views of the "workers' opposition", which denied the significance of the leading role of the Communist Party as a condition for the success of socialism.

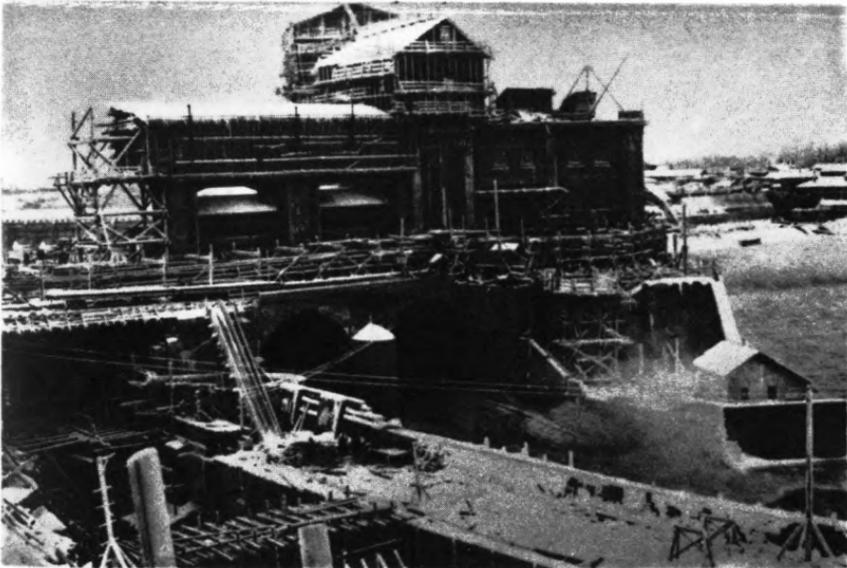


*Lenin among
delegates to the 10th
Congress of the
RCP(B)*



The early 1920s. The country is rebuilding the war-ravaged economy. A restored steel works starts production

The Volkhov hydropower station was one of the first power plants built in the USSR under the GOELRO Plan



March-April
1922

XII

CONGRESS
OF
RCP/B/

LEARN TO TRADE

This was the last Congress at which Lenin was present and which he addressed. The Congress reviewed the results of the first year of work to rehabilitate the national economy on the basis of the New Economic Policy. The fact that free trade was allowed in the conditions of small-scale commodity production inevitably brought in its train a growth of capitalist elements in the economy. But as the commanding heights of the economy (large-scale industry, the railways, the banks,

etc.) were in the hands of the proletarian state, the situation did not pose any serious danger. State enterprises had to learn to compete with private capital in the field of trade. Lenin set the Party the following task: Communists had to be able to trade. Only by means of well-run and efficient state trade was it possible to cooperate with the vast peasant masses, and gradually oust capitalist elements from the economy.

The new Central Committee elected at the Congress established the post of General Secretary, to which Iosif Stalin was elected.

At the November 1922 session of the Moscow Soviet Lenin delivered his last speech. A painting by Y. Ilyin



XIII

CONGRESS OF RCP/B

April 1923

BURNING STATE AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

The main questions on the agenda were the rapid restoration and development of industry as the basis for an upsurge of the entire

*Lenin's articles:
Pages from a
Diary, On
Cooperation, How
We Should
Reorganize the
Workers' and
Peasants'
Inspection, and
Our Revolution. In
his last articles
and booklets
Lenin worked out
the plan of
socialist
construction in the
USSR. His ideas
were embodied in
the decisions of
the 12th Congress
of the RCP(B)*



economy, the electrification of the country, the overcoming of the disproportions in prices of industrial and agricultural goods, and the doing away with the gap between the levels of economic and cultural development of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, a legacy left by the tsarist regime.

In his plan for building socialism in the Soviet Union Lenin charted the ways for the solution of these problems. The ideas contained in the plan were formulated by Lenin, in particular, in his last articles and letters, which constituted his political

testament. The plan's basic points were: industrialization of the country; the creation of a strong power industry as the basis for the development of the entire economy; the establishment of cooperative farming and cooperative small-scale production in general; a rapid rise in the educational and cultural level of the masses and the strengthening of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the principles of voluntary association and fraternal collaboration. Lenin's plan determined the whole of the Party's subsequent policy, its general line.



Lenin's works in many different languages

XIII CONGRESS OF RCP/B/

**CARRYING OUT
LENIN'S BEHESTS**

May 1924

*Delegates to the 13th
Congress of the
RCP(B) listening to
the report of the
Central Committee*



*A demonstration in
Moscow in honour of
the 13th Party
Congress*



The Congress was convened four months after Lenin's death. At it there was discussion (by delegations) of Lenin's ideas on matters of socialist construction, and also on the strengthening of collective leadership and the creation of a viable Central Committee, capable of averting the danger of a split in the Party.

The Congress noted the country's general economic upsurge and issued directives on the further development of the country's heavy industry and intensification of efforts to cooperate agricultural producers on a voluntary basis. Party organizations were set the task of carrying out educational work among the new Party members and to involve them in Party, state and public ac-

tivity. The Congress called on members of the Young Communist League actively to participate in all undertakings of the Party and the Soviet state, to help train skilled workers and specialists, and to study and improve their own professional qualifications.

The inscriptions on N. Olshansky's poster (1924) read: "Leninism is the weapon of the proletariat's struggle and victory" and "Lenin is always with us"



XIV

CONGRESS OF AUCP/B/

December 1925

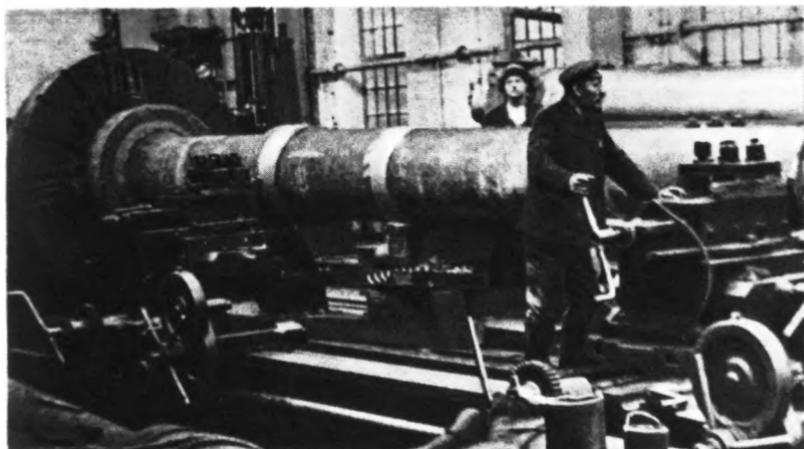
THE LINE— INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

The Congress took place at a time when the restoration of the economy of the USSR was almost completed. The Party was confronted with the problems of the country's future prospects and the fate of socialism in the USSR. This was of special significance in view of the fact that revolutionary feeling was on the descent in Western Europe. Capitalism had entered a period of temporary stabilization. On the basis of Lenin's theoretical theses, the Party drew the conclusion that the working class of the Soviet Union, in alliance with the working peasants, and with the moral and political sup-

port of the international proletariat, could create the material and technical basis of socialism and build a socialist society. The concept of the so-called new opposition was against this conclusion. The Congress participants condemned the lack of faith in the possibility of socialism's triumph in the USSR, pointing out that a guarantee of successful socialist development were rapid industrialization, the USSR's transformation from an importer of machines and equipment into a producer of these goods, and its becoming economically independent from the capitalist world. New Party Rules were adopted, and it was decided to rename the Party the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks—AUCP(B).

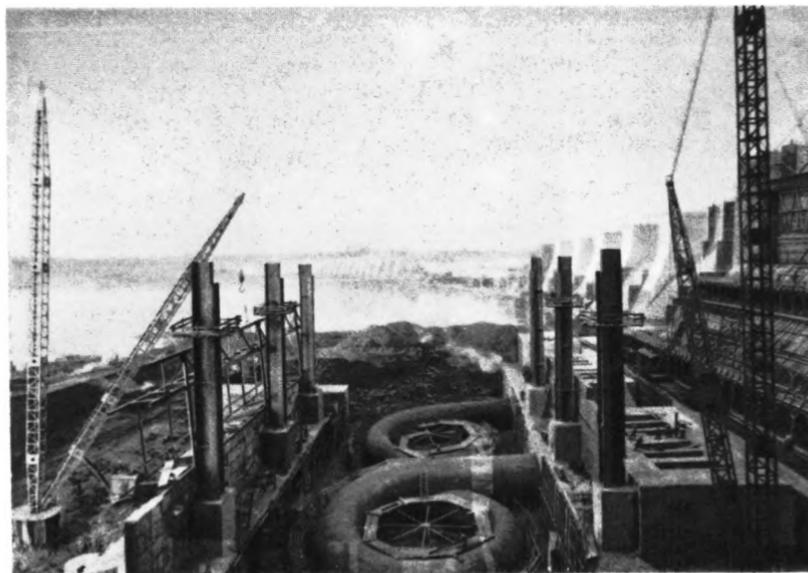
*Delegates from
Ivanovo-Voznesensk
at the 14th Congress
of the All-Union
Communist Party
(Bolsheviks)*





1925, Leningrad. Building a generator for the Volkhov hydropower station, the first one of the young Republic

1927. Construction of a hydropower station on the Dnieper River. A diorama by M. Kelchevsky



XV

CONGRESS OF AUCP/B/

December 1927

CENTRAL QUESTION— COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

The country was embarking upon the socialist reconstruction of the economy. The Congress took note of the first successes in industrialization. Of primary importance was the adoption of the resolution on the Directives for drafting the first five-year plan, which opened the period of the five-year plans—the planned development of the entire economy along socialist lines. The problem of the further development of agriculture was also an urgent one. In contrast to industry, which was developing quite successfully, small-scale peasant farming scarcely provided for the needs of the peasants themselves. The lack of farm products led to serious difficulties in the

supply of foodstuffs to the population of towns and industrial centres. In order to solve this problem, the Party decided upon a policy of socialization of agriculture by means of production cooperation and formation of large state farms (sovkhozes).

The Congress reviewed the question of the activity of the anti-Party bloc, which comprised the remnants of the opposition groups, which were against the Party general line on the building of socialism in the country. The opposition had in fact become a weapon of the class enemy, and the Congress thus declared allegiance to the opposition and propaganda of its views to be incompatible with membership in the Party. The most active members of the opposition were expelled from the Party.



*Delegates to the 15th
Congress of the
AUCP(B)*



1930. Borisoglebsk District in the Central Black-Soil Region of Russia. Peasants handing in applications for admission to a collective farm



1930. The first tractor manufactured by the Stalingrad tractor plant

XVI

CONGRESS OF AUCP/B/

June-July 1930

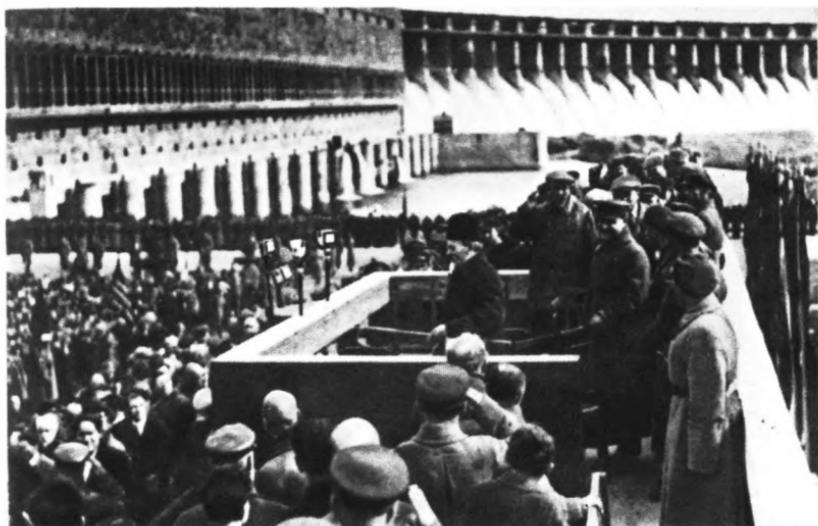
ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM ON ALL FRONTS

At the time of the Congress the main feature of the international situation was the fact that the capitalist countries were experiencing an unprecedentedly grave economic crisis. In the Soviet Union socialist development was taking place on a great scale. The first projects of the five-year plan—new power stations, iron-and-steel and machine-building plants and mining complexes—were put into operation. For the first time in the history of the USSR, in 1929-30 the share of industry in the economy exceeded that of agriculture (53 per cent as against 47). The collectivization of agriculture proceeded on a mass scale. The Congress noted that as a result of the

advances made in the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture socialism was successfully ousting the elements of capitalism. In this connection the Congress pointed to the need to reorganize the work of Party, state and public (trade unions, Young Communist League, etc.) organizations from the standpoint of the new tasks to be tackled, and laid down a programme for an offensive of socialism on all fronts.

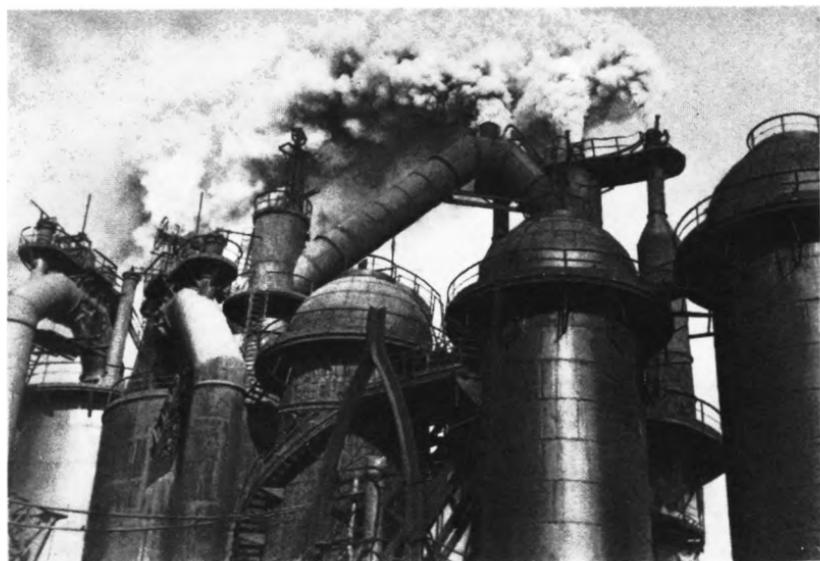


*The opening of the
16th Congress of the
AUCP(B)*



1932. The meeting devoted to the commissioning of the Dnieper hydropower station, the country's largest at the time

The first blast-furnace at the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel plant in the Urals put into operation in 1932



XVII

CONGRESS OF AUCP/B

January-February 1934

BUILDING THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

The Congress reviewed the results of socialist reconstruction of the economy. It was noted that by carrying out the programme drawn up by Lenin, the Party had ensured the building of the foundations of socialism, the country's transformation from an agrarian country into an industrial one, and the transition of the main mass of the peasantry from scattered, small-scale commodity farming to large-scale, collective socialist production. A resolution was adopted on the second five-year

plan of economic development for 1933-37, which envisaged the completion of technical reconstruction of the country's entire economy.

In view of the growing military danger arising from the advent to power of the Nazis in Germany, the Congress instructed the Central Committee and the government to continue conducting a consistent policy of peace and developing business relations with all countries, at the same time strengthening the defences of the USSR.



*Delegates to the 17th
Congress of the
AUCP(B) listening to
the report on a new
five-year plan*



August 31, 1935. On that day, thanks to a rational organization of labour, Alexei Stakhanov, a young coal miner of the Donetsk coal basin, did more than 14 work quotas, digging 102 tons of coal in five hours and forty-five minutes. This labour exploit started off a mass movement of Soviet workers and collective farmers aimed at raising labour productivity, which became known as the Stakhanov movement. The photograph shows Alexei Stakhanov explaining to workmates his method of work

Tractors manufactured by the Chelyabinsk tractor plant. In the 1930s tractor plants were built in Kharkov (the Ukraine) and Chelyabinsk (the Urals)



XVIII

CONGRESS OF AUCP/B/

March 1939

THE LINE—COMPLETING THE BUILDING OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The third five-year plan of economic development for 1938-42 occupied an important place in the proceedings. General policy and inner-Party questions were also considered. Amended Party Rules were adopted, which took account of radical changes in the class structure of Soviet society and reflected the need for the further development of inner-Party democracy. The Congress pointed out that socialist society had been built in the main in the Soviet Union and set forth the tasks to be fulfilled to complete socialist construction.

This period witnessed an extreme deterioration in the international situation. The defeatist policy of the Western powers had untied the hands of the fascist aggressors. The Second World War was just round the corner. In these circumstances the Congress laid down the tasks of fighting energetically to preserve peace and cut short fascist aggression, not to let the instigators of war drag the Soviet Union into conflicts, to reinforce the Armed Forces of the USSR to the utmost and to strengthen links with the working people of other countries.



*Delegates to the 18th
Congress of the
AUCP(B)*



Yevdokiya Vinogradova, the initiator of Stakhanov methods of work in the textile industry



Praskovya Angelina, the organizer of the first team of women tractor-drivers in the USSR. Her labour exploits won her the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and a State Prize. She was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet



1937. Heroes of the Soviet Union G. F. Baidukov, V. P. Chkalov and A. V. Belyakov (from left to right), who performed the world's first non-stop flight from Moscow to the United States (Vancouver) via the North Pole aboard a single-engine plane designed by A. N. Tupolev. In 1975 a monument commemorating the flight was erected in Vancouver

РОДИНА-МАТЬ ЗОВЕТ!



In 1941 Hitler's Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. The Communist Party roused the people to uphold the gains of the October Revolution, to defend the socialist Motherland. "The Motherland Calls!" A poster by I. Toidze

The soldiers of the People's Voluntary Corps receiving rifles

The peasants supplied the front with food

The workers equipped the Soviet Army with weapons





1943. Street fighting in Stalingrad. A 330,000-strong German army was routed in and around the city



The whole people rose in the struggle against the Nazi invaders. The partisans fought courageously in the enemy's rear



A salvo of rocket-launchers which people called "Katyushas"

1945. The Banner of Victory fluttering over the Reichstag in Berlin



CONGRESS OF CPSU

October 1952

CONTINUATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK DISRUPTED BY WAR

The Congress assembled at a time when the Soviet Union, having brought to a victorious conclusion the unprecedentedly grim war against Nazi Germany and in the main completed economic rehabilitation, was approaching a new stage in its development. The Congress paid tribute to the memory of millions upon millions of the Soviet people who had fallen in unparalleled struggle against the Nazi hordes. An analysis was made of the

The Directives of the 19th Congress of the CPSU for the 5th five-year economic development plan (1951-55), providing for a further rise in all the sectors of the national economy of the USSR and an improvement in the living standards of the people. The Congress decided to change the Party's name from the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and adopted new Party Rules



radical changes that had occurred on the international arena after the Second World War; the most important result was the emergence of a world socialist system. The Congress adopted Directives for the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development for 1951-55.

Amended Party Rules were adopted, and it was decided to change the Party's name. The dual name

"Communist" and "Bolshevik" had a historical origin and was a reflection of the struggle against the Mensheviks. As the latter had long since left the historical scene, there was no further point in the dual name. It was decided that the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks would be called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).



The central control desk of the world's first Soviet atomic power station at Obninsk, a town near Moscow



June 1952. The opening of the Volga-Don navigation canal named after Lenin, one of the largest construction projects of the postwar five-year plans



CONGRESS OF CPSU

February 1956

THE POLICY OF DEVELOPING AND STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The Twentieth Congress played an outstanding role in the development of the Soviet Union and the world communist movement. In an analysis of the international situation the Congress proceeded from the fact that the world had split into two systems—capitalist and socialist, the competition and antagonism between which affected all aspects of the economic, political and ideological life of nations. The Congress documents further elaborated

theoretical questions: the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, the possibility of averting another world war, and the forms of transition by various countries to socialism. The Congress reviewed the results of the country's development in the period from 1951 to 1955 and adopted Directives for the sixth five-year plan for 1956-60.

An important place in the proceedings was also given to questions of the further strengthening of the Soviet social and state system and the development of socialist democracy. The Congress discussed the question of the Stalin personality



*The 20th Congress of
the CPSU in session*

cult that had arisen and drafted a series of measures to ensure that the cult was fully overcome and its consequences remedied in all spheres of Party, state and ideological work, and that the norms of Party life and the principle of collective leadership elaborated by Lenin were strictly observed.

ЗАКОН О ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫХ ПЕНСИЯХ

В целях обеспечения достойного существования пенсионеров СССР, повышения уровня их благосостояния и развития жилищного строительства в СССР и Советском Союзе профессиональных союзов...

Постановление Совета Министров СССР, Центрального Комитета КПСС и Высшего Центрального Совета Профессиональных Союзов

О ПОВЫШЕНИИ ЗАРАБОТНОЙ ПЛАТЫ НИЗКООПЛАЧИВАЕМЫМ РАБОЧИМ И СЛУЖАЩИМ

В целях повышения уровня благосостояния работников СССР и Советского Союза профессиональных союзов...

В целях повышения уровня благосостояния работников СССР и Советского Союза профессиональных союзов...

1. В целях повышения благосостояния работников СССР и Советского Союза профессиональных союзов...

О РАЗВИТИИ ЖИЛИЩНОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА В СССР

(ИЗЪЯЧЕНИЕ)

ПОСТАВЛЕНА В К В Ц С С Р В С О В Е Т А М И Н И С Т Р О В С О В Е Т И Н К О Д О У И Т А

В стране социализма, где власть принадлежит трудящимся, подъем жизненного уровня и благосостояния народа — одна из важнейших задач. Для Коммунистической партии Советского правительства нет цели более высокой, чем...

In keeping with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the development of industry and agriculture was accompanied by measures aimed at raising the people's living standards. The photo shows the Law on State Pensions, adopted on March 6, 1956; the decision of the Party and government on raising the wages of factory and office workers; and the decision on the development of housing construction in the USSR (dated July 31, 1957)



In the course of three years, 1954-56, about 36 million hectares of virgin and long-fallow lands were put under plough in the steppes of Kazakhstan, in the Volga area and other regions of the USSR

XXI

CONGRESS OF CPSU

January-February 1959

UNDER THE SLOGAN OF THE FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

*Delegates to the 21st
Party Congress: (in
the foreground)
N. Zhavoronkov,
Corresponding
Member of the USSR
Academy of Sciences,
Director of the
Mendeleyev Chemical
Institute (left), and
Academician
I. Kurchatov, thrice
Hero of Socialist
Labour, the founder
and head of the
Institute of Atomic
Energy of the USSR
Academy of Sciences*



*Academician
S. Korolev, the
designer of Soviet
spaceships,
congratulates Yuri
Gagarin who made
the world's first space
flight on April 12,
1961*



The Congress adopted Directives for the economic development plan for 1959-65. The Congress stated that socialism had triumphed fully and decisively in the USSR, that the balance of forces in the world arena had changed in favour of socialism, and the USSR had entered a new stage in its development—the period of building communist society, in which the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" would prevail. A commission elected at the

Congress was entrusted to draft a new Programme of the CPSU.



Industrialization is proceeding apace in the eastern regions of the USSR. The photo shows a team of assemblymen of the Karaganda iron-and-steel plant in Kazakhstan



The machine room of the Bratsk hydropower station in Siberia

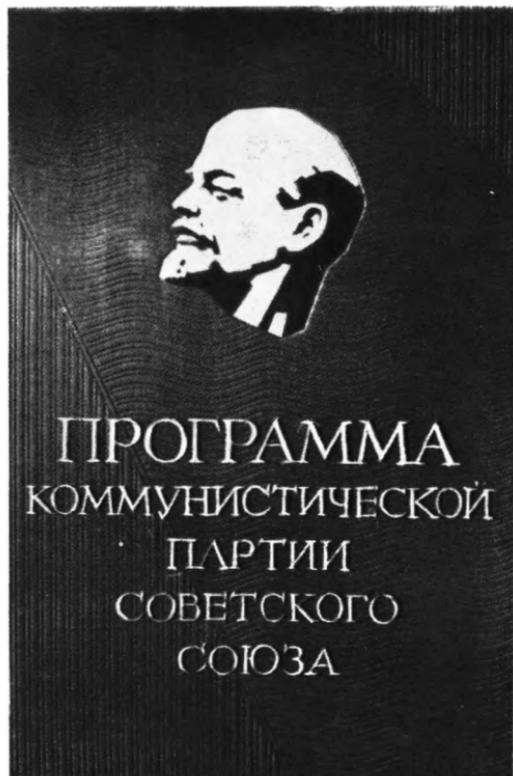
XXII

CONGRESS OF CPSU

October 1961

PROGRAMME FOR BUILDING COMMUNISM

The Congress was held in the newly-built Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin. About 5,000 delegates attended, representing nearly 10 million Communists. Present were delegations from 80 communist and workers' parties, and also represen-



*October 1961.
The third Programme
of the CPSU, adopted
by the 22nd Party
Congress, a
programme of
communist
construction*



Ship-builder Vasily Smirnov, delegate to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU

A guest at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Henry Winston, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the USA, and cosmonaut Gherman Titov, delegate to the Congress



Delegates to the Congress Yevgeniya Dolinyuk, a collective farmer, and Academician Nikolai Semyonov



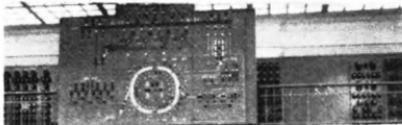
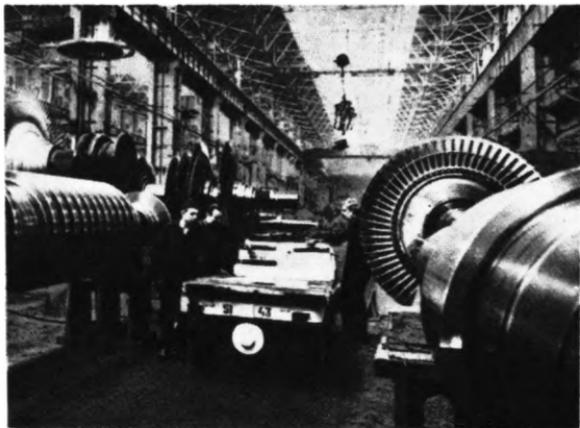
A CPSU veteran, Yelena Stasova, delegate to the Congress, talking with guests of the Congress, Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the first President of socialist Vietnam (right), and Victorio Codovilla, the founder of the Communist Party of Argentina

The steam turbines shop of the Leningrad plant. A turbine with a capacity of 1.2 million kilowatts was built there

Carrying out the decisions of the Party congress on intensifying scientific and technical progress. The central control desk of the proton synchrotron of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in Dubna

Reactor of the Novovoronezh atomic power station

tatives of national democratic parties of a number of countries. The focal point was the new, third Programme of the CPSU—a programme for building communist society. The second Programme adopted by the Eighth Congress in 1919 had been fulfilled. The new Programme assessed the results of the constructive labour of the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and put forward the tasks of creating the material and technical basis of communism, transforming socialist relations into communist, and educat-



ing all working people in the spirit of lofty communist consciousness. The Programme also gave an analysis of the world revolutionary process in connection with the growth of the might of the socialist system, the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the development of the international communist and working-class movement.

The new tasks set out in the Programme required changes in the Party Rules. The new Rules provided for a further heightening of the role and responsibility of Soviet

Communists and the development of inner-Party democracy and the initiative of Party organizations.



Hundreds of new varieties of cereals, fruit, vegetables, cotton and other crops have been developed by Soviet plant breeders. Testing the qualities of a new cotton variety in a laboratory of the Vakhsh zonal experimental station



Artificial rain irrigation is used by the Mugan experimental amelioration station in Azerbaijan

XXIII**CONGRESS
OF
CPSU***March-April 1966***URGENT TASKS
OF BUILDING
COMMUNISM**

The Congress delegates represented over 12 million Communists. Representatives of communist and workers' parties and national democratic parties from 86 countries on all continents were invited to attend.

The Congress reviewed questions

relating to the international situation and the Party's domestic policy for the period under review. Special attention was devoted to the strengthening of the world socialist system—the chief revolutionary force of the contemporary epoch. In



*The 23rd Congress of
the CPSU in session
at the Kremlin Palace
of Congresses*

November 7, 1967—the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power. These fifty years had been marked by the struggle and unremitting labour of the Soviet people, who had built, under the guidance of the Communist Party, an advanced socialist society. In the photo: celebrating the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow's Red Square



addition the Congress discussed questions brought about by the successes of the national liberation movements of the Afro-Asian peoples and the fight against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Congress paid special attention to the question of strengthening proletarian unity among communist and workers' parties and affirmed the loyalty of the CPSU to the general line of the international communist

movement worked out collectively at international meetings in 1957 and 1960.

The Congress discussed the Directives for the Five-Year Plan of Economic Development for 1966-70. It drew attention to the need to make better use of economic methods and incentives in managing the economy, to improve planning and increase the economic initiative and independence of industrial enter-

In the diamond tools testing laboratory of the Kiev Institute of Super-Hard Materials (the Ukraine)



A shop of the Alma Ata (Kazakhstan) cotton mills named after the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution



prises and collective and state farms. Attention was called to the importance of accelerated scientific and technological progress for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the working people's wellbeing.

The Central Committee elected at the Congress elected its own leading body, the Political Bureau. Leonid Brezhnev was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.



*In the chemical
laboratory of
Moscow's Dynamo
plant*

*Harvesting wheat in
the steppes of
Kazakhstan*



XXIV

CONGRESS OF CPSU

March-April 1971

**PEACE PROGRAMME
IS ADOPTED.
THE MAIN TASK
OF THE FIVE-YEAR
ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT
PLAN: MAJOR INCREASE
IN LIVING STANDARDS**

The Congress opened on March 30 and remained in session for eleven days. Taking part in the work of the Congress were 102 delegations of communist, workers', national democratic and left socialist parties from 91 countries.

The Congress elaborated a scientific programme of economic, social, political and cultural development of Soviet society in its advance towards communism and drafted the foreign and home policies of the socialist state. The aims of the Party's foreign policy remained unchanged: to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood, and to secure by joint efforts favourable conditions



*The Kremlin Palace of
Congresses*

for the building of socialism and communism; to support the national liberation movement and promote all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the young national states; to uphold consistently the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and to avert the threat of another world war.

A programme of struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for freedom and independence of nations was advanced at the Congress. It was stated that while conducting the policy of peace and friendship among nations the Soviet Union would continue to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, giving firm rebuff to the evil designs and acts of subversion of aggressors.

In working out the Party's economic policy the Congress carefully considered the specific features of the given period. These consisted in

the fact that the country had reached an extremely high level in economic development, in socialist social relations and in cultural development and also in terms of the political awareness of the people. A developed socialist society has been built in the country, conditions have been created for the simultaneous carrying out of a broader range of tasks. Without slackening its efforts to promote further industrial development on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, the state was in a position to allocate more resources and funds for raising living standards. The main task of the ninth five-year plan (1971-75) was to bring about a substantial rise in the material and cultural level of the people.

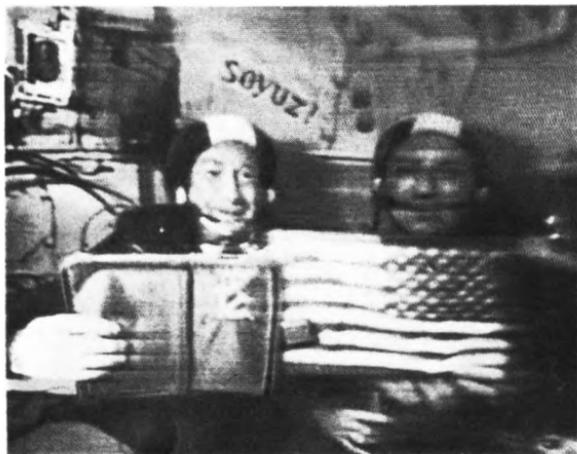
The Congress outlined important tasks in the social sphere: further strengthening of the unity of Soviet



July 31, 1973, the Crimea. Meeting of the heads of the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia



August 1, 1975, witnessed the completion of the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is of historic importance for strengthening peace and security of the peoples in Europe and the world over. It is towards this end that the peaceful policy of the Soviet Communists reaffirmed in the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is directed. In the photo: Helsinki's Finland Hall during the signing of the Final Act of the Conference



July 18, 1975. Soviet cosmonaut Alexei Leonov (left) and American astronaut Thomas Stafford aboard the Soyuz-Apollo space complex

society, consistent promotion of Soviet democracy by enlisting broader sections of the population in the running of social and state affairs, all-round development of science and culture, and the strengthening of a moral and political atmosphere in which people breathe easily, work well and live in tranquillity and which ensures their unrestricted intellectual development.



Fifteen Communists took part in the first communist subbotnik in 1919. Today practically all working people participate in subbotniks which have become a tradition. The money earned on such days of voluntary work is spent on the development of medical service, the improvement of mother-and-child care, and other worthwhile purposes. In the photo: A subbotnik at the Likhachov motor works of Moscow in April, 1975



New apartment houses in Tashkent built for workers and their families

XXV

CONGRESS OF CPSU

February-March 1976

THE LINE— RAISING EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY

The Congress held from February 24 to March 5, 1976, was attended by 4,998 delegates representing 15,694,000 Communists. Also present were representatives of 103 communist, workers', national democratic, and socialist parties from 96 countries.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU in session



The Congress discussed the Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Internal and Foreign Policy. The Congress mapped out measures for continuing the peace strategy and reaffirmed that the Party's highest aim was to ensure a steady rise in the people's living standards, and to promote the further development of all the republics, nations and ethnic groups comprising the Soviet Union.

The Party's economic strategy consisted in a dynamic and balanced development of socialist production and its efficiency, acceleration of

scientific and technological progress, greater labour productivity, and better quality of work in every sector of the national economy. This was defined as the main task of the forthcoming five-year plan period formulated in the report Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980.

The Congress advanced a broad social programme which provided for an increase in wages and salaries of workers and employees, in collective farmers' incomes from collective production, and in payments and benefits from public consumption funds while maintaining stable prices or reducing the prices of some

Terenty Maltsev, prominent scientist, specialist in selection, twice Hero of Socialist Labour, among delegates to the 25th CPSU Congress



The rotor of a mighty turbo-generator manufactured at the Electrosila electrical-engineering plant in Leningrad



Construction of the Sayan-Shushenskoye hydropower station, the largest in the Soviet Union, on the Yenisei is continuing. This station, rated at 6,400,000 kw, will provide power for a huge territorial-industrial complex in Siberia



The construction zone of the Baikal-Amur railway, being built mostly by young people, now extends for 3,200 kilometres. The Tynda-Berkakit section of the railway is already in operation



items. It was planned to build as much as 545-550 million square metres of housing.

Further advance was made in medical services, education and culture. It was planned to carry out qualitative changes in agriculture during the five-year period. Capital investments were mainly channelled to promote mechanization, land improvement and the supply of fertilizers and plant protection chemicals. This was intended to help raise the efficiency of agriculture and improve the qualitative indicators.

The Congress stressed the necessity of intensifying the production of consumer goods and raising their quality, improving trading and services to the population.

Much attention was paid to the development of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress summed up the results of the Party's theoretical work and research in the field of social sciences, and defined most promising directions and problems.

Having unanimously approved the international activity of the Central Committee, the Congress noted that the positions of world socialism had become much stronger. It showed the basic advantages of socialism over capitalism whose deepening crisis was accompanied by the growth of unemployment and inflation. The working people in the capitalist countries were intensifying the struggle for their rights, against the domination of state-monopoly capitalism. The influence of the communist parties had been growing. The successes scored by the national liberation movement opened up new prospects for the countries which had won independence. The revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist movements were gaining in scope. Due to the successful implementation of the Peace Programme advanced by the 24th Party Congress, the relaxation of tension had become the leading trend in international affairs.

XXVI

CONGRESS OF CPSU

February-March 1981

FOR COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION AND PEACE

The Congress was held from February 23 to March 3, 1981. It was attended by 5,002 delegates representing 17,480,000 Communists. One hundred and twenty-three delegations of communist, workers', national democratic and other parties from 109 countries took part. The delegates to the Congress heard and discussed the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in



*Grigori Gorban,
member of the Party
Central Committee,
steel-worker of the
Azovstal iron-and-steel
plant in the city of
Zhdanov, among the
Congress delegates*

Home and Foreign Policy. The Report supplied a comprehensive analysis of the results of the country's development in all spheres of public life, of the political, organizational, ideological and educational work of the Party and of the international situation. The Report contained a broad programme for the further construction of communism in the USSR, defined the guidelines for the home and foreign policy, set out the basic tasks and charted the ways for their implementation.

As within the twenty years that passed since the adoption of the CPSU Programme great experience in socialist and communist construction has been accumulated and important changes have taken place in the international arena, the Congress charged the CPSU Central Committee with the task of drafting the additions for and amendments to the

Party Programme now in force, although it on the whole correctly defines the regularities of world social development and the aims and basic tasks in the struggle of the Party and Soviet people for communism. The draft of the revised Party Programme had to be ready for the next Party Congress.

The Congress unanimously approved the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990. The Congress confirmed that all the activity of the Communist Party and the Soviet state centred on the management of the national economy. The Party approach to the economy is invariably based on the programme motto: "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man."

The crux of the Party's economic strategy is expressed in the basic

1983. A rally in Moscow within the framework of the UN World Disarmament Campaign



target for the 1981-1985 period—further to raise the wellbeing of the Soviet people on the basis of the steady development of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the transfer of the economy to an intensive path of development, economizing on all resources and raising the quality of work. It was also planned to increase the output and raise the quality of consumer goods and extend the services offered to the population.

It was deemed expedient to work out a special Food Programme which would optimally combine the measures for raising further the efficiency of agricultural production and improving the operation of industries and economic sectors responsible for storing, processing and selling agricultural produce. In the eighties, the main emphasis in the agricultural policy will be on the

growing productivity of agricultural production and the improvement of its ties with all the other sectors of the agro-industrial complex.

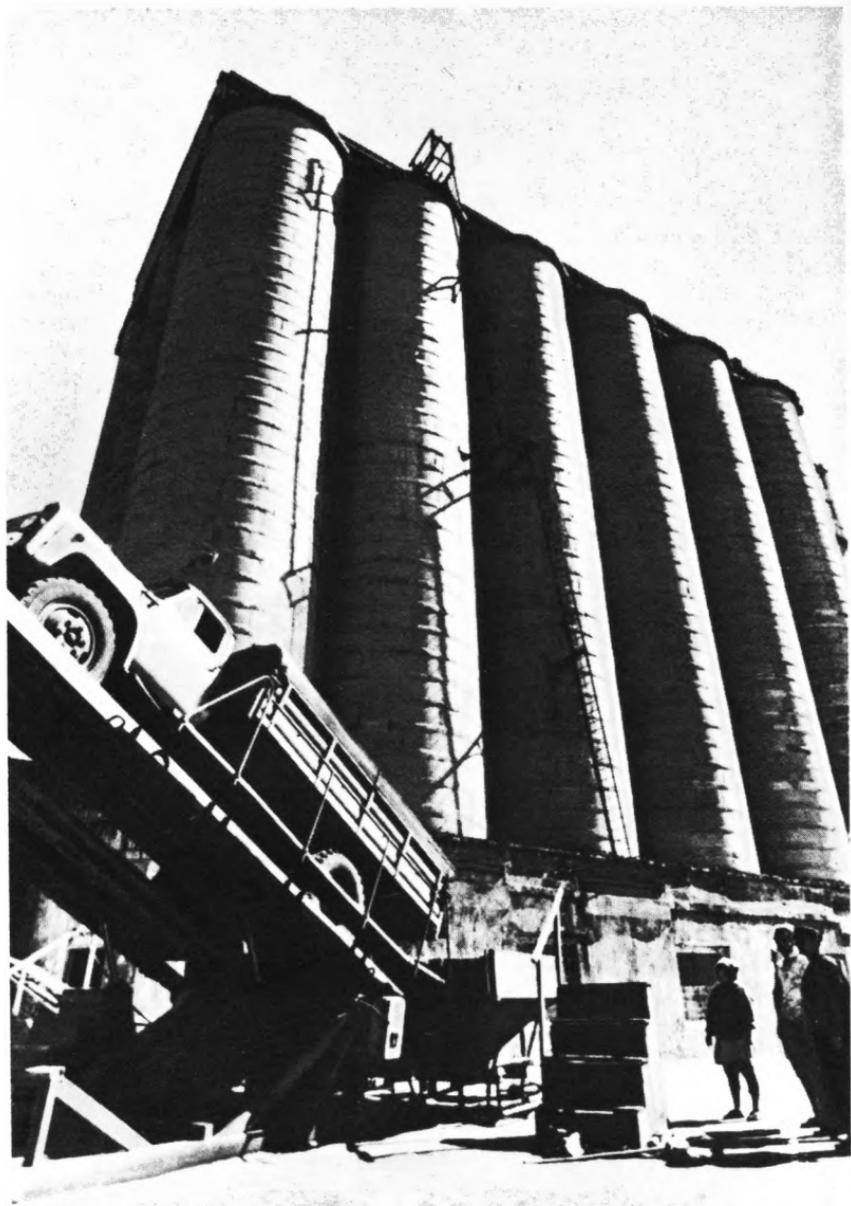
The Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the questions of the development of the world socialist system, relations with recently liberated and capitalist countries and the situation in the world communist movement. The Congress confirmed the invariable striving of the Party to fight persistently for the consolidation of peace and the development of détente. The Congress delegates declared that the main purpose of the Party's foreign policy was to provide favourable external conditions for the solution of the creative tasks by the Soviet people and for the realisation of the basic right of every man on Earth—the right to life.



The construction site of the compressor station for a gas pipeline through which gas will be delivered via Czechoslovakia to Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany, and then to France, Italy, Switzerland and West Berlin



Soviet scientists working on mirrors of a laser system designed to control the nuclear fission



This new grain elevator built according to a decision of the 26th CPSU Congress receives grain grown in the fields of the Gigart collective farm in the Rostov Region



A livestock-breeding farm in the village of Sergeyevka in the Soviet Far East



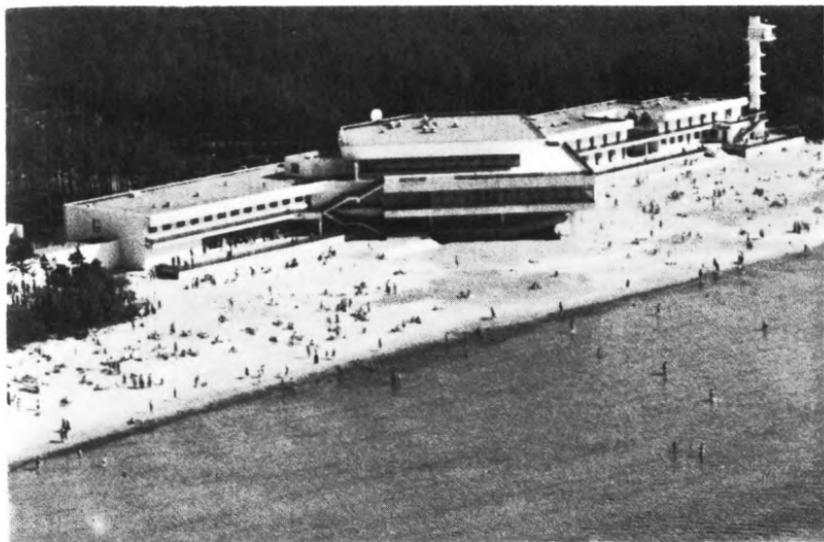
At the pigsty of the Oktyabr collective farm, in Byelorussia



A new food store in Baku, the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan



New apartment houses of the Druzhba housing cooperative in the village of Maryino, Moscow Region



Residents and guests of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, enjoy the sandy beaches of the Baltic in the Pirita Region



In a new kindergarten in Volgodonsk, Rostov Region

FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE APRIL 1985 PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1. To convene the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 25, 1986.
2. To approve the following agenda of the Congress:
 - (1) Report by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the tasks of the Party, to be presented by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.
 - (2) Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, to be presented by Comrade Gennadi Sizov, Chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.
 - (3) The redrafted CPSU Programme.
 - (4) Changes in the CPSU Rules.
 - (5) The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, to be presented by Comrade Nikolai Tikhonov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.
 - (6) Election of the Party's central bodies.

**THE
CPSU
IN FIGURES**

The Leninist Communist Party has traversed a glorious road ever since its founding in 1903. Under its leadership changes of tremendous importance have been accomplished which have had a decisive influence not only on the destiny of the country, but on the course of world history as well. The basic result of these changes is the building of a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union. In the present-day conditions, the basic objective of the activities of the Party and the Soviet people is the improvement of developed socialism, which is a logical historic stage in the establishment of communist formation.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people are solving tasks unprecedented in scale and complexity. They link all their achievements with the all-round efforts of the Leninist Party, for it is the Party of Communists

which constitutes that very collective, creative and mobilizing force which ensures constant advance in all spheres of social progress.

From a comparatively small organization of revolutionary Marxists the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has grown into a Party of the working class with more than 18 million members, the vanguard of the whole Soviet people.

The Communist Party is developing, becoming stronger and achieving greater maturity alongside the development of Soviet society and the changes in its social, political and cultural make-up. This is borne out by the statistical data cited below, which show the quantitative and qualitative changes in the composition of the Party, the inflow of new members, the distribution of Communists within the sectors of the national economy, the network of primary Party organizations and

CPSU Membership
(as of January 1 of respective year)

	Party members	Candidates for membership of the CPSU	Total number of Communists
1905	8,400	nil	8,400
1907	46,000	nil	46,000
1917 (March)	24,000	nil	24,000
1917 (October)	350,000	nil	350,000
1918 (March)	390,000	nil	390,000

	Party members	Candidates for membership of the CPSU	Total number of Communists
1919 (March)	350,000	nil	350,000
1920 (March)	611,978	no record	611,978
1921 (March)	732,521	no record	732,521
1922	410,430	117,924	528,354
1923	381,400	117,700	499,100
1924	350,000	122,000	472,000
1925	440,365	361,439	801,804
1926	639,652	440,162	1,079,814
1927	786,288	426,217	1,212,505
1928	914,307	391,547	1,305,854
1929	1,090,508	444,854	1,535,362
1930	1,184,651	493,259	1,677,910
1931	1,369,406	842,819	2,212,225
1932	1,769,773	1,347,477	3,117,250
1933	2,203,951	1,351,387	3,555,338
1934	1,826,756	874,252	2,701,008
1935	1,659,104	699,610	2,358,714
1936	1,489,907	586,935	2,076,842
1937	1,453,828	527,869	1,981,697
1938	1,405,879	514,123	1,920,002
1939	1,514,181	792,792	2,306,973
1940	1,982,743	1,417,232	3,399,975
1941	2,490,479	1,381,986	3,872,465
1942	2,155,336	908,540	3,063,876
1943	2,451,511	1,403,190	3,854,701
1944	3,126,627	1,791,934	4,918,561
1945	3,965,530	1,794,839	5,760,369
1946	4,127,689	1,383,173	5,510,862
1947	4,774,886	1,277,015	6,051,901
1948	5,181,199	1,209,082	6,390,281
1949	5,334,811	1,017,761	6,352,572
1950	5,510,787	829,396	6,340,183
1951	5,658,577	804,398	6,462,975
1952	5,853,200	854,339	6,707,539
1953	6,067,027	830,197	6,897,224
1954	6,402,284	462,579	6,864,863
1955	6,610,238	346,867	6,957,105
1956	6,767,644	405,877	7,173,521
1957	7,001,114	493,459	7,494,573
1958	7,296,559	546,637	7,843,196
1959	7,622,356	616,775	8,239,131
1960	8,017,249	691,418	8,708,667
1961	8,472,396	803,430	9,275,826
1962	9,051,934	839,134	9,891,068
1963	9,581,149	806,047	10,387,196
1964	10,182,916	839,453	11,022,369
1965	10,811,443	946,726	11,758,169
1966	11,548,287	809,021	12,357,308
1967	12,135,103	549,030	12,684,133
1968	12,484,836	695,389	13,180,225



CPSU MEMBERSHIP
(as of January 1)

1905	8,400
1917 (October)	350,000
1937	1,981,697
1957	7,494,573
1977	15,994,476
1983	18,117,903

	Party members	Candidates for membership of the CPSU	Total number of Communists
1969	12,958,303	681,588	13,639,891
1970	13,395,253	616,531	14,011,784
1971	13,745,980	626,583	14,372,563
1972	14,109,432	521,857	14,631,289
1973	14,330,525	490,506	14,821,031
1974	14,493,524	532,391	15,025,915
1975	14,719,062	575,741	15,294,803
1976	15,029,562	609,329	15,638,891
1977	15,365,600	628,876	15,994,476
1978	15,701,658	658,212	16,359,870
1979	16,042,710	678,612	16,721,322
1980	16,398,340	683,949	17,082,289
1981	16,732,408	698,005	17,430,413
1982	17,076,530	693,138	17,769,668
1983	17,405,293	712,610	18,117,903

No systematic records of Party membership were kept prior to 1922. The Party membership for 1905 was calculated in 1922 on the basis of the data of the All-Russia Census of Party members. The Party membership by the time it emerged from underground (March 1917) and by October 1917 was calculated by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee on the basis of documents of the Party organizations.

The membership for 1918-21 is shown not as of January 1 but by the opening date of Party Congresses (held in March of each year). The figure for Party membership by March 1918 (390,000) was arrived at by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee on the basis of documents of the local Party conferences held between the 6th and 7th Party Congresses. The data on Party membership in 1919 (350,000) were taken from the account of the RCP(B) Central Committee to the 8th Party Congress. The data were incomplete since many Party organizations (in Siberia and the Crimea) were operating underground and their membership could not be ascertained. The data for 1920 and 1921 are taken from the documents of the 9th and 10th RCP(B) Congresses.

The reduction of Party membership in 1921-23 was caused by the fact that some people not worthy of the name of a Communist were expelled from the Party and the more rigid admission rules were adopted by the 12th All-Union Party Conference in 1922.

The reduction of Party membership in 1933-37 was due to the Party purge conducted in keeping with the decision of the joint Plenary Meeting (January, 1933) of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party, the verification and exchange of Party documents and the discontinuation of admission to the Party in that period.

Party bodies, the elected Party activists and the training and upgrading of qualifications of Party functionaries.

In present-day conditions the growth in Party membership is an objective tendency stemming from the entire course of social development under socialism and the Party's increasing role as leader. However, the CPSU is not interested in a purely numerical growth, but pays

greater attention to the better quality and steadfastness of the Party organizations' membership.

Among the country's adult population 9.5 per cent are Communists, which means that every eleventh Soviet citizen of 18 years of age or over is a Communist.

As a result of the consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy and the intensive economic and social development of all the republics, for the first time in history the multinational composition of the country has turned from a source of weakness into a source of strength and

prosperity. The development of every republic has been accompanied by the appearance of its own working class, by a radical change in the peasantry, the emergence of its own intelligentsia, the training of skilled national specialists in all spheres of state and public life and the high level of the development of socialist culture. Socialist nations have been formed which now constitute a new historical community—the Soviet people. All this has found reflection in the growth of the republican Party organizations which are large detachments of a single Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Membership of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics
(as of January 1 of respective year)

	1946	1973	1983
Communist Party of the Ukraine	320,307	2,479,636	3,037,981
Communist Party of Byelorussia	48,213	460,983	626,054
Communist Party of Uzbekistan	96,981	449,558	605,653
Communist Party of Kazakhstan	148,612	609,033	761,528
Communist Party of Georgia	121,321	305,326	363,343
Communist Party of Azerbaijan	85,571	269,745	350,983
Communist Party of Lithuania	8,060	131,539	181,220
Communist Party of Moldavia	10,846	121,367	174,277
Communist Party of Latvia	10,987	133,938	167,467
Communist Party of Kirghizia	28,745	106,566	135,235
Communist Party of Tajikistan	19,645	90,334	115,398
Communist Party of Armenia	45,379	134,469	173,172
Communist Party of Turkmenia	23,502	73,041	102,098
Communist Party of Estonia	7,139	77,430	103,154

ADMISSION TO THE CPSU

Party membership is one of the most important questions of Party building. The success of the entire activity of the Party, its unity and efficiency depend largely on the composition of the Party ranks and on the political awareness and organization of its members.

The question of the purity of the Party ranks was made a crucial issue by Lenin at the Second Congress of the RSDLP. Speaking during the discussion of the draft Party Rules, he said: "We must strive to raise the title and the significance of a Party member higher, higher and still higher..."

It was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress that the high demands

made on Communists are the guarantee of the monolithic unity of the Party and of its ability to head Soviet society and confidently lead the Soviet people towards communism.

Throughout its entire history the Party has shown great concern for replenishment of the CPSU with new members and has been guided in this work by the Leninist principles of membership. The Party admits to its ranks, through individual selection, the worthiest representatives of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals.

The following figures show how the Party increased its ranks.

	Candidate members admitted	Members admitted
1941-45	5,412,226	3,821,942
1946-51	1,447,309	1,789,703
1952-55	1,006,190	1,272,494
1956-61	3,250,314	2,724,886
1962-65	3,046,463	2,938,111
1966-70	2,987,809	2,988,242
1971-75	2,593,824	2,473,576
1976-80	3,162,372	2,945,652
1981	654,128	630,299
1982	667,625	619,145

These data testify to the growing prestige of the Leninist Party among the people and to its strengthened ties and unity with the broad masses

of the working people. The fact that the Soviet people have a deeper knowledge of the revolutionary ideology and morals of the working



NUMBER OF NEW
MEMBERS
ADMITTED TO THE
CPSU

1946-51	1,789,703
1956-61	2,724,886
1971-75	2,473,576
1976-80	2,949,652

class and its collectivist psychology, interests and opinions, leads to a growing number of people wanting to join the ranks of the Party. Moreover, the growing role of the Party in society puts greater demands on those seeking admission and on how Communists fulfil their duties.

In order to improve further the Party membership qualitatively, develop inner-Party democracy, strengthen Party discipline and ensure that all Communists comply with the Rules' requirements, the 23rd CPSU Congress envisaged certain new measures to be included in the Rules. For instance, for those joining the Party through the Komsomol the age-limit was raised from 20 to 23 years; the length of Party membership for those giving recommendations to the applicants was lengthened from three to five years, the new procedure for admission to, as well as expulsion from, the CPSU was adopted—by a two-thirds majority of those present at the meeting.

The 24th and 25th Party Congresses stressed the importance of consistently implementing the Leninist principles of the formation of the Party membership, as well as of the term for candidate members. It was pointed out that the Party organizations should admit to the Party ranks those people who have proved in practice that they want to join the Party in order to work selflessly for the communist cause, who have enjoyed prestige within the primary Party organization and the whole work collective and who take an active part in production and public life.

This course was further developed in the decisions of the 26th

Congress of the Party and of the subsequent Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, statements of the CPSU Central Committee on the work of Party organizations concerning the admission to the Party and the education of candidate members of the Party and in other Party documents. Emphasis is placed on making every Communist a selfless fighter for the triumph of the great ideals of the Party who would deeply understand its policy and carry it out unswervingly. The CPSU sees a great reserve for enhancing its leading role and improving its work in the further development of inner-Party democracy, the growing creative activity, initiative and responsibility of Communists, and seeks to use this reserve to the full.

In carrying out the Party's decisions, the Party organizations paid more attention than previously to the selection of new members and became more demanding. They make every effort to use the period of candidacy more effectively so as to reveal the political, business and moral qualities of the applicants. As was stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, not everybody passes such a test. Within the five-year period between the Congresses, 91,000 candidates were not admitted to the Party. Within the two years after the 26th Congress, 40,000 candidates were not admitted to the Party.

By establishing greater control over admission to its ranks the Party consistently follows a policy of strengthening its membership, first and foremost with the best representatives of the working class, which now constitutes two-thirds of the gainfully employed population, i.e.

the majority of the working people. The Party organizations base their policy on the assumption that although under developed socialism the CPSU has become the Party of the whole people, it has not lost its class character and remains by its

very nature the Party of the working class.

The figures given below show the *occupational composition* of new candidate members as a percentage of the total:

	Workers	Collective farmers	Engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other specialists	Other employees	Students
1952-55	28.3	15.8	26.4	25.6	3.9
1956-61	41.1	22.0	23.3	12.5	1.1
1962-65	44.7	15.0	28.2	11.1	1.0
1966-70	52.0	13.4	26.4	7.5	0.7
1971-75	57.6	11.3	24.5	5.2	1.4
1976-80	59.0	10.3	25.4	3.8	1.5
1981	59.5	9.9	25.8	3.3	1.5
1982	59.4	10.1	25.9	3.2	1.4

As can be seen from the above Table, the proportion of workers among the candidate members of the CPSU is constantly growing. Within the last 30 years it has grown by more than 100 per cent. This is a reflection of the growing role of the working class in society. It is brought about, in particular, by the increase in its numerical strength and its growing ideological and political maturity, educational level and professional skills. A peculiar feature of the process is that basically the Party membership is replenished with representatives of the leading trades engaged in the leading sectors of social production. More and more cadre workers are joining the Party. Of all the workers admitted as candidate members to the CPSU, over 82 per cent worked at industrial enterprises, in transport, on construction sites or state farms. In the Party organizations of the regions and territories with highly developed industry workers constitute 65-70

per cent of those admitted as candidate members to the Party.

Despite the general fall in the rural population, Party organizations are actively replenishing their ranks with the best representatives of the collective farm peasantry.

At present, workers and collective farmers constitute 69.5 per cent of those admitted as candidate members to the CPSU as compared with 59.7 per cent in the period between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union also admits representatives of the advanced Soviet intelligentsia into its ranks. Twenty-six per cent of those admitted as candidate members to the Party are engineers, foremen, agronomists, zootechnicians, research workers, educationalists, doctors, workers in the fields of literature and the arts as well as employees of ideological institutions.

It is important that the Party ranks are replenished in all the sectors of



**PERCENTAGE OF
YCL'ers AMONG THE
NEW ADMISSIONS TO
THE CPSU**

1966	40.1
1969	48.9
1976	71.4
1982	73.1

the national economy, but first and foremost, in the sphere of material production.

There are many women among the newly admitted Party members who are active builders of communism.

Newly admitted women candidate members

	Absolute figures	Per cent of the total number of new candidate members
1952-55	219,265	21.8
1956-61	584,630	18.0
1962-65	659,803	21.7
1966-70	767,424	25.7
1971-75	764,050	29.5
1976-80	1,017,940	32.2
1981	220,870	33.8
1982	228,748	34.3

The Young Communist League (Komsomol) is the Party's first assistant in educating the rising gener-

ation and in building a new society. The Party constantly draws on the Komsomol for replenishing its ranks.

Members of YCL newly admitted as candidate Party members

	Absolute figures	Per cent of the total number
1966	204,716	40.1
1971	276,693	56.1
1976	435,361	71.4
1981	478,179	73.1
1982	488,051	73.1

Within the last 17 years, the proportion of the YCL members among the newly admitted candidate Party members has grown by 80 per cent. In the same period, the Party core of the Komsomol has grown by 460 per cent and now includes 1.5 million people.

At the same time, within the last period, the Party has been more actively involving into its ranks people more advanced in age with a good schooling in life and work and who have had sound ideological and political training.

Thus, the best and most advanced representatives of the Soviet people are admitted to the Party. Most

of them begin at once to take an active part in the work of their Party organizations. They are given various production and socio-political assignments; some of them receive ideological steeling in Schools of Young Communists. There are over 22,000 such schools working under the auspices of regional and city Party committees and Party committees of large Party organizations. They are attended by over 917,000 candidate and newly admitted full members of the Party who study there the CPSU Rules, the programme documents of the Party and fundamentals of Party life.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CPSU BY SOCIAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Admitting to its ranks the most conscientious people who enjoy great authority among the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, the Party unites them on the ideological and political positions of the working class, which makes it possible for the Party to consolidate its class nature and to express more fully the interests of the whole people. This fully complies with the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning the establish-

ment of a classless structure of society which in the main is to take place at the stage of mature socialism, with the modern working class remaining the leading force in this process.

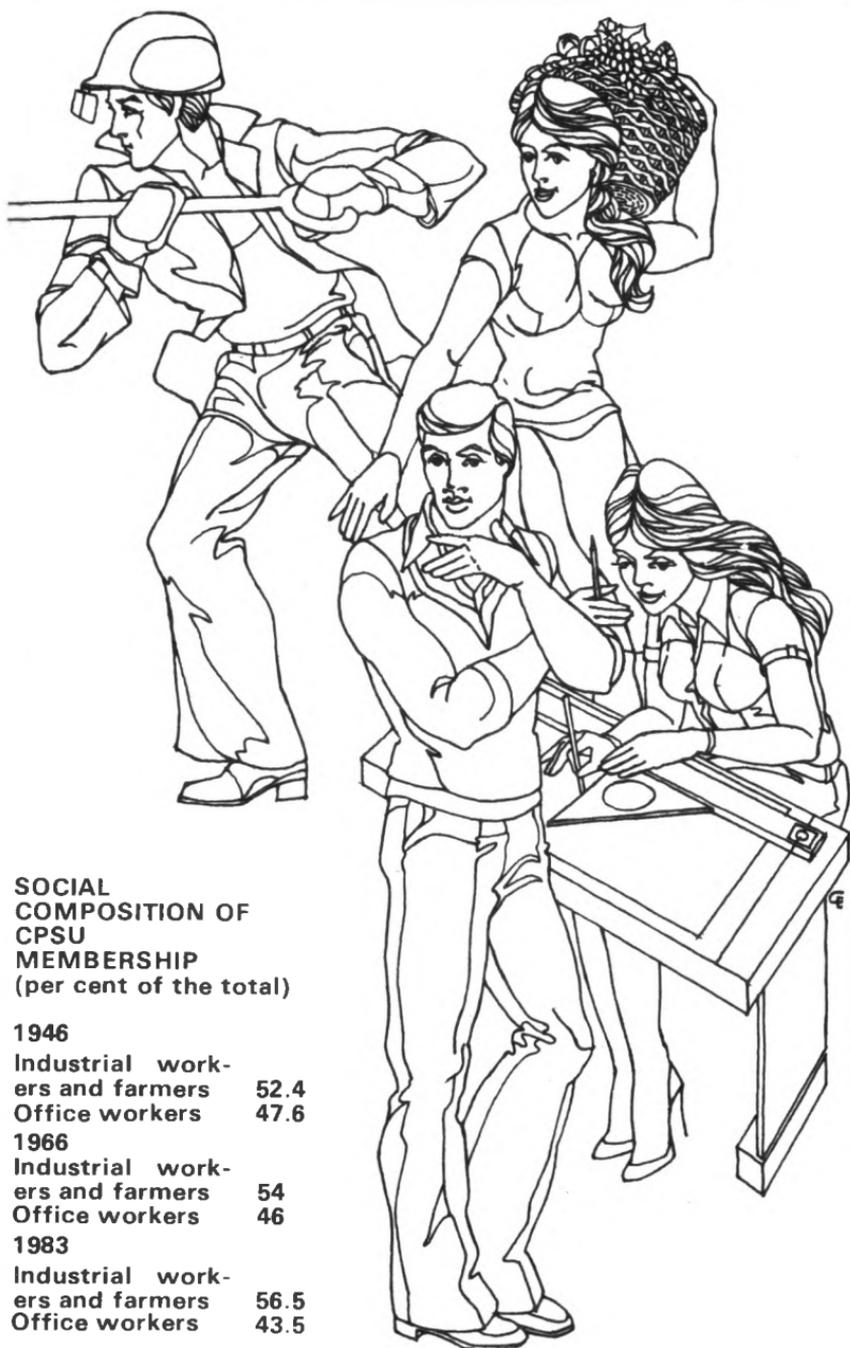
Deep changes taking place in the social structure are reflected in the composition of the Party organizations. The following Table shows the changes within the CPSU social structure as of January 1 of respective year:

	Workers	Peasants (collective farmers)	Office employees and others
1946	33.8	18.6	47.6
1952	32.2	18.0	49.8
1956	32.0	17.1	50.9
1961	33.9	17.6	48.5
1966	37.8	16.2	46.0
1971	40.1	15.1	44.8
1976	41.6	13.9	44.5
1981	43.4	12.8	43.8
1983	44.1	12.4	43.5

This Table illustrates the fact that the share of the working class representatives in the social structure of the Party is on the increase. Workers and collective farmers constitute the majority of the Party membership—56.5 per cent.

The growing number of intellectuals within the Party ranks who play an important role in scientific and

technological progress and in further raising the cultural and educational level of the population and the level of their political awareness and labour activity, also contributes to the further consolidation of Party ranks. Among the white-collar workers who are members of the CPSU, 87 per cent are engineers and technicians and other specialists, man-



**SOCIAL
COMPOSITION OF
CPSU
MEMBERSHIP
(per cent of the total)**

1946

Industrial work-
ers and farmers 52.4
Office workers 47.6

1966

Industrial work-
ers and farmers 54
Office workers 46

1983

Industrial work-
ers and farmers 56.5
Office workers 43.5

agers of enterprises and establishments, scientists, educationalists, doctors and workers in the fields of literature and the arts.

The white-collar workers who are

members of the CPSU can be divided according to their occupation as follows (as of January 1 of respective year):

	1956	1966	1976	1980	1983
Total number of white-collar workers who are Communists including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
managers of enterprises, establishments, construction sites, state farms and their subdivisions	14.0	7.8	9.0	9.4	9.6
engineers, technicians and agricultural specialists	18.2	33.6	40.0	42.0	42.2
workers of science, education, health service, literature and the arts	18.9	23.4	24.2	23.4	23.0

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CPSU BY EDUCATION

It is only natural that the steady growth in the cultural, educational and professional level of the Soviet people is directly reflected in the composition of the Party member-

ship. The following Table illustrates the changes in the educational level of the candidate members and members of the CPSU.

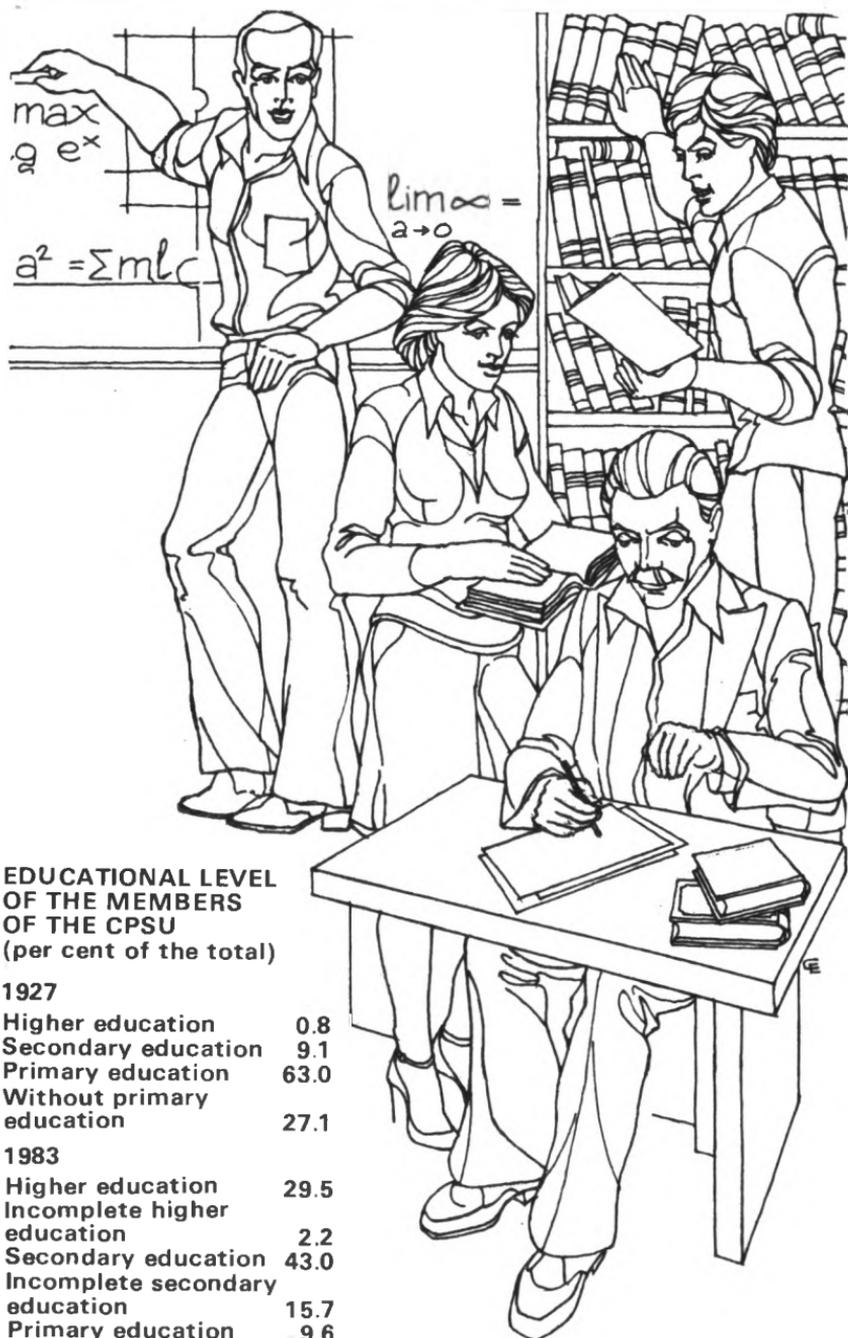
The Educational Level of Communists
(as of January 1 of respective year, per cent)

	Higher	Incomplete higher	Secondary	Incomplete secondary	Primary	Without primary education
1927	0.8	—	9.1	—	63.0	27.1
1939	5.5	2.0	12.5	13.6	46.1	20.3
1946	7.3	2.2	23.3	24.6	34.4	8.2
1952	8.9	2.8	22.2	27.6	31.4	7.1
1956	11.2	3.6	22.2	29.6	28.4	5.0
1961	13.2	3.0	26.2	28.6	25.8	3.2
1966	15.7	2.5	30.9	27.5	23.4	—
1971	19.6	2.4	34.3	24.9	18.8	—
1976	24.3	2.5	38.5	20.3	14.4	—
1981	28.0	2.2	41.9	17.1	10.8	—
1983	29.5	2.2	43.0	15.7	9.6	—

Note: The figures for January 1, 1927, are taken from the All-Union Party Census. Party members and candidate members with incomplete higher education are included into the group with a secondary education, those with incomplete secondary education, into the group with a primary education and those who are illiterate into the group without primary education.

The growth in the living standards of the people has been accompanied by a radical change in the cultural make-up of the Communists. While in 1927 sixty-three per cent of all Communists and candidate members

of the Party had only primary education, and a large number of them were completely illiterate, today almost 75 per cent of all Communists are people with a higher or secondary education.



**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
OF THE MEMBERS
OF THE CPSU
(per cent of the total)**

1927

Higher education	0.8
Secondary education	9.1
Primary education	63.0
Without primary education	27.1

1983

Higher education	29.5
Incomplete higher education	2.2
Secondary education	43.0
Incomplete secondary education	15.7
Primary education	9.6

The number of *specialists in various fields* who are Party members has significantly grown (as of January 1 of respective year):

Number of Communists with higher and specialized secondary education		
	Absolute figures	Per cent of the total Party membership
1927	24,899	2.2
1939	326,947	14.2
1946	1,008,302	18.3
1952	1,602,165	23.9
1956	1,990,176	27.7
1961	2,951,230	31.8
1966	4,397,275	35.6
1971	5,903,751	41.1
1976	7,613,556	48.7
1981	9,237,342	53.0
1983	9,915,867	54.7

The growth of the number of Communists with a scientific degree can be seen from the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year):

Number of Communists with a scientific degree		
	Doctors of science	Candidates of science
1950	2,144	14,463
1952	2,764	18,370
1956	3,840	34,513
1961	5,211	47,343
1966	7,488	69,320
1971	12,978	110,131
1976	21,511	168,547
1981	26,181	203,511
1983	27,894	217,407

As compared with 1950, the number of Communists having a Doctor of Science degree has grown 13 times, and of those with a Candidate of Science degree—15 times. Among Party members there

are many Academicians, Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and republican Academies of Sciences, as well as other research workers.

THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE CPSU

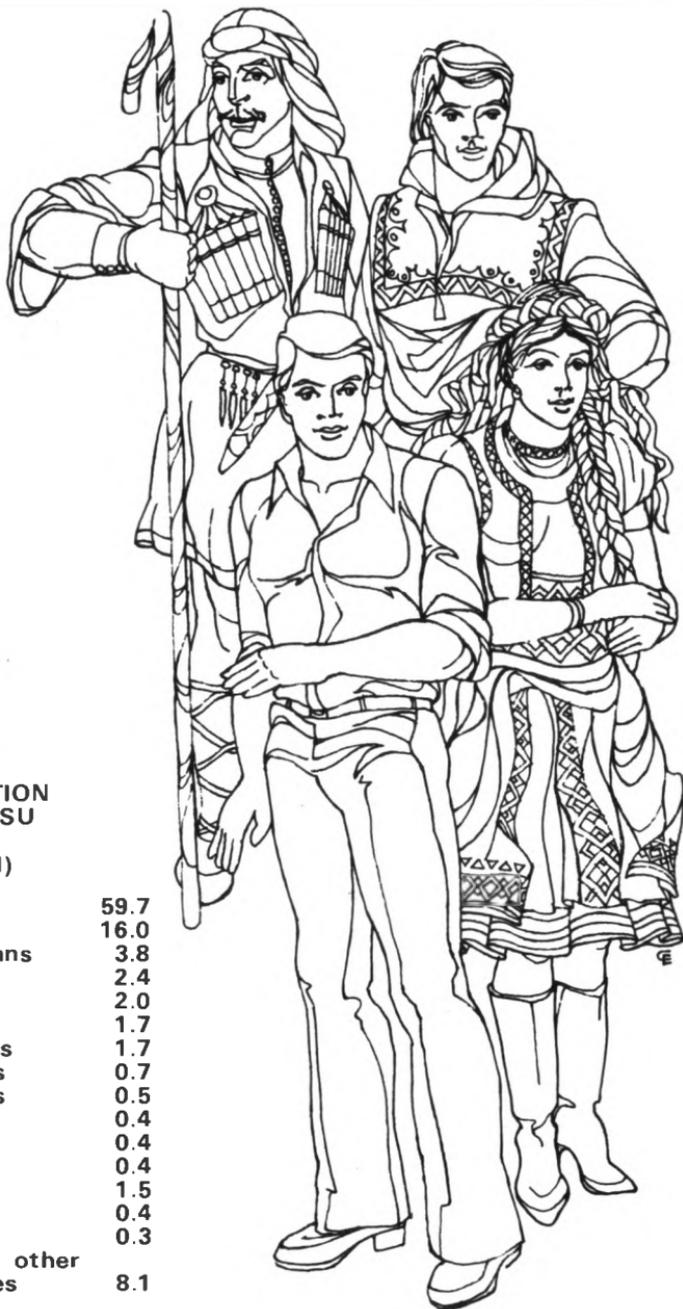
In its ideology, composition and structure the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been and remains a live embodiment of the unity and cohesion of all the nations and nationalities within the country. In its policy the Communist Party strives to combine national and inter-national interests and to create such social conditions in which the prosperity and all-round development of each nation serve as a prerequisite for the upsurge and pros-

perity of the whole of our fraternal union. This policy is also evident in the national composition of the Communist Party.

The CPSU unites within its ranks representatives of over a hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union.

The changes that have occurred in the national composition of the Party in the postwar period can be seen from the following Table:

	As of January 1, 1916		As of January 1, 1973		As of January 1, 1983	
	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent
Total number of members and candidate members including:	5,513,649	100.0	14,821,031	100.0	18,117,903	100.0
Russians	3,736,165	67.8	9,025,363	60.9	10,809,066	59.7
Ukrainians	667,481	12.1	2,369,200	16.0	2,898,757	16.0
Byelorussians	114,799	2.1	521,544	3.5	684,492	3.8
Uzbeks	61,467	1.1	291,550	2.0	428,446	2.4
Kazakhs	92,354	1.7	254,667	1.7	355,213	2.0
Georgians	107,910	2.0	246,214	1.7	302,947	1.7
Azerbaijanis	55,448	1.0	212,122	1.4	304,915	1.7
Lithuanians	3,704	0.1	96,558	0.7	134,866	0.7
Moldavians	2,913	0.1	59,434	0.4	98,195	0.5
Latvians	8,408	0.1	61,755	0.4	74,225	0.4
Kirghiz	14,039	0.3	46,049	0.3	70,195	0.4
Tajiks	13,757	0.2	58,668	0.4	80,293	0.4
Armenians	100,449	1.8	225,132	1.5	272,965	1.5
Turkmens	12,675	0.2	44,218	0.3	68,744	0.4



**NATIONAL
COMPOSITION
OF THE CPSU
(per cent
of the total)**

Russians	59.7
Ukrainians	16.0
Byelorussians	3.8
Uzbeks	2.4
Kazakhs	2.0
Georgians	1.7
Azerbaijanis	1.7
Lithuanians	0.7
Moldavians	0.5
Latvians	0.4
Kirghiz	0.4
Tajiks	0.4
Armenians	1.5
Turkmen	0.4
Estonians	0.3
People of other nationalities	8.1

	As of January 1, 1916		As of January 1, 1973		As of January 1, 1983	
	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent
Estonians	7,976	0.1	46,424	0.3	58,341	0.3
Other nations and nationalities	514,104	9.3	1,262,133	8.5	1,476,243	8.1

The number of Communists of indigenous nationality is growing in the Party organizations of Union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and areas. At the same time, the Party organizations are becom-

ing increasingly multinational and this testifies to the all-round development of every socialist nation and nationality and to their growing rapprochement.

WOMEN IN THE CPSU

The labour and political activity of women is constantly increasing under developed socialism. Women play an active part in all spheres of the economy, science, culture and public activity. Soviet women have greatly contributed to the achieve-

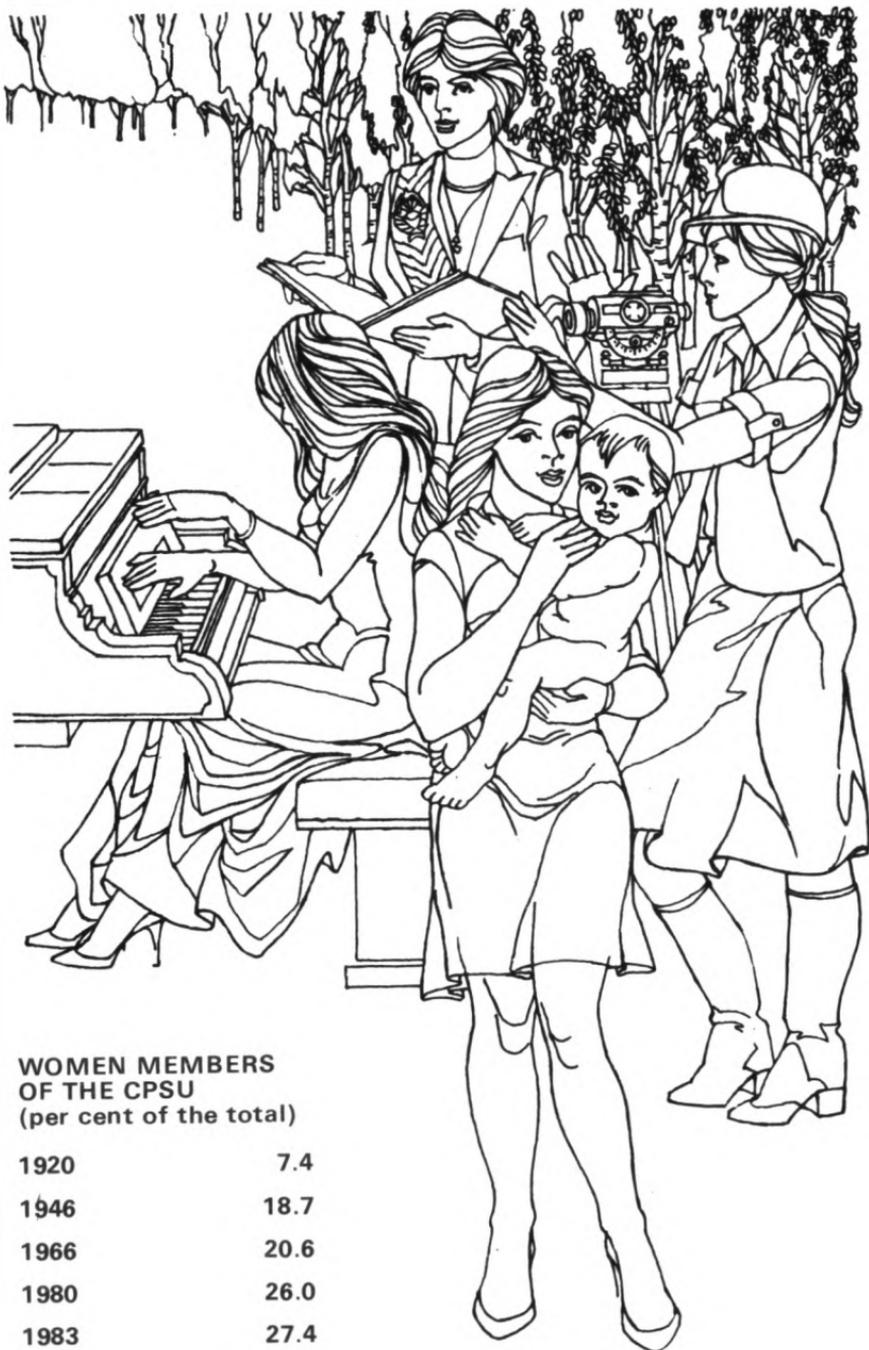
ments and victories of the Soviet Union.

The number of women who are Communists is constantly growing, as can be seen from the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year):

	Number of women Communists	
	Absolute figures	Per cent of the total
1920	45,297	7.4
1926	128,807	11.9
1930	219,338	13.1
1934	395,763	14.7
1939	333,821	14.5
1946	1,033,115	18.7
1952	1,276,560	19.0
1956	1,414,456	19.7
1961	1,809,688	19.5
1966	2,548,901	20.6
1971	3,195,556	22.2
1976	3,793,859	24.3
1981	4,615,576	26.5
1983	4,968,693	27.4

The above figures show that since the beginning of the postwar period when the ranks of the Party were

being filled mainly by women, the number of women Communists has grown almost five times.



**WOMEN MEMBERS
OF THE CPSU**
(per cent of the total)

1920	7.4
1946	18.7
1966	20.6
1980	26.0
1983	27.4

LENGTH OF PARTY
MEMBERSHIP AND
THE AGE OF COMMUNISTS

The CPSU unites Communists of different generations which ensures the continuity of revolutionary and labour traditions. Among them are Bolsheviks who took part in the Great October Socialist Revolution, those who defended the Soviet government from the counter-revolution and foreign military intervention, those who laid the foundations of

socialism and carried out the first five-year plans, those who defended their Motherland at the fronts of the Second World War in 1941-45 and, lastly, the representatives of the younger generation.

These are the figures for the length of Party membership as of January 1, 1983:

	Per cent of the total
Five years and less	17.2
6-10 years	14.1
11-20 years	30.8
21-30 years	19.3
31-50 years	17.4
over 50 years	1.2

As of January 1, 1983, the CPSU included 145 Communists who joined the Party before 1917; 806—in 1917; 10,368—in the period between 1918 and 1921; 746—in 1922; 644—in 1923; 4,069—in 1924; 490,756—in the period between 1925 and 1940 and 1,488,309—in the war years of

1941-45. Over 88 per cent of the Communists—15,409,450—joined the Party in the postwar years.

The following Table illustrates the composition of the CPSU according to the age of its members and candidate members, as of January 1, 1983:

	Absolute figures	Per cent of total number
Total number of members and candidate members of the Party including:	18,117,903	100.0
under 25 years of age	1,175,847	6.4
26-30 years of age	2,025,898	11.2
31-40 years of age	3,760,090	20.8

	Absolute figures	Per cent of total number
41-50 years of age	4,605,497	25.4
51-60 years of age	3,819,089	21.1
over 60 years of age	2,731,482	15.1

The CPSU instructs its Party organizations not to tolerate breaches of Party, state and labour discipline, violation of the Party Rules and not to make concessions to anybody when the honour and prestige of the Party and the purity of its ranks are concerned.

In the period between the 25th and the 26th CPSU Congresses about 300,000 people were expelled from the Party for deeds incompatible with the name of a Communist.

COMMUNISTS
IN VARIOUS SECTORS
OF THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY

The planned perfection of developed socialism demands that constant attention be paid to the distribution of Communists throughout the sectors in production, science, culture and public life. The changes

in the distribution of Communists in various sectors of the national economy are shown in the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year, per cent):

	1946	1966	1976	1983
Total number of Communists engaged in the national economy including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Material production including:	67.3	73.1	73.0	73.2
industry and construction	28.1	36.3	38.7	39.2
transport and communications	9.3	9.1	8.3	8.1
agriculture	23.1	22.3	20.5	20.0
trade and public catering and other branches of material production	6.8	5.4	5.5	5.9
Non-productive branches including:	32.7	26.9	27.0	26.8
science, education, public health and culture	10.3	16.7	16.7	16.0
state administration and economic management, Party and public organizations	21.7	8.9	8.6	8.9
housing, public utilities and services	0.7	1.3	1.7	1.9

The above figures show that nearly three-quarters of the Communists in the Soviet Union are engaged in material production, mainly in industry, construction, transport and agriculture. The

growth in the number of Communists working in these sectors can be seen from the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year):

	1946	1966	1976	1983
In industry	839,655	3,108,345	3,881,519	4,427,620
In construction	42,828	591,395	1,048,492	1,186,674
On transport	264,175	826,791	934,225	1,021,482
In agriculture	726,688	2,270,080	2,611,698	2,864,230

Local Party organizations strengthen the Party ranks primarily in those industrial branches which are of particular importance for rapid scientific and technological progress. For instance, while the total number of Communists working in industry has grown by 14.1 per cent in the period after the 25th CPSU Congress, their number in the instrument-building and the industry producing means of automation and control systems has grown by 16.8 per cent, in the motor car industry—

by 22.9 per cent, in the electronics industry—by 34.0 per cent and in the gas industry—by 72.6 per cent.

Party organizations are working to intensify Party influence in the industries producing consumer goods and in the agro-industrial complex, including livestock-breeding. At the moment, 20 per cent of all machine-operators are Communists, and 25 per cent of all agricultural specialists are also Party members.

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The primary organizations, which are always at the forefront of economic and cultural activity and in close contact with the people, actively promote the combining of the CPSU's policies with the creative activity of the masses and their successful implementation. Following the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Plenary Meetings, the Party committees enhance the role and significance of the primary Party organizations as the leading force and political nucleus of work collectives, as well as their responsibility for the solution of social and economic problems, the strengthening of organization and conscious discipline, and the development of criticism and self-criticism.

Today it is an important task of the primary Party organizations to promote the implementation of the Law on Work Collectives, to enhance further the vanguard role of the Communists, to tighten control over administrative work and the whole mechanism of management and over the fulfilment by the Party members and candidate members of the requirements laid down by the Rules, and resolutely and undeviatingly stand guard over the interests of the Party and state.

The number of the primary organizations is given in the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year):

1922	32,281	1956	351,249
1927	38,978	1961	294,873
1930	53,698	1966	326,886
1934	110,806	1971	369,695
1939	113,089	1976	390,387
1946	244,707	1981	414,048
1952	343,976	1983	425,897

The number of the primary organizations in various sectors of the national economy can be seen from

the following Table (as of January 1 of respective year):

	1946		1966		1983	
	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent	Absolute figures	Per cent
Total number of primary Party organizations	244,707	100.0	326,886	100.0	425,897	100.0
Including at:						
Enterprises of industry, transport, communications and construction	34,965	14.3	82,166	25.1	110,422	25.9
State farms	4,045	1.7	13,365	4.1	22,028	5.2
Collective farms	35,200	14.4	36,946	11.3	26,517	6.2
Educational establishments, scientific, cultural and medical institutions	13,326	5.4	73,332	22.4	101,016	23.7
Government offices, organizations and economic agencies (from central to district)	46,717	19.1	53,864	16.5	73,089	17.2
Trade and public catering enterprises	6,133	2.5	13,948	4.3	15,437	3.6
Territorial rural, house-management offices and others	104,321	42.6	53,265	16.3	77,388	18.2

The further concentration and cooperation of production, the formation of associations and the growth of Party membership have

brought about the following changes in the size of the primary Party organizations (as of January 1 of respective year, per cent):

	1946	1966	1976	1983
up to 15 Communists	63.0	40.0	40.4	39.8
15-49 Communists	29.7	43.3	41.2	40.5
50-100 Communists	5.4	10.7	12.0	12.7
over 100 Communists	1.9	6.0	6.4	7.0

The following Table shows how the number of Communists in one organization changed in some eco-

nomie sectors (as of January 1 of respective year):

	1946	1966	1976	1983
At industrial enterprises	38	81	93	103
At construction sites	27	41	39	39
On state farms	17	75	68	68
On collective farms	11	42	53	60

The inner structure of the Party organizations is also becoming more diversified and this increases their organizational and political guidance of Party work.

The improvements in the structure of primary organizations can be seen from the following figures (as of January 1 of respective year):

	Number of shop Party organizations	Number of Party groups
1946	23,250	28,959
1952	52,054	112,150
1956	76,058	122,243
1961	173,961	164,931
1966	287,250	351,463
1971	352,871	443,233
1976	400,388	528,894
1981	457,053	618,127
1983	480,256	659,955

Today 42,433 primary Party organizations are headed by Party committees. Party committees function at 6,145 industrial establishments, 1,709 construction sites, in over half the collective farms in the country and in almost two-thirds of all state farms. In railway transport 383 junction Party committees function, which is three times the number of twelve years ago. In large shops and departments whose Party organizations number over 500 Communists, 1,737 Party

Committees have been formed.

The Party Committees of 1,008 primary organizations numbering over a thousand Communists and candidate members each have been given the rights of Regional Party Committees regarding admission into the Party, registration of Communists and consideration of personal matters.

All these factors have a positive effect on inner-Party life and make it possible to increase Party influence in work collectives.

LOCAL PARTY BODIES, PARTY CADRES

As the CPSU attributes paramount importance to the energetic and competent Party guidance and the implementation of the Party policies in localities, it pays special attention

to the improvement of the structure of local Party organizations and their elective bodies.

Today the CPSU has:

Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republic	14
Territorial Party Committees	6
Regional Party Committees	151
City Party Committees with the rights of Regional Party Committees*	2
Area Party Committees	10
City Party Committees	878
District Party Committees (Urban)	641
District Party Committees (Rural)	2,891

* Moscow and Kiev

Number of Communists Elected to Leading Party Bodies

Members of the CPSU Central Committee	319	}	Elected by the 26th CPSU Congress
Alternate Members of the CPSU Central Committee	151		
Members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU	75		
Members and Alternate Members of Regional, Territorial and Central Party Committees of the Union Republics, Members of Auditing Commissions	31,400		
Members and Alternate Members of Area, City and District Party Committees, Members of Auditing Commissions	398,000		

Number of Communists Elected to Leading Party Bodies

Members of Party Committees, Party Bureaus, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of primary organizations	2,110,300
Members of Party Bureaus and Party Committees, Secretaries, and Deputy Secretaries of shop Party organizations and Party group organizers	2,540,200

Party bodies comprise a great number of Communists working in various sectors of the national economy, scientists, cultural workers and employees of state and public organizations.

The composition of Members and

Alternate Members of the Central Committees of the Union Republics, Area, Regional, Territorial, City and District Party Committees can be illustrated by the following Table (per cent):

Elected by Congresses and Party Conferences

	Before the 25th CPSU Congress, 1975-76	Before the 26th CPSU Congress, 1980-81
Total number of Members and Alternate Members elected to the Central Committees of the Union Republics, Territorial, Regional, Area, City and District Party Committees	100.0	100.0
including:		
workers and farmers	42.7	43.4
heads of industrial enterprises, transport facilities, communications establishments and construction sites, directors of state farms	10.8	11.0
engineers, technicians and agricultural specialists	5.4	5.1
Party functionaries	17.0	17.2
workers in Soviet bodies	9.6	9.5
workers in science, education, culture and health service	6.2	5.8
other workers	8.3	8.0
women	26.7	28.2

The data contained in this Table show that the share of workers, collective farmers and women in the elective Party bodies is steadily growing.

Before the 26th CPSU Congress, 1.5 million workers and farmers were elected to Party bureaus and committees and as Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, which is almost

194,000 more than before the 25th Congress. Among Members and Alternate Members of District, City and Area Party Committees and Members of the Auditing Commissions they constitute 42.1 per cent, while among Members and Alternate Members of the Regional, Territorial, and Central Party Committees of the Union Republics and among Members of the respective Auditing Commissions they constitute 31.1 per cent. As a rule, there are many workers and collective farmers in the bureaus of local Party committees. At the 26th CPSU Congress 47 workers and collective

farmers have been elected Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The Party is always deeply concerned about the improvement of its membership, including Secretaries of the District, City, Area, Regional, Territorial and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics. The progress in this field can be seen from the following Table which shows the percentage of Secretaries of the Party Committees with a certain type of education (as of January 1 of respective year):

	Education				
	higher	incomplete higher	secondary	incomplete secondary	primary
Secretaries of District, City and Area Party Committees					
1939	4.9	—	23.7	7.2	64.2
1952	18.4	43.9	25.5	9.2	3.0
1956	25.7	52.9	17.3	3.7	0.4
1961	67.8	24.2	7.7	0.3	—
1966	89.4	7.4	3.2	—	—
1971	96.4	2.9	0.7	—	—
1976	99.2	0.7	0.1	—	—
1981	99.7	0.2	0.1	—	—
1983	99.8	0.1	0.1	—	—
Secretaries of Regional, Territorial and Central Committees of Union Republics					
1939	28.6	—	30.3	9.6	31.5
1952	67.7	10.1	17.8	3.7	0.7
1956	86.0	6.6	6.3	1.1	—
1961	92.0	4.0	3.9	0.1	—
1966	97.0	1.9	1.1	—	—
1971	98.9	0.3	0.8	—	—
1976	99.4	0.1	0.5	—	—
1981	99.9	—	0.1	—	—
1983	99.9	—	0.1	—	—

Note: In the data for 1939, those secretaries who had an incomplete higher education are included in the group with a secondary education.

In the period between the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses the number of industrial and agricultural specialists among the secretaries of the District, City and Area Party Committees increased from 60 to 65 per cent, and within the last

two years it reached 67 per cent.

The educational level of the Secretaries of the primary organizations is constantly rising. The following Table contains data on their education (as of January 1 of respective year, per cent):

	Educational level				
	Higher	Incomplete higher	Secondary	Incomplete secondary	Primary
1939	4.7	—	16.5	—	78.8
1952	9.3	4.7	27.3	29.3	29.4
1956	11.4	7.9	29.5	30.6	20.6
1961	19.7	7.3	37.9	24.8	10.3
1966	28.3	5.9	43.3	18.1	4.4
1971	38.5	5.4	44.8	10.3	1.0
1976	47.8	4.3	42.8	4.9	0.2
1981	57.4	3.5	37.3	1.8	—
1983	60.3	3.1	35.3	1.3	—

Note: In the data for 1939, those Secretaries of primary organizations who had an incomplete higher education are included in the group with a secondary education, while those who had an incomplete secondary education are included in the group with primary education.

The CPSU pays particular attention to the systematic raising of the political and business training of all Party functionaries and to the formation of a reliable reserve of cadres. To achieve these aims, in the period between the two latest congresses, substantial changes have been introduced into the work of higher Party schools and educational establishments for training economic managerial personnel. On the basis of the former Academy of Social Sciences, the Higher Party School and the Correspondence Higher Party School, under the CPSU Central Committee, a qualitatively new educational establishment—the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee—has been created. The Academy of the National Economy has been opened.

The republican and inter-regional Higher Party Schools have opened correspondence departments. The network of permanent courses has also been extended.

Wide use is also made of such forms of training Party functionaries as Universities of Marxism-Leninism, regional, city and district schools of Party and economic activists, theoretical seminars and scientific-and-practical conferences. In pursuit of the decisions of the June 1983 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Party organizations improve the methods of work employed by the political enlightenment network by bringing the system of training Party functionaries closer to the practical requirements and achieving better results.

* * *

The entire historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is proof to the sound character and great vitality of the fundamental ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of the Leninist teaching on the Party, and the Party ideological, political and organizational principles.

Guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, the Party ensures that the principle of democratic centralism and Leninist norms of Party life are closely observed, and on their basis solves the questions of improving its membership, promoting unity in the Party ranks, raising the initiative and re-

sponsibility of the primary organizations and local Party bodies, strengthening organization and discipline within the entire state and Party apparatus and establishing the Leninist style of work everywhere. The CPSU bases its policy on the assumption that the solution of the great tasks facing the country will require the further enhancement of the leading role of the Party. That is why it constantly sets before the Party organizations and members the tasks of improving the forms and methods of work.

The entire history of the CPSU and its development in today's conditions are irrefutable proof of the indestructible unity of the Party and the people and the growing role of the Party in communist construction.

The CPSU: Stages of History

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We hope that you have found this publication interesting and useful. We would be most grateful if you could fill out this questionnaire and send it to us. All you have to do is to put a cross in the appropriate box, or, where such boxes are not provided, to express your opinion briefly and legibly.

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041 <input type="checkbox"/>	042 <input type="checkbox"/>	043 <input type="checkbox"/>	044 <input type="checkbox"/>
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Of the quality of the printing and illustrations?

045 <input type="checkbox"/>	046 <input type="checkbox"/>	047 <input type="checkbox"/>	048 <input type="checkbox"/>
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6. What is your overall view of this publication, its good and bad points? _____

7. If you have long been familiar with Novosti publications, say which of them in your opinion were the best

8. If you are a regular reader of Novosti publications, say in which ways you find them useful. They...

broaden horizons	provide information about the USSR	give the Soviet point of view	are helpful for work or study	can be used in discussions
321 <input type="checkbox"/>	322 <input type="checkbox"/>	323 <input type="checkbox"/>	324 <input type="checkbox"/>	325 <input type="checkbox"/>

Other ways _____

Your occupation _____

Sex M F Age _____ years
421 422

Education: Primary Secondary Higher
423 424 425

Place of residence Capital City Town Rural area
426 427 428 429

Country of residence _____

Name and address (optional) _____

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