

XVII

CONGRESS

C·P·S·U

**RESOLUTIONS
and DECISIONS**

**Including
PARTY RULES**



**Co-operative Publishing Society
of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R.**

Съезду
нашаму
Берегите
онъ отъ
Нью-Йорку
изъяснитъ.

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

RESOLUTIONS
and DECISIONS

Including
PARTY RULES



CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY of FOREIGN
WORKERS *in the U.S.S.R.* — *Moscow-Leningrad, 1934*

Printed by "Iskra Revolutsii," Printshop No. 7, Moscow
No. 131, Order 294, Index III, In work Feb. 2, Ready to set March 10, to print
April 30; 5/4, signatures 78x104 32, 28,000 characters per sig.
Glavlit B-69,538; Printing 9,600

Responsible Editor, I. B. Lasker; Technical Editor H. J. Canter

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Resolution on the Report of Comrade Stalin Concerning the Work of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.</i>	5
<i>Resolution on the Report of Comrade Rudzutak Concerning the Work of the Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection</i>	6
<i>Resolution on the Report of Comrade Manuilsky Concerning the Work of the C.P.S.U. Delegation in the E.C.C.I.</i>	6
THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE U.S.S.R. (1933-37)	7
<i>Resolution on the Reports of Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev</i>	
I. The Completion of the Technical Reconstruction of the National Economy and the Program of the Growth of Production During the Second Five-Year Plan Period	10
II. The Program of New Construction During the Second Five-Year Plan Period	24
III. The Program of Raising the Material and Cultural Level of the Workers and Peasants	32
ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS (PARTY AND SOVIET CONSTRUCTION)	41
<i>Resolution on the Report of Comrade L. M. Kaganovich</i>	
I. Organizational Measures in the Field of Party Construction	47
Party Membership and Primary Party Organizations	47
The Organizational Structure of the Leading Party Organs of the Centre, the Regions and the Districts	48
II. Organizational Measures in the Fields of Soviet Construction	50
The Abolition of the Functional System and the Guaranteeing of Concrete Leadership	50
Personal Responsibility of the Manager; Supervision of Fulfilment of Decisions and Shifting of Cadres to Places of Production	52

CONTENTS—Continued

The Work of the Local Soviets, of Trade Union and Y.C.L. Organizations for Improving the State and Economic Apparatus	53
III. Organizational Measures in the Field of Strengthening Party and Soviet Control	54
RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION	57
I. Party Members and their Duties	58
II. Candidates for Party Membership	61
III. Sympathizers' Groups	62
IV. The Organizational Structure of the Party	63
V. The Central Institutions of the Party	65
VI. The Regional and Republic Organizations of the Party	68
VII. City and District (Rural and Urban) Party Organizations	70
VIII. Primary Party Organizations	71
IX. Party Organizations in the Red Army	73
X. Party Groups in Non-Party Organizations	74
XI. Internal Party Democracy and Party Discipline	74
XII. Party Funds	76
COMPOSITION OF THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE PARTY	78
Members of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.	78
Alternate Members of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.	79
Members of Party Control Commission	80
Members of Soviet Control Commission	81
Members of Auditing Commission	82

*Resolution on the Report of Comrade Stalin
concerning the work of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.*

(Adopted unanimously)

Having heard Comrade Stalin's report on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. resolves:

1. Wholly and entirely to approve the political line and practical work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
2. To approve Comrade Stalin's report and to instruct all Party organizations to be guided in the whole of their work by the postulates and tasks put forward in Comrade Stalin's report.

*Resolution on the Report of Comrade Rudzutak
concerning the work of the Central Control Commission
and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*

(Adopted unanimously)

Having heard Comrade Rudzutak's report, the Seventeenth Congress wholly approves the work of the Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

*Resolution on the Report of Comrade Manuilsky
concerning the work of the C.P.S.U. Delegation
in the E.C.C.I.*

(Adopted unanimously)

Having heard the report of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Communist International, the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. wholly and entirely approves the political line and practical work of the Delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern.

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT
OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE U.S.S.R.
(1933-37)

*Resolution on the Reports of Comrades Molotov
and Kuibyshev*

(Adopted unanimously)

Already during the First Five-Year Plan period, thanks to the heroic struggle of the working class, the foundation of socialist economy was laid, the last capitalist class—the kulaks—was defeated and the basic masses of the peasantry—the collective farmers—became a firm support of the Soviet government in the countryside. The U.S.S.R. finally established itself on the socialist road.

During the years covered by the First Five-Year Plan a large-scale, technically advanced industry was created in the U.S.S.R., and especially remarkable successes were achieved in the establishment of a modern heavy industry—the material base of socialism, the foundation of the reconstruction of the whole national economy and the condition for the accelerated development of the light and food industries and of agriculture. Dozens of new branches of industry were newly organized: complex machine-tool construction, the automobile and tractor industry, harvester combine construction, aircraft and aeroplane motor construction, the manufacture of powerful turbines and generators, the manufacture of high-grade steels, of ferro-alloys, of aluminium, a modern chemical industry,

synthetic rubber industry, the manufacture of nitrates, artificial fibres, etc. The knit goods, needle trades, footwear, meat packing, canning, paper industries and so forth were reconstructed on the basis of modern technique. Thousands of modern enterprises were built which elevated the whole national economy to the high plane of new technical culture, on a par with the best examples of capitalist technique.

Agriculture was radically reconstructed during the First Five-Year Plan period. The proletariat led by the Leninist Party convinced the millions of the peasantry of the superiority of collective production and created a new collective farm system in the countryside. The victories in the development of industry conditioned the gigantic successes achieved in switching agriculture to the track of machine-operated technique. The U.S.S.R. has become the country of the largest-scale agriculture in the world.

The great successes in the establishment of a new, socialist labour discipline, the improvement in the skill of the workers, the considerable achievements in the organization of production, have permitted us to score enormous victories in advancing labour productivity during the course of the technical reconstruction. In the rate of increase of labour productivity the U.S.S.R. outstripped all capitalist countries, even in comparison with the years when they were at their zenith.

The proletariat, which has overcome the tremendous difficulties resulting from the realization of the First Five-Year Plan, achieved victories of historical importance in the matter of improving the position of the toilers in town and country. The advantages of the Soviet order, even at the stage of development attained, permitted of a complete liquidation of unemployment, the introduction of the seven-hour working day, the abolition of destitution and pauperism in the countryside.

The worker and collective farmer have become fully confident of the morrow, and the constantly rising level of the material and cultural living standards depends solely upon the quality and quantity of the labour expended by them. Gone is the menace of unemployment, poverty and starvation for the toiler of the U.S.S.R. Confidently and joyfully each worker and collective farmer looks into his future, and presents constantly rising demands for knowledge and culture.

During the First Five-Year Plan period the U.S.S.R. was transformed into a country of most advanced culture. The illiteracy of tens of millions of workers and peasants was liquidated and the introduction of universal compulsory elementary education was accomplished. Extra-school education was widely developed, the circulation of newspapers, magazines and other publications rose sharply. Considerable successes were achieved in developing scientific and technical research, which independently solved a number of very important technical problems.

In the national districts of the Union which are making rapid progress towards finally liquidating their backwardness, particularly remarkable economic and cultural growth took place.

As the result of the First Five-Year Plan the possibility of building socialism in one country was for the first time in the history of mankind demonstrated before hundreds of millions of toilers of the whole world. All these successes of the First Five-Year Plan prepared the condition precedent and a *mighty base* for the construction and realization of the Second Five-Year Plan.

“The chief political task of the Second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general; fully to destroy the causes which give rise to class distinction and exploitation; to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the consciousness of people;

to transform the whole working population of the country into conscious, active builders of classless society."

The final liquidation of the remnants of the parasitic classes and the general growth of the national income which is placed entirely at the disposal of the toilers must ensure during the Second Five-Year Plan period a still more rapid improvement in the well-being of the worker and collective farm masses, a considerable growth of real wages, and a two to threefold rise in the level of consumption of the toilers.

The realization of these tasks is possible only on the basis of the developed technical reconstruction of the whole of national economy, of industry, of transport, of agriculture. Therefore the completion of the reconstruction of the whole of national economy is the principal and decisive economic task of the Second Five-Year Plan period. But mastery of the new technique and the new production processes must be the decisive condition for the completion of the technical reconstruction of the national economy during the Second Five-Year Plan period. "*Fervour for new construction*" must be supplemented during the Second Five-Year Plan period by "*fervour for mastering* the new factories and the new technique, for seriously increasing the productivity of labour, for seriously reducing cost of production." (Stalin.)

I. THE COMPLETION OF THE TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE PROGRAM OF THE GROWTH OF PRODUCTION DURING THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. approves the program of the completion of the technical reconstruction of the whole of national economy and the growth of production during the Second Five-Year Plan period sub-

mitted by the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union and adopted by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

The Congress of the C.P.S.U. resolves:

1. To fix the volume of production of the whole of industry in 1937, *i.e.*, at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period at 92.7 billion rubles (in 1926-27 prices), as against 43 billion rubles at the end of the First Five-Year Plan period—in 1932, *i.e.*, an average annual increase of 16.5 per cent; and a 2.1-fold increase in the volume of industrial output—an approximately 8-fold increase in comparison with the pre-war level. To specify a more rapid rate of development in the production of articles of mass consumption not only in comparison with the First Five-Year Plan (an average annual rate of growth of 18.5 per cent as against 17 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period) but also in comparison with the rates of development of the production of means of production during the Second Five-Year Plan period (an average annual rate of growth of 18.5 per cent as against a 14.5 per cent average annual rate of growth of the means of production).

2. To fix the extent of production in the most important branches of industry as follows:

	<i>Quota for 1937</i>	
	<i>In %</i>	
	<i>Absolute</i>	<i>of 1932</i>
Total Volume of Industrial Output in 1926-27 prices (in billion rubles)	92.7	214.1
<i>Of which:</i>		
Production of means of production	45.5	197.2
Production of articles of consumption	47.2	233.6
Commissariat of Heavy Industry (in billion rubles)	33.5	234.6
People's Commissariat of Timber (in billion rubles)	3.6	200.0

	Quota for 1937	
	Absolute	In % of 1932
People's Commissariat of Light Industry (in billion rubles)	19.5	248.8
People's Commissariat of Supply (in billion rubles)	11.9	256.1
Machine building and metal working (in billion rubles at 1926-27 prices)	19.5	207.0
<i>Of which:</i>		
Metal-cutting machine tools (in thousand units)	40.0	267.0
Tractors (15 hp. unit equivalents in thousands)	167.0	323.0
Harvester combines (in thousands)	20.0	200.0
Trunk line locomotives (in equivalents of E and S.U. types)	2,800.0	337.0
Freight cars (in 2-axle equivalents, in thousands)	118.4	531.0
Motor cars (in thousands)	200.0	837.0
Electric power production (in billion kwh.)	38.0	283.0
<i>Of which</i>		
District stations of Glavenergo	24.5	296.0
Coal (in million tons)	152.5	237.0
Crude oil with gas (in million tons)	46.8	210.0
Pig iron (in million tons)	16.0	260.0
Steel (in million tons)	17.0	289.0
Rolled metal (in million tons)	13.0	303.0
Chemical industry (in billion rubles at 1926-27 prices)	5.5	280.0
Lumber (in million cubic metres)	43.0	176.0
Cotton fabrics (in million metres)	5,100.0	188.0
Linen fabrics (in million square metres)	600.0	461.0
Footwear (in million pair)	180.0	220.0
Granulated sugar (in thousand tons)	2,500.0	302.0
Fish catch (in thousand tons)	1,800.0	139.0
Meat (People's Commissariat of Supply—in thousand tons)	1,200.0	276.0
Canned goods (in million tins)	2,000.0	335.0

In view of the fact that local industry can act as a serious supplementary factor in the all-round satisfaction

of the rapidly growing demands of the workers and collective farmers, the Congress fixes the growth of production of articles of general consumption of local industry during the Second Five-Year Plan period at three times the present output and instructs the local bodies to exert maximum initiative in the matter of developing local industry and finding new types of raw materials. At the same time the Congress instructs the C.C. of the Party and the Council of People's Commissars to strengthen local industry by transferring a number of enterprises of the Union or Republic industries to the jurisdiction of the local authorities, and likewise to transfer a considerable part of the profit of local industry to the disposition of the local executive committees.

3. The Congress points out that in order to carry out the set program of development of industry and to realize the technical reconstruction of national economy it is necessary:

a) To carry out the technical re-equipment of all branches of national economy of the U.S.S.R., ensuring in the shortest period of time the introduction of the latest technical achievements and the receipt in 1937 of about 80 per cent of the whole output of industry from new enterprises built or completely reconstructed during the First or Second Five-Year Plan period. Instruments of production supplied to national economy only during the Second Five-Year Plan period must at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period constitute from 50 to 60 per cent of the instruments of production in operation in the whole of national economy.

b) To carry out such a reconstruction of the machine-building industry—this leading branch of national economy—as will ensure the satisfaction by means of our own resources of all demands of national economy for modern, technically advanced equipment, while new types

of production are to be greatly developed. In the Second Five-Year Plan period the production of up to 200 different types and sizes of the latest machine tools must be mastered. Metallurgical machine-building industry must master the complete equipping of all metallurgical shops, while the machine-building industry must master dozens of new types of machinery for the light and food industries. The agricultural machine-building industry must master the manufacture of all types of machines, and tractor-drawn agricultural implements, necessary for the realization of the further mechanization of agriculture, especially the mechanization of the laborious processes of the industrial and ploughed crops. The production of road-building equipment, of equipment for municipal economy, and for the building of dwellings and public service structures must be extended.

c) To complete in the main the mechanization of all laborious and heavy processes in industry. In coal mining to raise the mechanization of cutting by the end of the Five-Year Plan period to 93 per cent, pulling up the level of mechanization of the remaining processes correspondingly; in the iron and steel industry, to raise the mechanization to a level that will ensure the receipt of 80 per cent of pig iron from completely mechanized blast furnaces; in the peat industry, to set the output of peat extracted by mechanical means at more than 70 per cent of the total output; in the field of construction, to increase the mechanization of the principal processes to 80 per cent and to realize the mechanization of the manufacture of the local building materials; to realize the mechanization of the principal timbering processes—to increase it in hauling sixfold, in stripping threefold; to realize the mechanization of charcoal burning.

d) To create a new electric power base for the completion of the reconstruction of all branches of national

economy and to create at all electric power centres reserve capacities ensuring uninterrupted electric power supply to national economy. To complete in the main the electrification of industry by utilizing on the broadest scale the latest electrical methods of production in all branches of industry, especially in the metallurgical and chemical industries (the growth of consumption of electric power by factories using electrical methods of production to rise more than ninefold), by the broad development of electrification of transport and the gradual introduction of electricity into the production processes of agriculture. To develop more extensively the thermification of industry and of the big cities. To continue the policy of utilizing more extensively the local forms of fuel (such as Moscow Basin coal, coal from the Urals, Eastern Siberia, Central Asia, peat and shale) and especially the hydro-electric resources for the supply of electricity. To complete during the Second Five-Year Plan period the circuiting of the district power stations within the districts and to begin the inter-district circuiting of stations, with the creation already during the Second Five-Year Plan period of the greatest electric power station in the world (the Donbas-Dnieper system with an output of nine billion kwh. a year). To develop the manufacture of gas from peat and shale.

e) To liquidate completely the lagging of the iron and steel industry behind the general rates of development of national economy. To double during the Second Five-Year Plan period the capacity of the metallurgical industry and to strive for the most rapid elimination of the disparity between the volumes of the blast furnaces and those of the steel smelting works, especially the rolled metal mills trailing behind them; to develop the production of the various types of metals—high-grade metals, electro-steel, ferro-alloys, complex shapes of rolled metal and so forth

—to an extent that will fully satisfy the demands of national economy; to reconstruct the iron ore industry on a vast scale, extensively to apply the methods of concentration and agglomeration.

To attain especially high rates of development and of technical re-equipment in the non-ferrous metallurgical industry—to carry out the final transition to the modern method of copper extraction (flotation, refractory furnaces) and to apply the modern electrolytic method in the production of zinc on a large scale, so as to receive, in 1937, 70 per cent of all zinc by this method; to organize the production of tin, nickel, magnesium and to develop on a wide scale the production of aluminium; to satisfy fully the requirements of the whole of national economy, especially of the electrification of the non-ferrous metal industry.

f) To attain decisive advances in the development of the chemical industry, ensuring the wide chemicalization of all branches of national economy and the strengthening of the defensive capacity of the country. To raise the output of all types of fertilizers during the Second Five-Year Plan period to ten times the present level; extensively to develop the creation of a number of new chemical industries (the chemical treatment of solid fuels—coal, peat, shale, new types of dyes, plastics, synthetic rubber and so forth); to introduce the latest technological processes into the chemical industry (broad development of electrothermic and electrolytic methods, reactions of substances while in gaseous state and so forth); to strengthen the combination of the chemical industry with other branches of industry (the coking industry, non-ferrous metal industry, iron and steel industry and so forth) and the drawing in of a number of new types of raw materials.

g) To increase to a maximum extent the output of the most important branches of the light and food industries

on the basis of establishing a large-scale machine-operated industry—raising the proportion of automatic weaving looms in the cotton industry to 40 per cent by the end of the Five-Year Plan period—and of substituting modern machines for out-of-date spinning looms; to liquidate the technical backwardness of the linen industry by introducing high speed looms and radically reconstructing the primary working up of the flax; to realize the universal mechanization of the knit goods, needle trade and footwear industries; to create a large-scale machine-operated meat industry on the basis of developing meat packing plants. To raise the proportion of mechanized fish catch to 70 per cent of the output of the state fish industry by means of considerably reconstructing the technical equipment of the fishing boats, etc.; to reconstruct on a broad scale the butter industry on the basis of introducing the most efficient method of production.

4. The realization of the task of the technical reconstruction of industry demands the successful mastery of the new technique and the new processes of production which must find expression in a considerable growth of the productivity of labour and a serious lowering of the cost of production. The Congress accordingly specifies:

a) A growth in the productivity of labour in industry during the Second Five-Year Plan period of 63 per cent as against 41 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan period, *i.e.*, to an extent that will cause the productivity of labour to become a decisive factor in the fulfilment of the scheduled plan of increased production during the Second Five-Year Plan period;

b) The lowering of the cost of production in all industry by 26 per cent, as compared with the level of cost of production in 1932, ensuring accumulation in 1937 through lowered production costs to the extent mapped out—not less than 13 billion rubles;

c) Simultaneously with the lowering of the cost of production, to attain a sharp improvement in quality and assortment of output in all branches of national economy. To attain a considerable diminution of the ash and sulphur content in coal, to raise the grade in the metallurgical industry, to improve the quality and the coefficient of utilization of machines, to raise the grade of yarn, decidedly to improve the quality of cotton and linen goods, to increase the proportion of fine cloth and worsteds in the woollen goods industry, to increase the proportion of fine wool in fabrics, decidedly to improve the quality of soap by increasing the fat content, to improve the quality of footwear by improving the methods of sewing as well as of the raw materials used, to improve the quality of the products of the meat packing industry by raising the proportion of pork, sausage, lard; to improve the quality of the fish industry by increasing the proportion of the better grades of fish; to improve considerably the assortment and the production of the flour milling industry by increasing the proportion of high-grade grinding.

5. The Seventeenth Congress fixes the growth of production in the whole of agriculture during the Five-Year Plan period from 13.1 billion rubles (in 1926-27 prices) to 26.2 billion rubles or a twofold increase.

In the most important branches of agriculture, the Congress makes the attainment of the following production quotas obligatory: grain crops—1,048 million centners with a yield of 10 centners per hectare; sugar beet—276 million centners with a yield of up to 200 centners per hectare; cotton fibre—7 million centners with a yield of 12 centners per hectare for irrigated cotton; flax fibre—8 million centners with a yield of up to 3.7 centners, and to increase the quantity of livestock products two and a quarter times.

6. The Congress emphasizes the fact that the specified

increase in agricultural products can be attained only on the basis of the absolute completion of collectivization and the realization of the technical reconstruction of the whole of agriculture, for which purpose it is necessary:

a) To transform the grain, livestock raising, sugar beet, cotton and other Soviet farms into model agricultural enterprises on the basis of stubborn effort in mastering the technique of large-scale machine-operated economy, the universal adoption of correct crop rotation and seed selection, of improving the breed of livestock, of a rise in the quality of output and an increase in the quantity of grain, sugar beet, cotton, meat, milk, butter, hide and wool delivered to the state, and a decided improvement of the whole organization of production accompanied by a splitting up of the oversized Soviet farms into smaller units, by the discontinuation of excessive specialization and so forth;

b) To increase the number of M.T.S. from 2,446 in 1932 to 6,000 in 1937, thus providing all collective farms with machine and tractor station service;

c) To increase the total h.p. of the tractors from 2.225 million h.p. in 1932 to 8.2 million in 1937; *i.e.*, a 3.7-fold increase; to raise the number of harvester combines up to 100,000 and the number of motor cars in agriculture up to 170,000 cars, *i.e.*, a more than 12-fold increase;

d) To complete in the main the mechanization of agriculture; tractor-operated spring ploughing and fall ploughing in 1937 must constitute 80 per cent, cultivation—70 per cent; grain harvesting by means of tractor-drawn harvesters—60 per cent and the mechanization of threshing—85 per cent of the total;

e) To introduce agro-technical measures on a large scale; to introduce correct crop rotation everywhere, to sow 75 per cent of the area under grain crops with as-

sorted seed, to do fall ploughing on 50 per cent of the sown area;

f) To increase the supply of nitrogen fertilizers for areas sown to cotton during the Second Five-Year Plan period from 6 per cent to 80 per cent, for areas sown to sugar beet from 6 per cent to 40 per cent and to supply phosphorous fertilizer for the whole instead of for 9 per cent of the sown area; also widely to develop irrigation of the Trans-Volga basin by extending the irrigated area over an additional million hectares.

7. The Congress sets the following increases in the freight turnover of the main types of transport: railway—from 169 billion ton-kilometres in 1932 to 300 billion ton-kilometres in 1937; river transport—from 26 billion ton-kilometres to 63 billion ton-kilometres; maritime—from 18 billion ton-kilometres to 51 billion ton-kilometres and trucking—from 1 billion ton-kilometres to 16 billion ton-kilometres.

To the end that freight shipments may be more rationally distributed among the individual types of transport, the Congress points to the necessity of raising the proportion of the new types of transport in the country's freight service—motor highway and airway transport, also waterway transport, while railway transport retains its leading role.

8. The Congress stresses the necessity of the technical reconstruction of transport and communication which must be carried out along the following basic lines:

a) The realization of the reconstruction of the most important railway lines—the electrification of 5,000 kilometres of railway lines, the laying of 9,500 kilometres of second tracks at the most congested trunk lines (the Ural-Kuzbas, the Zabaikal and Ussurisk railways, the railways of the Donbas and so forth); the increase in the length of the tracks at stations, at junction points to total 8,500

kilometres; the replacement of light type rails by heavy type rails for a trackage of up to 20,000 kilometres; the extensive construction of bridges; the equipment of 8,300 kilometres with the automatic block system; the strengthening of the lines in operation (the adoption of gravel bedding, increase in the number of cross-ties per kilometre of trackage);

b) Increase in the total number of locomotives from 19,500 in 1932 to 24,600 in 1937 with the simultaneous change to more powerful and perfected types of locomotives. The powerful F.D. engine must in the Second Five-Year Plan period become the basic freight locomotive and the powerful engine type J.S.—the basic passenger engine; Diesel locomotives and electric locomotives must find more extensive application;

c) The growth in the number of railroad cars from 552,000 in 1932 to 800,000 in 1937 (two-axle equivalent) with a considerable increase in the proportion of heavy freight cars and the equipment of all cars with automatic brakes and not less than half the number of cars with automatic couplers;

d) The realization of the construction of great new railway lines: the Baikal-Amur trunk line, the Akmolinks-Kartaly, Moscow-Donbas, Karaganda-Balkhash, Ufa-Magnitnaya and other lines which will increase the total trackage of the railway system from 83,000 kilometres on January 1, 1933 to 94,000 kilometres on January 1, 1938.

e) In water transport: gigantic construction of artificial waterways must be carried out—canals: White Sea-Baltic Canal having a length of 227 kilometres (first system completed during the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period); Moscow-Volga Canal having a length of 127 kilometres; Volga-Don having a length of 100 kilometres; the reconstruction of the Maryinsk and Moscow River water systems, which, together with the great amount of hydro-

technical work to be done on the existing waterways (through route along the Dnieper, lock system for the Sozh River, reconstruction of the Middle Volga) will in the main guarantee the reconstruction of the waterways and the creation of a unified water system for the European part of the U.S.S.R., connecting the White, Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas. The length of navigable routes during the Second Five-Year Plan period must grow from 84,000 kilometres to 101,000 kilometres with a considerable improvement in navigation conditions on these routes. The marine and river fleets must be radically renovated and reconstructed and low-draught vessels must be built in greater number to utilize shallow rivers.

f) In motor car transport the total number of motor cars must rise from 75,000 on January 1, 1933, to 580,000 on January 1, 1938, or almost 8-fold; the construction of the network of dirt roads and paved highways and the work of eliminating, in the main, the roadless condition must be extensively carried on and the mileage of roads in the country must be increased by 210,000 kilometres without including the considerable construction that is being carried on by local resources;

g) In civil aviation the network of air lines of Union importance during the Second Five-Year Plan period must grow from 32,000 kilometres to 85,000 kilometres, *i.e.*, an almost 3-fold increase. Parallel with this, broad construction of local air lines must be developed bringing the mileage in operation up to 35,000 kilometres in 1937;

h) Decisive advances must be scored in mechanizing loading and unloading in transport, by increasing the mechanization of railway transport 3-fold (from 18 to 57 per cent); of maritime—from 14 to 72 per cent and on river transport—from 12 to 56 per cent, *i.e.*, approximately 5-fold;

i) The Congress emphasizes the necessity of greatly

developing communication of every description, especially radio communication, and of radically improving the quality of communication.

9. In accordance with the considerable rise in the material and technical base of transport and the creation of tremendous possibilities for the growth of labour productivity, the Congress sets the growth of labour productivity in railroad transport during the Second Five-Year Plan period at 43 per cent; in water transport—at 86 per cent, with a reduction in production costs as a whole throughout transport by 40 per cent,—10.5 per cent in railway, 36 per cent in waterway and 54 per cent in truck transport.

10. The preparation of skilled workers, technicians, and engineers, the solution of the problem of creating a proletarian industrial and technical intelligentsia constitutes the decisive condition for the realization of technical reconstruction, of the mastery of technique and the fulfilment of the task assigned with regard to labour productivity. Accordingly the Congress sets the following program for the preparation of cadres during the Second Five-Year Plan period;

a) The preparation of 5 million workers in mass trade schools, of which 2.5 million persons are being prepared in factory trade schools, more than 1.5 million persons in stationary schools and agricultural courses (tractorists, brigade leaders and others) and 700,000 persons in schools and courses for chauffeurs;

b) The graduation during the Second Five-Year Plan period of 340,000 specialists from universities, as against 170,700 during the First Five-Year Plan period or a 2-fold increase; and of 850,000 specialists from technicums as against 308,000 in the First Five-Year Plan period, or a 3-fold increase;

c) The growth in the number of skilled specialists in

all branches of national economy, from 2.7 million to 4 million, or an increase of 46.5 per cent including an increase in the number of specialists in industry by 57 per cent, on transport and in communication—by 60 per cent and the doubling of the number of those in agriculture.

11. The Congress points to the necessity of developing as widely as possible the work of the scientific and technical institutes, especially of the factory laboratories. Scientific, technical and inventive thought must become a powerful weapon in the application of the new technique, in the organization of new forms of production, of new methods of utilizing raw material and electricity.

II. THE PROGRAM OF NEW CONSTRUCTION DURING THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

12. The completion of the technical reconstruction of the national economy and the projected extent of the production tasks for industry, agriculture and transport require the realization during the Second Five-Year Plan period of a tremendous construction program.

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. approves the program of construction during the Second Five-Year Plan period worked out by the State Planning Commission, and approves the total volume of capital construction to be made in national economy during the Second Five-Year Plan period in the amount of 133.4 billion rubles (in 1933 prices), as against 50.5 billion rubles for the First Five-Year Plan period, of which:

a) In industry—69.5 billion rubles as against 25 billion rubles during the First Five-Year Plan period, of which for industry producing means of production—53.4 billion rubles as against 21.3 billion rubles, or a 2.5-fold increase; for industry producing means of consumption—16.1 billion rubles as against 3.5 billion rubles, or a 4.6-fold increase;

b) In agriculture—15.2 billion rubles as against 9.7 billion rubles during the First Five-Year Plan period, or a more than 1.5-fold increase;

c) In transport—26.3 billion rubles as against 8.9 billion rubles or a 3-fold increase.

The Congress notes that the great increase in capital construction specified for the light and food industries and for transport, in comparison with other branches of national economy, guarantees a more rapid tempo of their development.

13. The Congress approves the putting into operation of new and reconstructed enterprises during the Second Five-Year Plan period representing a total value of 132 billion rubles as against 38.6 billion rubles during the First Five-Year Plan period, of which: in industry 69.1 billion rubles as against 15.7 billion rubles, in agriculture 15.4 billion rubles as against 9.2 billion rubles and in transport 25.6 billion rubles as against 7.7 billion rubles.

14. The volume of capital investments set and the program of putting into operation of new and reconstructed enterprises guarantee the gigantic growth of the industrial and technical might of the Soviet Union, and the formation of the necessary capacity reserves in the most important branches of national economy, *viz.*:

a) The total amount of basic funds during the Five-Year Plan period rises from 85 billion rubles to 195 billion rubles (in 1933 prices), which signifies a 2.3-fold increase, of which an increase in industry of from 25.5 billion rubles to 77.0 billion rubles, in agriculture—from 11.4 billion rubles to 22.6 billion rubles, and in transport—from 19.8 billion rubles to 38.5 billion rubles;

b) In the most important branches of industry the production capacity must grow as follows: in the iron and steel industry (pig iron) 2.3-fold, in the coal industry—more than 2-fold, in generator manufacture—2.4-fold, in

the automobile industry—almost 4-fold, in the manufacture of locomotives—3.2-fold, in railway car building—3.9-fold, in district electric power stations—2.5-fold, in the footwear industry—2-fold, in the cotton goods industry—1.5-fold, in the linen industry—more than 2-fold, in the sugar industry—1.5-fold, in large meat packing plants—2.5-fold.

15. The Congress considers it necessary to concentrate special attention on the following important construction jobs:

In the machine-building industry—the completion of the following works, the construction of which was commenced during the First Five-Year Plan period: the Ural Heavy Machine-Building Works, having a capacity of 100,000 tons; the Kramatorsk Works with an output of 150,000 tons; the Chemical Equipment Works in the Urals; the Lugansk Locomotive Works with a capacity of 1,080 type FD locomotives a year; of the Orsk Steam and Diesel Locomotive Works with an output of 500 steam and 500 electric locomotives a year; the Kashira Electric Locomotive Works with an output of 300 trunk line electric locomotives; the Ural Railway Car Manufacturing Works with an output of 54,000 four-axle cars; the Kuznetsk and Irkutsk Railway Car Manufacturing Works with a capacity of 10,000 four-axle cars each; of the motor works in Ufa producing 50,000 motors; the Kharkov Turbine Generator Works producing 1.5 million kw.; the expansion of the Gorky Automobile Works to 300,000 cars; the Stalin Automobile Works in Moscow—up to 80,000 cars; the Yaroslavl—up to 25,000 five-ton trucks etc.; the construction during the Second Five-Year Plan period of the Ufa and the Stalingrad Automobile Works with a capacity of 100,000 three-ton trucks each; the Samara works—output 25,000 five-ton trucks; of factories manufacturing grinding, radial drilling, gear cutting,

automatic and heavy machine tools, of a new powerful ball-bearing plant with an output of 24 million bearings; of the Ural Electric Apparatus and Transformer Works; the construction of a group of works manufacturing textile machines, equipment for the food industry and so forth.

In the field of electrification—the construction of 79 district power stations which number includes the completion of the construction of the Zuevka Power Station, capacity 250,000 kw.; of the Gorky Station—204,000 kw.; Shatura—180,000 kw.; Dubrovka—100,000 kw.; the Svir Hydro-electric Power Station No. 3—96,000 kw.; the completion of the Dnieprogres—capacity 558,000 kw.; the erection of a number of new large central electric power stations: Stalinogorsk—400,000 kw.; Kemerovo—148,000 kw.; of new powerful stations in the Donbas; of the Chirchik No. 1 Hydro-electric Power Station—170,000 kw.; Kanakirsk—88,000 kw.; on the Khrama River—60,000 kw.; Svir No. 2—144,000 kw.; Tulama and others; the development of the construction of the Central Volga power stations: Yaroslavl—100,000 kw.; Perm—310,000 kw., and Gorky—200,000 kw.; the erection of a number of large central heating plants for municipal thermification: Moscow-Narva and the Okhta Plant in Leningrad; the Stalin and Frunze plants in Moscow, the Sormovo-Kanavinsk plant, the Krassnozavodsk plant in Kharkov and others; of a number of large factory electric power stations of district importance: Magnitogorsk—198,000 kw.; Kuznetsk—108,000 kw. and others.

In the coal industry—the development of large-scale pit sinking and the putting into operation of 178 pits with a capacity output of 143 million tons of coal.

In the oil industry—the construction of a new group of oil refineries (46 tube stills for primary distillation and 93 cracking plants); the laying of oil and oil by-product pipe lines for a length of more than 4,000 kilometres.

The development of construction in the peat and shale industries.

In the ferrous metallurgical industry—the completion of the construction of the Magnitogorsk Works, capacity of 2.7 million tons of pig iron; of the Kuznetsk, Zaporozhye, Lower Taguil, Azovstal, Krivoyrog, Lipetsk, Tula and other plants; the development of the construction and the starting of the first machine units of the Baikal and Khalilo Works, of the second Kuznetsk and Far East Works, of pipe rolling mills and others.

In the non-ferrous metallurgical industry—the Balkhash Copper Combinat, capacity—100,000 tons and the Central Ural Combinat—50,000 tons; to complete the construction of the Kazakstan Polymetal Works—60,000 tons of lead; of the zinc works in the cities of Chelyabinsk and Orjonikidze; the Altai Polymetal Works, the Kemerovo Works and others; the completion of the construction of the Volkhov and Dnieper Aluminium Works; the construction of the new Ural Aluminium Works—25,000 tons and of the Karelian Works—8,000 tons; the construction of magnesium, nickel and other undertakings of the non-ferrous metallurgical industry.

In the field of the chemical industry—the construction of new fertilizer combinats, of synthetic rubber, soda, sulphuric acid, rubber, plastics, aniline, lacquer and dye, artificial fibre and other works.

In light industry—the construction of fifteen big cotton goods enterprises, including mills at Tashkent, Barmaul, Khodjent, Tchardzhui, the Trans-Caucasian Cotton Goods Combinat with a capacity of 200,000 spindles each; the construction of 12 big woollen mills with a capacity of from 8 to 15 million metres of woven cloth each; 12 linen mills with a capacity of from 18,000 to 27,000 spindles each; 18 big knitting mills, 11 silk mills, 21 shoe factories with a capacity of 100 million pair.

In the food industry—the completion of the construction of 17 meat packing plants commenced during the First Five-Year Plan period and the development of the construction of 23 packing plants; the construction of a great number of sugar refineries, 6 soap factories, a great increase of the fleet in the fish industry, the construction of canneries, creameries, candy factories and so forth.

In the timber industry—the construction of a great number of sawmills, wood-chemical enterprises and others, the completion of the construction of the Kama and Kondopoga celluloid paper combinats, of the Syask Cellulose Combinat, the construction of the Bashkir and Krassnoyarsk Paper Combinats, etc. The vast construction and reconstruction of thousands of enterprises in local industry to produce commodities of general consumption in which up to 2 billion rubles will be invested during the Five-Year Plan period.

In city building—a great increase in the work of transforming hundreds of industrial centres into well laid-out cities; the building of thousands of dwelling houses with apartments equipped with all conveniences representing a total housing space of 64 million square metres; the development of planning work, the improvement of urban transport, water supply, sewerage system, street paving, landscaping, etc.; the construction of Houses of Soviets, Houses of Technique, Parks of Culture and Rest, stadiums, theatres, clubs, moving picture houses, the construction in Moscow of the Palace of Soviets, and of the first subway in the U.S.S.R., the first line of which will begin to run as early as 1934.

16. The specified program of large-scale development of new construction contains the conditions for decided improvements in the allocation of the forces of production:

a) By developing the old industrial centres new bases of support of industrialization in the eastern districts (the

Urals, Western and Eastern Siberia, Bashkiria, the Far-East Region, Kazakstan and Central Asia) are being created; machine building, metallurgy, coal, oil, electric power production and other branches of industry are being intensively developed. Almost half of all capital investments made in new construction of heavy industry go to the eastern districts. In 1937 the eastern districts will supply one-third of the pig iron output as against one-fourth in 1932; more than one-third of the coal output as against one-fourth in 1932; about one-fifth of the electric power output (of district electric power stations) as against 6.5 per cent in 1932; one-tenth of the machine-building output as against 5 per cent in 1932.

b) The completion of the construction of the second coal and metallurgical base of the Union—the Ural-Kuznetsk Combinat—in the construction of which about one-fourth of the capital investment in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. and more than one-third of all capital investments in heavy industry will be placed during the Second Five-Year Plan period. The Ural-Kuznetsk Combinat must produce in 1937: one-third of the output of the ferrous metallurgy industry, more than one-fourth of the total coal output of the country, one-sixth of the electric power output from district electric power stations and about 10 per cent of the machine-building output.

c) The bringing of industry nearer to the sources of raw material on the basis of developing new districts. The realization of great shifts in the allocation of the light and food industries; of 15 cotton combinats being built during the Second Five-Year Plan period, 10 are assigned for construction in Central Asia, Siberia and Trans-Caucasia, which conditions a 16-fold growth of production of cotton goods in Central Asia while the average growth in the Soviet Union is 2-fold and creates a solid base for textile manufacturing in these districts. In the

linen industry powerful processing bases are being established in the Western Region, in the Gorky Region and in the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. New raw material bases are being created as a result of which new sugar refineries are being set up (Western Siberia, Kirgizia, the Far Eastern Region, Trans-Caucasia, etc.). In the principal centres of agricultural raw material production, construction of leather-working and wool-working enterprises, of creameries and other plants of the light and food industries is being developed. The output of local types of fuel is growing in great proportions, thus weakening the dependence of a number of districts upon long-haul fuel.

d) In the field of agriculture—a considerable growth in grain production in the basic grain districts—the commencement of large-scale irrigation operations in the Trans-Volga district and the creation of a stable wheat base in the central and northern districts; a tremendous increase in the output of industrial crops in the principal district of their production, accompanied by the creation of a new sugar beet base in the East; the wide development of new valuable crops, especially in the sub-tropical districts—all ensure the solution of the task of the correct allocation of the principal branches of agriculture and the specialization of districts by crops and branches.

e) In the field of transport—parallel with the reconstruction and the strengthening of the principal transport lines running east and south—the construction of a large group of new railways and waterways linking new industrial centres with the general transport system of the Union and representing the basis of economic development of new districts (Karaganda-Balkhash, Ufa-Sterlitamak, Rubtsovka-Ridder, Tomsk-Chulim, the White Sea-Baltic Canal and others).

f) Wide industrial development in such formerly in-

dustrially backward districts as the Central Volga Region, the Tartar A.S.S.R., Northern Caucasus, Central Black Soil Region, Trans-Caucasia, Karelia, Murmansk Region, Far Eastern Region, Eastern Siberia and others on the basis of developing heavy industry there.

g) The intensive development of construction work in the field of education, health protection, art, printing in the national republics and regions.

h) The further growth of the old industrial districts of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of improving the specialization commenced during the First Five-Year Plan period and the more even intra-district allocation of industry.

The Congress points out that the program being laid down for the allocation of the productive forces during the Second Five-Year Plan period ensures that the economic and cultural backwardness of the national republics and districts will be outlived, that there will be a more even allocation of the productive forces and an approximation of industry to the sources of raw material, a specialization of the principal districts according to agricultural crops and branches and the completion of the division of the country as a whole into economic districts.

III. THE PROGRAM OF RAISING THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

The abolition of unemployment and the assurance of work for all workers and employees with an improvement in their working conditions systematically carried out in the Soviet state, the work day reduced to seven hours and the presence of favourable conditions for raising their production skill and their general cultural level enable the entire mass of workers and employees, by steadily raising their labour productivity, to march for-

ward with greater strides along the path of improving their material well-being.

The completion in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan period of the collectivization of the entire mass of the peasant farms, the liquidation of the kulaks and the suppression of each and every attempt at resistance by the kulaks, the cessation of the differentiation of the peasantry into possessing and non-possessing peasants and the abolition of destitution and pauperism in the rural districts entailed thereby, coupled with the steadfast organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms and the rapid growth of their machine and technical bases—all these create the necessary favourable conditions for a rapid improvement in the material conditions of the collective farmer-peasant masses and the attainment of a cultured and well-to-do life by the peasants and makes the tempo of this rise directly dependent upon the organization and labour productivity of the collective farmers themselves.

Approving accordingly the draft of the State Planning Commission in this field, the Congress sets the following task in the field of raising the material and cultural level of the lives of the workers and toilers in the rural districts:

1a) A 26 per cent increase in the number of workers and employees by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period in all branches of national economy, including a 29 per cent increase in large-scale industry;

b) A twofold rise in real wages on the basis of the final elimination of parasitic consumption, of the rapid growth of the national income, of a 2.5-fold increase in the standards of consumption of products like meat, fats, fish, eggs, sugar, and manufactured goods, a 35 per cent drop in retail prices and a further improvement in the living conditions of the toilers;

c) A 55 per cent rise in the wages fund of the workers and employees in the whole of national economy, including a 64 per cent rise in large-scale industry;

d) A considerable increase in state expenditures on cultural and everyday services for the workers, *i.e.*, expenditures for social insurance and state outlays for education, health protection and the cultural and everyday services of the workers and employees—of from 4.3 billion rubles to 9.3 billion rubles—a more than twofold increase for the Five-Year Plan period;

e) A 2.5-fold growth in the number of workers and toilers in town and country served by public catering;

f) The completion during the Second Five-Year Plan period of not only the liquidation of illiteracy of the population of the Union, of the liquidation of the semi-literacy of able-bodied adult members of the population and of the institution of universal compulsory elementary education, but also of the realization of universal compulsory polytechnical education in seven-year courses, primarily in rural districts, inasmuch as in the cities this task was in the main already accomplished in the course of the First Five-Year Plan period; the growth in the number of students (in primary and secondary schools, workers' training courses, factory training schools, technicals, universities and technical colleges) up to 36 million persons as against 24.2 million in 1932 or up to 197 persons per thousand of the population as against 147 persons, exclusive of pre-school education which in 1932 already counted 5.2 million pupils;

g) A vast development of extra-school mass education, closely interlinked with the organized cultural rest of the toiling masses, an increase in the number of clubs in town and country of up to 10,900 as against 6,800 (an increase in the cities of 10.5 per cent and in rural localities by 130

per cent) and of the number of public libraries up to 25,000 as against 15,000 in 1932;

h) A further considerable strengthening of the work done to protect the health of the toilers, primarily the extensive introduction of sanitary and prophylactic measures, an increase in the expenditures for health protection, workers' rest, physical culture from 5.4 billion rubles in the First Five-Year Plan period to 19.6 billion rubles.

An increase in the number of hospital beds in the cities amounting to 44 per cent, in rural localities amounting to 98 per cent; a 164 per cent increase in the number of cots in crèches in the cities and of 129 per cent in rural localities.

i) An increase during the Five-Year Plan period in the number of cities with water works—from 366 to 440; in the number of cities with a sewerage system—from 55 to 125; of cities with tram cars—from 50 to 70;

j) Accordingly to set the extent of capital investments in construction for municipal, housing and cultural purposes during the Second Five-Year Plan period at about 32 billion rubles, or about one-fourth of all capital investments in national economy, including 13.4 billion rubles for housing construction, 6.2 billion rubles for municipal construction in cities, 3.1 billion rubles for education and 2.9 billion rubles for health protection.

2. The task of raising the material standard of living of the workers and peasants demands the maximum development of commodity circulation based on increasing the output of industrial commodities of general consumption and on improving the supply of the cities with agricultural products.

The Congress accordingly specifies:

a) A 2.5-fold rise in commodity circulation—from 31.9 billion rubles in 1932 to 80 billion rubles in 1937 (in 1932 prices) with a 2.5-fold increase in the output of articles

of general consumption produced by the light and food industries;

b) A 37 per cent increase in the retail state and co-operative trading system with a simultaneous technical reconstruction of this system;

c) A 35 per cent drop of the average level of retail prices as compared with 1933.

3. The Congress sets the rise of the national income at from 45.5 billion rubles to 100 billion rubles, or a 2.2-fold increase and a 2.4-fold increase in the volume of consumption in national economy with a simultaneous tremendous increase of accumulation in socialized economy and a growth of state reserves.

The Congress emphasizes that the struggle for the application of cost accounting in all departments of national economy, the strengthening of discipline in planning and finance, the further consolidation of the Soviet ruble—this most important lever for strengthening cost accounting and consolidating the economic relations between town and country—must be made the basis of economic activity.

* * *

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. places on record that the Second Five-Year Plan of development of national economy submitted by the State Planning Commission of the Union and adopted by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and by the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics guarantees:

a) The liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general, the final liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production on the basis of the full completion of collectivization of peasant farming and the incorporation of all artisans in co-operative organizations, the liquidation of the multiple economic system in the Soviet Union and the establishment of the socialist method

of production as the only method of production, together with the transformation of the entire toiling population of the country into active conscious builders of socialist society;

b) The completion on the basis created during the First Five-Year Plan period of the technical reconstruction which is advancing along the road of the further rapid rise of industry producing means of production (heavy industry);

c) A more rapid improvement in the well-being of the worker and peasant masses together with a decided improvement in housing and municipal services in the U.S.S.R.;

d) The consolidation of the economic and political positions of the proletarian dictatorship on the basis of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry for the final liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general;

e) The further strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

The realization of these tasks which leads to the squeezing out of the last remnants of the capitalist elements from all their old positions and dooms them to final extinction cannot but call forth an intensification of the class struggle, of new attempts by the kulaks to undermine the work of the collective farms, of attempts at wrecking and the sabotage of our industrial enterprises by anti-Soviet forces. On the other hand the realization of the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan period, the Five-Year Plan period of a radical rise in the standard of living of the workers and peasant masses on the basis of the completion of the technical reconstruction of the whole of national economy, cannot but call forth the enthusiasm of the toilers, enormously increased productional activity and a growing aspiration among the broadest

masses of the toilers—the builders of socialism—to master the new technique.

By mercilessly routing the counter-revolutionary attacks of the class enemy and by welding together the ranks of the shock brigade workers of socialism for the victorious completion of the Second Five-Year Plan, the working class together with the collective farm masses, under the leadership of the Party which is waging a steadfast struggle against every kind of opportunism, will overcome every manner of difficulty on the road to the construction of socialism.

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. points out that the consummation of the Second Five-Year Plan, the plan of the general technical reconstruction of national economy, demands that matters be organized in such a way as to ensure:

First, the operative and concrete character of the day-to-day economic leadership with no tolerance toward bureaucratic distortions in the business apparatus;

Second, the concentration of the best engineering and technical forces at the decisive production sectors and not at the offices of the institutions;

Third, the correct systematization of workers' wages, thereby ensuring a material stimulus for the growth of labour productivity;

Fourth, the raising of socialist competition to a higher plane especially for the purpose of better assimilating the new technique and the new processes of production;

Fifth, strict discipline in production at industrial enterprises as well as on Soviet and collective farms;

Sixth, revolutionary vigilance against the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and real responsibility to the working class and its Party for all matters entrusted;

Seventh, the further consolidation of the alliance between the workers and the toiling peasants.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period the U.S.S.R. is making gigantic strides towards outliving the age-old antithesis in human society—the antithesis between town and country—and is creating all necessary pre-conditions for the elimination of this contrast. Agriculture in its social form is becoming uniform in character with industry, agricultural labour is being transformed into a variety of industrial labour, transport communication between town and country is experiencing a powerful growth, the rates of growth of output of industry and agriculture approximate each other to a considerable extent, the level of the material well-being and culture of the toilers of town and country approximate each other.

The U.S.S.R. is being transformed during the Second Five-Year Plan period into a technically and economically independent country and into the most advanced country of Europe in point of technique.

The fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan will increase still further the importance of the U.S.S.R. as a bulwark of struggle of the international proletariat, will raise the prestige of the Land of the Soviets as a base of support of the world proletarian revolution still higher in the eyes of the toiling exploited masses of the whole world. The new great historical victories in the construction of socialism will consolidate still more the economic basis of the fighting capacity of the Soviet Union, its ability to repel and shatter any ambitions of the enemies of the proletarian state. The powerful economic upsurge and steady growth of the well-being of the toiling masses in the Soviet Union, while a crisis exists in the capitalist countries, will still more strikingly corroborate the superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system and the historical doom of the system of capi-

talist slavery, will make still more conspicuous the gigantic creative forces of the revolutionary proletariat, which has conquered power and is consolidating its dictatorship in a heroic struggle for the construction of classless, socialist society.

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. demands of all members of the Party a Bolshevik struggle for the victory of the Second Five-Year Plan and calls upon the workers and the collective farmers to rally around the Party for the consummation of this epoch-making task.

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS
(PARTY AND SOVIET CONSTRUCTION)

Resolution on the Report of Comrade L. M. Kaganovich

(Adopted unanimously)

Despite the desperate resistance of the class enemies and the attacks upon the Party by the agents of the class enemies—the opportunists of all shades—the policy of the Party, the policy of its C.C., has triumphed. It has triumphed, first, because this policy corresponds to the class interests of the millions of workers and peasants, and, second, because the Bolshevik Party, its C.C., not only proclaimed political slogans but were able in a Bolshevik manner to organize the masses to put these slogans into practice, to organize and rearrange every organ and apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship in keeping with the new tasks of the reconstruction period.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin, in characterizing the essence of the Bolshevik offensive in the period of reconstruction, pointed to the necessity of

“ . . . organizing the reconstruction of all the practical work of our trade union, co-operative, Soviet and all other kinds of mass organizations in keeping with the demands of the reconstruction period; in organizing in them a nucleus of the most active and revolutionary workers, pushing aside and isolating the opportunists, narrow craft unionists and bureaucratic elements; driving out of them the hostile and degenerate elements, promoting new workers from below . . . mobilizing the Party itself to organize the whole offensive; strengthening and pulling together the Party organizations.”

Guiding itself by these precepts, the Party during the period under review carried out important measures to improve the work of the Soviet, economic and Party organizations, to rearrange their work in keeping with the demands of the successful fulfilment of the decisions and slogans of the Party and the government.

The most weighty of these measures were:

1. The further development of districting—the abolition of *okrugs**, the creation of new districts and the organization of the political departments of the machine and tractor stations and Soviet farms which have brought the leadership closer to the village, to the collective farm, and which have corrected the major shortcomings in the work in the countryside; the organization of regions in the Ukraine; the splitting up of several regions (*oblasts* and *krais***) and the like.

2. The splitting up of the People's Commissariats, of the chief boards and trusts, thus bringing the leadership nearer to the lower production links, to the factories; the subdivision of the Supreme Council of National Economy into three People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry, the People's Commissariat of Light Industry, the People's Commissariat of Timber; of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture into two People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the People's Commissariat of Soviet Farms; of the People's Commissariat of Trade into two People's Commissariats—the People's Commissariat of Supply and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade; of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication into two People's Commissariats and one board—the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communication, the People's Com-

* Former territorial unit embracing several districts.—Ed.

** Larger territorial units each embracing several *okrugs*.—Ed.

missariat of Waterways and the Central Board of Road Transport, and so forth.

3. The carrying through of the purging of the Soviet and economic organs and the curtailment of their personnel; the abolition of the functional system in the coal industry and railway transport for the purpose of fighting red tape, bureaucratic methods of leadership and depersonalization, the shifting of the best engineers and technicians from the apparatus and the office directly to production.

4. The splitting up of the trade unions which has led to the strengthening of the role of the C.C.'s of the industrial trade unions; the reorganization of the system of supply—the organization of workers' supply departments attached to the factory managements with an extension of their rights and the organization of the Workers' Closed Co-Operative Stores.

5. The organization of political departments in railway and airway transport, the institution of the system of Party organizers in the coal industry and other industrial branches including the People's Commissariat of Waterways.

6. The carrying out of the purging of the Party as the highest form of Party self-criticism and the consolidation of the Party as the organized vanguard of socialist construction.

The success of this work was ensured by the development of self-criticism and the mobilization of the activity of the masses for creative construction, by socialist competition and shock brigade work.

The prompt raising and carrying out into life by the Party of all these organizational questions ensured the Party and socialist construction against a discrepancy between the correct line of the Party and the organizational work required to carry out this line.

The Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. holds that despite the successes achieved in carrying out the rearrangement of the levers of the proletarian dictatorship, the organizational and practical work nevertheless lags behind the demands of the political directives and does not satisfy the requirements of the present period—the period of the Second Five-Year Plan—which have grown immensely.

The present period of socialist construction is characterized by the still greater complexity of the tasks, by the still higher level of the demands presented to the leadership. The principal tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan period—the final liquidation of the capitalist elements, the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in the economy and consciousness of people, the completion of the reconstruction of the whole of national economy on the basis of modern technique, the mastery of the new technique and the new enterprises, the mechanization of agriculture and the raising of its productivity—urgently put the question of raising the quality of work in all branches of industry, first and foremost the quality of organizational and practical leadership.

Now that the general line of the Party has conquered, now that the policy of the Party has been tested by life, by the experience not only of the members of the Party but also of millions of workers and toiling peasants, the task of raising organizational work to the level of political leadership rises in all its scope. The organizational problem, while remaining a problem subordinate to problems of policy, nevertheless in view of this acquires *exceptional* significance for the further successes of socialist construction.

“No one, I dare say, will assert that it is sufficient to lay down a good political line and end the matter there. No, this is only half the job. After a correct political line has been laid down, the workers must be selected in such manner that the

posts are occupied by people who know how to carry out directives, who are able to understand directives, who are able to cherish directives as something dear to them and who know how to carry them into life. Otherwise policy loses its meaning, is converted into mere gesticulations." (Stalin.)

Meanwhile even many of the best leading workers think to this day that it is sufficient to make speeches or write resolutions expressing loyalty to the general line of the Party to consider the task of leadership fulfilled; while as a matter of fact the orders issued by the same leading workers intended to carry out the directives of the Party are not carried out because of the badly selected workers, and the failure to supervise the fulfilment of decisions.

The lagging of the organizational and practical work behind the requirements of the political line of the Party at the present moment was disclosed with particular clearness and sharpness by the Central Committee of the Party in the example of the coal industry, railway transport and the entire system of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. The Congress puts on record that these shortcomings apply also to other spheres of Soviet, economic and Party work.

Chief among these shortcomings are:

The red tape and bureaucratic methods of leadership and lack of attention to the lower Soviet, economic and Party organs (factory, shop, village, collective farm, Soviet farm, department);

The issuance of "general," abstract directives and numerous orders instead of concrete leadership and a study of the details of the work;

The assignment of the duties of the supervision of fulfilment of decisions and the selection of cadres to less skilled workers;

The swelling of the personnel of the central and intermediate links of the Soviet and economic appar-

atus, drawing a considerable number of engineers and technicians away from production into office work;

The functional structure of the apparatus, the decentralization of management in dozens of departments and sectors and as a consequence of this the lack of operative leadership;

The extreme weakness of one-man management, the lack of personal responsibility and the depersonalization of management behind the screen of "collegiate" leadership;

Overt and covert violations of the iron discipline of the Party and of the state.

For the purpose of removing all these shortcomings and improving the work of all the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, it is necessary to be guided by the following postulates:

First, to change from "general" and abstract leadership to concrete leadership, from "general" resolutions to operative decisions based on a study and knowledge of the details and technique of the work, to close, live contact with the lower links of production and management (shop, sector, factory, collective farm, village, M.T.S., Soviet farm, etc.);

Second, to increase the personal responsibility of the leaders for any matter entrusted to them both through Party and Soviet channels, to abolish the functional system and depersonalization in work and establish strict one-man management;

Third, to institute systematic and careful supervision of the fulfilment of the directives of the Party and the government to the end that the head of any organization, institution, or enterprise shall personally exercise the supervision of fulfilment of decisions in order that this supervision may ensure the strengthening of Party and Soviet discipline;

Fourth, to ensure the shifting of skilled workers from the apparatus and offices directly to the places of production, by curtailing the apparatus of the administrations and improving the allocation of workers, binding the leaders of the institution or enterprise to take personal charge of this matter.

The Congress considers the further development of self-criticism, of socialist competition, activity and initiative of the Party members, workers and collective farmers and of their mass organizations to be an absolute condition for the successful realization of these tasks.

The Seventeenth Congress of the Party instructs that the following organizational measures be carried into life.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF PARTY CONSTRUCTION

Party Membership and Primary Party Organizations

1. For the purpose of eliminating the mechanical, wholesale admissions into the Party that have occurred in a number of places, to require a greater number of recommendations on admitting candidates and Party members and to raise the Party standing of the vouchers; to take into the Party only activists who have proven their worth in their work in some social organization; to ensure a careful verification of the persons being admitted, demanding informative statements from the organization where the person joining has been working.

2. To reopen admission to the Party and the transfer of candidates to membership upon the termination of the purging of the entire Party, *i.e.*, starting the second half of 1934.

3. In order to rally around the C.P.S.U. the non-Party activists nearest to the Party who have shown in practice—in the factory, on the collective farm—their active aid to the Party, but who have not yet been trained to

enter the Party, to create sympathizers' groups of the C.P.S.U. attached to the lower Party organizations who shall submit to all decisions of the Party organs.

4. Holding that the Party nuclei at the present time have outgrown in their compositions as well as in their tasks and actual work the framework of the nuclei of the old type, the Congress decides to reorganize the existing Party nuclei into factory, transport, Red Army, collective farm, university, office and other *Party organizations* headed by a Party committee (in the Red Army Party organizations—a Party bureau), and in the shops, shifts and departments—into shop organizations headed by a Party organizer to be elected at a general meeting of the respective Party organization and approved by the factory Party committee.

In Party organizations having less than fifteen members and candidates of the Party, no Party committees are to be created but Party organizers are to be set up.

In collective farms having less than three Party members, candidate or Party—Y.C.L. groups headed by Party organizers appointed by the respective political department of the M.T.S. and in collective farms not served by an M.T.S., appointed by the district committees, are to be set up.

The Organizational Structure of the Leading Party Organs of the Centre, the Regions and the Districts

5. To reorganize the departments of the regional committees and of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. abolishing the present *functional* departments and creating in their place integral production branch departments. To concentrate in each production branch department all the work as a whole in the given branch, following the example of the Agricultural Department of the C.C.: Party organizational work, allocation and preparation of cadres, agita-

tional mass work, production propaganda, supervision of the fulfilment of Party decisions by the corresponding Soviet and economic organs and Party organizations.

To set up the following departmental structure:

In the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.—1) Agricultural Department, 2) Industrial Department, 3) Transport Department, 4) Planning, Finance and Trade Department, 5) Political and Administrative Department, 6) Department of Leading Party Organs, 7) Department of Culture and Propaganda of Leninism, 8) the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institute and two sectors; a General Manager's Sector and a Special Sector.

In the regional committees—1) Agricultural Department, 2) Industrial and Transport, 3) Soviet and Trade, 4) Culture and Propaganda of Leninism, 5) Leading Party Organs (city and districts) and a Special Sector.

To abolish the secretariats in the regional committees and the C.C.'s of the National Communist Parties leaving no more than two secretaries—a first and a second secretary—(except in the C.C. of the C.P. of the Ukraine, the Moscow and Leningrad regional committees where the secretariats are retained). To bring questions requiring discussion directly to the bureau and to impose the elaboration of a number of practical problems on the managers of departments of the committees and on leading workers of the Soviet, trade union, co-operative, Y.C.L. and other organizations instead of on special commissions.

6. To reorganize the work of the district committees by bringing them nearer to the production problems; to strengthen the concrete leadership of the district committees over the territorial Party organizations and village soviets, and jointly with the political departments—over the collective farm organizations of the district as a whole, strengthening them with workers. To liquidate all departments in the district and city committees (except the

city and district committees of the larger cities to be determined by special decisions of the C.C.) and set up in their place itinerant responsible instructors—members of district and city committees, attaching each one of them to a definite group of primary organizations in which it is their duty to organize all branches of Party work—cultural and political propaganda work, agitational mass work, organizational and other work. To impose the leadership of the work of the instructors, the allocation of the cadres and the supervision of the fulfilment of decisions on the secretary and his deputy,

7. To approve the decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. concerning the organization of political departments in the M.T.S., Soviet farms and in railway transport, which have fully justified themselves. To instruct the Central Committee to create also in future political departments in backward sectors of socialist construction, commensurate with their fulfilment of the urgent tasks assigned to them, transforming them into ordinary Party organs built up in accordance with the productional territorial principle.

To instruct the C.C., in connection with the formation of new economic centres around the M.T.S., to create new independent districts, or sub-districts in the less powerful centres of the M.T.S., and to reorganize the political departments of the M.T.S. into district committees or sub-district committees, as may become necessary.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF SOVIET CONSTRUCTION

The Abolition of the Functional System and the Guaranteeing of Concrete Leadership

8. To liquidate the functional system of organization of all Soviet and economic apparatuses and to reorganize

them on the production territorial principle, from the lower production links to the People's Commissariats.

The chief production boards or the territorial production boards, which are responsible for a given sector of work as a whole and which have the rights and duties of directing the organizations subordinate to them on all questions without exception are to be regarded as the principal organs of the People's Commissariats, restricting the rights of the remaining functional sectors and prohibiting them from issuing instructions to lower departments over the heads of the chief boards.

9. To make it the duty of the leaders of the Soviet and economic organs to ensure real concrete leadership of each individual lower organ or enterprise, correcting their shortcomings by operative measures in the process of work, and to cut down the intermediate links (combines, trusts and the like) by extending the direct contact between the People's Commissariats and the big enterprises.

10. To establish a clearer and stricter system of distributing duties between the central and local organs of the People's Commissariats, to enhance the role and the duties of the local, regional and republic authorities especially in questions concerning the development of local industry and agriculture, by concentrating the leadership only of enterprises having really Union significance in the hands of the chief boards of the People's Commissariats.

To create regional boards of heavy, light and other branches of industry in place of the representatives of the People's Commissariats in the regions, imposing upon them the duty of administering the whole of local industry and simultaneously the execution of the commissions of the respective People's Commissars.

To instruct the Central Committee concretely to work out the question of the organization of the management

of local industry and of the representation of the Union industrial People's Commissariats at the various localities.

11. To cut down the staffs of all Soviet budgetary and self-paying organs in 1934 by at least 10 to 15 per cent of the staffs fixed for them in 1933 and likewise sharply to reduce from top to bottom the existing number of forms of accounting and accountability.

*Personal Responsibility of the Manager; Supervision
of Fulfilment of Decisions and Shifting of
Cadres to Places of Production*

12. For the purpose of increasing the personal responsibility of the business and Soviet managers, to liquidate the collegiums in all fields of Soviet-economic work except in the elective Soviet bodies.

To liquidate the collegiums in the People's Commissariats leaving at the head of each People's Commissariat a People's Commissar and no more than two deputies. To create, in the People's Commissariats, Councils of the People's Commissariats to be convened once every two months and to consist of from 40 to 70 persons each, no less than half of whom must be representatives of local organizations and enterprises.

To lay down that the presidents of Regional Executive Committees, of Councils of People's Commissars of republics, and of city soviets shall not have more than two deputies each.

13. To abolish the existing special sectors of supervision of fulfilment of decisions and to instruct the managers of all organs of administration, from the highest to the lowest, personally to supervise the fulfilment of decisions and orders of the respective organs.

14. To ensure the shifting of the engineering and technical cadres from the offices to production in all branches of national economy and of state administration, as was

done in the case of the coal industry and railway transport.

15. To rearrange the wage schedules in such manner as to stimulate the work directly in the shop, at the construction site or in the factory.

To secure to all honest and competent engineers and technicians, irrespective of whether they are Party members or not, the most extensive opportunity of promotion to responsible leading positions in industry, agriculture, etc. To institute a compulsory examination of the technical and business qualifications of workers through commissions of examination and certification, irrespective of Party membership.

To make it the duty of the managers of economic organs and enterprises to master the principles of the technique of their work, to work out a technical minimum for each branch of industry and of national economy which it shall be the duty of all leading workers to learn within a specified minimum of time.

The Work of the Local Soviets, of Trade Union and Y.C.L. Organizations for Improving the State and Economic Apparatus

16. To organize mass control of the work of the various organs of management and to subject the bureaucratic sore spots and shortcomings of the apparatus to stern mass criticism.

To extend the network of the sections of the soviets and of deputies' groups in the various enterprises, in the villages, and in big cities to organize sub-district and sector deputies' groups of the soviets, at the same time paying particular attention to drawing active women, women workers and women collective farmers into the work of the soviets and their sections.

17. To vest in the trade unions all rights of the lower organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection at the enterprises, and the leadership over the control organs of the workers' supply departments, workers' closed co-operative stores, district and city consumers' societies.

To develop and raise the quality of the patronage of the enterprises over state institutions and the socialist unpaid part-time work at factory and state institutions, which practices have justified themselves.

To restore the practice which has justified itself of organizing "light cavalry" of the Y.C.L., which has successfully disclosed bureaucratic shortcomings of the apparatus. To raise the quality of work of the Y.C.L. nuclei in the state institutions established for the improvement of the state apparatus.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF STRENGTHENING PARTY AND SOVIET CONTROL

18. For the purpose of increasing the control of fulfilment of decisions of the government and of strengthening Soviet discipline, to deem it necessary to carry out the following organizational measures:

a) To reconstitute the Commission of Execution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into the Soviet Control Commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, this commission to be nominated by the Congress of the Party and confirmed by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having its apparatus at the centre, and permanent representatives in the republics and regions to be appointed by the Soviet Control Commission and to be subject to recall by the same.

b) To abolish the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection which has already performed its beneficial role and to transfer its apparatus to the Soviet Control Commission of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

c) To appoint one of the vice-presidents of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. as head of the Soviet Control Commission.

19. For the purpose of strengthening the control of fulfilment of decisions of the C.P.S.U. and its C.C., of strengthening Party discipline and the struggle against violation of Party ethics, to consider it necessary to carry out the following organizational measures:

a) To reconstitute the Central Control Commission into the Party Control Commission of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. This commission is to be elected by the Party Congress, to have its apparatus at the centre with permanent representatives in the republics and regions to be appointed and to be subject to recall by the Party Control Commission of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

b) To transfer the apparatus of the Central Control Commission to the Party Control Commission of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

c) To appoint one of the secretaries of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. as head of the Party Control Commission.

* * *

The Seventeenth Congress of the Party makes it the duty of all Communists, wherever they work, to ensure the fulfilment of the instructions contained in the present resolution on the measures to be taken for the reorganization and improvement of the work of all organs of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Congress of the Party warns all workers of Party,

Soviet, trade union, Y.C.L. and other organizations, first and foremost the Communists, that while encouraging the better workers, the C.C. of the Party and the leading Soviet authorities will remove from their positions, demote to lower positions and severely penalize all workers without regard of person who shall violate Party or Soviet discipline.

The Seventeenth Congress of the Party is confident that the members of our Party will prove fully competent to cope with their tasks, will help the Party and the government by their activity to purge the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship of bureaucratic shortcomings, will consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, will enhance still more the leading role of the Party and guarantee to the country the complete triumph of the Second Five-Year Plan.

RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

(Section of the Communist International)

(Adopted Unanimously by the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), being a section of the Communist International, is the organized vanguard of the proletariat of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the highest form of its class organization.

The Party effects the leadership of the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and all toiling masses in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the victory of socialism.

The Party leads all organs of the proletarian dictatorship and ensures the successful construction of socialist society.

The Party is a unified militant organization held together by conscious, iron proletarian discipline. The Party is strong because of its coherence, unity of will and unity of action which are incompatible with any deviation from its program, with any violation of Party discipline or with factional groupings within the Party. The Party demands from all its members active and self-sacrificing work to carry out the program and rules of the Party, to fulfil all decisions of the Party and its organs, to ensure unity within the Party and the consolidation of the fraternal international relations among the toilers of the nationalities

of the U.S.S.R. as well as among the proletarians of the whole world.

I. Party Members and their Duties

1. A Party member is anyone who accepts the program of the Party, who works in one of its organizations, submits to its decisions and pays membership dues.

2. It is the duty of a Party member:

a) To observe strict Party discipline, to take an active part in the political life of the Party and of the country, and to carry out in practice the policy of the Party and the decisions of the Party organs;

b) To work untiringly to raise his ideological equipment, to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the important political and organizational decisions of the Party and to explain these to the non-Party masses;

c) As a member of the ruling party in the Soviet state, to set an example in the observance of labour and state discipline, master the technique of his work, and continually raise his industrial and business qualifications.

3. Members are admitted to the Party only individually. New members are admitted from among the candidates who have gone through a specified period of candidate-ship (probation), who have graduated from a school of political training and who have mastered the program and the rules of the Party. Workers, collective farmers, Red Army men, students and employees who have proved their worth in their work in groups of sympathizers, in the soviets, trade unions, Y.C.L., co-operative organizations or delegates' meetings may be admitted to Party membership after the receipt of an informative statement of the organization where the applicant worked or is working.

The procedure in admitting Party members from among the candidates is as follows:

a) Four categories are laid down: 1) Industrial workers with a production record of not less than five years; 2) industrial workers with a production record of less than five years, agricultural workers, Red Army men from workers or collective farmers, and engineers and technicians working directly in shops or sectors, 3) Collective farmers, members of handicraft or artisan artels and elementary school teachers; 4) Other employees.

b) To be admitted into the Party, persons in the first category must submit three recommendations of Party members of five-year' Party standing; persons in the second category—five recommendations of Party members of five-years' Party standing; persons in the third category—five recommendations of Party members of five-years' Party standing and the recommendation of a representative of the political department of the M.T.S. or of the district committee; persons in the fourth category—five recommendations of Party members of ten years' Party standing.

Note: When members of the Young Communist League falling under any category are admitted to the Party, the recommendation of the district committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League is treated as equivalent to the recommendations of two Party members.

c) Former members of other parties are admitted in exceptional cases on the recommendation of five Party members: three of whom must be of ten years' Party standing and two of pre-revolutionary Party standing, and only through an industrial primary organization; the admission of such a candidate must be endorsed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., irrespective of the social status of the applicant.

Note: The Central Committee may delegate the right of final endorsement of former members of other parties to the respective regional Party committee or the Central Committees of the Communist Parties.

d) The verification of recommendations must precede admission and is the duty of the local Party Committee.

e) The question of admission to the Party is preliminarily considered by the primary Party organization, is decided by the general meeting of the organization and goes into effect on the endorsement: for the first and second categories—by the district or city committee; for the third and fourth categories—by the regional committee or the Central Committee of the respective national Communist Party.

f) Young persons up to and including the age of twenty may join the Party only through the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

4. Persons recommending applicants for admission are responsible for those they recommend. Those giving unsound recommendations are liable to Party penalties including expulsion from the Party.

5. The Party standing of applicants admitted from candidateship to Party membership is calculated from the date of the general meeting of the primary Party organization at which the motion confirming the comrade in question as Party member was passed.

6. Every member of any Party organization who removes to a locality covered by another Party organization is registered as a member of the latter.

Note: The transfer of Party members from one organization to another is effected in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Central Committee of the Party.

7. Party members and candidates who have failed to pay their membership dues for three months without sufficient cause are regarded as having dropped out of the

Party and notice of this must be conveyed to the general membership meeting of the primary organization.

8. The question of the expulsion of any member from the Party is decided by the general meeting of the Party organization to which the member belongs and must be approved, for the first and second categories, by the regional committee, and for the third and fourth categories —by the district or city committee. The person in question is removed from Party work from the day he is expelled by the general meeting of the Party organization or by the Party committee. Notice of expulsion of Party members must be published in the Party press, stating the reasons for the expulsion.

9. By periodic decisions of the C.C. of the Party, purgings are held for the systematic cleansing of the Party of:

Class-alien and hostile elements;

Double dealers who deceive the Party and who conceal their real views from it and who disrupt the policy of the Party;

Overt and covert violators of the iron discipline of the Party and of the state;

Degenerates who have coalesced with bourgeois elements;

Careerists, self-seekers and bureaucratized elements;

Morally degraded persons who by their improper conduct lower the dignity of the Party and besmirch the banner of the Party;

Passive elements who do not fulfil the duties of Party members and who have not mastered the program, the rules and the most important decisions of the Party.

II. *Candidates for Party Membership*

10. All persons desirous of joining the Party must pass through a period of candidateship, the object of which is

to give them an opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the program, the rules and the tactics of the Party and to test the personal qualities of the candidates.

11. The method of admission of candidates (division into categories, character of recommendations and their verification, the decision of the organization on the admission and the endorsement of the Party Committee) is identical with that applying to Party members.

12. The period of candidateship is fixed: for the first category, at one year; for the second, third and fourth categories, at two years.

Note: Former members of other parties, irrespective of their social status, have to go through a three-year period of candidateship.

13. Candidates for the Party take part in the meetings of the organization to which they belong, at which they have a consultative vote.

14. Candidates pay the usual membership dues into the treasury of the local Party Committee.

III. *Sympathizers' Groups*

15. In order to organize around the C.P.S.U. the non-Party active workers nearest to the Party who have shown in practice—on the job—their devotion to the Party but who have not yet been trained for admission into the Party, sympathizers' groups of the C.P.S.U. which must submit unconditionally to all the decisions of the Party organs, are created and attached to the primary Party organizations.

16. Applicants are admitted to sympathizers' groups by decision of the factory, office or other Party Committee; or of the M.T.S., Soviet farm or railway transport political department, upon the recommendation of two Party members.

17. It is the duty of those who have been organized in sympathizers' groups of the C.P.S.U. to attend all open Party meetings, at which they enjoy the right of a consultative vote, to wage an active struggle for the fulfilment of the decisions of the Party and the government and to work systematically under the leadership of the Party organizations to raise their ideological and political level.

IV. *The Organizational Structure of the Party*

18. The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, which signifies:

a) The application of the elective principle to all leading organs of the Party, from the highest to the lowest;

b) The periodic accountability of the Party organs to their respective Party organizations;

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

d) The absolutely binding character of the decisions of the higher organs upon the lower organs and upon all Party members;

19. The Party is built on the basis of democratic centralism according to the territorial productional principle: the organization serving a certain area is regarded as superior to any organization serving part of the same area; or an organization serving a whole branch of production or administration is regarded as superior to any organization serving part of the same branch.

20. All Party organizations are autonomous in deciding local questions in so far as these decisions do not conflict with any decision of the Party.

21. The highest leading body of each organization is the general meeting, conference or congress.

22. The general meeting, conference or congress elects

a committee which acts as its executive organ and guides all the current work of the respective organization.

23. The scheme of the Party organization is as follows:

a) U.S.S.R.—All-Union Congress—Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.;

b) Regions (*oblasts and krajs*), republics—Regional Conferences, Congresses of the National Communist Parties—Regional Committees, Central Committees of the national Communist Parties;

c) Cities, districts—city, district conferences—city, district committees;

d) Factories, villages, collective farms, M.T.S., Red Army units, offices—general meetings, primary Party organization conferences—primary Party committees, (mill Party committee, factory Party committee, Red Army unit Party bureau, etc.).

24. The order of subordination, of accountability, of the issuance of and exception to Party decisions (from the last to the first instance) is as follows: the All-Union Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Regional Conference, the Conference or the Congress of the national Communist Party, the Regional Committee, the Central Committee of the national Communist Party, the City, District Conference, the City, District Committee, etc.

25. For the practical work in carrying out the directives and decisions of the Party (and in supervising their fulfilment by the Soviet and economic organs and the lower Party organizations), integral production branch departments are created in the Regional Committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

In the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.:

a) Agricultural, b) Industrial, c) Transport, d) Planning, Finance and Trading, e) Politico-Administrative,

f) of Leading Party Organs, g) of Culture and Propaganda of Leninism, h) the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (and two sectors—a General Manager's Sector and a Special Sector).

In the Regional Committees and the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties:

a) Agricultural, b) Industrial and Transport, c) Soviet and Trade, d) of Culture and Propaganda of Leninism, e) of Leading Party Organs (city and district) and a Special Sector.

All the work in any branch is concentrated in its entirety in the corresponding production branch department: the Party organizational work, the distribution and preparation of cadres, mass agitational work, production propaganda, attention to the fulfilment of Party decisions by the corresponding Soviet and economic organs and Party organizations.

26. Every Party organization, once it is finally confirmed, has the right to have its own seal, but only with the sanction of the corresponding superior Party organization.

V. The Central Institutions of the Party

27. The supreme body of the Party is the Congress. Regular sessions are convened not less than once in three years. Special congresses are called by the Central Committee on its own initiative, or at the demand of not less than one-third of the total membership represented at the preceding Party Congress. Notice of the convocation of the Party Congress and of its agenda must be given not later than a month and a half before the Congress. Special congresses must be convened within two months.

The Congress is regarded as valid if the delegates attending represent not less than half the total membership

of the Party represented at the preceding regular congress.

The apportionment of representatives at the Party Congress is laid down by the Central Committee.

28. In case the Central Committee fails to call a special congress within the period stated in paragraph 27, the organizations which demanded it have the right to form an organizational committee enjoying the rights of a Central Committee as regards the convocation of the congress.

29. The Congress:

a) Hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee, of the Party Control Commission, of the Central Auditing Commission and of other central organizations;

b) Revises and amends the program and rules of the Party;

c) Determines the tactical line of the Party on the principal questions of current policy;

d) Elects a Central Committee, a Party Control Commission, a Central Auditing Commission, and nominates the members of the Soviet Control Commission to be submitted for approval to the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

30. The number of members to be elected to the Central Committee and to the other central organizations is determined by the Congress. In the event of members dropping out of the Central Committee, their places are taken by alternate members elected by the Congress in the order determined by the Congress.

31. The Central Committee holds not less than one plenary session every four months. The Central Committee alternates attend the plenary session of the Central Committee at which they have a consultative vote.

32. The Central Committee organizes a political bureau for political work, an organizational bureau for the gen-

eral guidance of the organizational work, and a secretariat for current work of an organizational or executive nature.

33. The Central Committee, during the interval between congresses, guides the entire work of the Party, represents the Party in its relations with other parties, organizations and institutions, forms various Party institutions and guides their activities, appoints the editorial staffs of the central organs working under its control and confirms the appointment of the editors of the Party organs of big local organizations, organizes and manages enterprises of public importance, distributes the forces and resources of the Party and manages the central funds.

The Central Committee directs the work of the Central Soviet and public organizations through the Party groups in them.

34. In order to strengthen the Bolshevik leadership and the political work, the Central Committee has the right to create political departments and to assign Party organizers of the Central Committee to lagging sectors of socialist construction which have acquired special importance for national economy and the country as a whole; and, in proportion as the political departments fulfil their urgent tasks, to convert them into ordinary Party organs constructed on the productional-territorial principle.

The political departments have the same rights as the corresponding Party industrial committees and are guided directly by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. through the Production Branch Departments of the Central Committee or through specially organized Political Boards or Political Sectors.

35. The Central Committee keeps the Party organizations regularly informed of its work.

36. The Party Control Commission:

- a) Controls the fulfilment of decisions of the Party and of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U;
- b) Brings proceedings against those who have violated Party discipline; and
- c) Brings proceedings against those who have violated Party ethics.

37. The Central Auditing Commission:

- a) Reviews the proper and expeditious handling of affairs by the central organs of the Party and the proper working of the apparatus of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.;
- b) Audits the accounts of the treasury and the enterprises of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

VI. *The Regional and Republic Organizations of the Party*

38. The highest organ of the regional or republic Party organizations is the Regional Party Conference or the congress of the national Communist Party, and in the interval between them—the Regional Committee or the Central Committee of the national Communist Party. They are guided in their activities by the general decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leading organs.

39. Regular Regional Conferences or Congresses of the national Communist Parties are called once every year and a half by the respective Regional Committee or Central Committee of the national Communist Party, while special conferences or congresses are called by decision of the Regional Committee or the Central Committee of the national Communist Party, or at the demand of one-third of the total membership of the organizations in the region or republic.

The apportionment of the representatives at the Regional Conferences or Congresses of national Communist

Parties is determined by the respective Regional Committee or Central Committee of the national Communist Party.

The Regional Conference or the Congress of the national Communist Party hears and adopts the reports of the Regional Committee, of the Central Committee of the national Communist Party, of the Auditing Commission and all the other regional institutions, discusses questions of Party, Soviet, economic and trade union work in the region or republic and elects a Regional Committee (or in the republic—a Central Committee of the respective national Communist Party), an Auditing Commission and the delegates to the All-Union Congress of the Party.

40. The Regional Committee, or in the republics—the Central Committee of the national Communist Party, appoints, for current work, corresponding executive organs to consist of not more than eleven persons to be confirmed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.; likewise two secretaries, a first and a second secretary. The secretaries must have a Party standing of not less than twelve years.

41. The Regional Committee or the Central Committee of the national Communist Party organizes various institutions of the Party within the region or republic, guides their activities, appoints the editors of the regional Party organ which works under its control, leads the Party groups in the non-Party organizations, organizes and conducts its own enterprises of general importance for the region or republic, distributes within the confines of its organization the forces and resources of the Party and manages the regional or republic Party funds.

42. The plenum of the Regional Committee or the Central Committee of the national Communist Party is convened at least once every three months.

43. The Party organizations of the national and other regions and autonomous republics which form part of a

region or republic, work under the leadership of the respective regional committee or the Central Committee of the national Communist Party and are guided in their internal life by the regulations set forth in Section VI of the rules of the Party concerning regional and republic organizations.

VII. *City and District (Rural and Urban) Party Organizations*

44. The City or District Party Conference is called by the City or District Committee at least once a year; special conferences—by decision of the City or District Committee or at the demand of one-third of the total membership of the organizations in the city or district.

The City or District Conference hears and adopts the reports of the City or District Committee, of the Auditing Committee and all the other city or district institutions, elects the City or District Committee, the Auditing Committee and the delegates to the Regional Conference or Congress of the national Communist Party.

45. The secretary of the City Committee must be a Party member of ten years' standing, and the secretary of the District Committee—of seven years' standing. The secretaries of the City and District Committees are confirmed by the respective Regional Committees or the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties.

46. The City or District Committee elects a bureau consisting of from five to seven persons, organizes and confirms the primary Party organizations at the enterprises, Soviet farms, M.T.S., collective farms and offices, keeps a register of all Communists, organizes various Party institutions within the confines of the city or district and guides their activities, appoints the editor of the city or district Party organ who works under its guidance and

control, leads the Party groups in the non-Party organizations, organizes its own enterprises of general importance for the city or district, distributes within the confines of the city or district the forces and resources of the Party and manages the city or district Party funds. The City or District Committee submits to the Regional Committee or to the Central Committee of the national Communist Party a report on its activities at such times and in such form as the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. may specify.

47. In the big cities, district organizations subordinate to the City Committee may be set up with the permission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

VIII. *Primary Party Organizations*

48. The primary Party organizations are the basis of the Party. Primary Party organizations are set up at mills, factories, Soviet farms and other economic enterprises, at collective farms, M.T.S., Red Army units, in villages, offices, etc., if they have no less than three Party members. At factories, collective farms, offices, etc., where there are less than three Party members, candidate or Party—Y.C.L. groups headed by a Party organizer appointed by the District or City Committee or the political department are established. The primary Party organizations are confirmed by the District or City Committees or by the corresponding political departments.

49. At big factories, offices, collective farms, etc., having a great number of Communists (from 100 to 3,000 or more members), shop, sector, department, etc., Party organizations may be formed within the general primary organizations which comprises the whole enterprise, office, etc., as may be required in any particular case, subject to the approval of the District or City Committee or of the corresponding political department. Brigade, ma-

chine unit, etc., Party groups of the enterprise may in their turn be established within the shop, sector, and other organizations.

50. The primary Party organization connects the mass of the workers and peasants with the leading organs of the Party. The tasks of the primary Party organization consist in:

1) Agitational and organizational work among the masses for the Party slogans and decisions;

2) The attraction of sympathizers and new members and their political training;

3) Assistance to the City Committee or District Committee, or to the political department in its day-to-day work of organization and agitation;

4) The mobilization of the masses at the factories, at the Soviet farms, at the collective farms, etc., for the fulfilment of the production plan, for the consolidation of labour discipline and the development of shock brigade work;

5) The struggle against laxity and mismanagement at the factories, on the Soviet farms, the collective farms, and the day-to-day solicitude for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers and collective farmers;

6) Active participation, as a Party organ, in the economic and political life of the country.

51. For the performance of current work the primary Party organization elects for the period of one year a Party Committee (factory committee, mill committee, etc.) to consist of no more than eleven persons, while the shop organization elects a Party organizer to be approved by the primary Party committee.

In Party organizations having less than fifteen members and candidates, no Party committees are formed but Party organizers are elected.

In primary Party committees representing not more

than one hundred Party members, the Party work is conducted as a rule by workers who are not exempt from working at their regular jobs. Party committees representing up to one thousand Party members ought to employ two to three paid workers who will be exempt from working at their regular jobs. Party committees representing up to three thousand or more members may employ from four to five comrades who will be exempt from working at their regular jobs.

The secretaries of primary Party committees must be Party members of at least three years' standing and the Party organizers of at least two years' standing.

IX. *Party Organizations in the Red Army*

52. The general guidance of Party work in the Red Army, in the Red Navy and Air Fleet is exercised by the Political Administration of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army having the rights of a military department of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. This Political Board of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic (PUR) exercises its guidance through the political departments appointed by it, through military commissars and through Party commissions elected at the corresponding Army Conferences.

The Party organizations of the Red Army, Navy and Air Fleet work on the basis of special instructions confirmed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

53. The chiefs of political departments of territories, fleets and armies must be Party members of ten years' standing; the chiefs of political departments of divisions and brigades—of six years' standing.

54. The political organs must maintain close contact with the local Party committees by means of the constant participation of the leaders of the political organs and

the military commissars (political assistants) in the local Party committees, as well as by the Party committees regularly hearing reports of the chiefs of the political organs and the military commissars (political assistants) on the political work in the military units.

X. Party Groups in Non-Party Organizations

55. At all congresses, conferences and elective organs of non-Party, Soviet, trade union, co-operative and other mass organizations in which there are not less than three Party members, Party groups are organized whose task it is to consolidate the influence of the Party in every respect and to carry out its policy in the non-Party environment, to strengthen the iron Party and Soviet discipline, to struggle against bureaucracy and to supervise the fulfilment of Party and Soviet directives.

The group elects a secretary for its current work.

56. Irrespective of their importance, the groups are completely subordinated to the corresponding Party organizations (the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the Regional Committee, the Central Committee of the national Communist Party, the City Committee or the District Committee). In all questions the groups must strictly and un-deviatingly adhere to the decisions of the leading Party organizations.

XI. Internal Party Democracy and Party Discipline

57. The free and positive discussion of questions of Party policy in individual organizations or in the Party as a whole is the inalienable right of every Party member, derived from internal Party democracy. Only on the basis of internal Party democracy is it possible to develop Bolshevik self-criticism and to strengthen Party discipline which must be conscious and not mechanical. But extensive discussion, especially discussion on an All-Union

scale, of questions of Party policy must be so organized that it cannot lead to attempts by an insignificant minority to impose its will upon the vast majority of the Party, or to attempts to form factional groupings which break the unity of the Party, to attempts at a split which may shake the strength and endurance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the delight of the enemies of the working class. Therefore a wide discussion on an All-Union scale can be regarded as necessary only if: a) this necessity is recognized by at least several local Party organizations whose jurisdiction extends to a region or a republic each; b) if there is not a sufficiently solid majority on the Central Committee itself on very important questions of Party policy; c) if in spite of the existence of a solid majority on the Central Committee which advocates a definite standpoint, the Central Committee still deems it necessary to test the correctness of its policy by means of a discussion in the Party. Only compliance with these conditions can safeguard the Party against an abuse of internal Party democracy by anti-Party elements, only under these conditions can internal Party democracy be expected to be of profit to the cause and not to be used to the detriment of the Party and the working class.

58. The maintenance of Party unity, the relentless struggle against the slightest attempt at a factional fight or a split and the strictest Party and Soviet discipline are the foremost duties of all Party members and of all Party organizations. For the purpose of bringing about strict discipline within the Party and in all Soviet work and of attaining the greatest possible unity with the elimination of all factionalism, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has the right, in the case of a violation of discipline, or of reviving or engaging in factionalism, to inflict any Party penalty including expulsion from the Party, and in the case of members of the Central Committee—demotion

to candidatureship and as an extreme measure, expulsion from the Party. The convocation of the plenum of the Central Committee, to which all alternate members of the Central Committee and all members of the Party Control Commission are invited, must be a condition precedent for the application of such an extreme measure to any member of the Central Committee, alternate member of the Central Committee or member of the Party Control Commission. If such a general meeting of the most responsible leaders of the Party by a two-third's vote recognizes the necessity of demoting a member of the Central Committee or of the Party Control Commission to a candidate or of expelling him from the Party, such measure must be immediately carried out.

59. The decisions of Party and Soviet centres must be executed rapidly and precisely. Failure to carry out any decision of a superior organization, or any other offence regarded as criminal by the public opinion of the Party entails: for organizations—censure and a general re-registration (dissolution of the organization); for individual Party members—censure in one form or another (admonition, reprimand, etc.), public censure, temporary removal from responsible Party and Soviet work, expulsion from the Party with notice of the offence to the administrative and judicial authorities.

60. Party members refusing to give truthful answers to questions put by the Party Control Commission are liable to immediate expulsion from the Party.

XII. *Party Funds*

61. The funds of the Party and of its organizations are made up of membership dues, of the revenue from Party enterprises and of other items of revenue.

62. The following are the established amounts of

monthly membership dues payable by Party members and candidates:

Those who receive up to	100 rubles in wages pay	20 kopeks
Those who receive from	101-150 rubles in wages pay	60 kopeks
Those who receive from	151-200 rubles in wages pay	1.00 ruble
Those who receive from	201-250 rubles in wages pay	1.50 rubles
Those who receive from	251-300 rubles in wages pay	2.00 rubles
Those who receive from	301-500 rubles in wages pay	2 per cent of their earnings
Those who receive more than	500 rubles in wages pay	3 per cent of their earnings

63. Upon admission as a candidate, an initiation fee is charged which amounts to two per cent of the wages received.

COMPOSITION OF THE LEADING ORGANS
OF THE PARTY

MEMBERS OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P.S.U.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Alexeyev, P. A. | 31. Krinitsky, A. I. |
| 2. Andreyev, A. A. | 32. Krupskaya, N. K. |
| 3. Antipov, N. K. | 33. Kuibyshev, V. V. |
| 4. Badayev, A. E. | 34. Lavrentyev, L. I. |
| 5. Balitsky, V. A. | 35. Lebed, D. Z. |
| 6. Baumann, K. Y. | 36. Litvinov, M. M. |
| 7. Beria, L. P. | 37. Lobov, S. S. |
| 8. Bubnov, A. S. | 38. Lubimov, I. E. |
| 9. Vareikis, I. M. | 39. Manuilsky, D. Z. |
| 10. Voroshilov, K. E. | 40. Mezhlauk, V. I. |
| 11. Gamarnik, Y. B. | 41. Mikoyan, A. I. |
| 12. Yevdokimov, E. G. | 42. Mirzoyan, L. I. |
| 13. Yezhov, N. I. | 43. Molotov, V. M. |
| 14. Yenukidze, A. S. | 44. Nikolayeva, K. I. |
| 15. Zhdanov, A. A. | 45. Nossov, I. P. |
| 16. Zhukov, I. P. | 46. Orjonikidze, G. K. |
| 17. Zelensky, I. A. | 47. Petrovsky, G. I. |
| 18. Ivanov, V. I. | 48. Postyshev, P. P. |
| 19. Ikramov, Akmal | 49. Pyatakov, U. L. |
| 20. Kabakov, I. D. | 50. Pyatnitsky, A. I. |
| 21. Kaganovich, L. M. | 51. Razumov, M. O. |
| 22. Kaganovich, M. M. | 52. Rudzutak, Y. E. |
| 23. Kalinin, M. I. | 53. Romyantsev, I. P. |
| 24. Kirov, S. M. | 54. Rukhimovich, M. L. |
| 25. Knorin, V. G. | 55. Ryndin, K. V. |
| 26. Kodatsky, I. F. | 56. Stalin, J. V. |
| 27. Kossarev, A. V. | 57. Stetsky, A. I. |
| 28. Kossior, I. V. | 58. Sulimov, D. E. |
| 29. Kossior, S. V. | 59. Ukhanov, K. V. |
| 30. Krzhizhanovsky, G. M. | 60. Khatayevich, M. M. |

61. Khrushchov, N. S.
62. Chernov, M. A.
63. Chubar, V. Y.
64. Chuvyrin, M. E.
65. Chudov, M. S.
66. Shvernik, N. M.

67. Sheboldayev, B. P.
68. Eiche, R. I.
69. Yagoda, G. G.
70. Yakir, I. E.
71. Yakovlev, Y. A.

ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P.S.U.

1. Shubrikov, V. P.
2. Gryadinsky, F. P.
3. Kaminsky, G. N.
4. Pakhomov, N. I.
5. Yeremin, I. G.
6. Issayev, U. D.
7. Mussabekov, G.
8. Smorodin, P. I.
9. Mikhailov, V. M.
10. Struppe, P. I.
11. Tovstukha, I. P.
12. Unschlicht, I. S.
13. Blücher, V. K.
14. Kuritsyn, V. I.
15. Bulganin, N. A.
16. Bykin, Y. B.
17. Bulin, A. S.
18. Semyonov, B. A.
19. Kalygina, A. S.
20. Kulkov, M. M.
21. Kalmanovich, M. I.
22. Lyepa, A. K.
23. Lozovsky, S. A.
24. Bagirov, M. D.
25. Tukhachevsky, M. N.
26. Makarov, I. G.
27. Mikhailov, M. E.
28. Pozern, B. P.
29. Eliyava, S. Z.
30. Golodyed, N. M.

31. Deribas, T. D.
32. Zavenyagin, A. P.
33. Ossinsky, V. V.
34. Striyevsky, K. K.
35. Popov, N. N.
36. Schwartz, S.
37. Veger, E. I.
38. Yurkin, T. A.
39. Gikalo, N. F.
40. Mekhlis, L. Z.
41. Ptukha, V. V.
42. Ugarov, A. I.
43. Sarkissov, S. A.
44. Blagonravov, G. I.
45. Rosenholz, A. P.
46. Sedyelnikov, A. I.
47. Yegorov, A. I.
48. Serebrovsky, A. P.
49. Budenny, S. M.
50. Demchenko, N. N.
51. Poskrebyshev, A. N.
52. Zatonsky, V. P.
53. Steinhardt, A. M.
54. Filatov, N. A.
55. Komarov, N. P.
56. Pavlunovsky, I. P.
57. Sokolnikov, G. Y.
58. Broido, G. I.
59. Bukharin, N. I.
60. Polonsky, V. I.

61. Uborevich, I. P.
62. Kubyak, N. A.
63. Weinberg, G. D.
64. Grinko, G. F.

65. Rykov, A. I.
66. Lubchenko, P. P.
67. Tomsy, M. P.
68. Pramnek, E. K.

MEMBERS OF PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION

1. Kaganovich, L. M.
2. Yezhov, N. I.
3. Shkiryatov, M. F.
4. Yaroslavsky, E.
5. Akulov, I. A.
6. Peters, Y. K.
7. Bulatov, D. A.
8. Akulinushkin, P. D.
9. Becker, I. M.
10. Berezin, N. S.
11. Bogushevsky, V. S.
12. Bricke, S. K.
13. Zalikin, A. T.
14. Bukharin, K. I.
15. Vassilyev, S. V.
16. Volkov, V. L.
17. Henkin, E. B.
18. Granovsky, M. L.
19. Grossmann, V. Y.
20. Davidson, R. E.
21. Dvinsky, B. A.
22. Zhukovsky, S. B.
23. Zaitsev, F. I.
24. Zashibayev, A. S.
25. Zimin, N. N.
26. Karavayev, P. N.
27. Kakhiani, M. I.
28. Korotkov, I. I.
29. Kubar, T. F.
30. Kuibyshev, N. V.
31. Levin, A. A.
32. Lychev, I. A.
33. Meyersohn, Z. I.
34. Moskatov, P. G.
35. Murugov, I. V.
36. Osmov, N. M.
37. Pospyelov, P. N.
38. Papparde, L. A.
39. Pshenitsyn, K. F.
40. Petrovsky, A. N.
41. Rabichev, N. N.
42. Rubenov, R. G.
43. Rubinstein, M. I.
44. Sakharova, P. F.
45. Sakhyanova, M. M.
46. Stavsky, V. P.
47. Stepanov, M. T.
48. Saltanov, S. A.
49. Sorokin, M. L.
50. Temkin, M. M.
51. Frenkel, A. A.
52. Khavkin, S. T.
53. Chubin, Y. A.
54. Shadunts, S. K.
55. Sharangovich, V. F.
56. Shaburova, M. A.
57. Shestakov, V. I.
58. Shokhin, A. P.
59. Shustin, A. Y.
60. Yurevich, E. I.
61. Yakovlev, A. I.

MEMBERS OF SOVIET CONTROL COMMISSION

1. Kuibyshev, V. V.
2. Antipov, N. K.
3. Belenky, Z. M.
4. Antselovich, N. M.
5. Geister, A. I.
6. Prokofiev, G. E.
7. Lomov, G. I.
8. Tsikhon, A. M.
9. Zemlyachka, R. S.
10. Moskvina, I. M.
11. Roisenmann, B. A.
12. Bogdanov, I. A.
13. Bazilevich, G. D.
14. Bauer, Y. Y.
15. Bukhanov, A. A.
16. Balakhnin, S. M.
17. Bukaty, V. L.
18. Bogat, A. P.
19. Voznesensky, N. A.
20. Weinbaum, E. I.
21. Vengerova, R. S.
22. Hemmerwert, M. I.
23. Hindin, Y. I.
24. Gay, K. V.
25. Gladstein, U. M.
26. Goldich, L. E.
27. Deutsch, M. A.
28. Dogadov, A. I.
29. Yegorov, V. N.
30. Zhuchayev, D. A.
31. Ilyin, N. I.
32. Ivanov, N. G.
33. Ivanov, A. A.
34. Karpov, V. I.
35. Karlik, A. I.
36. Kissis, R. Y.
37. Krivin, M. G.
38. Kozlovskaya, A. Y.
39. Kalashnikov, V. S.
40. Korostashevsky, I. E.
41. Soms, K. P.
42. Maltsev, K. A.
43. Manfred, S. A.
44. Miroschnikov, I. I.
45. Melamed, G.
46. Morgunov, N. S.
47. Mezhlauk, I. I.
48. Nazaretyan, A. M.
49. Uralov, S. G.
50. Gussev, A. N.
51. Oshvintsev, M. K.
52. Perekatov, I. G.
53. Pylayev, G. N.
54. Petrunichev, I. A.
55. Pronin, I. S.
56. Paskutsky, N. A.
57. Remyko, A. G.
58. Rozit, A. P.
59. Remizov, M. P.
60. Romanovsky, V. I.
61. Sulkovsky, F. V.
62. Streltsov, G. M.
63. Sudin, S. K.
64. Trilisser, M. A.
65. Terekhov, R. Y.
66. Ulyanova, M. I.
67. Feigin, V. G.
68. Tsarev, P. S.
69. Shablyevsky, G. V.
70. Khakhanyan, G. D.

MEMBERS OF AUDITING COMMISSION

1. Vladimírsky, M. F.
2. Ryabinin, E. I.
3. Kisselev, A. S.
4. Shelekhes, I. S.
5. Chutskayev, S. E.
6. Orakhelashvili, M. D.
7. Krutov, G. M.
8. Adoratsky, V. V.
9. Khlopyankin, M. F.
10. Sukhomlin, K. V.
11. Agranov, Y. S.
12. Aronstamm, L. N.
13. Soifer, Y. G.
14. Alexeyev, I. I.
15. Kogan, E. S.
16. Khanjyan, A. G.
17. Fomin, V. K.
18. Popok, Y. A.
19. Yerbanov, M. N.
20. Pevznyak, P. M.
21. Redens, S. F.
22. Yanson, N. M.

17th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Already Published:

- J. STALIN: Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
- L. M. KAGANOVICH: Report on the Organizational Problems of Party and Soviet Construction
- K. E. VOROSHILOV: Ready for Defence!
- G. K. ORJONIKIDZE: Completion of the Reconstruction of the Entire National Economy
- D. Z. MANUILSKY: The Revolutionary Crisis is Maturing

Ready Soon: the Speeches of

- V. M. MOLOTOV
- V. V. KUIBISHEV
- N. M. SHVERNIK

For Sale at All Branches of Knigocentr

CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R.
Ulitsa 25 Oktyabrya (Nikolskaya) 7, Moscow

Study the Material of the Thirteenth Plenum of the ECCI

Held December 1933, in Moscow

The following pamphlets have been published:

- O. PYATNITSKY: The Communist Parties in the Fight for the Masses . . . 100 pp. 75 Kop.
D. Z. MANUILSKY: Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War 44 pp. 40 Kop.
WILHELM PIECK: We are Fighting for a Soviet Germany 100 pp. 60 Kop.
WANG MING and KANG SIN: Revolutionary China Today 126 pp. 1.15 Rbls.
V. KNORIN: Fascism, Social-Democracy and the Communists 52 pp. 40 Kop.
O. W. KUUSINEN: Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of the Communist Parties 120 pp. 75 Kop.
THESES and DECISIONS . . . 32 pp. 40 Kop.



CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R.
Ulitsa 25 Oktyabrya (Nikolskaya) 7, Moscow

Price 40 Kopeks



РЕЗОЛЮЦИИ XVII СЪЕЗДА ВКП(б)

НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ



CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING SOCIETY
OF FOREIGN WORKERS IN THE U.S.S.R.
Ulitsa 25 Oktyabrya (Nikolskaya) 7, Moscow

